

THE UNIVERSITY OF HULL

NAGAS IN THE MUSEUM:

AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE
MATERIAL CULTURE OF THE HILL PEOPLES
OF THE ASSAM-BURMA BORDER

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by

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PREFACE

In many ways this thesis is concerned with the meaning of the term 'Naga' especially when it is applied in the identification of historical material culture held in British museums. In the examination of the development and use of Naga collections in British museums, the connections with the ethnology and anthropology of the 19th century are explored. It is fitting, therefore, that we should begin with a reiteration of the early explanations of the word 'Naga', for whilst the theoretical basis and aims of this thesis are different, it could, ironically, be said to be following on from the work of early writers and their search for meaning.

The many different early definitions of 'Naga' are of interest for two reasons. First, they give an impression of their writers' ideas, and secondly because they indicate the starting point for the collection of Naga material culture. The following examples are not given in any particular order: from *nangta* or *nanga* meaning 'naked' (Butler 1875, Dun 1886, Shakespear 1914); from the name Naga used in the Mahabharat meaning 'beautiful dragon', like the beings against whom the hero Arjuna fought (Dun 1886); from *noḥ* meaning 'folk' in some dialects (Chakravorty 1964 from Gait 1826); from the word *naga* meaning 'snake'; from the Kachari work *Nàgà* meaning a 'young man' or 'warrior' (Woodthorpe 1881-82, who also noted the 'naked' and 'snake' explanations); from *Na-Ka* meaning 'people or men or folk with pierced ears', a name given by the Burmese to Nagas and possibly passed on to the British (Hokishe Sema 1986). Essentially the word seems to have been a derogatory term applied by local outsiders, such as the people of the plains, to the people of

the hills, and it was then taken up and used by the British. As early as 1841 Robinson recorded that 'whatever the origin of the word Naga, it appears that the appellation is entirely unknown to any of the hill tribes themselves'. The preoccupation with the derivation of the word continues, for in 1986 Hokishe Sema, as noted above, was suggesting that the name was known in Burma from *Na-Ka*, and the British got to know of Nagas from the Burmese wars 1795-1826.

The practical looseness of definition was realised in the 19th century and comes across in the work of Butler (1875) where he stated that Naga is a 'comprehensive term ... including the whole group of cognate races ... hill and upland' and then gave limits around the compass by reference to geographical features and approximate lines of latitude and longitude; he also suggested that the Kachin and Chin were offshoots of the Nagas. In 1886 Dun firmly noted that:

In cases where a large number of tribes have been classed together (Abors, Singphos, Nagas), the differences between tribes separated socially and geographically from one another have, since the imposition of the name, been discovered to be so great as to suggest doubts as to the advisability of attempting any such wide generic classification.

The imposition of the name is the crux of the matter, with connotations for modern identity. Whatever its origin, the term Naga is now used with pride by some hill peoples on the periphery of mainland South-East Asia, predominantly those around what is now the international border of India and Myanmar. Hokishe Sema, a Naga, gives a contemporary view in noting that 'it is a name given by outsiders' and was long resented by the people 'till political expediency caused it to be accepted as describing the separate identity of these people as

distinct from other ethnic tribal people and also from the people of the country at large'.

Thus, the term Naga already can be seen to offer layers of complex meanings, from its application by outsiders including the British in the 19th century to the centrality of its political use today. It is against this background that this study discusses the ethnography and anthropology of the Naga peoples, particularly in relation to their historical material culture which was collected in the 19th and 20th centuries by the British and deposited in museums in Britain.

A Note on the Anglicization of words

Certain words, predominantly of Assamese origin, have been used as indicated in the Glossary (Appendix 5). These are given in italic on the first occasion of their use and thereafter used as English. Some other words, such as *dao*, where there is no English equivalent, have been anglicized throughout. Other, mostly Naga, words have been used particularly in Chapter Two; they are given in italic on each occasion of use but also appear in the Glossary.

Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are used frequently:

JRAI - Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute

JASB - Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal

ICS - (member of the) Indian Civil Service

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis was begun nearly eight years ago shortly before I began full-time employment in a large youth centre in Hull. For the first six of those years I worked principally as counsellor and welfare rights advisor with young people, a great many of whom were unemployed, impoverished, abused and/or homeless. I hope I have learnt as much from making this thesis as I have about the character of British society and from these young people and their experiences. An anthropology of homeless young people has yet to come.

In making this study I have had contact with a great number of museum curators in the U.K., who have generously provided me with information. I am most grateful to all those who replied to my letters. I have been fortunate enough to visit several museums to examine Naga collections and documentation, and would like to acknowledge my gratitude to the following curators for making time, space and knowledge available to me:- Angela Thomas of Bolton; Sue Giles of Bristol; Paul Sant-Cassia and Anita Herle of Cambridge; Jennifer Scarce and Jane Wilkinson of Edinburgh; Tess Gower and latterly Antonia Lovelace of Glasgow; Liz Kwasnik and Yvonne Schumann of Liverpool Museum; Brian Durrans of the British Museum, London; George Bankes of Manchester Museum; Peter Davies and Tony Tynan of the Hancock Museum, Newcastle; Linda Mowat and Liz Edwards of the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford; Dr Bishop of Plymouth. In addition I visited Cambridge University twice at the invitation of the Rivers Video Project, and would like to thank Dr Macfarlane, Sarah Harrison and Julian Jacobs for their generosity and the provision of facilities.

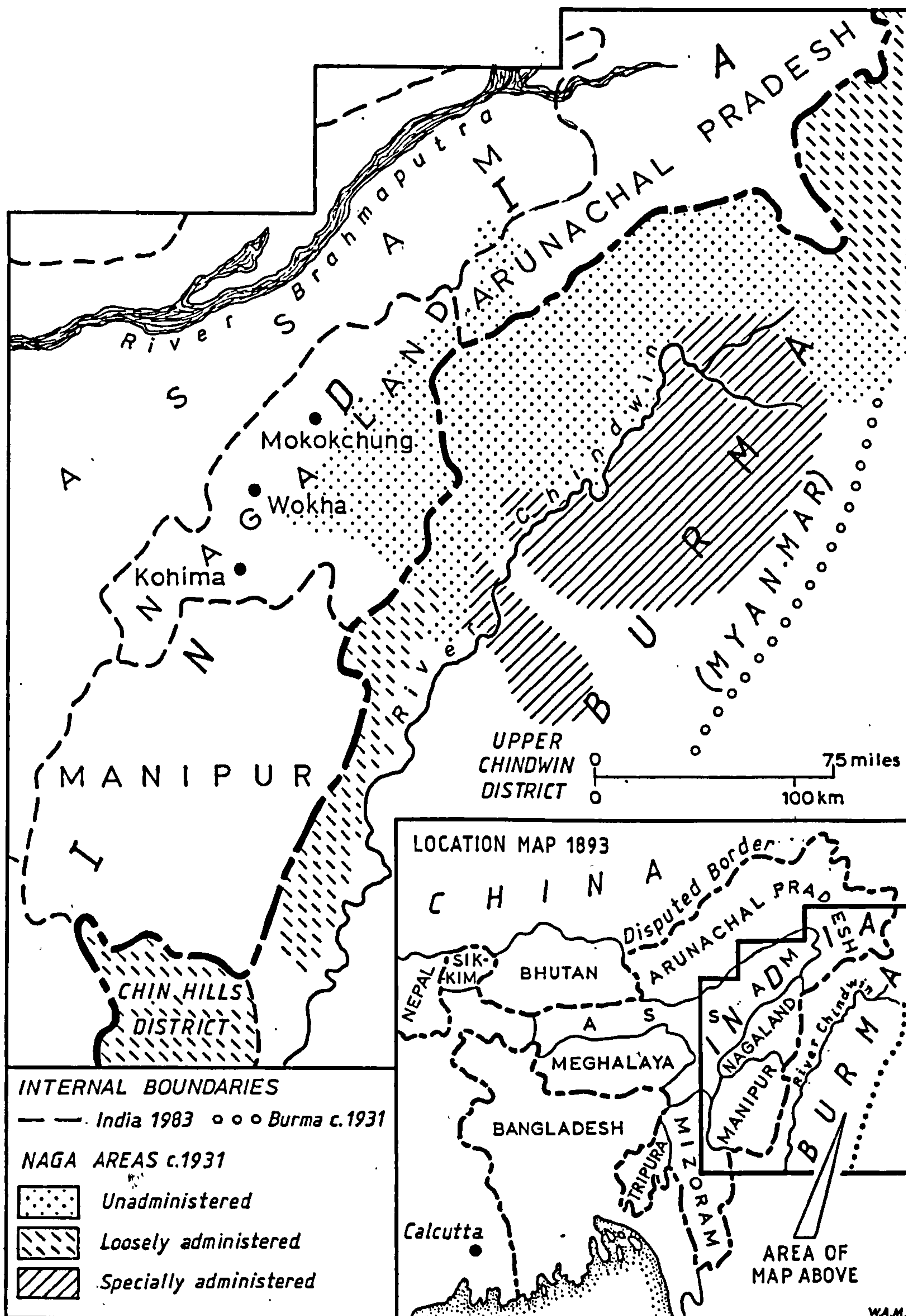
I would also like to thank Ken Teague of the Horniman Museum for information, and in particular for infecting me with anthropological enthusiasm for material culture some years ago. Dr Mike Hitchcock, of Hull University, whose path has crossed with mine in the past at the Liverpool and the Horniman Museums, kindly read and made comments on a draft of my thesis. I am especially grateful to Helen Goodwin for her warm support and encouragement over the past year, when the thesis has taken an increasing amount of my 'free' time. Finally and importantly, I wish to acknowledge my thanks and appreciation to my supervisor, Lewis Hill, for his guidance, enthusiasm, knowledge and scholarship, in addition to his time and patience. I remain responsible, of course, for the content of the study.

CONTENTS

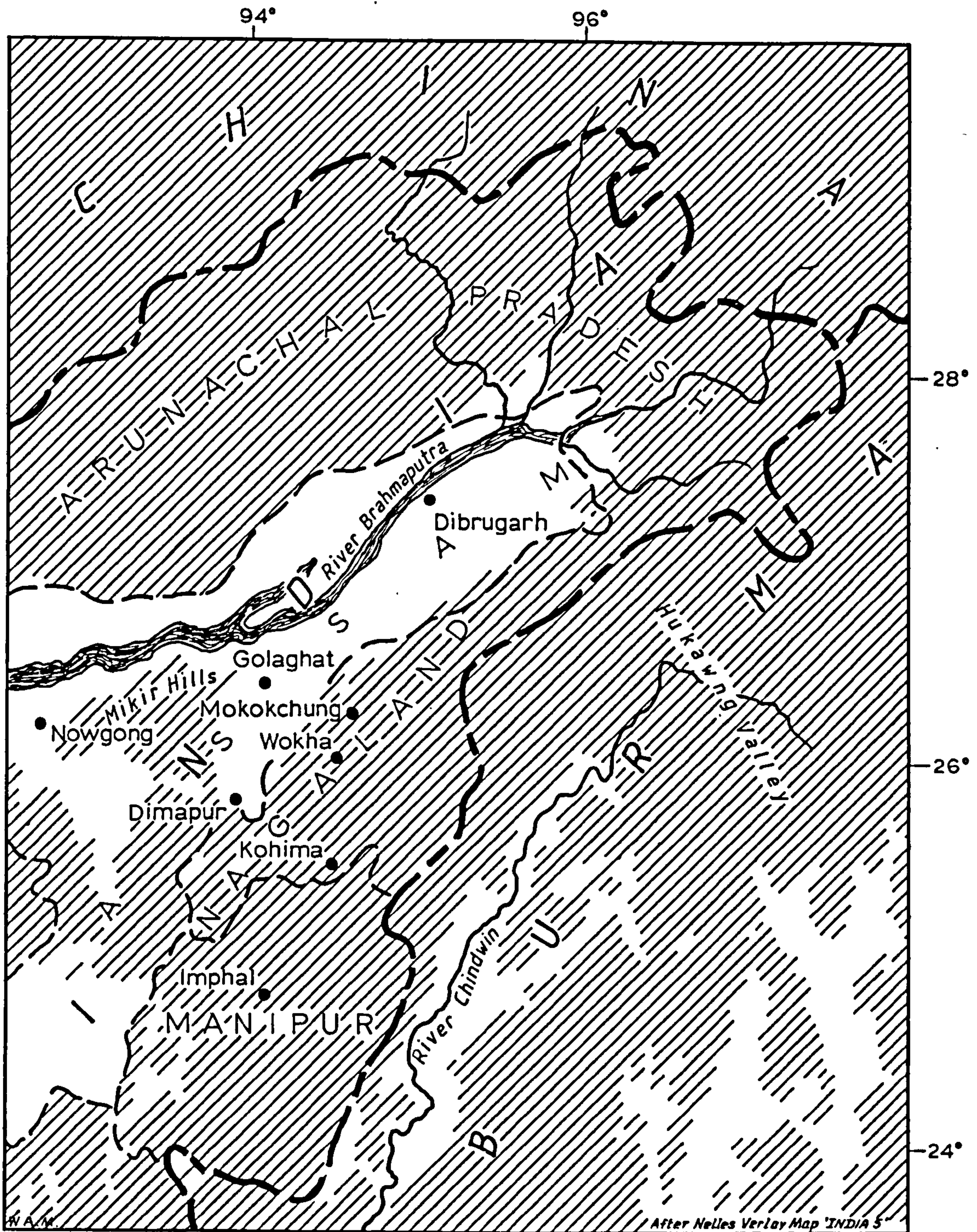
Preface	<i>i</i>
Acknowledgements	<i>iv</i>
Chapter subheadings	<i>vii</i>
Maps	<i>viii</i>
1 Introduction	1
2 Naga Society	12
3 Anthropology and Museums	41
4 History and Literature	81
5 Anglo-Naga Relations	116
6 Material Culture and Trade	148
7 Collecting in the Hills	184
8 Naga Collections in British Museums	218
9 Identification of Nagas	257
10 Conclusion	290
Appendix 1 Museum Collections of Naga material in Britain	309
Appendix 2 Donors to Museums	322
Appendix 3 People and Biographies	334
Appendix 4 Chronology	345
Appendix 5 Glossary	361
Bibliography	362
MAPS AND DIAGRAMS	
Location and Administration Areas	<i>viii</i>
The Naga Hills Region	<i>ix</i>
Naga Tribes	<i>x</i>
Figure 1 Naga Trade before 1850	168
Figure 2 Naga Trade in the early 20th century	179
Figure 3 Naga Salt Trade	180

CONTENTS - CHAPTER SUBHEADINGS

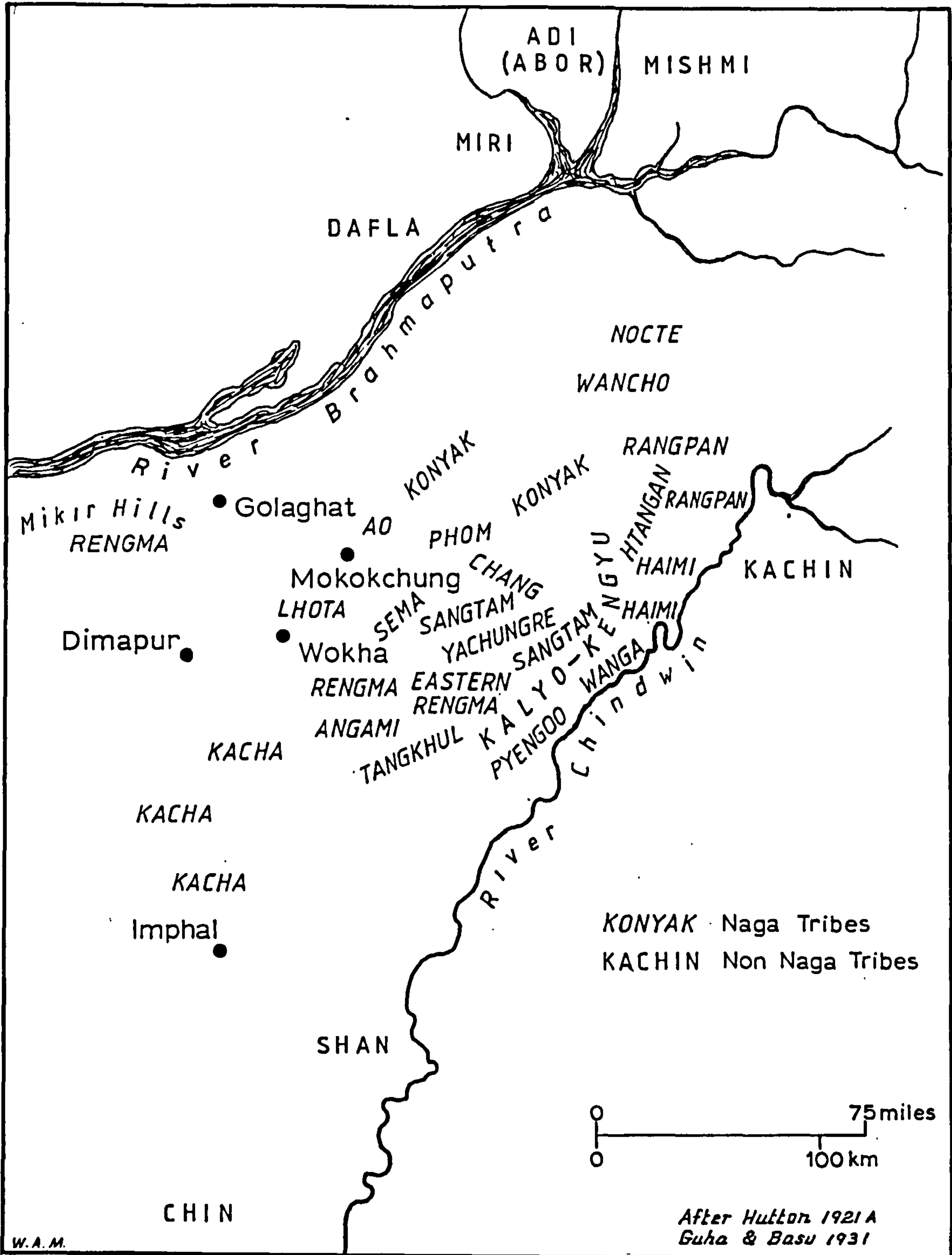
Chapter 1 - INTRODUCTION		1
Method	5	
Layout	10	
Chapter 2 - NAGA SOCIETY		12
Prosperity	18	
Power	21	
Oscillation and Unity	37	
Chapter 3 - ANTHROPOLOGY AND MUSEUMS		41
Museums in History	43	
Ethnographical Museums	45	
Anthropology and Material Culture	52	
Nagas and Anthropology	62	
Material Culture Studies		
in the late 20th Century	66	
Collectors	74	
Naga Material Culture	79	
Chapter 4 - HISTORY AND LITERATURE		81
Sources	81	
History	91	
Chapter 5 - ANGLO-NAGA RELATIONS		116
Chapter 6 - MATERIAL CULTURE AND TRADE		148
Material Culture	148	
Trade in the Literature	153	
Trade	157	
Chapter 7 - COLLECTING IN THE HILLS		184
The Plains-Hills Relationship	187	
19th Century Collecting	190	
Early 20th Century Collecting	204	
The Anglo-Naga Exchange Relationship	210	
Chapter 8 - NAGA COLLECTIONS IN BRITISH MUSEUMS		218
Museum Survey and Documentation		
Problems	220	
Hutton, Mills and the Pitt Rivers	228	
Collecting Chronology	238	
Collections by Tribe and Place	243	
Collections by Type of Object	249	
Collectors	252	
Analytical Framework and Problems	254	
Chapter 9 - IDENTIFICATION OF NAGAS		257
Museum and Artefact Problems of		
Identification	257	
Categories of Object Identification	269	
The Boundaries of Nagas	273	
Naga	286	
Chapter 10 - CONCLUSION		290



Location & Administration Areas



The Naga Hills Region



Naga Tribes
 Sketchmap to show locations.

INTRODUCTION

Of what use are the ethnographical collections held in British museums? Why was so much material collected? If the largest proportion is held in storage rather than exhibited to the public, is it all still required? In what ways can the collections be used to give meaning to the past and the present, or to increase understanding of the organisation and culture of British and other societies? This study began with such questions in mind, intending to focus on chronology and change in Naga material culture through an examination of what was clearly an exceptionally large corpus available in Britain.

