THE AO NAGA TRIBE OF ASSAM

A Study in Ethnology and Sociology

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INTRODUCTION

ACCORDING to the proverb, "It never rains but it pours," and though we have waited long for a monograph on the Ao Nagas, yet while Professor Smith's manuscript was first in my hands, the manuscripts of two other treatises passed, or were passing, through them. Each of the three contained material absent from the other two, and all were written from different points of view. The author of one was a Hindu doctor, of another a British official, of this, the third, an American sociologist, who had been a missionary in the Ao country. The first-mentioned of these three manuscripts, a short account of the Aos by Dr. Surendra Nath Majumdar, M.B., has, I hope, already been published in India during my absence on furlough.[1] The longest of the three, a most exhaustive and authoritative account of the tribe by Mr. J.P. Mills, is just nearing completion as Professor Smith's monograph goes to press.

While it is to Mr. Mills' work that we shall ultimately turn for a detailed account of the customs and beliefs of the Ao tribe, the importance of Professor Smith's work is firstly the comparative point of view from which he has approached his subject, and more particularly in his treatment of the sociological problem which the acculturation of the Ao tribe presents. Although up to now no one of the monographs published by the Government of Assam has attempted to throw much light on the subject of acculturation, there can be no question but that the greatest service which an anthropological study of a "backward" tribe can perform for the people studied is to aid officials and educationalists in the

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1 This has been published in Man in India, Vol.IV., Nos. 1 and 2 (March-June, 1924).

measures to be taken and to be avoided when the tribe in question has to be brought into any scheme of modern administration.

The cynical view that in any case it matters little what is done, since an uncultured people is sure to perish when brought into sudden and intimate contact with civilization, is scarcely more disastrous than the view that whatever is regarded as good by or for the human product of the latter-day West must ipso facto be good for a pre-literate folk accustomed to totally different conditions of life, and must therefore be thrust upon them as quickly as possible. Captain Hocart, in a witty paper on "Psychology and Ethnology,"[1] which is full of value to the practical anthropologist, touches on the evils wrought by the two schools of thought, which he describes as the "damn' nigger" school and the "little brown brother" school, and the latter school he regards as the "more insidious because it is kinder in intention". Any treatment of the question, therefore, which is likely to help us to guard against causing unforeseen evils, of which we cannot know, by our groping attempts to remedy those we think we see, is of the greatest value to us, and still more to the tribes whom we are trying to benefit. It is in this respect, as it seems to me, that Professor Smith's monograph is of most value. We are too apt to blunder in like fools where we should tread, if at all, in an angelic fear of the results our most cautious ministrations may produce, and this volume contains[2] material to show us something of the

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1 Folk-lore, Vol.XXVI, No.2, June 1915
2 I refer in particular to Chapters VII and VIII.

nature of a problem the very existence of which has in the past been all too little recognized.

We have also been given in this volume such a sketch of the Ao tribe as was necessary to the appreciation of the ethnological and sociological matter contained in it. The author and myself do not always agree on all the points raised, either of fact or of inference, and he has therefore sometimes included a dissenting note of mine on the grounds that, as the last word on some of these questions has not yet been uttered, it is better to give both opinions, and in this, at any rate, I am in agreement with him. The subject of the Ao tribe is one of great complexity. My own view is that the tribe affords a pretty clear case of the comparatively recent fusion of two racial groups, but that it is most unlikely that either of these was even approximately pure when the fusion took place. The Mongsen Aos probably represent in a greater degree the pre-Ao population of what is now the Ao country, and although there seems to have been a more or less complete assimilation physically and psychologically between the Mongsen and the Chongli groups, a distinction between the two survives to a considerable extent in language and custom. The Mongsen appears to be more nearly related to the Konyak tribes of the north-eastern Naga Hills, whereas I suspect the Chongli of stronger affinities with the Sema, the Kuki and the Manipuri. Probably the Shan element is present in both groups, for it is likely that the Shans penetrated at a very early date into Assam, and that there were Shans there long before the Ahom conquest. The later-comers, however, are perhaps preponderatingly Tibeto-Burman (the Kachins are still spreading southward into Burma), while the earlier inhabitants seem to have comprised, apart from

the aboriginal negroids, an element which may have been Dravidian, but was not Mongolian at all.

Professor R.B. Dixon of Harvard University, in analysing the composition of the Khasi[1], finds four main factors in the population of Assam, viz, the Brachycephalic-Leptorrhine, the Brachycephalic-Platyrrhine, the Dolichocephalic-Leptorrhine and the Dolichocephalic-Platyrrhine, which he conveniently abbreviates as B.L., B.P., D.L. and D.P. The B.P. he regards as Austro-Asiatic in origin and as having pressed into Assam from the east and north-east, bringing with it the Mon-Khmer language stock and driving back and in part assimilating the D.P., the earlier and aboriginal negroid population. The B.L. type he regards as Alpine, which has pressed south from the Himalayan region and the great plateaux of Central Asia. The D.L. factor he looks upon as Aryan and the latest of all to penetrate Assam.

These conclusions agree well enough with local tradition in so far as it is definite enough to build on. Many tribal origin stories point to the south-east, and the Mon-Khmer element survives in the shouldered hoe[2] for instance, now of iron, but once of stone, and in occasional traditions. Such a one is that of the chief who caused his female servants' head to be shaved so that their hair should not fall into his food, thus originating a clan whose women shave their heads all their lives. This story is told of a clan of Konyak

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1 "The Khasi and the Racial History of Assam," Man in India, II. (1922).

2 W. Gurdon, The Khasis, p.12; Peal, "Traces of the Kol-Mon-Anam" (J.A.S.B., 1, of 1896), and Hutton, "Two Celts from the Naga Hills" (Man, xxiv.2, Feb.1924).

Nagas, and is recorded by Scott and Hardiman[1] as a Palaung story, the Palaungs being of Mon-Khmer stock. The language of that stock also seems to survive in occasional Naga words, such as the Konyak am, meaning "stream." I suspect, too, that the use of the buffalo in the Naga Hills, both as a domestic animal and as an emblem in carving, is to be associated with this Austro-Asiatic stock, as also the practice of terracing (I do not imply irrigation necessarily) the hillsides, and perhaps of making permanent settlements in villages with shifting, but not migratory, cultivation. It may be added that the circular tonsure of the Ao and of some other Naga tribes seems to have extended at a comparatively recent date from Siam to the Ganges valley[2]. The Kuki type, whether it be Alpine or not, is clearly a later arrival, and seems to have come from the north down the Chindwin valley[3] and then pushed westwards through the Chin Hills[4] and Arakan, whence it came northwards again into Tripura, the Lushai and Naga

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1 Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States, I.i.p.492.

2 V.La Loubere, Royaume de Siam, I.102, and illustrations at pp.90 and 154; Ralph Fitch, Travels in India (Hakluyt).

3 Fryer, "Note on the Khyeng People of the Sandoway District, Aracan," J.A.S.B., No.1 of 1875.

4 Thus the Maring Nagas of Manipur seem to link up with the Angami and Tangkhul Nagas and the Poi Chins on the other, according to their own traditions, suggesting that a body of Kuki-Chin people may have been thrown off near the Kabaw valley in the course of the migrations down the Chindwin and have penetrated across the Manipur valley to the Assam side of the watershed. My Authority for the Maring traditions is information supplied by Mr. C. Gimson; cf. also The Angami Nagas, p.112.

hills.[1] It has thus possibly confused the local origin myths by adding fresh traditions of a south-eastern origin. There are, however, an appreciable number of origin stories which point directly to an origin from the north-west from the far bank of the Brahmaputra river,[2] showing that there has certainly been immigration from that direction also, irrespective of the Chindwin valley immigrants, who, as the Kachins, are still pressing south, or, as the Thado, still trying to penetrate north again. I believe it to be a Tibeto-Burman factor associated with this immigration that has substituted the mithan (gayal) for the buffalo as the principal domestic animal, and been responsible for carvings being spoken of as "mithan heads" though they represent palpable buffalo horns.[3] The Thados, as we know them, clearly have much that is to be associated with the Mon and Tai, but are distinguished from the elements that preceded them in the Naga hills by being essentially migratory, and practising a vastly more wasteful method of cultivation, though in arts of manufacture they are ahead of the Naga tribes.

The last of the immigrant peoples in Assam, according to Dixon, are his D.L. factor, the so-called Aryans, and it seems possible that it was this element that brought in rice and irrigated cultivation, perhaps adapting it to pre-existing terraces such as those still

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1 V.Lewin, Wild Races of S.E. India, pp.21,73,74,76, 82,138.
2 Cf. Mills, The Lhota Nagas, p.3; Hutton, The Sema Nagas, p.378.
3 It was Mr. Henry Balfour who first pointed out to me that many of the carved "mithan" heads, so called, in the Angami country were obviously derived from the buffalo type, though I have come across the converse of this, an obvious mithan head being spoken of as a buffalo.

used by the unadministered Konyak tribes, who are unacquainted with the cultivation of rice, but have millet as their staple cereal like the hill tribes of Formosa.[1] It may be added that in another part of the Konyak country taro, as in the Pacific, is the staple food. Dixon, however, regards this factor as having had virtually no influence in Assam racially except among the Syntengs, but one wonders whether further investigation of the Angami and perhaps of the Manipuri might not lead to the conclusion that the D.L. factor is as strong in their areas as in the Jaintia Hills. It is perhaps worth notice in passing that the Angami method of treating and planting out rice seedlings, though differing from that of the intermediate Assam valley, is identical with the system used in Maimansingh in Bengal.[2]

The negroid factor, indicated, no doubt, by the thick lips and frizzly hair often seen in individual Aos, is, according to Dixon,[3] shared in an equal degree by the Khasi, Manipuri, Mikir, Kachari, Abor and Miri, though in a less degree by the Naga tribes, while the Alpine element he regards as more or less equal in all these tribes, including Nagas, though less prominent among Kachins and Shans. The Austro-Asiatic type he considers to be present in a much greater proportion than it is in the Khasi (despite their Austro-Asiatic

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1 McGovern, Among the Head-hunters of Formosa, p.p. 183 sq.

2 My authority for this statement is a personal communication from Major J.L. Sen, I.M.S.,M.C., who is acquainted with the methods used in both Maimansingh and the Angami country.

3 Loc.cit.

language), in the Ao Naga, the Mikir, the Kachari, Tippera and Kuki tribes, together with the Chakma and Magh of the Chittagong Hill tracts, and all the Burmese peoples.

The net result of this is to conclude that the Ao tribe is composed of a substratum of Negroid with Austro-Asiatic and Alpine elements superimposed, and although I do not feel convinced that it contains the whole story, it is a very plausible conclusion, based as it is upon anthropometrical data, but agreeing with what we are able to infer from the historical, traditional and ethnological material available. Incidentally it links the Ao more closely than other Naga tribes with the Khasi on the one hand and with the Manipuri on the other, a conclusion which, in the latter case at any rate, is supported by the striking similarity between the physical appearance of the women of the two tribes, while the cephalic indices of Naga tribes taken by me[1] show that of the Ao as appreciably higher than that of the neighbouring tribes measured. In passing it may be noted that the Shan title Tsawbwa appears in the titular names Chaoba and Choba, so common among the Manipuris and the Aos respectively.

The affinities of the Ao, however, go much farther afield than the continent of Asia. Professor Smith has shown the Ao connection with Indonesia, but it goes further than that too. The anthropology of the Ao offers a number of strikingly close parallels with New Guinea and with Fiji, and with the Pacific generally, the resemblances being rather with Melanesia than with Polynesia, but extending nevertheless to New Zealand,

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1 The Angami Nagas, p.437.

and possibly even to South America. It is not possible to go into the evidence for these affinities here, though there is some hope of making a start in Mr.Mills' forthcoming monograph.

It was high time that a beginning was made of studying the Ao tribe, for it is changing very rapidly, and the younger generation, sophisticated and self-sufficient as it is only too apt to be, sets small store on the wisdom of the ancients, so that customs, traditions and beliefs are all being negligently allowed to slip into oblivion. As may be inferred from Professor Smith's monograph, it is clear that the change is by no means entirely for the better, and it is yet a matter for discussion whether the good there may be in it even outweighs the bad. We may, however, be permitted to hope that the light thrown on the question in the pages that follow may help, if not to turn the scales in favour of the former, at least to read the balance truly and estimate shortcomings.

The Aos are pleasant people to live among, very hospitable, and with a strong sense of humour. Conspicuous, however, among their weaker points is a certain captiousness, which causes them to strain at a gnat where they will on other occasions readily swallow a camel if need be, a disposition which inclines them to unnecessary litigiousness in petty matters and a pettifogging spirit in religion, bickering over by-issues instead of settling their differences amicably. The same rather pharisaic spirit is to be seen in the Manipuri, who is a recent convert to Hinduism, and who displays, as a Hindu, the same sort of captiousness that the Ao shows as a Christian, and will burn down his house as defiled if a white infidel lean a bicycle against it,

an act of super-Hinduism quite uncalled for from a Hindu in many respects distinctly lax. It may be that all this is merely the old and satisfying plan of compounding for sins we are inclined to by damning those we have no mind to, but I am disposed myself to regard it as the result of some particularly pragmatical tendency inherent in the race. The Chang tribe and the Angami tribe are noticeably different in this respect, and in the latter the same sort of dispute, arising out of differences in religious practices between the Christians and the Ancients, rarely seems to come into court.

Otherwise, the Ao, as I have said, are a very pleasant folk, and although they can be at times exasperating, the task of an official working among them and settling their disputes is an enviable one, lightened as it is by their friendliness, hospitality and humour. The day never passes without some "source of innocent merriment" arising, and I may perhaps fitly conclude this introduction with an instance of the sort of happening that enlivens routine.

Horses before the British occupation were unknown in the interior of the Ao country. Recently, however, there has been a boom in ponies, for shortly after I left Mokokchung in 1917 the head interpreter there bough himself a pony to ride, and his example caught on quickly. Among others who followed it was an Ao interpreter named L_____, who, having bought a terrible old screw to start with, determined to sell it and buy a pony that would be of some use. Simultaneously the pastor of the village of Ch_____obtained authority to buy him a horse the better to serve the spiritual needs of his flock, concentrated as it was at the top

of a precipitous hill, and to demonstrate himself a person of importance and socially "in the swim". Hearing that L_____ had a pony for sale he went to see him. "Is it true," says he, "that you have a pony for sale? And what might be the price be?" " I have a well-trained and very experienced pony," says L_____, "and the price I am asking is only eighty rupees." He had paid Rs.60 for it when he bough it. "Be content," says the other, "take an hundred and ten, for, sure,'tis the Church will pay for him, not I." "Well now," says L_____, "I couldn't take a hundred and ten for him, and he not worth it, but let you give me ninety."

The ascent to Ch_____ is very steep, the weather was very hot, and when asked to carry his new owner up the pony dissented, so he was led. Halfway up he lay down. On this the flock was called upon to carry him in. They fetched long bamboo poles, tied the pony to these, and the new owner arrived in triumph on foot with his pony borne before him like the ass in Æsop's Fables. The unfortunate animal died next day, but not before it had at least done its share towards relieving the monotony of life in a Naga village.

J. H. HUTTON

FOREWORD

IT was the writer's privilege to spend some time in the Naga Hills District of Assam, where he was connected with the Mission Training School for the Ao Nagas at Impur. Practically all of his first year's residence was devoted to language study in preparation for school work. It was not long before it became evident to him that in learning an Orient-al language it was not sufficient to learn the meanings of disconnected words from a dictionary; neither would some well-formed sentences suffice. Since language is essentially an instrumentality for the expression of thought, it becomes neces-sary to go back of the vehicle to the idea which the word seeks to convey. We must ~~know something about the social experiences which the word seeks to convey.~~ We must know something about the social experiences which have given a meaning to the parti-cular form; in short, in learning a Naga language it is necessary to try to "think Naga".

The best way to learn a language like this is through a study of the customs, traditions, super-stitions and beliefs of the people; these are the real things which seek to express themselves, and without an understanding of these the words cannot convey their real import.

A knowledge of native customs and beliefs throws light upon many expressions which otherwise would be dark sayings. Aksü is a tax levied on the people of a village. When we analyse the word it means "dead hog," and we wonder what might be the relationship existing between a tax and a "dead hog."

But when we learn that it is customary for a village to provide a feast of pork for visitors who come from other villages, and that each household in the village is assessed to defray the expenses, then the meaning becomes clear. Motongtaker is the word for cholera. Literally it means "that which causes one not to arrive." Cholera is quite prevalent in the Brahmaputra valley, and, at times, when the hillmen go down to the markets they contract cholera and die before they reach home. Temenen means "sin," but it is far different from current Western ideas. A family is held to be sinful and unclean if some calamity befall a member, such as being killed by a tiger, by a snake-bite, by a fall from a tree or if he in any way meet with a sudden, accidental death. This would be positive proof that the family was sinful and that the wrath of deity had visited the home.

In addition to the fact that such a study of the folk-ways and mores of a group is an aid to the acquisition of the language, it gives an approach to the people and proves to be invaluable in dealing with them. By taking an interest in their beliefs and practices their attention is secured, while sneering at these customs will only antagonize them and close the way of approach. The Westerner must remember that the beliefs of these hillmen mean as much to them as our own mean to us; and for that we must give them credit.

It was in connection with this language study that the collection of the materials presented in this monograph was begun. In addition to the information secured from the people themselves, other sources were also used. It was the writer's privilege to examine

the diaries of several of the early officials of the district, and these were found to contain much valuable data. There is also some fragmentary information scattered through the Census reports of India. Dr. Clark's Ao Naga Dictionary contains much valuable material, but its use is practically limited to those who have a knowledge of the Ao language. There are fragments scattered about in various periodicals also, but these are more or less inaccessible. To all of these sources the writer acknowledges his indebtedness.

This monograph does not claim to be exhaustive. These people have no written records, and everything has been transmitted by word of mouth; hence there are many variations in their traditions. The variations appear mainly on the outskirts of the tribe, where the influence of neighbouring groups is felt, as, for example, the Lhotas on one extremity and the Konyaks on the other. It has been the endeavour of the writer to record the most general and outstanding elements which would tend to be characteristic of the entire tribe.

In studying this simple group it became evident that the same process was going on here as in many other similar situations, namely, that where two groups on different cultural levels come into contact, the one on the lower level tends to become disorganized and the old agencies of social control cease to function efficiently.

According to the annals of the Ahoms, when the Ahoms invaded Assam in A.D.1215, the different Naga tribes were settled in their present habitat, and from all that we can gather they were the same Nagas which the British found when they took possession

of Assam several centuries later. The Nagas were isolated in the hills and had no outside contacts except for their raids into the Brahmaputra valley and the counter raids which were dispatched into their territory. In 1885 the British Government assumed suzerainty over the Ao Naga tribe, and since then the Nagas have been coming into contact with the more advanced peoples in the Assam Valley and with the Europeans. With these contacts, changes have come and disorganization has set in. It is the purpose of this study to trace the changes which have taken place in this group. In the concluding chapter some materials have been brought together from other groups to show that the situation as found among the Ao Nagas is not an isolated phenomenon.

In an examination of the recent literature treating of the pre-literate[1] groups of mankind one is struck by the numerous statements which set forth the disorganizing effect of the contacts which are made with civilized men, whether they be with the trader, official or missionary. There is coming to be a dissatisfaction with the methods used in dealing with these peoples, and a number of danger signals have been set up. That is perhaps all that we can say, for no telling research work has as yet been undertaken in this field. The ground, however, is being prepared so that in the near future far-reaching research work may be undertaken. In this connection

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1 The term "pre-literate" has been suggested by Professor Ellsworth Faris. Cf Journal of Religion, IV., p.261.

the series of monographs on the different hill tribes of North-east India which have been published by the Government of Assam, and to which this work belongs, may be noted. In the earlier volumes of the series one gets but the faintest idea, if any at all, that such a process of acculturation has been going on. The writers of these volumes seem to be satisfied when they have recorded certain facts, and they do not indicate any need of further researches. But in the volumes of Dr.Hutton and Mr. Mills we find clear indications that there are problems which need further study. This monograph proposes to set forth some of the problems as they are found among the Ao Naga tribe. This, however, is a mere introduction. If the writer has in any way been able to suggest some of the problems and stimulate further research he will feel that his efforts have been well repaid. As yet no satisfactory technique has been adopted for carrying out such a programme. A number of writers who have had long acquaintance with certain groups have recorded their conclusions as based on their observations. But with that we cannot be satisfied; the "guesses" of the Westerner are not sufficient. There is grave danger that they assume they are viewing a certain practice exactly as the person under observation does. "The Western observer," writes Faris,[1] "thinks of religion in terms of doctrines and theologies and is able to report the beliefs and doctrines of the native in a way that is very complete and systematic and misleading..... For example, the natives are supposed to have a belief in spirits, which extends to everything they see in

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1 American Journal of Sociology, XXIII., p.606

their world. The trees have a spirit, there is a spirit of the river, a spirit in the stones, and in every object in their world. Now the very difficulty that I found in getting a satisfactory word that would answer to the concept of 'spirit' leads me to question the statement.[1] And I can imagine a psychologically inclined Eskimo coming among us and reporting in a paper.....that white people believe every chair to be inhabited by a spiri proving his point by declaring that he has seen many a white man curse a chair after it had maliciously got in his way and caused him to stumble over it. (Missionaries in inland China report that the natives consider that the missionaries worship chairs on the ground that they often bow down to them at family worship). White people believe that spirits inhabit golfballs and billiard balls, and are frequently seen to offer short prayers to them in order to induce them to roll where they are wanted. They also imprecate them if they do not obey. They even believe that so small an object as a collar button has an evil spirit, and often swear violently when this little object rolls under the furniture - thinking that the action is caused by the mischievous spirit of the button". "Are we not too apt to interpret the workings of the primitive mind," writes Mr. Henry Balfour,[2] "as though they differed from those of our own minds merely in degree, and to forget that, to a very great extent, the primitive

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1 Professor Faris was for some years a resident in the Congo district of Africa.

2 Folk-lore, XXXIV., p.15.

outlook is fundamentally different from ours? Is it possible from such data as we are able or likely to obtain fully to comprehend the mental processes of savages?"

A technique has for some time been in process of development which should produce the desired results. What we need is a revelation of these persons themselves instead of the mere "guesses" of the Westerne The intimate personal documents such as the letter, diary and autobiography are invaluable for getting a person's attitudes which will help in understanding him. Materials of this sort were used by Thomas and Znaniecki in The Polish Peasant, by Park and Miller in Old World Traits Transplanted, and by Anderson in The Hobo: a Study of the Sociology of the Homeless Man. This method is also being applied in the Race Relations Survey which is being carried out on the Pacific Coast under the direction of Dr. Robert E. Park of the University of Chicago, and in which the writer has had the privilege of co-operating. A series of articles by Professors Park, Bogardus, Krueger and Bain in Volumes VIII. and IX. of the Journal of Applied Sociology set forth the methods used in a study of this sort. A forthcoming book by Dr. Emory S. Bogardus of the University of Sourthern California will bring together the methods that have been tried and tested in this survey.

The question may well be raised that the members of pre-literate groups cannot write letters, diaries or auto-biographies. But that is not absolutely necessary, for a skilful interviewer can draw them out and record them , and already we have some samples of such document

The Reverend Donald Fraser has translated for us "An African Autobiography," by Daniel Nhlane.[1] A.M. Hocart has rendered into English an essay entitled, "A Native Fijian on the Decline of his Race,"[2] which was written by a native of Fiji. Dr. Paul Radin secured and translated "The Autobiography of a Winnebago Indian,"[3] which is very valuable. In the introduction to this document, Dr. Radin writes: "Unprepared as primitive man is to give a well-rounded and complete account of his culture, he has always been willing to narrate snatches of autobiography. Such personal reminiscences and impressions, inadequate as they are, are likely to throw more light on the workings of the mind and emotions of primitive man than any amount of speculation from a sophisticated ethnologist or ethnological theorist." Dr. Radin has also recorded another document, "Personal Reminisce-nces of a Winnebago Indian."[4] This, however, lacks the naivete of the other and is correspondingly of less value. Another interesting document is an interview with an Igorrote chief[5] who was leader of a band of Igorrotes that visited Coney Island, New York, during

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1 Missionary Review of the World, XLII.,pp.603-8, 683-6, 933-48.

2 Hibbert Journal, XI., pp.85-98.

3 University of California Publications in American Archeology and Ethnology, XVI.,pp.381-473.

4 Journal of American Folk-lore, XXVI.,pp.298-318.

5 Independent, LIX., pp.779-85.

the summer of 1906. In a naive way the chief gave his reactions to the observations he had made during his short period of residence in the United States, and they are most enlightening. These documents are by no means models, but give us a hint of the possibilities if such persons had the direction of a competent research man in writing out their materials. The model document of this sort is doubtless the autobiography of a Polish peasant as presented by Thomas and Znaniecki.[1] Evans[2] tells how he secured a number of folk-tales from a certain group in Borneo. He began to relate some folk-tales to a group of men. This aroused their interest so that they began to talk. He ends by stating: "That night I got as many stories as I could take down." This method, no doubt, can be used successfully for securing other materials as well as folk-tales.

While the writer realizes the value of such documents he is now in no position to secure them. He hopes, however, that some of the materials brought together in this study will suggest to others the need for and the opportunity for collecting such documents. This will no doubt result in a better understanding of the pre-literate groups of mankind, so that better adjustments with the more advanced peoples can be worked out.

In this connection it is significant to note that under the direction of Professor Archibald G.Baker of the University of Chicago there has been organized "A Research Extension in Comparative Religion and Missic devoted especially to the subject of cultural interpenetration as exemplified on the Mission field. This

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1 The Polish Peasant, Vol.III.

2 Among Primitive Peoples in Borneo, pp.171,172.

Extension consists first of a Central Council composed of five faculty members, representing those departments which are most intimately related to the study, namely, Sociology, Anthropology, Religious Education, Comparative Religion and Missions, and secondly of the missionary alumni and others who are interested in the investigations proposed and are willing to co-operate. It is felt that if a goodly number of men and women, labouring in the different Mission fields, and trained in approved methods of research, can be enlisted in such an investigation.....a very decided contribution may eventually be made to the efficiency of the missionary effort and to a better understanding of the probable future of the race."[1]

When the writer returned to America, the descriptive materials relative to the Ao Nagas were submitted to Professor W.I. Thomas of the University of Chicago, who suggested that they be prepared for publication. At a later date the document was submitted to Professor Frederick Starr. He was struck by the close resemblance of the Ao Nagas to the Dyaks of Borneo and to the Igorot of the Philippines, and suggested that this relationship be further investigated. The writer gratefully acknowledges his indebtedness to him for the suggestion to work out this problem. To Professor Ellsworth Faris the writer is deeply indebted for many valuable and helpful suggestions and for encouragement in completing the study. The writer is also indebted to Professor James Main Dixon of the University of Southern California for his patient reading of the entire manuscript. Grateful acknowledgment is also made to my colleague, Dr. Clarence E. Rainwater, for several valuable suggestions. In order

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1 The Journal of Religion, IV., p.63

to bring the Ao names into conformation with the forthcoming monograph on the Aos by Mr. J.P. Mills, Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills District, I have adopted the spelling which he has used, a list of which he very graciously submitted to me. I am deeply indebted to Dr. J.H. Hutton, Honorary Director of Ethnography for Assam, for much valuable assistance. His knowledge of the Aos has come through intimate contact with them during his years of official service in the Naga Hills. This fund of information was brought to bear when he read the manuscript. Due to his criticism several changes have been made which were embodied in the text, but in many instances they were placed in footnotes. In certain instances where there was disagreement the text was not altered, but his dissenting opinion was placed in a footnote. Since the last word has not been said on some of these problems, it was thought best to introduce both positions because of their suggestiveness to others who might do work in the same field. Dr.Hutton critical acumen has been brought to bear not only on the manuscript, but also on the proof sheets, which he has read as well. In addition to this I am under obligation to him for his mediation between the Government of Assam and the publishers of this volume.

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THE AO NAGA TRIBE OF ASSAM

CHAPTER I

HABITAT AND GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PEOPLE

Habitat

THE territory occupied by the Ao Nagas is located in the north-eastern part of Assam, between 26° 12' and 26° 45' north latitude and 94° 18' and 94° 50' east longitude. On the north-west it extends to the plains of the Brahmaputra valley, where it touches the Sibsagar district; on the south the boundary is the territory of the Lhota and Sema Naga tribes; while on the east and north are the lands of various Naga tribes, collectively called "Miri" by the Aos. The territory of these tribes is independent, except for some that was taken under the English Government in the early part of 1913, on account of raids made on British subjects. Roughly speaking, the boundary to the east and north may be considered the Dikhu River, for there is only one Ao Naga village, Longsa, beyond it, while there are only a few small villages and parts of villages on the left bank that are peopled from the trans-Dikhu territory.

The whole territory consists of one mass of hills; there are no level stretches, but hill after hill, and ridge after ridge with deep valleys between. The hills rise gradually from the low ranges skirting the Brahmaputra valley until in the inner ranges there are some peaks above 5000 feet in height. The hill on which Lungkam village is situated has an altitude of 5340 feet.

Roughly speaking, the territory of the Ao Nagas is made up of three parallel ridges, running in a north-easterly direction, the Langbangkong nearest the Dikhu, then the Changkikong, and thirdly the Chapvukong.

The third is nearest the Sibsagor side, beyond which are several lower uninhabited ridges.

In the valleys between the ridges there are streams or rivers that drain the territory into the Brahmaputra River, the chief of which are the Disai, the Jhanzi and the Dikhu. These streams are of little practical use so far as navigation is concerned. For the most part they are swift mountain currents, tumbling over rocky beds, rising quickly after a rain and again as quickly subsiding. Even during the rains they are all too uncertain and dangerous, while during the dry season they all but disappear. The difficulty of crossing some of these streams in the wet season brings into play the engineering skill of the Nagas. Between Mübongchküt and Khari, on one of the highways to the plains, they cross the Jhanzi by climbing up a big tree which overhangs the river, and then descending to the other bank by means of a bamboo ladder. The smaller streams they bridge with bamboo or a single tree trunk.

There are some paths where ponies can be used, but many villages are not fortunate enough to be located on these highways. The Nagas have not exhaust all the possibilities in road-building, consequently many places are only accessible by walking, where one must pick his way over fallen trees, over rocks, and clamber up places so steep that footholds must be cut in the sides of the cliffs. However, the barefooted natives, carrying their heavy loads, glide over these paths more easily than an ordinary European can walk on city pavement.

The soil, in some locations, is composed of clay, in others of sand, and in many places it is exceedingly rocky and unfit for cultivation.

The climate is generally cool, and the higher hills are comparatively healthy. In the rainy season the valleys and lower ranges are quite malarious. The temperature never goes very high, because of being tempered by the heavy rains. The temperature ranges between forty and eighty-eight degrees Fahrenheit. The rainfall at Mokokchung is in the neighbourhood of 100 inches. In February and March there are strong north-west winds that play freely with the thatched roofs, but destructive gales are quite uncommon.

In their natural state these hills were clothed with evergreen forest, but this has retreated before the torch and dao of the husbandman, until all but the most precipitous hill-sides are slowly being denuded. In several places the large trunks lie on the ground, only to rot slowly away. The jhum system of cultivation, which is in vogue, is very unfavourable to the growth of trees, because it demands such extensive areas. When the fields are abandoned, they grow up with tall grasses, reeds and scrub bamboo; but before the trees can attain any growth the torch is applied and the land is again put under the "plough". There are now two forest reserves on the low outlying hills near the Sibsagor districts. Where the Disai River comes out a reserve was made in 1902, while another was made in 1913. These small reserves the Nagas may not touch, but in the other localities they may destroy the forests as they please. In many places the trees would furnish good lumber, but the lack of transportation facilities renders it impossible to use any of these resources.

Where it is unmolested, the vegetation is both dense and varied. "Orchids, rhododendrons, beautifully coloured begonias; the tree fern, ground fern, mosses,

creepers and vines abound in great variety and luxuriance. The holly-hock, elder, gentian, morning glory, lady slipper, the dog-violet, lilies, and other homeland flowers are found here of such gigantic growth as hardly to be recognized."[1]

It is a welcome sight to see the spreading branches of the oak and pine on some of the higher ridges. The Naga pays little attention to fruit that grows, even though Nature has placed within his reach a variety of plants pregnant with luscious possibilities. In the jungle there is a variety of wild fruits, such as bananas, mangoes, crab apples, figs, limes, oranges, raspberries, strawberries, cherries and others. These fruits are for the most part bitter and inedible, while some few are quite delicious. With some care, many of these fruits could be developed for use, as is shown by the gardens of the missionaries and of the political officer at Mokokchung.

A picture of a very common scene can be given by quoting Mrs. Clark, doubtless the first white woman to enter this section; nor does one have to travel many miles to find a counterpart to this in any section of the hills.

"Our route," she wrote,[2] "was simply a Naga trail, first across the lowlands where grow in such profusion the tall, feathery, waving bamboos, intertwined and interlaced, forming pretty fantastic arbours across our path, and not infrequently necessitating the cutting of our way. On and on we went, up and down, through forests of stately trees, with delicate creepers

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1 Clark, A Corner in India, p.37

2 A Corner in India, p.27

entwining their giant trunks, their branches gracefully festooned with vines, and orchids swaying in the breeze."

Along with the exuberant growth in the vegetable kingdom there is only a comparative richness in the animal kingdom. Wild elephants are common and do much damage by grazing in the rice-fields, but in reality they do more harm by trampling down the grain with their huge feet. The Nagas frequently report elephants and plead for their destruction, but there is some doubt as to which weighs the more heavily with them, the damage done or their excessive fondness for the elephant flesh. Bears roam about in the jungles; barking deer are commonly heard in the stillness of the night; leopards and tigers frequently visit the villages and feast on a cow, a pig, or a goat, and sometimes they even taste human flesh. There is a kind of stocky, short-legged hill cattle, or bison, called mithan that is found both domesticated (Bos frontalis) and in the wild state (Bos gaurus). These are not found in large numbers in the Ao territory, because the people object to the damage these animals do to the growing crops; but among the Semas and the trans-Dikhu Nagas they are found in considerable numbers. In the old days they were used in paying off war indemnities, while now they are used only for the banquets which the rich men give to the villagers. Longmisa, a village near the Dikhu, has long been the "port of entry" for these animals from the trans-border territory Packs of wild dogs, in well-organized raids, attack the hill cattle. They go into a village, drive the cattle into the jungle, and there feast upon them.

There are large numbers of monkeys of five varieties. The hoolock (Hylobates Hoolock), or black gibbon, stays in the jungle and does no harm. This variety lives in large societies, numbering one hundred or even more. They are very talkative and noisy, and, when in a body, can be heard for several miles. If taken young they are easily tamed, but, since they stay in the tops of the highest trees, it is no easy matter to capture one of them. They are not especially courageous, but they have been known to attack men.[1]

There is one variety (Macaca mulatta), rather small and of a russet or greyish colour, that lives mostly on the upper ranges of hills. These monkeys are destructive to fruit and they are most persistent in entering the granaries to eat the rice that is stored. In doing this they tear holes in the thatch roofs, so great precautions must be taken in making these places secure. The monkeys (Macaca Assam-ensis) also make some depredations in the rice-fields. Several small carnivorous animals cause a great deal of anxiety about the poultry yard and the pig-sty. Numerous rats add their mite of trouble to the hen-roost and granary, in addition to which they also do great damage to the crops. At certain periods, when the bamboos go to seed, the rats become very numerous and destructive. The bushy little squirrels gambol about in the leafy boughs; they alone covet no man's crust of bread.

In these hills are found a number of small birds, some of which are gaily coloured; but, among them,

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1 Owen, Notes on Naga Tribes in Communication with Assam, p.68.

sweet-voiced songsters are rare. There are also hornbills, kites and several large birds of the eagle family, which, at times, will carry off a small pig or goat. Several birds of the gallinaceous family and several varieties of pigeon furnish very acceptable additions to the table. But in contrast with the good features of these birds, the hawks and large crows make raids on the poultry yards. Snakes of different sizes and varieties are to be found, but not in great numbers; and very few people are harmed by them.

According to the Census report of 1901, the Ao Nagas totalled 28, 135, of whom 13,393 were males and 14,742 females. In 1911 the total figures were 28,877, with 13,617 males and 15,260 females. These people may be said to reside in 45 villages, making an average of 641 to each village. When we consider that some of the villages are quite small, numbering about 100 people, it will be noted that others have a large population. Some, for instance Lungkam and Ungma, are large enough to be called towns. The unsettled condition of the country, rendering it unsafe for small, communities, had a tendency to make the villages large.[1]

From these figures it will be noted that the increase of population for the ten years was 742, or a triffle more than two and a half per cent. This is rather a small percentage of increase, for which several factors may be held accountable. The Aos are not a prolific race, as shown by the Census of 1901, which gives only 85 children under five years for every hundred of married women between 15 and 40, as

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1 Census of India, 1911.p.219

compared with 110 and 115 in some other districts of Assam. The number of childless marriages is usually large, and very few women have large families. The Nagas take pride in the strength and endurance of their women, saying they are inferior to the men by a narrow margin only. These qualities have no doubt been developed by the life of toil to which they have been accustomed from their earliest youth but they have paid the price in a weakening of the reproductive powers. However, this rule does not always hold, for the inactive life of the upper caste females, secluded in dark and often ill-ventilated houses in other parts of India, is in many ways worse than the hard outdoor work, and many of the women who live in such seculusion are afflicted with many ailments which their poorer sisters escape.

In passing through some of the villages, as, for instance, Lungkam, one sees very few children.[1] On the Mokokchung-Tamlu bridle-path there are several villages where the same condition prevails. In the villages on the inner ridges - for instance, Mübong-choküt, Mungchen and Khari - children are more numerous. Mr. A.W. Davis, I.C.S., ascribes the slow increase to the phlegmatic nature of the Naga, which makes him sluggish even in sexual matters.[2]

From the above figures it will be noted that the Ao women are in excess of the men. The most obvious explanation of this is to be found in the fact that they are not burdened with the custom of child marriage. ~~They~~ There are very few girls married below the age of fifteen, so they approach motherhood at a comparatively mature age.

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1 In my opinion this is due, in Lungkam, to the deliberate practice of abortion - J.H.H.

2 Census of India, 1901, Vol.IV., Assam, Pt.I, Report, p.23.

The Nagas do not have the habit of living in large numbers in each house. There is no tendency for families to cling together; for the newly-weds immediately set up independent establishments, while the aged and infirm do not live with those from whom they receive their support.

General Characteristics

The average Ao Naga is very independent, especia: if a man has a tract of land under cultivation and he can be reasonably certain of getting his necessary food. When a man is in this enviable position and an European should endeavour to engage him to do a certain piece of work, he would set his price very high, and, should he not receive it, he would not stir. The Naga villagers do not grovel before their headmen; formality is conspicuous by its absence, while a spirit of equality is manifest. This, no doubt, is due to the freedom and independence which have characterized the life of the hills. There has been very little slavery, nor have the people been in subjection to other peoples. As the European observer walks around in a village he cannot distinguish a headman from the other individuals by their conduct towards one another. The headmen, the gaonbur however, come forward and make profound bows, which they have learned from their dealings with the native underlings of European officials. It is true, however that in some cases the individual is not considered, as, for instance, when certain work must be done for the good of the whole village. But here it is not som strong individual who assumes the leadership and makes all the others submit to him, but it is custom, tradition, their religion, that overrules all the

individualistic tendencies. Their traditions tell them in accents firm that some great calamity will befall them unless they take their share in these undertakings of the whole village. But outside of this community compulsion there is great individual freedom.

The Naga is conservative. He is not at all enthusiastic about adopting new ideas or new ways of doing things; he thinks the way his father did things is the best, and that this cannot be bettered. The writer once tried to persuade a young man to improve his general appearance by buying a pair of knee trousers, but he only answered that it was not the custom to wear such; and that settled the matter.

One of the missionaries asked some villagers if they wanted a teacher to instruct them. "We know," they replied, "that the 'new custom' is better than the old, but we want our rice beer rather than this new teaching."

It is a difficult matter to persuade some of them to make use of our tools. If a saw be given to a man for cutting a piece of wood he will turn to his dao in a very short time. However, there are some who acquire considerable skill in the use of tools; yet they are quite contented with the old ways and have a strong aversion to change.

The Naga is a good-natured fellow. He always has a smile to spare and enjoys a good hearty laugh. At times, when travelling, I have joined in with the coolies in their song: "Ho-hee, ha-lee, ho-hee," etc., and it has amused them so that they have begun to laugh until they could not continue their melodious strain. Many of them have considerable wit and

humour, and they thoroughly enjoy some exchanges along this line. Some, however, are very sensitive and are much peeved if others have a laugh at their expense. When the Naga is at work he is generally in a pleasant mood. Of course such things as care and worry do not touch him.

Some say that the Ao Naga is lazy. Sometimes this holds true, but at other times it is far otherwise. The Naga is an adaptable fellow and, when it is to his advantage to be lazy, he is a prize-winner; but when it is good policy to work hard, no one can accuse him of laziness. He has two standards, one for himself and the other for the Europeans. When it comes to his own work, cultivation work especially, he is industrious and hard-working. It is hard work to clear off the jungle, prepare the soil for a crop and then care for it until the grain is harvested. He goes to the field about seven in the morning and returns about seven at night, when, very often, he carries home a heavy load of wood or something else. As he has no beast of burden he must carry all the loads himself. He works hard on his little field, because he is dependent upon the results of this for his livelihood.

When a slack time comes in the field work, a man often goes to work for the Europeans, usually adopting the second standard. Then he is in no hurry whatever, because he thinks the day's wage is fixed and there can be no reduction. However, he is certain to quit on time at noon and at evening; and none would ever work beyond the hour. But he is not so particular about beginning work on time, either in the morning or at noon

When at work in his own field he uses a large umbrella made of palm leaves and bamboo strips, so that even while it rains he suffers but little discomfort. When going to work for a European a man never brings it, and, should it begin to rain, he very quickly seeks shelter. The Naga likes to do certain work by contract, especially that of wood-cutting. Then he will work hard, from early to late, show his blistered hands, and rub his sore shoulders, meanwhile telling how hard the work is, entirely too hard for the paltry amount of money promised. When making an agreement for any work like this, should there be four or eight annas (four or eight pence) difference, rather than work for the smaller price a man will sit around for half a day in perfect tranquility while waiting for the market price of his labour to advance. If he does not receive his asking price after this half-day of patient waiting he returns leisurely homeward. He may return in a day or two, when again he may sit down and wait further. The loss of a day or two brings no grey hairs to his head. If a man wants to work for several months he will be very industrious at first in order to make a good impression and thus receive a large monthly wage. The agreement having been made he considers himself a fixture on the job and begins gradually to slow up; but he thinks that it would not be honourable for his employer to reduce his pay accordingly. Were that to happen he would tell how poor he was and how many hungry mouths there were at home that must be filled, and would discourse on the white man's duty in regard to the poverty-stricken.

A large number of coolies carrying loads from the railroad will scramble and fight for the lightest load, even though they know that in most cases this means less money. They often scramble for the smallest case, thinking this to be the lightest; and it is amusing to see the disgust of the victor when he finds his innocent little case to be filled with white lead or iron nails.

Time seems to have no value to the Nagas. It is a common practice for several men to come to the missionary's bungalow where they will sit around in the most contented fashion and watch the missionaries in all they do. When a Naga wants to make a small purchase he has no conscientious scruples against wasting several hours to save one copper coin. Frequently, however, if he wants something very much he will not argue about the price.

When a man goes to visit in another village he is usually well entertained. If he is to pay his visit to the whole village he goes first to the house of the tatar unger, the head-man of the village council of elders. This man may entertain the guest in his own house or else taken him to the house of one of the other village elders, usually a rich man. The whole village then provides for the entertainment of the visitor and a pig is killed, of which a certain portion goes to the visitor while the rest is divided among the villagers, a small piece to each house, except that some of the officials or elders receive a certain part of the animal each and every time. For defraying the expenses of such entertainment all the villagers are assessed once each year. This is collected in

rice and sometimes each house must contribute as much as seventy-five or a hundred pounds. If this assessment is not paid, then the village elders fine the delinquent a pig.

If a man goes to another village, but not as the guest of the whole village, he goes to the house of the eldest man in his own sib. He usually brings with him some rice beer, some salt and a dao, which he presents to the house for his entertainment. Then all the men of the sib meet together in this house to entertain the visitor; and to provide the rice beer the dao is often sold to meet the expenses. The sib also kills a pig to provide the banquet in honour of the guest, and to defray the expense each local member of the sib is assessed.

When a trans-border Naga comes to an Ao village, he seeks out the house of an acquaintance where he will be entertained. He will bring about two annas' (two pence) worth of chillies, red peppers, garlic, or onions (some very hot varieties not found in the Ao territory, but very much prized by them), and these he gives to the host. An Ao going across the border to a Miri Village will take about two annas' worth of salt as a gift for the host.

A group of men coming together, whether from the same or several villages, will quickly get on good terms by passing around the betel nut and tobacco

Mr. A.W. Davis, I.C.S., pays what seems to be a doubtful tribute to the veracity of the Aos when he says, "A Sema oath is worth less than the oath of any other tribe, not excepting the Aos, who as liars

run a good second to the Semas."[1]

Col.A.E. Woods, on the other hand, says, "The Ao is the biggest liar in the hills, and the Sema runs him close in that line."[2]

"The standard of truthfulness," says Mrs.Clark, "is not so high and exact as in countries moulded by Christianity. If the friends of a sick person are alarmed and desire medicine to be administered quickly, they will, perhaps, say the person is dying, when in reality he may, or may not, be seriously ill. An arm somewhat badly bruised may be spoken of as broken, when in fact there is no indication of a fracture. A man may be asked for change for a rupee, and perhaps he will reply that he has no small coin, when all that he means is that he has none that he wishes to spare."[3]

If a Naga be questioned about money or rice he invariably replies that he has none. He does not exactly mean to lie, but he is somewhat modest. He will always say this to a missionary, hoping to get something from him in this way. This discrepancy is also prevalent among themselves; even the very rich say they have nothing. Yet when they are anxious to purchase some article they are able to produce the money, although it is nearly always customary to fall a little short of the stipulated amount. They implore the white man to be merciful and discount the difference.

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1 Grierson, Linguistic Survey, Vol.III.,Pt.II., p.222.

2 Your Diary for April 25th and 26th, 1893. My attention was called to this by Dr.Hutton.

3 Ao Naga Grammar, p.38

In spite of the fact that a Naga's standard is not of the highest, he is generally dependable. A Naga servant is far more honest than a plainsman, and appropriates far less for his own personal use. The Nagas do very little stealing from each other, but, no doubt, their somewhat drastic measures of dealing with thieves has a salutary effect.

The Aos have the custom of giving gifts to visitors. When a white man arrives at a village it is a common practice for some of the old men to bring a gift in the form of eggs or a fowl. Should the guest, on his departure from the village, fail to return a present which would more than cover the value of the gift received it would be considered a serious breach of etiquette. This practice seems to be quite general among peoples on a low cultural level.

"Among the Dieris in Central Australia," says Bucher,[1] 'a man or a woman undertakes for a present the task of procuring as reciprocal gift an object that another desires.....In some countries of the Soudan the constant giving of presents frequently becomes burdensome to the traveller..... The gifts.....are ostensibly given as a mark of respect to the white man; in reality they arrive only because the donors expect a three- or four-fold response from the liberality of the European."

"To accept a present," says Ely,[2] "was to bind oneself to return an equivalent. A missionary among the Canadian Indians says that they brought him some elk meat, and knowing that they expected a present also, he asked what they wanted. They desired wine

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1 Industrial Evolution, p.66

2 Evolution of Industrial Society, p.38

and gunpowder, but when they found they could get it, they carried back their meat."

The Nagas are less blunt in their manner than the Indians reported by Ely, but they make use of suggestions and hints which are so broad that there can be no possibility of mistaking their meaning. At one time a Naga brought a duck to the writer. When asked what he desired in return he stated that he wanted nothing. A few days later he asked if the duck had been received. This was again repeated several days later, when he asked for an advance payment of his wages in order to pay a debt. He had been working up to this climax. At times they will bring two lots of eggs, one to sell and the other to give away. They will have fresh eggs for sale, because the buyer could refuse the stale ones, while, out of politeness, a person must say nothing about the bad gift eggs. On one occasion when this took place the writer paid for the good eggs in coin which was acceptable, and then for the present that should compensate them for the stale eggs gave them coins which had been badly worn down. Had these worn-off coins been tendered for the purchase of supplies they would have been returned at once, or if overlooked at that time would have been returned at some future date. However, since they were a gift, nothing was said, although it was evident that the recipients were somewhat crestfallen. Once each year grain is collected from the villagers to compensate the village priests for their services. Much bad rice is mixed with the good, but since the gifts are voluntary no one can make complaint.

The average Naga has little forethought, and this leads him in several ways to unreliability. He does not worry even if his stock of provisions for the next day be rather low, and so, if he is working on a job, it is a small matter for him to quit suddenly, even though he has nothing else in view. So oftentimes, if one depends on a man to perform some certain work, he may fail to appear, thereby causing much inconvenience.

To the Ao Naga in his native state, cleanliness is quite foreign. No doubt the filthy condition of the villages is due in a large measure to their location on the summits of the hills, necessitating that all the water be carried from below. The people have no adequate supply of water for bathing. Occasionally the water-carrier steps into the pool and takes a bath, after which he dips out the water and carries it away for household use. When they begin the cultivation work in the spring, the men become all begrimed by working in the dry ashes, but they do not wash until the rains set in to settle the dust. The filthier a man is at this time the happier he seems to be, for he thinks his friends will consider his industry is directly proportional to his filth.

The Nagas are very fond of smoking, and both sexes use tobacco at all ages. They raise their own tobacco and make their own pipes. Some use a small bamboo pipe, some a small metal pipe made by the village blacksmith, and some use a pipe with a stone bowl, which has a bamboo cup for catching the nicotine as the smoke passes through the water.[1] Occasionally

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1 Cf. Hodson, The Naga Tribes of Manipur, p.40, for practice among Manipuri Nagas.

they sip this water which has been impregnated with nicotine. They also use it for toothache. They explain the origin of smoking thus: "In the very beginning of things a man's wife died, and as they were drying the corpse over the fire the husband sat by weeping. The god Lizaba came, and giving the husband some tobacco, said that if he would smoke it he would soon forget his grief." I asked an old man why they smoked, to which he answered that they did it to keep the flies away. Then I asked him why they smoked in the cold season; he replied that the fair sex gave them the tobacco and it would be discourteous not to smoke it.

The chewing of betel nut is very common. They take a leaf of the piper betel, or the peppa betel, called by the Assamese pahn, and putting a small piece of lime, a piece of the areca nut or betel nut and a little piece of tobacco on the leaf, they roll it up and chew it for a masticatory stimulant. The lime is either brought from the plains or extracted from egg-shells.

In the villages near Tamlu opium is smoked. For this they use a bamboo joint about two feet long and one and a half inches in diameter. About six inches above the lower end a short tube of much smaller bamboo is fitted in. Water is kept in the bottom of the big tube and the smoke is bubbled through the water.

The Nagas like to have an occasional merry-making with rice beer. They are usually quiet and even at these times cause very little disturbance, except that their powers of speech become very active. As they have very few amusements in their narrow round of life, it is not surprising that they partake of the m rather freely at times and becom

CHAPTER II

PERSONAL APPEARANCE AND ARTIFICIAL ADORNMENTS

Dress

THE adult male Ao wears a belt of woven cloth about his waist, and from this at the front is suspende an apron about eight inches square. This apron is double, and from the inner part a heavy cord passes between the legs to the belt at the back, where it is fastened. At the small of the back he carries a block of wood about six inches long, in which there is a slit for carrying his dao, or head-axe, when it is not in use. This is fastened by a rope-like girdle made of small strands. The loose ends of this rope hang down over the thigh as ornamental tassels. With some the girdle is a strip of cloth woven with ornamental designs. He has a large cloth or blanket, about six feet square, which serves as an outer garment as he drapes it over his shoulders. When at work in the warm weather he either lays this aside or rolls it up and wraps it about his waist. In this scanty attire he has no pockets, except for the coin purse in the apron, and so he carries, hanging from his shoulder, a sort of haversack in which he places a bamboo box containing his tobacco, betel nut and other articles. This completes his wardrobe, except for some additional ornaments and finer cloths which are reserved for the big festivals.

The dress of the Ao men is practically uniform throughout the tribe. The small aprons, or the abbreviated kilts, are of the same shape and size, but the patterns of the cloth differ somewhat. Some are made of plain white cloth, some of plain blue, some have stripes and designs woven into the cloth,

while still others have figures that are painted on after the cloth has been made. Some of these aprons have no trimmings, some have heavy brass wires bent over the edges, some have cowrie shells sewed on, while some have factory-made white buttons. The most common blanket is the plain blue, a coarse cloth, while a number of men wear this same kind of cloth in its natural colour. These are the cloths used by the poorer people, and even by most of the rich while they are doing their ordinary work. In addition, the rich have finer cloths which are ornamented with various designs in the process of weaving. Dog's hair dyed red and coloured threads are used in this process of ornamentation. These cloths are worn only on special occasions. By the colour of the cloths and by the stripes one can tell, to some degree, at least, to what section of the tribe a man belongs. In the villages near Tamlu a greyish cloth is very common, made of black and white threads and woven so as to form little checks and stripes. In the villages in the opposite direction the plain blue and dirty white cloths are the most common.

From earliest infancy the children have something about the neck, be it only a string with one lonely bead, while from the ear something hangs which may be a coloured thread or even a safety pin. When a boy is about two months old a string or a strip of cloth is put around his loins which is supposed to make the boy strong at the waist so that he will be able to carry heavy loads. This is all the clothing the small children need, for they can be wrapped in the blankets of father or mother as they

are carried about. After they learn to walk they are given a cloth or blanket of the same kind as their elders use, but when the children play about the village they lay these blankets aside or carry them about in their hands. When a boy is from three to five years old the wooden block for sheathing the dao is put on. This is put on at this early age so as to harden the back and get the boy accustomed to wearing it. The assumption of this wooden block is a great event in the Naga boy's life, and he is very proud of the adornment. He now begins to feel he has made a great advance and will soon be carrying that tool of all tools and weapon of all weapons, the dao. In the villages near Mokokchung the boys about thirteen or fourteen years of age assume the regular costume of the adults, while in the villages in the Tamlu direction the practice is somewhat different. Here the young men about fourteen years begin to wear about the waist a sort of sash, the ends of which hang down in front as a covering. The young man wears it until after marriage, when he assumes the regulation dress. This custom is no doubt influenced by a practice across the border, of which it is said: "A curious custom prevails.....that until a young man is married he goes perfectly naked, and he at once adopts a waist-cloth when he takes a wife to himself."[1]

The woman's dress is very simple. She contents herself with a little petticoat that extends from the waist to the knee. It is only a straight piece of cloth about the same size as an ordinary bath

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1 Lieut. Woodthorpe's Ethnographical Notes appended to Report on the Military Expedition to Punish those Massacring Lieut. Holcombe at Kinu, by Capt. J. Butler. Dated April 30, 1875.

towel, with the ends lapping slightly over each other in front. In addition to this the regulation blanket is used.

The women of each sib have a petticoat, each with its own distinctive pattern. The colours are different or the stripes are different for the different sibs, so that at any time it is possible to tell to what sib a woman belongs. The petticoat furnishes a sort of family coat-of-arms. Rich women have certain stripes and ornaments on their cloths, usually woven from dog's hair dyed red. When a man has given a certain number of banquets to his village, then his wife may add these distinctions to her cloth. If a woman marries she goes to another sib, but she always retains the distinctive cloth of her father's sib.

The young girls begin to cover themselves at an earlier age than the boys, assuming the regular petticoat at the age of five or six years. Then the dress of the girls is the same as that of the women, except that the girls are more particular about their appearance. A girl or young woman always keeps her breasts covered by a blanket. When girls are at work in the warm weather they often drop their blankets below the shoulders, under the armpits, but always keep the breasts covered. This they do until the birth of the first child, after which they are not at all particular about the covering of the upper part of the body. This is a practice also observed by the Lushei women,[1] by the Toungtha of the Chittagong Hill Tracts,[2] and by the Dusun of Borneo.[3]

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1 Assam Census Report, 1911, p.139.

2 Lewin, The Wild Races of South-Eastern India, p.192

3 Evans, Among Primitive Peoples in Borneo, p.91. So also by the Negritos in the Phillippine island of Zambales (Reed, The Negritos of Zambales, p.37) -J.H.H.

The cloth, or blanket, of the Nagas, which is so generally used, is a very useful article. It serves as bedding, for they wrap themselves up in it and go to sleep; it serves as a baby carriage, for the child is placed in it and tied on the back of the father, mother, brother, or little sister; and sometimes it serves as a market basket, for when one buys some articles for the carrying of which he has no basket he rolls them up in the ever-present blanket.

They have some very good articles which serve as umbrellas. They have a large circular hat, about three feet in diameter, made of palm leaves and bamboo strips. They have another of the same material about four feet long and two feet wide that is suspended over the back by a string passing over the head. These are not so convenient as the ordinary umbrella because they do not fold up, but some use a large palm leaf which folds up almost as well.

Coiffure

The Ao Naga men have a peculiar hair-cut. The hair is cut off squarely all round, thus giving the head a rather odd look. It looks as if a bowl were turned over the head and then a smooth cut were made all round its edge with a pair of scissors. The growth of hair is heavy and straight, and when brushed down all round, gives the appearance of a sort of helmet. The hair-cut of the Sema and Lhota Nagas is the same as that of the Aos, but the other immediate neighbours do not follow this style.[4]

The Naga hair-dresser cuts hair with a knife edge and a stick. Taking an ordinary dao, he puts the blade

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4 The Siamese used the same style of hair-cutting in La Loubere's time, and the Mishmi (on the north bank of the Brahmaputra in Assam) also used it and the Miyong Abors, photographs of whom are distinctly suggestive of Aos. - J.H.H.

against the head, places a tuft of hair on the cutting edge and strikes it with a slender stick of bamboo which has a heavy knob at the end. In this way he works round the head until he has trimmed a smooth, square edge on the hair. After this has been completed, a small piece of brass is sharpened and the head is closely shaven below the thick mat of hair that has been trimmed.

The women have comparatively long hair, which is rolled up at the back of the head and tied either by a sort of rope plaited of black hair or of white cotton thread.[1]

Small boys and girls have their hair cropped closely. The boys wear a little tuft over the soft spot on the top of the head to proclaim to the world that the bearer belongs to the sterner sex. The boys' hair is cut thus closely only while they are very young, after which they adopt the coiffure of the adults. The girls' hair, however, is kept closely cut for something like eight or ten years, after which it is allowed to grow out a little, but not enough to necessitate its being tied up according to the custom of their mothers. This comes with their attainment of womanhood.

Tattooing

The Ao Naga men do not tattoo, but the women are tattooed on the face, breast, arms, neck and legs. The designs are all in broad straight lines, and are entirely destitute of the graceful figures which decorate some of the other Indian peoples. The embellishment on the face is confined to four lines on the chin. On the breast there are several straight lines crossing each other so as to form diamond-shaped enclosures. The legs are adorned with a cross-gartering which gives the calves a checker-board

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1 According as they belong to the Chongli or Mongsen division.- J.H.H.

appearance. Just below the knee there is a broad band of black with some ornamental pyramids.

There are two divisions of the Ao Naga tribe, the Mongsen and the Chongli, each of which has its own distinctive tattoo pattern. In the main, the Chongli women have broader tattoo marks than those of the Mongsen moiety.

To prepare the material used in tattooing the Nagas tap a certain soft-wood tree from which the sap slowly oozes and dries into a sort of resin. This is put into an earthen cooking pot, placed over the fire and burned. A new earthen pot is put over this, on which the soot collects as the resin burns. This soot is then scraped off and mixed with strong rice beer, after which it is ready for use.

In each village there is generally only one woman who does this work. The privilege passes from mother to daughter, and so it sometimes happens that villages are left without this functionary because the woman dies leaving no daughter. The young girls of this village are then taken to a neighbouring village for the operation. In addition to limiting this art to one woman in a village there is also a particular place in each village where this work is done. As it often makes the girl sick it becomes necessary, in order to ensure her recovery, to offer sacrifices at the spot where the tattooing has been done. At Chantongia this location is just a few paces below the inspection bungalow, so that, when a girl is to be tattooed, travellers halting there have a splendid opportunity to witness the performance.

When a girl is to be tattooed, a bamboo mat is placed on the ground on which she reclines. Several old women hold her while the operator plies her instruments.

An instrument made of sharp thorns is struck with a stick to pierce the skin. This is continued until the skin is in a pulpy condition, when the blood is wiped off and the black liquid applied.

The girls are generally tattooed before puberty, when they are from ten to fourteen years old. However, there is no absolutely fixed rule and it depends somewhat upon the convenience of the old woman who is to perform the operation. It is of the utmost importance for a girl to be tattooed, otherwise she would be in disgrace and could not expect to marry well. Female slaves are not tattooed, and no self-respecting girl wants to be classed with the slaves. It is a practice which has been handed down from generation to generation and it is considered to be the prescriptive right of a woman to be tattooed; it is the womanly thing to have done.

Tattooing is a practice that causes much pain and suffering, and even death. In giving a concrete case I can do no better than to quote Lieut. Woodthorpe, who toured in the hills in 1875-6; he writes as follows: "A girl whose legs had been tattooed was in great pain. Sores were dreadful, both legs apparently rotting away below the knees."[1]

Ornaments

The Ao Nagas of both sexes are extremely fond of ornamentation. While clothes, in the early days of existence are not deemed a necessity, it is necessary for a baby to have some ornament from the very first.

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1 Report on Survey Operations in the Naga Hills, 1875-6, by Lieut.R.G.Woodthorpe.

A man's ears, as a general rule, have three holes, all of good size, of which the two upper ones are usually filled with tufts of cotton. On special occasions big rolls of fresh cotton are put in. In the lower aperture there may be some article, such as a flower, a safety pin, a match, a spiral coil of fine brass wire, a small stick of bamboo, a tassel of coloured thread, or some small beads. If some small article be picked up, such as a safety pin or a trouser button, it is usually suspended there. Some old men, who have won renown on the field of battle, have a small boar's tusk dangling from the lobe. These holes in the ears are evidently considered to have some intrinsic value, for a man is fined a cow if he tears out one of these in another man.

A necklace made of four wild boars' tusks is very commonly worn by the men. In the good old days this was a distinction bestowed only upon those who had taken human heads; but, since the Government has ruled against the pleasurable pursuit of head-hunting, the young stalwarts must now seek their honours and corresponding badges in other ways. If a young man kills a wild boar he does not wear the coveted incisors, but he may gain the privilege by feasting the old men of the village on cows and pigs, after which he may be allowed to go up to the mound on which the skull tree is located to hang up an imitation of a human head, made of a gourd or piece of wood; after this he is permitted to wear the insignia of real manhood. Some men wear a section of an elephant tusk on the right arm, above the elbow. This privilege is denied to all but the rich, because a section about three inches wide costs a large sum. It is the usual practice to wear the armlet only on one arm, but the men of certain sibs may wear one on each. Some men wear armlets of wood in imitation of ivory. Others

wear a wristlet, which is a strip of stiff cloth about four inches wide and thickly studded with cowrie shells. These are also a part of the warrior's decoration.

In addition to these ordinary ornaments of every-day wear, there are some which are donned only on gala days. On such occasions men wear a blanket elaborately trimmed with cowrie shells. At the small of the back some wear a small tapering basket which the braves used on the war-path to carry their panjies, the sharpened bamboo spikes which they set up in the path of approaching enemies. A number of these baskets are highly ornamented with an appendage about eighteen inches long, which supposedly bears a resemblance to a bison's horn. It is a light framework from which hang pendants of red goat hair. This basket is supported from one of the shoulders by a nicely woven sash that is fringed on one edge with red goat hair. A few of the old men wear a kind of helmet, woven of narrow strips of red and yellow cane. This headgear may be plain or may be trimmed in several ways, with feathers, a piece of bearskin, or small boar's tusks, the number and position of which tell to the initiated the wearer's record in head-hunting. Other old men wear a helmet made of bearskin, and still others have a headgear which has a circular frame-work of bearskin in which are fastened several hornbill feathers. To complete the festive robe, a kilt about eighteen inches square, all bedecked with cowrie shells, is put over the ordinary apron. This, too, was once a part of the warrior's garb.

The women, too, come in for their share of the finery, a part of which is accommodated in two large holes in the ears. Through the upper one some rings are passed that are about four inches in diameter and made of three coils of

heavy brass wire. These enormous spirals after passing through the ears are held against the temples by a braided cord of hair that reaches over the head. They are worn by all except the women of two sibs, and are considered very essential to the happiness and well-being of the wearers, who are loath to part with them. At one time I tried to buy a pair of these ear-rings from a woman, but she declared that it would be impossible to part with them because of the immunity they guaranteed against sickness. Nevertheless, after a consultation with her husband, she decided to sell her treasures. At the same time, however, she was careful to put on another pair. The lobe of the ear supports in addition a thick glass pendant about two inches square. The old-time onrmanets were of crystal and were often valued at five or six cows apiece. The Nagas say that these came from a long distance, probably from Manipur; hence the great value.[1] The bulk of the ear-drops used at the present time are made of coarse glass and are bought from the Marwari traders at Jorhat or at other places in the Brahmaputra valley at something like two to five rupees (2s. 8d. to 6s. 8d.) per pair. Some women use a small piece of wood instead of the glass ornament.

The women wear several kinds of neck ornaments. In some villages they have necklaces made of several parallel strings of slender brown beads, held together by small cross-bars of bone. In other villages some elongated beads, cut from a shell, are in frequent use, but the cheap[2] red

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1 Nowadays the Tangkhuls of the Somra Tract in Burma wear similar ear ornaments which they obtain in Burma. - J.H.H.

2 This held true in 1914, but, according to Dr.Hutton, conditions have changed since then:-"No longer cheap, alas! The fashion for cornelian in London has made them all but unobtainable."

cornelian beads are the most common. Some women have only a single string of cornelian beads, while others have a great mass of the beads covering the chest, and still others have the beads alternating with white shells and miniature bells.

A few women wear bracelets of heavy brass or iron.

The children, from the very first, have some ornament about the neck and some small thing in the ears, perhaps a tuft of dog's hair or some hornbill feathers. The girls at an early age begin to wear the same necklaces as their mothers. The big brass ear-rings and glass pendants are assumed at the age of puberty near Mokokehung, while at Merangkong, at the other end of the tribe, they are worn several years earlier.

The small boys wear neither the cotton tufts, nor the boars' tusks, nor the long white beads that the adults wear; but, on the other hand, some of them have a neck ornament of their own. A rich man who feasts his village on a mithan, or bison, may place around the neck of his boy some heavy brass rings. A poor boy may have the privilege of wearing these if a rich man puts them on him.

In the villages near Merangkong, many of the boys and even some of the young men have braided circlets of red rattan round the arms above the elbow. In these villages the children have small tassels of red thread in the lobes of the ear from each of which hangs a tiny bell.

The ornaments are really the bank accounts of the Nagas, and consequently the rich are quite elaborately adorned. Among the Nagas the dress and ornaments, to a large extent, indicate the wealth and social standing of the wearers.

Art

The development in art among the Ao Nagas is very meagre. They have their war dances, in which individuals brandish their weapons and go through the motions of fighting the enemy. They have dances at the big festivals, when a group of persons side-step in a circle while a monotonous song is sung. These dances are not on a par with those of the Angami or Sema Nagas, where a large group goes through some rather elaborate movements.

The Aos have but little decorative art. Their utensils, such as bamboo mugs, are not decorated. The trans-Dikhu Nagas make bamboo mugs with elaborate patterns, for which a heated instrument is used . The Aos, in some instances, have incised designs on the wooden block in which the dao is carried, but for the most part it is entirely plain. The decorated articles are found on the borders of the tribe, and are either importations, or else they are due to outside influence, for the villages on the inner ranges do not use this particular form of decoration. In front of some of the bachelors' houses and also in front of certain rich men's houses are some crude carvings. Figures of mithan heads are hewn out of large logs. In certain places one see the figure of a leopard approaching a mithan. In front of the cemetery the writer saw some men carving the figure of a snake on a piece of wood which was set up in front of one of the sepulchres. The writer had no opportunity to inquire into the significance of this object. The Aos have some ornaments on the garb used on festive occasions, but these are very simple in comparison with the elaborate decorations used by the Angamis. In the matter of tattooing the Aos use nothing but straight lines, while the trans-Dikhu Nagas are fond of more graceful and elaborate designs.

CHAPTER III

DOMESTIC LIFE

Houses and Villages

IN the land of the Ao Nagas the villages are some distance apart and are always entirely distinct. The Ao Naga villages are large. Intense love for the ancestral village site seems to be a characteristic of the people which keeps the villages from breaking up readily. The villages are built on the summits of big hills or on ridges. They are surrounded by the village lands, which have definite boundaries, except in a few cases. In the old days, when "head-chopping" was an honourable pursuit, it was of considerable importance to locate the villages on the high places for defensive purposes. Now that this factor is obsolete, these eyries on the towering crags are important from the point of view of health. In the days gone by all villages had elaborate defences, of which some remnants may still be seen. On the approaches to several villages one may see the old ditches or moats that were thickly studded with sharp bamboo spikes, which were usually poisoned. Many old village gates still remain, but they are now mere relics; in some places the gates stand by themselves with no remnant of the stockade, while in other places the defences are kept up for a few paces on each side. The gates are now left open day and night, and, if ever closed, it is on the occasion of some village festival; but even this offers no obstacle, for the wall and ditch, bristling with poisoned spikes, are no more. Near the gate stood the <u>ariju</u>, or barracks, of the young braves. This is the most imposing structure in the whole village. It still stands and is used, although it is now little more than a lodging-house with a museum annex, a reminder of the glorious days of old. As the majority of the

villages are built along the ridges, they are long and narrow. The houses are arranged in some order along streets, if we may dignify these crooked by-ways with such a name. The principal street runs along the crest of the ridge with a row of houses fronting it on each side. In several villages there are rows of houses one above the other, giving to the village a bee-hive appearance in the distance. Because the villages are built on rocky places the paths have many abrupt turns as they go up and down over the ledges. In many places the streets are so narrow that the extended ridge-pole of one house overlaps the house on the opposite side of the street. In spite of the fact that destructive fires are rather frequent in the dry season, the houses are huddled very closely together. But very often these fires are a great blessing, because they consume no small quantity of disease-breeding filth.

In the construction of a Naga house, bamboo is the principal material used, together with some posts and thatch grass; but the writer saw one house of which even the roof was made of bamboo. These large posts support the ridge-pole, while several smaller posts are used in the walls. The walls are made of thin bamboo, split and plaited together. The floor is made in a like manner, except that it is of heavier bamboo. For the roof, long thatch grass is bound to strips of bamboo and put on in layers, while in some villages palm leaves take the place of the grass. In the building process no nails are used, but everything is bound together by withes of rattan or bamboo splits. For the carpenter work only one tool, the dao, is used.

The ordinary Naga house is divided into two rooms. The main living-room is about twenty by thirty feet and has a bamboo floor, in the centre of which is the hearth. In the

front part of the house is a room about twnety by ten feet, without floor, where they keep the wood, the implements for husking rice, the pigs, chickens, and even the cattle. On one side of the room is a small place where the pigs are securely closed in at night; near the door is the feeding trough; while under the high threshold is a small doorway affording a convenient passage-way for the swine to go in and out. Adjoining the rear of the house is a large platform, where the rice is sunned preparatory to husking, where the members of the family do some of their work and where they hang out their clothes to dry, if they get wet. Since most of the houses are built on steep slopes, this platform is high above ground, being the one place where the cattle and pigs cannot enter. In the front of some houses is a small raised platform where the women work at their cloth-making and the men at their basket-weaving. This is also a favourite place for small social gatherings and where the women sit around and hunt vermin in each other's heads. In some houses there is a small third room at the rear of the main room where some of the household utensils are kept.

The Aos' houses are invariably dark, inasmuch as there are no openings other than the doors at the front and rear, which are not always kept open. Since there is no chimney, or opening for the smoke to escape, everything becomes covered with grime and soot. This has its compensations, however, for neither mosquitoes nor sand-flies will annoy in such an atmosphere.

But little variety is to be found in the houses of the village. There is one type-plan which all must follow, and it is only the rich who may digress from this by putting a sort of semi-circular verandah roof over the front gable or by putting up some rough wood carvings. To gain this privilege a man must give to the village several feasts of bison, cows and pigs. From time to time, as he

gives these feasts, he sets up forked posts before his house so all may know his social standing; and finally, when he has fulfilled the requirements, he alters his house accordingly. Many Nagas are ambitious to reach this goal because of the superior position it gives them in the community. Many a man, in purchasing these privileges of the rich, has made himself poor; but, no doubt, it is worth all the sacrifice it entails.

The building of a house is seldom an individual matter, but is the occasion for the gathering of neighbours and relatives, who are provided with food and a generous amount of rice beer in return for their services.

As these people have not the slightest idea of cleanliness, their villages are extremely filthy. The cattle, fowls and also the pigs are kept in their dwelling-houses. Refuse and waste matter of all kinds are thrown about indiscriminately. The pigs as they roam about the villages act as useful scavengers and remove much of the refuse. There are very few trees and very little vegetation within the villages, except for a few small gardens. However, this is a blessing for it leaves the places exposed to the purifying influence of the sun, wind and rain. Were it not for the locations on the steep ridges these places would be most unbearable. The heavy rains wash much of the filth down the steep slopes.

Furniture and Household Utensils

Although the Ao Naga house is not elaborately fitted with furniture, yet it lacks nothing essential to comfort. Inside the front door the most noticeable object is the mortar for hulling rice. This is hewn out of a large log, the top of which is about four feet long by two wide, and two feet high, while the foot on which it rests is about two

feet square. The top is hewn out into a sort of shallow trough with sides about four inches high all round. In the centre of this are two holes about six inches in diameter and eight inches deep, into which the rice is put and pounded with a long, heavy wooden pestle. On the walls are several bamboo baskets where the hens make their nests. In many houses there are skulls of cows and bison hung on the walls as ornaments. In the middle of the main living-room is the hearth, a sunken place in the bamboo floor that is filled with earth, in the middle of which are three small stones standing upright on which the cooking vessels rest. The wood is fed in from three directions, and as fast as the sticks burn off they are pushed along so that the blaze is always kept under the cookery. This also furnishes the heat and light for the house. Above this hearth are several tiers of bamboo shelves, supported from the ceiling, serving as cupboard and pantry, where are kept the cooking utensils and some of the food. At the side of the hearth is a sort of bench about six feet long and two feet wide which serves as chair by day and as bed by night. The whole combination with its four feet and raised pillow is hewn in one solid piece from a log. In the daytime it is conveniently used as a settee, for it is near the fire, where the cooking pot may be stirred and the heat may be enjoyed. Some who do not have this elaborate bedstead arrange in its stead several small pieces of split bamboo on two wooden blocks on the floor, while a block of wood serves as pillow. On these wooden beds they sleep without any mattress; the balnket that is worn by day is the only bedding used.

In the ceiling are several cross-beams from which are suspended baskets of different kinds and of sizes to

suit all members of the family. Along one wall is a row of bamboo tubes about four feet long that contain the water supply. In one corner of the room may be a small closet in which the valuables and finery are stored away in baskets. On the walls are baskets for the sitting hens, and forked sticks from which hang the different-sized gourds and various bamboo instruments, while from the ceiling are suspended several rows of egg-shells as emblems of good luck.[1] Rolled up in one corner is a large bamboo mat which is used for sunning the rice before it is hulled. This completes the furnishings of the house.

Food and Cooking Utensils

The diet of the Ao Nagas is hemmed about by restrictions due, in the first place, to the natural limitations of the land in the production of foodstuffs; next to the ignorance of the natives, who do not know how to develop what they already have; and, lastly, to the traditions and customs that have barred the use of certain valuable food products of the country.

With the Ao Nagas, as with many other peoples of India, rice is the staple food; but there are few things that an Ao will not eat. The garden vegetables are few and of an inferior quality. They have some cucumbers, pumpkings, beans, peppers, a little corn, "Job's tears" (Coix Lacryma), millet, yams and some other coarse vegetables. There are a number of edible tubers throughout these hills, so that no one who is able to dig need starve, and in the event of a poor harvest these tubers form an important part of the diet. The young and tender shoots of the bamboo are greatly relished. These, when pounded into a pulp, supply the saccharine element. A number of

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1 Isn't it to keep the chickens from dying in their youth? J.H.H.

jungle roots and leaves are used as relishes with their frugal meals. Various jungle fruits are also used, most of them sour and bitter, although a few are delicious.

When it comes to the flesh-pot there is somewhat greater variety.[1] The Aos eat meat in some form or other whenever it is available. Beef and pork are the most common, no doubt because most readily procurable, and of the two pork seems to be preferred. When an ox is killed they eat everything except the hair, hoofs and horns. They eat fowl, goat and bison, the latter being reserved for the big feasts. On certain occasions roast dog is very acceptable. They eat certain big lizards, frogs and almost any kind of game. The Chongli branch of the tribe eats certain kinds of monkey, while the Mongsen branch forgoes this luxury. One morning while travelling in the jungle I shot two monkeys. The bag made a heavy load for the native who was with me, but the thought of the feast to come seemed to cheer him, and so with a broad smile he carried his burden up the hill. At one time my gun brought down a monkey which was exchanged for thirty pounds of rice, the equivalent of four or five days' earnings of a man. All of the Aos refuse to eat the hoolock, or black gibbon. This is not determined by the quality or the taste of the flesh, but by various food taboos.[2] The Aos are quite indifferent as to the stage of putrefaction any meat may have reached.

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1 "I believe there is really scarcely any single thing that walks, crawls, flies or swims that comes amiss to their voracious stomachs, and I have often been astounded to see the filthy carrion they can devour, not only with impunity, but with evident relish. And yet, strange to say, good fresh milk is entirely repugnant to them, and they pretend that its very smell is enough to make them sick." - Capt.J.Butler in Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1875,p.324

2 Cf. "Food Gennas," infra, pp. 110,111,113.

When an ox is killed a portion of the meat is used at once, while the remainder is usually cut into small pieces and cured over the fire.

There are certain delicacies which do not find their way to the table every day. At the times when the white ants come up from the ground and begin to fly around, they are caught and roasted, when they are said to be very tasty morsels. Certain kinds of caterpillar and the larvae of hornets may perhaps be classed as choice confections. They are extremely fond of what they call dried fish, which is in a putrid state. Large amounts of this kind of fish are purchased at the bazaars on the plains, and it is eaten uncooked with the rice. Offensive, however, as this fish really is, it is not to be compared with ngapi, the fish-paste of the Burmans.

There is a very little that a Naga will not eat unless it may chance to conflict with some custom or taboo. Women do not eat eggs, but the men do. There is a kind of pigeon which the young people do not eat; their elders will, however, eat it. Milk was never used until the last few years.[1] It is not very clear why they have not used it, and on this subject one can get a variety of answers. Some say that if they were to use the milk the calves would die, while some will say that rice beer is the only drink for a real man, while milk may make a weakling of him. This prejudice is now being slowly broken, and the Nagas are beginning to drink milk. The black crow is protected by traditions, so it is not eaten.[2]

The Aos hesitate somewhat to eat bear meat, lest they acquire the mental traits of a bear, which according

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1 See note from Butler, supra, p.32.

2 Cf. "Food Gennas," infra, pp.110,111,113.

to their belief can entertain only one idea at a time and is sadly lacking in versatility. The Naga has no prejudice against eating the leavings from a white man's table and gladly appropriates the fragments that remain.

The Aos also share with others the practice of geophagy, or earth-eating, widely spread over the whole world.[1] This is common to the naked hill man and to the proudly strutting high-caste Bengali. In the United States it is practised by the several Indian tribes and by negroes and poor whites in Georgia and the Carolinas. Throughout this vast area there are different alleged reasons for this habit. The Aos eat a whitish clay which they say is salty. The women use it more than the men. The Lakhers eat it and declare it can sustain a man without food for thirty-six hours, and women soon to become mothers are very fond of it.[2]

The Aos consume a large amount of rice beer, which is used both as food and drink. In preparing this, small yeast cakes are made of rice flour and certain jungle leaves that have been dried and pulverized. These cakes are put into a quantity of cooked rice to start the fermentation. This is ready for use in a day or two, when the juice is strained off. Before the fermentation has gone very far it is a milky fluid with very little alcohol and it contains a considerable amount of nutrition; but after the process has continued this is reversed. The stronger drink is called majemtzu, that is, "the fluid of discord," a very appropriate term. The rice beer is required for the due

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1 Cf. Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol.I., p.249; also J.A.I., Vol.X., pp.467-68.

2 Lorrain, Five Years in Unknown Jungles, p.167.

observance of all ceremonies; it flows very freely at the village festivals and in fact at all times. The men carry it to the fields in gourds and also when they travel, since it is a very convenient form in which to take their nourishment. Rice beer, however, is a poor food, much inferior to the boiled rice. This is very evident in the case of porters, for those who use the rice beer freely lack the endurance of the temperate ones or total abstainers. There is one large Ao village which is entirely Christian, where the men are far better workers than those of the other villages where rice beer is freely used. Some years ago the Government used a large number of men from the hills as transport coolies on a military expedition. The men from this village stood out in such striking contrast to the others that one of the Government officials wrote to the Mission about them.[1] On a tour the abstainers will jog along with their loads much faster than the ordinary hill ponies can walk, while those who use the liquor rest often and do not keep up with the ponies. The use of tea is now coming in to some extent, especially among the Christians, and is beginning to crowd out the rice beer.

Since there is but little variety in the dietary, the utensils for preparing and serving the food are consequently few in number and simple. Boiling is the only process used, so three stones on the hearth serve for preparing all the food. The most common cooking vessel is an earthenware pot about eight inches or more in diameter. Some few, however, use brass or aluminium vessels, which are bought on the plains. For stirring the mess they use a spoon

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1 Was not the contrast partly due to the fact that the non-Christians could not get the liquor they were accustomed to? - J.H.H.

made of a small gourd or bamboo sticks of various designs. The ordinary dish for serving meals is made of a certain kind of bark. It is an oblong receptacle, something like the wooden one used by grocers when selling tub butter in pound packages. Another dish is hewn out of wood and resembles a chafing-dish. The upper part, which is supported by three legs, is like a shallow pan about twelve inches in diameter. For drinking cups they use bamboo joints about eight inches long.

The dish is held in one hand, while with the other the rice is rolled into a ball and placed in the mouth. The family sits around the hearth when eating. When the meal is finished the dishes are placed on the bamboo shelf above the hearth, where they will be ready for the next time. When the Aos travel they carry some cooked rice wrapped in a leaf, and when hungry sit down anywhere to enjoy their meal. Along the more beaten paths the stopping-places are generally near some water supply. If they wish more than the rice, they start a fire, and, cutting a fresh bamboo joint for a teapot, prepare their tea. More bamboo joints serve for teacups. When the tea has been supped they leave these improvised dishes and go on their way.

Occupations and Industries

The Aos are first and foremost agriculturists, and only a few of their number gain their livelihood in any other manner. A few Nagas have entered the service of the Government, some work for the officials and missionaries, and, since the opening of the Mission, some have been employed as teachers and evangelists. During the cool season many of the men go to the Assam valley and work in the tea-gardens. This they did as far back as 1875. As

yet there is no specialization in the industrial line, except to a very limited extent, and each household provides almost entirely for its own needs. As there are no professional builders or cabinet-makers, each man builds his own house and makes his own furniture. There is some specialization in the case of iron-work, for each village has one or two blacksmiths. There is very little difference in the industrial life throughout the length and breadth of the tribe, and one village is almost an exact duplicate of any other in this respect.

The Nagas manufacture only a few crude articles needed for their every-day use. Changki, Chapvu, and Nancham make earthen pots which are sold to all of the villages and some are even sold on the plains. However, this industry has not developed to any great proportions because the Nagas make such extensive use of bamboo joints and gourds for utensils. Each family makes its baskets of various kinds and large mats from bamboo splits. They make some pails of woven bamboo or reeds which are rendered water-tight by coating the inside with rubber sap.

The village blacksmith makes daos, spear-heads and the simple agricultural implements from iron which is brought from the plains. There are two types of bellows in use. One type has two upright cylinders with plungers that work alternately. These cylinders are merely bamboo tubes about four inches in diameter, while the plungers are slender bamboo sticks with rags wrapped about one end. At the bottom of each large cylinder a small bamboo tube directs the current of air to the charcoal fire. These tubes stop a little short of the fire, leaving an open space for the intake of air, thus rendering any valves unnecessary. Taking one plunger in each hand a man works them alternately up and

down, thus forcing a steady stream of air into the fire.

The other forge is a single horizontal cylinder in which a piston works back and forth, giving a steady blast of air because of valves at the ends. The cylinder is a hollowed-out log about four feet long by one foot in diameter. Into this is fitted a plunger which is fastened to a slender bamboo or to an iron rod. Both ends of the log are closed except for a small opening, in each one of which hangs a piece of skin or paper as a valve which opens or closes according to the direction of the piston. At each end of the cylinder is an outlet which opens into a kind of trough placed against the big cylinder to afford a passage for the air current. This trough has a division point at the middle, on each side of which is an outlet opening into the tube that extends to the fireplace. By having the valves at both ends of the cylinder the draught is steady, except when the piston changes its direction. The anvil is only a small piece of iron set into a piece of wood.

The Aos make all their own clothing, a task which keeps women busy during the cold season. Each household raises enough cotton for its own use. After the cotton is brought in, the first process is the ginning. The gin operator places a small flat stone before her on which she puts a tuft of cotton, and this she rolls out with a small bamboo rod, thus separating the seeds from the cotton. This process is somewhat on the decline, however, and the small gin of the Assamese is coming in. This has an upright framework in which two wooden rollers are arranged to run in opposite directions by a sort of worm gear when the crank, attached to one roller, is turned.

One woman with this simple apparatus can do about as much as four women with the stone and stick. The next in order is the scutching process, which loosens up the matted fibres. The cotton is spread on a mat and small bits of cotton are put over a bow-string, which is then snapped. This does away with all the lumps and makes the cotton fluffy. It is then made into small rolls preparatory to spinning. The spinning-wheel is a smooth round stick about a foot long, on one end of which is a circular stone about two inches in diameter. The operator takes the roll of cotton in the left hand, applies it to the spindle and rolls the spindle on the thigh with the right hand, thus rolling the thread on the spindle. The rolls of thread are then boiled in rice water, for sizing, after which they are ready for the loom.

It is interesting to note what Samman[1] has to say about the ginning and spinning of cotton. "The stone and roller for ginning have almost completely gone out of use,[2] for it is only among the Nagas of Mokokchung (the Aos) that they are reported as being used at the present day. This used to be a common process. Here, however, is a striking resemblance between the methods and instruments of the hillmen and skilled workers of Dacca. In cleaning, the men of Dacca use no gin, but manipulate the cotton on a board with an iron rod by a process almost identical with that of the Nagas of Mokok-chung. In spinning they use no spinning-wheel but only a whorl, even more primitive than that of the Nagas and the Miris.[3] But the thread spun by these tribesmen is rough

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1 Monograph on Cotton Fabrics of Assam, pp.88,89.

2 The Semas use them normally, as do many Eastern Angamis, Konyaks, Sangtams, Changs, Yintsung and doubtless other tribes too. - J.H.H.

3 Samman, op.cit., p.88.

and uneven and suited only for the coarsest cloths, while that spun by the men of Dacca is the finest the world has yet produced."

After the thread has been prepared, it is transferred to the loom, a simple apparatus of a few bamboo sticks and some of harder wood. The warp passes around one bamboo pole that is usually fastened to the house wall, while the other end of the warp is fastened to another stick from which a belt passes round the back of the operator, for the purpose of stretching the warp. The threads are then regulated by other sticks so that the bamboo shuttle may pass through with the woof. The weaving is done in comparatively narrow strips, three strips being required for the ordinary blanket. The general quality of these cloths is coarse and the ornamentation rather rough, but they are very durable. These Naga cloths are considered the best fabrics produced by this simple loom while those of the Mikirs are of the poorest.[1]

Cloth of a dark blue colour is in most common use, the dye being produced from the leaves of the Strobilanthes flaccidifolius, or hill indigo plant. The leaves are plucked and pounded into a pulp, which is set aside to decay, after which the mess is mixed with water and wood ashes. Into this the cloth is submerged. The cloth is then dried, after which it is boiled with the leaves of a certain plant, which acts to some extent as a fulling process. The red colouring matter is obtained from two species of madder, both of which grow in the district.

The Nagas weave all the cloths they need, but very little more.[2] As long as they cling to their tribal costume

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1 The Ao cloth cannot compare with the Angami for fineness of weaving. - J.H.H.

2 The Aos of Sutsu weave a considerable amount for the trans-Dikhu market. - J.H.H.

the art of weaving will continue among them, for no looms are likely to take up their patterns, but the industry will never assume any proportions, because it is very unlikely that any other people will assume their habit and thus create a demand for their cloths.

The Naga is not a merchant; he seems to be too conservative for that. The trade in the hills is in the hands of Marwari shopkeepers, who have a shop at Mokokchung and one at Wokha, but the Nagas do not spend large sums there. Each household produces pratically all that is needed, so that it is practically independent, while beyond this limit very little is produced. They carry to the plains some bambo. mats, ginger root, red peppers, bundles of betel leaf for chewing, some earthen pots, and some pigs of a poor quality. Some years ago they made a practice of selling rubber, but the trade has declined to a negligible quantity. The main thing which they bring back in return is salt. The iron for their daos also comes from the plains, as do most of the betel nuts for chewing. Longmisa has long been the port of entry for trade from the trans-Dikhu territory, consisting chiefly of ornamented spear shafts and mithan for feasts.

Agriculture and its Implements

The Ao Nagas cultivate their land in the most primitive fashion by what is known as the jhum system of cultivation.[1] Under the Jhum system the jungle is cut down

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1 Bucher, Industrial Evolution, p.46. calls this the hack or hoe system of agriculture, " a short-handled hoe being its chief implement." This is the method widely practised wherever there is abundance of virgin forest land, because under such circumstances it produces a larger net return than any other method. However, there has been a break in this system for they are beginning to terrace the land and develop irrigation.-(In my opinion terracing long preceded irrigation and the cultivation of rice in the Naga Hills.- J.H.H.) Cf. also Payne, J.E., History of the New World Called America, I., p.363.

during the last three months of the year, and permitted to dry until February or March, when it is burned. When the day arrives for a village to burn over its fields, the villagers must be on duty, for, if near the village, they must watch carefully lest their homes be consumed together with the brush heaps. When the field is near some other village, due notice is given that the necessary precautions may be taken. When the jungle is dry, the whole mountain side bursts out into one sheet of flame, a magnificent spectacle for those viewing it from a safe distance, but a source of anxiety to those who may be in any way endangered. If this cut jungle has become thoro-ughly dry it is all reduced to ashes, with the exception of some of the larger trees. Some of these are allowed to stand after all the branches have been cut off, while in some places they are felled and allowed to rot. A small hoe is then used to scratch the surface of the soil and mix in the ashes, after which the seed is sown broadcast and lightly covered over.

The growing crop has to be guarded carefully against wild animals such as the elephant, boar, monkey, and also against birds, which do much harm. During certain years the rats do much damage. The rapidly growing weeds must be pulled up about five times a year, a task that demands the attention of all the members of the household. The Nagas are

very diligent in attending to their crops, for on that depends their subsistence. The rice harvest begins in August and continues until October or November, according to the location, season and kind of rice.[1] The harvester, carrying a basket on his back, cuts the heads of grain with a small sickle and throws them over his shoulder into the basket. This is then carried to the small house which each husbandman has in his field, where it is threshed out by treading the grain with the bare feet. The Ao erects a horizontal bamboo pole, which he grasps to steady himself while he treads a small bunch of grain, turning the straw over and over. This process is rather severe on the feet and at harvest-time men go about with bandaged toes. After the grain is threshed out it is carried to the village and deposited in the granary. At the harvest season all the villagers work hard, but they also indulge in considerable merriment. It is a common practice for a large number of neighbours to help each other to gather in the harvest. Then the supply of food is unstinted and the supply of rice beer seems to be boundless. Squealing pigs, carried to the fields for sacrificial purposes, are commonly seen and heard at this season. This is a time when the

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1 A neighbouring tribe, the Angami Nagas, has developed an elaborate system of terrace irrigation. This is also found in the Philippines. Cf.Jenks, The Bontoc Igorot, p.88 (It is also found in Southern China.- J.H.H.) Gomme, G.L., The Village Community, discusses terrace cultivation in the British Isles and other parts of the world.

young men vie with each other in carrying heavy loads, in the accomplishment of which they declare that a generous amount of rice beer is an absolute necessity.

The jhum system of cultivation is by no means ideal. A certain tract of ground is used for a period of two years, after which it is abandoned to lie fallow from seven to ten years. This necessitates about five times as much land as is used at any one season; which means that some rather poor soil must be used, and some years the fields will be at great distances from the villages. The land is abandoned, partly because of the impoverishment of the soil and partly because of the rank growth of weeds, rendering it well-nigh impossible to keep the fields clean. The jungle roots are never pulled up, as they are needed to start a new growth to produce fertilizer in the shape of decaying vegetable matter and ashes after another cycle of ten years.

Rice is the main crop. There are two kinds, one a small red grain and the other a large white grain. In some of the terraced fields under irrigation they raise the large white Manipuri rice. They also raise some millet, "Job's tears," Indian corn, cucumbers, yams, some coarse vegetables, pumpkins, peppers, ginger, a few tobacco plants, indigo and cotton. Nothing is raised for export, and it is often difficult for a man to buy rice in another village. This is not due entirely to the scarcity of rice produced, but even if there be plenty, the Aos are averse to selling it, unless

at high prices. A man's economic position in the community depends to a considerable degree upon the number of granaries he possesses; hence he dislikes to sell rice lest he lower his standing. One man had several houses full of rice gathered by his father, and even though it was deteriorating and becoming worthless he would not sell it because it enhanced his reputation. In 1891 the political officer found a number of villagers in Molungyimsen, Molungyimchen, and Mungating growing hemp and poppy in their gardens.[1] He destroyed the plants and in addition punished the offenders. He was told that the Nagas did not use hemp themselves, but sold it to the shop-keepers on the plains.[2] After this, some of these plants were raised in the jungle where the official should not see them, but it was finally stopped.

The implements of agriculture are simple and few in number. Most important of all is the dao, which is used for clearing off the jungle and for much other work. The little hoe is a blade of iron about two inches wide and four or five inches long, tapering to a shank which passes through the end of the bamboo handle. This blade is sometimes inserted in the end of a handle when it is used for digging post-holes, as a chisel, or as a planing-iron to smooth off wooden surfaces when making a

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1 Hemp is said to have sprung up on Captain Butler's camping grounds when he, with an escort, went through the Ao country at the beginning of the survey. A narcotic preparation is extracted from the hemp plant, which has an intoxicating effect when smoked or chewed.

2 The Semas, who have tried to develop this trade recently, have also taken to smoking it themselves in some cases. - J.H.H.

mortar, dish, or pig trough. There is a little semi-circular hoe with an iron or bamboo blade which is used in the weeding process. Add the little sickle used for cutting grain and the equipment is complete. One might, however, add the conical baskets of bamboo or rattan that are used for carrying grain and everywhere else. Some also buy foreign axes in the markets on the plains for cutting wood, for which the dao proves to be rather light.

Hunting and Fishing

Although the Ao Nagas are not great hunters, they are frequently compelled to go on a hunting expedition, for instance, when the wild Hogs begin to devastate their rice-fields. When this happens all the able-bodied men of the village turn out. Going to the place frequented by the pigs, they divide into two parties and go in search of the marauders. Having located the pigs, some of the men are left to encircle them, sometimes building fires to enclose them. A number of men then go away some distance to build a V-shaped fence by driving stakes into the ground closely together. This having been completed, the younger men drive the pigs into the enclosure while the older men, spear in hand, take their positions on a platform built over the apex of the fence, from which they spear the pigs as they come rushing along. After the killing is all over, the fence is cut to pieces. This razing of the fence is due to a belief that in the future no success will attend the hunting of wild pigs if it be left intact. The young men

who sleep in the "bachelors' house" carry the kill to the village, where the meat is distributed among all the villagers. The old men receive the lower part of the legs and also the heads of the pigs; and should only one pig be killed, the head would go to the oldest man in the village. The man who kills a boar receives the tusks and the ears. If, when the process of division is going on, a stranger should arrive from another village he would receive the largest pig as a gift. Of this he would take the head and one hind leg only, dividing the remainder among his friends or among members of his own sib, if there be any in the village. In the evening all the women of the village gather before the "bachelors' hall" and sing their songs of praise to the old men who have been gallant in war and also to the men for killing a large number of wild pigs. The next day the whole village does genna, or in other words keeps a rest day.

On rare occasions a party of men will go hunting for bear. They hurl their spears and, if these prove ineffective when the bear charges, they use their daos. Deer are sometimes caught by digging pitfalls that are covered over lightly with sticks and leaves. Sometimes a young tree is bent over and a noose is put in the path of the deer. As a deer steps into this place the tree is released and he is ensnared. Occasionally a village, with spears and daos, will go in search of a leopard or tiger. Sometimes a number of people surround

monkeys in the jungle and kill them with their daos and spears, but where there are large trees this cannot be done. At times men climb trees and cut off branches on which the monkeys are hanging, letting them fall to the ground. This method can be used only on rare occasions. Some monkeys are brought low with bow and arrow. This latter weapon is also used to some extent for shooting birds, but the most common method is by means of bird-lime. Small bamboo sticks, about two feet long, are smeared with the boiled rubber sap. These sticks are fastened loosely in fruit trees, and when the birds come in contact with them they are held and in struggling to free themselves are brought to the ground. This is varied by setting up gummed sticks near some bait. A snare is also made of certain jungle fibre and baited. At Chantongia village the writer saw a boy shooting with an air-gun. It was made of a piece of bamboo about a foot in length with a bore of about a quarter-inch in diameter, into which a plunger was fitted. A green seed was fitted into each end, when the plunger was applied to one of them and it was forced through the tube, thus compressing the air until the second seed was forced out with a loud pop. Then he put in another seed and the gun was ready again. The boy said that he could shoot small birds with his weapon.

About once each year a village will turn out en masse to go fishing; and, when we consider the method used, it is fortunate that they do not go

more often. Several kinds of bark, roots, seeds, or nuts, pounded into a pulpy mass and mixed with moist earth, are dumped into the stream to poison the water. The poisons differ somewhat in their effectiveness, for when certain herbs[1] are used the fish die at once, while with others they are merely stupefied. Sometimes the fish continue to die for five or six days after the poison has been put in. To prevent the fish from floating away, a bamboo fence is built across the stream some distance down. Then the men wade out into the stream and pick up the dead or stupefied fish. Some use hook and line and still others use nets, but these are not the methods in common usage.

Social Life and Amusements

The social life of the Ao Nagas centres about the great festivals, the majority of which are religious, or about the feasts given to the village by the rich men; and in these events the village as a whole takes part. Even though the Aos must work hard to wring a bare subsistence from a stubborn soil, they are by no means melancholy or morose and enter into the festivities with considerable merriment. At the "seed-time" and "harvest-home" festivities the blood of pigs and cows flows freely, and there seems to be no limit to the supply of mirth-giving rice beer.[2]

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1 This - the Assamese deo bih - is prohibited now.- J.H.H.

2 The political officer, Albert E.Woods, tells in his diary of May, 1892, that he went to Solachu (Sangratsu) village on the fourth day of the festival, when he found the headmen of the village "drunk as owls." "They only vied with each other," he states, "in trying to get me to drink rice beer and also to believe their lies. I have swallowed a little of the former but none of the latter."

They make great preparations for the big feasts, when they have their dancing, parading, feasting and also periods of sex licence, into all of which they enter with great zest. Aside from these special occasions the men, when not otherwise employed, gather in small groups on the bamboo platforms in front of the houses or in the village council houses for a social chat, when the pipe and betel nut are freely used. The women also gather in small groups to gossip, smoke and hunt vermin in each other's heads. In the evening the young men call on their sweethearts and spend the time in singing and playing on their crude musical instruments.

It really seems as if the children have to suffer most; they really have no childhood. In an Ao village, with its narrow and rocky paths, with the houses huddled closely together, there is no place where the children may run about and frolic. When they do run about in such places as they can find it is with the burden of little sister or brother tied on the back, a burden almost as large as the bearer. Then, as soon as they are able, both boys and girls must begin to work. As soon as a child is able to carry a small bamboo water-piple he must go with mother to the spring, and when he becomes a little stronger he must go to the jungle for wood, and very soon he must go with father and mother to the rice-fields. The Naga boys use a flat circular seed (Entada Scandens) for a game, somewhat as we play marbles. In several

of these games the boys play for "keeps," so they have the elements of gambling even though they do not use money. Adults do some gambling with cowrie shells. Sometimes boys play a game which American boys call "tip up", where sticks are tossed up and struck. Children also play games where they represent animals by imitating the prominent characteristics of elephants, tigers, cattle and other four-footed beasts. They also imitate their elders, when a stone, carried on the back, receives all the attentions of the real family baby. The boys have a top hewn from solid wood that is spun by means of a string.[1] They enter contests where they bowl each other's tops over and by some method of score-keeping decide on the winner. Spear-throwing, with real spears or bamboo sticks, is indulged in both by large and small. The young men have the broad jump and the high jump. Sometimes a leaf or other object is put on the upper end of a spear and the young men try to kick that with both feet at once. In one contest the one who can walk the farthest with a large stone on the shoulder is the winner. In the morning, when the young men go to work in the fields, under a handicap, they run races with the young women, and, if they win, the maidens must provide rice beer, betel nut and tobacco in the evening.