I first became interested in Naga material culture when working at the Horniman Museum in London. As a museum assistant untutored in anthropology I was attracted because it was colourful and apparently had a coherence making it readily identifiable, particularly amongst the mass of material in the stores which required sorting. On moving to Liverpool Museum¹ some more difficult problems of identification began to emerge. Here was deposited the bulk of the collection of Assam material made by N.E. Parry and his wife. This included a small quantity of Naga objects amongst their large 'Lakher'² acquisitions. In the museum there was also a fine series of 'typical' Naga hats, conical, in

¹ Liverpool Museum was part of Merseyside County Museums from 1974 to 1986 when the name and status of the service changed to the National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside. The museum is referred to as Liverpool Museum throughout this study.

² The Lakher were the subject of a monograph by Parry in the Assam Secretariat series. Rather than being a distinct and separate people, they were an assortment of Mizo and Chin clans inhabiting the hills south of the Lushai clans within India. (L.G. Hill pers comm)

red cane and yellow orchid stem basketry. These were collected by R. Grant Brown who, by all accounts, had served only in Burma around the turn of the century. The two collections led me deeper into trying to understand the classification of hill peoples on the Assam-Burma³ border and into questioning what was being accepted as identification of objects.

Later, at the University of Hull, I made a study of the relationship between costume (textiles and personal ornament) and status among the Nagas for a M.A. thesis. This raised further questions concerning the history and identification of the Nagas and their relationship with the British (West 1984B). I had also begun to explore tentatively the general problem of the role of collectors (West 1982 and 1984A). I have more recently linked this to the use of ethnographic collections and their historical nature (West 1991, 1992A, B and C). Throughout this time, and indeed since first visiting the Horniman Museum after working with local history and art collections in Canterbury, I have been puzzled by the lack of attention paid by British museums to the dating of ethnographical material and the chronology of forms of ethnographic material culture.

These general studies in ethnography and museology have led to this attempt to generate a framework for the examination of historical collections of ethnographic material culture held in museums with particular attention to the 'Naga' artefacts. This attempt was based on the view that the museum collections have great potential for examination and re-evaluation: a source of untapped data which could be

³ The term Assam-Burma has been used here in preference, for example, to India-Myanmar. The reason is to indicate the historical nature of the data used, especially the fact that by far the bulk of museum collections date from the colonial period.

used to add information directly to Naga ethnography. Originally I hoped to begin to correct the lack of a time perspective. I intended to look at chronological changes in relation to stylistic/geographical variation in Naga material culture. This immediately raised issues of collecting and collectors for a number of reasons, not least to establish their interests and hence preference for any particular forms of objects. The impact of collectors in their other guises (for example tourist, administrator, army officer) on the Nagas was also a key consideration. Thus, from the outset the collections of Naga material culture were viewed as an aspect of Anglo-Naga relations. One question centred on the significance of that aspect within the whole relationship. As the study progressed it became obvious that before a proper examination of chronological change and synchronic variation in material culture could be made, a great many other matters had to be sorted out. This process might be best understood through the sequential description of the development of questions as they presented themselves.

The first task was to try to establish what artefacts and other non-published materials relating to the Nagas existed in British museums. This was largely accomplished by a postal survey and many subsequent follow-up visits. The potential use of this material in its present form was found to be extremely limited. There is a need to see such collections in total as the corpus for study, rather than relying on individual museums for series of objects. This is clearly necessary in order to assess the significance of material culture in Anglo-Naga relations. Other features reinforce this need, such as a single donor making gifts to several museums, and the probable lack of chronological, geographical or even tribal variation in a single collection.

Many other difficulties immediately became apparent. Much of the material was lacking in even conventional identification by people, such as Angami Naga or Sema Naga. Where it was present, the process of ascription of simply Naga or named tribal Naga group to the objects was not clear, and seemed not to be an issue in many museums. The problem here was whether the donor had made the ascription or the curator and, especially if the latter, on what basis (see West 1989). Patterns of collecting by museums increased problems and depleted their collections' potential for examining change in material culture by the practice of acquiring 'type' specimens. This is true even of the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, where despite having probably the largest Naga collection in the world, there was a concentration on type specimens and a utilisation of the ethnographic present: a practice which meant that objects were categorised so that one example would suffice for all which were apparently similar, and for all time. Furthermore, this practice seemed to imply the notion that it was possible to make a collection representing a Naga tribal group. It ignored the question of the Nagas' own categorisation of themselves and, connected with the lack of variant specimens of the single type-object, made it difficult to establish the purpose and meaning given by the Nagas to an object. These problems of categories, purpose and meaning also raised questions about the collectors' rationale in collecting.

Thus, the more I examined the existing material the less straightforward I found it to understand. The collections and the questions derived from them challenged and picked holes in the ethnography. The immediate questions were simply who are or were the Nagas and by what are or were they defined? Supplementary problems were how are Nagas categorised and why are they categorised like this? An

analysis of the 20th century ethnographic monographs and 19th century writing showed a process of continual change in categorisation, with larger units gradually being employed over time, but this historical process seemed also to be dialectical between British and Naga systems.

In order to understand the process of historical categorisation and identification it was necessary to study the history of Anglo-Naga relations and, as a necessary context, the history of museums and of the development of anthropology. This also led to an attempt to re-evaluate the ethnography of the Nagas by relating all these kinds of study to the artefacts in British museums. The central questions thus shifted from chronology and typology to identification and significance, for example, how do I know this object is Naga and of what significance is it and to whom?

Method

The original intention was to pursue certain questions which arose from the museum collections and the literature in the context of a field study of a Naga group. Despite an apparently improving political condition in Nagaland permission for fieldwork was impossible to obtain⁴. Museum ethnographers are still agreed on the necessity of modern fieldwork. This is particularly evident in the production of temporary

⁴ Recent outsiders who attempted entry without permission were arrested and are awaiting trial (TV news broadcast May 1992). A survey of the recent political history and Naga insurgency is given in Maxwell 1980, first edition 1973. This report was published by the Minority Rights Group and indicates the range of issues, such as human rights, self determination against a background of insurgency, accusations of atrocities and the politics of maintaining India as a nation.

exhibitions in the larger ethnographical museums ⁵. Fieldwork aims to develop collections out of their present largely historical state. Such development is achieved through the acquisition of contemporary material culture, improved documentation of historical material culture and the use of various media to document and illustrate the environment and society of the people in question.

The most recent published fieldwork in Nagaland remains that of Ganguli (1984). In many respects this follows the tradition of writing on the Nagas in aspiration to amateur ethnographer status through the medium of personalised travelogue. Recent academic interest in the Nagas is exemplified in the work of the Cambridge University Rivers Videodisc Project and the associated book (Jacobs 1990). The former has provided a quantity of raw material in illustrations of some material culture, historical film and photographs in addition to some of the literature. The book draws on this to re-present material on the Nagas using more recent anthropological frameworks in contrast to the 19th century ethnological structure of the Assam Secretariat series (such as Hodson 1911 and the monographs of Hutton and Mills). Jacobs makes reference to the recent past, but of necessity has to draw on limited published and unpublished sources. It is clear that new fieldwork and analysis of existing records for the Nagas are both needed. Here Jacobs' book illustrates the amount of work necessary both in Britain and in Nagaland. In addition, the effective omission of Nagas in Burma ⁶ from this work indicates the critical need for reassessment and modern

⁵ Those temporary exhibitions at the Museum of Mankind, the ethnography department of the British Museum, are probably best known. Other museums also follow this ideal where possible, such as in the 1992 native North American basketry exhibition at the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford.

⁶ Highland societies in Burma (now Myanmar) are also closed for purposes of fieldwork. Many of the problems there are comparable to those in India in terms of hill peoples' insurgency and questions of self-determination and national identity.

fieldwork. It also begs the question, who are the Nagas, especially if the only view is from India.

These factors have led to an enlarged library and museum study. The method should be evident from the structure and content of the study. A postal survey of Naga museum ethnographic collections was used as the base data. The aim was to gather unused resources for the study of Naga culture and link them to conventional library materials. The focus of the study changed from detail of material culture chronology and variation to the identification of that material as Naga, for reasons outlined above. The approach adopted has been to question every category used in the study of Naga culture but with special reference to Naga material culture. This has made use of lessons learnt from some of the most recent anthropological writers on the area, such as Leach and Kirsch.

The approach has centred on establishing the significance of the material culture in Anglo-Naga relations and in the different categories and classification-explanation systems of the British and the Nagas. It has begun from the basis that the Nagas and their material in British museums cannot be objectified, that is they cannot be seen separate from the viewer, here in particular from the purpose of use and process of collection. The role of the British in the process of acquisition and their perception of Nagas and objects is an important half of the final product - the creation of Naga collections. Naga perception of the British and Naga categorisation of objects represents the other part. The two schemas together develop over time but are complicated by the increasing intrusion of the British into Naga life, both synchronically, diachronically and spatially, coupled with increasing numbers of British

and Nagas involved in these relationships. That is, over the 100 years from 1848-1948 an increasing number of British were involved in and connected with the Naga hills. These people taken as a whole demonstrate a number of similarities in their approach to and attitude toward the Nagas. For the Nagas, in the same period, more and more groups and villages were taken under British control and ever more Nagas experienced British administration. The progression of time enabled the British to become involved to a greater degree in aspects of Naga life.

Thus, the British and the Nagas must be considered together and their relationship analysed to ascertain purpose and perception. This analysis results in the need for a substantial change in the ways in which objects are identified and classified, particularly in museums but also in the field (for example in recording details of history, origin, trade of an item apart from use and other significances). Material culture collections provide a vehicle for a re-examination of the Anglo-Naga relationship. The collections provide tangible evidence which is still available to be used in the representation of Naga life in Britain. That representation, however, depends on the sources of information used, the perception of those sources and the methods of identifying objects as Naga. If the Anglo-Naga relationship is not explored then the representation is likely to have limitations. These limitations would include failing to consider an important part of the process of why such representations are made, their history and the reasons why museum collections exist. The collections enable representations to be made not only of the 'other' and their history but also of ourselves and our history. Each cannot be considered independently of the other; each informs the other, a process which in

dialectical state has led to the current definitions of Nagas by outsiders and of Nagas by Nagas.

The international connections born of imperial activity, and the form taken by the relationship is not limited to the colonial period. The current use of material culture in exchange, as in Cambridge in March 1992 affirms and exemplifies a continuing process. In this peculiarly relevant example, deliberately rich in ceremony, British academics presented a videodisc, player and books from the Rivers Videodisc Project to visiting Naga officials who in return gave textiles, decorated weapons and costume. The joking about gift exchange, ritual and anthropology on this occasion highlights the symbolic importance of material culture as a signifier of the Anglo-Naga relationship.⁷

Ultimately, then, the method employed is an ethnographic analysis of literary and museum sources. It owes something to the current climate of post modernism or literary deconstruction, but is really a close discussion of problems currently facing British museum ethnographers, with a general relevance to anthropology.

⁷ The Cambridge University Rivers Videodisc Project was established by Dr Alan Macfarlane after I had begun my research. The project gathered together pictures of objects, photographs, film and music and installed them on a laser read videodisc which was then pressed for sale. In association with the disc, an interactive computer programme was developed containing some published and some unpublished material on the Nagas with a keyword index. The project made use of my M.A. thesis and I visited twice at the invitation of Dr Macfarlane. Printouts of some unpublished materials held in other institutions were made available to me. The project culminated in a major temporary exhibition at the Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (1991-92) and a prolifically illustrated book on the Nagas (Jacobs 1990). See Macfarlane 1987, 1989 and Jacobs 1989 on the Project and videodisc.

Layout

The material developed has been laid out as follows. Chapter Two presents a picture of Naga society drawn from the conventional sources of the monographs of Hutton and Mills, with supplementary information from Furer-Haimendorf. The aim is to look in particular at aspects of polity and prosperity to provide a background for the study of Anglo-Naga relations and the central problems of the whole thesis.

Chapter Three explores the early development of anthropological theory alongside the history of museums and the creation of ideas about material culture. This sets the work of Hutton and Mills in context and indicates the state of academic interest in material culture and its relationship to anthropological theory over the 19th and 20th centuries. In Chapter Four the literature on the Nagas is explored using a historical framework. This enables the development of British ideas about the Nagas to emerge and documents relevant features of the history of British activity in the Naga Hills area.

From these chapters certain questions emerge which have particular significance for the understanding of Naga ethnography, especially that of who are the Nagas. An attempt is then made to look at these questions through the process of understanding the place and importance of material culture collections. Chapter Five opens this area by exploring the character of Anglo-Naga relations, particularly on a personal level in the hills. This discussion outlines a context within which the objects were collected and examines the nature of the Nagas' contact with the British.

Chapter Six focuses on Naga material culture and patterns of trade. It aims to provide a general context for understanding the circulation and exchange of objects. It looks at the British influence on trade and the significance of this to the Nagas particularly through the developing and changing frontier. Chapter Seven builds on this by examining the process of British acquisition of objects and how this might be fitted into Naga perceptions, trade and forms of exchange relationship with outsiders.

The stage is now set for Chapter Eight which looks at the range and types of collections of Naga material culture in British museums. This examines the chronological process of collecting which is detailed in Appendix 4. The geographical distribution of collections in Britain is briefly considered (detailed in Appendix 1). The relationship between donors and collectors are a key feature of the appendices. A list of donors to museums is provided in Appendix 2 with biographical details where known in Appendix 3. In Chapter Nine the problems of identification of Naga collections are explored in some detail together with an examination of the historical and ethnographical relationship of material culture to the Indo-Burmese divide of Naga territory.

The Conclusion in Chapter Ten considers the significance of this analysis for Naga ethnography and ethnographic collections in British museums (see below). It then attempts to draw out the broader relevance of this study for museum ethnography. In particular, the uses of the analysis of chronology, collectors, collecting and especially the identification of objects are explored and new analytical frameworks are suggested with indications of the possibilities of further research.

Chapter Two

NAGA SOCIETY

The Naga peoples live in the hills of what are now the Indian states of Nagaland, Manipur and the Assam district of Arunachal Pradesh, and the north-west frontier area of Burma (Myanmar). The spread of the peoples across international and significant intra-national boundaries directs attention to questions of history - how did the Nagas become spread and divided - and to culture - what makes them united.

Culturally the Naga peoples have been notoriously difficult to define; 'the truth is that if not impossible it is exceedingly difficult to propound any test by which a Naga tribe can be distinguished from other Assam and Burma tribes which are not Nagas. The expression "Naga" is, however, useful as an arbitrary term to denote the tribes living in certain parts of the Assam hills' (Hutton in Mills 1922: xvi). Hutton defined the 'certain parts' as bounded in the north-east by the Hukong valley, in the north-west by the plains of the Brahmaputra, in the east by the Chindwin, to the south-west by the plains of Cachar and to the south by the Manipur valley. Although by 1965 Hutton's view had changed in that he now thought it possible to 'see the Nagas as a people rather than an assortment of tribes or even of villages' and that they 'had something in common which has made them recognisable as a people' (Hutton 1965: 16) this may have been partly a response to the current political situation and developing Naga national identity. Other writers, from Robinson in 1841 to Yunuo quoting Elwin in 1974, have noted the primary village identity of the individual Naga and have not

been able to define what it is that separates out the Nagas as a people from the other hill peoples in the region (see West 1984: chapter 1).

The key historical feature has been the imposition of national boundaries by the British and the repeated use of the term Naga in military, administrative and anthropological matters. This has helped in the makings of the Naga national identity which saw partial fruition in the creation of the state of Nagaland in 1963. It seems also to have assisted in the consolidation of the larger groupings, known as tribes, within Nagaland and contiguous areas (see West 1984: chapter 2). These larger groupings have no overall political or judicial organisation but are essentially groups of villages with similar types of government, various cultural features and origin stories, which perceive a particular relationship and in part have a definite kin relationship.

The main groupings of Nagas discussed in the literature are the Angami, Ao, Konyak, Lhota, Rengma and Sema although there are important subdivisions of these. Other groupings with reasonable descriptions include the Mao, Tangkhul and Zemi, while the Chang, Khiemungan (previously Kalyo-Kengyu), Phom, Sangtam and Yachumi (Yimchungr) are also well known. Most of the groups on the Burmese side of the border are least known and described, but are named by Horam (1975:32) as Haimi, Htangan, Somra and Tsaplav although Dewar in the 1931 census (Bennison 1933) names five tribes as Pyengoo, Haimi, Rangpan, Htangan and Ku Wa and includes 29 sub-tribes. The difficulties of definition are illustrated by the Wanchu and Nocte people to the north, who historically were not seen as Naga but, better known since the 1940s, are perceived to share in the unidentified 'commonality' and are now included on many lists.

The large number of languages (over 30) and dialects (Hutton 1965) used by a such a small population indicates the fragmentation of the Naga peoples. They defined themselves by village, clan or *khel* (area or ward of village) rather than by the larger groupings perceived and utilised by the British. Naga villages were usually sited on hilltops, well defended, for the primary identity and loyalty to village or *khel* corresponded with the cultural importance of war and headhunting. The economic basis generally of swidden (slash-and-burn) agriculture varied by crop in some parts (rice or Job's Tears, *coix lachryma*) and method in others, such as in the south-west among the Angami where the hills were efficiently terraced for effective wet-rice production. Swidden, known in Assam as *jhum*, necessitates access to a large amount of land. One group, the Zemi, practiced a system of cycle-migration which ran into difficulty in the 1920s and 1930s and later because of the incursion by other (non-Naga in this case) groups onto land that was part of their cycle. Pressure on land helped lead to continuous expansion and movement in the hills. The more powerful villages grew out from a stable base, squeezing and impoverishing others and forcing some to migrate a considerable distance - as seems to have happened with the establishment of a group of Rengma in the Mikir Hills. Among some groups, for example the Sema, strong villages would send out colonies, usually in this case involving the son of a chief, and develop new sites.

Thus, access to land demanded a certain degree of strength, which in turn was supported by a philosophy advocating that individuals and communities had inherent qualities, most conveniently translated as prosperity or fertility, which could be increased. This quality was demonstrated and increased through headhunting, the creation of wealth and sexual prowess. This essentially male culture was celebrated through

rituals of receiving taken heads, conspicuous consumption in the form of feasting the village (feasts of merit) and the erection of monoliths or forked posts. The status of individuals was linked to their success in these fields and marked by the otherwise prohibited wearing of specific insignia in the form of ornament and cloth. This male culture and formal separation of men and women was further emphasized by the *morung*, a men's house and institution which featured prominently in many of the Naga groups. The quality of prosperity and the separation of men and women is discussed further below. The link of costume and ornament to status and prosperity is explored in West 1984.

The key works on the Nagas are those of two administrators in the 1920s and 1930s - J.H.Hutton and J.P.Mills. Their presentation of Naga society is based on two assumptions: firstly that the Nagas existed as a single group and could be described in component units; and secondly that they were describing and were able to describe Naga society largely as it was in 'untouched' state, that is before British and missionary intrusion. Essentially the unity of the Nagas is propounded by geography, a name (see West 1984), certain elements of social and cultural life and material culture. This unity is rather loose and within is a diversity well shown in the works of Hutton and Mills. The question of unity exercised the minds of earlier authors who did not have access to the whole of the peoples that might be ascribed Naga (for example in Burma or what was the North East Frontier Agency area) and who were also constrained by their own cultural and theoretical viewpoints which obscured and restricted any overview. The answer to 'unity' has not been satisfactorily resolved and is discussed further below.