The musical instruments are few and simple. The one instrument above all others is, of course, the big war drum. This is made of a log about

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1 This top is found over a wide area.- Cf.Haddon, The Study of Man,p.207.

twenty-five feet long which has been hollowed out through a longitudinal slit. The ends of the log remain closed and no membrane of any kind such as is usually associated with the word "drum" is used. The drum is turned so that the slit is on top, and when this thin outer wall of the log is struck with a club it can be heard for several miles. It was used to call the villagers home in case of emergency or to announce a victory. There is a portable drum, about three feet long with a diameter one-half as great. It is a hollowed-out log with a skin stretched over each end by means of rattans. It is used only for the moatsu festival and is always kept at the "bachelors' hall." New drum-heads are usually put in for each festival, when a fowl is killed and some blood allowed to trickle inside the drum and also on both heads to make it sound well. This is used for the dancing. A trumpet is made by inserting a small bamboo tube as mouthpiece into a larger bamboo about three feet long. This is used to frighten away elephants when the jungle is being cut in the fields. Buffalo horns are also used as trumpets. A sort of violin is made by stretching a string, made of horse-tail, over a gourd body, and this is played by a bow. About the most ingenious instrument is a sort of Jew's-harp. A thin strip of bamboo is so cut that a reed, fastened at one end only, works freely in a frame.[1]

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1 Cf. Playfair, The Garos, p.44, for a like instrument among the Garos.

A string is attached at the end of the reed, and when the frame is placed to the teeth this string is jerked, causing the reed to vibrate. These two latter instruments are used to enliven the social evenings of the young people.[1]

1 It is used by all the Assam tribes, I think.- J.H.H.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Internal Structure and Tribal Organization

THE family among the Ao Nagas consists of the father, the mother and their children. This group together forms the household, but practically they share the common house only at meal-times. The children, about ten years old or even younger, do not sleep under the parental roof, the boys sleeping apart in separate houses, while the girls, in small groups, sleep in like houses, or in the houses of widows. That the household is considered as a unit is shown by the temporary taboos imposed upon it, which affects this group and none other. The little circle is broken by marriage, when the sons establish their own homes, and the daughters, by the law of exogamy, go to other sibs[1] or agnatic groups.

The family, however, is not of prime importance, because the social organization is based on the exogamous sib-system. According to Ao tradition, six men issued forth from a rock at Lungtrok (literally, six stones), the traditional cradle of the human race, and became the progenitors of six patri-lineal,

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1 The term sib is used in preference to clan because the latter is used differently by different writers. Lowie in his Primitive Society, p.111, defines the sib as a unilateral kinship group which traces kinship through either parent to the total neglect of the other. "The father-sib thus embraces a male ancestor, his children male and female, and the children of his male descendants through males. Correspondingly, the mother-sib includes a female ancestor with her children and the children of her female descendants through females." - Ibid., p.112.

exogamous sibs, called kidongs.[1] Some of these sibs have, at present, several subdivisions, and some of the groups have different names in different villages.

In the case of several of the sibs, as we now find them, evidence points to a totemistic origin, for these groups do not eat their totem. The name of one group is Ózukumtzur[2] (bird-became-woman), and this sib does not eat the horn-bill. Another sib designation is Ongsichir, which means "children of a lime fruit". While the food restrictions placed upon several sibs might point in the direction of a totemistic origin, it would rather appear to be a split totem, since only a part of the animal is taboo: for instance, the stomach of the pig in one case.

The kidong (house tree or sib) is the most important division, for it sets the boundaries within which no inter-marriages may take place, and it is also of considerable importance in other social activities. In this group, descent is traced only in the male line, for, by their exogamic laws, females pass over to other sibs when they marry. The members of this group feel closely bound together, almost like members of a family. It is a common

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1 The traditions I have struck are far more complicated than this, and I do not know of any definite division into six sibs, but rather into three.- J.H.H.

2 This sib is definitely excluded from claiming ancestry from the Lungtrok stones and is fined if it does so.- J.H.H.

practice for one man to call another of the same kidong his brother, even though the relationship be quite remote. When hunting dangerous game, or when in battle array, the members of the same kidong are grouped together. Members of a kidong may be found in several villages, widely separated, and when a man visits another village, he is entertained by his kin, if there be any in that village. Each sib has a distinctive pattern of petticoat for its own women, a badge which shows the sib of origin, and this continues to be worn even after marriage.

The Aos are divided into two moieties, the Mongsen and Chongli. Their religion is the same, though there are some slight differences in customs; but the dialects differ so widely as to be almost different languages. According to tradition, these two groups began to live together in the same villages shortly after their appearance from the stones at Lungtrok. According to Dr. Clark[1] there was no intermarriage for a long time, but after they received a supernatural sign they began to intermarry, having due regard, however, for the exogamous groups, some of which include both Mongsen and Chongli. Dr. Clark refers this custom to tradition. "As the two clans," he says, "frequently occupied different parts of the same village, they saw much of each other. A couple of the young people of these two clans, who were

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1 Ao Naga Dictionary, p.477.

of first-class families, and both fine appearing, fell desperately in love with each other and greatly desired to be married. But the respective parents and clans would not consent to the marriage. But one day, outside of the village, they associated together, and at night took refuge in a friend's house. In the morning both were dead, with no apparent cause. The parents took the dead bodies to their respective houses, which were rather widely separated. The corpses, according to Ao custom, were put in Naga coffins, and placed in the upper part of the first room of the dwelling-houses, and smoking fires were built underneath to dry the bodies. The columns of smoke ascending from each house drew towards each other and commingled. This was regarded as a supernatural manifestation that the two sibs should be allowed to intermarry, and from that time the practice was allowed."[1] In the mixed villages, those speaking one or the other dialect occupy distinct sections of the village, and each moiety also has its own distinct area in the rice lands.

Among the Aos the largest unit is the village, and that is bound together by social, political and religious ties. Theoretically the village acts as a unit in all things, and if anybody

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1 Mr. J.P. Mills, after a very careful investigation, has reported that there is no foundation for Dr. Clark's report of a tradition of a time when intermarriage was forbidden. He finds that this idea rests on a misinterpretation of the story given above, and that the intermarriage was prohibited for <u>the two particular individuals</u> and not for the two divisions as a whole.- J.H.H.

fails to attend a village function he is punished. Thus in these small homogeneous communities there is but little room for any individualistic tendencies. All the men of the village must attend when the path to the rice-field is repaired, and they must contribute their quota of work for the up-keep of the paths leading to the water reservoirs. The attendance of all the villagers is required at certain religious festivals or gennas, that are observed for the sake of securing bountiful harvests, and for warding off calamities from the village. The latter has caused a considerable amount of trouble in later years, when the Christian converts have refused to take part.

For convenience of administration a village is usually separated into three divisions, called mopu. In each of these sections there is an ariju, the building and repairing of which falls to the men in each division, as well as other duties for which the whole village would be too unwieldy. All the members of this section must share in these functions or be punished. In matters of this kind the individual will is made subservient to the good of the entire group. But in many things it seems as if the individual is more important than the village.

The Ao villages are very democratic and one man is as good as any other. There are head-men who have some influence, but practically no authority; they cannot even keep the commission received from the Government for collecting the house tax and performing other duties. The head-men cannot order out coolies to do any work, but,

of course, they can use their influence in inducing them to comply. In a Naga village the will of the majority is not binding in many things upon the minority. In some cases, as given above, or where something is all wrapped about with tradition and supported by magic, there is no difficulty in compelling the individual to yield to the village.[1]

Among the Aos there is no tribal organization of any kind, although the geographic boundaries of the tribe are rather distinctly marked. It is difficult to find any one unifying principle on which the tribe might be said to depend; yet it is not difficult to recognize people not of their fold. Their physical appearance is somewhat different from that of their neighbours, even though of the same stock. On the lower ridge is a village called Mirinokpo, or Assiringia, the inhabitants of which are not Aos. They came from the Phom village of Urang Kong across the Dikhu, and settled in Ao territory many years ago. They have now largely adopted Ao customs, and most of them can speak the Ao language; but still they are not Aos, even though they are Nagas.

The Ao language, of course, is not used outside of their own boundaries, but they have the two main dialects of Mongsen and Chongli, so unlike as to be practically different languages, and within

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1 It is interesting to note the similarity between the Aos and the people of Terra del Fuego as reported by Darwin.

these there are dialects with marked dissimilarities. In their customs they differ to some extent, which is due largely to the influence of neighbouring tribes. In the matter of traditions and beliefs, with their attendant rites and ceremonies, there is found the greatest unity. Even in the these there is considerable variation, and each village has taken liberties, since there is no religious head. However, in certain things Longsa village is considered the head; and a number of festivals cannot be held until Longsa has held hers, after which the others follow in some prescribed order. Should any village hold its festival sooner than Longsa, a fine would be imposed, and doubtless such fines have been paid by more than one human head. In the old days there were alliances of several villages, and even to-day there is a sort of bond of union between certain villages, for instance, Changki, Chapvu and Nancham all use a distinct dialect of the Mongsen which is spoken in no other village.

What Hodson says about the Kabuis fits the Aos remarkably well: "A Kabui," he says[1], "owes no duty to the tribe.....he enjoys no rights as a member of the tribe; it affords him no protection against an enemy, for as often as not his worst enemies are those of his own village or tribe. He acknowledges no tribal head, either in matters of religion or in secular affairs." When we consider

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1 The Naga Tribes of Manipur, p.81

these conditions, it will not surprise us that we find no tribal organization of any kind.

The Aos believe they have a common origin, and this feeling of kinship tends to hold them together. So far as the tribe is concerned they hold fairly well to the rules of endogamy. The border villages, however, have married outside the tribe since time immemorial. This has been particularly true of the trans-Dikhu Aos. Since the Pax Britannica has compelled them to live at peace with their neighbours, the way has been opened for more marriages outside the tribe.

Slavery

Before the Ao territory was annexed by the British, slavery was rather common. It was a general practice to sell children into slavery for debts, that ranged all the way from the value of a pig, or even less, up to the value of six or seven cows. After this first sale the slaves might be passed on from village to village. A case is reported where a woman eighteen years old, deserted by her husband, was enslaved because her father had an outstanding debt of two rupees and eight annas (about 3s. 6d.) for a pig.

On the whole the slaves were well treated, almost as well as members of the family. Those who were maltreated often ran away, but villages in which they took refuge usually returned them. Troublesome slaves were sold across the Dikhu, where the practice of human sacrifice was not

unknown. In the old days it was not uncommon for one village to pay off war indemnities with slaves, and very often these were slaughtered by the village receiving them, as a propitiatory offering to the spirits of the men who had fallen in the fight. Female slaves were not allowed to be tattooed, to be married or to have children. Should one of them become pregnant, abortion was used, or the child disposed of immediately after birth. Not only did the Aos enslave their own kith and kin, but also those of other tribes. When the Mokokchung subdivision was opened up, the officials took, in many instances, rather strenuous measures to repress slavery. Surmising that their slaves would be released, certain villages sold them wholesale to the people across the Dikhu River, beyond British territory.

Marriage

Among the Ao Nagas the young people do the courting themselves and make most of the arrangements. Having found his affinity, the young man asks her if she is willing to marry him, and if she consents he gives her a present of some fish or of some other article. He then consults the parents, and if they are willing, he sends them a present, for instance, a dao or a small quantity of rice. At the time of betrothal it is usual for both persons to agree to pay the other a certain number of pigs or cattle in the event of breach of promise. The preliminaries over, the young man does little favours,

and gives occasional presents to the family of his bride-to-be, to forestall any eventualities that might deprive him of his prize. The girl also helps her future mother-in-law from time to time. Marriage usually takes place about a year after betrothal, at an age ranging from fifteen to twenty-five. The parents of the young man, with the hlep of relatives, build a house for him, to which the girl's parents supply one bundle of thatch grass. They also provide most of the household furnishings. When the house is completed, the young man may take his betrothed to his domicile as his wife without any ceremony. At times there is a custom which may be called a ceremony. A number of girl friends of the bride-elect meet at the home of her parents to hull a quantity of rice for the new home. This rice the girl's parents provide, even though they must go into debt to do so, for failure to make such provision is a disgrace. Her girl friends also give presents in the way of baskets, tobacco, salt, peppers and other useful articles. These girls also carry a quantity of firewood to the new house for cooking the first meals. The work finished, the bride's parents spread a feast for the relatives of both persons concerned, at which pork and rice beer are the two principal courses. After the repast they repair to the new house, where the older relatives advise the young couple about living together, about housekeeping matters, and

about the nobility of earnest and diligent toil. After the supply of advice has been exhausted, the gathering disperses, except for a small group of unmarried friends, who stay in the house with the newly-weds for several nights.

Should a woman, without good cause, refuse to live with a man after betrothal, or desert him after marriage, the husband may notify the wife's parents, and should she not return within a reasonable period of time, he may marry again. But if the woman marries, her first husband may report her to the village authorities, and if the case be decided against her, the new husband will be compelled to pay a fine of a number of pigs. This renders it difficult for an unprincipled woman to remarry, because the prospect of paying a heavy fine acts as a deterrent to would-be husbands. The same holds true in the case of an unfaithful man.

In the case of a man found guilty of infidelity to the wife, it was a common practice for the wife's sif, if strong enough, to kill the husband's pigs and wreck his house.[1] In one village a certain woman enticed away the husband of another, leaving her with two small children. There-upon the aggrieved woman took the bead necklace of the despoiler of her home and crushed the beads in her rice huller - a practice sanctioned by Naga custom.

Polygamy is not practised by the Aos, but divorces and remarriages are rather frequent occurrences. Separations may come by mutual consent,

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1 The Angamis have the same custom - J.H.H.

or by appeal to the village authorities. Adultery is a ground for divorce, as well as barrenness.

If a wife does not give birth to any children within five or six years, the husband is justified in setting her aside. In some cases a man may put aside his wife if she bears only female children. If there be no male children, the father's name will fade away, because his daughters must marry into other father-sibs. Widows and widowers are allowed to remarry after the lapse of one year; if they marry sooner they are fined. If the husband has been killed by an accident or by a tiger, or the wife has died in childbirth, an interval of some three years must elapse. At the time of remarriage there are no festivities or ceremonies.

The Aos are very strict about enforcing the rules of exogamous marriages. If a man marry within his own sib, the whole village will have poor crops. Because of such dire calamities anyone committing such a social sin would be banished from his village.[1]

Adult marriage only is in vogue, but, prior to wedlock, the girls are allowed great freedom. It is said that Naga brides who are entitled to wear the "orange blossom of virginity" on the wedding day are very rare. The girls sleep by twos

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1 The Garos consider this a serious matter, but are more lenient in dealing with the offenders. Playfair, op.cit., p.66.- In Lungkam the old custom was, I think, to wreck the house of the couple.- J.H.H.

or threes in separate houses or in the houses of widows, where they are visited nightly by their lovers. In regard to this, Davis[2] has the following to say: "Illegitimate children, however, are rare, and it is impossible to resist the conclusion that they are made away with immediately after birth, or that abortion is procured. The Aos have admitted to me that abortion is always procured in such cases.....The custom being one that is approved by all Nagas, it is impossible to expect them to give information of the occurrence of such cases." "The resultant immorality," Davis also says,[3] "is not so great as might be expected for the following reasons: (1) the number of men and women are, as a rule, pretty equally balanced, and (2) girls of known extremely immoral habits find it, I am told, difficult to get husbands."

In regard to (1) I should say that, according to the Census Reports of 1901 and 1911, the females are in excess of the males, and this would naturally make it difficult for some to get married. The relatively low fertility of the Naga women also tends to keep the number of illegitimate children at a low figure. This loose practice, however, is in full swing. As Davis[4] remarks regarding

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2 Assam Census, 1891, p.249

3 Ibid., p.243

4 Ibid., p.243.

the sleeping houses of the bachelors, they are seldom- used, except by the small boys, because the young men sleep in the houses of their sweethearts. A mere glance into one of these buildings will show that the sleeping-places are entirely too few for the number of men who should be there. This is a case where civilization rather helps to relax morality, for in the good old days the young braves had to sleep in their quarters in readiness for battle; but now, since all is peaceful, they need not be on the alert, and may spend their vigils in questionable practices.

In addition to this common practice, several of the big festivals are occasions of great licence, when even the married men join in the orgies. Of these practices, the Census of India[1] makes the statement that "Premarital licence, once a custom amongst all the aboriginal tribes, is falling into disfavour. With some it has already disappeared; others are confining it more and more to the occasion of certain festivals; and, where it survives, it is often discountenanced by the more respectable members of the community." In this respect the Garos seem to have advanced far beyond the Ao Nagas.[2]

The Position of Woman

Among all these hill tribes the position of the woman is inferior to that of the man. After marriage she becomes a mere household drudge,

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1 1911, Vol.I., Part I., p.248.

2 Playfair, op.cit., p.68.

and quickly loses her good looks, if she ever had any. Her position is not essentially secure until she has borne a child to her husband, so, until such a time, she must be somewhat careful as to her personal appearance. After this looks are no matter of concern. Beauty is a rare thing among them, and, if by chance it should make its appearance, it must go begging. A woman is valued by her ability to work, and consequently a pair of muscular calves far outweighs a handsome face. The young women are generally stocky and plump; but this does not last long, because the hard life of carrying wood from the jungle, doing cultivation work, raising children and performing other hard tasks soon make old hags of them.

Tenure of Land and Property

The Ao Nagas live in large, permanent villages in a territory where tillableland is none too plentiful. Private property in land is recognized, and on this subject they have rather well-defined laws and customs. "The system of cultivation by jhum which prevails.....demands long periods of rest, during which the land becomes reclothed with forest, and it is often difficult to believe that what seems an uncared-for wilderness is really jealously guarded private property of sib, family, or village. But so it is, and no quarrels have been more enduring or more bitter among these people than those relating to land."[1]

The lands of each village are well defined, except in a few instances. Before the British

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1 Report on the Administration of Assam, 1911, p.61.

Government took control the boundaries were not definitely fixed, but depended largely upon the strength of the village concerned.

In the case of fish-bearing streams there are also well-defined areas. In the early days the people of Mubongchokut (Molodubia) village claimed absolute rights to the Melak River, for some forty miles, because that stream had its source near their lands. The first officials had many boundary disputes and fishery cases to settle, and even at this late day they are called upon to deal with such matters.[2]

The village lands, those under cultivation and the jungle areas, are all parcelled out and privately owned. After a field has been abandoned for eight or ten years, and has been taken up again, each man must take up his own little patch of ground. They are marked by stones, trees or other marks, but, since they have no official records, there have often been serious disputes. No one may cut wood or bamboo on the land of another. Trespassing of this kind is dealt with seriously, and only recently a man was fined ten rupees (13s. 4d.), which was more than a month's wage, for cutting two bamboos on the holdings of another man.

All property is inherited in the male line, the daughters receiving no share to carry away to another sib. At marriage the young man receives a house from his near relatives and one-half of his father's rice lands for the first year, after which he must

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2 The writer was present at the trial of one of these cases in 1913.

provide for himself. If a second son should marry the following year, he would receive one-half of his father's rice lands for that particular year. If the father dies at the maturity of an only son, then the property belongs to him and the mother must even ask his permission to cut firewood on the land. The son is in duty bound to grant her request, but should she do this without his consent he could refuse any such privilege in the future. If there be several brothers, the eldest has the first choice of land, after which the others follow. The Naga males inherit all property, and they also inherit the father's debts. A gardener of the writer's, a man about fifty years, on drawing his monthly pay, made several trips to a distant village to pay a debt he had inherited from his father.

When both parents die, the near relatives care for the children; they never go outside of the father's sib. If there be any property, the relatives look after it until the majority of the eldest son, while if the children are all females, the property is at once distributed among the relatives in the male line. If the parents of an orphan boy left him no property, then, at the time of his marriage, his relatives will fit him out and provide him with a tract for cultivation the first year, after which he must make provision for himself.

The Administration of Justice

In general, any trouble between men of the same village is settled by the village council of elders, called tatars. To ensure justice to all, each father-sib has representatives in the council. There

is no system to give proportionate representation, and each sib may choose all its men that are old enough to serve. But they remark, "as a man chooses good posts for his house, so each sib chooses its best men to serve." Any man who is past thirty years is eligible, and, if chosen, holds office about thirty years, or until death; he may, however, be set aside for incompetence or maladministration. The number of men on the board varies from village to village and from time to time, ranging from twenty-five to eighty or even more. Their practices vary somewhat from village to village, for in some places the old men retire and choose their own successors, while in some cases the sibs do the choosing. The headman is called the tatar unger, an office which is hereditary within a certain father-sib. In a village each division or mopu has its own board of elders. There are two head-men, one senior and one junior, who belong to a specified sib. The most influential man, usually the one who has given the largest number of feasts to his village, is the chairman, while the next man in influence is the vice-chairman. The headman may hold this position for a term of some thirty years. These men pass upon matters pertaining to their own division of the village, such as do not particularly concern the village as a whole. In matters that have to do with other villages, or with the British Government, they join with those of the other divisions of the village in making up the council of elders for the entire village.

If a man has trouble, he reports it to the most influential elder in his sib, who then summons the council. If this is at a time when all the elders are in the village, the case is taken up at once, or a convenient day is fixed. They meet in the house of the chief elder, when sometimes four men of different ages, from thirty to fifty years, are chosen and sent to inquire into the difficulty and report to the council. The stories of the litigants are sifted, and if one is found guilty, he is fined. The fine may range from a drink of rice beer for each elder up to several cows as a maximum. The committee which goes to interview the plaintiff and defendant may be treated liberally to rice beer and food but they must not lead them to become prejudiced. Should the council learn that they had favoured one of the persons, the committee would then be fined. The fine is delivered at once to the elders, and if a cow or a pig, it is butchered immediately, and a small piece is given to each man, except to the chief elder, who always receives the head. In addition to this, five influential men, who must be rich, are selected, one of whom always receives the neck, and the other four each a leg. To pay for this honour they must always provide rice beer on these occasions. If a man who has been fined does not possess the requisite cow or pig, one of the elders is sent to buy the animal and the fined man must pay the price. Since the elders eat the fines themselves, they welcome strife and contention, letting none escape lest they lose a good feast.

When several new men have been elected to the council, they kill a pig and have a spread by themselves, at which time they recite the following motto of the elders: "Let every woman in this village give birth to thieves, murderers and liars. In this village, when a fine is paid to our fathers, our mothers, or to our brothers, we will eat the meat." In one village the elders, without cause, fined a man two pigs. He reported this act to the political officer, who ordered the elders to pay for the pigs, whereupon they immediately fined the man another pig because he made the complaint. At one time a man called his neighbour a thief. This remark was overheard by a small girl, who reported it to the slandered man after keeping it to herself for a period of three years. Straightway he went to the elders, and the man of indiscreet tongue was fined a pig.

In these days, when a case cannot be settled by the village authorities, it is taken to the Subdivisional Officer. In the old days, however, settlement came by the spear and dao, frequently involving a whole village in the fight.

In certain cases, where there is no doubt about the guilt of the person, it is only necessary to decide what the fine shall be. If one man calls another a thief, and the charge is not denied, the man is considered guilty. But if the charge is denied, guilt or innocence must be established in one of several ways. The accused may be requested to bite a tiger's tooth or to place his hand on a

tiger's skull and repeat these words: " I have done no wrong; I have not stolen from this man's house. May the sun and moon smite me if I have done wrong." After this oath the elders proceed to count his hogs, fowl, cattle, dogs and other possessions. Should anything disappear or should any misfortune befall him within a certain time, his guilt would be established and the fine be levied. Should there be no tiger's skull in the village, one would be borrowed from another village. Sometimes a fowl is killed and the accused drinks the blood. Should any mishap befall him within a certain number of days he would be guilty. At times the matter is decided at once, when the accused is permitted to cut off the fowl's head with his dao. If by a single blow he severs the head at its base, he is innocent. If, however, he cuts the head, strikes a wing or fails to cut the head off, his guilt is established at once.

If two men dispute the ownership of an article, the elders give each man a long reed, which must be hurled at the object in question. The rightful owner's shaft will hit the mark. However, should the marksmanship of both disputants be found wanting, the elders would confiscate the coveted prize and levy, in addition, a fine on both men. A like fate would be theirs even though both reeds should hit the desired target.

Sometimes three grains of rice, under the scrutinizing eyes of the elders so that no fraud may be practised, are wrapped in the leaf of a

certain tree, and the accused man deposits the packet on a particular stone which has some religious significance. With the sun bearing him witness, he takes an oath that he has done no wrong. After a stated interval, the elders open the packet and declare the man innocent if the three grains of rice cling firmly together. But should the grains fail to unite, the man's guilt would be established beyond a doubt.

An interesting case is reported by the Political Officer, Mr. A.W. Davis,[1] concerning the use of a certain stone for taking oaths and settling difficulties: "Last year Satamyangba accused another Longsa man of the theft of some chillies. This man denied it, and to prove his case, offered to fetch over the Lungpalung, a sacred stone situated near Jami (Chami) village, and in case Satamyangba would, holding this stone in his hands, swear that the accused had committed the theft, the accused said he would pay Satamyangba the customary compensation. To this Satamyangba agreed. Accordingly, the accused went to fetch the Lungpalung. On returning with the stone, he met Satamyangba on the road, in Solachu (Sangratsu) land, and showing him the stone, said, 'Here is the stone; take hold of it and swear.' This, however, Satamyangba was afraid to do, and said, 'I will not touch it; put it down at the foot of that tree,' pointing

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1 Diary of the Subdivisional Officer, February 23, 1890.

to a tree by the roadside. The stone was placed there. Consequent on the stone being left on their land, the Solachu people were afflicted with an epidemic of dysentery. This they attributed to the malign influence of the spirit of the stone. They sent notice to Longsa to ask Satamyangba to replace the stone in its proper place near Jami (Chami), it being his business to do so."

The Aos seem to be fond of litigation. They bring up the most trivial cases, such as stealing a few beads, tearing a cloth, or being called a thief. They seem to be very sensitive about being called thieves or slaves. The fine for a case of defamation like this was usually ten laias[1] or two cows.

Some idea of the cases that are tried by the village elders and are frequently brought to Mokokchung may be gained by giving a case reported by A.E. Woods, the Subdivisional Officer, in his diary of 1892:

"I settled amicably," he writes, "an interesting defamation case between two ladies. The plaintiff accused the defendant of having used her (the defendant's) name in a sort of music-hall topical song. The words of the song, I fancy, were pretty racy, and would no doubt shock a member of the London County Council. The defendant said she did not mean

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1 Laias are metal discs about the size of a dinner-plate. They are used as currency across the Dikhu River and are worth about three rupees (4s.) each.

to defame the plaintiff in any way, and suggested the plaintiff was not the only woman bearing the name she had used in the song. The plaintiff was hurt when she heard her name was used in connection with the song, and went to remonstrate with the defendant. Then the band commenced to play, and of course there was a row and a certain amount of scratching and hair-pulling ensued. In the meantime, a third lady appeared upon the scene, and, womanlike, she went to interfere, with the consequence that she got a slight bite on one of her fingers. I suggested that it served her right for meddling in other people's business, but, strange to say, she did not see it in that light. Thus run many of the cases, but it is a game of chance, and there are possibilities of gaining some advantages, while the council of elders is almost certain to have a feast."

It seems that many persons like to go to law because of the notoriety it gives them. In one village the elders fined a young man because he buried his father in the space between the main road and the row of bamboo structures where the dead bodies are deposited. Cheerfully the man paid his large fine, and then, with a broad smile, sat down and smoked his pipe with greater zest than ever - he seemed to be the proudest and happiest man in the village. Thus new grist is constantly poured into the mill of justice.

Occasionally very important problems arise, such as the sale of village lands, matters that pertain to other villages, or the question of a man

who wishes to marry within the prohibited limits. At such times a general meeting of the entire village is called. At these gatherings the elders are quite loquacious. The speaker emphasizes an important point by forcibly thrusting his spear into the ground in front of him.

There was no court to deal with disputes between villages, and should the authorities of the villages concerned be unable to settle the matter amicably in conference, the only resource left was to gird on the armour and meet in battle. At the present time all such difficulties are settled by the Political Officer at Mokokchung.

Weapons

The Aos, in common with the other people throughout the hills, use the dao, or handbill, and spear as their most common weapons of defence. The dao is the most common and the most useful, not only as a weapon, but for almost every other purpose. The ordinary dao has a blade about ten inches long, narrow at the handle and broadening out to a blunt end, which is approximately four inches wide. The dao is sharpened only on one surface of its cutting edge like an adze. The handle is of wood, usually bamboo, with rattan wrappings where the blade fits in.

To the Ao, as well as to the other hill-men, the dao is a most valuable possession; his narrow life is very closely bound up with it. It is his breadwinner, for with it he does most of the work in connection with his crude agriculture; it provides him shelter, for with it he builds his house and

fashions the weaving tools with which the women provide him with clothing; it not infrequently saves his life as he encounters the wild beasts of the jungle. In former days it took him on the pathway to honour and glory, for it was with this implement he severed the heads of his enemies and won the plaudits of his fellow-villagers. The Ao chops his firewood, makes his pipes, cuts his hair, carves his roast, and makes his furniture with the dao. He also uses it as a spade to make his roads and to set the posts for his house. The Naga is very skilful with the tool of all tools, and if he be given a saw to cut wood or a sickle to cut grass, he soon lays them aside in favour of the dao.

The ordinary spear is some five feet long. The shaft is a smooth piece of hardwood with an iron point about a foot long at one end, and a two-edged blade, from twelve to eighteen inches in length, at the other end. The rich men use a shaft highly ornamented with dogs' hair dyed red, and some other trimmings in black. The irons at the ends of the shafts are the same as used on the plain spears.

Some of the natives use the crossbow and arrow, but they are so rarely used as to be hardly worthy of consideration. A few of the men possess guns, mostly muzzle-loaders. The majority of the villages have one or two guns, while several have none. This paucity of firearms is not due to a lack of desire on their part, but because the Government allows only a limited number in the hands of the natives. When it became known that I was to leave the Mokokchung subdivision, I was besieged by men who wanted to buy my guns.

Because of the small quantity of powder each man is permitted to purchase, several men have implored me to buy powder for them, saying, almost tearfully, that their powder would last only a few days, after which the gun would be useless and the wild animals could destroy their crops. At one time I fired a rifle bullet into a river bank, and an Ao spent an hour or more in trying to find it. Should any lead be left lying about they will be almost certain to pick it up and use it for making bullets.

Boys use a small air-gun[1] for shooting birds. It is a slender bamboo tube about eighteen inches long, into which is fitted a bamboo plunger. For ammunition they gather in the jungle a certain kind of seed which makes a tightly fitting wad for the gun. These shots are then expelled by compressed air, due to the pressure exerted by the plunger.

For defence they use the shield and the panii. The most common shield is made of bison hide. It is about three feet long and about eighteen inches wide, bent into a V-shape, with a rattan handle on the inside, and red hair tassels that hang out over the outside from the top. Some shields are made of plaited bamboo.

The panii may also be classed as a weapon of defence. It is a sort of bamboo spike, about a foot long and sharpened at both ends, with which the ground could be rendered, if not entirely impassable, at least rather disconcerting to a barefooted enemy. Some paniis were so constructed as to enter a foot

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1 For a fuller description of this gun see supra, pp.44-45.

and break off, while others were poisoned so as to inflict dangerous wounds. These were used very freely on the approaches to the villages. The warriors always carried a supply to put down in the path so as to delay an approaching enemy, or to protect themselves from an attack in the rear when returning from a raid. When the British Government sent military expeditions into the hills, many wounds were received from these spikes, for not even heavy shoes are able to render a person immune.

Warfare

From all the evidence that can be gathered, the Aos, as well as all the other tribes in this hill section, were in a state of constant hostility before the coming of British rule. What the Aos said of one of their villages could well be applied to the tribe in its entirety, namely, "Those people have as many wars as there are hairs on a Naga's head." There was no organized warfare in which any single motive or person predominated, but an unsystematic and unprincipled struggle between groups of individuals, without guidance and with very little coherence. There were bitter feuds between villages, the origin of which, in many cases, was buried deep in the forgotten past; but they must be continued, no matter how blindly. Small and insignificant difficulties would arise, giving occasion for fresh outbursts and fresh outpourings of blood.

If a man, going to another village to trade, should be treated insolently, and this was more than probable, he would report the matter to his villagers, who must punish the insolent village. A case is reported that while some men were taking a mithan to

a certain village, the path took them through the fields of a third village, where the animal did some damage. On the return they took the same route with some cows, one of which the offended villagers killed. The owners then returned home, and an attack was planned on this audacious village. It was a common practice for a village to commit some outrage, large or small, on travellers from other villages, all of which had to be settled by implements of war.

The Nagas were determined to have their battles; the slightest pretext was used for making a raid. Sometimes, in case of an outrage, one village would send word to another that on a certain day they would make an attack, when they would meet face to face in an open space. The defensive party would go to meet the offenders outside the village, because the women and children would be less endangered than if the battle was waged in or near the village. Sometimes several villages combined to make a raid on a large scale; but more often there were the small, secret expeditions, when men hid in the jungle and fell upon stragglers along the paths. They lurked by the springs and killed the women and children as they came for water; and they fell upon the workers in the fields. When the adults were at work in the rice-fields, raiding parties often entered the village and killed the helpless women and children, making good their escape before help could arrive. Because of this the women and children went to the springs and to the jungle for firewood in large parties, and the men, whenever they were at work, kept their spears and shields within easy reach, and thus were ever ready.

There was very little, if any, bravery in this warfare, for many times when a war party would set out and find the selected village ready to meet the attack, the warriors would fall back without striking a blow. Very few persons fell by fair fight, but many fell by foul treachery, which was considered skilful strategy. The worst feature of this warfare was that helpless women and children were slain without any compunction; and the man who slew a child was held in the same esteem as one who had smitten his Goliath of Gath.

It seems that glory in war was the pivot about which the whole life and activity of the Nagas centred. They built their villages on high and inaccessible ridges, that they might be easily defended, and paths were laid out so as to give the least possible advantage to skulking foes. In the old days the villages were strongly fortified by stockades built of posts set closely together and interlaced with bamboo, the outside being studded with sharpened bamboo sticks. The main approaches were guarded with two or three ditches, the bottoms of which were thickly studded with sharpened bamboo spikes, while on the inner bank of each ditch would be one of the stockades. A single log would form the bridge across the ditch. In the inner stockade was the village gate, a rather imposing structure, about five feet wide and six feet high, over which was a gable roof. In this structure were two heavy doors, all hewn out of logs, with rough figures of men or animals carved upon them in the process of making. These gates were always closed at night by turning in sockets, at the top and bottom,

then fastened on the inside by means of heavy bars. Look-outs were posted in large trees or in a structure near the gate. Many villages were built above steep precipices, rendering it necessary to guard only a few approaches. Of these fortifications some still remain, but they are now mere relics. There are some remnants of old ditches, but they are few and far between. Near the village gates were the "barracks" or sleeping-houses for the unmarried braves. Here they kept large quantities of material for torches and extra spear shafts. Here the young men slept with their spears and daos, ever ready for battle; and in times of special danger they slept with their knees bent so they could spring into action at once.

This constant warfare was a serious burden upon the people, because of the heavy war indemnities, the energy that must be expended in building and maintaining defences, the loss of cattle and crops on account of raids, and the impossibility of developing lands for cultivation any great distance from the village. Under such conditions there was much privation and many a person had to suffer from hunger. But honour and glory were dear unto them, and this price was none too large to pay for it.

Head-hunting

To find the real cause of this unmerciful warfare which caused much misery,[1] we must turn to the

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1 But possibly less misery than the diseases consequent on annexation and administration, and certainly less mortality.- J.H.H.

custom of head-hunting, and try to fathom the motives which underlie this cruel custom.

With any primitive people, tradition and custom play a very important part; and it even enters into the bloody pursuit of head-hunting. Several old Ao men, who now wear the insignia that proclaim their prowess, say that it was a custom of their fathers, and so must needs be perpetuated. Their folklore says that this practice began with the very birth of the race, and has been continued; there was really no reason for its beginning, but it was perfectly right and fraught with much glory. In the case of some men, revenge still rankles in their breasts, and they are greatly desirous of revenging the death of relatives or near ones, but the heavy hand of the British Government stays their course. The old blood revenge, which demanded at least a head for a head, led to many a raid. A slender economic motive also appears, for the succes--sful warrior would become rich, and that meant, in other words, that he would have good crops. Such a hero would also, in some measure, secure immunity from sickness. These men had, accordingly, something to gain through the fortunes of war. Should success crown their efforts, it would be worthy of a supreme effort. But these economic motives were fundamentally religious, for to become rich meant favour with the gods.

In addition to this, some Aos say that it was a distinctly religious motive, for by killing some other villager they would be pleasing their god, Lizaba. He would help one village against outside villagers,

who were in the wrong, by causing them to stumble so that they could be more easily killed. I have, however, been unable to find anything to the effect that they carried on this practice of head-hunting because they revelled in cruelty. They did not take pleasure in tourturing captives, but they were primarily interested in getting heads and in making their escape. One writer, in treating animistic religions, makes an interesting reference to this practice. "Head-hunting, therefore," he says, "is not a mere cruelty or proof of braveness, but it is one of the foremost means to provide a man and his family with the necessary soul matter, if anyone has too little."[1]

But the most deep-lying motive seems to have been of a social nature, because a man's social position depended upon his success in war. Respect, fame and honour from one's fellows stir the heart of a Naga as well as that of the noblest soldier who ever marched under the British colours. To the Naga there is nothing more glorious than bravery and success in battle, which meant the bringing of an enemy's head back to the village, because of which his praises would be sung. Men were called boys, women, or even cows, until they had made a contribution to the village skull-house, after which they became full-fledged members of the community, and badges of honour were bestowed upon them in that they were

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1 The Missionary Message in Relation to Non-Christian Religions. World Missionary Conference, 1910, Vol.IV., Edinburgh, p.297.

privileged to wear certain ornaments hitherto denied them. The same held true of villages, for the village that had taken only a few skulls was held in contempt. It would be to the everlasting discredit of a village with a bright record to leave some small, weak village unmolested, where there would be a good opportunity to add more heads to its trophy room. With individuals and villages, it mattered not a whit if the head were that of a man, woman or child; they were all of equal value.[1] The man in a village that had taken the largest number of heads was held in the highest esteem, and he would be chosen to lead their expeditions, and on the return would walk in the rear to put down the bamboo spikes in the path to hinder any approaching enemy; he was the bravest of all, so that if an attack should be made on the rear of their column, he would have to bear the brunt of it. The women lauded this questionable bravery and encouraged it. It was difficult for a "headless" young man to win a fair maiden; hence often-times young men took vows to deprive themselves of certain pleasures until they had brought home the coveted prize. An old man who had taken five heads told me that such a man could always marry well, and to prove it he related his experience. In his prime five young ladies set themselves to the task of winning his hand and heart, and he, captivated by their charms, married them one by one, until the desires of all were

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1 Provided the child had cut its teeth, I think.- J.H.H.

fulfilled. He lived with each a number of years until a child or two had been born, and then took the next one. The last one had married another man, but, when the opportunity came to win her sweetheart of other days, she left her husband.

It seems rather strange that the women should do all in their power to encourage such practices, for it was they and the children who suffered the most, since they were unarmed and not so fleet-footed as the men. Thus it was, but still they sang the praises of the successful warrior, while they scornfully laughed at the young men who attended the feasts without the adornments which distinguished the successful warrior.

The Aos seem to have found a great deal of pleasure in head-hunting, and so it was to them a mode of recreation. Some of the old grizzled warriors who have brought several trophies to redound to the credit of themselves and of their villages, are very pround to tell of their deeds of bravery, and become both eloquent and dramatic in the recital of them.

In a prominent place in each village was the skull tree, where the fresh skull of an enemy would usually be hung up for several days, after which it would be taken, either to the <u>ariju</u> or to the owner's house. This tree was usually on a little hillock, or mound, which only the "elect" were allowed to ascend. Now, when a young man wishes to wear the war regalia, he may do so by making an

imitation skull of a piece of wood, or of a gourd, and hang it on the skull tree and giving a feast to the old men who have taken heads. Now there is no restriction in regard to ascending the mound on which the skull tree stands, but the young men, sore at heart because they may not hang trophies there, seldom ascend the hillock; they merely look upon it and envy their fathers.

Whatever may have been the motives which prompted many Aos to take heads, they did not enter upon these things lightly. When a village would undertake an expedition, it was preceded by a day of genna and fitting worship of the village gods.

CHAPTER V

RELIGION AND MAGIC

General Characteristics

The Ao Nagas, in common with the hill peoples of this section and in many other parts of India, have a simple religion. While among these various tribes it differs somewhat in detail, yet in the fundamentals there is less difference than there is between certain sects or denominations of Christendom.

To these hillmen the universe is filled with multitudes of spirits with whom they must deal. "Ghosts of the most diverse kinds," writes Warneck,[1] "lurk in house and village; in the field they endanger the produce of his labour; in the forest they terrify the wood-cutter; in the bush they hunt the wanderer. From them come diseases, madness, death of cattle, famine. Malicious demons surround women during pregnancy and at confinement; they lie in wait for the child from the day of its birth; they swarm around the houses at night; they spy through the chinks and the walls for their helpless victims."

All such phenomena as these simple people cannot explain are charged to the operations of the gods. During the hot season of 1913, one of the deities was said to have led a man into the jungle, where he was kept for several days, after which he was returned to the village. To avoid any repetition of this, the villagers made sacrifices and set up sharpened bamboo sticks in the path as a barrier against further depredations of the gods. It is a very common

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1 World Missionary Conference Report, 1910, Vol.IV., p.9.

practice for an Ao to say, Tsungrem metet (God knows), when he is questioned about something he does not fully comprehend.

The Naga cringes in fear before the unknown powers, all of which seem bent on working harm to him. This fear is very real and he is pathetically in earnest; he is bound and fettered by it; he is a veritable slave. Because of this many would say that his religion is absurd and unreasonable, but when the stern realities of life, with its almost limitless suffering, have to be faced, and when we consider the barrenness of his social environment, we may be more merciful in our judgments. The primitive man is face to face with the old time-worn problem of suffering; he sees how the innocent suffer, seemingly without cause. And so it is really the most natural thing for him to assume that all about him there are malevolent spirits, or demons, that produce all this misery.

"Where life is mainly struggle," remarks Clodd,[1] "man is ever on the watch against malice-working agencies." It is the fear of these unseen forces that moves him to enter into his religious observances.

"When.....primitive man," says Jevons,[2] "realized that he was in the hands of a mysterious and supernatural power, it was inevitable that he should cast about for some means of entering into satisfactory relations with that power." He must from the cradle to the grave find his way among hosts of lurking spirits that are all working against him, and he must bargain with them for practically every step he takes. He must try to court their favour or at least he must do something that they may turn aside their animosity.

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1 Tom Tit Tot, p.55.
2 Introduction to the History of Religions, p.20.

The effort to placate these malicious spirits finds expression in a variety of ways; and all the rites and ceremonies are directed to this one end. These various observances are now wholly traditional; the people do not know why they observe certain rites in a particular way, but these rites are treated in all seriousness in spite of the vague ideas that surround them.

The propitiation of the evil and capricious spirits is practically the sum and substance of their religion. There is no idea of worship or reverence; there is neither joy nor a feeling of religious consolation, as in Christianity, although some do have a slight feeling of comfort, since they have done their full duty and have seen signs indicative of an appeased spirit. Were it not for this buoyancy which comes from a sort of assurance that the spirit is now friendly, or has, at least, been induced to refrain from harm, the lot of these people would be a dark one indeed. There is very little of morality attached to this religion. A man does not avoid stealing a poor widow's pig because it is wrong to do so, but because he may offend some spirit and harm may come to him. The reason why the strong do not take undue advantage of the weak is because they fear the spirit of the injured person will have its revenge. Thus the superstitious beliefs do have some effects upon morality, even though the motive be low.

The after life has no bearing on the present conduct of the Aos, their one great concern being to appease the deities, that their smiling favour in the form of good rice may be had in abundance.

Among the people "to be religious means to be true to the traditions of the tribe," and everything in the routine of life is bound up with some belief, tradition or superstition, which is an integral part of the religion. A person's life, in all its aspects, is guided by his religious beliefs and practices. He is ever dogged by some spirit, generally cruel, with whom he must make his peace, and so must walk accordingly, and consequently his religion is more than a Sabbath-day ornament.

The religion of the Naga is intensely practical. He performs his rites lest the mysterious powers about him bring calamities to his door; he refrains from work on certain days that he may have good crops; he goes through the appropriate ceremonies that he may have water in the spring; and he sacrifices at the village gate lest the dread pestilence come stalking boldly in and ruthlessly claim both hoary age and stalwart youth as his victims. It is the physical necessity of protecting men from bodily harm and of getting food in abundance that dictates in large measure in regard to the religious observances. The observances to this end are not dependent upon some individual, but the entire social unit, the village, joins in it. These various activities are for the benefit of the village in its entirety, and so all must contribute their share.

The Aos have a general idea of a good deity, but he does not interfere in their behalf, and so they pay no attention to him. The sacrifices are made only to those who might work harm. They also have a strong belief in fate, their destiny being

assigned to each one at birth. They worship no idols or embodiments of ideas in material form. The nearest approximation to this is to be found in the belief that certain spirits take up their abode in material objects, chiefly in stones, but they worship the spirit abiding there and not the rock.

In the religious rites and sacrifices of the Aos there is much make-believe. When a man carries a fowl to the place of sacrifice he groans under it as if it were a tremendously heavy load. When an important sacrifice is made, several hundred tiny packages are made of liver, small bits of meat, and other dainties, on the plan of a good meal of theirs. All this is done to impress the heavenly hosts with the importance of the offerings. In all offerings the bulk of the consecrated gift is eaten by the worshipper, while the gods receive the shells of the eggs, a few feathers and the feet of the fowls, whith some very small bits of meat.

The Leading Gods

The Aos have a number of gods. The most common are called Lungkijingba, chief of heaven; Lizaba, chief of earth; and Mojing, chief in realm of departed spirits; in addition to whom there are many others not so definitely named. Tsungrem is the general term for deity, of which there are several; for instance, kimung tsungrem (house site deity), ki-tsung tsungrem (house deity), and arem tsungrem (jungle deity). The first part of the term for deity, tsung, is used in words that connote the idea of divine, heavenly or supernatural, as shown in such words as

tsung-ru (divine favour) and tsung-pret (deity flash or lightning).

Lungkijingba (stone house deity) is the great god, the highest of all the gods, and is supposed to live high up in the sky, because of which he is sometimes called Anung tsungrem ("god of the aerial expanse"). He is the one who fixes the dome of his stone house as on a throne, where he pulls to pieces certain leaves, pronouncing on each piece a fate or destiny. The spirits of men come and each one picks up a piece of leaf, and the fate pronounced upon it becomes his lot in life. But since there is no mark on the piece of leaf, telling what particular destiny it portends, the great god does not know what is to be the lot of each man; it resolves itself into a mere blind game of chance. Even though the destiny of men is supposed to be fixed in this way, other deities have power to afflict mankind. Since Lungkijingba does not afflict men's spirits he is not the recipient of as many attentions as the other gods. However, he may give orders to certain other gods to afflict men, or to desist from afflicting certain mortals. The village as a whole makes no offering to him, but individuals, through the soothsayers, occasionally do, to gain some special favour, such as a more favourable fate than was granted at the beginning, or that some affliction may pass away.

Lizaba, or, by a slightly different spelling, Lijaba, means "earth-walker". He is the deity that appeared on earth and walked as a man among men; he is also considered the creator of the earth. He is

the deity living in closest relation to men, and with him they have the most dealings. Consequently most of the offerings go to him. He has charge of the rains and storms, and consequently the food supply is in his hands; he also commands sickness and disease into what houses and villages these are to go. In the old days Lizaba used to appear once or twice each year in certain Ao villages, when he would bring with him portents which would forecast coming events.[1] If he brought a bamboo bottle containing blood, an epidemic of dysentery would be inevitable; if the bottle contained peas, beans or corn, small-pox would come; if it were rice, then rich harvests would be assured; and, if it were a dao, wars could be expected. Lizaba would always come quietly as a stranger on an errand, and would be entertained hospitably in some house. As soon as the stranger's identity became known, there would be feasts in his honour, and other villages, hearing the news, would also keep their rest days and feasts. Since the British annexed the Ao land, Lizaba has not appeared. The Aos say he has gone on a journey to the ends of the earth. Now when Lizaba desires to communicate with his chosen people, he makes revelations in dreams to some, who are especially near to him, in the village of Longsa.

Miuching, or Mojing, is the ruler in the abode of the departed spirits. He is said to have been an Ao man who aspired to the headship of the

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[1] Cf. Maweno in Hutton, The Angami Nagas, p.182, and Litsaba in Hutton, The Sema Nagas, p.195.

Lungkunger sib, but, failing, he departed to the realm of the departed spirits, to become its ruler.[2] When a man dies, his spirit must pause at Miuching's house, where it will be judged, and be assigned to its proper place. If a rich or influential man of the Lungkunger sib dies, it is customary for his relatives to blacken his face, that Miuching may not recognize him and torment him, to avenge his defeat in the contest for the primacy of the sib while on earth. The Aos say that if Miuching wishes to build a new house, a large number of men will probably die on earth, because their spirits are needed as workmen for the building operations, and when he desires to make a big feast, many women and children die and go to his abode, to sing his praises at the festivities.

Creation

To Lizaba is given the credit for the creation of the world. The outlook of the Aos is very limited, and to them the world contains their own little territory, and that of a few others of the neighbouring hill tribes, together with the portion of the Assam valley that is visible to them from their hills. But, even though he is called the earth-maker, yet by their tradition he did very little; he only levelled out the Assam valley. When he had smoothed out the present valley, and was ready to begin operations on the hills, a cockroach came and told him that war had broken out. Because the war demanded

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[2] Cf. Clark, Ao Naga Dictionary, under Mozing.

his immediate attention, he discontinued his work, never to take it up again; consequently we have the rugged hills where the Aos live.

Tiaba (the creator) is said to have created man. This term is sometimes applied to the chief god, Lungkijingba. In their traditions man is said to have come from Lungtrok (six stones) near the village of Chongliyimti. Six men, the progenitors of the human race, came from this place, but I could not learn what part Tiaba had in bringing forth these men.

Worship of Deities

The Aos worship their deities by making sacrificial offerings. The worshippers devour the offerings themselves, while the gods receive a few feathers or the feet of the fowl, or perhaps a small piece or bit of pig's intestine. Although the gods receive only some tiny bits of the meat, yet they get the animal's spirit, the Aos say, which is its very essence.