In addition there is a problem of what constitutes a Naga grouping, or as generally known, 'tribe'. These tribal names too might be said to be effectively imposed by the British, just as the name 'Naga' was, even though they have been taken up and used with enthusiasm since Indian independence and before. The five large monographs by Hutton and Mills, each on a different Naga 'tribe' consolidated earlier thought and set the context for independence and beyond. The groups they described were generally quite powerful, especially the Angami, Sema and Ao, and have retained power post-independence (Jacobs 1990: 176). Other groups, particularly those who were unadministered at Indian independence, do not appear to have the same political power now. Some, notably the southern groups, previously and partly still in Manipur, some dominated and controlled by the Angami in the 19th century, have merged to form new groupings and identities. Thus, for example, the Zeliang group are made up of the Zemi; the Liangmei (both formerly known as the Kacha) and the Rongmei (formerly known as the Kabui). Within each of the tribes there was considerable variation, Hutton having to separate out the Eastern Angamis in his monograph, Mills having to divide the Rengmas into Western and Eastern groups and the Aos into 'language' groups *Chongli* and *Mongsen*.¹

The picture presented by Hutton and Mills is one of much diversity within unspecified boundaries, both of the overall people 'Naga' and the 'tribes'. Neither language nor polity (explored below) is of use in determining unifying elements. This lack of key definition poses

¹ Although Mills frequently calls these divisions 'language' groups, he states they are in fact dialect groups. However, the use of the dialects was fluctuating within these defined groups and what appears to be the basis of division is that each of these groups have their own set of clans. Mills uses the term Ao to describe a number of groups which he views as having a set of cultural characteristics and broad geographical location in common. He was clearly imposing boundaries for descriptive purposes.

problems in summarising Naga society for each key feature requires explanation of the associated diversity, for example variation of power structures from chieftainship to an egalitarianism, and of agricultural practice from jhumming to terrace cultivation to cycle migration. Furthermore, apart from synchronic diversity there is the chronological variation. Although the major monographs of Hutton and Mills were written over a comparatively short period of time they cannot really provide a synchronic snapshot. Hutton and Mills describe groups with different degrees of acculturation which they try to disregard in an attempt to describe a 'natural' village. By ignoring or skirting round the effects of British administration and especially mission work and its effects they tried to seek out a 'purity' believed to exist pre-contact. What remains is a literature scattered over time and geography fed by different interests, biases and perspectives. Notwithstanding this, Hutton and Mills are the key to knowledge about the Naga Hills. They are the most accessible, having had their major works republished, they contain an enormous amount of material including some consolidation of earlier writers and they have had considerable influence, being a primary source of reference for later and contemporary interest in the Naga peoples. In addition, whatever their shortcomings 'Hutton was undoubtedly the greatest expert on the Nagas', wrote Fürer-Haimendorf (1974:3), himself an authority, and Mills cannot have been far behind.

This chapter looks at aspects of Naga society, in particular the polity and the notion of prosperity in order to set the context for the analysis of the study of material culture and to indicate some of the problems of establishing unity amid diversity. The bulk of the material is extrapolated from the work of Hutton and Mills with some additions from Fürer-Haimendorf. The very extent of the diversity makes it

impossible in terms of space as well as unnecessary here to enter into ethnographic detail for any one Naga group let alone the whole people. The loose boundaries of the Nagas as a whole will make it necessary to later refer to surrounding peoples and groups.

Prosperity

The most striking unifying feature apart from material culture (and especially the *dao*) and aspects of the economy, is the concept of prosperity and practices deriving therefrom. This is the driving force of Naga life and especially ritual life, which permeates society collectively and individually and provides meaning. This concept of prosperity is real but elusive. It is complex, involving notions of fertility, vitality, life-force and prosperity.² Mills referred to the term *aren* (apparently used by both Chongli and Mongsen Ao) which he translated as 'prosperity' (1926A:257) and discussed its acquisition and growth through feasts of merit, while Hutton (1928) emphasised the idea of fertility and the connection between crops and headhunting. Prosperity (as it will be called here, rather than fertility) was inherent in successful men, but in a circular argument, their success also developed their prosperity still further. Successful villages had much prosperity, in particular they had especially successful men who themselves had much prosperity. Status and prosperity were interlinked: this vital force brought success, for example in headhunting, feasts of merit and in sexual prowess, and this success was marked by rights to particular pieces of costume. Thus, a successful warrior, a man who had

² The Naga concept of prosperity has been compared, for example by Hutton, to the better known Melanesian idea of *mana*.

taken a head, not only had prosperity as demonstrated by his headtaking, but also accrued more by taking that of the dead person. In addition, his village gained from his actions as rituals were held to incorporate the head into the village, thereby also seemingly depleting the stock of prosperity of the village of the dead man or woman. This is explored further in West 1984 and an outline is given below.

The link between prosperity and agriculture was important, both through headhunting and feasts of merit. Hutton rationalised the Naga idea that taken heads were good for crops by deducing that it was the souls of the dead that were associated with the fertility of the crops (1928: 401) and that the multiple souls of the dead were primarily located in the head (ibid: 402). Whilst the precise nature of this causal link between heads and fertility has been questioned by Needham (1976), the connection of fertility/prosperity with heads, headtaking and agricultural fertility has not, nor has the linking of the afterlife and the soul(s) to the notion of prosperity been disputed. On the second element, feasts of merit:

The religion of the Naga Hills is centred very largely upon fertility cults. The agricultural year is marked by ceremonies intended to promote the growth of the crops, and the feasts of merit by which individuals acquire social status are likewise marked by ceremonies to promote fertility and magical rites, for infecting the village as a whole with the fertility of the individual whose crops and cattle and affairs have so prospered that he is able to afford the feast (Hutton 1928: 399).

He goes on to indicate the sexual aspect, 'The fertility of the family or of the village is promoted by the erection of phallic symbols, and the village is infected with the fertility of the erector of them by the simple process of dragging them all round the village.' (ibid: 399-400). Prohibitions placed on successful men and their wives (who demonstrated their prosperity through headhunting or feasts of merit) included

abstaining from sexual intercourse and agricultural work for specific periods of time; such prohibitions in certain circumstances might be extended, for example to the whole khel or village.

Thus, the notion of prosperity invaded the core of Naga life, their means of sustenance through agriculture. Naga groups cultivated rice, primarily through the jhum method, although the Angami used terraces and the Zemi jhummed on a cycle-migration system. Other crops included millet and Job's Tears while various animals such as pigs and *mithan* (*bos frontalis*, a type of cattle) were kept. The hill region is difficult terrain, and villages were placed in high sites with walls, pits and other defences. The work of men and women was defined in agriculture, with men clearing jungle, field paths and tilling while the women did most of the crop raising, sowing, weeding and winnowing although the men might assist in the reaping and threshing. The world of developing prosperity was primarily male with the status of wives and daughters dependent on husbands and fathers, rather than gaining achievement in their own right, but it is possible that male writers and observers, depending largely on male informants and from a male dominated culture, may have overlooked or not seen another system, small though it may have been. Each sex had particular skills open to them, for example, women did all the spinning and weaving and men the basketry and wood carving and recognition may have come through these, but it was not the same as that gained through headhunting and feasts of merit. A wife did share in the work leading up to the mass conspicuous consumption that was a feature of the feasts, but while her cooperation and work was important to the success, this would not seem to reduce the general nature of male domination both of society, ritual life and the

social dynamic that fuelled Naga life, despite recent suggestions otherwise (for example, Jacobs 1990: 131-32).

Power

The thesis that the concept and practice of prosperity/fertility underlies Naga society needs to be checked against the actual distribution of power in that society. Here the variation across different Naga groups or tribes comes into play, for among some the formal power structure is marked by a chieftainship while others are more egalitarian. There are possibilities for parallels with Leach's *gumsa/gumlao* shifting power structure model outlined in *The Political Systems of Highland Burma* to which Leach himself drew attention (1954: 291-92). Although this has recently been discussed (Jacobs 1990: 73-75), it has never been fully examined.

Power structures among Naga groups are not coherently described in the ethnographies of Hutton and Mills. For the Angami Hutton identifies a number of important persons including a *Kemovo* (ritual official), a chief and elders. These positions are a feature of most villages throughout Naga territory, with different importances, that is different power, ascribed to each among different Naga groupings.

The *kemovo* (an Angami word) was in most Angami villages the most important ritual official, who determined the date of and directed all public ceremonies. This position was hereditary and also had a duty to be the repository of genealogical and historical traditions of the village and clan (Hutton 1921A: 186-87). The *kemovo* had to be 'an

occupant of one of the original house sites of the village, and is normally a descendant in the direct line of the founder of the village or of the founder, in the village, of the clan for which he acts as *Kemovo*' (ibid: 187). Thus, this position appears essentially linked to the founding of a new village and the first clans in that village, a criterion which in some groups would imply chiefly or aristocratic status. A complication is introduced for the Angami status of *kemovo*, which apart from being hereditary could also have been acquired by a man who had completed the first series of feasts of merit. Among the Eastern Angami the *kemovo* was selected from those qualified by descent and feast of merit status to occupy the first original house site of the village. These variations may be in part ascribed to the egalitarian nature of Angami society whereby status and with it power could be acquired through achievement, the demonstration of personal prosperity.

Hutton also noted the presence of chiefs among the Angami and distinguished them from *kemovo* (Hutton 1921A: 142 footnote). He noted that there were cases of chieftainship being inherited but 'It is most unlikely, however, that the hereditary nature of such chieftainships depended on anything more than the influence, wealth and intelligence of the chief's son's [sic] enabling him to retain the position afforded him by his father' (ibid: 142). This suggests that it is the prosperity of the chief's son which enabled him to succeed, though the chief Hutton was noting here in actuality was a war leader, the *pehuma* and only gained any power during wartime.

Disputes were settled by elders, the old men of the clan, an 'informal council of elders, who would discuss the matter under dispute with one another, the parties and the general public at great length

until some sort of agreement was arrived at' (Hutton 1921A: 143). The settlement of disputes was difficult because neither the elders, chief nor *kemovo* had sufficient power to determine a result quickly or enforce it. According to Captain Butler (quoted by Hutton 1921A: 143) 'Every man follows the dictates of his own will, a form of the purest democracy which it is very difficult to conceive of as existing even for a single day; and yet that it does exist here is an undeniable fact'.

Thus, Angami society may be characterised by an individualism with status achieved by age (elders) and especially prosperity (feasts of merit and war leadership) for *kemovo* and *pehuma*, with the sole inherited position afforded to a link with the founder of the village. The one other position of note was of *gaonbura*, government appointed agent, but with no real power.

In Sema society the positions noted by Hutton among the Angami appeared but the status which he here named chief was accorded far greater power. The parallel in the position at first appears to be with the *kemovo* for the Sema chief's position was largely dependent on a direct hereditary link with the founder of the village but also it seems to have depended on a degree of personal status and prosperity:

the generally accepted rule ... is that the eldest of the original chief's sons who remains in the village ultimately succeeds his father and is again ultimately succeeded by his own son, the interlude of brothers and uncles being merely temporary, and not affecting the general succession (Hutton 1921B: 148-49).

Power within the chief system was based primarily on the method of founding new villages. The son of a chief, with a number of his father's dependents would form a new village on uncultivated land or by victory in war, and would retain the greater part of land for his own

use and control. Land in excess of what he needed for the support of his household would be allocated annually to *mughemi* (dependents): *mughemi*, 'clients' of the chief, were tied by land tenure and other areas of reciprocity. The chief provided wealth for 'purchasing' wives, food when necessary, paid fines when necessary and the *mughemi* became a member or quasi-member of the chief's clan, worked in his fields, gave him part of any slaughtered animal. (Hutton 1921B: 144-45). *Mughemi* who left the village by desertion forfeited all property to the chief.

By the time the new village was in a position to throw off ties to the old (to cease being a colony), the internal power relationships had become complex. The chief and his brothers were likely to have acquired *mughemi*. In addition:

there are men who by trade or good fortune have become rich and bought land and likewise acquired *mughemi*, and a common man may call one man "father" by virtue of having been provided by him with a wife, call another "father" because he was given land to cultivate by him this year, call a third "father" because he was given land to cultivate by him last year, and in addition owe the regular two days a year in work to the chief. (Hutton 1921B: 148.)

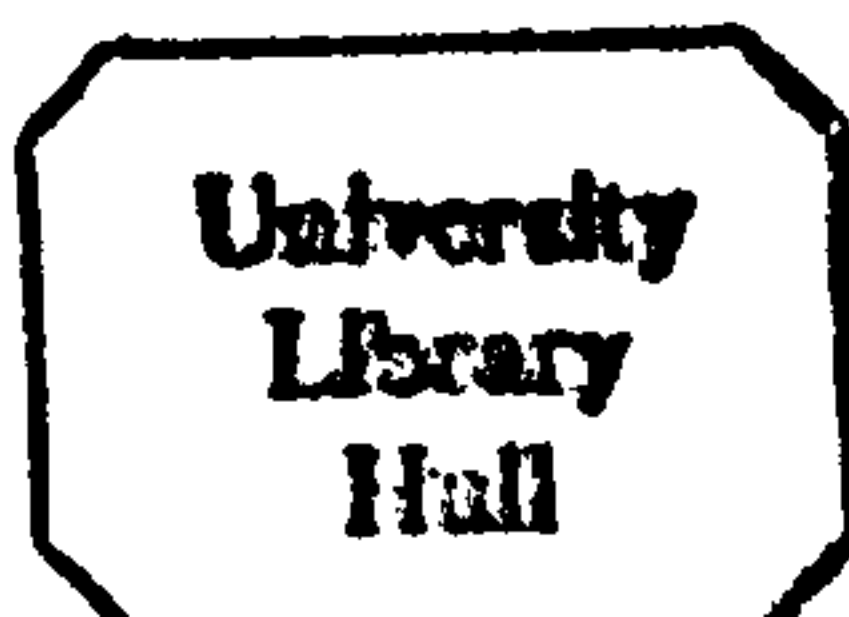
Thus, prosperity played some part in power relationships, by the acquisition of wealth overcoming lack of inheritance (at least of title) and conversely because those 'whose hereditary claim is incontestable but whose personal unfitness disqualifies' (ibid: 149) would be passed over for the chieftainship.

The parallel with the *kemovo* continues after this point for the chief's main duties outside of his reciprocal relationship with his *mughemi* were ritual; these were apart from having to direct the village in war and be responsible for 'foreign policy', that is relationships with other villages, functions partially carried out by the person named chief by Hutton among the Angami. The Sema chief also determined

when festivals (*genna*) were to be held and directed them. Part of the ritual duties were performed by the *awou*. This was a non-hereditary office although the *awou*'s house was built first in a new village and the chief's house second. Hutton drew parallels between the chief of the Angami and that of the Sema whilst acknowledging that the Sema chief performed functions carried out by the the Angami *kemovo*. It would seem important to view the three elements separately; ritual leader, war and foreign policy leader, and hereditary position. They are interlinked and effectively bound together by the idea of prosperity, and the permutation existing at any one time or in any particular group may be due to oscillation of a type suggested by Leach or similar, or other sociological features. It is the elements which make up the various offices held which are equivalent rather than the offices themselves.

The 'elders' of Angami society are paralleled among the Sema by *chochomi* meaning a 'man who is pre-eminent, and hence one of those whom the chief employs to help him in managing public affairs' (Hutton 1921B: 151, emphasis in the original). The chief would usually surround himself with a number of *chochumi*, generally at least one from each clan, the most prominent member of each. Hutton did not define how pre-eminence was determined but it would seem likely by wealth and perhaps success in war (headhunting) and thus by prosperity. Hutton noted that their actual power and that of the chief varied: in some villages they might control the chief, in others the chief might be so strong that *chochumi* power was negligible.

A further element in Sema polity was the *kekami*, chief's relations, who often had influence and could 'create and lead an opposition party', but Hutton noted that 'the status of *kekami* is easily lost by a man



becoming poor and having to adopt a protector, or by migration to another village, where the relations of the *kekami* in question are of no importance' (Hutton 1921B: 152). Thus, the status was lost by a non-prosperous man. Whilst Hutton notes that '[*kekami* status] is not easy to acquire, and mere wealth is not enough' (ibid: 152), this does not rule out the notion of prosperity as being the deciding factor, but whether it is by ascription (hereditary, relationship) or by achievement (success in war) is open.

In his Introduction to *The Lhota Nagas* (Mills 1922: xxxiii) Hutton noted that the Semas, Changs and Konyaks had hereditary chieftainships, the Ao and Tangkhul were governed by bodies of elders and the 'Angami, Rengma and Lhota and apparently Sangtam villages are run on the lines of democracy'. In this work on the Lhota Mills pays little attention to village polity, largely it seems on the basis that since the 'Pax Britannica' the old system had collapsed.

Among the Lhota, before British control 'when villages were constantly at war each village was ruled by a chief, (*ekyung*) assisted by an informal council of elders' (Mills 1922: 96). There appear to be parallels with the Sema position in that chieftainship was hereditary and primarily concerned with leadership in war. The position was hereditary in the family of the village founder, not necessarily father to son and 'the most suitable man became chief by force of character' (ibid: 96). His wealth would inevitably increase because as war leader he was entitled to spoils from raids. In addition the position was said to have had entitlement to an amount of free labour, a right which lapsed before the Hills were taken over by the British. After British control the post of *ekyung* ceased to exist. Villages instead were

managed 'by an informal council of old men and men of influence' (ibid: 96) who were called *sotsi* (meat eaters) ³ because they administered fines of pork in disputes and ate the fine. Again here there are 'men of influence' (prosperity) and the suitability of the chief would in the past seem associated with a prowess linked to prosperity.

Any further parallel with the Sema falters on the point of ceremonial functionary, although the three key elements of ritual leader, war leader and inheritance are still in place. Among the Lhota two *puthi* (Northern Lhota) or *pukis* (Southern Lhota) fulfilled this role. One acted merely as assistant to the other who determined and directed public ceremonies. There seems to have been clear distinction between (*ekyung*), chief in the sense of war director, and *puthi/puki*, chief in the sense of ritual director. The main *puthi/puki* was 'elected' by the elders, old men of the village, who usually chose the man who had completed most feasts of merit (Mills 1922: 122) provided he was also a member of one of the clans who had provided the *puki* in the past. Thus, hereditary factors come into play but the primary source of the position was wealth, achievement through prosperity. In contrast the *puthi/puki* assistant (actually, it seems, called the *yenga*) was a man without prosperity, 'an old man who has done no social "gennas" [that is no feasts of merit] and is appointed for life' (Mills 1922: 126).

Mills' account of the Rengma (1937A) also touches but briefly on the question of chieftainship. He described what happened before British control by reference to historical examples presumably told to him and

³ Thigh (meat) eating chiefs amongst the Kachin are described by Leach (1954: 121). Such a chief who was politically independent was entitled to receive meat from animals killed in hunting and sacrifice, to have work done on his rice plot, and to receive tribute of paddy.

noted:

Before the British took over their country every Western Rengma village had a chief ... with whom were associated as advisors leading men from other clans ... The office of chief was hereditary in the clan but not in the family. It did not necessarily pass from father to son, but to the most suitable man in the leading families of the clan. In cases of gross misrule public opinion could even deprive the whole clan of the right. (Mills 1937A: 138)

Mills did not state how the 'most suitable man' or the advisors (which he later calls 'councillors') were chosen but it is possible and perhaps likely that the basis of choice depended on their status and, therefore, their prosperity.

The Eastern Rengmas, Mills states, 'have no memory of anything in the nature of an hereditary chieftainship. They say that their villages have always been run by the most influential men. This system still works excellently ...' (1937A: 140). Influence is still not defined but again presumably depended on status and wealth and so the prosperity of particular individuals.

Among both Western and Eastern Rengmas there was a particular and important religious official who determined ceremonial and other dates and had knowledge of the religious system. The office was hereditary in a single or group of clans which could trace their lines back to the founders of the village. The incumbent of the post, whose precise selection was not described by Mills, had to be an old man, although one of middle age was permitted to hold office by the Eastern Rengma. There is here the same possibility of dichotomy as with the Lhota above; the old man could be a successful one with much prosperity or one who had not achieved any feat of merit. This introduces a further dimension to the notion of prosperity. It would appear that prosperity was powerful

and possession of it could be dangerous. Therefore, either its definite and strong presence or complete absence would ensure that posts were appropriately occupied. Among the Rengma secular power was in the hands of men with great achieved prosperity, with constraints as to inheritance in the preference for probably a descendant of the founder. The ceremonial functionary needed to have at least hereditary qualification and was, therefore, not free from ascribed status.

The importance of inheritance may also be linked to prosperity: the fertility of individuals and villages could be increased by acquisition of the heads of outsiders. This implies that death leaves some fertility behind which needs to be captured and incorporated in the case of taken heads, but in non-apotaic death perhaps it remained in the home village. The link of fertility/prosperity with sexual prowess also implies its virtue in procreation and so also perhaps with inheritance.