As has already been stated, a village as a whole does not worship Lungkijingba, because he is too far removed to exert any direct influence for evil; but individuals make their offerings to him. When the soothsayer is summoned to perform the ceremonies the owner of the house gives him a cock, some rice, dried fish, dried pork, salt and rice beer. Of each of these comestibles the soothsayer takes some morsels and, doing them up in small packages, fastens them to the main post of the house. This finished, he will flourish the fowl over the man's head, as if to sweep away any adverse fate

that might be hovering over him, mumbling meanwhile a prayer that no dire calamity befall anyone of the household; that the descendants may become great, both in numbers and fame, and that material blessings may richly come to their lot. After this the soothsayer, taking the fowl with the rice and other dainties, departs to his own house. Much importance is laid upon the dream the man of the house may have during the following night, for this will show whether or not the petition has been received. The following day the soothsayer goes to take down the small parcels from the pillar in the house, and casts them into the jungle. At this time he receives a male pig to be taken to his house. He may take it alive, but Lungkijingba may be induced to be more favourable if it be killed at the main post of the donor's house. It is a somewhat hazardous undertaking to petition for a more favourable fate; hence the killing of this pig and the tying of another bundle to the post is considered a wise procedure, especially if the dream of the night before has not been as propitious as might have been desired. The next day he throws this second package away. After the completion of the ceremony, the family in this house will be under a taboo for six days.

There is another ceremony, considerably different, although it has the same purpose, and is directed to the same god. In this ceremony no fowl is used. The householder gives the soothsayer a small earthen cooking pot, in which he places

some cooked rice, some dried fish and dried pork. This is deposited in a small basket and tied to the central post of the house. If the sacrifice is made on behalf of the man of the house, he gives six small bundles of iron strips[1] to the soothsayer, after which he moistens his forefinger in his mouth and touches the bundles of iron; if he has a diseased spot, he touches it with the moistened finger. This iron and the basket of food is then devoted to Lungkiiingba, when this prayer is uttered: "Bound feet, bound hands loosen! continually bountiful harvests give; sons and daughters give! " The soothsayer waves the bundle of iron about the worshipper, as if to brush away all evil, after which the bundles are tied to the post. He then goes to commune with the deity in his dreams. The next morning he returns to the worshipper, when they compare their dreams, to ascertain whether or not their supplications have been accepted. This completed, the soothsayer, taking the bundles of iron, which are his fee, departs for his home.

Since Lizaba is the one who has the most intimate dealings with men, a village as a whole worships him at least once a year, in addition to which individuals make their offerings at special times. Near the gates of each village there are one or two altars for this worship. These altars are formed of two rows of stakes driven in the ground, crossing

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[1] Clark, Dictionary, under jabili. Each bundle is supposed to contain iron sufficient for making a dao.

each other so as to form the letter X. The offerings are placed on the ground at the foot of these stakes, on the side nearest the path leading into the village. At these altars none but the village priests may officiate. Bringing to the altar two fowls, a pig, a quantity of boiled rice and some cooking pots, and carrying each one of these separately, they groan loudly in order to impress Lizaba with the importance of the offering he is about to receive. To begin with, some leaves are torn up, and about sixty of the pieces are arranged at the altar, on each of which is laid a little of the rice, six small pieces of fowl liver or gizzard. Beside each leaf plate is placed a little rice beer in a leaf cup. Then over these little heaps are placed other leaves, and the same performance takes place with the meat and the fowl, rice and rice beer. After the fowl offering has been made, the pig is killed by piercing the heart with a bamboo knife. Then the priest invokes Lizaba, asking him to accept the life or the spirit of the animal, after which the offering is made exactly as with the fowl. When this has been completed, the head priest offers a prayer, imploring that good fortune may come to the village in every way. No food is touched until the sacrifice has been finished, lest the gods should be offended, but immediately after this the priests have a bountiful feast, and the next morning also they have another feast at the same place. If anything remains after this second feast, it is left. The cooking pots and the baskets in which the pig and the fowls were carried are hung on the altar. The day of this

sacrifice is observed by the whole village as a rest day, while the priests are taboo for six days. On the following day each family brings to the field an egg, which is offered to deity.

No one will touch anything placed on Lizaba's altar, not even the village pigs, they say. It is considered a favourable omen if the crows eat the offerings. This the most elaborate sacrifice is called Lizaba kulum.

Each year before beginning to cut down the jungle on the new rice lands, they have a day of worship called imkong ao, in order that none of the villagers may be seriously injured while clearing their fields. This offering is made at the Lizaba altars, near the village gates. The priests, taking a cock, a pig and dog, wend their way to the appointed place, where the fowl and porker are sacrificed as in the elaborate worship of Lizaba kulum. This having been completed, the dog is killed and left at the altar. The entire village observes a day of rest at this time.

In the spring before the Aos may begin to sow their rice they have a day of worship called tenden mung. On the morning of this day one of the priests, taking a cock, an egg, some cooked rice, some rice beer and a handful of seed rice, goes either to his own rice-field or to some other convenient place near the path to the fields. Having reached the appointed spot he offers the fowl to Lizaba, meanwhile praying for a prosperous year and for bountiful harvests. After the savoury odours of the sacrifice have reached the deity, and his favour has been won, the priest sows his handul of rice on a little plot of ground, and encloses it

with a bamboo fence. His official duties now finished, he proceeds to feast on the fowl. In the middle of the little enclosure he sets up a bamboo stick, to which he ties some small packages of meat and rice, together with the egg-shell, some feathers and the feet of the fowl. At the top of this stick is inverted the basket used for carrying the fowl. On the fence he hangs the bamboo joints that served as beer mugs, together with the crooked stick that served as a hoe for covering the seed. After this he returns to his house, under strict taboo for several days, when even his own family must leave his house. He enters his house, where he must sit down on his wooden bed by the fireplace, and remain there for three days without sleeping. If he fails to do this, the stalks of grain will be weak and the roots will not go deeply into the soil. The way in which the rice in this tiny enclosure germinates is a portent of the way the rice will grow for all the villagers. On the fourth day his brethren in the priesthood open the door of his house, and give him some rice beer, and this ends the period of strict taboo. His fellow-villagers prepare beforehand his food for these three days' vigil. Then, after the lapse of a few days, he will take another fowl out to the little enclosure, when he will make another sacrifice, invert the basket he hung on the stick before, and eat the fowl.

The priest who officiates this time remains under a taboo until after the harvest. The day following this miniature rice-sowing is observed as a rest day by the entire village, when they must

have no dealings with persons from other villages.

When the rice in the little enclosure has attained a height of some six inches, the priest who officiated at the sowing will pluck some of the leaves and, eating them, say, "The leaves are very bitter," thereby giving due notice to the destructive birds, rodents and larger animals that the grain is not good for them, but is destined for human consumption. The next day is observed by the village as a rest day, when anyone who absents himself is fined.

Ordinarily in the month of June they have the jameja, or aren tsungrem ajaba mung, when they invoke deity to give them good crops. At this time the officiating priests take two fowls and a pig to Lizaba's altar, where they make their offering and eat the fowls and one-half of the pig. The other half of the pig they give to the board of elders, who in turn give them half of a cow, which they have killed for the occasion. The priests and elders keep this as a sacred rest day, and the following day is kept by the village as a whole. At this time no one is allowed to go to another village lest the bountiful harvest depart with the wayfarer. For three days for a like reason no grain will be sent to another village.

The tsungrem mung, or asum ku mung, is a festival held at harvest-time, in some places before and in others after harvest, as a sort of harvest festival. On the first day one or two pigs are cut up into small pieces, and one piece is delivered to every house occupied by a married couple or widower,

the widows being omitted. These pieces of meat and a few grains of rice are placed on the hearth-stones, and being sizzled somewhat, are given to the children. Should there be no children in the household, some will come from other households to enjoy the tasty morsels. This is an offering to Lizaba, when the householder petitions him for bountiful crops, health, wealth and honour for his household.

Ordinarily this is a three-day festival, but at times it lasts longer. The first day is a sort of preparation, when they provide the wood and hull the rice for the following days. They must not go to work in the fields, but they may go fishing. On the following days they refrain from work, except that which is necessary in the preparation of their food and drink. In carrying water from the springs they put the bark strap over the shoulders instead of over the head; if it is put over the head in the usual fashion the hair will come out and they will also be afflicted with boils. On the last evening of the festival, before the doors are fastened, an old, cracked cooking pot is taken and thrown into the street with the statement that all the provisions have been used up in the sacrifice, so nothing more can be done for Lizaba; and he is asked to receive this broken vessel. After the harvest has all been gathered in this is an appropriate ceremony, when they dismiss the god Lizaba, as being of no further use until they begin to make preparations for the next year's crop.

This, which is really the harvest festival, is an occasion for the consumption of large quantities

of hilarity-producing rice beer. It is the time chosen by some rich men for giving their feasts to the village, thus enhancing the merriment. It is also a time of sexual licence.

Once each year they have a religious festival called talen pusong. This is celebrated on the main path leading to the rice-fields, near the point where the branches lead to the individual fields. The priests build an altar resembling a Lizaba altar at the village gates, and here they offer parts of a cock and a pig, when a prayer is offered asking that abundant crops may be theirs, and that no harm may befall the villagers as they go back and forth to their fields. This done the priests have their feast of pork and rice beer. While the priests have been performing these solemn rites the men of the village have been engaged in clearing up the path. Then the priests give to each man a small portion of meat and rice beer. If there be anything left over the priests divide it up among themselves. At this time there is no rest day for the village, but the priests who officiate are taboo for three days.

There is an optional day of worship, called im jashi, or aren jashi. At this time a fowl, a pig and a dog having been offered, appeals are made to deity for good harvests, for abundance of meat to eat, for success and for glory in war, and for general prosperity.

In addition to all of these there are sacrifices made by individuals, in their own rice-fields, in each of which there is a small altar. Sacrifices

are also made at the individual granaries, that the yield of rice may be abundant; and other sacrifices are made from time to time, as the occasion demands. All of these religious festivals have practical ends in view, that is, they are for the purpose of securing bountiful crops, prosperity and the blessings of good health.

In all these sacrifices, six seems to be the perfect number. They put six pieces of liver, six pieces of meat and the like into each of the small bundles, while the packages go in the multiples of sixes; that is, thirty, sixty, one hundred and twenty, etc. Sometimes, however, they throw in a few extra packages for good measure, to make sure of the smiling favour of the deities.

Ancestor Worship

Among simple peoples "the dead friend and brother becomes an enemy, and his coffin and grave are the abode of terror. It is fear that occasions the worship of the departed."[1] This holds true of the Ao Nagas. In the late summer a pig or dog is sacrificed at the place where the remains of ancestors were deposited. However, this is not a general practice, but is done to drive away sickness and to bring good crops. Thereupon a new cloth is spread on the ground near the grave, and if a butterfly or grasshopper light on the cloth, an attempt is made to catch it and carry it to the house. If the insect is caught they are thereby assured that the spirit of the departed made a

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[1] World Missionary Conference Report, 1910, Vol.IV., p.9.

friendly visit to the family during the night; but if not caught the departed did not accept the offering and his spirit failed to make the desired call. The men who have received large inheritances from their ancestors make offerings each year, for they have great things to expect. Men who hunt also do this yearly, in order to be successful in the chase.

Worship of Natural Forces

Among the Aos, although there is no distinctive nature worship, there is something which closely approaches it. In a way there is a sun worship, but it would be more accurate to say that they worshipped the deity who controls it and its beneficient rays. When the weather is inclement for several days, the priests collect a number of eggs, and, going to a particular spot, break them and eat them raw, hanging up the shells for the deity. Then they implore the sun deity to grant favourable weather; otherwise the villagers must suffer from lack of food. This is followed by a rest day, when the priests go from house to house, drinking rice beer and singing praises to the sun. At times they sacrifice cows and pigs to the ruling spirits of the sun and moon. According to the Aos this has been a customary practice from the beginning of time, and should it not be kept up, the pigs and cattle would die and the crops fail. At some of the other festivals they appeal to the deities of heaven and earth, of the sun and of the moon, to be favourable unto them.

Stone Worship

In the Ao territory there are several stones which are said to be the abodes of deities, near which

offerings are made. Stones or large boulders that have an unusual appearance are believed to be dwelling-places of spirits. The people have rather indefinite ideas about these deities, which have long been worshipped, for what reason they know not; however, it is a safe procedure to make their peace by offerings, lest some calamity befall them. In some instances the sacred stones are within the villages, while in others they are in the jungle. They make the usual offerings of fowl, pig and rice beer, from which there is always an ample residue for the officiating priets. When the stone is at some distance in the jungle, the old men and the head priests do not go, but the younger men and the under-studies in the priesthood attend to the ceremonies. After the sacrifices have been offered, a cock is set free, and an invocation made to deity. When the solemn service is ended and the party turns homeward, a dog is killed and left by the side of the path as an additional offering. The priests are the only ones to eat of the sacred meat at this time. If anything should remain, it must be thrown away and not be carried back to the village.

There are certain stones, usually kept in the grain-houses, that are sure to bring increase and prosperity to the possessors. Deities abide in them, to whom offerings of eggs are made in the usual method, when the deity receives the shells and a few morsels, while the balance is eaten by the suppliant. In exchange for this offering he implores the gods to inundate him with showers of temporal blessings.

In the beginning of things the Aos had no water, so they drank the juice of the rattan. When water was found they made an offering of a male pig, and ever since then they have made offerings to the deity who controls springs. No one has ever seen him, no one knows where he lives, but every year they propitiate him by offering up a pig.

The Priesthood

Each Naga village has a set of priests who attend to the religious welfare of the community. Since the Aos' religion consists in following tradition to its minutest details, it is the oldest men who are the best religious leaders. It is incumbent upon the oldest male in each sib to serve as a village priest, called putir, unless something should incapacitate him for the duties. Among them there is one chief, called putir-unger, and the office is, supposedly, hereditary within a certain sib. This man is really the highest official in the village, although he has nothing to say in regard to civil or military affairs; but, since the life of the people is so closely bound up with religion, he holds the position of highest honour. He holds his office for life, or until infirmities lay him aside. The priestly duties impose no great burdens, except when each must take his turn at the tenden mung.[1] For ~~this~~ this inconvenience, as well as for that entailed by some of the taboos, they receive ample compensation in the way of sumptuous fare at every occasion of worship where they officiate, at the time of village feasts.

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[1] See "Worship of Deities," tenden mung, p.83.

Moreover, once each year rice is collected to pay for the fowls and animals used in the village sacrifice during the year, the remainder of which goes to the priests. Some of this they may exchange for meat and rice beer, and thus fare sumptuously while it lasts. Also, when collections are made for the entertainment of village guests, the priests receive a liberal portion. The pay of the old men in office is fairly liberal, but the younger men do not object, because they are looking forward to the time when they will fill some of these lucrative positions. These men are immune from any fines or village work, and in the village assessments they pay less than the ordinary rate.

Since the priests are the oldest men in the village, death frequently invades their ranks, but the prevalent idea is that they are more liable to sickness because of their intimate relations with the deities and because of the responsibility for the religious welfare of the community weighs heavily upon them. The gaps are filled from the second ranks of the priesthood, called <u>putibangmi</u>, who are the next to the oldest men in each sib. The initiation ceremonies are held at the house of the head village priest, where all the priests gather, the initiate supplying a fowl and a quantity of rice beer for the banquet. <u>The putir-unger</u> kills the fowl, meanwhile exhorting the novitiate to be faithful in the trust that is now placed upon him. He then invokes a blessing upon him and his family, asking that health and prosperity may be their lot

and that they may be saved from any of those forms of death which bring a curse upon the household.

These putibangmi, or second-rank priests, assist the first-rank priests in some of the ceremonials, and on certain occasions, when a sacrifice is to be made in the jungle, they officiate. When the village clears the path to the field these priests kill a pig and distribute it among the workers. When the village kills a pig for some guest, these priests act as deacons and distribute a small portion to each house in the village.

In addition to these village priests, there is another class called nokor, whose duties are to the sib and not to the village. In the case of death by accident it is their duty to minister to the needs of the stricken family, which for a time is socially out-caste; they also make the coffins and are the pall-bearers. When any member of the sib kills an animal, certain portions are always given to these priests, as their fees for official services. In the event of sickness in a home, certain old women give assistance, for which they receive a small package of salt. They are the eight oldest women in each sib. A woman belongs to the sib of her father and to members of this group she renders her aid.

In villages that have both Chongli and Mongsen people there is a double set of priests.

At times when a single family performs some religious exercise, a soothsayer may act as priest; the head of the family officiates at the private altar in the rice-field, and at the time of tsungrem mung,[1]

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1 See Section on "Worship", p.85,

when the house-site god is propitiated, both husband and wife perform the priestly functions. At a certain prosperity-involving feast, imzashi, the civil officials perform the rites.

Divinations

In the majority of Ao villages there is at least one diviner, or soothsayer, called arasentsur, who may be of either sex. The diviner is a person who has many dreams, and is liable to work himself into more or less of a trance, when he is purported to commune with the deities and with the departed spirits, and to see things not revealed to ordinary mortals.

In case of sickness a soothsayer is called to the house, to hold converse with the spirit world, to learn what must be done to accomplish the release of the spirit of the sick. He may receive a fowl, some rice, some fish, rice beer, and other dainties, part of which he offers as a sacrifice in the jungle. While thus engaged he is supposed to go into a trance, and hold converse with the spirits on behalf of the ill person. He will then deliver the heavenly message to the family, telling whether or not the sick one will die, and, if a sacrifice is to be made, what must be offered, and where the rite must be performed. Instead of going to the jungle, the soothsayer may remain in the sick man's house, when he will look steadily at a particular object until his muscles become tense and he loses consciousness. After some time the bystanders arouse him, but with no small difficulty, since massages, rubbings and applications of various herbs are necessary to restore him

to consciousness - a performance that cannot fail to impress the onlookers with the genuineness of the affair.

Sometimes the wielder of the magic art will take a leaf-cup filled with rice beer, and tipping it slightly to one side, will affirm that on the surface of the liquid he sees the sick person's spirit, as in distress it moves about in the jungle. He sees also the exact place where the demon seized the spirit, and accordingly is able to tell where the sacrifice must be made. He may also pull some leaves to pieces, and throwing them, watch to see which side turns up, that he may read the omens.

Occasionally men are anxious to learn the condition of their departed relatives and call the necromancer to confer with him. He is given the usual fowl and other eatables, which he is supposed to deliver to the spirits, and on resuming consciousness he is to report the conversation he had with the spirits. All these articles of food go to the diviner; and he receives them in rather generous proportions.

The soothsayer pretends to see some coming calamity. Occasionally he will tell some person that he sees in him signs of serious illness, for which it would be well for him to consult the omens and perform the proper ceremonies; or a man may have some doubts about his health, when he will consult the diviner, only to have his fears multiplied so that he will perform the proper rites to avert calamity. Sometimes he may cast out hints that in the clothing or ornaments of some rich man he sees unmistakable

evidences of impending evil. When this reaches the man's ears he will be almost certain to summon the seer that evil may be warded off. For this the soothsayer makes a sort of brush of leaves and sticks which he flourishes about the house, striking the walls, the clothing and furnishings of the domicile. After this he cuts off small bits from the posts, mats, cloths and bamboo lashings, which, together with the brush, he throws away. Then he may take a torch and, touching the different parts of the house with the flame, complete the purification. For this he receives a fee in the shape of some fish, a fowl, a quantity of rice, dried meat, salt and any other provisions that may be on hand.

Sometimes the soothsayer will warn a family that some member is fated to meet death by drowning, by falling from a tree, by snake-bite, or by some other sudden calamity, which the gods send because of some awful sin committed by the family. To avert this there is an elaborate ceremony. Some member of the household accompanies the diviner to a jungle stream, over which is built a platform, on which the man hangs some ornaments. The diviner binds together a bundle of leaves with which he strikes the man as if to brush away all evil. Then either a fowl or a dog will be killed and placed on the platform. If the water rises and carries this platform away, the omens are favourable. The platform is built close to the water, so during the rainy season the probabilities of favourable omens are comparatively high. While on this mission these two men do not speak to anyone they meet, lest the benefit of the

ceremony may go to this third person. However, they may converse with an enemy, in the hope that all the impending evil may fall upon him.

At times the soothsayer tells of misfortune coming upon the village. To avert such calamities there are elaborate ceremonies.

If money be stolen from a man's house, the diviner is asked to locate the thief, and after breaking some leaves he proceeds to name the culprit. Should he fail to name the right person, he would say that the spirit of the man who lost the money is in discord with his own, and such a condition renders it impossible for him to name the actual thief; thus, incidentally, he is able to keep his infallibility unscathed.

The spirit of a diviner is said to be very sympathetically related to the spirit of some leopard or tiger, or the spirits may even be identical, so that when one is in distress the other shares the feeling.[1] In one of the Ao villages it is said a widow was the diviner, and her "leopard" entered her house and did her no harm. The diviner has control over his "leopard," and so can order it to pursue the pigs or cows of some fellow-villager, if he chooses to do so. Many persons are kept in awe by being told that under certain conditions the "leopard" will be sent to meet them on some unfavourable jungle path.[2]

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[1] Cf. J.H. Hutton, "Leopard-men in the Naga Hills," J.A.I., Jan.-June, 1920. Reprinted in the Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1921, pp.529-40.

[2] Lycanthropy is widespread among peoples on a low cultural level. For the Cakos, cf. Playfair, op. cit., p.23.

When illness comes upon the arasentsur, it is of a peculiar kind, due to the distress or death of his "leopard." He is able to withstand the death of five leopards, but at the death of the sixth he will succumb. At each time he will be in great distress until his spirit has found another leopard. The man is supposed to be able to tell where his leopard has died, even though its usual haunts be miles and miles away. Diviners of the weaker sex pass away with the death of the fifth leopard. When the diviner dies, the leopard can no longer continue to live. In proof of this the Aos relate that when a certain man, Noktenlemba, died, his brother and son went in search of his leopard, which they found, cold in death, in the man's own field.

The arasentsur, with his magic art, is the best and most reliable source of divination, but there are other methods practised by those who do not have such close communion with deity. When a stone deity is worshipped in the jungle, a cock is thrown into the air. If it flies away and soon returns, the omens are favourable, but if it flies away and does not return, or quickly alights on the earth and runs away, then the deity is displeased. When the god of increase is propitiated at the granary, a fowl is killed and the omens are read from the entrails, from which a man knows of a certainty whether he will eat well-filled grain or empty husks.

A bamboo or rattan withe is sometimes pulled rapidly back and forth over a stick until charred through, and from the broken ends the omens are read.

In practically all important ventures the omens would be consulted beforehand. In time of war this important function would not be neglected before going to battle.

The Aos attach meanings to various phenomena which they are unable to explain, and they regard many things as foretelling the future. Should some calamity come, there must have been some sign to foretell it. Many times wonderful portents have given warnings of coming distress. One year, an epidemic of small-pox, a devastating war, and a severe famine fell to the lot of one village where they had previously seen some very strange manifestations. Dry rice had boiled in a basket, even though there was no fire near it, two sticks of wood stood up in the street and pecked at each other like hens, stains as if of fresh blood appeared on freshly boiled rice, a large leaf crawled across the floor of a certain house several times, and when crumpled up, walked off to the jungle, and two hens hatched out each a chick that had four legs.

As the vultures do not make their abode in Ao land, when one comes soaring along it is a sure sign of impending battle. If a large hawk soars over a village, someone will soon die. The spirit of a deceased man is supposed to take the form of the bird[1] and return to his village to beckon someone to join him on the other shore. If this bird perches several times on a tree in a rice-field, then surely the death of someone is soon to follow. There is a

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[1] Cf. Hutton, The Sema Nagas, p.208, for the same idea among the Semas.

large night hawk which has a weird cry, and when this bird of ill-omen utters its cry above a house, it means that a death will occur within a brief space of time.

The good Lizaba frequently sent to the village soothsayers notices that boded ill. Sometimes he might bring the message in person, while at other times he might send it by a courier. A small bundle of bad rice was a portent of scanty crops; cooked yams signified that children would die of a severe cough; a broken spear or dao foretold the death of an important man in the village; beans or corn bespoke a scourge of smallpox; and blood in a bamboo joint was unimpeachable evidence that an epidemic of dysentery would seal in death the eyes of many villagers. The Aos have a round basket, about a foot in diameter and two feet high, in which they keep a quantity of hulled rice for household use. They firmly believe that should this ever topple over and fall on its side, the good fortune and prosperity of the family would depart, never to return. In the event of an earthquake they grasp this basket and hold it tightly lest it overturn.

Dreams are also interpreted and evaluated. A few will be given as examples.

In the old war days, should a man dream that he were standing on a mound made by white ants, he would be killed by the enemy. If the dream concerned a large number of cattle entering the rice-field which he was unable to drive out, the field would become overgrown with weeds. If he dreamed of stealing something from a man's house he would become rich. If it were the dream of an elephant entering the village

in the summer-time, then malarial fever would follow. If he should dream that while walking on a stony path one stone rolled away under his feet, then one of his relatives was soon to die. If he dreamed of using a fishing net, he was sure to have trouble with some person.

Superstitions and Magic

With the Aos the person's spirit is very important. They have great fear lest anything or anybody should gain control over this, and thereby cause them trouble. Frazer's[1] idea is that a man's soul is considered as a shadow, and so any injury to the shadow injures the man; for instance, stabbing the shadow may kill the man. I have often pointed my camera at persons who have taken to their heels as if their very lives were in danger. They believe there is some mysterious power in the camera that will enable the possessor to exercise some control over their souls or vital parts and thus inflict them with some calamity, even death.

"The man," says Clodd,[2] "thinks some virtue has gone out of him, and that some part of his vulnerable self is put at the mercy of his fellows when he sees his 'counterfeit presentment' on a sheet of paper, or peering from out magic glass." But those among the Aos who have laid aside this dread, bristle with pride when they pose before the camera; and they are very happy to see their photographs. It seems, however, that any sort of a representation of a man in the hands of another is rather unfavourable to the original. For a long

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1 Golden Bough, II.,p.78 ff.

2 Tom Tit Tot, p.77.

time one of the Ao villages has had some feeling against a neighbouring village, and especially against one of the headmen, who is rich and powerful. In the old days they would have tried to carry home his head, but the British have forbidden further indulgence in such pleasurable pursuits, and consequently they content themselves with hanging an image of the man in the young men's house of their village. Because they have this representation of the man in their possession, he will meet an early death.

These men in the childhood of the race believe that their names are vital parts of themselves. Thus magic can be worked on them, and the name can be injured as well as the hand or foot. Several times I have asked small boys to tell me their names. This they would not do, but instead would whisper to a companion to repeat it. I have also asked old men their names, but they would not tell. I have been told that when the men go to the plains to work in the tea-gardens during the cold season, they do not give their true names to the managers, but fictitious ones instead. This is a common practice among primitive men. It is said that the real name of Pocahontas, whose pleadings saved the life of John Smith in the Jamestown Colony, was Matckes. This, however, was concealed from the English lest they do her some harm.[1]

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[1] The Subanu and Moros of the Philippines also refuse "to give their names except through a third party.....The reason assigned is that these people do not wish to be considered like the egoistic crow who cries about and incessantly calls his name." - Finley and Churchill, The Subanu, p.29.

One day I went out with an Ao man to hunt birds. I fired two shots and brought down two birds, after which I handed him the gun. He fired once but brought down nothing. Then I took the gun and missed three shots. On telling him that he had spoiled my gun, he told me that according to their custom they would take a certain leaf and rub it over the gun while counting one, two, three, to six, the perfect number, and then throw the leaves. This done the gun would be restored to its former state. This is done with a fishing net when it does not gather in large numbers of fish, or with the spear that is hurled and strikes wide of its mark.

At one time I bought a man's dao. After the bargain had been made he took the dao and scraped some fine shavings from the handle. These he chewed up into a little ball, and tied it very carefully into a corner of his blanket. It had been to him a good, faithful dao, and he desired to preserve a part of it lest his good luck should take wing and fly away. On buying a new dao he would breathe upon it so as to bless it, that it might also bring him good luck. I saw another man go through practically the same performance when selling the wooden block for sheathing his dao. I have been told when a man sells a pig or dog he will pull out a few hairs, that his luck or good fortune may not depart with the animal; and likewise when selling rice he will take out a few of the grains from the basket.[1]

Prior to the beginning of the rains in February or March there is great danger from fire, because

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[1] So an Angami when selling an ancestral field reserves a tiny patch to remain nominally his.-J.H.H

everything is so dry, and the houses are highly inflammable. To keep the houses from burning, the skulls of cattle and mithan that have been killed are fastened in the trees behind the houses, where they are kept until the rains break. This affords a sure protection, so they say.

The Aos, like all other primitive men, explain in some way or other the natural phenomena that encompass them; but they do not delve very deeply to find out the underlying causes. They do not ask questions. If anyone asks them for reasons concerning any phenomena, they are astonished at such an attitude of mind. When questioned about anything which is not given in their folklore, they invariably answer, meshitet (We are unable to know). Their universe is filled with spirits and unseen powers, and to the activities of these, and their agents, they attribute everything. They are in mortal terror lest these activities should bring them harm. "It is largely because of the absence of reflection," says one writer, "that they are in bondage to superstition and witchcraft, and are a prey to evil spirits."[1]

When an eclipse of the sun occurs, they say that a hungry tiger is eating the heavenly body.[2]

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[1] World Missionary Conference Report, 1910, Vol.IV., p.14.

[2] Cf.Pliny, Nat. Hist.,II., xii. The natives of Goodenough Island, Papua, believe that "eclipses are due to a black snake which tries to devour the moon, and is only prevented from succeeding by the natives frightening it away with the noise of drums and conch-shells." -Jenness and Ballantyne, The North d' Entrecasteaux, p.160.

As soon as it is seen, they make haste to beat the big war-drum to frighten away the beast before the sun is devoured.

They explain thunder and lightning by the following story:- Once there was a widow who had two sons. One day she told them she was afraid of the wind, so the boys gallantly set out for the ends of the earth to stop up the passage through which the wind came. In trying to perform their stupendous task, a sudden gust of wind carried them up to the heavens, where they have lived ever since. Now, whenever they quarrel, we hear the thunder which is the noise they make, while the lightning flashes from their hands when they become angry.

For the earthquake they have at least two explanations. One tradition tells us that far away, at the ends of the earth, a man stands as a post between the earth and sky, and when he sits down to eat his rice, the earth and sky both tremble. Another says, in the long, long ago a man was serving as a pillar to support the sky. At one time this man became hungry, thirsty and weary, when he asked a companion to serve in his stead for a short time while he refreshed himself. As soon, however, as he was relieved he ran away, never to return. The substitute has been standing there so long that his knees have become weak; when they tremble and shake under the great burden, the earth quakes.

Birth and Naming Ceremonies

When the time arrives for the birth of a child there is no family physician to be called in, so the house-father attends to everything in connection with

the event. He cuts the navel cord with a piece of sharp bamboo and applies some mother's milk to the baby's navel to heal it. Immediately after the child is born, the proud father chews some boiled rice and puts it into the baby's mouth. The after-birth is wrapped up in leaves and placed in a small bamboo basket, which is fastened to some upright bamboo sticks at the back of the house. These sticks are about six feet long, of which six are used if the child is a male, while only five suffice in case it is a female, and these sticks are smeared over with rubber sap to prevent birds from eating the contents of the package. The after-birth is not thrown into the jungle lest it be eaten by crows, rats, or squirrels, which would invariably give the child abdominal pains. On the third day a fowl is killed, when the mother chews some of the liver and feeds it to the baby. Some of the feathers are fastened to the outside of the house, near the door, which serves as an announcement of the birth. At this time the child's ears are pierced and the name is given. Sometimes the parents make out a list of names, from which the diviner selects the proper and asuspicious one. The name of an Ao is a small pellet into which has been condensed the most important facts in the ancestral history, usually something about their bravery in war, or their wealth. For instance, Im-na-matong-ba signifies "the one not reached by two villages", in other words, his ancestors were able to stand against two villages; and Tsuk-nung-temjen (tsuk-anung-temjen), "to have increase in the large rice basket."

If a pregnant woman dreams of a dao or of something made of iron, then the child will be a male, and if the father dreams of hurling a spear, then the child will be a male.

At the time of childbirth the family is under taboo for a period of six days.[1] This, however, is a very common practice among people that are low in the scale of civilization. " In the opinion of some primitive peoples," says Frazer,[2] "a woman at and after childbirth is pervaded by a certain dangerous influence, which can infect anything she touches; so that in the interests of the community it becomes necessary to seclude her from society for a while ...." He relates further that some even build a hut for the woman, and do not permit her husband to see her.

The Aos say that all disease is caused by some spirit who lays violent hands on a man's soul, sometimes holding it for a ransom. If a deity is displeased in any way he will send an epidemic to the village or sickness to some house. If a deity feels the pinch of hunger, his disposition becomes ruffled, whereupon he is certain to tamper with some man's spirit, thus causing him to become ill or mentally deranged. An offering must then be made; and if it satisfied the god, the sick man's spirit will be released. Not infrequently the lot which a man drew at the beginning decreed that

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[1] See Section on "Genna or Taboo," infra, p.112.

[2] The Golden Bough, Edition 1911, Pt.II., "Taboo and the Perils of the Soul," p.150.

he must become sick, and so sacrifice be made in an endeavour to ameliorate that unkind fate.

In the treatment of disease the soothsayer is the most prominent. The word arasentsur means "disease-mover" or "disease-driver." If a man has a pain he will rub the painful spot with the leaves of a pungent herb, under the pretence that he infuses into the leaves some magic healing powers.[2] He may rub the person so as to concentrate all the disorders at one point, which he will bite and then remove all the disease in the shape of a live worm, a small stone, a feather, a piece of bone or a stick. He even makes a pretence of biting out slivers and thorns that could not be removed by ordinary means. The Aos had great faith in the work of the arasentsur, so he plied a rather lucrative trade, but of course, his influence is now dwindling because of the Government and the Mission.

The soothsayer at times pretends to treat diseases, but the more frequent practice is for him to consult the deities and order a sacrifice to be made for the release of the troubled spirit. In one of the ceremonies for sickness, one of the priests of the sib carries a fowl to one of the altars, where he utters a prayer as he pulls out the feathers of the fowl. After this he returns and flourishes

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[2] Cf. Hodson, op.cit.,pp.135-6, for a similar practice among the Tangkhuls. I think the usual idea underlying the "pungent herb" treatment is that the aroma of the herb drives away any spirits causing the disease, spirits of disease being scarcely distinguishable from bacteria as we conceive them and equally susceptible to disinfectants.- J.H.H.

the fowl over the sick person, and prays somewhat as follows: "Be thou great as the banyan tree; may thy life extend as the top of a bamboo or rattan; and be thou bright and joyous as a new moon and the rising sun." Then the fowl is killed and the members of the family, with the exception of the sick person, eat it. A boy then goes to bring some clear water from the stream, with which the sick man bathes himself, to wash away the disease. In some cases several priests are present, and several fowls and pigs are eaten.

Sometimes a small fowl is let loose as an offering to Lizaba, with a prayer that he accept the spirit of the chicken and set the sick man's spirit free. The Nagas will not eat this particular fowl that has been set free.

At one time there was a prevalent belief that when a person died by accident, was killed by a tiger, or met death in any of the ways that implied a curse, then sickness was hovering over the village, and would descend unless the greatest precautions were taken. Should a torch be used in the house at night before the door was properly closed, sickness would in all probability enter, while the torch-bearer would be in special danger of falling ill. It was a measure of precaution not unlike that of British vessels sailing without deck lights, and with curtains drawn over the portholes, during the Great War. In the event of an epidemic the priests would collect from each house some peppers, ginger root and other choice confections, and throw them all away at one end of the village.

When sickness invades a home the proper sacrifices must be made, and this failing, the sacrifice must be repeated until it may mean several fowls, pigs, dogs and even cows. This must be done even if the animals must be stolen. When the gods are displeased, offerings must be made at any cost.

Death Ceremonies

The Aos believe that when a man dies the spirit leaves the body. When a man is at the point of death, the members of the family go near him and begin to shout in an endeavour to recall his spirit. The spirit sets out on its journey, and on the way it must climb over a stile built across the path, after which it will soon reach a river called Lungritzu, which is the boundary line between the land of the living and the dead. The spirit wades into the river and washes its hands, after which it crosses over. If it is called back before it crosses the stream, it may return to the man's body; but if it is not called until it has crossed over, then the spirit will not retrace its steps.[1]

There is another view which seems to be slightly different, or at least I am unable to dovetail the two together into one harmonious whole. The spirit of the dying person leaves the body at death, but it is afraid to leave the house. To aid the departure, one of the inmates of the house makes a noise by pounding on the walls or on the floor to give assurance

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[1] This washing in a Stygain river has a close parallel among the Kachins of Burma - Hanson, The Kachins, pp.193-4.

to the spirit that it will be escorted safely to the mysterious realm. The journey to the realm of the shades is attended by no small dangers, for a man's spirit is liable to be attacked by the spirits of the men or animals he has killed. Had a man treated any animal with cruelty on earth, the spirit of that beast would in all likelihood be waiting to harm him. To avoid such dangers, the Aos have been extremely cruel while killing a mithan for a feast in order to intimidate its spirit, lest it should gore the man's spirit beyond the river.

In order to help matters, a dog is killed that his spirit may go to ward off all dangers on the journey. A fowl also may be killed to give some additional comfort on the perilous trip. Sometimes a man's spear and dao are placed near his corpse that the spirit may use them in self-defence. When a rich man dies several cattle and pigs may be killed to increase the retinue of the spirit on its homeward journey.

To offset certain of the perils on the way, some Aos say that the spirits of the mithan a man has killed for feasts await him in Mojing's courtyard, and, as he draws near, they come out to meet him, together with the shades of the man's relatives who died before him. They form a large escort and make the last stages of the journey comparatively safe.

The spirit does not take its departure at onee, but hovers about the body until it is taken to its last resting-place, after which it goes to its final abode. At each meal the family will put some food at the place usually occupied by the departed one. The pipe is also filled with tobacco and lighted for the use of the spirit.

The Aos rarely take a corpse to the cemetery immediately after death, but it is customarily dried over a slow, smoky fire, for a period ranging from a week to several months, or even to a year. The body is placed in a bamboo coffin which is supported on some stakes in the ante-room, if such there be otherwise it is kept in the main living room. If the body is dried for a long time, that signifies that the man was highly respected; it also signifies that he was rich, otherwise this long drying process, with the several attendant feasts, could not be continued. In certain cases it is customary to take the corpse to the cemetery at harvest-time, if it be dry; but, if the corpse is not sufficiently dried, it must be kept in the house until the next harvest, when the soul of the deceased man will be able to provide food for itself. Sometimes several of the old men remain at the house all night, and at times one may stand watch on the outside, and at regular intervals call out that all is well. For the first night's fire the small boys, who are carriers of wood for the "bachelors' house," provide the fuel; after this the relatives attend to it.

After death a man's war regalia, his trophies of war, such as human skulls or their substitutes, are placed on exhibition outside the house. The skulls of mithan and cattle, together with many bamboo tubes, are exhibited to show the man's liberality in feasting the village on beef and rice beer. The cows and pigs which are killed at the time of death are eaten by the family, the friends and relatives. If the deceased man were rich, more feasting would follow from time to time during the entire period the body was being dried.

When the corpse has been properly dried it is taken to the cemetery, where the coffin is deposited in a house-like bamboo structure several feet above the ground. Here are also hung up the man's ornaments (imitation ones made for the occasion), his baskets, dishes, skulls and bamboo tubes, symbolic of rice beer that flowed freely at feasts. When a man has given more than two mithan feasts to the village, an ornamental projection is put on his coffin.

The cemetery is usually on one of the main village paths, where all travellers will see it and know the importance and social standing of the departed ones. Some food is also placed by the bier, because the spirit returns on the following days for something to eat.

Death by Accident

Should a man's death occur within the day following an injury caused by falling from a tree, by a tree falling on him, by drowning, by snake-bite, by wounds received from a tiger or leopard, this would be evidence that some deity was angry and had sent a curse upon the person.

Such a calamity necessitates the segregation of the family for a period of purification. In some villages the nokors, or priets of the sib, go to the house and remain there for three days with the family and kill all the animals belonging to the household. After they have eaten all they can they throw the remainder into the jungle. On the third day they tear a hole in the roof of the house, and also of the granary, that the rain may come in to

spoil everything. Following this they take the family to the bachelors' house, which is vacated, and where they remain for six days, the family staying at one end and the priests at the other. After this the members of the family go outside the village, where for a month they live in booths built of leaves and grass. On leaving the house the persons under taboo abandon everything, even their clothing, the relatives providing some other old garments for them. While in the booths they are fed by their relatives, who give them food as if they were throwing it away in the jungle. No one will converse with these social outcasts, lest a like calamity befall them.

When the time for purification has been fulfilled, they are permitted to return to the village, where they will live in a new house built by their sib. On the first day one of the priests will take them to the rice-field, whereupon they are supposed to be restored to their former status, but the villagers are likely to avoid these persons who have been so sinful, lest a like misfortune befall them. In some villages they do not go to the bachelors' house, but go directly to the jungle, where for short periods they live in three different houses.

At such a time everything must be abandoned, even money and crops for that year. If a man has outstanding debts they are cancelled by such a death, because no one would think of accepting any money or belongings he might have had. On this point they are very strict, and villagers have fined Christian converts who have used any such articles.

If several men are working in a field when one of the group is accidentally killed, the companions of the dead man return to the village, but just outside the village gate they throw away all their clothes, daos, and everything they have with them. They must also bathe before they are permitted to go to their homes.

A woman who dies in childbirth usually belongs to this same class, but in some villages the property is abandoned and the family moves into another house without the period of segregation in the jungle. The seriousness of a death caused by childbirth might be inferred from the following note from a Political Officer's diary: "The women of both khels" (sections of the village), he wrote, "stayed at home and did genna as a woman of the lower khel died about this time last year in childbirth." The genna at the time of death did not suffice to avert the calamity from them, so they performed the usual rites a year later.

In a case like this it may become necessary to have a ceremony of purification for the village lest a greater evil befall them. At such a time the priests drag a dog, or even a goat, through the streets, enjoining all of the people to purge themselves in order to forestall misfortune. From each house charred pieces of wood and pieces of old cloth, symbolic of cleansing, are given to the priests. These symbols and the dog are taken to one of the altars near the village gate, where the dog is killed. Then some arches of bamboo strips are set up across the path as a warning; and all the evils impending over the village are likely to fasten themselves on the first stranger who may chance to pass that way.

Beliefs concerning Death and the Future Life

The Ao does not believe that death means his extinction, but expects that his spirit will take up its abode in the village of the shades. Concerning the future his ideas are weak, vague and shadowy. In general the other life does not differ greatly from this; it is no better, but if anything less desirable, because it is so indefinite and so uncertain. If the man has lived in comfortable circumstances on earth he will likewise be comfortable in the future. Rich men who had slaves in the old days will have them again in heaven. The men who did cultivation work on earth will continue that occupation in heaven. However, some say that they will not have to work in the next existence. The coming of the Government has served to confuse their ideas.

In days gone by they found great pleasure in contemplating the cutting off of heads in heaven, but now, since the practice has been discontinued on earth, they are uncertain about the status of this pleasurable purusit in the after life.

With a few exceptions the spirits of all mankind go to this place of the departed shades. A man who has been killed by falling from a tree simply roams about and never arrives at Moiing's village. The spirit of a man who has been killed by a tiger clings to the tiger's tail and follows that about, never entering the abode of the blessed.[1] The spirit of a woman who dies in childbirth will go to the lower realms, but her lot will be

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[1] So the Annamese hold that such a spirit rides on the tiger's back till the death of the tiger (Chivas-Baron, Contes et Legendes de l'Annam, p.38 sq.) - J.H.H.

far from happy. The spirit of a thief will be in disgrace, and so will sneak along some other path, avoiding the route frequented by the good people, but he will eventually reach the same destination.

In the spirit world the men are supposed to live and toil as they did on earth for exactly the same number of years, whereupon the spirits end their real existence and pass into another state of existence where they may live in the form of butterflies or locusts. Here they may have everlasting existence even though they may not find it highly enjoyable.[1]

While wandering about in this first stopping-place in the realm of the departed, if a spirit stubs its toe against a rock, it will become a rock, and if it stumbles over a log, it will turn into a log; thus ending its existence as a spirit and wiping out all hope of an entrance into the second state.

After death a person's spirit goes to appear before Nojing, the ruler over the departed. When the spirit of a male arrives at the judgment seat he must hurl a spear at a tree or gong. If he hits the object, this proves that he was a good man on earth, and is entitled to a good place; but if he misses the mark, then amid the jeers of the spectators, he is sent to an undesirable place to atone for his evil life on earth.

The spirit of a female hurls a weaver's batten instead of a spear. If a man has killed mithan for giving feasts to his village, the spirits of the animals remain on earth hovering about the mithan's skull, which the owner keeps. Sometimes the sacrifice of a fowl or a pig is made to this spirit lest it

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[1] I think the general idea is that the insect

depart. When the man dies he takes these animal spirits with him and gives the largest one to the ~~old~~ god Mojing. He is also supposed to take with him the skulls of the men he has killed in war, one of which he presents to Mojing.

The Aos apparently do not fear death. They seem to accept it as a part of the programme which must be followed. At first there is some wailing by the women, but that also seems to be a part of the regular schedule and must occur. The mourning, however, is of short duration, because they soon forget all about their grief in the feasting that follows. The widow soon desists from wailing and begins to sing the praises of her brave and noble husband, and enters into the task of preparing the symbols which are to display to the world what a noble man he was.

In preliterate beliefs, both disease and death are due to the activity of maleficent agents and not to natural causes.[1] Because of this the savage mind turns to euphemisms, lest they offend the spirit concerned and it bring calamity upon them. It has been a practice among the Chinese,[2] instead of mentioning the word "death" to call it "the great sickness." The shops that sell caskets do not mention them as "coffins," but advertise them as "boards of old age". The Aos also make use of euphemisms to some extent. For instance, if a man is

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[1] I am doubtful if the Naga is still at this stage. I think he regards death and some diseases as normal and inevitable.- J.H.H.

[2] Clodd, Tom Tit Tot, p.134.

killed by a tiger they prefer to say that he was "eaten by the jungle," while cholera is called motongtaker, which signifies "the thing which causes them not to arrive home."

Genna or Taboo

"The word genna[1] is used in two ways: (1) it may mean practically a holiday, i.e. a man will say, 'My village is doing genna to-day,' by which he means that, owing either to the occurrence of a village festival or some such unusual occasion as an earthquake, or burning of a village within sight of his own, his people are observing a holiday; (2) genna means anything forbidden."[2] Primarily the term means "forbidden" or "prohibited," and it applies to the large number of prohibitions which constitute so important an element in the social and religious life of the Aos as well as of the large number of the related hill tribes. These restrictions apply to individuals or to certain groups. Some are occasional, some come at regular times, some are of short duration, while some are permanent. Since all of the festivals and religious ceremonies have some

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[1] The word genna is a word used in the local lingua franca - bad Assamese - for taboo, and is derived from the Angami kenna, meaning "it is forbidden." The communal genna, called by the Aos amung (=the Angami penna, Sema pini, Malay buni, Polynesian puni, Tongan tapbuni = tabu), has the sense of "hiding" or "shutting up," "concealment," "taking refuge," etc., a sense very clearly seen in the Polynesian uses of the word.- E.H.H. Cf. Brown, Melanesians and Polynesians, pp.273-82.

[2] Assam Census Report, 1891, p.248

prohibitions they may in reality be classed as gennas. At these times the normal activities of the individuals or groups are suspended or restricted in order that the gods, being thus propitiated, may shower prosperity upon them and withhold calamity. If any of these interdicts be broken by an individual, the proper body will punish him because his act is putting in jeopardy, not only his own welfare, but also that of others. However, in these matters it is the letter of the law that must be kept, while it matters less about the spirit.

Since there is so little tribal unity there is no actual tribal genna. However, there are certain practices which approach it. The Aos do not eat the hoolock, or black gibbon, neither do they eat the black crow. Until quite recently no person would drink cow's milk, but that custom is in process of breaking down. These restrictions on food might be considered tribal gennas because they are so general. The Mongsen moiety will eat neither dog nor monkey of any kind, while the Chongli moiety is quite fond of dogs and certain kinds of monkey. Of course the gennas which affect individuals and the various groups are common throughout the tribe, but there is no taboo which affects the entire tribe at the same time unless by mere coincidence. The village is the largest unit affected by these prohibitions.

Since the festivals connected with the cultivation of rice concern everybody, the village, as a unit, does genna on these particular days. On some occasions the period is one day, on others three days, and on still

others six days or even more. Sometimes they must cease from all work, except that the cooking of their food continues; sometimes there is no restriction, with the exception of going to the rice-fields; sometimes they have considerable freedom on the first day, but on the following days they may not even hull rice for household use; and sometimes the restriction for the first day are most severe, after which there is a relaxation. At certain times the prohibition applies only to work, while they may converse with strangers and even leave the village; at other times no one may leave the village, and should a stranger come, no one may speak to him, neither may anyone sell him any food; and he may enter none of the houses.

The fixed gennas for a village are observed on the occasion of the big annual festivals, and at the times when they make the regular yearly sacrifices, in addition to which there are optional ones and others demanded by circumstances. Should a part of a village or a whole village burn, that would necessitate a genna. If lightning strikes anything within a village, or if a big tree is blown down near the village gate, a rest day must be observed. If one of the villagers dies, some villages do six days' genna, abstaining from making rice beer, from getting married, and from beginning to cut down the jungle for their new fields. They will even put off their big annual festivals for this length of time. They will, however, do the other ordinary work. In the event of a death by accident, or by any means that implies a divine curse, the village must do genna six days and the family of the stricken person must be tabooed for a month. A large number of these gennas are kept on behalf of the crops, to ensure good growth

and bounteous harvests. After the crops have been gathered, they also have a time of rejoicing.

There are taboos which affect sibs, the chief of which forbid marriage within the sib. There are certain food restrictions which affect particular sibs. The Ozukumtzur (bird-became-woman) sib is said to have come from the hornbill, and consequently this bird is never eaten by its descendants. One sib does not eat meat that has been killed by a wild animal; another sib does not eat the entrails of swine; another eats neither locusts nor pig intestines. There are minor restrictions in most sibs, but not enough to interfere seriously with their diet.

Certain gennas affect individuals, small groups and households. The priest who officiates at the tendenmung, the festival before the rice sowing, remains under a taboo until the crops have been gathered in, during which time he may make no repairs on his house, no matter how badly it may leak; he may enter no house where there is sickness, not even to assist his own married children, no matter how ill; he may not visit another village or converse with a stranger; he may not go fishing; and he may gather firewood only on his own lands. A priest who officiates at some ceremony for a household is under a temporary taboo, while a group of priests who perform rites for the village live in seclusion from three to six days. A household is under taboo when a sacrifice has been made on account of sickness, at childbirth, or even when some animal brings forth young. On such occasions a cluster of leaves is displayed at the front of the house as a sign of

temporary seclusion. For a male child the family is secluded six days, while for a female only five days. During the first three days the father and mother may not leave the house and may not speak to anyone in the village. If children belonging to the household are in another village at the time of the birth, they may not enter the house until the prescribed period has been fulfilled. If they are at work in the field at the time they may enter the house, but in some villages they must stay temporarily with relatives. After the first three days a priest opens the doors of the house and a little more freedom is given, but no outsider is allowed to enter. If it be a calf or a litter of pigs, the period of seclusion is six days, and in the case of chickens hatching it is three days. On such occasions the family will not permit anything to leave the house. This custom is followed closely, and even the British Political Officer was refused a drink of water at one house because there had been an increase in the dog family.

If this practice be not carried out, according to their belief, the young tend to become weak and sickly, or may even die. In the case of death by accident, deity has pronounced an anathema against the family, and consequently they must be segregated, even to the extent of being sent out of the village.[1]

There is one genna which is really a household matter, even though it may affect the whole village at the same time. In the spring when the first cultivation work is begun, each household makes a sacrifice

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[1] See Section on "Death by Accident," p.105.

on its own plot of ground, after which it is under a limited seclusion for seven days. The work in the field is carried on as usual, and conversation is prohibited only with those of other villages. No stranger may enter the tabooed house and nothing from that house may be given away. Should all the villagers simultaneously be under taboo, no stranger could be entertained in any house, but he would have to sleep in the watchman's lounging house. Should there be anyone in the village who has no rice-field of his own, he would be permitted to sell rice to the stranger. The same restrictions apply to all the days during the period of seclusion.

Reference has already been made to the restrictions on food in connection with gennas of the tribe and sib. After the Ao women have been tatooed they may not eat eggs, frogs, crabs and certain kinds of fish and meat which they were formerly permitted to eat. Should they eat these forbidden things the tattoo marks would break out into ugly sores. During pregnancy a woman must avoid eating a double banana, double egg, or anything of that kind, lest she give birth to twins; and that would be a calamity, because such children are less desirable than the others.

If the Aos are asked why they refrain from eating certain things, they generally say it is their custom, but in some instances they give reasons. They say they do not eat black apes because they make bad noises, and if eaten, their children would make like noises.

In regard to the crow, or rook, they have given reasons for not eating it. These are some of the stories:- Once upon a time a woman was cooking indigo

for dyeing cloth, when a crow came along and falling into the pot turned black. Hence they do not eat the crow. Once upon a time, when a certain boy was born, the after-birth was put up in a tree. A crow perched in the tree near the after-birth and thus became polluted; hence the crow is not eaten. Another theory is that crows eat dead men, which renders them unfit for food.[1]

In fine, genna, or taboo, exerts a tremendous influence over the Aos, not only in connection with some particular phase of their lives, but in every imaginable way. "Taboo," says Clodd,[2] "is the dread tyrant of savage life. Among civilised peoples, under the guise of custom whose force is stronger than law, it rules in larger degree than most persons care to admit. But among barbaric communities it puts a ring fence all around the simplest acts, regulates all intercourse by the minutest codes, and secures obedience to its manifold prohibitions by threats of punishment to be inflicted by magic and other apparatus of the invisible. It is the Inquisition of the lower culture, only more terrible and effective than the infamous "Holy Office."[3]

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[1] There is a striking resemblance between this and the people of Terra del Fuego, as reported by Darwin, op cit.,p.214. "Jenny Button (a Fuegian) would not eat land birds, because 'eat dead men.'"

[2] Op. cit., p.114

[3] I doubt if the force of taboo is so all-pervadin as is suggested, even among the trans-border tribes still entirely unsophisticated and in no contact with "civilization" at all.- J.H.H.

CHAPTER VI

THE PLACE OF THE AO NAGAS IN THE HUMAN FAMILY

Language[1]

ALL the tribes in the hill section that are grouped under the general term "Naga" speak languages which are so far different that one tribesman cannot understand his neighbour living in another group, unless he learn his form of speech. There is no doubt, however, that in the remote past they came from the same stock, as can be shown by a comparative study. The languages also show a more remote relationship to those of the other hill tribes of Assam and even to other tribes beyond the borders of Assam.

According to Dr. Hanson,[2] "the relationship between the Kachin and Naga dialects indicates a close affinity." Dr. Grierson regards these languages as belonging to the great Tibeto-Burman family, the Ao or Hatigorria, as designated by the Assamese and the neighbouring tribes belonging to the Naga group.[3]

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[1] On language see the following: Grierson, The Linguistic Survey of India, Vol.III., Parts I. and II. on the Naga Languages. Census of Assam, 1891, Vol.I., pp.163-76. Clark, Grammar of the Ao Naga Language .

[2] The Kachins, p.31.

[3] I should be inclined to put it that "they all contain some elements from a common stock." I do not think it would be safe to go further than that. The Sourthern Sangtam language, for instance, has words that connect it with Ao, Sangtam, Rengma and Tangkhul, though Sir George Grierson has so far been unable to allocate it to any existing Naga group, while other roots appear common to the Laos of East Burma and others also to the Miau-Tsau of China. There are also a certain number of words common to the Angami Nagas and to Pacific Islanders.- J.H.H.

The Ao language is divided into two dialects, Chongli and Mongsen, which are so different as to be practically different languages. About three-fifths of the people speak the Chongli and the remainder the Mongsen. Roughly speaking the Chongli is spoken in the villages on the Langbangkong, the ridge overlooking the Dikhu, the Mongsen is spoken on the Changkikong and Chapvukong, the two ridges nearest the Assam valley, while both languages are used on the ridges and spurs between. In these latter villages the speakers of the Chongli and Mongsen live side by side, yet both dialects are preserved with very little corruption in either. In addition to these two large groups there are numerous variations within each. In the Mongsen group the villages of Changki, Chapvu, and Nancham have the same dialect, which varies very considerably from the rest of the Mongsen group, while Khari village has one all of its own. In the Chongli group there is a most striking difference between the dialects of two villages, as, for instance Molungyimchen and Chantongia. Then there is one village, Assiringia or Mirinokpo, on the Chapvukong, which does not speak Ao at all. These people migrated from a trans-Dikhu village and still hold to their language. The majority of the men, however, are able to speak the Ao, a rather useful accomplishment, since they are all hemmed in by Aos.

The large number of dialects in these hills bears testimony to the unsociable nature of these people.[1] Under the savage and primitive conditions which have

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[1] And also probably to their very mixed origin,-E.H.H.

been prevalent up to the last few years, dialects and differences in language have had excellent opportunities for development. There has been no literature to set a standard; there has been very little inter-communication between the villages, consequently a monosyllabic language had a most fertile field for producing variations. Seclude a Naga village on a hilltop for some generations and the consequence will be that the men of a village within a radious of a few miles will need an interpreter in order to converse.

The Chongli is the more dominant dialect; hence, all the literary work has been done in that branch of the language. This dialect is coming more and more into the ascendancy through the influence of the schools, where the books are all in the Chongli. In the religious services in the Mongsen villages the Scripture is read in Chongli, while the exposition of it may be in Mongsen. Thus the Chongli will tend more and more to supplant the unwritten dialect. Since all the literature is in the Chongli, which is the only dialect used by the Mission, it alone will be considered in these pages.

The Ao, like all the other Tibeto-Burman languages, is monosyllabic or has a monosyllabic basis; and it may be said to be in the agglutinative stage. These words with their monosyllabic bases are being built up by the addition of prefixes and suffixes. In many cases it is very difficult to decide whether these are prefixes or prepositions, suffixes or postpositions. If the Ao tongue were ever polytonic, it has dispensed with the tonal qualities so that none remain now.

The Ao, in common with other languages spoken by preliterate group, has a tendency to avoid abstract and general terms, while it is comparatively rich in terms that express individual, concrete conceptions. Instead of a general term for a certain class of objects, with adjective modifiers to distinguish the individuals in the class, it has coined a separate word for each individual object or concept. There is no general word for "rice," but several particular terms, for example, mo is "growing rice," tsuk is "unhulled rice," jang is "hulled rice", ji is "cooked rice," and so on. In their verbal machinery they have some rather fine discriminations with regard to actions that are closely related, each of which has its own particular term. When it comes to bathing the body, several different terms are used. Shidok is a sort of general word meaning "to wash," tejak mei is "to wash the face," tokolak alok is "to wash the head," tebang mechu is "to wash the mouth," teka metsuk is "to wash the hands", tetsung meit-tok is "to wash the feet," temang shigo is "to wash the body," while scu ashi is "to wash clothes."

The word "hand" is not used as a general or abstract term belonging to no one in particular, but it must be attached to some person. It is not merely "hand," but "my hand" or "his hand," "my father" or "your father." The individual concept holds sway in such usage.

There are some few abstract terms in use, by an analysis of which we can see how such terms could be very readily formed; they have the machinery by means of which they could build up such forms. When their intellectual horizon becomes broadened and they begin to generalize and to think in the abstract, then the

forms for expression will come as needed. The old life in the hills was necessarily very narrow and confined; hence the vocabulary is quite limited. Since British rule and the Mission have been responsible for bringing about relationships with a larger world, they have found a need for new terms, and have adopted several words from the Assamese and some even from the English, while several of their own words have taken on new meanings.

In the Ao language one part of speech is converted into another with some degree of readiness. Hence it is hardly correct to speak of verbs, nouns or adjectives, but preferably to consider them as indefinite bases which are so free that they may, under certain conditions, perform these several offices in a sentence.

The Aos does not possess a real verb; it has the substantive idea, which is more truly a verbal noun with an action. There is no true conjugation, but the words which serve as verbs are inflected for tense much like nouns by the addition of suffixes or postpositions which give the idea of completion, inception, or any other time idea. There is no distinction for person, number or gender. Instead of saying, "he speaks," it is rather the substantive idea, "his speaking." The verb is meagre in generalizations, but decidedly rich in discriminating terms. There are a large number of suffixes, in reality verb modifiers, which, added to the verb stem or base, give the various shades of meaning; for example, dok or tok means "to cut", hence leptok means "to cut off what is not wanted". To this combination may be added all the inflections taken by the primary verb.

Nouns are readily formed from other parts of speech, that is, adjectives and verbs. Verbal nouns are used very largely. There is no proper declension of nouns.

Auxiliary words, many of which had meanings of their own that have largely worn away, are used to show the relationship of words in the sentence. The subject nominative may be said to be the only form that has a case sign or ending "e", but even this is not always used. It is usually used with an active transitive verb. For the other cases, suffixes are used, except for the genitive, which has no inflection. There is no difference in form for singular or plural. Nouns are generally considered plural; the singular is to be inferred from the context or designated by some qualifying word. There is a dual form which is used occasionally.

The pronouns use the same machinery for declension as the nouns. There is a relative pronoun, which is not used greatly, a verbal construction supplanting it usually. Instead of saying, "the one who has now come said so," they say, "the now having come one said so," while "the man who is to come" is "the to-come man." There is a form of the first person, plural personal pronoun which implies friendship.[1] This the speaker uses when he includes himself with his hearers.

Adjectives usually follow the noun which they qualify. Verbal adjectives are used to a considerable extent.

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[1] Clark, Ao Naga Grammar, pp.10-11.

In the matter of gender there is a tendency to coin individual words to denote the male and female of a group. Ba and la are affixed to the names of persons to denote sex, the first the masculine, the second the feminine. In the case of animals usually words are added to denote sex. As a rule sex terms are not applied to inanimate objects.

The usual order of words in a sentence is subject, object, verb; but this is often changed when some subordinate idea comes in. There is a sufficiency of devices to show relationship so as to allow some flexibility in the arrangement when a change of the position of the subject might make the thought more clear. Long involved sentences are not common in their speech.

Affinities

In the hilly country, on both sides of the Brahmaputra River of north-eastern India, on the hills that border the valleys of the Irrawaddy and Salween Rivers of Burma, and far into the Chinese province of Yunnan, dwell many so-called wild hill tribes that are closely related. In the sub-Himalayan region we find the Akkas, Daphlas, Miris, Abors, Mishmis and Singphos; in the Indo-Burmese district the Garos, Mikirs, Lushais, Manipuris, Nagas, Kachins, Chins and other tribes; while in the province of Yunnan are the Lolos, Miasos and other small groups.[1]

In all of these tribes there are such striking physical resemblances that we may conclude that they

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[1] Mr. Hutton has a discussion of the affinities of these groups in Mills, The Lhota Nagas, pp. xv.- xxxix.

belong to the same ethnic group. To be sure, there are marked differences due to the contacts with other groups, which have resulted in different admixtures of blood. Those groups on the Tibetan border have been subjected to a different influence from those farther down the Brahmaputra vally who have come in contact with the aborigines of India and bearers of the Aryan culture in Bengal. On the other hand, the tribes in Burma have had their contacts with the people of China, which have resulted in corresponding differences. These contacts with the different groups have resulted not only in biological differences, but in cultural differences as well.

There are, however, certain characteristics common to these peoples which distinguish them from their neighbours. Among the most outstanding may be mentioned: (1) head-hunting; (2) common sleeping-houses for the unmarried men, which are taboo to women; (3) dwelling-houses built on posts or piles; (4) disposal of dead on raised platforms; (5) a sort of trial marriage, or great freedom of intercourse between the sexes before marriage; (6) betel-chewing; (7) aversion to milk as an article of diet; (8) tattooing by pricking; (9) absence of any powerful political organization; (10) the double-cylinder vertical forge; (11) the simple loom for weaving cloth; (12) a large quadrangular or hexagonal shield; (13) residence in hilly regions and a crude form of agriculture.

It is not to be understood that all of these cultural traits are to be found in every tribe and that they are not to be found in any other place outside of this area. In certain instances we have information

which shows that a certain practice was at one time common with a certain group but has now fallen into disuse.[1] It would not be unreasonable to conclude further that certain of these practices were at one time common, but disappeared gradually before we secured records of them. We are faced by the fact that certain traits in the group enumerated above are found in other areas, but they are then associated with an entirely different set of cultural traits. As an example we might refer to the young men's house. This is found in the Banks Islands,[2] among the Melanesians,[3] among the Papuans,[4] among the Eskimo around Bering Strait,[5] among the Solomon Islanders,[6] and it is also found in Africa.[7] But the fact that this institution is not commonly found among the neighbouring groups would tend to give it some value as a factor in showing relationships among these hill tribes. The same things might be said about the other traits, and, in fact, these matters are considered to some extent farther along in this discussion.

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1 Infra, pp. 126, 127, 142, 149, 150.
2 Rivers, History of Melanesian Society, Vol.I., p.61.
3 Codrington, The Melanesians, p.102.
4 Kropotkin, Mutual Aid, p.76.
5 Amer. Bur.Ethnol., 18th Ann.Report,p.226.
6 J.A.I., XVII., p.97.
7 Dubois, The Negro American Family, p.97.

Head-hunting

The custom of head-hunting has been a very important factor in the social life of a number of groups. Where this practice was common, a man was not a full-fledged member of his community until he had brought home a human head. When a young man desired to marry he must show himself a hero to his intended, and the more heads he had to his credit the more she admired him. Women urged men to take heads and they taunted those who did not possess these insignia of bravery. As a result of this social pressure, the desired trophies were often won by treacherous attacks upon lone and unprotected individuals, many of whom were women and children, but that was no discredit to the young brave. "To kill a baby in arms, or a woman," comments Sir J. Johnstone,[1] "was accounted a greater feat than killing a man, as it implied having penetrated to the innermost recesses of an enemy's country, whereas a man might be killed anywhere by a successful ambush."

Head-hunting was customary among the trans-Dikhu Nagas. "The porch of the Changnoee chief's house," writes Captain Vetch,[2] "was a perfect Golgotha. There were between fifty and sixty human skulls, together with the skulls of elephants, buffaloes, Naga bulls, bears, tigers, pigs, monkeys.....lying on the ground." Head-hunting was also practised by the Garos;[3] by the

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[1] J.A.I., XXVII., pp.13,14.

[2] Selection of Papers Regarding the Hill Tracts between Assam and Burma and on the Upper Brahmaputra, p.262.

[3] Playfair, The Garos, pp.23,76.

Naga tribes of Manipur;[4] by the Angami Nagas;[5] by the Lhota Nagas;[6] by the Eastern Nagas, where a young warrior had to bring the head of an enemy to his chief before he could be tattooed as a warrior or have the privilege of sitting in the council;[7] by the Chins of Burma;[8] by the Sema Nagas;[9] by the Thado-Kukis and Lakhers;[10] and by the Ao Nagas.[11] Macrae, in 1807, recorded a head-hunting custom among the Kukis. "The heads of the slain," he writes,[12] "they carry in great triumph to their Pharah, where the warriors are met.....by men, women and children, with much rejoicing." Even earlier than this Rawlins wrote of the Cucis of Tiprah; "He who brings back the head of a slaughtered enemy receives presents from the wealthy of cattle and spirituous liquors."[13] Butler also comments on the Kukis, that "if victorious, they bring home the heads of their enemies, and, on reaching their villages, the warriors, dressed out in their war attire, have a dance.....after which the heads of their enemies are fastened to a pole

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4 Hodson, Naga Tribes of Manipur, p.115; and Folklore, XX., pp.132-43.

5 J.A.I.,XXVII.,p.46; and Hutton, The Angami Nagas, pp.156-67.

6 Mills, The Lhota Nagas, pp.28, 105-11.

7 Michell, The North-eastern Frontier of India,p.206.

8 Personal letter from Mrs. Laura Hardin Carson, missionary to the Chins. Also, Carey and Tuck, The Chin Hills Gazetteer,I.,pp.177,194,230.

9 Hutton, The Sema Nagas, pp.167-83.

10 Shakespear, Lushei-Kuki Clans, pp.200,220.

11 Supra, pp.70-73.

12 Asiatick Researches, VII.,p.188.

13 Ibid., II., p.19.

and stuck up at a spot where three or four roads meet together."[1]

Among the Lusheis the practice did not occupy the same place as among the Nagas.[2] "So far as the Lusheis and their kindred clans are concerned, head-hunting was not indulged in.....parties did not go out simply to get heads. Of course a man who had killed his man was thought more highly of than one who had not.....and therefore, when a man did kill a person, he brought the head home to show that he was speaking the truth."[3]

The Was of Burma are notorious head-hunters. "The heads are set up on posts under the avenue of trees by which the villages are approached, and sometimes can be counted by hundreds on either side of these avenues."[4]

Of the Kachins, Hanson[5] says, "Heads might be cut off fallen enemies to be displayed at the 'dance of victory'.....They are not head-hunters like the Was."[6]

"Alhtough the Khasis, unlike the Nagas, the Garos, the Wild Was of Burma, the Dayaks of Borneo, and other

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1 Travels and Adventure in Assam, p.90

2 Head-hunting seems generally characteristic rather of the pre-Kuki occupants of the hills than of the later Thado-Lushei-Chin invaders.-J.H.H.

3 India Census Report, 1901, Vol.I.,p.227.

4 Shakespear,L.W., History of Upper Assam, p.186. Cf.also Stuart, Burma Through the Centuries, p.3; Scott and Hardiman, Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States, I., i.,pp.488-504

5 Op.cit.,p.36.

6 According to Scott and Hardiman the Kachins take heads merely to prove that the man killed an enemy and they throw the heads away. (Op.cit.,I., i., 430.) For a similar practice, cf. Hutton, The Angami Nagas, p. 157.- J.H.H.

head-hunting tribes, cannot be said to have indulged in head-hunting in ancient times, as far as we know, merely for the sake of collecting heads as trophies, there seems to be some reference to a custom of head-hunting in a description of the worship of the god Syngkai Bamon."[1]

According to Hodson,[2] head-hunting was also found in Manipur. "The Chronicles," he wrote, "afford sufficient warrant for the statement that, prior to the introduction of Hinduism, the Meitheis were in the habit of bringing in the heads of defeated enemies as trophies of prowess. Doubtless this custom disappeared when the gentler customs which are associated with Hinduism became generally adopted in the State." Of the Karen people in Burma, Marshall writes:[3] "It is not clear from any extant records that the Karen were once head-hunters, but this may have been the case."

The Bachelors' House

An institution which might be called the bachelors' house is widespread among the hill tribes of South Asia.[4] As a general rule this institution was housed in the most imposing structure in the village. Col. Woodthorpe, in his Report on Survey Operations in the Naga Hills for 1874-75, gives an excellent description of the bachelors' house of an Ao Naga village. "The morong is a large building," he writes, "divided into two parts by a low division; one-half, the young men's sleeping-place, was floored

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[1] Gurdon, The Khasis, p.97.

[2] The Meitheis, p.94.

[3] The Karen People of Burma, p.156.

[4] Ratzel, History of Mankind, III., p.435.

and contained a hearth; the other one-half [sic] was unfloored. The principal uprights were carved with large figures of men, elephants, tigers, lizards, etc. roughly painted with black, white and reddish-brown. Arranged round the walls were skulls of men and animals, and skilful imitations of the former capable of passing at a little distance for real skulls. The ridge of the morong projects a few feet in front, and is ornamented with small straw figures of men and tufts of straw. Near the morong would be an open shed in which stood the big drum, formed of a hollowed trunk and elaborately carved, generally to represent a buffalo's head painted in front.....and furnished with a straight tail at the other end....." This building serves the double purpose of a sleeping-house for the young men and as a repository for the implements and trophies of war and the spoils of the chase. These bachelors' houses are the veritable homes of the youths of the village from the age of puberty, or even earlier, until the time when they set up households of their own. As a rule these houses are taboo to women.

The bachelor's house or champo, "plays an important part in Lhota life. In it no woman must set her foot. In the champo, raids were planned and discussed, and to it all heads taken were first brought. It is the sleeping-place of every Lhota boy from the time he first puts on his dao-holder till he marries, this rule being only relaxed in the case of boys who are allowed to remain at home and nurse an ailing and widowed mother, or when the champo falls into such

a state of disrepair that it is no longer habitable..... The champo usually stands at the end of, and facing down, the village street. Though not to be compared with the huge morungs of the Aos and Konyaks, it is the best architectural effort of which the Lhota is capable."[1]

This institution is found among the Lushei-Kuki clans;[2] among the Rengmah and Lhota Nagas, although in these instances it is not a very imposing-looking building;[3] among the Kacha Nagas, where it is an important feature of the village;[4] among the Aroong Nagas of Cachar;[5] among the Nagas of Manipur;[6] among the Kukis;[7] among the Chins;[8] among the Abors, where this house was occupied by all the bachelors, both freemen and slaves;[9] among the Garos;[10] among the Singphos and Mishmis;[11] among the wild tribes of the Chittagong hill tract;[12] among the Lalungs the separate sleeping-houses for the unmarried youths and maidens are still kept up in the remoter villages which have not been too much touched by the Hindus on the plains;[14] among the eastern Nagas, and among the Ao Nagas.[15]

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1 Mills, op.cit. p.24. Vide also Hutton, The Angamis, p.366.
2 Shakespear, J., op.cit.p.21.
3 J.A.I.XI.,199; Hutton, The Angami Nagas,pp.361,366.
4 Hutton, The Angami Nagas, p.352.
5 J.A.S.B.,XXIV,p.613(1855).
6 Hodson, Naga Tribes, pp.42,75,76 and J.A.I.,XVI., p.354; XXVI,p.181.
7 J.A.S.B.,XXIV.,p.635(1855).
8 Carson, personal letter.
9 Dalton, Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal, p.24.
10 Playfair, op.cit.,p.39; J.A.I.,I.,p.124; II.,p.393; Dalton, op.cit.,p.61.
11 J.A.S.B.,LII.,Pt.II.,p.17,note.
12 Lewin, Wild Tribes of South-east India, pp.119, 121,182.
13 Assam Census, 1881,p.72.
14 J.A.S.B.,LII.,Pt.II.,p.16; J.A.I.,XXII.,p.244; J.A.I.,XXVI.,pp.180,181; Bastian, Volkerstamme am

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"The custom of keeping the young men in one dormitory," writes Hodson,[3] "is known to have been at no distant date common among the Loi communities" of Manipur. It was at one time common among the Mikirs,[4] but has practically gone out of use. "In a few Karen villages," writes Marshall,[5] "a young men's club ('blaw') is still maintained, but not in most."

Dr. J.H. Hutton has given us some valuable information in regard to the Angami Nagas.[6] "This institution," he writes, "is in decay, or has never fully developed." "The morung, or young men's house (kichuki)," he writes,[7] "which is such an important feature of most Naga tribes, is insignificant in the Angami village. Sometimes one finds a house definitely set apart for the young men. More often one finds a house that is only nominally set apart for them, but is in reality built and occupied by a family in the ordinary way, though it is recognised as being also the morung house.....In many Angami villages there is not even a nominal morung.....In any case among the Angamis proper the morung is not habitually used by the young men, as it is in the Ao and trans-Dikhu tribes, but it is used on the occasions of ceremonies and gennas which by traditional usage call for a house definitely allotted to the young men of the clan. At

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[3] The Meitheis, p.61.

[4] Stack, The Mikirs, II.

[5] Op.cit., p.62. Cf.also p.139.

[6] This information was secured from Dr. Hutton through the courtesy of the Rev.J.E.Tanquist, of Kohima, Assam.

[7] The Angami Nagas, p.49.

other times it is used merely as a casual resort for the village bucks, and perhaps as an occasional sleeping-place for a young man finding it temporarily inconvenient to sleep in the outer chamber of his father's or elder brother's house, although in some villages the young men regularly sleep there." The young men's house among the Angamis is not so rigidly taboo to women as it is among other tribes.

One writer[1] states that "the club system for the youths of the village prevails.....in which not merely the young men, but also the young women all live together instead of with their parents." Hutton,[2] however, assigns this practice to the Memi sub-tribe and not to the entire Angami group.

"Among the Semas," writes Hutton,[3] "it has either decayed or been ousted by the Sema invader from among the institutions of the tribes absorbed by him." "The morung, or young men's house," he states,[4] "is practically non-existent among the Semas. It is occasionally found in a miniature form not unlike a model of a Lhota morung.....Such a model is often built in times of scarcity, the underlying idea apparently being that the scarcity may be due to the village having neglected to conform to a custom which has been abandoned.....The usual pattern is so small that a man on his hands and knees might enter if he wished, but the morung could not in any

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[1] J.A.I., XVI.,p.362.

[2] The Angami Nagas, pp.49 and 169, note 1.

[3] Personal letter.

[4] The Sema Nagas, p.37.

sense be called an inhabitable house. A miniature morung of this sort is always built when a new village is made. As a general rule the chief's house serves all the purposes of a morung, both as a centre for gennas and as a bachelor's sleeping-place."[5] Hutton also gives us a further bit of interesting information. "Thus when the harvest has been bad," he writes,[6] "a morung is sometimes built.....to fulfil no other purpose than obedience to a custom the lapse of which has conceivably angered the spirits."

It is also found in some villages in the Khasi hills. However, Gurdon takes the position that it "is not a khasi institution."[7]

Pile Dwellings

"A great part of these peoples," remarks Ratzel,[8] "live in pile dwellings. Among most of the East Himalayan races the huts stand on piles or gratings." "But even taking this one feature of pile-dwellings alone," writes Peal,[9] "we find it contains a large amount of internal evidence supporting the former unity of these races. Not only is the raised floor seen from the borders of Thibet

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[5] Possibly this is the result of their social organization. The morung is undoubtedly a survival of the communal house in which the whole group lived, as it still does in Borneo. (Hose and McDougall, Pagan Tribes of Borneo, I.,pp.50-55,116-130; also Peal, "Communal Barracks," J.A.S.B.,LXI.,ii.,No.3,pp.246-69) Where there is a chief it is likely that his house is the direct survival of the communal house and the morung as such does not therefore appear.-J.H.H.

[6] Op.cit.,p.198.

[7] The Khasis, pp.32,194. [8] Op.cit.,III.,p.435

[9] J.A.I.,XXII.,p.250

on the north to the Solomon Islands in the south, but the singular extension of the floor beyond the end of the house is carried more or less all over this area..... The pattern of these pile-dwellings no doubt varies greatly, but there is a unity in the general plan which cannot be accidental." "But some curious facts," writes Yule,[4] "seem to show that, however the difference of practice may have originated, it has now got as it were into the blood, and may almost be regarded as a test of race, having no traceable relation to local circumstances. The Bengalee inhabits a marshy country; his villages for several months of the year are almost lacustrine; but.....he never builds on piles; his floor is always the lap of mother earth; on the other hand, the Indo-Chinese on his eastern border, so far as I have seen them, all build on piles, though many of them inhabit mountains in place of marshes. In Silhet, for example, a region of vast swamps, inhabited by Bengalees, up to the very base of the mountains, the villages.....are built on the earth; the moment you enter the mountain country of the Khaseias you find the houses elevated on piles.[5] Even in Java, whilst the true Javanese builds on the ground, the people of the Sunda mountain districts, a different race, raise their dwellings on posts."

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[4] Ibid.,IX.,p.296.

[5] The Khasis do not ordinarily build on piles and only do so apparently in the foothills (vide Godwin-Austin, J.A.I.,XI.,p.55). Probably there the blood is mixed with that of the Lynngams, Bhois, or Garos.- J.H.H. On this see also infra, p.130, and Gurdon, op.cit.,pp.32,196

"It is known," says Kropotkin,[1] "that even during the Stone Age the shores of the Swiss lakes were dotted with a succession of villages, each of which consisted of several huts, and was built upon a platform supported by numberless pillars in the lake."

"The modern discovery," notes Yule,[2] "that the system of pile habitation was practised in lacustrine sites, at a remote period, by the inhabitants of Switzerland and North Italy, as well as other regions nearer home, is full of interest." It would be an interesting undertaking to trace the pile-dwellings in other places. It may be that along the line followed by these dwellings will be found the path along which has come the infusion of Caucasic blood into this group of hill tribes. Keane,[3] however, does not attach so much importance to the feature of pile dwellings as do some ethnologists. He does not agree with the idea that this was a custom peculiar to the non-Aryan races. He takes the position that it arose chiefly from such natural causes as humidity of the soil and the necessity of producing a refuge against wild beasts or hostile tribes. Hence where these conditions did exist, the practice was found to prevail from the remotest times and altogether independently of racial affinities. "When," he states, "we remembered the prehistoric pile dwelling of the Swiss lakes, besides those not only of Assam but also of Cambojia, Borneo, New Guinea, and many other widely

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[1] Mutual Aid, p.67 [2] J.A.I., IX., p.297.

[3] J.A.I., XI., p.56.

separated regions, it seemed impossible to associate the custom with any questions of ethnical affinities." There is here, nevertheless, a situation which may bear some investigation, since Caucasic blood seems to have flowed in a south-easterly direction, closely following the line suggested above by Keane from Switzerland to New Guinea.

However deeply imbedded this custom may have been, some changes are coming here and there. This is taking place among the Miris of Assam, who are adopting the style of house as used by the Hindu population in the Assam valley.[1]

In writing of the Karen of Burma, Marshal[2] states that, "In the Pegu hills we find the single-structure village, which seems to have been the characteristic Karen dwelling from early times. It might be described as a bamboo apartment-house on stilts."[3] Pile dwellings are found among the Lushei-Kuki clans;[4] among the Kukis;[5] among the Marrings[6] of Manipur;[7] among the Eastern Nagas;[8] among the hill tribes of North Arracan;[9] among the Tipperahs;[10]

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[1] Assam Census, 1881,p.88.

[2] Op.cit.,p.56.

[3] This is very similar to the "long house" of the Dyaks as described by Gomes, Seventeen Years among the Sea Dyaks of Borneo, p.42.

[4] Shakespear, J.,op.cit.,pp.23,24,151.

[5] Asiatick Researches, VII.,p.187.

[6] Hodson, Naga Tribes, p.44.

[7] The Bulk of the Nagas in Manipur, like all the Southern Naga Hills Nagas, build on the ground and not on piles.- J.H.H.

[8] J.A.S.B., XLI.,pp.13,16(1872).

[9] J.A.I.,II.,p.245.

[10] J.A.S.B.,(1863),p.409.

among the Chittagong hill tribes;[1] among the Mikirs;[2] among the War, the Bhoi and the Lynngam of the Khasi Hills, though not among the Khasis proper;[3] among the Garos;[4] among the Kachins;[5] among the Chins;[6] among the Singphos, Mishmis, Miris, Akas, and Kukis;[7] ~~among the~~ among the Abors and Khamtis;[8] among the Palaungs of Yunnan;[9] and among the Ao Nagas.[10]

"Lhotas, Changs and Sangtams,"[11] writes Hutton,[12] "build partly on machans, and so do Thado Kukis, but all the southern Naga tribes build on the ground, and I know of nothing to suggest that they ever did anything else." The Lhotas, according to Mills,[13] raise the floor above the ground on short posts and cover this over with a layer of earth. There is, however, at the back of the house a sitting-out platform, like that of the Aos, which is made of bamboo without any covering of earth.

"It is singular," writes Peal,[14] "how this custom survives only among people who have left the hills

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1 Lewin, op.cit.,pp.42,223.

2 Stack, op.cit.,p.7; Assam Census, 1881, p.81; J.A.S.B.,p.606 (1855); Dalton, op.cit.,p.54; and Butler, Travels and Adventures in Assam, p.135.

3 Gurdon, op.cit.,pp.32,196.

4 Playfair, op.cit.,p.35; J.A.S.B., III.,p.23; Dalton, op.cit., p.61; Asiatick Researches, III.,p.24(1801)

5 Hanson, op.cit.,p.42; also Gilhodes, The Kachins, p.160.

6 Carson, personal letter. Also Scott and Hardiman, Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States, I.,i.,p.465.

7 Dalton, op.cit.,pp.10,15,29,38,66. Also Baptist Miss. Magazine, XXI.,p.297 (1841), and Butler, Travels and Adventures in Assam, p.162.

8 Assam Census Report (1881), pp.85,86.

9 Davies, Yunnan, the Link between India and China, p.376.

10 Supra, pp.28-29; and J.A.I., XXVII.,p.18.

11 A closer acquaintance with the Sangtams suggests to me that they only build on piles where they have come under Chang or Ao influence.- J.H.H.

12 Personal letter.

13 Op.cit.,p.30.

14 J.A.S.B.,L.,Pt.II.,p.14 (1881)

and been resident in the plains for some five hundred or six hundred years....."

Platform Burial.[3]

The practice of platform burial is perhaps best exemplified by the Ao Nagas.[4] The bodies are placed on raised bamboo platforms and roofed over by small structures which resemble the ordinary dwelling-houses. This practice is found among several of the Naga tribes.[5]

Among the Eastern Nagas, according to Michell,[6] "the corpse is wrapped in leaves and put on a chang, where it is left until decayed, when the skull is taken and put away in the village dead house."

The Angami Nagas have departed somewhat from this custom, but still traces of it are to be found in their present practice.[7] They bury their dead in graves, but the graves are raised,[8] and surrounded by stone walls, and above these are erected rude wooden effigies of the deceased.[9] Hutton, however, does not agree with this position, as is shown by his reply to an enquiry made by the writer. "Disposal of the dead on machans (platforms), " he writes[10]

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[3] Cf. Hutton, "On the Disposal of the Dead among Naga Tribes and Others," Census of India, 1921, Vol.III., Assam, Part I., Report, p.xx.

[4] Supra, pp.104 ff.

[5] Cf. Dalton, op.cit.,p.40;J.A.I.,XI.,p.203;XXII., pp.247, 260; XXVI.,199; XXIX.,pp.273,274; J.A.S.B.,XLI., pp.3,13.

[6] The North-Eastern Frontier of India, p.206.

[7] I think that this is an unwarranted assumption.- J.H.H.

[8] I find no authority for the statement that the grave is raised. A mound is raised over the grave. A different thing.-J.H.H.

[9] J.A.I.,XI.,p.65.

[10] Further information is also given in The Angami Nagas, pp.353,382,383,386,415.

"is not found south of the Ao and Chang countries, though the Tangkhuls and Naked Rengmas have what is perhaps a trace of it in little house built on a platform above the grave with a ladder for the use of the soul. The Changs, on the other hand, are so far from substituting burial for exposure that the practice of exposing their dead on machans is gradually superseding the practice of burial. The Angamis bury their dead below the level of the ground, though they do put up a stone and earth erection over the grave. I should not care to take this as a survival of tree-burial myself. That is like regarding the wearing of clothes as a survival of going naked. Lhotas and Semas put a mound and sometimes a roof, and the Lhotas build a fire on the grave. Some see a survival of tree-burial in the practice of several Naga tribes of hanging the heads of enemies in trees." The illustration opposite page 245 in Hutton's book on the Sema Nagas suggests a survival of platform burial. The roof built over the grave is modelled after a house roof. Among the Ao Nagas the structure in which the corpse is exposed is a miniature of an ordinary dwelling-house. Among the Karen it is a common practice to bury the bodies and later to exhume the bones.

"In the Pegu Hills," writes Marshall,[1] "they are put under a small canopy, but on the plains the receptacle for this is made in the form of a miniature pagoda.....or a little hut.....The hut is a model of a house with its ladder, water-pots, etc." According to Mills,[2] "if a man is killed by a tiger or leopard

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[1] Op.cit.,p.206.

[2] Op.cit.,p.162.

the body is not buried, but is put on a platform in a tree.....This is the only example of tree 'burial' among the Lhotas." This would tend to show that at one time platform burial was practised by this group. Dr. Hutton, in the introduction to Mills' book,[1] states that "the Lhotas, Sangtams and Semas build thatched roofs over their graves, which perhaps suggests that they formerly exposed the bodies in the miniature houses, since the Aos who have turned Christian, though they bury the body, build a thatched roof over the grave like that which would be put over a body exposed on a platform if they followed the custom of their unconverted fellow-tribesmen."

Among the Lusheis[2] "the body is placed in a box made by hollowing out a log. A slab of wood is placed over the opening, and the joint plastered up with mud. This rough sort of coffin is placed in the deceased's house near to the wall. A bamboo tube is placed up through the floor.....and into the stomach of the corpse.[3] The other end is buried in the ground. A special hearth is made close to the coffin and a fire is kept burning day and night on this for three months." According to the Census of India,[4] in the case of a chief, after his long drying

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[1] p.xxiv. [2] Shakespear,J.,op.cit.,p.84.

[3] This is likewise done when interring the nobles of the Betsiloo tribe in Madagascar, in order to give the soul an opening for egress and ingress. (Sibree, Madagascar Before the Conquest,p.305).- J.H.H.

[4] 1901, Vol.I,p.225.

process has taken place, some of the bones are buried, "but the skull and certain of the larger bones are kept in a basket which occupies a shelf opposite the fireplace in the house of the nearest relative." This differs from the practice of the Ao Nagas to some degree, yet it may be placed in the same class.

The Census of India[1] sets forth the custom among the Paithes clan of the Lusheis: "During the day-time the corpse is kept in the house, but in the evening, when the people return from work, it is brought out and placed on the platform outside of the house, and rice beer is poured down its throat, and people sing and dance around it. This disgusting performance is kept up for periods which vary from a month to a year, according to the wealth of the dead person's family."

Among the Kukis "the bodies of great men are placed before slow fires till the flesh is effectually smoke-dried, and then laid out and dressed and equipped for a month or two , during which time open house is kept amid great feasting."[2] Butler,[3] reports a like practice. This preparation of the body and the feasting resemble the practice of the Ao Nagas. The Kukis have moved about considerably, and no doubt during this time they discontinued the platform disposal while they retained the preliminaries.

Macrae,[4] an earlier writer than either of the other two, has reported a practice which is more

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[1] 1901, Vol.I.,p.228.

[2] Dalton, op.cit.,p.47.

[3] Travels and Adventures in Assam, pp.92,93(1855).

[4] Asiatick Researches, VII.,p.194.

nearly like that of the Ao Nagas. "When any person dies," he writes,....."the corpse is conveyed by the relations of the deceased and deposited upon a stage raised under a shed erected for the purpose at some distance from the dwelling-house. While it remains there it is carefully guarded..... Should more than one casualty occur in a family, the same ceremony is observed with respect to each corpse; and at whatever time of the year persons may happen to die.....all the bodies must be kept in this manner until the eleventh of April.....On that day all the relations of the deceased assemble, and convey their remains from the sheds to different funeral piles prepared for them, where they are burnt." The only real difference between this practice and that of the Aos is in the final burning. Since the Kukis remain in one location only a comparatively short time, it is probable that they developed the practice of burning to forestall any desecration of the bodies by other groups.[1]

Gilhodes[2] records a practice among the Kachins which seems to indicate that platform burial was in vogue in the past. "One or two generations ago," he writes, "(the present old men were witnesses of it in their childhoos,) the body was kept in the coffin on the catafalque until the end of the funeral ceremonies, which may last several months.....They took, therefore, care to provide two holes in the coffin, one below, the other above, to which they

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[1] I think it is more likely that there is an association of the souls of the dead with the newly-sown crop.- J.H.H.

[2] Op.cit.,p.247. Cf. also Scott and Hardiman, op.cit., I.,i.,p.410.

fixed two bamboo tubes, the first to release into the earth the result of the decomposition, the other to send the smell up into the air above the roof of the house. But little by little this inconvenient custom dropped and to-day the burial is gone through without delay."

A variation of the platform burial as found among the Chins of Burma has been reported by Mrs. Laura Hardin Carson, for many years a missionary among them. "The Kamban tribe," she writes,[1] "put corpses up in tops of the houses and often keep them for years before burying. The Siyins make a sort of dug-out coffin and either put it.....in the fork of a tree or on a little scaffold made for the purpose."

Among the Mikirs the usual practice is cremation. However, the Rev. Penn E. Moore, of the American Baptist Mission, reports in a personal letter an interesting case. He states that very young babies and those dying of cholera are buried in the ground. "And I've seen a roof put over a boy's body to protect it from falling clods."[2] This resembles the structure of the Nagas, except that it is below ground instead of on the raised platform.

Trial Marriage

Trial marriage or great freedom between the sexes

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[1] Personal letter. Cf. also Scott and Hardiman, op.cit.,E.,i.,pp.467,471.

[2] The tribes on the north bank of the Brahmaputra place sloping boards over the body to prevent the earth from pressing it too heavily.- J.H.H. Among the natives of Goodenough Island, "short boards are laid across the niche, forming a kind of door to protect the body when the grave is filled with earth.....A small hut is built above it to protect it from the weather."-Jenness and Ballantyne, The Northern d' Entrecasteaux, p.112.

before marriage is found in several of these groups. Children are highly prized, and "men are desirous before marriage to have proof that their wives will not be barren."

Among the Nagas of Manipur "the laxity which characterizes so conspicuously the relations of the sexes before marriage," writes Hodson,[1] "is in such sharp contrast with the rigid chastity demanded of married women." Among the Kachins "there are practically no restrictions," writes Hanson,[2] "in regard to the relations between young unmarried people. They are allowed to suit themselves, and the old people do not regard it as in any way improper." This practice also holds sway among the Garos according to Playfair. "On the occasion of certain festivals," he writes,[3] "it is an unwritten law that young girls and men may sleep together after the entertainment is over, and the partnership of one night is expected to precede a lifelong union. It is not absolutely necessary that they should thereafter live as man and wife, and no obloquy is incurred by the girl on account of her lapse from the path of virtue, unless she is found later to be an expectant mother. It must be added that this custom is no longer in favour, and is discountenanced by the more respectable." Among the Lusheis, "until a girl is married, she may indulge in as many intrigues as she likes, but should she become pregnant, her lover must pay a metna to her father.....If a man is willing

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[1] Op. cit.,p.78.

[2] Op.cit.,p.89. Also vide Gilhodes, The Kachins, pp.209-10.

[3] Op.cit.,p.68.

at once to marry a girl whom he has seduced, he is not expected to pay more than the usual marriage price."[1]

Campbell, in writing of the Lusheis,[2] states that "intercourse between the unmarried of both sexes is unchecked, but not so after marriage." This custom is also followed by the hill tribes of North Arracan. "Till marriage the intercourse between the sexes is unrestrained, and it is considered rather a good thing to marry a girl in the family-way, even though by another man.,... Not to be sought after by the young men is considered a reproach. After marriage, however.... conjugal fidelity is generally respected."[3]

"Among the Angami Nagas.....girls consider short hair, the symbol of virginity, a disgrace and are anxious to become entitled to wear it long. Men are desirous to have proof that their wives will not be barren.[4] Chastity begins with marriage."[5] The Rev. Joseph E. Tanquist, in an unpublished manuscript, refers to this practice. "Rather loose morals," he writes, "are said to obtain up to the time of marriage. After that time both husband and wife, between whom equality practically exists, jealously require proper conduct from one another." "The Angami woman before marriage,"

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[1] Census of India, 1901, Vol.I.,pp.225,229.

[2] J.A.I.,III.,p.61.

[3] J.A.I.,II.,p.239.

[4] I am far from confident that pre-marital laxity is intended to test the woman's ~~xx~~ fertility.-J.H.H.

[5] Westermarck, Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas, II.,p.423; quoted from Revue Coloniale Internationale, V., p.491.

writes Hutton,[1] "is given a very great deal of liberty, though the extent to which she takes advantage of this has possibly been exaggerated. Mr. Davis, speaking not of Angamis in particular, but of Nagas generally, says: 'I should say it was very rare for a girl not to have at least one lover.' Customs , however, differ in this respect in a very great degree between different ribes. While the Ao girl is bound to admit men to the girls' houses at night, chastity before marriage prevails among the Semas, where the marriage price of a girl is reduced at least 50 per cent. by the fact of her having an intrigue. The Angamis would seem to fall somewhere between the Ao and the Semas, for whihe separate girls' houses do not exist in Angami (Tengima) villages, though they are found in Memi villages, girls are not looked after with the same jealousy as that with which a Sema girl is watched until her marriage." Among the Banpara Nagas considerable looseness between the sexes is customary.[2]

Among the Changs, "unmarried girls," states Hutton,[3] "are not expected to be chaste. They sleep in the outer room of the house, into which the young men force their way at night, the girls defending themselves with sticks and firebrands. Intrigues of this sort are, however, usually followed by marriage with the lover. Strangers are never admitted in this way." The Ao Nagas are addicted to

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[1] The Angami Nagas, p.169. For full discussion, Vide pp.169-74.

[2] J.A.I., XXII., p.259.

[3] The Angami Nagas, p.380.

this practice, as already described in this study.[1] Hutton also makes a statement concerning this tribe. "The Aos," he states,[2] "are notorious for the unchastity of their women.....From a tender age girls are free to do as they like before marriage, and are thus with difficulty prevented from doing so afterwards."

Betel-Chewing

The chewing of betel-nut is practised by a number of the hill tribes. "Pan leaf, betel-nut and lime," writes Wilson,[3] "are essential to the comfort of all the hill people, who are inveterate chewers of pan. They commence at an early age, and are rarely seen without a pan leaf in their mouths; the females are quite disfigured from the practice." The Khasis "are addicted to the use of.....betel-nut.....which is chewed in large quantities by both sexes."[4] "They greatly disfigure their countenances," writes Dalton,[5] "by the constant and untidy chewing of pan leaf." "They are inveterate chewers," comments Gurdon,[6] "....both men, women and children; distances in the interior being often measured by the number of betel-nuts that are usually chewed on a journey." "Betel-nut," writes Stack,[7] "is largely consumed in the usual way" among the Mikirs. The practice is current among the Kachins. "The acknowledged form of introduction and friendly

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[1] Supra,pp.57 ff. [2] The Angami Nagas,p.374
[3] Statistical Account of Assam, p.280.
[4] Census of India, 1901, Vol.I.,p.198.
[5] Op.cit.,p.57.
[6] Op.cit.,p.5.
[7] Op.cit.,p.14.

interchange of courtesies," comments Hanson,[1] "is by exchanging betel-nut boxes." The Karen "also practise constantly the habit of betel-chewing."[2]

Dr. Hutton is responsible for the statement that betel-chewing among the Naga tribes is "confined to Aos, Lhotas[3] and Konyaks in touch with the betel-chewing plainsmen." The Rev. S.A.D. Boggs, a former missionary among the Garos, reported to the writer that betel-chewing has been on the increase among the Garos. Betel-chewing is common among the Assamese, and it is the opinion of Mr. Boggs that the Garos have learned the habit from the Assamese. Among the Ao Nagas the habit is deeply entrenched. However, some questions arise in this connection. The palm tree which bears the areca or betel-nut does not thrive well in the hills, and so the Nagas frequently substitute the bark of a certain root for the nut. This may mean that they brought the habit with them into the hills and have been keeping it up in spite of the scarcity of one of the principal ingredients or else they may have learned the habit from others since taking up their present abode.

Aversion to the Use of Milk

"To us of the Occident," writes Lowie,[4]

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[1] Op.cit.,p.57. [2] Marshall,op.cit.,p.66.

[3] Mills (The Lhota Nagas,p.82)says that "betel-nut is chewed with pan and lime in the villages near the plains. Lime used to be made locally from the ground-up shells of fresh-water snails, but is now brought in the plains."

[4] Culture and Ethnology, p.57.

"nothing seems more obvious than that cattle should be kept both for meat and dairy products. This, however, is by no means a universal practice. The Zulu and other Bantu tribes of South Africa use milk extensively, but hardly ever slaughter their animals.....On the other hand, we have even the more astonishing fact that Eastern Asiatics, such as the Chinese, Japanese, Koreans and Indo-Chinese, have an inveterate aversion to the use of milk. Though the Chinese ..... have raised a variety of animals from which milk could be derived and have been in constant contact with Turkish and Mongol nations, whose staple food consists in dairy products, they have never acquired what seems so obvious and useful an economic practice."

Among the hill tribes under consideration milk is not used and is generally regarded as an impure excrement. Butler[2] writes of the Nagas that "good fresh milk is entirely repugnant to them, and they pretend that its very smell is enough to make them sick." Mrs. Carson writes in a personal letter that the Chins consider the use of milk as disgusting. Garos "have no aversion to any food except milk, which they abominate;"[3] "but those who are in tough

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[1] Milligan (Fetish-Folk of West Africa, p.116) records an instance showing this aversion. "They do not eat eggs; neither do they ever drink milk or use it in any form, and our use of it is somewhat disgusting to them. A friend once offered milk to a Kru boy just to try him, and he replied contemptuously: 'Milk be fit only for piccaninny; I no be piccaninny.'"

[2] J.A.S.B., 1875, p.324. Also vide Butler, Travels and Adventures in the Province of Assam, p.40.

[3] Dalton, op.cit., p.62. Also vide Assam: Sketch of its History, Soil and Productions, p.49.

with foreigners have almost lost this prejudice."[1] The Khasis, except some of the Christian community and some of the people in the suburbs of Shillong, will not touch milk.[2] "The Miris will eat of almost any animal food except the cow, which they affect to reverence, though they have a dislike for milk."[3] The Mikirs regard milk as impure and do not drink it.[4] The Daphlas and Abors keep herds of buffaloes, but they eschew milk as an unclean thing.[5] "The Lhota," writes Mills,[6] "never milks his cattle, simply because it is not the custom to do so, but he will drink milk if it is offered to him."