Whilst Mills implied the Rengma chief had great potential power, for example in a story of one who was oppressive and lay across a path to the fields, thus presumably preventing villagers from going down there (1937A: 138) the autocratic tendency was balanced by a group of advisors. In this example the chief was expelled from office and chieftainship passed to another clan. As with all groups noted so far there is a tension between autocracy and democracy/oligarchy which maintains stability in the long term. Discussion of Naga polity in this way lends itself to consideration of Leach's model (Leach 1954 and see also Kirsch 1973) and can easily ignore the underlying philosophical bonds which hold the tendencies together.

The form of the Ao Naga polity, as described by Mills, falls outside the general pattern discussed by Hutton and Mills for the Angami, Sema, Lhota and Rengma. W.C. Smith, writing at the same time as Mills, noted:

The Ao villages are very democratic and one man is as good as any other. There are headmen 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. (Smith 1926: 52)

The headmen to whom Smith refers would appear to be those appointed by the British government who nearly always fell outside any indigenous system.

Mills briefly discusses the system, which did exist, of village councillors. In the two main Ao groups, Chongli and Mongsen, differences in organisation were apparent. Both had age groups determined by a new group of boys born within three years entering the morung at the end of that period; girls also had age groups and both sexes remained in the group to which they were, effectively, born until their death. Amongst the Chongli language group the age sets were overlaid by another cycle of every 25 to 30 years. At this point all existing councillors vacated office and a new generation took over (often with a violent quarrel and an attempt to prolong power with its associated privileges, especially in shares of meat at feasts and so on). Age sets provided progress within generations, but any person becoming a councillor toward the end of a cycle would only hold that position for a short period. Retired councillors not only lost all power but had specific tasks and duties such as the preparation of corpses, hence perhaps the reluctance to cede to a new generation. Mills implies that a whole age set would become councillors but there was much variation within the council posts determined by shares of meat provided by pigs paid as fines and animals

sacrificed. The variation was complex with eight levels among the Chongli.

The Mongsen language group was different with a less complex meat and therefore status system among councillors. Also not all councillors had to leave office at the same time although there was a similar rule that they could not remain councillors for ever. Mills does not explain how differentiation within a generation, evidenced by the shares of meat for Chongli and Mongsen, or selection to office for Mongsen was ultimately determined. It would seem that within a comparatively individualistic society influence, from wealth and status, counted for a great deal.

Inheritance factors are not in evidence for councillors nor for the priests required for ceremonies where the whole clan was involved. These priests were 'old men who have been councillors, and their qualifications are age, experience and freedom from serious deformity' but 'public opinion dictates who among the old men are fitted to be priests' (Mills 1926A: 243). The same may well be true for councillors. The clan priests all combine to make up what Mills calls a 'board of village priests'; board and council may be effectively interchangeable and imply a similar structure for both the secular and ritual worlds. Individuals acted as their own priests (ibid: 243) for personal and simple ceremonies and the clan priest's responsibility was for public ceremonies. The function of councillors was barely described, being apparently limited to settlement of disputes, and fines and additional wealth would have accrued through this. The other position of note, war leader, was occupied in time of need when every khel would recognise a leader, but on what basis Mills did not explain.

Thus, for the Ao, the categories of ritual and secular leadership were devolved among a group, with no inheritance criteria. Although a chronological mechanism existed for ensuring that men moved out of office, the criteria for attaining office either early and/or with the better shares of meat, appears to be 'public opinion'. Given the underlying dynamic of prosperity, it would seem that those with the most prosperity secured these posts. The success was by achievement, with no ascriptive categories which correlates well with the group, board or council model of power.

Hutton and Mills completed descriptions of five tribes between them, but in addition the Konyak were the subject of fieldwork during Mills' period of administration and it is worth including their polity for further comparison. The Konyak were the last Naga group to be the subject of any intensive research or publication in the colonial period and, like the Ao, also appear very different to the groups of the south and east. Fürer-Haimendorf (1969: 5) noted that the name Konyak was 'applied by British administrators to a large and by no means homogeneous ethnic group' and later (ibid: 40) that they appear 'to the outside as distinct from all neighbouring Naga tribes'. Further, he states that the Konyak 'did not see themselves as a discrete political unit' (ibid: 40). This is the problem common to all the Naga groups in determining what it is that provides their unity.

The Konyak were divided into two groups on cultural and linguistic grounds, the Thenkoh and the Thendu, visibly exemplified by the prevalence of facial tattooing among the latter. Fürer-Haimendorf noted that a third group was present in 1937 centred on the village of Chen but unknown and not recorded by him (1969: 9). Apart from the tattoo,

the crucial distinction between the two groups was in their polity. Both had a chiefly class but in the Thenkoh this class had few privileges and villages were ruled by a council of the chief and ten morung officials, often acting independently; among the Thendu the chiefs were powerful autocratic rulers. (The Thendu chief class had small and great chiefs with a chief in the latter category in particular referred to as an *Ang* in the literature, although the word applied to the whole class.) Here the prosperity complex was firmly linked into inheritance. Chiefs, especially *Angs*, performed feasts of merit 'whereby they sought to raise their personal prestige' and 'no individual effort in the quest for social advancement was allowed to cancel or blur the unalterable distinction between chiefs and commoners and no individual could ever cross the class barrier' (Füerer-Haimendorf 1969: 59). Thus among the Thendu the *Ang's* great power and prestige was enhanced by giving feasts of merit in a way that his commoners could not; achieved status was not available in this way to commoners, but could only be gained by those who already had ascribed status. Furthermore, 'the implied sexual prowess of some chiefs was remarkable' (ibid: 57). The Thenkoh provided a more egalitarian model but since the position of morung head was also hereditary, elevation to office among the Konyak depended entirely on ascribed status. This position of 'morung official' was 'known as *niengba*' (Füerer-Haimendorf 1969: 41). Later in his book Füerer-Haimendorf makes a few references to a priest, in discussing head-receiving rites and in describing initiation into the morung; in both cases the priest is *niengba*: 'the senior descendant of the village founder, acting as priest (*niengba*)' (Füerer-Haimendorf 1969: 98) and 'Yonglong, the descendant of the village founder and priest (*niengba*) of the Oukheang morung' (ibid: 68). There is, therefore, a suggestion that the priest and council official were combined offices depending on inheritance, but

this combination is not made explicit, nor are the qualifications for the posts defined further. Comparison on general grounds with elements of the Ao structure is evident in that 'all those who had entered the morung at the same time constituted an age group the members of which cooperated on many tasks' (ibid: 69) but this age set system seems to be less important, at least in this period, among the Konyak.

The question of an egalitarian model here appears to be merely a device for contrast with the intensely autocratic rule prevalent among the Thendu. Thenkoh structure might better be defined as an oligarchy, with membership dependent on inherited status, with presumably implied qualities of prosperity that might be enhanced by access to functions limited to that hereditary group. The real difference in the diverse models of polity in the Naga Hills would appear to be based on the different ratios and prominence given to ascribed and achieved status, with headhunting, feasts of merit and sexual prowess as mechanisms for channelling through permutations of offices of ritual leader, war leader, secular (judiciary) leader and descendant of the village founder.

The importance of being a descendant can be outlined by looking briefly at what Fürer-Haimendorf saw as a vertical division of Naga (specifically Konyak) society on which was overlaid the horizontal division into classes of 'unequal social status', that is the chiefs and commoners system (1969: 40). This vertical division comprised villages, wards, clans, lineages, households.

Villages were a key unit of identity in Naga life; individuals recognised themselves as coming from a particular village rather than

tribe or group. In many 'tribes' the village was divided into geographical units or wards which Hutton and Mills usually referred to as *khel*. The *khel* was the site of one or more men's houses, called *morung*. These provided a sleeping and social centre for males from boyhood onward and was the base for warriors and war activities.

The clans (which were patrilineal among Naga groups) cut across these units so that a *morung* would contain men of several clans. Inheritance was through the male line; clans were exogamous and it was forbidden to kill members of one's own clan. The clan was a key unit in Naga life, with individuals having a variety of reciprocal obligations with other members and often particularly owing duties to the senior branch or lineage of the clan. For the Angami Hutton states several features of the clan:

Although the village may be regarded as the unit of the political and religious side of Angami life, the real unit of the social side is the clan. So distinct is the clan from the village that it forms almost a village in itself, often fortified within the village inside its own boundaries and not infrequently at variance almost amounting to war with other clans in the same village. This rivalry or antagonism of clan with clan within the village has coloured the whole of Angami life. (1921A: 109)

He also commented on its fluidity:

The clan has been spoken of as though a very definite section of society, and so it frequently is. At the same time it ought not to be regarded in the light of a rigid institution incapable of fluctuation or development. On the contrary, it is always tending to split up into component clans. (ibid: 109)

Children were born into membership of a particular clan, that of their father although their mother by then was usually a member of the same clan. Exogamy meant that men married women of different clans, or if the clan was particularly large, of sufficiently distant lineages, but on marriage the wife would become a member of her husband's clan.

Among the Rengma a ceremony marked the separation from the old and attachment to the new, which enabled the new wife then to go to her husband's granary (Mills 1937A: 212). Mills reported that the clans of one group of Nagas recognised a correspondence with particular clans of other groups.

The founding of new villages generally required men from at least two clans to be involved for the exogamy of future relationships. Among the Lhota the founders might formally be two men of different clans but for the Rengma although the involvement of two clans was required, one man was chosen to be the founder and a sacrifice performed on the site for his house (Mills 1922: 92 and 1937A: 45, 212-13). How the founder was chosen is not always recorded. It was an important post because of the hereditary rights frequently attached and so it is likely that the person chosen was of high status or ability, both of which would demonstrate their prosperity. Among groups or tribes with hierarchical or autocratic structures it was the son of a chief who would found a new village, as in the example of the Sema given above, thereby ensuring the superiority of not only a clan but a lineage from the parent village continued in the new.

The founding of new villages was part of a power spectrum encouraged through the prosperity, headhunting and war complex, which also included one village receiving tribute as part of its dominance over another. This was particularly true of the Angami, who held sway over a considerable area of neighbouring groups to the south, although in practice it was a few Angami villages, most notably that of Khonoma, that were so powerful. Fürer-Haimendorf gave examples of the type of tribute for the Konyak. Here the village of Wakching

had always been a great power. It exercised overlordship over 14 smaller villages, received their tribute, and until the coming of British rule, afforded them a measure of protection. Few of these vassal villages, however, were dependent on Wakching as a whole; most of them were tributaries of one or another of the men's houses. (1969: 42)

Another element in such dominance was the expansion of some tribes, but again effectively villages, at the expense of others, largely to do with the shortage of land for jhumming for successful villages and clans. It did not matter what model of social power, autocratic or democratic was in use, as both the Angami and Konyak examples show, because both types achieved dominance over surrounding areas. The underlying drive of demonstrating and achieving prosperity, with its associated material needs for ornament and food for feasts of merit, quite apart from the needs of daily life, would seem to adequately fuel desire for expansion which was realised in successful groups, villages, clans or individuals (households).

Oscillation and unity

The question of the broader relationship of the polity to Leach's oscillation model was briefly discussed by Fürer-Haimendorf (1969: 62-64) and is still of interest to writers, for example Jacobs (1990: 73-74) who thought the model had validity for the Nagas. Leach himself thought that there would be parallels between the Naga and the Kachin and elsewhere in the region of hill peoples on both sides of and around the Assam-Burmese border. He stated 'I do not deny of course that within the Chin-Naga area there is a great diversity of culture, but that it should be a stable diversity seems to me to be inconceivable' (1964: 291).

It would seem that there is undoubted movement and change in power structures among the Naga peoples and, as suggested above, probably based on a relatively consistent but not fully articulated philosophy of prosperity. There remains the question as to what form the shifting economic and political power structures take, whether this is of variation from a single base or otherwise, including an oscillation between two preferred and opposed forms. Furer-Haimendorf concludes that it is

in the context [including Apa Tanis, Kachin, Chin] of such traditions of social stratification the Konyak system of hereditary chiefs can be understood much more easily than if we looked upon it as an unusual variant of the social order prevailing among the other Naga tribes (1969: 64).

This still refers to a social order rather than to a philosophical base with different possible outcomes but which are, in turn, united by that base.

In his summary Furer-Haimendorf has related the system, and the Nagas, to a wider context of hill peoples in the area: he earlier noted that the Wanchu, a people 20 miles to the north of the Konyak who he visited in 1962 are perhaps also 'Nagas'; 'though officially described as Wanchu, the people of that area are closely allied to the Konyak Nagas of the present Nagaland, and their inclusion within a different administrative unit is a matter of historic accident' (1969: 2).

This is an important point, for the difficulty of defining what, amid the diversity of language, polity and other practices, actually makes cohesion among the Nagas remains debatable. Hutton (1965: 19) recorded innumerable dialects on top of over 30 different languages of the Nagas. He noted that 'the differences in language, custom, dress, appearance and psychology, seemed so marked that the inherent unity of

the Naga tribes tended to be obscured by their differences' such as 'a political system broken down almost to the village unit, and a multiplicity of languages' (Hutton 1965: 16). In the search for unity Gray's work (1977), quoted in Jacobs (1990), has suggested 'the answer is that Naga society is one society, an aggregate of communities who share a set of structures or principles in common, but who emphasize them differently' (Jacobs 1990: 64). He gives the three principles as residence, age and kinship.

However, like most general surveys of Naga ethnography these works are subject to significant limitations. They examine only those groups who are called Naga in the literature, and so effectively try to make sense out of a much narrowed field. Furthermore, the history (see West 1984) suggests that what is Naga was defined by the British, accidentally and arbitrarily. There is now a need to look at groups outside to see, where if at all, any boundary of a society (and/or even culture) lies and on what principle. The polity certainly does not provide a single unifying frame, but a set of possibilities. What is clear is that all groups described do have a dynamic principle of prosperity underlying much of their activity. This is evidenced especially in headhunting, feasts of merit, sexual prowess and thus at levels of village, clan/village, individual. Associated with this is a complex of material culture which symbolises ascribed and achieved status. Indeed the parameters of material culture distribution may be important in defining a cultural area or spread that might be 'Naga'. Here it is important to recognise two uses of the word Naga. The first, introduced by the British, with and from the Assamese of the valleys, was used to describe various hill peoples and given only vague boundaries. This has, through a process of military take-over,

administration and publication led to the second use, with the name taken by the hill peoples themselves for political purposes to describe and identify themselves and a burgeoning Naga nationalism and associated pride in heritage.

Thus, a general survey of Naga society leaves us with problems concerning identification, unity and the use and meaning of the term 'Naga'. The extent of these problems and the way they have emerged can be understood by examining the development of literature and the history of British ideas about the Nagas. This is done in Chapter Four. This history and these ideas depend almost entirely on sources produced by British military and administrative officers. The discipline to which they nominally adhered, for academic justification of both writing and collecting, was anthropology. This discipline provided a framework for the development of ideas about the Nagas which was also reflected in the use of material culture collections deposited in public museums. In order to provide a background for a more detailed study of Anglo-Naga relationships and the collecting and use of material culture, the development of anthropological theory and ethnographical museums, especially in regard to material culture studies, is given in the next chapter. These next two chapters also provide the context for descriptions of Naga society made by Hutton and Mills.

Chapter Three

ANTHROPOLOGY AND MUSEUMS

The 19th century collecting of Naga objects coincided with a number of developments including the expansion of the British empire, the initiation and growth of public museums, and the rise of anthropology. In order to follow the uses to which ethnographical collections were put, it is necessary to examine the interconnections between these developments and in particular the form and development of material culture studies within anthropology. Apart from thus providing a background to the acquisition and display of material culture, this process of examination demonstrates the link of Naga studies with 19th-early 20th century British anthropology. Because of this connection, it is further necessary to explore changes in this anthropology and the form which material culture studies have taken in the late 20th century. These explorations are undertaken in this chapter as part of the framework for the assessment of Naga studies and collections, and set the present work in context.

The worldwide fascination with the artefacts of other cultures and societies has been particularly marked by the growth of collecting in Europe (and latterly North America) for the past two centuries¹. In Britain this has largely stemmed from the coupling of a curiosity about the peoples of an overseas empire with the development of a methodology

¹ Ethnographical material featured in cabinets of curiosities and other earlier collections; see Hodgen (1964: 120) for the example of Ole Worm's museum in Leyden 1588-1685.

known as science from the 18th century onwards. Such a coupling is evident in the collecting of artefacts and the development of museums alongside the growth of academic and scientific disciplines. These disciplines have been used to rationalise, that is to make sense of and give meaning to collections of artefacts which have been formed for a variety of purposes.

There now exists a set of collections in museums and in private hands which are known as 'anthropological', 'ethnographical' or more occasionally, 'ethnological' or 'primitive art'. Each word has a precise definition, and the use of such different words for what is essentially the same kinds of material, has certain implications for how the collection is thought about or used, as well as for what it contains. The words 'ethnography' and 'ethnographical' will be used here to describe such collections since these words are most widely in use in public museums in Britain, and provide the title of the specialised curators' association, the Museum Ethnographers Group. Additional problems concern the extent of ethnography collections. While the Pitt Rivers Museum '... takes the world for its province, and for its period, from the earliest time to the present day, excluding the results of mass production' (Blackwood 1970: 16), ethnography in practice in most other museums is used to define the material culture of native historical and pre-historical America, the islands of the Pacific and south-east Asia, and Africa (except the archaeology of Egypt), historical tribal and lower class communities of Asia. Contemporary native material culture of these areas is also included. The boundaries of the discipline include historical and peasant cultures in Europe, and material culture associated with major religions, well made, used by poorer communities in Asia. The lack of consistent rationale in definition is apparent now;

the consistency and reason which lies behind the grouping are the now discredited ideas of evolution, white European and North American superiority, the importance of a monotheistic or written theology, and a set of ideas about progression and how an advanced or civilised society was organised, for example in hierarchy and gender relations. These dominant ideas gave a framework for analysing and describing other societies. They also were associated with the practical outcome of colonialism and imperialism; the growth of commercial and exploitative activities alongside imposed administrative and judicial systems. Ethnographical collections both record and symbolise this process.

Assessment and analysis of any ethnographical collection needs to be done against a background of the history of museums, the links with and development of the study of anthropology and ethnology, the forms and purposes of collecting and the theories of material culture studies. In addition, the specific context of collection and European-native relationships must be considered. These topics are briefly surveyed here with particular attention to British ethnographic collections from the Nagas.

Museums in History

The development of public museums on a large scale and the growth of general and widespread collecting in Britain may be traced back to the mid-17th century. The cumulative stimulus of the spirit of scientific enquiry, public (or at least the gentry's) interest in antiquarianism, the founding of learned societies and the publicity and success of Cook's voyages in the late 18th century, all helped lay the

foundation for the habits of the 19th and 20th century. Prior to 1800 most collections were privately held and developed for personal interest; the growth of scientific studies widened the scope of such collections. Three private collections formed the basis of the first public museums in Britain. The collections of the Tradescants (father and son, begun in the early 17th century) and Elias Ashmole became the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, opening in 1683; that of Sir Hans Sloane formed the basis of the British Museum founded in 1753 in London. In the early 19th century a number of local learned societies blossomed in the form of Literary and Philosophical Societies, many of which acquired collections for the benefit of their members. In the 1820s the idea of education and self-improvement grew to include those who worked rather than owned the machinery, and the first Mechanics Institute opened in London in 1824. These workers' institutes rapidly spread and their activities included organising and visiting exhibitions. These developments came to be seen as possible diversions away from alcohol for the working classes, particularly in the moral climate of the 1830s. In 1835 the Municipal Corporation Act changed the system of local government and in 1845 the Museums Act allowed expenditure of a halfpenny rate for museum purposes in the larger towns. By 1849 six towns had adopted the act: by 1860 there were about 90 museums in Britain, and by 1920 400 (Lewis 1984: 29,31,36). Thus, museums began with a curiosity which was manifested in collecting; this was then institutionalised and subsequently made available to the public for their improvement and as a diversion away from immoral activities. It is significant, especially for our purposes, that curiosity was stimulated by the way of life of other peoples, those who lived overseas.

Ethnographical Collecting

The influence of these developments in Britain on people working in the Naga Hills is difficult to determine precisely but there are indications from various sources and parallels elsewhere in colonial experiences. A notion of organised collecting alongside souvenir hunting on foreign travels was exemplified by the voyages of Captain Cook in the late 18th century; much of the material brought back was exhibited in the museums of private entrepreneurs such as Sir Ashton Lever and William Bullock, and some later found its way to auction sales. Subsequently, many of the collections of learned societies included material brought back from the 'newly discovered' lands. Particular encouragement to collect in the area of north-east India was given by two institutions, one in London and the other in Calcutta. In 1801 the East India Company founded a museum in London open to the public. Employees were 'encouraged to contribute specimens' ², it was 'an acknowledged public attraction' and had the 'serious intention of promoting Asian studies' (Lewis 1984: 27). It would also have served to publicise the Company. In 1814 in Calcutta the Asiatic Society of Bengal (which was to publish the majority of the early articles about the Naga Hills) opened what was perhaps the first modern museum in Asia (ibid: 16). The museum had been conceived in 1796, and its main purpose was to gather geological and natural history collections, but such material was often associated with ethnographical collections in the British Empire.

The tendency to classify the artefacts of non-industrial societies with the flora and fauna of the world may have been compounded by the

² Naga collections provide an example; weapons deposited in the Tower of London before 1850 were from the collection of the Hon. East India Company and are probably the earliest Naga pieces known in a British museum.

publication of *On the Origin of Species* and Darwin's later work on human evolution. In Liverpool (and other museums) in the mid-19th century ethnographical material was registered in the natural history section. ³ The linking of ethnographical material culture with natural history specimens fits in with contemporary beliefs about race, probably alongside interests in the materials from which objects were made, and theoretical concerns with morphology. Many collectors in the 19th century had an equal interest in material culture and natural history. There are several examples from south-east Asia including Sir Stamford Raffles in Java. In Borneo Charles Hose made collections of animals as large and important as those of native artefacts (West 1984: 220). In the Naga Hills the original hobby of J.P.Mills was ornithology and he published part of his survey of birds and mammals for the Bombay Natural History Society in 1923 (Hutton 1960). ⁴

A key stimulus to ethnographic collecting was the work of General Pitt Rivers ⁵. This would have had impact especially in an area such as the Naga Hills where the European presence was initially dominated by military officers. Thompson (1977: 33) suggests that army officers anyway had a predilection for anthropology: 'By reason of their travels military men had often acquired an interest in ethnology and when [Pitt Rivers] joined the [Ethnological Society] in 1861 he found many soldiers among the membership'. Pitt Rivers seems to have begun collecting

³ There remain today some primarily natural history museums with anomalous ethnographic collections such as the Hancock Museum in Newcastle and the Stewart Collection, Burnby Hall, Pocklington.

⁴ Another Naga example is that of Captain T.N.C. Nevill who gave 372 bird skins from Assam and Eastern India to Manchester Museum in 1922-23; see also object collections given to Norwich Museum by A.R.Nevill.

⁵ Pitt Rivers (who was born Lane Fox and changed his surname for inheritance reasons in 1830) is an important figure in archaeology, the protection of ancient monuments, the history of the rifle, and 19th century material culture theory (see below), in addition to the museums and collections that bear his name.

weapons from around the world before 1852 eventually with the aim of forming typological series. By 1873 Pitt Rivers' collection had become very large and in 1874 it was lent for exhibition to a branch of the South Kensington Museum (now the Victoria and Albert Museum). When his offer of the collection as a gift was declined by the government, it was subsequently accepted by Oxford University and moved there in 1884. (See Thompson 1977: 35-37.) At Oxford the acquisition of the collection had some influence on the development of courses in anthropology because the General stipulated 'that a person should be appointed to lecture on the subjects of the Museum' (Blackwood 1970: 10) and so E.B. Tylor became the first Lecturer in Anthropology. Before Tylor's appointment, because there was no Ethnological Department at Oxford, the collections were put in the care of the natural historians - the Zoology Department. Blackwood suggests that this was logical, not because of the materials of the collection but because 'man was a mammal'. (Thompson 1977: 37-38 and Blackwood 1970: 11). ⁶

While the example of Pitt Rivers as a collector and theorist may have inspired other military men, he himself was stimulated by other people, institutions and events some of which may also have stirred the interest of his brother officers elsewhere in the world. Pitt Rivers was influenced by the collection of Henry Christy, a banker who died in 1865, but had started travelling abroad in 1850 and later began 'the study of the primitive habits and customs of uncivilised tribes' (Thompson 1977: 21). Christy's collection was the 'finest of its kind in the world' and after his death the trustees to whom the collection was bequeathed offered it and considerable funds to the British Museum. This

⁶ The Pitt Rivers Museum at Oxford is important in the study of Naga material culture: it holds what are probably the largest Naga collections in the world, some 5,000 objects.

'outstanding event ... at a stroke established ethnography as a major constituent of the Museum' (Braunholtz 1970: 38). Christy had been a friend of A.W. Franks, the first Keeper of the Department of British and Medieval Antiquities in the British Museum. Ethnography was a part of this Department and did not attain full separate status until 1945. Franks found much time to develop the ethnographical collections, encouraging donations and exchanges, spending his own money on buying pieces and employing staff as well as forming a personal collection which came as a bequest to the museum in 1897. (ibid: 38-39).

The natural history collections of the British Museum were transferred to the new building in South Kensington in the 1880s. Franks noted in 1885 that now these collections had gone the popular interest at the Bloomsbury site would centre on the ethnographical collections. Sixteen years later his belief was confirmed by his successor as Keeper, C.H. Read, who noted that for the public the ethnographical collections came second in interest only to the Egyptian mummies. (Braunholtz 1970: 38). Both popular appeal and the appetite of potential collectors (including Christy, for example) for the products of colonised countries had been stimulated by the Great Exhibition of 1851. Nearly 6,000,000 visits were made to the Exhibition (Beales 1971: 109) and it must have had great influence in helping to create a climate of collecting and subsequent donation for display in a museum. The Exhibition symbolised the extent of the empire, brought the colonies to greater public attention and would have helped produce the superior self-identity later to be reinforced by the use of evolutionary theory. The founding of anthropological societies around this time were probably part of this developing interest, identity and commercial activity.

Another organisation may have had an effect on encouraging service officers to collect on their travels and take an interest in native manufactures; it may also have been founded in response to such an interest and then served to maintain it at a high level. This was the United Service Institution (later prefixed by 'Royal') founded in 1831. The Institution was to act as a repository for objects and books in particular relating to art, science and natural history. A programme of lectures was inaugurated in 1849 and a journal in 1851; along with the rifle and surveying, antiquarianism was a popular subject. By the late 1850s, when Pitt Rivers began to attend frequently, the Institution had one of the largest ethnographical collections in the country. ⁷ The Institution in 1858 was divided into five departments: Library, Naval, Military, Natural History and Ethnological with Antiquities. (Thompson 1977: 27-28.) Such headings indicate the interests of many military officers at this time.

By the second half of the 19th century public museums and the collection of ethnographical material both by serving officers in the field and by 'armchair' collectors at home were becoming established. A variety of practices existed; some museums and collectors were wide ranging in their interests, others concentrating on particular areas. Frederick Horniman, for instance, at the end of the century, was relatively indiscriminate whereas Pitt Rivers compulsively filled what he perceived as gaps in a series. At Cambridge University the museum established in 1884 had ethnological collections rapidly built up by the first curator, Baron von Hügel, who particularly used contacts in the field (Gathercole 1985). In general, any concentration on antiquities or ethnography tended to be rather loose, with both collectors and museums

⁷ Some Naga objects from the R.U.S.I. collection are now in the Horniman Museum.

dependent on what was available, and subject to the prevailing fashions for somewhat obvious 'relics' before the rational and 'scientific' approaches to archaeology and ethnography were developed. It was often left to later curators to try and make sense of and order the miscellany of objects left as heritage by their predecessors (see for an example West 1992B). The result is that some museums are predominantly of one subject area while others are multidisciplinary.

The material in public museums reflects the interests of the collectors, and the state of contemporary material culture theory. Military officers played a large part in the colonisation of many parts of the world and ethnographical collections generally seem to reflect their work in the enormous preponderance of weapons donated. Naga collections are no different: like the authors of the early literature on the Naga Hills, the collectors of the earliest Naga pieces were predominantly military officers. This situation changed in the early 20th century, largely due to the development of material culture theory and the vision of some museum personnel, and perhaps aided by a change in the officers in the hills from military to administrative.

In the first part of the 20th century ethnographical collecting in Britain was dominated by a few men including Beasley, Oldman, Fuller, Wellcome, Hooper and Webster, some of whose collections passed to public museums through gift, sale or auction. 'The market in England tended to be dominated between about 1890 and 1950 by a few collectors, dealers and curators, who often knew each other and evolved a sort of potlatch relationship reminiscent of schoolboys swapping marbles' (Gathercole 1978: 277-78). Dealers were selling in the public and private sphere. Wellcome certainly had some effect on the market for ethnographical

collections. He was aiming to develop a massive 'Museum of Man', and delegated his employees to buy at auction. Naga artefacts were bought at salerooms in the 1920s and 1930s. There is an implication that some of those who served in the colonies were to find collecting a profitable sideline although prices at this time were much lower in real terms than those of today.

Whilst the museum record shows that collections of ethnographical and other material were made before and during the 19th century, the development of theories using artefacts as evidence changed their status. A transition to science occurred; the artificial curiosities produced by noble savages became the material culture of backward races. The voyages of Cook, with the transport of the Tahitian Omai to England for a brief period, brought new and exotic objects and plants to Europe and increased interest and debate on the idea of the noble savage. There was a basic philosophical problem: 'assumptions about the essential equality of men, strengthened in the 17th and 18th centuries by the belief in the universal and equal distribution of reason among men, meant that "the savage" had either to be considered non-human, or an exemplar of essential humanity.' (Ebin and Swallow 1984: 9). Evolutionary theory was later to offer a way out of this problem, and material culture was used to illustrate the new conventions. The simultaneous development of ethnographical and antiquarian collections was theoretically affirmed by the introduction of evolutionary and later diffusionist ideas. This forged a firm link between prehistoric archaeology and 'foreign' ethnography which has proved impossible to dismantle for many museums and in the minds of the general public even up until today.

Anthropology and Material Culture

The acceptance and potential of a discipline is substantially realised when it is named; the meaning given to the name establishes boundaries and core areas for the discipline in the future. In the British Museum the word 'ethnography' was first used to describe certain collections in an official report made in 1845. Braunholtz noted that 'ethnography did not obtain recognition as a science or a subject of formal academic study until late in the 19th century in England, and the growth of the [British] Museum's collections ... was spasmodic and fortuitous, depending mainly on the chance "curiosities" brought home by travellers and explorers' (1970: 37 and footnote 46). The same would apply to other ethnography collections in Britain. The first use of the word applied to a museum collection in 1845 may be linked to other events such as the founding of the Ethnological Society in 1842. Societies provided an active facility for the growth of the disciplines related to ethnography. The formal development of anthropology was accelerated and focused by the foundation of the Anthropological Institute in 1871. The Institute was formed from a combination of the Ethnological Society and the Anthropological Society of London (founded in 1863). This establishment of a single institute to propound the cause and interests of the discipline was followed in 1874 by the publication of *Notes and Queries on Anthropology* by the British Association for the Advancement of Science. This small book, later editions of which were published by the (Royal) Anthropological Institute, was intended for the use of "travellers, ethnologists, and other anthropological observers", to assist them in collecting the information about physical types, manners and customs required for the comparative study of man. It aimed

to help the traveller to record data unaffected by "prejudice arising from his individual bias" (Poignant 1980: 4).

An added impetus to anthropological thinking must have come from Darwin and the evolutionary debate. *On the Origin of Species* was first published in 1859 but largely ignored the question of human evolution. In 1871 Darwin published *Descent of Man*, in which he stated:

The main conclusion arrived at in this work, namely that man is descended from some lowly organized form, will, I regret to think be highly distasteful to many. But there can hardly be a doubt that we are descended from barbarians....For my own part I would as soon be descended from that heroic little monkey, who braved his dreaded enemy in order to save the life of his keeper, or from that old baboon, who descending from the mountains, carried away in triumph his young comrade from a crowd of astonished dogs - as from a savage who delights to torture his enemies, offers up bloody sacrifices, practices infanticide without remorse, treats his wives like slaves, knows no decency, and is haunted by the grossest superstitions. (Darwin. Murray ed 1913:946-47 in Withers 1971: 52).

Thus, already there was confusion of the issue, for Darwin implied a social evolution alongside one of biology, and his ideas of barbaric practices must have come either from his own observation or information reported from the empire. His words, though, would have increased the moral prejudice that the 1874 *Notes and Queries* sought to redress. They also presumably reflect the public's interest in, approach to and curiosity about other societies and exhibitions of objects from the colonies and elsewhere in the world.

One of the first people to use material culture other than as an exhibitable curiosity was Pitt Rivers. Haddon suggests that he formed his collection from the outset because 'being impressed by the gradual improvement in firearms, and believing that the same principles of evolution must govern the development of the other arts, appliances, and ideas of mankind, ... [Pitt Rivers] ... began to make the famous

ethnological collection which is now in ... Oxford' (Haddon 1934: 111). Thompson (1977: 31) believes that it was the publication of Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* which stimulated Pitt Rivers' thought along those lines 'although [the book's] significance was not apparent to him for two or three years [after publication]'. Thompson suggests that Pitt Rivers may initially have been influenced by Wilde's *Catalogue* of the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy in which Wilde adopted a primary classification by material and a secondary one of use. Such a classification was an extension of the work of C.J. Thomsen in Denmark who sorted objects by material and developed the Three Age System (Stone, Bronze and Iron) thus giving a chronological base to prehistory. Pitt Rivers 'had been impressed by the constant process of change in the weapons he knew, but if the whole of material culture could be classified on a kind of Linnean system then the change recognised by [Pitt Rivers] might be operating in a way analogous to the natural selection that Darwin had shown had moulded and was moulding the living world' (Thompson 1977: 31-32). Thompson further suggests that this realisation changed the status for Pitt Rivers of what up to now had been a hobby. It signifies the shift toward academic status for material culture studies in Britain, which was gained through association with theories of evolution and lost in the 1920s when those theories became discredited ^e.

By the 1870s when Thompson (1977: 32) suggests that the theory of evolution had ceased to be controversial and had become generally accepted, Pitt Rivers was working on developmental series of different weapons. In his 1875 lecture 'The Evolution of Culture' he had a diagram

^e Outside Britain, in Europe and North America, material culture studies remained part of mainstream anthropology after the 1920s.

illustrating, in linear progressions, the variety of club forms, boomerangs, spears, spearthrowers and shields, that developed from the straight, short stick, with examples from Australia and New Caledonia. Expanding from weapons into the 'arts' he reminded his listeners of a lecture by John Evans earlier that year which had shown the transformation that the coins of Philip of Macedon had undergone after their introduction to Britain: the head on the obverse had, in successive stages, become a cross and the chariot and horses on the reverse had become an abstract design of lines and dots. Pitt Rivers then proceeded to show the same type of transformation in the designs on New Ireland paddles. This type of evolution of design is still described, for example being illustrated in The Solomon Islands exhibition at the Museum of Mankind in the 1970s and 1980s. Here paddles from the south-eastern Solomon Islands showed a formal, representational fish pattern evolve into a single spiked circle and a U-shaped black line (Starzecka and Cranstone 1974: 24). The difference between the evolution of the Macedonian coin and the Pacific paddles, is that the former occurred over some 300 years while only recent ethnographic evidence exists for the latter and shows all the types being in use at the same time. Links among the paddle designs would seem to definitely exist but the 'evolution' is in the eye of the Western observer. Pitt Rivers' basic rule was of a sequence of type - he may have coined the word 'typology' - regarding it 'as the key to the whole of human material culture a philosophy, not simply a convenient display method' (Thompson 1977: 42).

The notion of *Evolution in Art* was taken up by A.C. Haddon in a book of that title (1895). It built on his paper of the previous year which examined incised decorative motifs in New Guinea (Haddon 1894). Haddon

showed that the looped whorl design that was a feature on wooden clubs and other artefacts from the Massim region of south-eastern New Guinea, was derived from a more conventional representation of the head of a frigate bird. Haddon described himself as 'first [drawing] attention to the value of form, technique, and motif of decorative art, combined with ethnographical data, in the delimitation of definite cultural areas' (Haddon 1934: 113). Haddon traced the origin of this examination of evolution of art and its subsequent uses to Pitt Rivers. He cited others working on similar lines in the latter part of the 19th century and into the 20th, such as Colley March, Stolpe, Semper, Read and Balfour (ibid), and noted the work of German and American anthropologists on art. This work on design or art of artefacts gave material culture a new role as evidence in developing theoretical debates.

By 1911 Haddon was able to outline some of the uses of material culture:

Artifacts, that is objects made by man, are often brought forward as evidence of racial movements, but their occurrence may be due merely to borrowing. Archaeology bears the same relation to technology that palaeontology does to zoology, and the objects with which it deals are fossils in the true sense of the term. The evidence of either must be treated in a similar manner. For example, ethnologists learn how to recognise the artifacts of a given people and the differences between them and similar objects made by other peoples; frequently characteristics of material, form, technique, or decoration, are so marked that many objects can be definitely assigned to a particular group of people or to a limited area. In process of time form, technique, and decoration may become modified, and then it is necessary to determine whether this indicates that definite evolution has taken place IN SITU, or whether influences have come in from elsewhere. If the latter can be proved, the question arises whether the change is due to the immigration of another people into the district, that is a "racial drift"; or whether the innovations are the result of the imitation of objects that have arrived by means of loot or trade, that is a "cultural drift", for there can be little doubt that import trade if considerable and protracted will exert a marked influence on native manufactures. The introduction and methods of utilisation of domestic animals and plants may be considered analogous to the foregoing. For instance, the introduction of the horse into America was due to a racial drift, but its employment by the Plains Indians

was a cultural drift. (Haddon 1911: 8-9)

He went on to explain that the same idea applied to customs, religious ideas and ceremonies, thus building up from the material culture base and making connections with broader concerns of anthropology.

The passage illustrates some of the changing ideas of those interested in and using material culture. Taking first the idea of identification of a peoples artifacts and the cultural boundaries they set, Haddon isolates four elements; material, form, technique and decoration. Secondly, he indicates the problem of where the objects in use by a people came from: the debate obtaining between proponents of either independent invention or cultural borrowing, that is essentially between evolution and diffusion.

The emphasis on technique widened the scope of material culture studies away from Pitt Rivers' search for evolution in form or decoration and art studies examining shape and pattern. By starting to look at technique the concepts of independent invention and cultural borrowing were altered; the focus on practice rather than object brought different types of material culture to the fore. Discussion of the technique of manufacture involved examining the technology, for example, of the blacksmith and the weaver. It was thus important not only whether this equipment was locally developed or borrowed, but also from whence came the ways and methods of using it. For textiles, for example, this sparked off studies such as those by H.Ling Roth (who was Keeper of the Bankfield Museum in Halifax) on *Hand Woolcombing, Primitive Looms, Ancient Egyptian and Greek Looms*, and Grace M.Crowfoot's *Methods of Hand Spinning in Egypt and the Sudan*. Studies of technology remained the basis of much formal material culture 'theory'.

The question of whether an object, machine or technique was borrowed or invented exercised several anthropologists in the early part of the 20th century. H.S. Harrison, the Curator of the Horniman Museum organised displays along the lines of the Pitt Rivers Museum, that is by keeping objects of the same type together, rather than those of the same people, in order to illustrate evolution and diffusion in material culture. The displays combined past and present all over the world. The section and handbook *From Stone to Steel* whilst largely about prehistory in Western Europe included the Stone Age elsewhere in the world; 'The Stone Age has not yet come to an end in parts of Australia and New Guinea, whilst in other parts, and in most of the islands of the Pacific, the iron of the civilised trader has brought it to an abrupt conclusion' (Harrison 1936: 90). In other sections of the museum the balance was reversed, such as Domestic Arts, 'The specimens exhibited are largely derived from modern backward races, though the appliances and products of civilised peoples are not excluded' (Harrison 1925: 4). However, because 'many visitors may find some difficulty in realising the simplicity of the appliances and the fewness of the manufactured objects of the lower races of man, the Museum collection of specimens from the Andaman Islands has been kept together.' (ibid). In his work Harrison paid attention to material culture theory, explaining classification and evolution. Like Haddon, he was a biologist by training and brought with him some ordering techniques of natural historians. Harrison's precise ideas led him to define terms such as diffusion and invention 'in the interests of the clear thinking that is essential to the solution of the problems connected with the history of invention and with the diffusion of culture' (Haddon 1934: 112).