"Milk," comments Marshall,[7] "does not form a part of the diet of the Karen people any more than it does of some other Oriental races." "Cows are kept in large quantities for their meat and for sale, for the Angami, though by no means refusing milk when offered to him, does not care about it particularly, and never attempts to milk his cattle. The reason he gives is that he has never done it and he does not know how to do it. Occasionally one is told that it is genna to drink milk, but most Angamis take it readily."[8] The Sema Nagas have several kinds of cattle which "are kept for the sake of their flesh.....and are not milked, except in rare cases where they are kept by

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[1] Playfair, op.cit.,p.50.

[2] Gurdon,op.cit.,p.51;J.A.I.,IX.,p.290; India Census, 1901, Vol.I.,p.198.

[3] Dalton, op.cit.,p.54. Also vide Butler, Travels and Adventures in Assam, p.163.

[4] Stack, op.cit.,p.12; Assam Census, 1881,p.81.

[5] Assam Census, 1881,p.86.

[6] Op.cit.,p.61.

[7] Op.cit.,p.71.

[8] Hutton, The Angami Nagas, p.80.

men who have been servants to Gurkhali graziers near Kohima, though the milk of the mithan is very rich and Semas have no objection to drinking it when they can get it."[1] The Hill Miris do not use milk,[2] neither do the Ao Nagas,[3] except for some who have been in contact with the Europeans in the district.[4]

Tattooing by Pricking

In the early days of human society tribal marks were in common usage. This served to hold the members of a group together and to set them off against others. St. John[5] writes of the Chins of Burma that "the most likely reason is that it was adopted as a mark whereby they might be recognized when carried off by other tribes, or perhaps to enable them the better to conceal the women of other tribes captured by them." The tribal mark was not a matter of individual choice, but all members of the group must have it. The tribal mark was often a matter of life and death to a man, because he would be recognized by his own group. In Genesis iv.15 we find that Cain, as he wandered about as a fugitive, was protected by a sign, which evidently

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[1] Hutton, The Sema Nagas, p.69.

[2] Dalton, op.cit.,p.34. [3] Supra, p.33.

[4] The consumption of milk is spreading rapidly among Christian Aos. It is probably a dangerous custom, as the utensils in which it is kept and the conditions under which the cattle are milked are extremely dirty-.J.H.H.

[5] J.A.I., II.,p.237. Sangermano (Burmese Empire, Ch.VI.) says that the Chins adopted the practice of tattooing the faces of their women to disfigure them because the Burmese were in the habit of raiding their hills to carry off their women because of their beauty, i.e. probably their fair complexion.- J.H.H.

was a tribal mark. These marks may be of several kinds. Two of the common forms are cicatrization and tattooing. Cicatrization is the production of designs by cutting and producing welts by swelling. This latter practice is common among the black peoples of the earth. In tattooing, indelible colouring matter is introduced beneath the skin. There are two types of tattooing, one where gashes are cut for the introduction of the dye, and the other where the skin is pricked with needles. In the tribes under consideration it is usual for each group to have its own token affixed by pricking. It is found among the Eastern Nagas,[1] and among the Ao Nagas.[2] It is found among the Lusheis, but it "is not much practised."[3] I am indebted to Dr. Hutton for the statement that tattooing is found very rarely among the Thados, who sometimes prick a patch of the skin on the fore-arm and tattoo a circle on it with a bamboo tube, the end of which has been rubbed in soot from a cooking pot and is stamped into the skin of the arm. 'Among the Rikirs the men do not tattoo, but the women usually tattoo a perpendicular line.... down the middle of the forehead, the nose, upper lip, and chin."[4] "Tattooing," comments Hutton,[5] "is not practised by any of the Western Nagas, though it is practised by all the central as well as the Konyak tribes."

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[1] J.A.I., III.,pp.477-78; XI.,p.206.

[2] Supra, pp.20-22.

[3] Shakespear, J.,op.cit.,p.12.

[4] Stack, op.cit.,p.6. Some of the Konyak Naga men, but not the women, tattoo in this way.- J.H.H.

[5] The Angami Nagas, p.353.

In some villages of the Tangkhul Nagas the women are tattooed. "They say that they do this because it serves to identify their women hereafter.....Lampblack and the juice of wild indigo are used as colouring matter, and the old woman who operates pierces the skin with a sharp bamboo splinter."[1] This practice is found among the Tamlu Nagas, but it is gradually disappearing with the decline of head-hunting.[2] "The Konyak tribes immediately east of the Ao country are divided into two groups, Thendu and Thenkoh. The Thendu tattoo their faces, while the Thenkoh do not. The tattoo on the women of the two divisions is different also.....The men are tattooed on taking a head, but in the villages recently annexed, where heads are no longer available, the young men have taken to assuming the tattoo after the pretended killing of wooden figures."[3]

Mrs. Carson writes in a personal letter that this practice was common among the Chins of the foothills, but has been pretty much dropped in later years. Since settled government has been developed in these hill regions, it is not as necessary as before, and since the process is excruciatingly painful, and even dangerous, it is gradually declining.

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[1] Hodson, Naga Tribes, pp.30,31. This is perhaps a reason why the Oraons tattoo their women. Vide Roy, The Oraons, p.103. Some Konyaks paint the skulls of their dead that they may recognize them.-J.H.H.

[2] J.A.I.,XXXII.,p.455.

[3] Hutton, The Angamis, pp.385-86.

Absence of any Powerful Political Organization

What is written of the Naga tribes[1] will apply, with certain exceptions, to all these hill groups. "No record is forthcoming of any general authority, whether of an individual chief or of a leading village[2].....Each village has a democratical government of its own, and each would reign distinct over its own hill and adjacent cultivable lands, but that alliances have been forced upon them by the power and conquest of larger villages or been sought for to protect the weaker villages against the stronger." Powerful political organization, however, is the exception rather than the rule among these groups. This holds true of the Kachins, where "the chief, while nominally the head of the community, is very often a mere figure-head."[3]

According to Mrs. Carson this condition of affairs is found among the Chins of Burma; this also holds true for the Garos,[4] and the Rengma Nagas.[5] Among the Mikirs the village affairs are carried on by a council, which is headed by an official who has been elected by the group.[6] Among the Lhota Nagas, "Every village is an independent unit in the tribe.....In the days when villages were constantly at war each

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[1] J.A.I.,XXVI.,p.168.

[2] I cannot accept this without qualification. The Konyaks are divided into groups of villages, many of which are despotically governed by hereditary chiefs as powerful and sacred almost as in Polynesia.-J.H.H.

[3] Hanson, op.cit.,p.52.

[4] Playfair, op.cit.,pp.74-76.

[5] J.A.I.,XXVI.,p.168.

[6] Stack, op.cit.,p.22.

village was ruled by a chief, assisted by an informal council of elders."[1] "The Miris have a social democratic organization, with a gam as president, but he cannot overrule the combined wishes of the people."[2] Among the Karen, "The organization of the village was patriarchal, but the government was really democratic. The elders of the village comprised an informal council, which heard all communal business and talked matters over with the chief."[3] Among the Eastern Nagas the real power of the chiefs over internal affairs is small, and the liberty of the subject is at a maximum.[4] The Lusheis live in independent villages, each one under a chief who is supreme in his village. The people, however, are very democratic, and if a chief becomes oppressive his subjects can move to another village.[5] "The Aroong Nagas of Cachar have no kind of internal government; they acknowledge no king among themselves, and deride the idea of such a personage among others."[6] "There is no regular system of government among the old Kookies, and they have no hereditary chiefs;"[7] but according to information supplied by Dr. Hutton, "Thado[8] Kukis have a strong political organization throughout the tribe, worked through their chiefs." The Sema Nagas have chiefs who have considerable influence over their own

[1] Mills, op.cit.,p.96.
[2] Census of India, 1921,Vol.III., Assam, Pt.I., Report, p.xv.
[3] Marshall, op.cit.,p.143. [4] J.A.S.B.,XLI.,p.12
[5] India Census,1901,Vol.I.,p.223; Shakespear,J., op.cit.,pp.43-46.
[6] J.A.S.B.,XXIV.,p.608. [7] J.A.S.B.,XXIV.,p.620.
[8] The old Kukis must be carefully distinguished from the Thado Kukis who drove them north and probably imparted all that the "old Kukis" have of true Kuki (i.e. Thado) culture.- J.H.H.

villages, and occasionally over a group of villages, especially over such villages as have been organized by colonists from a parent village. There is, however, no semblance of a tribal organisation.[1] "The Angami Nagas, as indeed the Nagas in general, have no settled form of government,"[2] and they "have no recognized head or chief."[3] Among the Nagas of Manipur the village is a distinct political unit, but "here and there it is possible to discern faint traces of a higher organization of villages into something almost resembling a tribe.....The political supremacy of one village over small weak neighbours has for a time assisted the development of the sense of tribal unity, but never for long. As political units they have at the best shown themselves capable of only very feeble attempts at concerted and united action against a foe."[4] Among the Ao Nagas each village is a miniature republic and one man is as good as another. They have headmen in the village, but their authority is small indeed. There is no tribal organization of any kind, but at times small groups of villages have formed alliances both for offensive and defensive purposes.[5]

The Double Cylinder Forge

A simple forge is in quite common use among these hill peoples. The description given by Tylor[6] fits the case. "It is a double-barrelled air-forcing

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[1] Hutton, The Sema Nagas, pp.144-52.

[2] J.A.I.,XI.,p.68.

[3] J.A.S.B.,XXIV.,p.655; and also Hutton, The Angami Nagas, pp.142-44.

[4] Hodson, op.cit.,p.74.

[5] Supra, pp.51-54.

[6] Early History Mankind,p.186.

pump. It consists of two bamboos, four inches in diameter and five feet long, which are set upright, forming the cylinders, which are open above, and closed below except by two small bamboo tubes which converge and meet at the fire. Each piston consists of a bunch of feathers or of some soft substance, which expands and fits tightly into the cylinder while it is being forcibly driven down, and collapses to let the air pass as it is drawn up; and a boy perched on a high seat or stand works the pistons alternately." This is entirely different from the skin Bellows which are used in Africa and the most other parts of India. This simple forge is found among the hill tribes of Arracan[1] and Burma;[2] among the Khasi,[3] Kukis and Nagas;[4] among the Kamptis and Singphos;[5] among the Nagas of Manipur;[6] among the Lushei clans;[7] among the Mikirs;[8] among the Chins[9] and among the Sema Nagas.[10] "The bellows are made of two sections of a large bamboo,

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[1] It is also found in the plains of Assam.-J.H.H.

[2] J.A.I.,IX.,p.299.

[3] The Khasi bellows described by Hooker (Himalayan Journal, II.,p.306) is very different.-J.H.H.

[4] J.A.I.,IX.,p.302. [5] J.A.I.,IX.,p.250

[6] Hodson,op.cit.,p.45 [7] Shakespear,J.,op.cit.p.30

[8] Personal letter from the Rev. Penn E.Moore, Missionary to the Mikirs.

[9] Carson, personal letter. This type of forge is also found among the Shans and Burmans. Vide Scott and Hardiman, op.cit.,I.,ii.,p.407 sq. -J.H.H.

[10] Hutton, The Sema Nagas, p.52. An illustration shows the construction of the forge.

or more often in the Angami country of hollowed sections of a tree placed upright together on the ground."[1] This forge is also used by the Garos, but it seems that iron-working is going out of fashion and only a few of the older man do much of this work now because they can buy knives and hatchets cheaper in the bazaar.[2] The Lhota Nagas depend largely upon the Rengma and Ao blacksmiths at present. 'The few Lhota blacksmiths there are use tools bought from the plains, though an indigenous type of bellows (yongphophen) is still in use in places. This consists of two sections of bamboo set up perpendicularly side by side in a clay base."[3] The same forge of bamboo cylinders is used by the Ao Nagas, in addition to which they also use a single horizontal cylinder which has a set of valves.[4]

The Loom

A simple loom of the tension type is in general use throughout this area. A brief description by Hanson of the loom used by the Kachins will be quoted, and, except for minor details, this will hold for the entire area. "The warp," he writes,[5] "is held tight by means of two bars; the back bar is held in place by pegs driven into the ground, and to the front one is attached a broad leather belt which passes around the weaver's back. The operator sits on the ground or on

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1 Hutton, The Angami Nagas, p.63.

2 Personal letter from the Rev.Asher K.Mather, missionary to the Garos.

3 Mills, op.cit.,p.42

4 Supra, pp.36-37.

5 Op.cit.,p.78. Cf. also Scott and Hardiman, op.cit I.,i.,p.437.

a piece of board, her feet braced against a stout piece of wood or bamboo. Instead of working the heddles with her feet, she lifts them up with her hands as she sends the shuttle back and forth." In many places the belt which goes about the weaver's back is made of braided rattan, but among the Chins of Burma raw hide is used.[1] The loom as described is used by the Garos;[2] by the Mikirs;[3] by the Chins and hill tribes of North Arracan;[4] by the Lhota Nagas;[5] by the Karen;[6] by the Nagas of Manipur;[7] by the Lushei clans;[8] by the Angami Nagas;[9] by the Sema Nagas;[10] and by the Ao Nagas.[11]

The Shield

There is considerable similarity in the shields used in this area.[12] A large quadrangular or hexagonal

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1 This information was given by Mrs.Laura H.Carson.

2 Letter from the Rev.A.K. Mather.

3 Letter from the Rev.P.E.Moore.

4 J.A.I.,II.,p.245.

5 Mills, op.cit.,p.38.

6 Marshall, op.cit.,p.111.

7 Hodson, op.cit.,p.46.

8 Shakespear, J.,op.cit.,p.31.

9 Hutton, The Angami Nagas, pp.61,62.

10 Hutton, The Sema Nagas, pp.48-51. On p.50 Hutton gives an excellent diagram of the loom.

11 Supra, pp.37-39.

12 There is also a great deal of variety. The Khasi used a little round shield, the Kuki a small square one, the northern and eastern Nagas a rectangular hide or basket shield, also small, whereas the Angamis and southern Nagas use a huge shield of hide or basket-work or wood covering the whole body, with an irregular upper edge suggesting the Igorot shield.-J.H.H.

shield has been quite general. Usually this is made of hide, but in some cases a basket-work shield is used. This shape is found among the Kachins. "Shields of a square shape," says Hanson,[1] "covered with lozenge patterns, may still be seen in some communities; but they are mere curiosities and it is long since they were of any practical value." They are found among the Nikirs, but Mr. Moore informs me that they are seldom seen except at dances for the dead, and then only in the hands of expert dancers. The rectangular shield is found among the Chins, according to Mrs. Carson. The shields of the Garos are not exactly rectangular, but they approximate the type. "They are," writes Playfair,[2] "about 3 feet long by 18 inches broad, roughly oblong, but with slightly concave sides." The Nagas of Manipur also make use of an oblong shield.[3] According to Hutton,[4] "the shield used in war by the Angamis is a long strip of rhinoceros, elephant, or buffalo hide from 5 to 7 feet high, but generally about 6 or 6½ feet. At the top it is about 2½ feet broad, and narrows to 1⁹ inches at the bottom." In a private communication Dr. Hutton has supplied some additional data. "I know," he writes, "of no hexagonal shield in this part of the world, but rectangular shields of hide are found in various shapes - small square Kuki shields, rectangular Ao, Chang, Konyak, etc., tall and narrow

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1 Op.cit.,p.86.
2 Op.cit.,p.32. See also illustrations opposite pp.32,56.
3 Hodson,op.cit.,p.37.
4 The Angami Nagas, p.35. Also see illustrations opposite pp.35 and 220.

Angami shields."[1] This general type of shield is also used by the Ao Nagas.[2]

Residence in Hilly Regions and Crude Agriculture

These tribes for the most part live in the hill distficts, which are difficult of access, and they carry on a crude agriculture by the method of jhuming, that is, by clearing land and growing crops on it for two successive years and then allowing it to return to jungle for a period of years which in accordance with the amount of tillable land available.

The Angami Nagas, however, are a notable exception, for they have a well-developed system of terraced fields which are skilfully irrigated. Dr. Hutton, however, informs me that "the Chakroma Angamis practise jhuming like the Aos." Aside from the Angamis, the Jhum system of cultivation similar to that carried on by the Aos[3] is quite general, except for a few exceptions where the terrace system has been recently adopted. "Jhuming is the only form of cultivation in the Western Rengmas, but the Naked Rengmas have excellent terraces."[4] The Shendoos of the Chittagong Hill Tracts are also reputed to be familiar with the terraced form of cultivation.[5] The Manipur Nagas occupy the hills

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[1] The Ao shield is very different from the Angami shield and is used in a different way, being used to turn aside the flying weapon. It is light enough to handle easily and move about quickly, while the Angami shield is used to take shelter behind and is anything but light or handy as a rule.-J.H.H.

[2] Supra, p.67, and J.A.I.,XI.,Plates 21,22

[3] Supra, pp.40-43.

[4] Hutton, The Angami Nagas, p.361.

[5] Lewin, op.cit.,p.282.

bordering the Manipur valley and ~~and~~ practise the jhum system of cultivation.[1] However, they also use the terrace system in certain areas. The Rev.Url. M. Fox informed the writer that the terrace system is now more common than the jhum, especially among the Tangkhuls. Dr. Hutton is sponsor for the information that "the Tangkhuls and the Nzemi tribe of the Kacha Nagas terrace like the Angamis, but with less skill." "The genuine Sema method of cultivation," comments Hutton,[2] "is jhuming pure and simple." Due to the influence of the Angamis,[3] however, the terrace system is being gradually adopted. The Mikirs have departed from the jhum system to some degree. "They have settled in the plains, and taken to plough cultivation.....The great bulk, however, remain a hill tribe.....and practising the primitive method of cultivation by axe, fire and hoe."[4] The home of the Garos is in the hills and they cultivate by the wasteful jhum system.[5] A considerable number of Garos, however, are now living on the plains, and these, according to Playfair,[6] "have lost many of their tribal characteristics." The Kachins[7] "are a mountain people, and it is only recently some of them have taken to the plains, where they, however,

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[1] Hodson, op.cit.,pp.1,50,51. [2] The Sema Nagas,p.59

[3] Pressure from Government is also helping the movement along.-J.H.H.

[4] Stack,op.cit.,p.2. Cf.also Butler, Travels and Adventures in Assam, p.139.

[5] Playfair, op.cit.,p.34.

[6] Ibid.,p.v.

[7] Hanson, op.cit.,p.11. Cf. also Scott and Hardiman op.cit.,I.,o.,p.424.

rapidly degenerate or lose their peculiar characteristics." Their agriculture is of the same crude type as that of the Garos and Nagas.[1] The Chins also follow this primitive method.[2] The Lusheis live in the hills and the only form of agriculture practised by them is that of jhuming.[3] This also holds true of the Lhota Nagas,[4] and of the Karen.[5] "The Kookies," according to Butler,[6] "raise only one crop and then relinquish the land and cut down new forests of bamboo for the cultivation of the succeeding year." In the eastern and southern portions of the Jaintia Hills, the Bhois and Lalungs, the Lynngams and Garos of the western tracts of the district practise the jhum style of cultivation. The Khasis, however, regularly follow the method of irrigation.[7] The Miris, also, are a hill people, but a considerable number are now found on the plains, where they have departed from many of their old customs which belonged to them as a hill people.[8]

General Conclusions

The characteristics given under these thirteen heads do not appear uniformly throughout this group of tribes at the present time. This, of course, is due to the fact that since they separated from their primeval crade-land[9] they have not all been

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1 Hanson, op.cit., pp.72-74.

2 Carson, personal letter. Also Scott and Hardiman, op.cit., I., i., p.464.

3 Shakespear, J., op.cit., pp. xiii., 20, 32.

4 Mills, op.cit., p.45. 5 Marshall, op.cit., p.75.

6 Travels and Adventures in Assam, p.95.

7 Gurdon, op.cit., pp.39, 40 8 Assam Census, 1881, p.88.

9 I doubt if this gives any idea of the exceedingly complex racial origin of the Naga tribes. They are, I am convinced, the result of the fusion of about three different races, if not more.-J.H.H.

subjected to the same conditions. Some have been isolated more than others, and some have come into more intimate contact with other more advanced groups and consequently have made changes with greater rapidity. As an example, the young men's house was common among the Mikirs, but has now practically gone out of use.[1] At present this institution is also practically non-existent among the Semas.[2]

The dance of victory was very common among these tribes, but is now on the decline among the Kachins,[3] at least, and tattooing is on the decline among the Tamlu Nagas since the discontinuan-ce of head-hunting.[4] Mrs. Laura H. Carson has informed the writer that tattooing has declined greatly in recent years among the Chins.

Considerable change has recently taken place among the Miris. "That they are sinking into the mass of Hindu population, however slowly, is proved by the existence of the class known as mati or ground Miris, who have given up their national custom of platform houses and taken to living on the ground.....a change which signifies also a departure from many other national customs, religion included."[5]

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[1] Stack, op.cit.p.11.
[2] Hutton, The Sema Nagas, p.37.
[3] Hanson, op.cit.,p.94.
[4] J.A.I., XXXII.,p.455.
[5] Assam Census, 1881, p.88.

Thus changes creep in and certain of these elements drop out in certain groups. We must also take into consideration the fact that not all of these elements are recorded for each group, even though they are actually in existence. As an example we quote from Stack:[1] "Weaving is done by the women of the family on rude wooden looms." No further description is given, and consequently we cannot be certain that this loom is of the same type as the one in common use. We quote again from the same passage: "Blacksmiths have existed among them from remote times." No description is given of them or their equipment, so we cannot be certain that they use the double-cylinder vertical bellows so generally used by the other hill groups.[2] But we do find enough of these elements associated together in the case of each group that we may conclude with a high degree of probability that they belong to the same ethnic group,[3] and that the differences have crept in during the period intervening since their separation. Hodson, in writing of the people of Manipur,[4] says that the evidence shows that "two hundred years ago in internal organization, in religion, in habits and manners, the Meitheis were as the hill people

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[1] Op.cit.,p.10.

[2] This information, however, has been secured from the Rev. Penn E. Moore, missionary to the Mikirs, and both the loom and forge are of the typical patterns.

[3] I disagree with this except in so far as I admit common elements in all Naga tribes.-J.H.H.

[4] The Meitheis, p.ii.

now are. The successive waves of foreign invasion, Shan, Burmese, English, Hindu, have each left permanent marks on the civilization of the people, so that they have passed finally away from the stage of relatively primitive culture into one of comparative civilization, but their ultimate homogeneity with the Nagas and Kukis of the hills is undoubted, and in my opinion needs no further insistence."

Dalton,[1] in treating these different tribes of Assam, considers that they belong to the Mongolian race. But he does not find them to be typical. The section on the Mishmis is a good example. "The Mishmis," he writes,[2] "are a short, sturdy race of fair complexion for Asiatics..... they vary much in feature, generally exhibiting a rather softened phase of the Mongolian type, but sometimes with regular, almost Aryan, features, the nose higher and the nostrils longer than is usually seen in the Indo-Chinese races." His treatment of the Midhi Mishmis also bears this out. "The colour," he notes,[3] "varies from dark brown to the fairness equalling that of an European brunette. Some amongst them have rich red lips and ruddy complexions, and I have seen Midhi girls that were decidedly good-looking."[4] Further evidence on the point is deduced from the Daphlas. "They

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1 Op.cit.,pp.ii.,26,36,45.

2 Ibid.,p.8.

3 Ibid.,p.19.

4 This last statement is to be interpreted that they approached the Caucasic type of features.

have," he says[1], "normally the same Mongolian type of physiognomy, but from their intercourse with the people of the plains and the number of Assamese slaves..... it is much softened.....Their complexion varies much: from olive, with a ruddy tinge, to dark brown." A statement from Hutton about the Semas furnishes additional evidence on this point. "The hair of the head," he says[2], "is, generally speaking, straight, sometimes wavy, and, though usually black, is very often tinged reddish-brown in children, a colour which occasionally lasts till later in life, and which, like waviness, is considered ugly."

Keane[3] places Nagas, Mishmis, Khasi, Karens, Kakhyens, Chins, Lushai, and other hill tribes together on the Tibeto-Burmese branch of the family tree of Homo Mongolicus. But he does not find them to be typical Mongolians. From his treatment of the Kakhyens of Burma[4] we quote: "They form a very widespread family stretching from the Eastern Himalayas right into Yunnan, and presenting somewhat marked physical types: (1) the true Chingpaws; ..... (2) a much finer race, with regular Caucasic features, long oval face, pointed chin, acquiline nose." Dr.George Watt[5] writes of the Kapuis of Manipur that "the greatest differences in countenance are often met with. Some have Mongolian faces,[6] others are almost Aryan, with oblique eyes. This is, however, a feature of most of the tribes

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[1] Ibid.,p.36. [2] The Sema Nagas, p.9.

[3] Ethnology, p.300.

[4] Man, Past and Present,p.193.

[5] J.A.I.,XVI.,p.350.

[6] The Mongolian features of the Kabuis are generally more marked in the women than in the men.-J.H.H.

of Manipur; oblique eyes, without the flat noses and high cheek-bones of the typical Mongolian, being common.

Hodson[1] quotes Dr.R. Brown, who says that, "Although the general facial characteristics of the Munniporie are of the Mongolian type, there is a great diversity of feature among them, some of them showing a regularity approaching the Aryan type.....Some of them are very good-looking and fair.[2] It is not uncommon to meet with girls with brownish-black hair, brown eyes, fair complexions, straight noses and rosy cheeks."

Capt. John Butler[3] writes of the Nagas: "I have observed that there seems to be two very distinct types running through these hills; the one a fine, stalwart, cheerful, bright, light-coloured race.....among whom I place the Angami as facile princeps; the other a darker, dirtier, and more squat race, among whom the sulky Lhotas may be pointed to xxx as a good representative."

All through the uplands of south-east Asia, from Tibet to Cochin-China, this Caucasic intermixture is to be found. The Khmers of Cambodia "may be regarded as a detached branch of the great Caucasian stock, whose original home seems to have been the Iranian table-land."[4]

From this corner of Asia the Caucasian element decreases in the direction of Tibet, according to Keane. "Through these Naga and Kuki aborigines," he says,[5] "we pass without any break to those of Indo-China,"[6] and "from the Kuki-Nagas the transition

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[1] The Meitheis, p.2.

[2] Ferdinand Mendez Pinto describes the women of Martoban as "very white and fair, with bright auburn hair." (Ch.VI.,Cogan's Translation, 1663.)-J.H.H.

[3] J.A.S.B.,XLIV.,p.310(1875) [4] J.A.I.,IX.,p.260.

[5] Man, Past and Present,p.186.

[6] Ibid.,p.189.

is unbroken to the large group of Chins of the Chindwin valley.....and thence northwards to the rude Kakhyens[1] about the Irawadi head-streams."

Among the Nagas the Caucasic element is present. Furness[2] says that "in the facial contour, however, they have little more than a trace of their Mongolian or Tibetan ancestry; the drawing down of the inner angle of the eye, so emphatically marked in all Mongolian races, is but slightly noticeable among the Nagas, and the high cheek-bones seem to have been softened down." Hodson[3] says of the Nagas in Manipur that "occasionally an almost purely Mongolian cast of countenance will be observed, to be succeeded by one closely approaching the Aryan type."

The Ao Nagas, who are considered in this study, have some Mongolian marks, but they are far from being typical; they have some characteristics which are strongly Caucasic. The head is dolichocephalic, approaching brachycephaly, the face is flattish, the nose low and broad at the root, but in some instances the nose is of the Caucasic cast. The forehead is rather high and broad, but does not extend far over the eyes. The eyes are of a dark brown, and in some individuals they are set slightly on the oblique. The chin is rather square, while there is but a slight tendency toward prominent cheek-bones, and protruding lips are extremely rare. As a rule, the hair is straight and black, but in some cases it is wavy and of a brown or even reddish hue. The latter, however, is so uncommon that the possessor is taunted about it . The growth of hair is abundant and signs of baldness are rare indeed. There is very little beard. There is some difference in complexion, the most common being

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[1]Kachins. [2]J.A.I.,XXXII.,p.445. [3]Op.cit.,p.6.

a yellowish-brown, but in many cases it fades out to almost white. The faces are rather full and plump.

The Ao Nagas are above the Chinese and Japanese in stature. They are of good proportion and sturdy, while a few are tall and slender and some few are rather small. The Aos are larger than their neighbours, the Lhota and Rengma Nagas, while they are rather more stocky and decidedly shorter than the Angamis. The arms of the Aos are not at all remarkable, but the legs are very well developed, a natural result of climbing hills and carrying heavy loads. They are, however, much less developed in the calf of the leg than the Angami or the Thado Kuki. There are no fleshy individuals among them. The fact that they must walk wherever they go, and act as their own beasts of burden, seems to be effective in keeping down weight.

Affinities Outside of the Asiatic Mainland

The Ao Nagas are not only related to the other hill tribes of Assam and Burma, but they are also related to many of the inhabitants of the islands skirting Asia. We may take as typical examples the Dyaks and Kayans of Borneo, the Battak of Sumatra, certain groups of Formosa,[1] the

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[1] McGovern (Among the Head-Hunters of Formosa) shows th close relationship of the aboriginal tribes of Formosa to the groups which are considered in this treatise. She says (pp.95,96), "I am able to confirm Hamay's statement as to the resemblance between Fillippinos and Formosan aborigines. As regards the tribe of Igorotes, this resemblance extends also, to a certain degree, to social customs and religious beliefs." Head-hunting (p.110) "is interwoven with the fabric of their whole social organization. It regulates the social and political standing of the men of the tribe; it is directly connected with marriage - no head, no wife; and is reflected in the games, the songs, and the dances of the people." Several tribes have the "bachelor-house" system (p.122). "When a young man reaches the age of fifteen or sixteen, he is obliged to leave the home of his parents and sleep in the bachelor-house until he is married." "Family houses, as well as the 'long-houses' of the bachelors, are of the 'pile-dwelling'

P.T.O.

variety" (p.176). Platform burial is also practised in several areas (170-71). The habit of betel-nut chewing is also in vogue (p.60). The description of the tattooing process (p.189) is almost identical with the practice of the Ao Nagas. The loom is of the same type as that of the other groups except for a slight modification which seems to have evolved in Formosa alone (p.179). In agriculture they are in the stage of "hoe-culture," which is common among the other groups (p.125).

Igorot and the Ifugao, and several other groups in the Philippines. All of these people have Caucasic characteristics, such as are found among the hill tribes of Assam and Burma. In order to bring out the relationships, the Dyaks and Igorot will be considered.

The Dyaks

According to Hose and McDougall[1] the Dyaks are "passionately fond of head-hunting." Bock[2] says that head-hunting is part and parcel of their religious rites. "When a Dyak wants to marry, he must show himself a hero to his intended, and the more heads he has the more honour he receives from the tribe, and the more she admires him." On this point Gomes[3] says that "the desire to appear brave in the eyes of his lady-love sometimes leads a young man to mean and cowardly crimes." The Land Dyaks of Sarawak permanently kept heads in a separate house, which also served as the bachelors' quarters.[4]

In common with the Nagas and other mainland tribes, the Dyaks build their houses on piles about twelve feet high.[5]

Platform burial is practised by the Kayans, who belong to the same group as the Land Dyaks. The body is dressed and retained in the dwelling for several months, after which the coffin is placed on high poles, or in the branches of a tree.[6] "Any Sea Dyak whom it is intended especially to

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[1] Pagan Tribes of Borneo. II., p.293.

[2] Head-hunters of Borneo, p.215 [3] op. cit., p.73.

[4] Haddon, Head-Hunters, p.322.

[5] Featherman, Social History of the Races of Mankind, II., p.257.

[6] Featherman, op. cit., II., p.270

honour is not buried underground, but his coffin is placed in a miniature house built for him on piles."[1]

According to Roth[2] the Dyaks practise a sort of trial marriage. "Intercourse before marriage is strictly to ascertain that the marriage will be fruitful, as the Dyaks want children." The Dyaks also practise the habit of betel-chewing.[3]

The Dyaks do not use cow's milk. They hold the cow sacred, "and nothing would induce a Dyak of any of the tribes of Sarawak to eat anything into the composition or cooking of which either the flesh of the animal or any part of its productions has entered."[4]

Tattoo marks on arms, hands, feet, thighs, chest and temple are very common. The men tattoo when they attain manhood, and women when they are about to marry.[5]

There is no powerful political organization among the Dyaks. "The authority of the chief depends more upon his personal influence.....than on any actual power he possesses by virtue of his office."[6]

The Dyaks use a double-cylinder forge, but of greater capacity than the ordinary ones. It is constructed of "two hollow trees, each about seven feet high, placed upright, side by side.....from the lower extremity of these, two pipes of bamboo are led.....into a charcoal fire; a man is perched at the top of the trees and pumps with the two pistons.....which, being raised and depressed alternately, blow a regular stream of air into the fire."[7]

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[1] H.Ling Roth, Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo, I.,p.146. Cf. also Gomes, op.cit.,p.143.

[2] Op.cit.,I.,p.115. Also cf. Transactions of the Ethnological Society, N.S.Vol.II.,p.237.

[3] Bock, Head-Hunters of Borneo, p.212

[4] Roth, op.cit.,I.,p.388 [5] Bock, op.cit.,p.189.

[6] Featherman, op.cit.,II.,p.272

[7] Roth, op.cit.,II.,p.236. Cf. also Hose and McDougall, op.cit. Vol.I.,p.194; Skeat and Blagden, Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula, Vol.I.,pp.390-91.

The Kayans of Borneo use the regulation forge of bamboo cylinders.[1]

Roth[2] exhibits a loom used by several tribes of Borneo, which is almost identical with the one used by the Nagas and other related tribes.[3] Roth[4] gives illustrations of the large, hexagonal shields which are used by the Dyaks. They bear a considerable resemblance to those used in Assam.[5]

The Land Dyaks live in the hilly interior of Borneo, where they carry on a crude agriculture. They grow rice on the steep hillsides, frequently growing a single crop and then leaving the soil to be fallow some nine or ten years.[6]

The Dyaks are primarily agriculturists; they are not devoted to commercial pursuits like the Malays; their trade is largely confined to barter.[7] There are several other points of similarity between the Dyaks and the Nagas, but those given above will suffice to show the close relationship existing between the two groups.

The Igorot

The Bontoc Igorot is another kinsman of the Dyak and Naga, for he again presents an array of practices which are practically identical with those of these other two groups.

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[1] J.A.I., XXIII., p.166 [2] Op.cit., II., p.30.

[3] For a study of the distribution of this type of loom, vide Ling Roth, "Studies in Primitive Looms," J.A.I., XLVI., p.294 sq. (1916).

[4] Op.cit., II., pp.123, 129. Cf. also Gomes, op.cit., pp.52-53.

[5] I suppose it is a matter of opinion, but I should have called the resemblance very distant myself.- J.H.H.

[6] Roth, op.cit., I., p.400. Cf. also Gomes, op.cit., pp.46-47.

[7] Featherman, op.cit., II., p.261.

Barrows[1] writes of the Igorot: "It is the custom of all these tribes to chop off the heads of the victims in battle or murder, and carry them home as trophies, where they form the objects of feasting and celebration."

The Bontoc have the bachelors' house where the boys from three to four years of age and all the unmarried men sleep. This is the centre for several ceremonials, is a repository for trophies of the chase and war, and is taboo to women.[2]

The Bontoc Igorot do not build houses on posts. "I know of no other primitive dwellings," writes Jenks,[3] "in the philippines than the ones in the Bontoc culture area, which are built directly on the ground. Most of them are raised on posts several feet from the earth." The Ifugao, the Kalingas, the Ilangao or Ibalao, belong to the Igorot group, and they all have the pile dwellings.[4]

The Bontoc Igorot do not practise platform burial, but place the corpses in hewn-out coffins and bury them. They do, however, keep the corpses several days and have a big feat, which resembles the practice of the Ao Nagas to some extent.[5] Among the Ifugao "the dead are sometimes buried in small houses specially constructed for the purpose."[6]

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[1] Independent, LV.,p.1143. Also cf. Worcester, The Philippines, II.,p.582.

[2] Jenks, The Bontoc Igorot, pp.50-52. Cf.also Sawyer, The Inhabitants of the Philippines, p.257.

[3] Op.cit.,p.57.

[4] Phillippine Journal of Science, I.,p.497; cf.Sawyer, op.cit.,p.256. The Subanu, a mountain group of Mindanao, Philippine Islands, build their houses on piles. Finley and Churchill, The Subanu,p.21.

[5] Jenks, op.cit.,pp.74-80.

[6] Philippine Journal of Science, I.,p.832.

Sawyer, in treating the Igorot groups in general, states[1] that "some of the Igorotes dry their dead over a fire in a similar way to the Tinguianes." This drying process reminds one of the practice of the Ao Nagas.

The Bontoc Igorot have "an institution of trial marriage."[2] They have a sleeping-place for all the unmarried girls, which comes to be the mating-place of the young people of marriageable age. Young men are boldly and pointedly invited to this place. If a girl becomes pregnant and the man does not marry her she does not become an outcast, but "will later become the wife of some other man, since her first child has proved her power to bear children."[3]

Jenks[4] states of the Bontoc Igorit that "though surrounded by betel-nut chewers.....they do not use the betel." Since the betel-chewing is found among their neighbours it would no doubt be found among other Igorot tribes.

Among the Igorot "tattooing is very fashionable, the pattern most common being an arrangement of straight and curved lines."[5] The skin is pricked and soot is pressed into the openings as colouring matter.[6]

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[1] Op.cit.,p.289. [2] Jenks, op.cit.,p.33.

[3] Jenks, op.cit.,pp.66,67. Also Todd, The Primitive Family as an Educational Institution, p.38; and Sawyer, op.cit.,p.258.

[4] Op.cit.,p.42.

[5] Hose, "The Philippine Islands", in Customs of the World, II.,p.661.- The patterns used by some of the Igorot are almost identical with some used by the Konyak Nagas.- J.H.H.

[6] Jenks, op.cit.,p.188. Cf. Sawyer, op.cit.,p.255.

In the matter of political organization the Igorot are more like the tribes of Assam. Barrows[1] states that they "have never achieved any higher political organization than a town or community, composed of individuals related by blood, marriage, or adoption. They have no conception of tribe or nation." Jenks[2] states that each political division of the pueblo places its control in a group of old men. "It is a thoroughly democratic group of men, since it is composed of all the old men.....no matter what the man's social standing may be." This is almost identical with the elders who control affairs in the Ao Naga villages.

The Bontoc also make use of the double-cylinder vertical forge. This is shown by Jenks in an illustration.[3] The blacksmiths of the Ilongot and Ifugao also use this bellows.[4]

The same simple loom[5] is common among the Igorot, according to Jenks.[6] This is also used by the Ifugao.[7]

The shield in use by the Bontoc differs somewhat from the one common to the other groups,[8] but the Ifugao is practically of the same pattern as that used by the Nagas and others.[9]

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[1] Independent, LV., p.1145. [2] Op.cit., p.167.

[3] Op.cit., Plate CIX. Cf. Sawyer, op.cit., p.261.

[4] Philippine Journal of Science, I., pp.815,830. For a description of a like forge used by another group in the Philippines, cf. Fay-Cooper Cole, The Tinguian, p.415 and Plate LXII.

[5] For a like loom in another part of the Philippines, cf. Cole, op.cit., p.420 and Plate LXVI.

[6] Op.cit., Plate LXXXIV., p.128; also cf. J.A.I., XLVII., p.333.

[7] Phillippine Journal of Science, I., p.830.

[8] I think myself that the Igorot and Angami long shields originated in the same pattern.- J.H.H.

[9] Philippine Journal of Science, I., p.831. Also cf. Worcester, The Philippines, II., opposite p.562

According to Jenks[1] the Bontoc Igorot have an elaborate system of irrigated terraces on the hill-sides where they raise their rice. He discusses the origin of this and concludes[2] that "the terrace-building culture of the Asiatic islands.....has drawn its inspiration from one source, and that such terraces, where found to-day in Java, Lambok, Luzon, Formosa and Japan, are a survival of very early culture which spread from the nest of the primitive Malayan stock and left its marks along the way." It is interesting to note that the Angami Nagas have a system of terrace-cultivation which is almost identical with that of the Igorot. This adds another link in the chain which joins the Nagas in the hills of Assam with the Igorot in the hills of Luzon.

"The Bontoc Igorot has a 'medium of exchange'..... probably the best money that could have been devised by him for his society. It is his staple product - palay, the unthreshed rice. Palay is at all times good money, and it is the thing commonly employed in exchange."[3]

Among the Aö Nagas the same medium of exchange is employed; values were measured by the unhusked rice. Metallic money is now in quite general use in the hills and is gradually crowding this out, but still it is in common use even yet.

These similarities in culture exhibited by the Igorot, Dyak and Naga groups lead to any one of three conclusions: (1) this almost identical group of cultural elements has originated independently in

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[1] Op.cit.,p.88 [2] Ibid.,p.89.

[3] Jenks, op.cit.,pp.154,155.

each of these areas; (2) they originated in one culture centre and were diffused to all the other areas; (3) these groups belong to the same ethnic group, and, as they migrated from their primeval home, they carried these cultural elements bodily with them.

When we take into consideration the differences in physical environment and the differences in the peoples with whom these groups have come in contact, then it is in the highest degree improbale that this long chain of chance circumstances should have been repeated in these different areas. When thus accumulated these elements must be admitted to have considerable weight, and be too numerous and striking to be due merely to the parallel development of isolated groups of men who are passing through the same stage.

There is no casual relationship between the various elements in the chain which would make the others follow, if any one of the factors should have been invented in any given area. There is certainly no casual relationship existing between head-hunting and the aversion to milk as an article of diet, between trial marriage and platform burial, or between betel-chewing and pile-dwellings. Had this particular culture-complex originated independently in each of these areas, then there is no legitimate reason why this same complex should not be found in other areas as well. Single elements of this complex are probably found in remote regions, but then they are found in entirely different combinations. According to Webster the common

4 Primitive Secret Societies, Chap.I.

houses for men are found to be widely distributed; they are found in Australia, in Micronesia and Polynesia, in Africa, in Mexico and Central America, in Brazil, among the Pueblo Indians in the United States, and among the Eskimo. It is also found in the islands between New Guinea and Australia,[1] and in the Solomon Islands.[2] These men's houses are also found among the Oraons of India,[3] and in the Banks Islands.[4]

Had this particular culture-complex spread by diffusion from one group to another, it is difficult to understand why it did not spread to a wider area in the island world. It is limited to the islands which skirt the Asiatic coast. Certain elements have, to be sure, spread beyond this area, which, by some writers, is designated Indonesia. Betel-chewing or sirih-chewing is one of the character-istics of the Indonesian people. Churchill treats of this matter. "We may say confidently," he writes,[5] "that in every most distant region reached by Indonesians sirih-chewing is established." It has been spreading rapidly into the immediately adjacent Melanesia, and its introduction to the southern Solomons is within the memory of man.[6] This has been spreading by diffusion, but the other elements in the

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1 J.A.I.,XIII.,pp.411,412.
2 J.A.I.,XVII.,p.97.
3 Bastian, Volkerstamme am Brahmaputra, p.27. Also Roy, The Oraons, pp.211-60.
4 Rivers, History of Melanesian Society,I.,p.61.
5 Sissano, Movements of Migration within and through Melanesia, p.142.
6 Ibid.,p.123.

Indonesian culture-complex have been left behind.

If this culture-complex is followed, it will be seen that it is found among peoples which resemble each other sufficiently to be classed as members of the same ethnic group, who carried all of these elements with them as they dispersed from one common abode. These groups are also found in areas of comparative contiguity, on the mainland and on the islands which were broken off from the Asiatic continent.[1] A consideration of some of the somatological data of these groups will be of value in drawing a conclusion.

A table compiled from various sources brings these various groups together:

CEPHALIC AND NASAL INDICES OF NINE INDONESIAN GROUPS

Group	Cephalic Index	Nasal Index.	Number of Subjects.	Source of Information
1	2	3	4	5
ıtoc Igorot	79.1328	79.191	32	Jenks[2]
Nagas	80.4	81.8	17	Census of India, 1901[3]
ıd Dyaks .. .	78.4	86.3	42	Hose and McDougall[4]

.....contd.

[1] Shakespear (History of Upper Assam, p.197) writes of the Nagas: "They recognize a slight resemblance in matters of counting, names for domestic implements, in a way village architecture, and their head-hunting propensities, to those of the Dyaks; while their love for marine shells (which they part with but rarely) may seem to point to a bygone home near the sea; though they are a far inland residing community."

[2] The Bontoc Igorot, p.39.

[3] Vol.I.,p.35.

[4] The Pagan Tribes of Borneo, II.,p.325.

1	2	3		4
Angami Nagas	76.0	79.0	58	Hutton[1]
Sema Nagas	79.0	80.0	40	"
Rengma Nagas	79.0	82.0	19	"
Lhota Nagas	79.0	88.0	37	"
Ao Nagas	81.0	80.0	34	"
Chang Nagas	79.0	80.0	13	"
Konyak Nagas	77.0	89.0	20	"

According to Broca's classification of cephalic indices,[2] all the figures given may practically be classed as mesocephalic (ranging from 77.78 to 80). By adopting the broader classification of Risley,[3] all but the Ao Nagas will be included in the mesocephalic group, which ranges from 75-to 80. A weighted arithmetic mean from the seven Naga groups from Hutton gives an average cephalic index of 78.4, which is remarkably close to the first three groups in the table. When we consider the nasal indices we find a somewhat greater range from 79 in the Angamis to 89 in the Konyaks. In the case of the Land Dyaks the index is 86.3. In the group measured was one individual with an index of 116.2 concerning which Hose and McDougall[4] comment that "it is evidently abnormal." By making some allowance for this it will practically become mesorhinian.[5]

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[1] The Angami Nagas, p.437.

[2] Keane, Ethnology, p.179

[3] People of India, p.26.

[4] Op.cit., p.325.

[5] Between 70 and 85. Cf. Deniker, The Races of Man, p.79.

A weighted arithmetic mean from Hutton gives an average nasal index of 82.1. Here again by comparing this result with the indices of the first three groups in the table we note only a slight variation.

The same authorities give the stature as follows: Igorot 1602.87, Ao Naga 1566, Dyak 1577 millimetres, respectively. The writer is of the opinion that the Naga stature is too low. The Angamis, who are somewhat taller than the Aos, are given in the same table as 1639, which is more nearly correct. This would then, by comparison, place the Ao Nagas very near the Igorot. Woodthorpe[1] gives the average height of the Angamis as five feet nine inches (1752.6), while some attain a height of six feet (1828.8). Hutton,[2] reports the measurements made by Prof. Dixon of Harvard University, which gives the average stature of ten Angamis as 1648.5. Wallace[3] states that "the average stature of the Dyaks is rather more than that of the Malay, while it is considerably under that of most Europeans."

Jenks[4] says that "in colour the men are brown, though there is a wide range of tone from a light brown with a strong saffron undertone to a very dark brown." The Ao Nagas vary somewhat in colour. The most common is a yellowish-brown, but in many persons it is almost white. In the Dyaks the colour is a reddish-brown, light brown and yellowish-brown; they are much fairer than the Malays.[5]

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[1] J.A.I.,XI.,p.59 [2] The Angami Nagas, p.424.
[3] Malay Archipelago,p.67 [4] Op.cit.,p.40.
[5] Roth, op.cit.,I.,p.62.

In the Igorot, "the hair of the head is black, straight, coarse and relatively abundant.... Bontoc pueblo is no exception to the rule that every pueblo in the Philippines has a few people with curly or wavy hair. I doubt whether to-day an entire tribe of perfectly straight-haired primitive Malayan[1] exists in the archipelago..... The scanty growth of ~~xx~~ hair on the face of the Bontoc man is pulled out."[2] The hair of the Ao Nagas is, as a rule, black and straight, but there are cases where it is wavy and of a brown or even a reddish tint. It is abundant in growth. The Aos have very little hair on the face. Where the hair is wavy there is more beard. The hair of the Dyaks is usually straight and black, but in some instances it is wavy. Some few have a sparse beard, but the large majority have practically no hair on the face.

In addition to the similarity in physical type, we find another characteristic trait which runs through these groups, namely, a cheerful disposition. Hanson[3] tells about the jovial times the young people among the Kachins[4] have when they congregate in the evenings to sing songs; "I Believe,"

Campbell comes to the same conclusion about the Lushei.

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[1] Jenks used the term "primitive Malay" where othe use "pre-Malay" or "Indonesian."

[2] Jenks, op.cit.p.40. [3] Op.cit.,p.89.

[4] Enriquez (A Burmese Arcady, pp.57-58)writes: "The Kachins have a keen sense of humour, which finds expression in the army in all sorts of dry little jokes. One day the Commanding Officer fell into a deep and very muddy rain puddle. Several horrified Sikhs rushed to pull him out. The Kachins, on the other hand, stood by and howled with laughter.....I heard more genuine laughter in the Kachin lines than in all the rest of Mesopotamia. A joke and a laugh cheer them up wonderfully when they are weary with marching."

he comments,[1] "no happier people are to be found in the world," Hodson[2] tells of the cheerfulness among the Manipur Nagas. "One source of amusement to them," he says, "is their love of a joke, and peals of laughter used to greet the boastful youth." "Their sense of humour is well developed," Mills[3] writes of the Lhotas, "and they are always ready with a laugh." "The Angamis," writes Woodthorpe,[4] "struck us as a very cheerful, frank, hospitable, brave race." Quite evidently the Angamis have not changed since this was written, for Hutton[5] informs us that "both men and women are exceedingly good-humoured and always ready for a joke. They will, moreover, break into merriment under the most adverse circumstances and on the slightest provocation." The Sema "is to some extent," writes Hutton,[6] "the Irishman of the Naga tribes, generous, hospitable, and frequently improvident.....He is very impulsive and very cheery, and if easily depressed, it is never for long. In most unpleasant conditions he is easily moved to laughter and merriment." Butler[7] writes that the Nagas are"a fine, stalwart, cheerful, bright, light-coloured race," and they are further described as healthy and happy savages.[8] The disposition of the Khasi,[9]

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[1] J.A.I.,III.,p.64.
[2] Op.cit.,p.7.
[3] Op.cit.,p.19.
[4] J.A.I.,XI.,p.66.
[5] The Angami Nagas, p.39.
[6] The Sema Nagas, p.26.
[7] J.A.S.B.,XLI.,p.310.
[8] Accounts and Papers, 1913, East India, Vol.XLVI., p.388.
[9] India Census, 1901, Vol.I.,p.198.

"more especially that of the women, is cheerful." Gurdon[1] adds that "the people are cheerful in disposition, and are light-hearted by nature, and, unlike the plains people, seem to thoroughly appreciate a joke.....The women are specially cheerful and pass the time of day and bandy jokes with passers-by with quite an absence of reserve." Playfair[2] says of the Garos, that "their good-natured, smiling faces are far from unattractive." Featherman[3] says that the Dyaks are "cheerful in disposition." Wallace[4] says of the Dyaks that "they are more lively, more talkative, less secretive, and less suspicious than the Malay." The Igorot "is possessed of a strong sense of humour which leads him at times to play practical jokes even upon the white man."[5]

The cheerful attitude comes to have some significance when we contrast it with the "phlegmatic and utilitarian habit of mind which a German ethnologist has noticed as characteristic of the Mongolian races."[6] Wherever the writer has observed groups of Chinese they have seemed to lack the cheefulness of the Nagas. When the Nagas, in groups, are performing some hard work they pause occasionally and mirth begins to flow. Wallace[7] says that the Papuan "is impulsive and demonstrative in speech and action. His emotions and passions express themselves in shouts and laughter, in yells and frantic leapings." The groups considered

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[1] Op.cit.,p.4 [2] Op.cit.,p.2

[3] Op.cit.,p.257 [4] Malay Archipelago, p.68.