The work of Haddon and Harrison shows that material culture was firmly linked to questions of evolution and diffusion of culture even in the 1930s. These were essentially ethnological concerns, about origins, yet by this time anthropological theory had changed. This process of change must be examined further because Naga material culture and ethnography remained firmly associated with the old anthropology.

Anthropology in the 19th century was concerned solely with non-industrialised societies; that is with western societies in the past (European prehistory) and colonial overseas societies in the present (contemporary ethnography). The concept of evolution adapted to human social life provided the unitary framework for geographical and chronological differences. Material culture, by providing an observable evidential link between antiquity (past) and ethnography (present), played an important part in the development of such all-embracing theories in the 19th century. The ethnological theories of the late 19th-early 20th century, focusing on the origin of different peoples, examined where and how they lived in the contemporary world and deduced their relationships with each other both past and present. Thus anthropology and ethnology were closely linked, and a primary component of that link was material culture. Both types of theorists were involved with ideas that unified archaeology and ethnography, the description of past and present societies. The comparisons made between societies across long periods of time gave added credence to the views of unilineal evolutionists who suggested that all societies were progressing at different speeds to the same end. The main evidence available for such comparison was material culture; prehistoric Europe offered objects out of the ground as records of social life, objects which were similar to those in contemporary use in other parts of the

world. Analysis of this material culture was important firstly to isolate cultural or social groups in order to plot the evolution or development of that group and to plot its movements around land masses. From this analysis further questions emerged, considering for example, whether it was the culture, that is, the objects that had moved, or whether the people had moved whilst continually evolving or independently inventing their artefacts and social institutions. Material culture theory became increasingly sophisticated and refined, but the questions it developed were in response to the rather narrow needs of the ethnologists.

The debate between independent invention and cultural borrowing was part of the great debate between the evolutionists and the diffusionists, essentially concerned with the source of culture. This debate reached a peak in the 1920s, with some considerable public interest, at the same time as mainstream academic anthropology began to take a clear and new direction. This path was away from the ethnologists and the centrality of material culture studies. The new anthropology theory derived from an innovative fieldwork methodology. Haddon had led what has been regarded as the first proper anthropological field expedition to the Torres Straits in 1898-99, but Malinowski's alternative to internment in the 1914-18 war led him to spend years living mainly by himself with the Trobriand Islanders. In 1922 he suggested that there was 'room for a new type of theory' (1922: 515-16). Malinowski categorised existing theory as either evolutionary studies concerned with 'the succession in time, and the influence of the previous stage' (ibid) or ethnological which studied the 'influence of cultures by contact, infiltration and transmission' (ibid). He also noted a third, anthropogeography, concerned with the 'influence of environment

on cultural institutions and race.' (ibid). The new type of theory he advocated was to become functionalism: 'the influence on one another of the various aspects of an institution, the study of the social and psychological mechanism on which the institution is based' (ibid). Malinowski's stance was supported by another leading anthropologist of the time, Radcliffe-Brown, who wrote 'I believe that at this time the really important conflict in anthropological studies is not that between the "evolutionists" and the "diffusionists", nor between the various schools of the "diffusionists", but between conjectural history on the one side and the functional study of society on the other' (1929: 16).

The evolution and diffusion debates continued for several years until becoming almost completely discredited within the new social anthropology. Malinowski 'spent a good deal of time in the twenties in debate with Elliot Smith and Perry [the leading protagonists of diffusion], but this was for popular rather than professional audiences' (Kuper 1975: 17). Haddon's *History of Anthropology* in 1934 mentioned Malinowski but once and Radcliffe Brown twice, examining in much greater detail the concerns of the ethnologists. From the 1930s onward most of those writing on material culture were older anthropologists retaining their earlier interests, such as Hutton and Haddon, or museum curators specialising in anthropological collections, such as Braunholtz and Beasley. Malinowski noted the place of material culture in the new theory in 1931: the fieldworker

in his study of material culture ... is quickly weaned from the vision of Museum specimens ranged in comparative or diffusionist series. He becomes impressed with the fact that it is in the manual use of a material object that we find its prima facie significance to the natives. He also finds that the manual use of a weapon, a tool, a magical gewgaw, or a religious image, shades imperceptibly into what might be called mental or spiritual use; that is, that material objects are deeply embedded in the beliefs, customary attitudes, and types of social organization of a tribe. (1931:xl111)

The passage indicates a possible development of material culture studies in symbolism and belief, but this was not to occur for some 40 years, until the influence of Levi-Strauss had indicated further directions for anthropology. The delay was due to the stress laid in Britain on the functional interdependence of institutions, in which sociological concern material culture was not seen to play a relevant part. Malinowski placed material culture subservient to social functioning:

Thus even in material culture, the simple interest in technology or in typological arrangements on the pattern of a museum case, must give way in fieldwork to the economics of human possessions, to the sociological concatenations of the monuments of spiritual significance of every object which man produces, owns, and uses. (ibid: xliii-xliv).

Nagas and Anthropology

The flourish of anthropological debate in the 1920s coincided with a growth in published literature on and museum collections from the Nagas. The previous flourish of anthropology in the 1870s was marked in the same way. Until the establishment of the new social anthropology as the dominant theory within the discipline, the development of ethnographical work and collections from the Nagas seem to have reflected the changing patterns within anthropology.

Much of the old theoretical stance is shown in the articles and short notes about the Nagas produced in the 1920s in great quantities for journals such as *Man* and the *JRAI* in addition to the two books each by Hutton and Mills. Hutton entered into the diffusion debate with the 'Children of the Sun' correspondence in *Man*. In Hutton and Mills work there was an emphasis on certain cultural features derived from the 19th

century anthropological thought in England, and also apparently reflecting popular interest and demand. Folk tales and myths were recorded in the books following the lead given in T.C. Hodson's *The Naga Tribes of Manipur*. The recording of such stories reflected the work of Sir James Frazer, whose 13 volume *The Golden Bough*, a massive compilation of customs and folk lore with a comparative basis on evolutionary lines had been published in 1890, a classic work of 'armchair' anthropology. In 1922 an abridged edition was issued which may have increased public interest in certain aspects of life in other societies.

Museums were drawn into the picture. Since the search for origins had made use of material culture as evidence, descriptions of the materials and objects used in Naga society played quite a prominent role in the series of monographs on Assam tribes. In their interest in material culture Hutton and Mills were aided by Henry Balfour⁹ who gave instructions for their collecting of objects. His influence generally helped to shift collecting away from the exotic (decorative ornaments, clothing and weapons) to the everyday or domestic (traps, snares, baskets and so on). Balfour wrote the Foreword for one of Hutton's books and produced articles himself as well as encouraging writing on material culture by others, including the administrators. The erection of stones in the Naga Hills, remarked on frequently in the 19th century because of a supposed connection with European 'megalithic' culture, was much discussed by Hutton, although their sexual significance was not fully developed.

⁹ Balfour was Curator of the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford 1891-1939 and visited the Naga Hills 1922-23.

One aspect of Naga society touched both the general public and the theory, the development, and progression of anthropological ideas; it also links with modern theory and debate especially in, for example, the area of symbolism. Headhunting and the disposal of the dead were of some theoretical interest in the 19th century, and mummification (not practised in the Naga Hills) had been taken as a major diagnostic feature of the theory of diffusion by Perry and Elliot Smith. In perhaps a similar fashion the question of the possibility of human sacrifice in Assam and links between this in the plains and headhunting and potential cannibalism in the hills were of interest not only to the theoreticians but (like mummification) to the general public. The tone of debate on headhunting among the Nagas changed and developed considerably in the 1920s. Hutton's attitude in 1921 or at least when *The Angami Nagas* was completed in 1915, was judgemental from a British viewpoint. He looked for causal factors, for example that it was 'connected in no small degree with ordinary, everyday human vanity' (Hutton 1921A: 157) and with marriageability; he implied degenerated evolutionary roots in its association with 'a vague idea of the benefits accruing from human sacrifice' (ibid); and he suggested a universal psychological origin, 'the ultimate reason of its existence must probably be sought in some deep-rooted and innate characteristic of human nature' (ibid). Frazer, in his abridged edition of *The Golden Bough* published in 1922, made a very brief reference to headhunting among the primitive tribes of Assam. During this decade Mills made several contributions to popular magazines, often with lurid titles such as 'Among the Headhunters of Assam', probably in response to public interest (see Chapter Five) and thus emphasising this aspect of Naga culture. Mills appears to have taken up a mission to explain, for in his book *The Ao Nagas* of 1926, whilst not condoning headhunting, he clearly moved away from the

conventional moralistic position. He compared the few deaths of headhunting with the numbers of infant mortality, particularly contrasting the rate in British-ruled Bombay, four times greater than that in Vienna. In 1922 Hutton had indicated a shift in his ideas, in a paper discussing the possibility of a diffused and degenerated monolithic culture in the Naga Hills; he noted a link between fertility, prosperity and death and suggested that such a theory of cyclical reproduction formed 'the philosophic basis of headhunting' (Hutton 1921A: 415). By 1928 Hutton had developed this in a paper on 'The Significance of Headhunting in Assam', which formed the basis of Mills work and that of other, later, writers. It is worth noting that both the popular and academic articles of the 1920s intend to discuss headhunting in Assam, rather than the Naga Hills although it is Naga headhunting that is described. It is likely that academic and popular interest in the 1920s was stimulated by the expeditions in Burma to abolish human sacrifice among the Nagas in 1926-27 (see Chapter Five), but this interest remained firmly within the province of ethnology.

The 1920s was the culmination of a period where anthropology, museums, material culture and Nagas were closely interconnected. The literature on the Nagas and the collecting of their material culture reflects the theoretical concerns within anthropology until the development of social anthropology when material culture studies took a back seat.

Material Culture studies in the late 20th century

Material culture studies remained comparatively stagnant in mainstream anthropology in Britain until the late 1960s. Diffusion never died completely but entered the popular and fringe realms, revitalised for example by the efforts of Thor Heyerdahl. The cultural anthropology pursued in North America and on the European continent differed from social anthropology in Britain and nominally accorded a place to material culture; there was a concern that all of a culture should at least be recorded. In the United States Boas had a greater impact on his successors, such as Mead and Benedict, than Haddon in Britain, but material culture studies still diminished in the U.S. even if records of, for example the artefacts of American Indian groups, were published. Fenton wrote in 1974 'Despite living in a gadget, thing-oriented culture, American anthropologists since at least 1920 have written relatively little about material culture' (1974: 15). He went on to survey the theoretical uses of material culture since the turn of the century and the re-emergence of studies under the auspices of the Committee on Anthropological Research in Museums which was set up in 1965. Fenton noted a number of problems associated with such studies; the poor documentation of many collections, the lack of contemporary field collection, ethical concerns relating to the use of material in store and display as well as ignorance of many of the possibilities of museum collections for research. In addition, there was because of the territory contained within the United States, the special needs and concerns with indigenous populations both in North America and in the Pacific, particularly Hawaii. The material culture studies published in North America and especially Hawaii provided an important source for

museum curators in Britain in the 1970s attempting to revive interest in the discipline.

Several strands of research were developed in the United States. Contemporary collecting and recording especially in the Pacific and the American continent built on the work of some earlier anthropologists such as Peter Buck (Te Rangi Hiroa). From Sturtevant (1967) came direction on rigorous recording in collection. Work on the historical aspects of existing collections was also developed, particularly after the bicentenary of the death of Captain Cook and Kaeppler's research on material collected during his voyages (Kaeppler 1978). A third direction has been the development of an art historical approach, looking at individual objects or types of artifact from a single society and their social significance, role, iconography and history.

Some elements of material culture made a transition to becoming art around the turn of the century in Europe. These were primarily religious or ceremonial pieces, previously displayed as curiosities and pagan idols, which were now perceived by some to have intrinsic sculptural worth. Carvings from Africa and Oceania in particular were enthusiastically received (see, for example, Mack 1991), and collected by artists such as Picasso (see Donne 1978 and 1983). The perceived differences between the sculpture and religious paraphernalia of 'high' cultures and those of tribal peoples, based apparently on the size and literacy of a religion, began to disappear. First, the art of tribal peoples was seen to have aesthetic qualities and values, and secondly it gained an increasing financial value. The art that Haddon and others had looked at in the 19th century was mainly incised decoration; from the 1920s and 1930s, books and articles on primitive art appeared including

a popular Penguin paperback (Adam 1940). Again there was an initial linking of anthropology and archaeology while, for example, palaeolithic cave drawings and 'negro' art were considered in the same section.

By the 1970s an academic art historical approach had developed. In North America art styles and the individual works of particular wood carvers on the north-west coast began to be identified, giving new status to the works and to the peoples. In Britain an increasing number of articles on ethnographic pieces appeared in *Art History*, the journal of the Art Historians Association. Papers providing a wide-ranging analysis of ethnographic art from a 1975 seminar were published in *Art in Society* (Greenhalgh and Megaw 1978). These moves implicitly accepted that much of the ethnographic material which had been collected had been acquired as 'art', that is for display; this practice is essentially still supported by the continued production of art and craft items, that is specific types of material culture such as textiles and woodcarvings for sale to tourists. The newsletters and journals of the Pacific Arts Association reflect this link of modern 'art' practice to for example, museum displays of the old. In contrast the journal *African Arts*, aimed as much at private collectors as museums, reflects a different problem to that of the neglect of anthropological analysis of material culture. Escalating costs and auctions of ethnographical material have led to material disappearing from public access as private investments. This has also led to higher prices for well provenanced material and pieces associated with famous collectors. An additional problem has been the looting of various sites, exploitation of some craftspeople, fakes, forgeries

and illegal export and import into western countries. ¹⁰

The decline of material culture studies in the discipline most associated with ethnographic material, anthropology, was reinforced by the disposal of ethnographic collections in many museums. The aim was to rationalise the collections of museums and make them serve the needs of their local public. What was seen as irrelevant material was sold, given away, transferred elsewhere, or literally broken up. The process began in the 1940s and continued in different forms up to the late 1970s and early 1980s. It affected all foreign material, both natural history and ethnography, and included some transfers of British antiquarian and other material to its place of origin. Some ethnographical material found its way into private collections and onto the auction markets. ¹¹ The later, alternative, process was of transferring collections to museums with specialist staff continued until recently when in the growth of multicultural education new uses were perceived for ethnographic collections.

The demise of ethnographic collections in Britain has three main causes, interlinked. The end of empire brought an end to widespread collecting by British officials and simultaneously marked a focus on the local by museums. Material culture studies had been linked essentially to anthropology as a discipline, which then lost mainstream interest in such studies. Museum curators were left to maintain academic work in this area, alongside the increasing interest of art historians, until the anthropological trend changed.

¹⁰ Barnes 1981 gives an example of the problem of publicising fieldwork sites because of the unwelcome interest shown. For the antiquity of faking ethnographic artefacts see Gathercole 1978.

¹¹ A notorious example is Oceanic material from Leeds Museums, which was later re-sold for an enormous sum. Leeds later actively sought transfer of ethnographic material from other institutions.

A new interest in material culture studies in the 1960s was exemplified in a lecture on the penis sheath by Ucko (1969). Here he hoped 'to discuss generally some of the problems involved in any study of material culture' and reviewed briefly the current state of material culture studies: 'In short ... the study of material culture has in general become the poor handmaiden of other aspects of anthropology and its methods and aims are in some way considered less sophisticated than are those of modern social anthropology'. Furthermore;

the rather static museum studies of material culture ignore much of the sophistication and detail of available anthropological data, while most social anthropologists nevertheless leave this area of investigation to their museum colleagues and concentrate instead on theoretical abstraction. (Ucko 1969: 27)

Ucko advocated the value of studies of the traditional kind, looking at form, morphology and cross-cultural comparisons, manufacture and technology, and added the importance of levels of analysis. He distinguished between studies making use of overt symbolism and those instead looking at a deeper level of the subconscious. Ucko seems to have been making a plea for material culture to have a place in the functional tradition of anthropology rather than being taken up by the structuralists. He wrote of a need to

insist on the differences which exist between studies which start from observable reality and which demand that each switch to theoretical abstraction be visibly related to the observable data, and those studies which approach material on the basis of any assumed universal principles of structure or symbolism. (1969: 58)

The lecture ended on the note that 'the study of material culture opens up many areas of investigation of interest to a wide range of anthropological enquiry' (ibid: 61).

The changing patterns of use of ethnography collections since the 1960s and their connection with material culture theory have been

partly reflected in the changing format of museum exhibitions. A temporary exhibition of art (sculpture) in the 1970s at the Museum of Mankind was followed in a major new permanent gallery (opened 1976) at Liverpool Museum. By using ethnographic material culture in this way these exhibitions claimed a new status for collections recovering from the movement toward disposal. These displays also reflected the paucity of material culture theory and the distance of museum ethnography from anthropology. The political problems associated with ethnography collections, in the sense of what statements exhibitions were to make about the past (colonialism) and the present (development issues, poverty) were brought to the fore in the mid-1980s. These problems have not been fully assimilated nor dealt with, but have contributed to the increasing recognition of the need to incorporate chronological perspectives, partly because of the need to acknowledge colonial history.

Other temporary exhibitions at the Museum of Mankind produced in the early 1970s tended to describe societies using functionalist categories and technology.¹² Some later exhibitions partly continued this theme by concentrating on type material, for example African Textiles. The general social exhibition changed focus by attempting to use concepts of social structure and fit material around this, for example the contextualised display *The Asante*. The lack of chronological perspective was shown in an exhibition on native South America, much criticised for ignoring contemporary political and

¹² Especially, for example, the exhibitions on Australian aborigines and the Solomon Islanders, to which B.A.L.Cranstone largely contributed. Cranstone had a particular interest in the technological side of material culture. He had worked at the British Museum since the 1940s and became Curator of the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford from where he retired.

economic problems; it also substantially used the 'ethnographic present'.

Two additional approaches have been adopted. The first is to focus on collections made by a single person, in a descriptive rather than analytical format, for example on Lonsdale (1990) and Torday (1991) at the Museum of Mankind. The second is a new form of comparative display which has connections with structuralism, and is based on themes such as time, warfare, ritual, across cultures (at Aberdeen, Birmingham and the Horniman). The art connection has also been taken a stage further by the 1985 *Lost Magic Kingdoms* exhibition at the Museum of Mankind. This was mounted by the artist Eduardo Paolozzi and included objects from the collections selected by him and displayed equally alongside his own work.

Two key issues have dominated recent years. One is the interpretation of material culture. The lack of theory enabled an emphasis on art and attempts to emulate an anthropological ethnography but one frequently rooted in ahistorical structural-functionalism. Since the 1970s discussion within museums which retained a connection to anthropology as the major discipline for ethnographic material culture was largely maintained by the Museum Ethnographers Group and its *Newsletter*; this was publishing full length papers and reviews for some seven years before becoming the *Journal of Museum Ethnography* in 1989 in response to the need for such a forum. The upsurge in interest is indicated by articles on museums and objects in *Anthropology Today* and papers centrally concerned with material culture in *Man* (the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*), for example Thomas

1989. The mainstream museological literature has carried increased numbers of articles on ethnography and material culture ¹³.

This revival seems to have a triple basis all parts of which are interconnected; the development of academic, theoretical interest in material culture, the increase and interest in museums and museum studies, and the development of contemporary multicultural collections and exhibitions. In 1987 a conference 'Museum Studies and Material Culture' was held at Leicester University, with papers published two years later (Pearce 1989). Many of these papers are drawn from anthropological sources. Pearce noted how the importance of ideology has come to the fore in the interpretation of objects. This perspective can also be seen in the work of Miller (1987) on material culture and mass consumption. Douglas and Isherwood (1978) developed theories of consumption, but Miller's work with its base in Hegelian and Marxian thought, places material culture at the centre.

The second issue relates to questions of ownership and the debates on the restitution of cultural property (see Freedman 1981, Jones 1981, Cockett 1981, Africa Centre 1981). This is essentially bound up with the process of collecting. Although there is some acknowledgement of the importance of collectors and collecting by Pearce (1989) this is in a contemporary context. While Reynolds (in Pearce 1989) develops seven questions that need to be asked of material culture, he does not

¹³ See, for example, Pearce 1986-87. These have drawn on American and other sources, in particular from structuralist anthropology, to suggest ways of 'thinking about things'.

ask why or how the object was collected. ¹⁴ Yet this is also vital in the developing new ethnography. Gathercole (in Pearce 1989) draws attention to the importance of objects as part of the wider imperial process and the link of museum collections and the acquisition of those collections to political power. The interpretation of historical material culture in British museums depends substantially upon the analysis of its acquisition which necessitates examination of the collectors.

Collectors

The focus on the importance of ethnographic collections as a record of colonial history has included examination of the Europeans involved, their perceptions and them as collectors (see for example, West 1991 and 1992A and C). The collections made from the Naga peoples can be examined in this way; one of the problems centres on whether such research is feasible in the detail required to support analysis and develop theory. The initial difficulty is establishing the whereabouts of ethnographic collections. Much work has been done in this area in recent years, especially the survey carried out under the auspices of the Museum Ethnographers Group (Schumann 1986) and on Oceanic collections under the auspices of UNESCO (see Gathercole and Clarke 1979 for British collections).

¹⁴ These questions are: 'What is the artefact? (not always simple to answer)[,] What is it made of? When was it made? Where was it made and used (culturally and geographically)? How was it made? What was it used for? what can it tell us about the people and their culture? (Reynolds 1989; 116)

Major problems arise because of the scant records of object acquisition, for example by the British in the Naga hills. The possible approaches are through the documentation held by museums or through the published and unpublished records of those who worked in the hills and are either known to have collected or may have seen collecting. There are two major problems. First, quite simply, there is hardly any documentation on the process of collecting or acquisition, perhaps not surprising when the majority of museum donors have not specified or been asked from where, when and who the material was obtained. Secondly, little work has been done on collectors. In recent years some research has been undertaken on major and general collectors in the sense of those who assemble a collection of material brought back by others, not necessarily in addition to themselves, frequently for exhibition in Britain, for example, the Hooper collection (Phelps 1980), the Wellcome collection (Museums Association 1986), H.G. Beasley (West 1982), W.H.Lever, Viscount Leverhulme (West 1992A). Work is known to be in progress on London collectors such as W.D. Webster and his 'wife' Eva Cutter (by J.C.H.King: L.Mowat pers comm). Some men who made collections, usually those collections regarded as significant by date, breadth or area, have been researched and exhibitions made, for example, Torday (Mack 1991).

In 1938 the lack of attention to collectors and collecting, particularly in reference to the British Museum, was noted by H.J. Braunholtz, (then in charge of the ethnography collections of the British Museum) in his Presidential Address to the Royal Anthropological Institute. He stated that no one approached ethnographical museums 'from the personal angle of the people who provide the raw material of the museum, the collectors of the

specimens which fill it, or has examined the aims which animated them to collect' (Braunholtz 1938: 2). Braunholtz went on to list what was effectively a typology of collectors. This distinguished: administrators and officials in colonial services; navigators in naval service; scientists; anthropologists; missionaries; collectors; others, from engineers to big game hunters and the Royal Family. Braunholtz also noted two salient points, of purposive collecting and, linked to this, of influences on collecting in the late 19th century. By purposive collecting he meant (attempted) acquisition of a particular object. He gave as an example Captain Cook who tried to obtain greenstone axes in New Zealand and reported that the natives would not part with them for anything which could be offered, including the best ship's axe. On the second point he saw that in the second half of the 19th century 'various forces were at work to systematize and give direction to ethnological studies, and these must also have had their effect on methods of collecting' (ibid: 12). Most of these forces have already been discussed above, including the formation of the Ethnological Society, General Pitt Rivers collection, Tylor's books (1865 and 1871), the first edition of *Notes and Queries on Anthropology* in 1874 and, in 1884, Anthropology being accorded a distinct section in the British Association.

Braunholtz has indicated a fundamental distinction that must be made; between the purpose and the method of acquisition. The two are clearly linked in that the purposive collector will seek out what he or she wants to obtain, and there is a range of possibilities for the purpose of obtaining, just as there is for the method (which has been noted above). It is the purpose that Braunholtz has concentrated on in looking at influences on collecting. He acknowledged that these will

also have had an effect on methods of collecting, but appears to be referring to methods of collecting in this country, that is methods in which the type of material assembled together is 'the composite result of the travels and fieldwork of others, as well as themselves' (ibid: 8). Braunholtz' purpose of collecting may similarly be limited to such composite assemblages, but these influences would also have clearly affected collecting in the field; they would particularly have given additional reasons for making collections in the field. This could be extended to an examination of influences on accepting and subsequently retaining objects acquired as gifts or other forms of prestation.

Such wider consideration of purpose brings an examination of method and a consideration of the perspective from the other side, that is those people from whom collections were made. This perspective Braunholtz indicates but does not acknowledge in his Cook anecdote: the islanders would only part with certain objects in exchange for what was offered in return; other pieces could not be obtained by the visitors. This was not a simple 'market' situation, trading within a known system, for the exchange depended on the respective values and meanings attached to both the object and the process of exchange by both sides. The context here at this time would be quite different to that some decades later when colonial power held sway, but so too would the meanings and values of the objects have changed.

The motivation for collectors making gifts to museums is another but generally hidden aspect. One purpose, which often seems to lie behind many gifts made to museums is the maintenance of self for posterity. Donations to museums have frequently been made with the condition that they are displayed or when they are displayed the name

of the person must be recorded. In one instance, in a museum in Canterbury observed in the 1970s, the label for a British domestic 19th century piece reads like a memorial tablet, the object having been given by one person in memory of another. Mills' letters to Balfour about his Naga collection indicate a variant of pride in leaving a mark for posterity. The element of preservation of self for posterity is probably not significant in this case, the gift to the Pitt Rivers being perhaps more to do with acknowledging the size of the collection and the work gone into making it. Mills was, justifiably, proud of his collection. Like Hutton he began by lending the material he collected and sent back to Oxford to the Pitt Rivers Museum. During Balfour's visit to the Naga hills the status of the collection was obviously discussed, because subsequently Mills sent a formal letter giving permission to use his loan collection for the purposes of exchange with other museums and noting that his collection was left to the museum in any case. In 1927 (18th November) Mills was replying to a suggestion of Balfour's, presumably about the ownership of the collection:

I think your suggestion is most sound and reasonable and I had more than once thought of offering my things absolutely. Anyhow I will talk to Hutton when I see him. My own feeling is that it would be a good thing if we combined our collections in handing them over and they became the Hutton-Mills collection. We shall never see it all together as a whole, but if it were together it would be worth looking at. But could I if I gave my things truthfully say that I had a big collection at Home - a thing I do sometimes say, not without pride?.

By 17th January 1928 Mills had spoken to Hutton and wrote to Balfour:

Hutton having agreed to give his things if I give mine I agree to this too. There is only one condition I make, and the details of that I leave to you. It is regarding the catalogue. I should like Hutton's and my collection to be combined, but I quite see that the catalogue could not be headed the Hutton-Mills collection, or anything of that kind, for it would have to include things given by Woodthorpe, Pawsey and others. But the bulk of the things would be from Hutton and me. Could not the catalogue be headed "Catalogue of, composed chiefly of the Hutton-Mills Collection", or some such words? This is nothing but pure pride,

but we have taken a lot of trouble, and I should like our collection to remain a joint-collection if only on paper. Hutton would agree to this....

My hope is that my collection will go on growing. I am on my way now to the North Cachar Hills for a tour in the Kuki country, where I might pick up some stuff. There are hundreds of things to be got in Assam still. Manipur has hardly been worked at all....

This shows some of Mills' reasons for making the gift to the Pitt Rivers Museum but not his purpose in collecting, save that it was partly for himself. Further analysis is required, but some of the potential of the museum documentation and literature associated with the Nagas is indicated: this is explored in succeeding chapters.

Naga material culture

The approach to the study of Naga material culture developed here takes the simple fact of the existence of collections as a starting point. This requires an examination of the history of Anglo-Naga literature and relationships which provide the context from which the use of objects by the British and the Nagas can be described and analysed. The central importance of chronology is emphasised as is that of ideology. New perspectives are developed through asking fundamental questions about the nature of identification of material culture. This requires the examination of the process of collecting at particular points in time and the significance of that collecting in ethnographic description and analysis. This methodology highlights problems in the interpretation of material culture which are connected with underlying problems in the analysis and description of cultural and societal boundaries, and inter-cultural relationships. Such

concerns ultimately depend on the realisation of and response to cultural difference; having given an outline of Naga society from the main conventional sources in Chapter Two, Chapters Four and Five will examine the history and nature of Anglo-Naga contact and relations.

HISTORY AND LITERATURE

Sources

Western (that is European/North American) knowledge about the Nagas has essentially depended on military and subsequent administrative investigations derived from the British expansion into the Naga Hills and the protection of British colonial interests. To this must be added information deriving from missionary activity, and studies undertaken by explorers and anthropologists. Commercial interests in this region centred on the Assam tea estates and the area became less geographically peripheral after three Anglo-Burmese wars in the 19th century. By 1886 the British effectively controlled both sides of the hills in which the Nagas lived, though the hills themselves were of peripheral importance to the imperialists. To them, the hills provided a barrier to easy communication and thus reduced any external threat. This barrier was particularly effective because of the difficulty of the terrain and especially because of the warlike and headhunting culture of the inhabitants. It was headhunting which led to increasing British involvement in the hills, firstly to protect the plains from raids. The British were then committed to a continuing cycle of needing to protect newly taken over, administered and taxed areas from those outside. The early British phase may be characterised as militaristic, involving exploration and some quite extensive fighting, particularly with the Angami. Initial forays into the hills may be dated as beginning with the

expeditions of Lt Grange in 1839, and continued, following a series of raids with reprisals, until 1850 when the British withdrew completely for 16 years. The eventual acceptance of control through administration and policing as a method of protecting the plains brought the British back into the hills in 1866 with the creation of a military post at Samagudting, followed in 1881 by the establishment of a Naga Hills District. Kohima became the main administrative base in 1878 and a sub-centre at Mokochung was developed in 1888. There was resistance, especially from the Angami and two of their most powerful villages. Kohima village as the British base was besieged by the Angami Nagas in 1879 and the village of Khonoma subsequently besieged by the British. Kohima was again attacked by the Angami in 1891.

The gradual development of the later administrative phase was eventually characterised by the slow extension of the area of control by the addition of villages outside the line. This was sometimes requested, that is 'voluntary', but it always required official government approval. The final phase of administration, the last 30 years prior to Indian independence, was marked by the work of a series of Indian Civil Service (I.C.S.) officers in administrative posts in the hills who developed detailed personal knowledge of the Naga peoples on anthropological lines. They published their findings in journals, magazines and monographs, encouraging others to develop similar interests. (West 1984; chapter 2.) The key officer here was J.H. Hutton, who entered the I.C.S. in 1909 but spent the bulk of his career in the Naga Hills. Before eventually becoming Professor of Anthropology at Cambridge Hutton's prodigious output of books and articles on the Nagas and his formation of large collections for museums, inspired his colleagues in the hills. Hutton's enthusiasm for Nagas, anthropology and

collecting found similar interest in J.P. Mills, his junior in the I.C.S. by a few years. Mills was also much interested in natural history and birdlife, but he too wrote a great deal on the anthropology of the Nagas and formed museum collections (partly in conjunction with Hutton) before retiring from the I.C.S. to become Reader in Anthropology at the University of London.

Thus, the bulk of the literature on the Nagas is in English, was published or derives from the period of British Imperial control and was written largely by officials of that Empire. The quantity of publications may be gauged by the bibliography compiled by J.H.Hutton (in Mills 1926, updated in second edition of 1973). Hutton's bibliography is organised chronologically, a method that is useful for historical analysis but frustrating in many other respects. The bibliographic organisation reflects two themes. The first, specific, is Hutton's preoccupation with 'origins' and thus his theoretical links with the late 19th century and ethnological research. His first reference is to a work by Ptolemy with an apparent allusion to the Nagas which Hutton seemed delighted to discover, but a gap of 1,642 years separates it from the second reference. The second theme, general, is that the chronological sequence of Hutton's bibliography reflects the colonial officers' awareness of and concern for the peculiar characteristics of the Anglo-Naga relationship. The bibliography is useful for the number of references, over 400, and because of Hutton's access to government reports and personal knowledge of many of those who had worked in the hills. A second major published source is the works of Verrier Elwin who compiled two books of extracts from the literature of the 19th century, one on the North East Frontier and another on the Nagas. These last two must be treated with care because, unfortunately,

the articles are not always reprinted in full, but they remain a modern guide to the writers on this area in the colonial period. More recent bibliographies have been compiled by Indian writers who have been mainly concerned with the political history of the Nagas in the regional context.

As it was produced mainly by the British the literature is inextricably bound up with the history of the period and the inherent power relationship between the British and the Nagas. A chronological analysis of the literature develops several points. It enables an overview of Anglo-Naga history and the simultaneous development of British perceptions about the Nagas and expansion into Naga territory. This development includes an understanding of the British coming to terms with the nomenclature of the hill peoples, deciding who were Nagas and the progressive correction of what became seen as earlier misunderstandings. The contemporary preoccupations of the writers can be set against the developing state of anthropological theory. The process of information provision within the context of contemporary understanding continued up to the modern period, fulfilling a changing series of needs. It is therefore necessary to beware of the context and possible theoretical bias when looking for factual information.

The output of writing fed itself, and the quantity continued to grow, but pieces were produced for several reasons. The first officials in the hills were military explorers and early writing produced travelogue reports recording information about territory on the fringes of the empire. As the borders became threatened, and the Imperial domain expanded, knowledge was needed about the area and its people so that administrators could rule effectively. While these types of writing

continued, there developed a new need - to feed scholarship and learned societies in England. Later still European demand for knowledge of the exotic practices of inhabitants of lands outside Europe had to be met. The relationship of the literature to anthropological theory is important. The writings of the British on the Nagas, for academic purposes, have been placed in one of two categories: history or anthropology. The use in history has become of two types. The first a British or Western perspective, that is the history of the British in India. The second is a view from India; recent Indian or Naga historians have used the material for a history of the native peoples themselves. Prior to the recent period the literature was most associated with anthropology and particularly with the theories and ideas of the 19th century. The British administration needed enough basic information about the region and the people to enable it to rule and dispense justice, together with current intelligence in order to prevent insurrection. Any material that was produced over and above that was a bonus for the scholars unable to visit the area. The considerable additions that were published derived from the leisure time academic interests of the officials themselves. Just as the British administration required a fixed sum of knowledge in order to work so too did the anthropology of the 19th century and early 20th century. The hill peoples were then of interest in the way they had lived before British incursion into the area and their society was viewed as static, fixed at an evolutionary point. This not only colours the literature available, but binds the history of the administration and the progression of knowledge about the Nagas closely together.

The bulk of publication on the Nagas comes within the period 1827 to 1948 and is thus coterminous with British rule. Before this date some

references apparently exist in Indian language works, and other information can be gained from archaeological sources and from the myths and stories of the Nagas themselves. The latter pose a problem; the records from oral sources for the history of the Nagas are in fact stories collected and selected by Western explorers and authors, who have left little data on how the myths were collected and their social context. The historical value of such stories is thus debatable. After 1948 most of the literature was produced by Indian nationals, some of them Nagas, and these have their own colourings and constraints. They are especially concerned with recent political history. What anthropological works there are tend to be tainted with 19th century theory; there is also an arrogant and unsympathetic attitude held by some writers toward the 'tribals' which compares to that of some earlier British authors.

The greatest proportion of the literature is by British authors who were not academics or scholars. The literature is an important part of the set of relations that existed between the British and the Nagas. It was noted above that the British needed information to control the hills, feed scholarship and thus allocate the Nagas a place in the British world view; the Nagas too would have had to allocate the British a place in their scheme of the world and this is an aspect that some recent Naga writers have attempted to tackle. The British had a fascination with and some sympathy for the Naga people themselves which is revealed not only in the writings, but also in the action of administrators in endeavouring to protect the Nagas and the hills from exploitation by outsiders. This aspect is considered further in the next chapter.

Hutton's bibliography (in Mills 1926, the 1973 edition) can be used for a crude periodisation of the literature for analytical purposes, by counting the quantity produced in decades. This indicates a great flowering of publication in the 1870s and 1880s. Until 1869 there were 54 books and articles with references to the Nagas, but followed by 49 in the 1870s alone and 45 in the succeeding decade. This sudden flourish died away and for the next 30 years publication was fairly consistent at 28, 26 and then 24 each decade. In the 1920s a further great flowering occurred with 109 publications noted. This was the decade when Hutton and Mills were at their most prolific. Production diminished in the 1930s to 44, the rate of 50 years before. While there undoubtedly was a considerable increase in publication in the 1920s there is an obvious bias in the figures since the bibliography was compiled by Hutton. He included all works that he knew of, which meant popular articles as well as those produced for academic journals; there are also the many short pieces which he wrote for *Man*. However, the high rate of publication in this inter-war period generally compares well with the late 19th century and remains a monument to the work of the British administrators.

The World War, Independence and the end of Mills' career (in 1947) marks the end of consistent and bulk production of books and papers on the Naga Hills area. Hutton noted only seven in the 1940s, and twelve in the 1950s. W.G. Archer, an administrator in the Naga Hills in 1946-48, collected materials for a book on Naga Art but the project was never completed. Since then there have been several publications by Indian scholars, histories of the 1939-45 war and reminiscences of military men. Despite covering the war in Burma and the siege of Kohima, these last often make only small references to the Nagas. There is probably a great deal more work by missionaries, which might yield anthropological

and historical data. Unfortunately it is difficult to trace or obtain, as it was produced either for local education or for the benefactors of their missions.

The cycles of output of publications on the Naga Hills area give a rough guide for a chronological analysis of these works by division into six periods. The first ends in 1869 and considers the initial intrusion of the British into the region and early writing on the Nagas, especially a rise in output in the 1840s. The second period concerns the major flourish of publication in the 19th century of 1870 - 1889, followed by the third period, of the consistent output of 1890 - 1919. The fourth deals with the exceptional decade of the 1920s and must examine why this sudden flowering took place. The fifth looks at the end of the era of British control finishing at independence, and the last runs from 1949 to the present. The dates are arbitrary cut-off points and cannot be rigidly fixed but give a rough framework. Whilst considering matters in periods it is also possible to pick out and develop certain themes that cut across the dates given.

The shift in the place of publication should also be noted. References for journals for the early periods largely concern those that specialise in Asia or even in the localised region of Assam or Bengal and some were also published there. By the turn of the century the picture changes with a predominance of articles in general journals such as *Man In India*, the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* and *Folklore* in contrast to the virtual monopoly of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (J.A.S.B.) in the early years. This may reflect a shift in interest in the people and the area, specialist in the initial periods but appealing to and stimulating a wider audience

later. But this shift goes hand in hand with the founding of subject-orientated as opposed to regional-based journals, and the development of the sciences of society such as anthropology and sociology. By the 1920s the Nagas had achieved wider recognition as is shown by the numbers of references to popular magazine and newspaper articles. Thus the Naga passed from the armchair anthropologist to the armchair traveller.

In the first period the initial writing shows the British coming to terms with the territory on the edge of the empire, physically, geographically and conceptually. The early writers were military men who led the exploration of the hills, partly to show British presence and power but also as an intelligence exercise in case of the anticipated need for future military operations in the area. Notable authors in this period include Lt Pemberton, Capt Jenkins, Lt Grange, Lt Bigge, Capt Brodie and especially Maj Butler. ¹ Butler's son followed him into the hills (in the tradition of military officers in British India) and continued the family record of publication in the 1870s. ² Many of the published works of these men were reprints of official reports detailing the exploration of what was often uncomfortable terrain, noting where they went and who they met, endeavouring to establish routes into the hills for their successors. There were in addition some civilian writers whose interests lay with natural products, such as coal and tea, with languages and missionary work. A few attempted to give a general picture of the area either from personal experience or collating the reports and

¹ Abbreviations of rank are generally used throughout. It is important to note that officers gained promotion, for example Pemberton became Captain and Jenkins a Colonel. However, it is not always possible to be certain, over a period of time, whether references are to the same person or to two of different rank.