[5] Phil.Jour.Sci.I.,p.844

[6] India Census,1901,Vol.I.,p.202

[7] Op.cit.,p.450.

do not become frantic like the Papuans. In the same connection Wallace says that the Malay "is grave and seldom laughs."

The Ao Nagas and all the other closely related tribes must be classified as Indonesians. This term was introduced by Logan to designate the light-coloured non-Malay inhabitants of the Eastern Archipelago. It is a collective term applied to the peoples which are neither Malays nor Papuans, but who have the Caucasic strain, such as the Battak of Sumatra, many of the Bornean Dyaks, and many of the Philippine Islanders.[1]

Origin

When we attempt to deal with the origin of the Ao Nagas, we encounter no small difficulty.[2] Having no written language, consequently they have no literature which might give us a clue to their wanderings and to their former home. The language was reduced to writing by E.W.Clark, of the American Baptist Mission, after he took up his residence in the hills in 1876. They have no records or monuments of their own, and so the inquirer must find what contacts they may have made with other peoples; and the earliest records we have are to be found in the annals of the Ahoms.

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[1] Cf. Keane, Ethnology, p.326.

[2] Dr. Hutton has discussed at some length the origin of the Naga tribes in Mills, The Lhota Nagas, pp. xv-xxxix, and also in Census of India, 1921, Vol.III., Assam, Part I., Report, pp.xvii.-xix. Shakespear also discusses the problem in History of Upper Assam, p.197.

Until a few years ago comparatively little was known of them, except as trouble-makers, and from the officials who had to treat with them. But this helps us little as to their origin. We must for this rely upon their language, customs, traditions, their physical and racial characteristics, and by fitting them into the great movement of population in south-eastern Asia endeavour to trace their origin.

The origin of the name "Naga" has given rise to some considerable speculation, with the result that there are several theories in existence, each with more or less foundation, but with no unanimity of opinion. The term is applied collectively by the Assamese and Bengalis to the tribes that inhabit the hilly tract south of the Brahmaputra River, contiguous to the Sibsagor and Lakhimpur districts. As the majority of these tribes have made very little progress on the pathway of civilisation, the term carries with it a certain flavour of contempt.

According to Peal,[1] the true form of this word is not Naga, but Noga, from a root nog, nok, meaning "people." They are so named in the Borunjis, or "History of the Kings of Assam," dating from the thirteenth century; they are still always called Noga by the Assamese, and Naga only by the Bengali Babus, probably through a popular etymology and confusion with the Naga (snake) worshippers of India. But it is to be feared that the form Naga is "now too firmly

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[1] Keane, Asia, Vol.II.,p.153.

established to be set aside, more especially as it has been extended to the land itself as well as to the people."

"The collective designation," writes Mr.E.A. Gait,[1] "by which.....the Nagas are known to the Assamese seems to be derived, as suggested by Holcombe and Peal, from nok,[2] which means 'folk' in some of the tribal dialects." Mr. Peal visited the Banfera Nagas, across the Dikhu, in whose language the word nok or noka means "people"; and he suggested that there was some connection between this and the Sanskrit loka. In the Ao Naga language lok means a multitude of assemblage. This theory, however, I would rule out on the ground that the term Naga is quite foreign to the people themselves, and they never use it except when someone occasionally speaks Assamese; it would seem as if they consider the term as belonging to the Assamese language and not to their own. The Ao Nagas speak of themselves as Aor, that is, the Ao people. They do not use any generic term such as Naga to apply to all the inhabitants of this hill region. It is still more common for them to speak of themselves as belonging to a certain village than to use the tribal designation Aor.

"It has been generally believed," writes Capt.J. Butler,[3] "that the term Naga is derived from

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[1] History of Assam, p.309

[2] Cf. Sanskrit loka.

[3] Quoted in the Linguistic Survey of India, Vol.III., Part II.,p.204.

the Bengali word Nangta, or the Hindustani word nanga,[1] meaning 'naked', 'crude,' 'barbarous'; while another theory suggests the Kachari word naga, 'a young man,' and hence 'a warrior.' "

Another theory, while admitting that the origin of the word is unknown, supposes it to have come from the Sanskrit, and that it was applied in derision to the people because of their paucity of clothing.[2]

"The Pioneer of 24th March, 1870,[3] in treating of the agglomeration of tribes known by the generic name of Naga, states that "philologists find in them direct descendants of the serpent races of the Vedic Chronicle; history, less imaginative, knows them as Nangtas or 'naked savages' who disturbed the borders of the Ahom kings."

One theory would derive the term Naga from nog, meaning "snake," concerning which Mr. Gait remakrs:[4] "The lengthening of the first

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[1] I used to derive it from the Sanskrit nagna = a mountaineer ∠ नग = a mountainous or inaccessible place, but must accept Yule's derivation from nanga which Ptolemy gives, speaking of the as early as A.D. 300 (Geographia, VII, 177), and also a Mussulman historian, Shiab ud Din Talish, who speaks of them as nanga in 1662. The change of the long a to a short a (pronounced o) is typical of the Assamese dialect, in which the Bengali thaka (rupee) becomes thaka and raja, raja. Hence nanga (the second n is nasal) becomes naga, pronounced noga.-J.H.H.

[2] Robinson, An Account of Assam, p.380. An educated Assamese of Sibsagor, Assam, informed the Rev.Url M. Fox that the Assamese apply the term Noga to all of the hill tribes. According to him, Noga manuh means "naked man."

[3] In Mackenzie, North-east Frontier of Bengal,p.556.

[4] History of Assam, p.309.

vowel sound in the English rendering of the word Naga is probably due to the old idea that it connoted snake worship." "The word Naga (a Sanskrit one)," says Owen,[1] "appears to be identical with 'snake'.....for, on the authority of a good Sanskrit scholar, it may be translated not only into snake, but a swiftly travelling one, too, a derogatory term applied in all probability by the natives of the plains to them, from their notoriously shy, stealthy habits and wandering life. Not recognizing the word themselves makes it the more probable, as they themselves distinguish one another by other appellations."

Of the Nagas, Sir Alexander Mackenzie writes as follows:[2] "It has been conjectured that the inhabitants of this tract are descended from settlements of hill mercenaries of various tribes planted here by the ancient Ahom kings, and the variety of the tribal dialects is adduced to support this theory."

Mrs. Clark mentions a legend[3] according to which a colony of Chongli and friendly Ahoms migrated to these parts hundreds of years ago, the Chongli stopping at Chongliyimti, a place just beyond the upper villages of the tribe, while the Ahoms resided a short time at a place now occupied by one of the upper Ao villages, called Longmisa, or "Tzumar Menden," the abode of the Ahoms. After a short time the Ahoms moved down into the Brahmaputra valley.

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[1] Notes on the Naga Tribes in Communication with Assam.

[2] North-east Frontier of Bengal, p.91.

[3] Ao-Naga Grammar, p.i.

But neither of these statements is substantiated by history,[1] which says that the progenitors of the Ahoms entered the eastern extremity of the Brahmaputra valley in the early part of the thirteenth century. For several years after 1215, Sakapha, one of the early Ahoms, is said to have wandered about in the hilly Patkoi country, and occasionally made raids on the Naga villages. As the Ahoms gradually moved down the Brahmaputra valley, they had several encounters with the Nagas, and even sent expeditions into the hills to punish them. They dealt with the Tangsu, Aitonia, Namsang, Banpara, Tablung and other Nagas. These are the names of present-day Nagas, the Tablungs being next-door neighbours to the Aos on the east. This would go to show that the Nagas were then settled as they are now, even though the Aos are not mentioned.[2] As the conduct of these people accords with that of the present-day Nagas, there can scarcely be any doubt but that the Nagas were settled in their territory before the Ahoms arrived upon the scene of action. Consequently they could not possibly be colonies of mercenaries settled by the Ahoms. It will be necessary to dig deeper into the buried past and search for some earlier movements of population.

The earliest traces show that India was inhabited by a number of primitive peoples, following one another

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[1] Cf. Gait, op.cit.,p.82.

[2] Ptolemy, writing A.D.300, gives the Nango Nogae almost exactly where the "Naga-log" are now. Vide his map of India Extra Gangem and Bk.Vii.,ch.ii.-J.H.H.

in a long chain. These early races left very few records of any kind to tell us about themselves. A study of geography shows us that there are two routes leading into India, one from the north-east, through the passes gouged out by the Brahmaputra River and its tributaries, while the other is in the north-west. Through both of these gateways have come hordes of immigrants.

Many centuries before the Christian era, a noble race came in from the north-west and began to overshadow the simple people who then dwelt in the land. This new race belonged to the Caucasic stock. According to the Burma Census,[1] successive incursions of so-called Tibeto-Burman peoples came from a region in Western China, between the sources of the Yangtse-Kiang and Hoang-ho rivers. On the basis of information received from Dr. Berthold Laufer, Marshall writes[2] that "the early home of the peoples of Eastern Asia was in the upper reaches of the Hoang-ho or Yellow River of China, and that from this centre the Tibetans moved westward; the early tribes of Indo-China, southward; and the Chinese, south-eastward. According to this view the progenitors of the Karen probably formed a part of the southward migration." Starting with a westerly movement, the original stock, upon reaching the head-waters of the Irawaddy and Chindwin rivers, branched out in five directions. These led, respectively, to Tibet, to Assam, to the hill ranges between Burma and Assam. The census

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[1] Report of 1911, p.252.

[2] <u>Op.cit.</u>,p.6.

report[1] also states that the Shans of Burma were gradually expelled from China, culminating with the conquest of Talifu by Kublai Khan A.D. 1257. Dr. Grierson[2] asserts that the Shans are the latest Indo-Chinese immigrants into India, which would place the movement from which the Nagas came prior, at least, to this date of A.D. 1257.

These incursions swept down the Brahmaputra valley through Assam and Bengal, mingling and mixing somewhat with the earlier population. As these two tides of immigration, one from the north-west and the other from the north-east, rolled down their separate valleys into the peninsula, they came into forcible contact with each other. The people coming from the north-west were more advanced, more sturdy, and more powerful in war, and were able to stay the onward march of those from the north-east. As the Caucasic invaders were taking possession of the land, they enslaved many of the inhabitants, while others were driven from the fertile plains into the forests and mountain fastnesses, where they have preserved their aboriginal customs and simple life, absolutely untouched by the many revolutionary changes that have convulsed and torn the peninsula of Hindustan.
It is very probable that the invaders from the north-east, after intermingling somewhat with the people they found in Assam and Bengal, retreated into the near-by hills, lest they might be reduced to slavery by the powerful bearers of the Aryan culture. Successive

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[1] Burma, 1911, p.255.

[2] Burma Census, 1911, p.252.

hordes of those who spoke the Tibeto-Burman languages came from the north-east, and these, mixing with some of the different tribes and races that were in occupation of the soil, would account for the difference in the Naga tribes and the other hill tribes to whom they are related.

"I am informed," writes Grange[1]....."that the Nagas west of the Doyang River (Angamis)[2] derive their origin from a union of the Cacharee and Naga tribes.....the Nagas themselves acknowledge an origin from the Cacharee tribe, and on that account they used not to decapitate the Cacharee prisoners." To these movements we would ascribe the origin of the Aos, the particular tribe of Nagas with which we are concerned.

The Aos have some traditions about their origin, but these do not clear up the whole problem. However, there are some small matters that seem to fit in with the frail structure that can be built up from the fragments culled out of history.

The village of Chongliyimti, across the Dikhu from Longmisa, is the traditional cradle of the Ao Nagas. Here was said to have been a stone from which emerged six men who came to be the progenitors of the six principal father-sibs of the Aos. When this village became overcrowded, a large number of its people migrated across the Dikhu River and settled in the

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[1] J.A.S.B., 1840, p.957.

[2] Surely Kacha Nagas, not Angamis. The Kachari will admit a Kacha Naga to his house as having a common origin.- J.H.H.

present territory of the Aos. These were called Aor, "the going ones," that is, those who went across the large river, the Dikhu. Hence it is quite probable that, under the pressure due to the coming of the Caucasic group, a colony moved up the valley of the Dikhu into the Naga Hills, and settled at Chongliyimti, and from there spread out into the adjacent territory. The Ao village of Longmisa, on the west side of the Dikhu, has clinging to it the name of Tzumar[1] Menden (the "seat of the plains-dwellers"). From this it might be inferred that it was settled by a colony that came up from the Assam valley. Perhaps this explains the statement of Mr. Gait,[2] that when the Ahom rule was decaying, 1780-1795, some persons of the highest caste fled to the neighbouring hill tribes. There is a tradition among the Aos that long ago, in the time of their fathers, a small company of men from the Assam Valley visited Longmisa, remaining there only a short time, from which came the name Tzumar Menden. This flight into the hills, as mentioned by Mr. Gait, is removed by some five generations from the present day, which could readily account for the existance of this tradition.[3]

There are two divisions of the Ao tribe, the Mongsen and the Chongli, who not only speak

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[1] But these Tzumar are always spoken of as entirely distinct from the Aos.-J.H.H.

[2] Op.cit.,p.194.

[3] There is a pencil note among some papers of Dr. E.W. Clark, first missionary to the Ao Nagas, to the following effect: "The little colony of Shans that once held Tzumar Menden were probably wanderers, and had no connection with the Ahom conquerors of Assam."

dialects which differ greatly, but also have minor differences in their customs. It may be that two different colonies came up from the plains and settled at different places. Some say that both of these branches came originally from Chongliyimti (the large village of the Chongli while others say that they came from different villages, the Chongli from Chongliyimti and the Mongsen from Kopok. The tradition is that children were frequently carried away from Chongliyimti, and when one of the inhabitants went out on a hunting expedition, he found a village where a large number of human skulls were bleaching in the sun. Upon his return he told his fellow-villagers that he had learned the fate of their children, and so an expedition was organized to punish the offenders. This done peace was made, and the people of Kopok village were invited to come to Chongliyimti, which they did. The journey consumed a whole day (anogo mung asen, i.e. they moved or walked the whole day), and so they were called Mongsener ("whole-day walkers"). The people of Chongliyimti had no shields, consequently they bought some from the Mongsen people, from which they were called Chongli (chong means "shield," ali means "to buy." Then chong-ali, or chongli, means "those buying shields"). From that time forward the Mongsen and Changli people lived together in Chongliyimti, and, after crossing the Dikhu to their present place of abode, they continued to live side by side in many of the villages.

From these traditions it would appear that there were at least two different colonies that came up the Dikhu[1] to make up the Ao tribe. It would seem also that they were somewhat different, being perhaps a blend of different peoples. These differences have passed almost if not entirely away through the intermarriages of these two branches of the tribe. At first there is said to have been no inter-marriage between these two groups, but for many years there has been; yet, to this day, the difference in physique between the two can frequently be noted, the Mongsen being more Mongolian[2] in type.

Some of the Aos, those who wish to place the crown of glory on their tribe, say that all mankind came from Chongliyimti. Yet one of their traditions says that when they began to spread they came in contact with the Lhota Nagas at Lungkam, driving them away from there after a pitched battle. From this scrimmage they called the Lhotas Tsuener ("hurlers of many missiles"). This would go to prove that the Lhotas did not come from Chongliyimt. It would be more natural to conclude that, under the same pressure that forced the Aos up the valley of the Dikhu, the Lhotas ascended the Doyang River.[3]

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[1] My own view is that the majority came from the direction of the Chindwin River in Burma.-J.H.H.

[2] I am inclined to question this. Indeed, I should have said it was the other way round.-J.H.H.

[3] The Lhota traditions bring them from Manipur, part of them having got there originally from the Assam valley. They are probably closely allied to the Sangtams who seem to have come up from the Chindwin valley in Burma.-J.H.H.

The traditions of the Aos affirm that the villages near the Dikhu, in the neighbourhood of Mokokchung, were first formed, after which the other villages farther away from the river were gradually formed. This would tend to show that the first settlers had been forced up the Dikhu and from there they spread out through the hills which this tribe now occupies.[1] This would also coincide with history as it was being made by the great movements of population in India.

It is necessary to go back of these traditions of the Ao Nagas in order to find anything very substantial. We have concluded that these different peoples are not typical Mongols, but have a Caucasic admixture. Keane[2] states that "in Central Asia.....the Mongols have been in close contact with Caucasic peoples probably since the New Stone Age, and here intermediate types have been developed, by which an almost unbroken transition has been brought about between the yellow and white races." It is then from this contact of the two races that we have the Nagas and other related groups. Peoples of the Caucasic division of mankind spread to the utmost confines of south-east Asia in remote prehistoric times, and had preceded the first waves of Mongolic

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[1] Personally I think the Mongolian element probably came from the hills on the north bank of the Brahmaputra, but I know of no evidence to show that any Aos came up the Dikhu.-J.H.H.

[2] Man, Past and Present, p.268.

migration which radiated from the cradle-land on the Tibetan plateau.[1] The Khmers of Cambodia present characteristics which approach most nearly to the Caucasic type of Western Asia and Europe, while Caucasic characteristics are found" among the Lolo, Mosso and many other aboriginal peoples in the borderlands between China, Indo-China and Tibet, which probably indicates the route followed by this stream of Caucasic migration from Central Asia to the south-east extremity of the continent."[2] The peoples which have come south into the hills of Assam and Burma have more of the Mongolic admixture than the peoples of Cambodia. "The movements of population," says Keane,[3] "have undoubtedly been first southwards from the Asiatic mainland, then from the Archipelago eastwards to the Pacific."

It is this southward movement which brought these peoples down the river valleys of Assam and Burma, whence they were forced into their mountain fastnesses or otherwise isolated tracts, and there became the ancestors of the Nagas and other more or less wild tribes. This southward movement pressed on down through Burma and the Malay Peninsula to Borneo and to the Philippines, whence we have the Dyaks, Igorot and related groups. It was this migration which carried with it bodily the different elements which we have called the Indonesian culture-complex.[4]

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1 Keane, Ibid.,p.206.
2 Keane, Geography of the Malay Archipelago,p.59.
3 J.A.I.,IX.,p.259.
4 Newman (Who are the Maoris?,p.96) holds that the "Nagas are dropped colonies of Maoris" which were left behind in the south-easterly movement from the banks of the Indus.

History

Some of the hill tribes of Assam, notably the Kukis and Lusheis, are migratory, frequently moving their villages as they open up new fields for cultivation. The Nagas, however, are characterized by their fixity of abode. They prefer to cultivate lands many miles away rather than to move their villages.

By far the most striking feature of the Eastern Nagas, according to Peal,[1] "was the number and size of the Jack trees, many of them evidently very old.....while the hill summits around are destitute of them, unless where there is a village. There seem, in fact, no villages without Jacks and no Jacks without a village. We have, therefore, here a valuable means of reviewing their past history to some extent, as Jack (Artocarpus integrifolius is a slow-growing wood....."[2] In another connection he writes: "There are....many of them very large, and not less than four hundred years old, I should say."

"The Kookie also is a migratory animal," writes Stewart,[3] "and never remains more than three or four years at the same place. But nothing short of the direst necessity will force the Nagas....to relinquish their native spot of ground. Sometimes, indeed, they are obliged to do so.....but on greater security being afforded them, they would to a man return and rebuild their old village."

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[1] J.A.S.B., XLI., p.13 (1872) [2] Ibid., p.9.
[3] J.A.S.B., XXIV., p.607 (1855)

The villages on these fixed abodes have been out of touch with each other. "Their isolation," writes Peal,[1] "is often so complete that their resources lie wholly within their limited area. There seems to be a good reason to suppose that the present state of things has existed for a considerable period. Not only are the languages spoken by contiguous tribes mutually unintelligible,[2] but the still better evidence, the strongly-marked physical variation, holds good, and to these inferences of a long period must be added the tangible fact, that at their villages.....and not elsewhere in the hills, there are numerous Jack trees." Peal holds that head-hunting is in large measure accountable for the existing conditions. Of this he writes:[3] "Not only does the custom seem almost universal among them, but it has obviously existed for some ages in its present form, and is really the cause of the strongly-marked variations in both language and physique that exists among the Naga tribes." "As a consequence," he continues,[4] "of.....head-cutting and its isolating influences, few Nagas reach the plains

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[1] J.A.S.B.,XLI.,p.9.

[2] The Rev.Url M. Fox, a missionary to the hill tribes of Manipur State, says that the Kukis are able to understand each other over a wider area. The Thado Kukis are more migratory than any of the other groups, and consequently they have been less isolated than the others, and this has kept the language more uniform throughout the entire group.

[3] J.A.I.,III.,p.477 (1874)

[4] J.A.S.B.,XLI.,p.25 (1872).

but those living on the border. We thus see a community of some hundreds perched on a hill, and depending almost exclusively on their own resources, constantly fighting others similarly isolated on all sides, yet thoroughly able to maintain themselves. Perhaps in no other part of the world can so complete a tribal isolation be seen, and subdivision carried to such an extreme." In this isolation each small group has developed its own distinctive dress, ornaments, tattoo marks, coiffure, dialect and other characteristics, and this has tended to increase the isolation.

"Probably not one man in a thousand," writes Mr. Clark,[1] "and scarcely a single woman, would understand a religious conversation in Assamese." This tends to show that the Nagas have made but few contacts with the Assamese. The Assamese regard the Nagas as inferiors and would not learn their language, especially since there were no products of commercial value in control of the Nagas which might have made the acquirement advantageous. Even at the present time the Government has to employ interpreters because the Nagas, as a rule, do not know enough Assamese to converse with the officials. In the neighbouring tribe, the Lhota Nagas, the Assamese language is used more freely, and this, no doubt, is largely due to the fact that they raise cotton, which is sold to traders in the Assam valley. In this way their contacts have been more numerous.

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[1] Sixty-third Report of American Baptist Missionary Union, 1877, p.18.

What Peal says of the Eastern Nagas will throw light upon the situation among the Aos: "Of trade there is little or none. With the exception of the salt mines or springs eastward, and some pan and kacchus brought in exchange for rice, there is no such thing as trade. The tribes are too poor to be able to trade, and the constant warfare renders commerce impossible. On concluding a peace, some dhaos and Abor cloths change hands, or a mutton; but as a rule the border tribes act as a most effectual barrier to all attempts at commercial transactions with those beyond."[1]

We may then conclude that for many centuries the Ao Nagas were secluded in their mountain fastnesses, and since they did not have contacts with other groups in the market-places, which are regions of neutrality, no new ideas came in to disturb them or to bring about any changes. This was exaggerated in the case of the villages on the inner ridges, which were kept back on account of the head-cutting proclivities of the villagers between them and the Assam valley.

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[1] A concrete illustration will show how far out of touch with the Assamese people on the plains some of the groups on the inner ridges actually are. The writer and an American associate made a tour through the territory of the Eastern Angamis. The writer spoke the Ao Naga language and the other American spoke the Angami language, but neither one of these was of any use in this particular case. We halted at a Government rest-house for the night and tried to order the necessary supplies. These places are frequented by officials who use the Assamese, but our Ao Naga boy, who spoke Assamese, could not make himself understood, because the watchman did not know Assamese. A Nepali road-overseer saw our predicament, and since he could speak both Assamese and Eastern Angami, we secured our supplies.

Thus, from all the information that can be gathered, the Ao Nagas, as well as the other Naga tribes, made very few changes during their long residence in these hills. Their non-migratory ways and their head-hunting habits kept them insulated from all outside influences until very recently. The words of Sir H. Bartle Frere[1] give the situation: "In the hills and forests and elsewhere, wherever the aborigines have maintained a separate national existence the effects of Aryan contact are less visible. Sometimes, as in the plains of Assam, the Hinduizing process has gone on gradually among the aboriginal tribes for generations past, and up to our own time; but in many cases there has been little visible change or improvement in civilization for centuries past, till the European Aryan, with his roads and rail-roads, his uniform codes, and his centralized administration, broke into the aboriginal reserve.... and in one-half of a generation effected more change than Hindu Rajas or Moslem Nawabs had effected for centuries before him."

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[1] J.A.I., II., p.317.

CHAPTER VII

CHANGES THROUGH CONTACTS WITH MORE ADVANCED PEOPLES

FOR a considerable length of time the Ao Nagas, as well as the other Naga tribes, were isolated in the hills where unmolested they went through their narrow round of life, which practically knew no variation from generation to generation. But improved methods of travel and communication and the developments of commerce have annihilated distances and the world has grown smaller, with the result that these tribes have come into contact with groups on higher cultural levels, and this has brought many breaks in their practices which had grown hoary with age.

"It is barely forty years," comments Hutton,[1] "since Captain Butler wrote, but many customs of the Angamis at war which he records are almost or entirely forgotten by the sons of those from whom he learnt them. With the Aos and Lhotas matters have gone even further. Old beliefs and customs are dying, the old traditions are being forgotten, the number of Christians, or quasi-Christians is steadily increasing, and the spirit of change is invading and pervading every aspect of village life." In some instances practices are brought in which seem to be quite incongruous in their new settings. A case in point came to the attention of the writer while on a tour. In one village he found two men absorbed in playing a game of cards. Sparsely clad and seated on the ground with a board between them, they were using a regular deck of cards so common in the Western world.

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[1] The Angami Nagas, p.vii

Changes in Material Equipment

When the Nagas began to make their first contacts with the European they were greatly impressed by his material equipment. Peal records[1] the exclamations of surprise on the part of the Nagas when they saw his party start fire with matches or with a lens. They were greatly impressed with the fire-arms, and one chief made a great effort to secure a gun. They were not slow in seeing the superiority of fire-arms over their own weapons.

The Angamis "of late years," writes Butler,[2] "have managed to become the proud possessors of a considerable quantity of fire-arms, to obtain which is now one of the keenest desires they have; in fact, an Angami will give almost anything he has for a gun, and if he cannot get it by fair means, will run almost any risk to get it by foul." This was not confined to the Angamis, but applied to all, as we note in Hunter's account[3] that "to possess fire-arms is now the most eager desire of a Naga, no matter to what tribe he may belong." When the writer was preparing to leave the district he was besieged with requests to sell his fire-arms; one man came from the Lhota tribe with the purchase price in his purse and begged for a gun. Wild animals, such as elephants, monkeys and wild pigs, ravage their rice crops, and against such their own weapons are not the most effective. When Mr. Clark, the first missionary in the hills, went on an elephant hunt with the men of a certain village, and felled the beast with one shot, they were greatly impressed.

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1 J.A.S.B.,XLI.,p.17(1872)
2 J.A.S.B.,XXI.,p.323 (1875)
3. A Statistical Account of Assam,Vol.II.,p.179

While these people were, no doubt, greatly attracted by the fire-arms, they were also greatly impressed by the superiority of other articles, and where they found them not too complex they gradually began to lay aside their own crude utensils in favour of factory-made wares. Lanterns and kerosene oil are gradually driving out the reed torches. During the writer's residence in the hills he rarely saw the reed torch in use. Swedish safety matches are displacing the friction fire-making apparatus. The Aos used to kindle fire by drawing a bamboo thong back and forth over a piece of dry wood, but this instrument had already been displaced, except for ceremonial purposes, by the flint and steel when matches came into use.

Metal cooking utensils are displacing their pottery. The writer disposed of a goodly number of aluminium, enamel and iron cooking utensils, besides losing several by theft. Formerly the dao, or handbill, was the only cutting instrument they used, except for the small grain sickle; but now scissors, knives and axes are used for certain operations. Steel needles have entirely driven out those made of wood or bamboo; umbrellas are taking the place of palm leaves; Manchester cottons are making inroads into their own weaving industry; wooden boxes or packing-cases, in which the missionaries' storage receptacles than home-made bamboo baskets; white buttons are encroaching upon the cowrie shells as ornaments on clothing; coats, vests and sweaters, worn threadbare by the missionary or official, are found to be more convenient and comfortable than their own home-spun

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A group on this cultural level will not adopt all elements in the material culture of the civilized group with which it comes into contact. The Ao Nagas did not seem to be at all interested in the telephone system which connected the bungalows of the missionaries at Impur, neither did they seem to manifest any interest in a ball-bearing lawn-mower. According to Wissler,[1] "To survive the new idea must be one that is closely related to some part of an existing complex." The new idea must not be too complicated, lest it tend to have a discouraging effect. "First," says Bartlett,[2] "the culture must have some fairly obvious point of contact with that to which it is introduced; and, secondly, it must have some practical value." This the man on the lower level of culture can comprehend. "It is the knife and the match, the steamship, the house and its furniture, but above and beyond all the firearms of the European, which impress the man of rude culture and lead him to regard their possessors as beings of a higher order than himself. It is the recognition of the superiority of the material objects and arts which precedes and makes possible the acceptance of other elements of an introduced culture."[3]

Changes in Habits of Life

In addition to the changes that have come in material equipment, there have been many changes in native habits of life.

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[1] Man and Culture, p.184.

[2] Psychology and Primitive Culture, p.144.

[3] Rivers, The Contact of Peoples, p.478.

Under British control head-hunting has been stopped. This has made it possible for them to grow crops in safety, and to cultivate lands farther from their villages. Under the old conditions men had to go armed to the fields, crops were destroyed by marauding expeditions, which brought hunger and distress, and women and children were massacred in the villages while the men were working in the fields at some distance.

This change, however, has removed a powerful disciplinary agency. In the old days the young men had to sleep in the guard-houses to be in readiness to repel any night attack on the village. Since these precautionary measures are no longer necessary, the young men spend the nights in the girls' houses with their sweethearts, and according to Davis,[1] the bachelors' houses "are seldom used except by small boys." This matter became quite serious and means for improving the condition were taken into consideration, as may be seen by a quotation from a letter of the Deputy Commissioner, J.E. Scott: "I have greater faith," he writes, "in the efficiency of suppressing, so far as possible, the girls' sleeping-houses, and the Subdivisional Officer will do his best to get this put down. In the future such houses will be assessed to Revenue like other dwelling-houses." The condition was recognized as serious by some of the Nagas themselves, and a move was made to combat the

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[1] Assam Census Report, 1891, p.243.

evil in the village of Molungyimchen.[1]

A Christian young man interested one of his friends, and gradually an influential group developed about this nucleus. "Instead of congregating promiscuously," says Mrs.Clark,[2] "at different houses to sleep at night, singing objectionable songs, telling doubtful stories and engaging in lewd conversation, these young reformers separated themselves and built a dormitory, in which purity and holiness should reign. Here at morning and evening time the voice of prayer and songs of praise are heard." These young men imposed upon themselves a sort of discipline to take the place of that which was dropped with the annexation of the district by the Government.

To facilitate administration the Government constructed a bridle-path through the district. This has greatly improved the conditions of travel and intercommunication between the different villages in the tribe, and has also increased the contacts with neighbouring tribes. Although a decided advantage, yet even this improvement has had its drawbacks. In the villages along the bridle-path syphilis has become common and the birth-rate has decreased. In the villages which are not touched by the path there are more children and there is

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[1] Dr.Hutton refers to this practice among the Aos: "The Aos are notorious for the unchastity of their women.....The unmarried girls sleep in small houses, built for the purpose, in twos and threes, and the unmarried men sleep with them.....The Christian villages have resorted to a girls' dormitory with an aged dame in charge, but it may be doubted whether they are very much more chaste than their heathen sisters."- The Angami Nagas, pp.374,375.

[2] A Corner in India, p.139.

less syphilis. It is the opinion of J.Riley Bailey, M.D., the missionary physician, that this situation is due to the travel of the sepoys, or military police, along the bridle-path. When the bridle-path was being laid out, some of the Lungkam people were opposed to having it pass through their village, but a number of young men hailed the path with delight, thinking it would prove a great convenience when going to visit their sweethearts at night. "So it would appear .....in this particular instance," commented Davis,[1] "progress in civilization resulted in nothing but increased facilities for immorality."

British control has given free access to the markets in the Brahmaputra valley. The Assamese people had hitherto distrusted the Nagas, and from time to time the passes had been shut, so they could not go down to trade. The villagers on the inner ranges could also now go in safety. This led to the introduction of some articles used by the Assamese, such as brass cooking vessels, and the simple cotton gin, which was a great improvement over the flat stone and bamboo stick they had used before. As a result of these contacts the Assamese language is coming to be used by an increasing number of the Nagas, and the Assamese terms are creeping into their language on account of the new material elements which they have adopted. This contact has,

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[1] Assam Census, 1891,p.243.

however, had its disadvantages.[1] The use of opium has become quite prevalent in some of the lower villages, which have the most ready access to the markets. The use of cigarettes is also making headway against their home-grown tobacco. Some British officials are doing much to increase the use of these by their example and by their giving of cigarettes to the people as they tour about the district. The missionaries have doubtless added their mite, by passing an order on paper, absolutely forbidding the use of cigarettes on the part of the school-boys of the Mission Training School . But human nature is everywhere essentially the same, and this prohibition has made the cigarette all the more sweet by giving it the flavour of forbidden fruit.

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[1] After a three-months' tour in the Naga Hills, Henry Balfour states his opinion relative to the influence of alien cultures upon the Nagas. "As one travels westward towards the Plains of Assam," he writes, "one becomes aware of increasing evidence of influence from the outside. The infiltration of elements from the Plains culture and the activities of missionaries have wrought changes which cannot fail to be noticed. The villages in the foot-hills....naturally exhibit the effects of culture contact most markedly, and the nearer one approaches these, the more one is liable to detect points of differentiation between their inhabitants and those of the eastern villages..... In the villages of the foot-hills I certainly noted marked evidence of a comparative lack of that virility, alertness and zest which I had observed in the more easterly districts, and the partial atrophy of these qualities is certainly correlated with the loosening grip upon traditional customs and ritual. I firmly believe that the comparative inertness is mainly the outcome of change of habit consequent upon contact with alien peoples and alien cultures. Evidence of any substantial benefit to the Nagas themselves from this hybridization of culture appeared to me to be singularly scanty. In fact, speaking generally, the relatively uncontaminated Nagas of the central and eastern districts appeared to my eyes to be in most respects superior to those whose culture has been considerably affected by infiltrations."- Folk lore, XXXIV.,pp.20-21.

The residence of foreigners, whether European or Indian, has reacted upon the behaviour of the Nagas. The Nagas consider a foreigner as belonging to another group with whom they may deal in a different way from that in which they must deal with one of their own number. This has led to the circumvention of some of their taboos. At the time of the tenden mung (the genna before sowing) a man in the neighbouring village came to the writer with the request that he would exchange some money with him. The man was not at all particular about the denomination of the coins given him, and, when he had received the coins, his face fairly beamed; and well it might, for he had succeeded in circumventing a prohibition in such a way that the elders could not fine him for his transgression. At this time, on penalty of being fined, a man may not make a purchase at a shop with his own money; but he may exchange his coins with a European or any foreigner and then make any purchase he may desire. This tends to loosen their system of social control.

Superstition is a big factor in protecting their property against theft. If a man who is carrying a load of wood from the jungle should find it necessary to leave it by the roadside, it is only necessary for him to drive some small sticks into the ground and place a rattan withe about his wood. This taboo would not be violated, and there has been very little thieving. But stealing from a foreigner, especially from a white man, is on an entirely different basis. Since no serious

results have followed there is no question but that their taboos against theft will be gradually loosened up. A concrete case will throw some light upon the ideas the Nagas have about the white man. The missionaries and officials live in great splendour compared with the Nagas, and this gives the impression that they have unlimited wealth at their disposal. The native couriers who deliver the money from post-office money orders in lots of five hundred rupees (about £35) to the missionaries are almost dazed by an amount so far beyond any experience of theirs. To expect that the delivery of one of these sums is to be kept a secret is more than could be reasonably expected. The missionaries are there, presumably, to help them, and if they do not share some of this fabulous, wealth, the only thing to do is to help themselves. During the summer of 1913 the Naga boys at the Mission Training School held an indignation meeting, where it was brought out that the missionaries had received a lot of money meant for the Nagas which they were holding back. One of the boys was selected as a spokesman to make a speech at the chapel exercises on the following day. A boy reported the matter to the Rev. Robert B. Longwell, the missionary in charge of the school, and on the following morning when he took his customary seat in the chapel he brought with him his heavy-headed cane, which evidently must have caused the orator's inspiration to take flight. This attitude toward the white man's property cannot fail to react upon their attitude toward the possessions of members of their own group.

Opportunities to earn money in the service of Europeans is making some persons less industrious. They demand higher pay from the foreigners than from their own people, and at the same time they are prepared to work less. On rainy days, when working in their rice-fields, they wear large palm leaves on their backs as rain sheds, but when a Naga works for a foreigner he never brings this umbrella. This higher pay also gives some of these persons an advantage over others. A group of coolies who were taken on a military expedition at good pay would not work as industriously as they had done before, and as a result the food production was reduced.

During the Great War several hundred Ao Naga men , who went to France to work behind the lines, had experiences they never could have dreamed of. Among other things, they were shipwrecked and faced dangers in the submarine zone. When they returned each man gave a thank-offering of twenty-four rupees to the church, a large sum for them, amounting to about £1 12s. It would be interesting to know what effect these experiences will have. Will any noticeable disorganization result?[1]

Henry Balfour refers to these experiences of the Nagas. "In September 1917, in Eastern France," he writes,[2] "I came across a gang of Nagas..... engaged in road-repairing in the war-zone, within

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[1] So far very little, I think.- J.H.H.

[2] Hutton, The Sema Nagas, pp.xvi,xvii.

the sound of the guns. They appeared to be quite at home and unperturbed. Earlier in that year I just missed seeing them in Bizerta, but the French authorities there described to me their self-possession and absence of fear when they were landed after experiencing shipwreck in the Mediterranean - a truly novel experience for these primitive inland hill-dwellers! One wonders what impressions remain with them from their sudden contact with higher civilizations at war. Possibly they are reflecting that, after what they have seen, the white man's condemnation of the relatively innocuous head-hunting of the Nagas savours of hypocrisy. Or does the sang-froid save them from being critical and endeavouring to analyze the seemingly inconsequent habits of the leading peoples of culturedom? Now that they are back in their own hills, will they settle down to the indigenous simple life and revert to the primitive conditions which were temporarily disturbed? Will they be content to return to the innumerable genna prohibitions and restrictions, which for centuries have militated against industrial progress?"

There is no doubt about the influence of some of these outside contacts. Some years ago one of the teachers attended a Christian Endeavour Convention at Agra, and this opened a new world for him. He was no longer limited by the horizon of his native hills. He asked the writer certain questions which actually startled him, because they were so far different from anything which the ordinary man in the hills would ask.

Free access to the market-places and the contacts with Europeans have led to the introduction

of the metallic currency of India as the medium of exchange, to the displacement of unhulled rice, which had been the standard of value before. The Nagas will not accept paper money. Certain rare coins they will not accept; neither will they accept coins that are badly worn.

Previous to British occupation, slavery was universal throughout the tribe.[1] It was customary for a man to sell his children into slavery to cancel a small debt, and slaves were paid as indemnities in intervillage wars, often to be cruelly butchered. This has now been so completely changed that the condition of servitude cannot be enforced against anyone. Moreover, if anyone even calls an Ao a slave, the person so called can claim a fine from the one who used the expression.[2]

At the big annual festivals mithan were "killed in an extremely cruel manner, being literally hacked to bits with daos, the animal finally dying from loss of blood." This custom has been gradually suppressed.[3]

Hospitals, dispensaries and an itinerant surgeon are breaking down superstition and are reducing the influence of the medicine-man and magician. Before the missionary began his work in the hills they relied quite largely upon magical

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[1] Supra, p.54

[2] Cf. Census of India, 1901, Vol.I.,p.213

[3] Census of India, 1901,Vol.I.,p.212

practices[1] for the treatment of ills, but very soon they began to realize the value of medical treatment. Mr. Clark[2] tells about a delegation which came to him asking about a vaccinator on account of a case of small-pox in their village. They began to appeal to the missionaries to such an extent that the magicians saw their influence was being undermined and grew restive. Perhaps one of the most potent influence for popularizing medical work in the hills, during the last few years, has been the medical work of a native who took a medical course and began to practise among his fellows. The Nagas, especially the Christians, took great pride in the work done by this man, and when he began his practice the medical work of the missionary physician was very markedly reduced.[3] This native was able to get into closer touch with the people than the missionary, and consequently his influence has been no small matter in making inroads into the province of the magicians.

The missionary physician has had several young men as his assistants in the dispensary, and the

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[1] I have had many plants pointed out to me as medicinal, and the knowledge can only have been traditional in the village of the Ao who showed them to me.- J.H.H.

[2] American Baptist Missionary Union Report, 1882, p.245.

[3] "Since Benni has begun to practise independently near Impur my dispensary work has fallen off perceptibly. This causes me to look farther and to unoccupied places for my future work."- From report of J. Riley Bailey, M.D., in Assam Baptist Missionary Conference Report, 1913,p.52.

attitudes of these men toward disease have been markedly changed. One of these assistants accompanied the writer on a tour when he dispensed medicines to the sick and the halt who always appeared at the white man's camp. It was interesting to note how this man had taken over the attitudes of the missionary physician by whom he had been trained. Quite evidently his medical skill was responsible for the attitude of superiority which he carried about.

Christianity has weakened their taboos and their system of social control. The Christians have refused to pay the assessments for defraying the costs of the religious festivals and for remunerating the village priests. This refusal has led to persecution and appeals to the officials. They were released from the contributions, but were compelled "to observe the heathen rest-days."[1] The Christians have refused to take part in the religious ceremonies which are conducted for the benefit of the entire village. Formerly all members of the village had to share in these ceremonies and refrain from all ordinary work, on pain of being fined by the village elders. Now when the Christians refuse to share in these, the control of the group over its members becomes loosened. When one particular group in the community secures exemption from certain requirements, others tend to become less scrupulous about fulfilling the obligations.

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[1] Assam Mission Report, 1913,p.50. (From report of Rev. Robert B. Longwell.)- They are only compelled to observe the eight most important rest-days in the year, and can escape this too by removing their dwellings to a site outside the village fence.-J.H.H.

These village groups are very democratic , and there is no gradation into classes, except that certain rich men are granted definite privileges in return for their feasts to the village. The village headmen appointed by the Government to collect the taxes are allowed a commission, but the villagers will not permit them to keep this; they will not permit these men to secure any such advantage. In so democratic a group, if the Christians are given certain advantages, others too will demand something to counterbalance this. These various festivals were conducted to avert calamities and to ensure bountiful harvests. Seeing that there have been no serious calamities since the Christians have discontinued these practices, and that the Christian villages are evidently more prosperous than the others, there can be no doubt about the resulting disorganization in the old system.

On October 24, 1876, the Christians of Deka Haimong, or Molungyimsen, where Mr. Clark began his missionary work, moved to a new site and founded the village of Molungyimchen. "The new village has been founded," writes Mr. Clark, "and the invariable custom of sacrificing cattle to the great village deity of the Aos had been omitted. This was deemed by some as a declaration of war on the old faith."[1] Yet though these customary rites had been dispensed with "the young colony grew and prospered. Families from other villages gradually came in and we soon

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[1] Assam Baptist Missionary Conference Report 1913,p.54.

numbered a hundred houses.....Gradually other villages, seeing our prosperity, began asking for teachers."[1] "As this went on," so writes Mrs.Clark,[2] "different villages began inviting us, some even volunteering to come and bring us.....The eagerness of the villagers to receive us was such that soon we had only to send a messenger a day or two in advance in order to find a new, fresh bamboo house with bedstead and table awaiting us." All this tended to disorganize the old order of things.

If any person came to his death through accident of any kind, the other members of the immediate family became taboo and all their property was destroyed, including the crops. These taboos are still quite faithfully carried out, except that the Christians have begun to rebel against them. These transgressions frequently cause trouble of such a nature that the village authorities are unable to bring about an adjustment. The writer, on one occasion, was called to a village to settle one of these disputes. A group of men had been working in the jungle when one of them was killed by falling from a tree. Just before entering the village, all the men were required to throw away everything they had with them - spears, daos and clothing. When the Christians refused, a great deal of excitement ensued. In the early days of Molungyimchen

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1 Clark, A Corner in India, p.91.

2 Ibid.,p.93.

village a woman was killed by a tiger. The village held a council and for three days discussed the matter as to whether or not the customary practice should be followed. The Christians, however, won the day. "In order to prove the honesty of their convictions," writes Mrs. Clark,[1] "the whole village was rallied to work in the rice-field of the afflicted family, which would have been a most dreadful venture under the old conditions."

Breaks of different kinds began to come in their religious beliefs and practices. Mr. Clark gives one instance.[2] He "inquired why the path at a certain point made such a sudden detour down the hillside. He was told that an enormous rock, standing vertically and alone, and in which dwelt a mighty and influential spirit, was up there, and no one must pass that way. Mr. Clark kept close to the ridge, and, to the amazement of his attendants, walked back and forth unharmed before the sacred boulder. This direct and easy route.....was gradually more and more ventured upon.....It was, however, some time before women ventured on the path, but the old path has now long since grown up to jungle, and all sorts of desecrations are practised on that once hallowed stone by boys who have outgrown their fathers' theology."

When Mr. and Mrs. Clark made a visit to the village of Merangkong, they came across an abandoned

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[1] Ibid.,p.60

[2] [illegible] A Corner in India,p.59

house with clothes, jewellery, and all the belongings hanging out. A young man of this house had been killed by a tiger, and consequently everything was taboo. The Clarks gathered up some of these articles to take home as curios. When they were ready to go, no bearers came to take their baggage. "Finally," says Mrs. Clark,[1] "we were told that with the accursed articles in the luggage none of the bearers would carry it. On Mr. Clark's showing them the jewellery in our little handbag, one of our Christians immediately took it, the best possible proof of his sincerity in abandoning old-time customs.

Death is surrounded by mystery, and practices connected therewith are slow to change. In the early years of the Mission, at a gathering of the Christians, the matter of disposal of the dead was discussed, and they decided to adopt burial in place of their customary practice. Only four days after the decision had been made, they were given a practical test when a child of one of the teachers died. "The Christians gathered at the house for prayer.....when followed the first burial of the dead in all these mountain villages."[2]

All of these departures from the customary practices have a tendency to decrease the control of the group over the individuals. They see that the variations from the accepted norms instead of bringing dire calamities, in many instances bring improved conditions, as is shown by the greater

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1 Ibid.,pp.113,114.
2 Clark, A Corner in India, p.144

prosperity of the village of Changki, which has the largest number of Christians.

Boys in Christian families are refusing to serve at the young men's house. This was an important educational institution for the boys. There were regular ranks through which the boys passed until they attained to adulthood and were admitted to full membership. Each order had to perform some distinctive form of service for the men who belonged in the bachelors' house. The break from this destroys a valuable disciplinary agency and causes the boys to lose respect for the authority of their elders.

These contacts of the Nagas with the Government and the Mission have taken away many of the old practices which ministered to their desires. Head-hunting has been stopped, and in a measure the energy formerly expended here has been turned into greater sexual licence. The Christians have been cut off from the various festivals where the dancing, drinking and general hilarity had a cathartic effect. On some of these festive occasions the Christians sit around and watch the performances, which are taboo to them, without having any equivalent for these activities. The religious services, however, are to some extent filling the gap. Here they find some opportunity for self-expression through the singing and prayers. A Naga prayer-meeting is decidedly interesting. All the people pray audibly, each one saying his own prayer. At times there seems to be a sort of contest of endurance

to see who can pray longest and loudest. Then, during the sermon or prayer by the preacher, the audience frequently signifies its approval by deep guttural grunts.

Some of the Christians get excitement by doing things to annoy the non-Christians. In one of the villages the Christians built their meeting-house in the middle of the main thoroughfare, which was a red flag to the non-Christians. It produced so much annoyance that the matter was taken to the Political Officer, and a recommendation was made that the building be removed.

The Mission Schools are a factor in producing changes. They are opening up a larger world to the pupils. The world of the Aos was a very limited one, but now gradually some new ideas are creeping in. They are learning to read Assamese and English, which brings them in touch with literature in these languages. Translations from other languages into their own are also being made available for them. The Nagas had nothing of their own comparable to a school, but, nevertheless, from the early days of the Mission they were impressed by it. They recognized the superior physical equipment of the white man, and were also interested in his books; there seemed to be something magical about the mysterious books and the school. There was a feeling of expansion which came over them when they had some books of their own. The following quotation from Mrs. Clark[1] throws some

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[1] A Corner in India, p.109.

light on this: "What did it matter if sometimes the books were held upside down by the elder ones who did not wish to be outdone; their honest pride spoke volumes." Adults, too, turned from their usual occupations to enter school in order to learn to read the books. Mrs. Clark[1] tells of Imonungshi, a most unpromising man who had been given to drink. One morning the missionary in charge of the school found this man in the schoolroom poring over a book. "Mr. Perrine tried to dissuade him from this seemingly useless attempt, as he had, up to this time, appeared unusually dull. But a new light was now in his eyes, a fixed and holy purpose in his savage heart, and he said: 'Teacher, I'will come to school forty years, if necessary, to learn to read.'.....He attended school regularly and in due time was chosen pastor of the Impur Church."

Learning to write was another noteworthy accomplishment which brought a further expansion of the personality. Some American copy-books were introduced into the school. At first the pupils were very awkward, but they showed steady improvement, and "the effect of this simple accomplishment at the hands of a few Naga boys and girls has been remarkable. It alone has awakened quite an interest in education throughout the hills.....So many and urgent became the letters flying back and forth on matters that were hardly urgent that we had to interfere."[2]

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1 Ibid.pp.149

2 Assam Baptist Missionary Conference Report, 1899, p.40.- It is worth noting that of all the Naga tribes, the Ao is far more inclined towards reading and writing than even the Angami, the most intellectual of them all. The Ao, in particular, seems to be prone to "babuism."-J.H.H

Writing is, indeed, looked upon as a wonderful accomplishment. The boys in the Mission Training School send notes to their homes and to their friends in the home village and also receive notes. Then, to add to the wonder and mystery of it all, they send letters by post to the Naga boys who have gone to Kohima or Jorhat to attend school. Ability to communicate with those who are several days' journey distant is no small matter.

In addition to bringing about this expansion of personality through entrance into a larger world, the schools are a factor in undermining superstition and in producing disorganization in the accustomed habits of life. This can be illustrated from Mrs. Clark's experience. "Going down the hillside one morning," she tells us,[2] "we were surprised to see a huge boulder, long thought to be the abode of demons, was broken. Formerly no one would go near it; but the boys taught in our day and Sunday schools gradually began to climb over it and sharpen their hatchets on it, and now, doubtless, some of these young dissenters had struck the fatal blow..... a blow too full of meaning."

Several of the school-boys have gone to the Government Technical School at Kohima, the head-quarters station for the Naga Hills district, and several have gone to the Mission High School at Jorhat in the Assam valley. Here they have made new contacts and gained new ideas which they bring back with them, and it is these boys who become the leaders and teachers because of their superior training.

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[2] A Corner in India, p.107.

While the schools have exerted a wholesome influence,[1] yet it cannot be said they have quite met the situation. The first and foremost purpose has been to teach the pupils to read the Bible and to become preachers. Had this actually worked out, the hills would have been flooded with preachers. But the social heredity of the Naga has prevented any such calamity. Agriculture has been the chief occupation, and it has been an honourable one, from which he does not turn readily. The missionaries have found it difficult to get men to give up the time needed to secure the training which would make them good teachers or preachers. "If he is a Christian," Mr.Perrine writes,[2] "he may tell you he feels that he ought to teach or preach. But he holds on to his own occupation with a tenacity worthy of a higher calling."

However, a number of the boys who have been in the Mission School consider themselves above manual labour. They have observed that the missionaries and officials, and the high-caste Assamese, who serve as teachers in the school and as Government clerks, do not perform manual labour. Moreover, these exempted persons are able to read books; they are educated. Then why should they themselves not become exempt from labour after learning to read? When the boys have been in school for some time they invariably adopt the costume worn by the educated Assamese. They abandon the distinctive Naga hair-cut and dispense with the customary

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[1] I am afraid I cannot agree.-J.H.H.

[2] Assam Baptist Missionary Conference Report, 1895,p.43.

ornaments. This change in outward appearance decreases their isolation and they come to be closer related to the educated Assamese, and then manual labour becomes more distasteful. Some of these boys will care for the missionaries' ponies, even though there is some disagreeable work connected with the task, because in this connection they do not have to carry the heavy loads which fall to the lot of the ordinary villager. Since this particular kind of work came with the advent of the Europeans into the hills, these boys with the book-learning no doubt consider it a superior form of service which will give them a position of superiority in the group. At one time when the writer was making a tour two bearers, impressed by the Government official, disappeared during the night. Three school-boys in the party who had been carrying the water canteen, the umbrellas, and some other light articles compalined bitterly when it became necessary for them to shoulder a heavier load.[1]

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[1] In this connection a quotation from Mr.J.P.Mills (Man in India, III, pp.122-23) is of interest. "In the New World the Red Indian is living side by side with the white man in an environment and climate where the white man can flourish and grow rich. Given similar education and training there is no reason why the Indian should not gain equal wealth. His nation, as a nation, will doubtless survive. Not so with the hill man. His tribal life is being deliberately undermined and he is being assimilated to.....a culture in some respects resembling that of the European and in other respects that of the inhabitants of the adjoining plains. Now the Red Indian is being assimilated to a people who can make an excellent living out of the environment in which he lives. But the hill man lives in a country where the mythical model to which he is being assimilated must either be fed by others or perish. The hillman wins livelihood in the only way he can - by cultivating the steep hillsides. His dress and general culture are adapted to the life. Neither the European nor the plains-man nor the hybrid

.....P.T.O.

of the two could stand the life for a year .
Nor can the hill man when he changes his culture.
'Civilised' specimens of the tribes, far from
making two blades of rice grow where only one
grew before, almost invariably become parasitic
on the community and are content to wait for 'suitable
appointments entailing no manual labour.' They are
not to be blamed too severely, for the alien habits
and ideas with which they have been imbued are
wholly unsuited to the country in which they live.
A community can support a certain number of 'misfits'
of this kind, but only a certain number. Were a
whole tribe, or even a large proportion of its members,
to adopt these ways it would become extinct. What
greater folly then than to offer a people a culture
which, if assimilated by all, would spell racial
suicide?"

The girls have also been influenced by the schools, but if we may depend on the Census Report,[2] we will be forced to the conclusion that there are certain dangers encountered by them as they are making these new contacts with the outside world. "Girls of the Ao Nagas," states the Report, "educated by the Mission, are said to neglect their field-work, and cases are quoted of their falling into immorality through idling in the villages. But they carry on domestic work in their houses as before." In this connection a statement from Professor Webster, of Shanghai Baptist College, is quite in keeping. "It is not a pleasant fact to face," he writes,[3] "but it seems to be true that the present methods of Christian education on the Mission-field tend to decrease the number of producers, and consequently, to increase the number of idlers and non-producers, which means economic waste for any nation; this does not assume that material producers are the only producers. Christian education does not purpose any such consequences, but it has not investigated sufficiently the results of its methods and processes. It has 'failed to discriminate real and apparent fitness' for life; its estimate of values has been from the standpoint of the individual and the propagation of the Christian religion of the West."

In connection with the change which has come in the personal appearance of a number of the pupils, there has come a great improvement in the matter of cleanliness.As a general rule, when a boy would

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[2] Census of India, 1921, Vol.III., Assam, Part I, Report,p.107.

[3] Christian Education and the National Consciousness in China, p.194.

first come to school he would not be as clean as might be desired, but he would make marked improvement in the course of the school year. The pupils began to use soap, which the missionaries sold in considerable quantities. The habit would spread to the homes, and when the relatives visited the Mission School, they frequently bought soap.

The training in the schools has been entirely along traditional literary lines. Nothing has been done in the way of the manual arts, which would help to bring about a change in their material condition.

Christianity has been influential in improving the Nagas physically. They use less rice beer and better food, which makes them more efficient. Christian baggage porters have greater endurance than others who depend to a great extent upon rice beer for their nourishment. This was noted by the British officials on the Abor military expedition, where they used a number of Nagas as porters. The men from the leading Christian village were so noticeable in comparison with the others that one of the officials wrote a letter to the Mission calling attention to this fact.[1]

"They are building better houses for themselves," writes Mr. Perrine of the Ao Naga Christians.[2] "Some of the Christians keep their person and homes and food comparatively clean, perhaps I should simply say, cleaner than the heathen." This is especially noticeable in the village of Changki, which has the largest number

1 Perhaps this was because those that were accustomed to rice beer were, of necessity, going without it on the expedition, while the Christians, unaccustomed to it, were getting their normal ration. The Angami, who is so troublesome without his rice beer, is accustomed to take half his nourishment in the form of that very mild beverage and cannot change suddenly to a diet of rice.-JHH

2 Assam Baptist Missionary Conference Report, 1899, p.43.

of Christians, has better houses, is cleaner than other villages, and the people themselves are much cleaner than in many of the other villages."

While certain forces of disintegration are at work, the reduction of the language to writing is tending to unify the tribe. Since the Chongli dialect has been reduced to writing, all the literature is being produced in this dialect, with the result that it is becoming the dominant one. The school work and the religious work are being carried on in Chongli. In the religious services in a Mongsen village, while the sermon will be in Mongsen, the Scripture is read and the songs are sung in Chongli. There is thus a tendency for all to learn the Chongli dialect, while the Mongsen is being gradually crowded into the background. There is no pressure of any kind exerted, but eagerness to learn to read is giving the one dialect a position of superiority. There is no feeling of envy on the part of the Mongsen group, and they seem to be entirely satisfied with the situation of having all the literature in the Chongli dialect. This is facilitating communication between the different villages and is breaking down the isolation.

Over against all the tendencies toward disorganization we find that the Christians are becoming organized and bound together through their annual association and other Chruch activities. These organizations are coming to be powerful agencies of social control. The first Association meeting was held in 1897. This was an interesting

gathering and they decided to hold these associational meetings annually.[1] This is now the big gathering in the hills, with an attendance that exceeds the thousand mark. Prior to this there was no gathering that extended beyond the village. At the Annual Association are gathered large numbers from all over the tribe. It is a great social event for which extensive preparations are made. The entertaining village provides food and lodging free of charge and erects a large auditorium to accommodate the guests. Even non-Christians in the entertaining village contribute towards the expenses, because this is a great event for the village. This gathering lasts for several days. Whole families come, all dressed up in their best, and it is an event to which they look forward with a great deal of anticipation.

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[1] Clark, A Corner in India, pp.142,144.

CHAPTER VIII[1]

CONCLUSION

IN the foregoing chapters of this treatise, an attempt has been made to describe the life of the Ao Nagas as a whole, to set them in their proper place in the human family, and to indicate the processes of both personal and social disorganization and reorganization observed among them during the last half-century of contact with peoples who have moved farther along in the scale of civilization than they. Any discussion of social change, such as here described, is incomplete, however, if some explanation of its causes is not attempted. It would seem to be more significant than usual, since many of these changes are deliberately planned, as indicated in the preceding chapter, while others take place contrary to the expectation and desires of the members of both groups involved; and it may be added that similar changes may occur on Mission-fields even at the present time against all efforts made in behalf of "science," "order," "civilization," and "Christianity." What light may an analysis of the processes of social and personal disorganization and reorganization in a primitive group through contact with a group on a higher cultural level throw upon our policy of educational and missionary activities among the backward peoples in general? Will it be possible in the future to avoid

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[1] This chapter in modified form was published in Journal of Applied Sociology, VII.,pp.175-86.

many mistakes of the past? Have the ethnologists and sociologists sufficient data upon which to base the formulation of mechanisms for controlling the processes of social change, so that in the experience itself the backward group may not be made to deteriorate during a period of transition, if not indeed be made utterly degenerate, as has often been true in the past? The literature treating of the backward peoples has many instances which bear out this contention. At this juncture a few citations might well be introduced to illustrate the point.

"The rapidity," write Spencer and Gillen,[1] "with which a tribe undergoes degradation as soon as it comes into contact with civilization is astonishing. Disease plays havoc with its numbers; old customs are rapidly forsaken or modified out of recognition, and beliefs which for ages past have been firmly held are quietly dropped, partly because they meet with the contempt and ridicule of the white man, and partly because the young men soon learn that they are not worthy of credence." In another connection the same authors add further testimony. "When the white man," they write,[2] "forms a settlement, however small, the natives gather round, attracted at first by curiosity and then by the chance of securing cast-off clothing, food, tobacco and knives. The young men under the new influences, and more especially those who may be employed at such work as cattle-

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[1] Across Australia, p.300.
[2] Ibid., p.186.

mustering, become freed from the wholesome restraint of the old men. In the natural state of the tribe they have always been told, and have implicitly believed, that severe punishment will magically and inevitably follow any disobedience of rules laid down by their elders. They very quickly realize that this is not the case. The strict moral code, which is certainly enforced in their natural state, is very soon set aside and nothing is adopted in place of it."

"Miss Kingsley,[1] in treating of the conditions in West Africa, writes of the negro mother: "She sees it taking away from them (her sons and daughters) the restraints of their native culture, and in all too many cases leading them into a life of dissipation, disgrace and decay; or if it does not do this, yet separating them from their people." "Incidentally," says Miss Kingsley in another passage,[2] "it stamps out much of what is best in the customs and characteristics of the native races against which it brushes, and though it relieves him of many things which hurt or oppressed him ere it came, it injures him morally almost as much as it benefits him materially."

Arthur J. Brown[3] quotes Dr. James Stewart, a veteran missionary of South Africa, that "it is an unpleasant and startling statement, unfortunately true, that contact with European nations seems always to have resulted in further deterioration of the

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1 West African Studies, p.377.
2 Ibid.,p.379.
3 New Forces in Old China, p.126.

African races." "But now," comments Le Roy,[1] "comes European civilization to shed its light on benighted Africa. This will perhaps end her misfortunes! Far from it. European civilization, in the form it so often takes, disorganizes and dissolves the African family, introduces alcohol, spreads the gout, destroys the class distinctions of the blacks, increases everywhere dreadful diseases, such as the sleeping sickness, which was formerly confined to certain points on the coast. No, alas! European civilization does not end those trials which have fallen on the black world."

"The marriage tie in Gaboon," writes Milligan,[2] "has long ceased to be a tie! It was much more before the advent of the white man, and it is more binding binding to-day among the uncivilized Fang." In writing of the Andamanese Mr. E.H. Man states that "conjugal fidelity till death is not the exception but the rule," and adds further that "it is undoubtedly true that breaches of morality have occasionally taken place among a few of the married persons who have resided for any length of time at Port Blair," the European settlement.[3] "During the last fifty years," Brown informs us,[4] "the number of Andamanese have been greatly diminished. This has been the result of the European occupation of the islands, and is chiefly due to new diseases that have been introduced. Syphilis was introduced among the tribes of the South Andaman about 1870, and this has now spread among all the Great

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[1] Religion of the Primitives, p.235.
[2] Fetish-Folk of West Africa, p.51
[3] Quoted in Brown, The Andaman Islanders, p.70.
[4] Ibid.,p.17.

Andaman tribes (that is, excluding the hostile Jarawa)." "From the physiological point of view, as we know," writes Levy-Bruhl,[1] "intercourse with white people nearly everywhere (North and South America, Polynesia, Melanesia, etc.) has proved fatal to native races. Most of them, decimated by the diseases the whites bring with them, have disappeared, and many of those now remaining are becoming extinct. From the social point of view we note just the same phenomena. The primitives' institutions, like their languages, quickly disappear as soon as they have to submit to the presence and influence of white races.....In a very short time the native, abruptly exposed to fresh influences, comes to despise and forget his own traditions. His own code of morality tends to disappear. He begins to speak a kind of patois or pidgin-English, the sense of solidarity of the group is weakened and with it its desire to exist."

The Rev. W. Ellis, after an absence of several years from Madagascar, returned and wrote of the conditions:[2] "Drunkenness, violence, theft and other evil consequences had proportionately increased..... Licentiousness, especially in connection with shipping, was as unabated and as sickening and revolting as it had ever been, and increased with the larger amount of shipping in the ports." "Sometimes," notes Bryce,[3]

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1 Primitive Mentality, pp.384-86.
2 Madagascar Revisited, p.13.
3 Relations of the Advanced and Backward Races of Mankind, p.10. Cf. also H. Balfour, Folk-lore, XXIV.,p.13.

"the introduction of new diseases.....sweeps them off in vast numbers.....Alcoholic drinks are specially pernicious to an aboriginal race..... Sometimes the mere change of habits of life induces physical decline, as when the pursuit of wild creatures ceases to be possible, or when pasture lands have been enclosed for cultivation by the stronger immigrant." Dudley Kidd gives us some interesting information about the situation in South Africa. "We have undermined the clan system right and left," he writes,[1] "and have riddled its defences through and through with the explosive shells of civilization; we have removed nearly all of the old restraints which curbed the people, and have disintegrated their religion, and so rendered it, comparatively speaking, useless.....The savage under real self-government is in no sense the same thing as the savage with his customs and government broken up by the presence of white men in the country. With the clan-system have gone, or are going, some of the best traits of Kafir character. From the moment when a native puts on his first shirt right up to the day when he passes his last examination, the whole civilizing process forces the attention of the man to himself. He is not slow in finding out that the white man stands up for his own personal rights; nor does it take him long to discover that the European is absorbed in the pursuit of his own personal interest, even competing keenly with his fellows for his bread and butter. Hitherto the Kafir had sunk his personality and individual rights

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[1] Kafir Socialism, pp.41,42,154,155.

for the good of his clan; to set himself in opposition to, or in competition with, his fellows was in his eyes a great offence. From the white man he learns the new idea....that the individual has inalienable 'rights'; he consequently determines to have them with a vengeance, and to pay out the clan that has so long trampled on his private interests. The first effect of this change is to make the man intensely self-conscious and selfish, so that he obtrudes his wretched individuality at every angle, and thus appears aggressively conceited. If there were some increase of capacity as a set-off for this self-assertion, the case might be different; but civilization does not, at least at first, lead to the marked quickening of any capacity, to the substitution of any new restraints, or to the discovery of any new germ of promise."

"If, since their acquaintance with European civilization," writes Bucher,[1] "so many primitive peoples have retrograded.....the cause lies.... chiefly in the disturbing influence which our industrial methods and technique have exerted upon them. We carried into their childlike existence the nervous unrest of our commercial life, the hurried hunt for gain, our destructive pleasures, our religious wrangles and animosities. Our perfected implements relieved them suddenly of an immense burden of labour. What they had accomplished with their stone hatchets in months they performed with the iron one in a few hours; and a few muskets

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[1] Industrial Evolution, p.82.

replaced in effectiveness hundreds of bows and arrows. Therewith fell away the beneficent tension in which the old method of work had continuously kept the body and mind of primitive man, particularly as the character of his needs remained at the same low level. Under these conditions has he gone to ruin." Cooley has arrived at some conclusions in regard to the result of contacts between savage and civilized life. "Irrespective of any intentional aggression," he observes,[1] "and in spite, sometimes, of a sincere aim to do good,[2] the mere contact of civilization with the social system of more primitive peoples is, generally speaking, destructive of the latter, and of the character of the individuals involved in it. The white man, whether he be soldier, settler or missionary, brings with him over-whelming evidences of superiority, in power, knowledge and resources. He may mean well, but he always wants his own way, and that way is inevitably that of the traditions, ideals and organization of the white race.[3]

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[1] The Social Process, pp.187,188.

[2] "Even where there has been every desire to deal equitably and discreetly with the natives, glaring injustices have unwittingly been perpetrated through ignorance of their habits, beliefs, and psychology."- H.Balfour, Folk-lore,XXXIV.,p.14.

[3] "Few races have been more carefully studied and the Bureau of Ethnology has a wonderful record in the expense and talent that have been devoted to preserving the songs, traditions, religion, social and other custom of the red man. All this knowledge, however, has remained unutilized by the Indian Bureau, which deals with the red man in all practical matters. It is still trying to make a pinch-back white man instead of a noble Indian. Even at Hampton and Carlisle, the last thing taught the Indian youths and maidens.....is to kn or respect the best things in their own history, culture or industries."- G. Stanely Hall, The Journal of Race Development,I,p.7.

As the savage comes to feel this superiority his own institutions are degraded in his eyes and himself also, as inseparable from these institutions." "The virtues and arts of civilization," says Sumner,[1] "are almost as disastrous to the uncivilized as its vices. It is really the great tragedy of civilization that the contact of lower and higher is disastrous to the former, no matter what may be the point of contact, or how little the civilized may desire to do harm."

A small volume of essays edited by Dr.W.H.R. Rivers,[2] is devoted to a study of the causes of the decay of population in Melanesia. This shows the effects of civilization both through the trader and missionary. "With each generation," writes the Rev. W.J.Durrad,[3] "there steals over the community a subtle apathy. There is no need in these days for the intense alertness which was necessary in heathen times if life was to be preserved. One notices that when people become Christians they do not as a rule get up so early in the morning. The softer modes of life need a better environment to counteract their enervating influence." These essays are filled with facts that should make us pause and consider carefully our methods of dealing with these groups on the

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[1] Folkways, p.111

[2] Essays on the Depopulation of Melanesia.

[3] Rivers, op.cit.,p.20.

preliterate[1] cultural level. Dr. Hutton supplements this volume by setting forth facts relative to the Naga tribes in Assam, where "not only lung diseases, but dysentery, itch and yaws are all propagated by the foolish habit of wearing English clothes quite unsuited to the temperament and environment of the wearers. Missionaries with their false ideas of what constitutes decency and modesty are great offenders in this respect in Assam."[2] He also states that the missionaries who insist on total abstinence from the mild rice beer tend to drive their converts toward opium, which can be taken surreptitiously.

Perhaps these various groups which have been considered have been somewhat distantly removed from us, but to bring the matter more nearly within our immediate acquaintance we need only refer to that "vanishing race whose life has been trampled underfoot in the ruthless march of culture's evolution," namely, the American Indian.[3] It would appear that some members of this group realized full well the effect of these contacts.

According to Ogburn,[4] the American Indians of Washington Territory argued against any adoption of culture from the whites because of the destructive effect such contacts had had on the Indians of Oregon.

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[1] The term "preliterate" has been suggested by Professor Ellsworth Faris as a non-qualitative, descriptiv term for the people usually referred to as primitives, but who in reality have a long cultural history, though of a different type from civilized culture. Other terms, such as savage, pagan and heathen, carry with them a stigm in current usage. Cf. Journal of Religion, IV.,p.261.

[2] Man in India, II.,p.223.

[3] Wissler, The American Indian, p.xviii.

[4] Social Change, p.165.

"Even Christian missionaries," writes Cooley,[1] "have served as the involuntary channel of disintegrating forces; not to speak of such crudities as compelling the natives to wear clothes under climatic and domestic conditions which make them breeders of disease,[2] the mere fact of discrediting rooted beliefs and habits in order to substitute something unfamiliar is almost inevitably destructive. Many individuals may be really Christianized, wholly transplanted, as it were, from one social system into another, while at the same time the overthrow of the native institutions is causing another class, possibly much larger, to become irresponsible and dissolute."

According to Marett,[3] "contact with civilization is apt to produce among savages a paralysis of the will to live. More die of depression than of disease or drink. They lose interest in life. Their spirit is broken." "Interest in life," writes Rivers,[4] "is the

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[1] Op.cit.,p.189. Cf. also Journal of Race Development, VI.,pp.279-80.

[2] The Rev. W.J. Durrad (Rivers, Depopulation of Melanesia, p.10) says of one church group that "they teach their adherents that no one can be a Christian who does not wear shirt and trousers." He also states (p.9) that "individual missionaries have been guilty of strengthening the desire for European clothes, and I have heard of a teacher being rebuked for wearing only a loincloth when coming to interview the missionary." The difficulty is that these people do not know how to use clothes and they become a fruitful source of disease. These missionaries do not seem to realize that "the sight of a healthy skin is more decent than that of a dirty shirt" (p.75).

[3] In McGovern, Head-Hunters of Formosa, p.14. Cf. also Lindquist, The Red Man in the United States, p.65.

[4] Depopulation of Melanesia, p.96.

primary factor in the welfare of a people. The new diseases and poisons, the innovations in clothing, housing and feeding, are only the immediate causes of mortality. It is the loss of interest in life underlying these more obvious causes which gives them their potency for evil and allows them to work such ravages upon life and health." In contrast to this situation we may note that "there are still," according to Rivers,[1] "certain parts in Melanesia which as yet the footprint of the white man has not reached. Here the old zest and interest in life persist and the people are still vigorous and abundant."

It may appear from the foregoing materials that civilization and Christianity are entirely unsuited to these preliterate groups, but such is not the case. There are instances where these contacts have worked to the benefit of the groups concerned. "The other groups of peoples who show signs of vitality are those who have adopted Christianity, not merely because it is the religion of the powerful white man, but with a whole-hearted enthusiasm which has given them a renewed interest in life. Here the numbers are increasing after an initial drop. Christianity and the occupations connected with it have given the people a new interest to replace that of their indigenous culture, and with this interest has come the desire to live."[2]

A consideration of this problem calls to mind certain theories with which students of social evolution

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[1] Depopulation of Melaneisa, p.85.

[2] Rivers, ibid.,p.96. Cf. also Journal of Race Development, VI.,pp.280-82.

are familiar. Several writers, notably Wundt,[1] Morgan,[2] and Grosse,[3] have developed elaborate systems of the various cultural stages through which all human groups have passed or must pass in their progress towards a high level of civilization. "Progress," writes Morgan,[4] "has been found to be substantially the same in kind in tribes and nations inhabiting different and even disconnected continents." He adds further that where, in similar situations, there are particular instances of deviation from uniformity they are produced by special causes.

An analysis of the data presented in this monograph fails to lend support to the position of Morgan and others. The writer spent some time in trying to fit the Ao Nagas into this unilateral scheme of development, but the tribe was obstinate and refused to conform. On paper these schemes look good, but they do not square up with the facts. It may be possible that some groups have passed through these stages in regular order, but that is no proof that all have done so or will do so. If they had done so it would be necessary to assume that conditions all over the world were monotonously uniform; but the facts are otherwise. Several isolated groups are cut off from the stimulus that comes from contact with outside groups and consequently they are retarded. Then by some fortuitous circumstance or through some invention this group may be so electrified

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1 Elements of Folk Psychology.
2 Ancient Society.
3 Die Formen der Familie and die Formen der Wirtschaft.
4 Op.cit.,p.18.

that it will jump up over several of the stages which should have been taken in conforming to the logical system. Most assuredly Japan has made greater progress during the past half-century than the system of Morgan would permit. With the rapid development that has been made in Australia during the last few decades, it is not at all inconceivable that the backward tribes in the interior may accelerate their social development and skip several of the stages in the logical system. It would not be beyond the range of possibility for some change to come about which would cause the Naga tribes to move forward at an accelerated pace.

It has been held that all peoples pass through the same stages in religion. Actual facts, however, do not support this contention. Buddhism, brought into Japan from Korea, has made adaptations to the situation and has accommodated itself to Shintoism. Imported from India, Buddhism has been grafted on animism in Burma. Among the Indonesian groups of Assam and Burma there are discernible no stages which follow one another in regular succession. According to the Census Reports they are classified as animists. On the Assamese side of the watershed some of them are becoming hinduized. The Manipuris have become Hinduized as well as the Plains Miris.[1] According to the American Baptist Missionary Society's Report for 1921 there are among the Ao Nagas 3685 members of Christian Churches, while, to the writer's knowledge, there are no Hindus in the tribe. On the

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[1] Assam Census of 1881, p.81.

Burmese side of the watershed these groups have been influenced by Buddhism and not by Hinduism. The Shans have largely added Buddhism to an animistic base,[1] while among the Karens Christianity is working great inroads.

Professor Franz Boas has considered this problem at some length, and has come to the conclusion that "serious objections may be made against the assumption of the occurrence of a general sequence of cultural stages among all races of man."[2] If civilization actually developed in such a mechanical fashion, we would necessarily have to conclude that either the missionary effort being expended upon the groups of mankind which are on the lower cultural levels is utterly wasted or else the methods used are hopelessly wrong. The missionaries who deal with the animistic groups are not trying to lead these people through any regular series of religions such as Hinduism, Buddhism, Mohammedanism and finally Christianity, but they are winning adherents to Christianity without any intermediate steps.

The Superintendent of Census Operations in Assam, in treating of the spread of Christianity, states that "success is usually obtained amongst the animistic tribes who have not yet felt the attractions of Hinduism."[3]

If all mankind had to pass through the same sequence, then the missionaries would have to wait

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[1] Cochrane, The Shans, pp.150-189.

[2] The Mind of Primitive Man, p.193.

[3] Census of India, 1911, Vol.III., Assam, Part I., Report, p.37.

for all to pass through the various stages, and all that they could do would be to produce certain stimulations that each stage might be abbreviated to some degree.

It is possible to move more rapidly, but there is grave danger that Occidental impatience may force the growth too rapidly. "We who are white men," remarks Kingsley,[1] "admire our work not a little, which is natural, and many are found willing to wear out their souls in efforts to convert the thirteenth century into the nineteenth in a score of years." Such forced growth cannot produce the most satisfactory results. "Sudden transformations," writes Wallis,[2] "usually mean the rapid death and disappearance of the people themselves as well as of their culture. Such has been the history.....wherever civilization has done its work rapidly.....If.....we look at the tribes of Eskimo extending from Greenland through the whole of North America westwards to the shores of Siberia, we find that, with scarcely an exception, where no outside influence has been felt they retain their pristine vigour; while wherever the white man has had much to do with them, whether trader or missionary, there they have deteriorated." "The missionary then," notes Wallis,[3] "may well be on his guard in introducing the goods of civilization, lest he introduce at the same time some phases which are not

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[1] West African Studies, p.379.
[2] American Journal of Theology, XIX.,p.271.
[3] Ibid., p.269.

good for the savage, but so evil and destructive as to leave him not even his own life." Clifford[1] brings this out in discussing the work of the British in the Malay Peninsula. "What we are really attempting," he writes, "is nothing less than to crush into twenty years the revolution in facts and in ideas which, even in energetic Europe, six long centuries have been needed to accomplish.[2] .....One cannot but sympathize with the Malays who are suddenly and violently translated from the point to which they have attained in the natural development of their race, and are required to live up to the standard of a people who are six centuries in advance of them in national progress.....Forced plants, we know, suffer in this process; and the Malay, whose proper place is amidst the conditions of the thirteenth century, is apt to become morally weak and seedy and lose something of his robust self-respect when he is forced to bear nineteenth-century fruit."[3]

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[1] Quoted in Kingsley, West African Studies, p.380.

[2] "It should not be overlooked, however, that under the present policy /assimilation/ the Indian is being asked to take , in a generation or two, a 'step' that required centuries for the Anglo-Saxon, and if he does not always measure up to expectation that does not imply failure." - Lindquist, op.cit., p.37.

[3] "A higher culture may be introduced to the backward races provided that the assimilative process is a gradual one spread over a prolonged period of time. Civilization is like arsenic - an admirable tonic if administered in small, successive doses, which can act cumulatively with beneficial results. But as with arsenic, an overdose of civilization is likely to have disastrous effect." - H. Balfour in Folk-Lore, XXXIV., p.17.

Peoples on the lower cultural levels change slowly. They have minute regulations governing all their conduct and no variation from this code is countenanced. Since they are devoted to magic as over against science, the central idea which dominates their lives and thought is permanence or order, and all attempts at innovation tend to be placed under the ban. The individual within the group who proposes any change is a dangerous person and is brought to task for overstepping the prescribed boundaries. The group, however, is more charitable toward innovations which are brought by the outsider, while at the same time the group does not feel responsible for his variations. If one of their own number develops nonconformist tendencies he might bring calamity upon the entire group. The infiltration of new ideas comes largely through the agency of the market-place, which is a place of neutrality.[1] In this neutral zone representatives from different groups meet to exchange wares. This trading proves to be mutually advantageous, and consequently they come to be more hospitable towards each other and towards each other's ideas. On the whole, however, the social environment in which they exist is quite barren and destitute of stimulations, so there can be but little cross fertilization of ideas, and changes necessarily come quite slowly.

Further analysis of the changes which have taken place among the Ao Nagas indicates not only that the process has not been one of adherence to some logical

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[1] Grierson, The Silent Trade, p.58. Cf. also Rihbany, The Syrian Christ, pp.263-64.

or cosmic pattern, as Morgan supposed, neither has it been a matter of crowding into a single generation the achievements which have only come after many centuries of effort on the part of civilized groups in the Occident. Rather a far different process would seem to be the fact.

Every human being has a considerable variety of wishes. This great variety of concrete wishes, according to Thomas,[1] falls into four types or classes; "(1) the desire for new experience; (2) the desire for security; (3) the desire for recognition; (4) the desire for response."

These various wishes of the individual are clamouring for fulfilment, but the group regulates the expression of the wishes of its members. "The organization of society.....makes possible the gratification of the individual's wishes, and even the multiplication of them, but at the same time it requires that his wishes shall be so regulated as not to interfere unfairly with the expression of the wishes of others."[2] If any sudden change comes in this social organization, the norms which control the individual become disturbed and he becomes disorganized. He becomes uncertain in his behaviour. He does not know in what manner he may be permitted to seek gratification for his wishes.

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1 Cf. Park and Burgess, Introduction to the Science of Sociology, p.489; also Thomas and Znaniecki, The Polish Peasant, Intro. to Vols.I. and III.

2 Park and Miller, Old World Traits Transplanted, p.26.

An analysis of the data on the Ao Nagas shows that there has been a change in the means for satisfying the four primary or fundamental wishes. This substitution of means has been partly accomplished by force, as in the case of the change in political control with all of its implications, partly by suggestion and imitation, due to the influence of commerce, the British Government, education and the introduction of Christianity. In some instances the changes have been abrupt, while in others they have been gradual. In certain cases the means substituted have been of a higher order, while in others there has been a distinct decline in quality. In addition to the change in the opportunities for fulfilment, which have in a certain sense been due to external influence, the group has more or less deliberately set up new definitions according to which individuals must guide their behaviour.

Even though the Ao Nagas may be characterized as conservative and slow in making changes, yet the desire for new experience found expression in the head-hunting forays. In the old days this was, no doubt, the most important instrumentality for its satisfaction. Since the head-hunting has been stopped they have begun to satisfy the desire in other ways. They are eager to make use of guns, are turning to cigarettes and are adopting other material elements of a more advanced culture. They are developing a fondness for litigation and carry all sorts of trivial matters to the Policial Officer for settlement. "The

Ao," writes Hutton,[1] "....is preposterously litigious - worse far than the Angami, since he litigates about mere words, whereas the Angamis usually have atleast a water dispute behind their quarrels." But then the Ao has a gambler's chance of winning his case, and that adds zest to his life. A number of them also find the desired excitement in the religious gatherings which have come with the introduction of Christianity. Most assuredly the Christians of one village experienced something novel when they built a meeting-house in the middle of a main thoroughfare and thus aroused the animosity of the non-Christians. From an acquaintance with this particular group it would appear that when the usual avenues for obtaining satisfaction are barred, an outlet is found in some other direction.

The desire for security bulks large in the life of this group. They carry out elaborate religious ceremonies to avoid calamities and to ensure abundant crops. Certain activities are carried out by the village group as a whole, while others are reserved for households and individuals. When I bought a dao from a certain man, he scraped some thin shavings from the handle. These scrapings he then chewed into a tiny ball which was tied securely into the corner of his blanket. His handbill, which had been a faithful tool, had brought him good luck and he did not want this to depart. On purchasing a new implement he would rub it with the bundle of shavings, and thus the spirit of the old one would be infused into the new.

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[1] The Angami Nagas, p.364.

In this way no evil would befall its possessor, and thus he could feel secure. During the dry season they hang the skulls of cows and mithan in the trees within the village confines or on the walls of the houses to serve as fire-prevention devices. In days gone by they expended much energy in building defences against their enemies; they located the villages on high hills or ridges where they would be more secure against attack, and they lived in large villages because a small village could not defend itself against the incursions of the more powerful ones. Now that they are living under the British flag they need pay no attention to protection against raids and are left free to devote more time to the production of food supplies to immure themselves against famine and hunger, and thus they can feel more secure.

The desire for recognition is an important factor in the life of this tribe. A rich man may alter the shape of his house, under the express proviso that he serve his fellow-villagers by spreading several feasts before them. Under specified conditions he may erect several forked posts in the dooryard and display some carvings on the front gable of his house. Certain men may also wear sections of elephant tusks on their arms. Among the women the privilege of weaving some distinctive stripes into their blankets is granted after the husbands have given the requisite number of feasts to the village. When a young man risked his life in order to bring home a human head, the group recognized his manly courage by decorating him with a

necklace made of wild boar's tusks. Since the stoppage of head-hunting this distinction has been granted to the man who would give a feast to the old warriors entitled to wear these ornamental accessories.[1]

The recognition which came to the successful warrior was the highest honour which the group could bestow upon him, and the young men now consider it a great blow that they may not distinguish themselves on the war-path. All these things were done in order to secure distinction in the eyes of the public. Through the instrumentality of recognition the group exerts a tremendous control over the individual.

The desire for response is a craving for a more intimate relationship with certain persons instead of a recognition on the part of the public. This intimate relationship is found in the family. All the Ao Nagas marry to have families. A man is anxious to have children about him, and if his wife does not bear offspring, then he is justified in leaving

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[1] Hutton reports the method of securing this recognition among the Sema Nagas: "In the administered village, however, war is gradually receding into the limbo of the forgotten past, except in so far as the desire to wear the warrior's pig's tusks and cowrie gauntlets keeps the young men desirous of going as carriers on expeditions on which they hope for a chance of 'touching meat' and thus acquiring the right to put on the coveted ornaments. It is partly this desire, as well as loyalty, which at the time of writing (April, 1917) has just taken 1000 Semas to work in France. In their own villages they have to confine themselves to the more modest exploits of cutting off the tail of a neighbour's cow, a deed of chastened daring which is followed by the hanging up of the beast's tail and the performance of a genna as though for the taking of a head." - The Sema Nagas, p.173.

her and taking another. The sib organization and the harvesting activities of groups of relatives or intimate friends give opportunity for the preferential appreciation of others. When a man is taken sick in a distant village he will hasten home to be with the members of his immediate family, for he cannot bear the thought of having to die among strangers. If a boy in the Mission Training School is taken ill he will immediately sets out for his home village. The hard journey endangers his life, in addition to which he leaves the Mission station where adequate medical attention is available, and goes to his home where no assistance of this kind may be secured. But the presence of the members of his own family means more to him than the latest concoctions of the apothecary's shop.

"We know in advance," writes Robert E. Park,[1] "that where the four wishes of (1) security, (2) new experience, (3) recognition, and (4) response are not realized there will be discontent, unrest, social disorganization, and eventually danger of riot and revolution." When the Europeans stepped in and stopped head-hunting in Melanesia, this meant a serious loss to the Melanesian, "for head-hunting had been not only an interesting sport but his one means of proving his manhood and gaining his wife."[2] "No one could long be in Eddystone," wrote Dr. Rivers,[3]

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[1] Journal of Applied Sociology, VIII.,p.266.
[2] Rivers, Depopulation of Melanesia, p.xvi.
[3] Ibid.,pp. 101-102.

"without recognizing how great is the people's lack of interest in life and to what an extent the zest has gone out of their lives. This lack of interest is largely due to the abolition of head-hunting by the British Government. This practice formed the centre of a social and religious institution which took an all-pervading part in the lives of the people. The heads sought in the head-hunting expeditions were needed in order to propitiate the ancestral ghosts on such occasions as building a new house for a chief or making a new canoe, while they were also offered in sacrifice at the funeral of a chief. Moreover, head-hunting was not only necessary for the due performance of the religious rites of the people but it stood in the closest relation to pursuits of an economic kind. The actual head-hunting expedition only lasted a few weeks, and the actual fighting often only a few hours, but this was only the culminating point of a process lasting over years. It was the rule that new canoes should be made for an expedition to obtain heads, and the manufacture of these meant work of an interesting kind lasting certainly for many months, probably for years. The process of canoe-building was accompanied throughout by rites and feasts which not only excited the liveliest interest but also acted as stimuli to various activities of horticulture and pig-breeding. As the date fixed for the expedition approached, other rites and feasts were held, and these were still more frequent and on a larger scale after the return of a successful expedition. In stopping the practice of head-hunting the rulers from an alien culture were

abolishing an institution which had its roots in the religion of the people and spread its branches throughout nearly every aspect of their culture, and by this action they deprived the people of the greater part of their interest in life, while at the same time they undermined the religion of the people without any attempt to put another in its place."

But the conventional Westerner will say that such customs should be suppressed without question. "A great deal of satisfaction," writes the Rev. W.J. Durrad,[1] "has been felt by Government authorities in the Solomons at the abolition of head-hunting expeditions.....but the Government, when it took away at a stroke the chief occupation of the men, viz., war and preparation for war, put nothing in its place, and now I have heard from a traveller in the Western Solomons that the men simply loaf about and smoke in idleness. A Government edict that extinguishes war is not going, ipso facto, to convert a savage warrior into a peaceful agriculturalist," and a "French uniform on an African cannibal does not make him a vegetarian."[2] In any group, when the usual channels for satisfying the four fundamental wishes are choked, new ways of satisfaction must be provided. "In China," writes Ross,[3] "as opium-smoking declines, sport comes in with a rush and thousands of Chinese make long journeys by train in

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[1] In Rivers, The Depopulation of Melanesia, p.11.
[2] Milligan, Fetish-Folk of West Africa, p.55.
[3] Principles of Sociology, p.615.

order to attend the national meets." When the United States Government set its hand against head-taking among the Igorot of the Philippines, baseball was introduced as a wholesome substitute.[1] "By putting a stop to head-hunting," writes Mills,[2] "the British Government has profoundly changed the mode of life of all the tribes in the administered area of the Naga Hills." When this practice was stopped, the Nagas had to satisfy their craving for new experience in some other way, and it has actually led to a lowering of the moral tone of the group in certain ways.[3] Some new device for satisfaction on a higher plane should have been provided. In the Mission School at Impur the boys play football, and the scoring of a goal is beginning, in a small measure, to bring the satisfaction which formerly could be found only by bringing home a human head. When head-taking was discontinued among the Nagas and the young men could no longer gain the coveted boar's tusk necklaces, they felt that they had been deprived of all too much. Westermarck,[4] in writing of the Angami Nagas, says that "the younger men complain bitterly that the British, by stopping their raids and so preventing them from gaining marks of distinction, have made it impossible for them to get wives." Some new avenue should have been developed for satisfying the desire for recognition, lest they become totally disorganized and lose all interest in life.

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1 ~~Mikkigamxx~~ Cf.H.Balfour, Folk-lore,XXXIV.,pp.18, 19,23.

2 Op.cit.,p.104. 3Cf.H.Balfour,Folk-lore,p.16.

4 History of Human Marriage, Vol.II.,p.2.

Dr. Rivers[1] offers certain suggestions whereby the customs of these groups might be changed without causing them to lose interest in life. In certain ceremonies an animal has taken the place of the human victim.[2] He thinks that the right officials "could have brought about such a substitution and thus avoided the loss of life and money which has accompanied the suppression of head-hunting.... At the same time they would have kept up the interest of the people in their native institutions until such time as the march of events produced new interests, including new religious interests, connected with the culture which was being brought to bear upon their lives. The substitution of the head of a pig for that of a human being would not, however, wholly solve the problem. I have already mentioned that the chief stimulus to the making of canoes in Eddystone Island came out of the practice of head-hunting. The substitution of a porcine for a human head, while satisfying many of the ceremonial needs, would leave no motive for the manufacture of new canoes and the maintenance of this industry. Here it would be neces-sary to provide some new motive for the making of canoes. This might be found in the introduction of canoe races as elements in the ceremonial connected

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[1] Depopulation of Melanesia, p.108.

[2] Lumholtz (Through Central Borneo, Vol.I.,p.260) writes: "It would not be in accordance with facts to suppose that head-hunting has altogether been eliminated in Borneo. It is too closely identified with the religious life of the natives but in time a substitute probably will be found, just as the sacrifice of the water-buffalo supplanted that of slaves."

with the ancestral offerings, while to this might be added economic motives connected with fishing or trade.....Only, it is essential that the change should grow naturally out of native institutions and should not be forced upon the people without their consent and without any attempt to rouse their interest." The Rev.C.H.Tilden, formerly of the American Baptist Mission of Jorhat, Assam, made an interesting suggestion to the writer relative to an institution among the Ao Nagas. The young men's house in the village of Changki has fallen into decay because the Christians refuse to have anything to do with this establishment. This is a distinct loss in several ways. Architecturally it is a loss because this was the most imposing structure in the village, while socially its decay is taking away an organization which was at one time very important. Mr. Tilden suggested that the institution be continued, with changes, however, to meet the new conditions. He suggested that certain objectionable features of the old fraternity be removed and that it be developed somewhat on the order of the Boy Scouts. This change should come slowly so that they could really work it out for themselves, lest it be merely imposed from without.

Mr. Henry Balfour has arrived at certain conclusions relative to this process of acculturization. "A gradual process of change," he writes[1] "may lead to desirable results and to improvement

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[1] Folk-lore, XXXIV.,p.17.

of lowly-cultured peoples. Sudden and violent conversions are very unlikely to do so, since the primitive mind is too conservative and too ill-prepared to assimilate readily doctrines or habits which are entirely new to them and lack the sanction of local tradition. In endeavouring to promote culture metamorphosis, if our conscientious aim is to raise the savage to a higher level, we should try to achieve our object by evolution, not by revolution. To root up old-established indigenous trees and plant in their place alien substitutes to which the soil is unsuited is a useless and unprofitable work; and equally futile and unprofitable is it to abolish ruthlessly old-established beliefs and practices and to endeavour to replace them with imported doctrines and customs, which have developed under totally different conditions, and which merely puzzle the natives without enlightening them. The primitive mind is undoubtedly receptive of new suggestions up to a certain point and to a varying degree, but the savage cannot be expected to appreciate drastic innovations the evaluation of which is beyond his analytical powers." "By careful study of native culture and mentality," he writes further,[2] "it is possible to ascertain what are the more essential and vigorous growths which permeate and form the main support of their social structure. To interfere abruptly with these is to court disaster and to risk inducing that dangerous state of apathetic

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[2] Ibid.,pp.22-23. Cf.Mills, Man In India,III., p.123.

listlessness which arises from loss of interest. But while the cutting down of a vigorous and deeply-rooted stem causes the death of the plant and all that depends upon its vitality, judicious pruning may be quite feasible; and moreover, it should be possible to graft branches of a different nature and quality upon it, and to repeat the process, until the whole nature of the growth has changed without loss of vitality. Cultivated roses gain in vigour for being budded upon the natural briar-stem, without losing their desirable qualities. So too, cultivated ideas are likely to flourish when grafted upon old-established indigenous stocks which have evolved in the particular environment. The native growth can thus be modified without being eradicated, and may be made to contribute more and more of its vigour to the grafts."

Groups must and do make provision for the satisfaction of the desire for recognition. Badges of distinction are given to individuals by groups, both savage and civilized, for a variety of useful activities or attainments. In British India a native who acquires an education is accorded some honour by the group and is addressed as babu; after the emancipation of the slaves in the United States a negro who could read was permitted to wear a long coat and was addressed by the honorific term of "professor";[1] and at the present time it is a common practice for British and American universities to

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[1] For this information I am indebted to Professor Robert E. Park, of the University of Chicago.

grant honorary degrees to persons who have performed distinguished social service. The group has in its hands a powerful weapon in that it can control the individuals through the bestowal of recognition and honours.

Any activity on behalf of a group on a preliterate cultural level must reckon with the four fundamental wishes of human beings. Any missionary propaganda which blindly ignores these fundamental wishes is in danger of producing disorganization of the group and thereby negativing the beneficial results which would otherwise be produced. It is necessary to recognize the fundamental wishes of the individual as well as the social organization which provides for the expression of the wishes. If the individual is indoctrinated with Western theology and is removed from his former environment in order to make sure of his salvation,[1] then he is removed from his group and has no social organization in which to find the fulfilment of his wishes. "The best of our missionaries, writes Wallis,[2] "are becoming aware of the bad results of such misdirected zeal, and when applied without proper insight into the life they seek to transform, and are urging an accommodation to the vital needs of the people."[3] The problem is

[1] In the early days it was a common practice for th Christian converts to live near the bungalow of the missionary. They would thus be out of touch with the group.

[2] Op.cit.,p.272.

[3] It is interesting to note that the writer has received (June 1924) a letter from one of the younger mi sionaries in the hills of India, in which he asks for some information for a paper to be read before the Missionary Conference, on "The Missionary's Attitude toward the Welfare of Primitive Peoples." The chairman of the programme committee suggested that Rivers, The Depopulation of Melanesia, be consulted in the preparation of

this paper. Of this book Dr. Hutton (Man in India, Vol.II., p.227) says: "All missionaries and all officers of India and Burma should read, mark, learn and inwardly digest this short but pregnant volume of essays."

a matter of social control, or how the group can direct and control its members along socially approved lines so that the degenerating process by which this may be accomplished is that of a redefinition of the means provided by the group for the satisfaction of the four primary or fundamental wishes. The old idea of individual salvation will not make the necessary provision; the group and its social organization must be taken into consideration. The outlook is not a gloomy one. "In the light of experience," says Ross,[1] "it does not seem rash to anticipate that bull-fight and cock-fight, opium debauch and vinous 'spree,' every ghoulish orgy of religious fanaticism and every obscene or bloody rite in Asiatic temples, may be displaced in a generation or two by ball games and track meets, folk-dancing and symbolic pageants, if only in public supervised recreation centres all the children are bred to merry and wholesome plays."

Even though its adherents be numerically few, Christianity has exerted a considerable influence over the Ao Nagas through the disorganization of their traditional forms and the bringing about of new re-alignments. But it is seriously to be questioned if these changes, beneficial though they may be, have been brought about as efficiently as they might have been. It might also be added that the changes have not been as great as they might have been.

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[1] Op.cit., p.615

Familiarity with missionary attitudes and practices, which are all too characteristic, make inevitable the conclusion that there is entirely too much negation, too much taboo, and too little that is positive. A personal letter from India brings this out in a certain instance. A group of non-Christians appealed to the official in the area to separate the Christians from the rest of the village because they said "You mustn't do this" and "You mustn't do that" to everything, till the non-Christians became tired of it. There is grave danger that Christianity, as presented to these people, comest to be little more than the adoption of another set of taboos, and taboo is no new element in the life of any group on a preliterate cultural level. A splendid illustration of this is at hand in our Arctic region. "The old taboos of the Eskimos," writes Miss Shehle,[1] "in their tribal culture carried a magical penalty of misfortune or death for disobedience. The tribal taboos were true collective ideas (collective representations) and were accepted without question by the Eskimos. The taboos taught by the missionaries have been accepted in the same spirit, as commands to be implicitly obeyed, the penalty being eternal damnation, regardless of what the material loss may be for obedience." Vilhjalmur Stefansson has brought out a considerable amount of detailed material on the Christianization of the Eskimos which shows how they have taken over these new taboos.[2]

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[1] Journal of Religion, IV.,p.273.
[2] Cf. "My Life Among the Eskimo," Harper's, Vol.CXXVII., pp.672-82.

Under the old system the Nagas had to refrain from working in the fields on certain days, lest their god Lizaba curse the village with an epidemic or blight the rice crop; now they must refrain from work on the Christian Sabbath lest Jehovah, the God of Israel, smite them for their wickedness. It would appear that the results of research of the ethnologists and sociologists could be used to great advantage in directing the course of development of the backward groups of mankind in an orderly manner and thus avoid the baneful influences which have worked such havoc in so many instances. The Christian missionary occupies a unique position in relation to these groups in that he devotes himself whole-heartedly to their advancement, and his supporters in the civilized communities are interested in increasing his efficiency. Quite recently a poster was displayed in a church bearing these words: "One missionary plus one Ford equals three missionaries." If a mechanical contrivance can thus increase the usefulness of a missionary may we not expect an even higher percentage of efficiency if he adopts some of the principles which have been formulated by the ethnologists and sociologists?

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G L O S S A R Y

Anna. A nickel coin, equal in value to the English penny, used in British India.

Ariju. The house in which the unmarried men of a mopu or khel sleep. It is the centre of many of the social and ceremonial activities and serves as a depository for the village trophies. In general it may be considered a men's club.

Babu. A term applied by Assamese and Bengalis to an educated man in their group. Teachers and office clerks are given this appellation.

Chang. A raised platform made of bamboos.

Dao. A sort of bill which serves both as weapon and tool for all purposes. Sometimes spelt Dah.

Gaonbura (literally, old man of the village). The headman of a village or mopu who has been appointed to his position by the Government.

Hoolock. The black gibbon (Hylobates hoolock): named from its call.

Jhum. The land cultivated by jhuming, when a tract of land, cleared of forest and jungle, is cropped for two years, after which it lies fallow about seven years.

Kidong (literally, house tree). A line of descent through the males. Sometimes translated as clan, but "father sib" is preferable.

Machan. See Chang.

Mithan. One of the species of Indian bison. Bos Frontalis is the domesticated variety and bos gaurus the wild. Sometimes spelt matna.

Mopu. A subdivision of an Ao village. The Assamese word khel is sometimes used.

Morung. See Ariju. Sometimes spelt morung.

Pahn. A leaf in which betel nut and lime are wrapped for chewing. Sometimes spelt pan.

Panji. A spike of hardened bamboo stuck in the ground to impede enemies or to impale wild animals.

Tatar. One of the elders, who, before the annexation by the British Government, was charged with the administration of civil affairs in the village.