² The Butlers were well known for their association with the Nagas, especially the son, Capt Butler. This is partly because of his death in an ambush by Lhota Nagas from Pangti village near Wokha in the Naga Hills in December 1876. He was regarded as a particularly fine officer by his colleague Woodthorpe.

experiences of others.

The early works show the problems that the British had in identifying the areas, determining whose country it was, what it was called, how it was divided, and perhaps the biggest problem of all, the organisation of native life. Of necessity they used non-local guides and translators at first, men who gave a perspective of outsiders from the plains. The confusion is best illustrated by the use of the term Naga for the hill peoples. The origin of this word was the subject of much speculation by later Western writers, but the initial explorers accepted what they were told by the plains people, who as neighbours of the Nagas seem to have been regarded as knowledgeable. The people of the hills seem to have been generally referred to as Nagas and specific groups as 'such-and-such' Nagas. These prefixes became important, often simply being the name of a particular village, later recognised as being part of, or subsumed under the heading of a larger group. Sometimes, however, the name used was that of a 'tribe'. For example, the Lhota were so identified from the beginning, that is from their first meeting with the British. At the time the spelling was 'Lotah' which raises another complexity; the spelling of rivers, tribal or other groupings and villages change throughout the century. In addition, some early identified groups, such as the Hatigoria, who were much described in the 19th century, disappear as a classification. As the Nagas have taken control or possession of their history in recent years some spellings have again changed as have the identification and combination of various groupings. These changes have affected the whole Naga area; in the south-west where the British early took control and occupation, they identified small groupings which have now combined; to the north-west there have been several changes of name while to the east, in the parts

last or never taken under control, the large groupings named by the British have been renamed and further sub-divided. The early picture then, is one of much confusion which was compounded and increased by later writers and seems never to have been completely described and sorted out.

History

The first European reference to the Nagas is probably that of Francis Hamilton in 1822:

On the side of the Brahmaputra, opposite to the Miri or Dophlas immediately beyond the Dikrong river, are said by the natives of Nogang to dwell a people called Abor, and farther up another tribe called Tikliya Nagas, both of whom are extremely savage. They are indeed said by the Brahman of Bengal to be cannibals, and to have little intercourse with the people in Asam, although the two territories are adjacent. (Hamilton 1822: 258)

Further on (page 261), Hamilton mentions Nagas who are subject to 'Monipur'. Hamilton's information was second hand from the people of the plains: the Nagas were 'said to dwell' and it was the Bengalis who called them cannibals. This type of picture, derived from hearsay and prejudice, was the hallmark of much of the literature on the Nagas in the 19th century; it must not be forgotten that the British had their own beliefs of superiority over Indian peoples, and were to structure these in a hierarchical manner. Thus, the peoples of the Indian subcontinent came to be judged, not by social organisation but by the type of practice and custom in which they indulged, coupled with their skills of manufacture, agriculture and war, and the quantity of material culture in use.

The second documentation is Pemberton's account of the Nagas in 1827, an appendix to a work dealing with the recent Anglo-Burmese war. This actually was first hand information, for Pemberton travelled with Captain Jenkins across the Naga Hills from Manipur to Assam. Elwin believed this piece to be 'the first extended description of the Nagas in the English language' (Elwin 1969:39). Pemberton saw the Nagas as a powerful people, stretching from Kachar (sic) in the west to Chittagong in the east, and having successfully resisted the attempts of the states of the plains, 'Munipore, Kachar, and Tipperah', to conquer and rule them. Pemberton's short general description refers to the defensive position of the villages, the work of women, marriage, agriculture, dress, trade and funeral rites. Pemberton simply noted what he observed and gleaned whilst camping on the expedition. Jenkins made his own contribution in the *J.A.S.B.* in 1836, within the article put together by McCosh.

Apart from Grange's articles published in 1839, there was little else of importance produced in the 1830s. McCosh in 1836 did provide an overview of the importance of the north-east frontier of Bengal and the position of the tribes there. McCosh was a Civil Surgeon in Goalpara and collated information from a number of sources; his summary shows one contemporary attitude towards the region. 'Few nations bordering upon the British dominions in India are less generally known than those inhabiting the extreme N.E. Frontier of Bengal; and yet, in a commercial, a statistical, or a political point of view, no country is more important' (1836: 193). The political importance was obvious:

our territory of Assam is situated in almost immediate contact with the empires of China and Ava, being separated from each by a narrow belt of mountainous country, possessed by barbarous tribes of independent savages, and capable of being crossed in.....10 or 12 days. (McCosh 1836: 193)

McCosh summed up commercial feelings about the area:

This beautiful tract of country, though thinly populated by straggling hordes of slowly procreating barbarians, and allowed to lie profitless in primeval jungle, or run to waste with luxuriance of vegetation, enjoys all the qualities requisite for rendering it one of the finest in the world. Its climate is cold, healthy, and congenial to European constitutions; its numerous crystal streams abound in gold dust, and masses of the solid metal: its mountains are pregnant with precious stones and silver; its atmosphere is perfumed with tea growing wild and luxuriantly; and its soil is so well adapted to all kinds of agricultural purposes, that it might be converted into one continued garden of silk, and cotton, and coffee, and sugar, and tea, over an extent of many thousand miles. (McCosh 1836: 194)

This optimistic and lyrical account of the possibilities was tinged with one problem: the 'valuable tract of country is inhabited by various races' some of which maintained their independence. McCosh listed the most considerable of these independent peoples, seven in all, and gave short notes on each. The section on the Nagas is one of the shortest and half of it is devoted to brine manufacture in the hills. The remainder is really a summary of how little was actually known about the Nagas. It seemed impossible to assign limits to their country or to number their numerous tribes. Also:

there is no one individual tribe of any formidable consequence amongst them, and there is but little inclination to coalesce, they being constantly embroiled in petty feuds. They are represented by the inhabitants of the plains as robbers and murderers, and are so much the dread of all, that little of their economy is known. (McCosh 1836: 207)

The expeditions of Lt Grange, his reports and his two articles of 1839 and 1840 in the *J.A.S.B.* start to rectify this ignorance. Grange's articles take the form of diaries, describing where he went and by which routes, who he met and his relations with the natives. Like many later authors he spelt the names of places and peoples as he heard them; it was a long time before any consistency in spelling was achieved among the British writers. There is also a confusion between 'tribal' and

village groups of Nagas. Grange makes what is probably the first reference to the 'Angamee' but does not differentiate between them and others, such as Boesompoe Naga, the latter called after the name of their village. From the start the Angami seem to have been viewed as a major grouping, a conglomeration of villages or a tribe, but authors continually refer to separate groups of Nagas inconsistently, be they from a village, or a state (for example the 'Cachar Nagas') or some other combination. That the Angami were so viewed may be perhaps explained by the fear in which they were held by surrounding Nagas in the first half of the 19th century. At this time the Angamis were particularly powerful, dominating the hills around them, subordinating neighbouring groups and villages of Nagas, and making incursions into the plains, for trade as well as tribute. Most of Grange's contact with Nagas on his first expedition was with the less powerful enemies of the Angami who saw themselves as individual villages but regarded the Angami as some sort of confederation. On his second expedition Grange heard of the Lhota ('Lotah') and was again the first to make reference to them although he did not meet any. They were in the similar position to the Angami being always perceived as a 'tribal' grouping by the British, but they were also in an expansionist and powerful position at this time. Grange also met some Rengma Nagas on this expedition, another 'tribal' grouping always referred to as such, but who at this time were in a particularly weak position. The Rengma were being pressed by the Lhota, Angami and probably also the Sema, and some Rengma had already moved out of the Naga Hills and into the Mikir Hills. Grange's expeditions illustrate one further point; initially the writings on the Nagas deal with those that lived closest to the plains or to the major rivers. Military expeditions began from the plains and successive trips tended to follow established routes. The earliest routes thus ran firstly

across the lower hills from Assam into Manipur; and secondly from the Brahmaputra River bases east and south - from Nowgong to the Dhansiri River between the Rengma and the Lhota, and from Sibsagar along the Dikhu River.

Exploration and affirmation of the British presence continued throughout the 1840s with first hand reports by Bigge, Brodie, Browne Wood and Maj Butler all largely taking the same diary format used by Grange. In addition there were a few articles on the natural history and products of the Naga hills, one piece in a popular magazine and two articles on language and custom. In 1841, however, there was the first attempt to gather together information and present a description of Naga social life.

Robinson's 1841 book *A Descriptive Account of Assam...* was aimed at making the area better known to the general public. It contained chapters on aspects of the environment as well as one on each of the major tribes. Robinson worked at the Gauhati Government Seminary and had not visited the Naga Hills so his information was second hand. However, the piece on the Nagas is important not only because it provided a much more complete general survey than the earlier work of McCosh, but also in retrospect because of the regard in which it was held by later writers. This was particularly so because of the later concerns with problems of origins - who were the Nagas, from whence did they come and what were their boundaries? Robinson outlined some of these problems in 1841. The first was the origin of the word Naga, which is discussed further below, and the second the question of uniformity of the Nagas. Robinson noted that the word Naga was 'entirely unknown to any of the hill tribes themselves. The inhabitants of these hills are

divided into numerous communities or races; and they know themselves by the designations of their respective tribes only, and not by any name common to all the races' (1841: 380-81). Thus, there was not only a lack of a common name acknowledged by all the Nagas, but neither was there such a need, for the tribes failed to recognise themselves as having any uniformity. Robinson continued:

There, however, appears to be some mark by which these tribes are distinguished from their neighbours, and some common ties by which they are all bound together as one people, though possibly at present divided into tribes by a diversity of dialects.

(Robinson 1841: 381)

This point was never taken up by later authors (but see West 1984), possibly because Robinson went on to speculate that there was a 'common tie [that] may have descended to all the present tribes, from the great aboriginal stock by which the hills were first peopled' and that 'religious superstitions may form the great connecting link of all the Nagas, and the cause of separation from other hill tribes' (ibid).

Robinson went on to discuss the tribal divisions believed to exist, the trade between the Nagas and the plains and the relationship between the Nagas and the British. The second half of his chapter on the Nagas concerns their customs: marriage, war, agriculture, weapons, costume, houses, dance, funeral rites and religion. Considering Robinson's earlier speculation that religion might provide the key to Naga uniformity, his paragraphs on religion are disappointing. They are written from a Western perspective and presuppose, as might be expected, that Western religion is not only right but contains several sole and universal truths. Thus the Nagas

appear ... to acknowledge a Divine Power to be the Maker of the world, and the Disposer of all events.....Their ideas of him, however, are faint and confused; and of his attributes they are entirely ignorant. Of the immortality of the soul they have some faint notions.' (Robinson 1841: 396)

Despite the Nagas having a 'perception that there must be some universal Cause to whom all things are indebted for their being' (ibid) they worshipped 'evil spirits'. The Nagas had no established form of worship, no temples and no ministers, but they did have several traditional 'superstitious' practices and ceremonies, to which they had 'recourse with a childish credulity, when roused by any emergence from their usual insensibility' (ibid). There was little published information on which Robinson could base these comments, but it is difficult to know how much, if any, personal contact he had with those who had visited the Nagas. He certainly had access to the journal of the Rev. Miles Branson, a Baptist missionary working in the Naga hills. It is possible that Robinson's views on Naga religion were coloured by the prevailing attitude toward the ideas and practices of non-Christian peoples, as well as being derived from the work and observations of Branson.

Little was published in the 1850s and 1860s of direct reference to the Nagas apart from the second of Maj Butler's two books on his experiences in Assam; the first came out in 1847 and the second in 1855. This latter, *Travels and Adventure in the Province of Assam*, aimed to describe the remaining wild tribes of the hills - 'the Angahamee Nagahs, Kookies, Meekirs, and Rengma Nagahs' (1855: v). The first part of the book concerns Butler's own expeditions in the hills and follows the same format of many of the early articles - that of a diary which gives a daily record of where the party moved and how the expedition was conducted. This form of report seems to have been much favoured for military intelligence purposes, because it outlined routes, indicated whether villages were friendly or not and gave pointers to dealing with the Nagas and with possible troop problems on such a journey. Such military reports also built up a history of British dealings with the

Nagas on a localised basis; places of encampment, sources of food and water, and sites of particular events were passed on forming a kind of regimental tradition or lore. The second part of the book looks at the Hill Tribes, describing aspects of their social life and customs quite loosely and including notes on the method and practice of revenue assessment. Butler also described the relationship to date between the Angami and the British, summarising reports of earlier expeditions, partly as a preliminary to his record of the Angami Naga 'rebellion' of 1850. This Anglo-Naga conflict, in which Butler played an important part, was substantially between the British and the powerful Angami village of Khonomah (Khonoma). Khonomah had dominated the surrounding Angami villages and the southerly Naga and plains neighbours for several years. The conflict culminated in a dramatic siege of the well sited and defended hill top village lasting 16 hours and involving the use of two three-pounder guns and two four-inch mortars by the British; the siege ended because the defending Nagas evacuated the village overnight, unseen by the attackers. The rebellion heralded the completion of the first phase of Anglo-Naga relations; apart from a clearing up expedition in 1851, the siege marked the end of British involvement in the Hills for 16 years. Butler himself recommended:

After mature consideration, it appears to me that our endeavours for some years past to put down the internal feuds of the Nagah communities have proved a complete failure. I, therefore, beg leave to suggest that, for the future, we leave the Nagahs entirely to themselves, and wholly abstain from any interference with them.
(1855: 202)

In 1851 the last troops were withdrawn to Dimapur 'it being the wish of Government to abstain entirely and unreservedly from all concern or meddling with the feuds of the numerous savage tribes beyond our own frontier' (ibid: 212). When Butler was writing this book he may well have imagined it to be some of the last words on the Nagas, for there

was no expectation that the policy of non-interference would be reversed.

The British policy of non-interference helps to explain why there is a paucity of literature from the 1850s and 1860s; the only contact with the Nagas was by their continued raiding onto the plains, carried out especially by the Angami. The renewed British presence in the hills from 1866 correlates with the sudden increase in publication on the Nagas in the 1870s. This must be coupled with other factors, in particular the formal development of anthropology, and especially the formation of the Anthropological Institute,

The first volume of the new *Journal of the Anthropological Institute* contained a piece by Lt Barron on 'Stone Implements from the Naga Hills.' Renewed British interest in the Nagas was acknowledged by the inclusion of reprints of several early reports in the *Selection of Papers regarding the Hill Tracts between Assam and Burma* published in 1873. The papers covered a number of peoples, those of relevance here concerning the Nagas of the north-eastern Assam, the Konyak area. In particular there was a fuller selection of the reports of Lt Brodie than appeared in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, and, rather surprisingly, a reprint of a paper by S.E. Peal which had first been published in the *J.A.S.B.* only the previous year. Peal wrote some 14 articles on the Nagas between 1872 and 1897. Peal lived and worked in the area, presumably in a commercial capacity. His articles tend to be uncoordinated and contain a series of unsystematic and unconnected notes, although this is a criticism that could be levelled at many of the authors on the Naga Hills in the 19th century. Indeed, later, Peal himself eventually regretted what he saw as lost opportunities, when,

after his retirement, he was able to read ethnographies of other parts of the world as well as some anthropological theory, and began to place the Nagas in a contemporary context (linking them with the Pacific and island South-East Asia, as being Northern Dyaks). In 1894 he wrote:

Between the years 1865 and 1880, I had good opportunities of becoming well acquainted with one large group of these "headhunters" lying between the Disang and Dikhu rivers, south-east of Sibsagar, Assam. In a hazy way I thought I knew a lot about them, visited their hills and villages, employed them in clearing land, &c. It was not until I had left the neighbourhood, and lost my chances for some years, that I began to see how little I really knew regarding them, and what a vast mine of most valuable information - much needed by savants - lay for years alongside me unheeded. (Peal 1894: 13)

In 1872 Col (later Maj-Gen) Dalton's great work *A Descriptive Ethnography of Bengal* was published, a sequel to the failed Ethnological Congress proposed to be held in Calcutta in 1866. Later writers have spoken of the eager anticipation of field officers awaiting the book: 'Its arrival must obviously have caused great excitement' (Archer, *M Man in India* 28: 70 quoted Elwin 1969: 616). In his diary Capt Butler recorded the book being brought to him by Col Thomson's runner on the evening of 5th January 1873 whilst on tour in the Naga hills. Butler immediately began to read it, for the entry for that same day notes his disagreement with some of Dalton's comments. Butler continued: 'I wonder it never struck Colonel Dalton to apply directly to the several officers in charge of Frontier Districts to assist him in the very difficult work he was undertaking'. By March Butler had become quite distressed by the standard of the work:

Amused myself by reading some of Dalton's work on the Ethnology of Bengal and was much surprised to find that the letter press, at all events as far as the Naga Tribes are concerned, is not in my humble opinion worth very much and yet this is the very portion of the book for the accuracy of which he states in his preface that he himself is alone responsible.

(Butler Tour diary for 1872-3 p 25 in Elwin 1969: 616-17).

Butler again expressed his disbelief that none of the Assam Officers had been consulted in the preparation of the work although those of other

parts of Bengal had made contributions. It is fortunate that such contemporary opinion has survived, especially as Butler was criticising a senior officer, but the Tour diaries were not published until 1942. Dalton did receive some contemporary published criticism, although expressed more circumspectly; in 1875 Colonel Godwin-Austen remarked that 'Colonel Dalton has fallen into error by adopting an artificial separation of the Nagas east and west of the Doyang River, and I trust he will forgive my criticism. This has led to a terrible mixing together [of various Naga tribes].' (Godwin-Austen 1875 pp146-7 in Elwin 1969: 617).

Butler responded to his dislike of Dalton's work in a practical manner by writing an article for the *J.A.S.B.* in 1875, 'Rough Notes on the Angami Nagas', described by Hutton as 'by far the most valuable of the printed authorities on the Tengima Angamis' (Hutton 1921: 333). In this important paper Butler expanded on the published work of his father. He discussed the geography and history of the area, including deliberations on the origin of the term 'Naga' which were used as an unacknowledged basis for speculation by many later writers. Butler's second chapter described 'Government, Religion, and Manners', then geology and natural history and ending with language and grammar, which included a lengthy vocabulary. This chapter was by far the best description of Naga, particularly Angami, social life until the work of Hutton some 45 years later. It introduced a wider discussion of religion than had hitherto been the case as well as the first mention of *genna*. This latter institution, which Butler described as a 'tabu singularly similar to that in vogue among the savages inhabiting the Pacific Islands' (1875: 316) was an important concept in Naga society. It was much misunderstood and its broad application and relevance missed until

beyond the 1920s. By then ideas about Naga society had begun to be reformulated; Hutton's ethnography permits the idea of genna to be linked and put in context with the calendar and the practice of feasts of merit. In addition to his descriptions of Naga material culture, Butler's article was accompanied by some fine illustrations.

The 1870s also saw the publication of articles by other officers working in the hills or in contact with the Nagas, such as Damant, Dr Brown and Col Woodthorpe. Damant was highly regarded for his local knowledge. ³ Woodthorpe published two linked papers at the end of the decade on the 'Wild Tribes inhabiting the so-called Naga Hills on our North East Frontier of India'. The first part, on the Angami Nagas, was largely derived from Butler's 1875 work except that Woodthorpe additionally attempted a classification of the Nagas as a whole. This divided the Nagas into kilted and non-kilted types, a separation which Hutton described as a 'dangerous distinction' (1921: 333). The second part of the paper was shorter and dealt briefly with all the remaining Naga peoples known to Woodthorpe; Rengmas, Lhotas, Semas in one group, Hatigorias, Dupdorias, Assiringias in another, then the tribes bordering Sibsagar and finally those of the Yangmun Valley and the Jaipur district. Woodthorpe's classification, though nominally based on costume, was effectively one of areas within the hills. Such regionalisation derived not only from some observed differences between groups of Nagas, but was also due to the way in which the British entered the Hills and came in contact with the inhabitants. In the early years British exploration was limited by the resources available as well as the problems inherent in acting as invaders in a hostile country.

³ As Political Agent he was besieged by Nagas at Kohima and later killed in 1879; also lost in the siege was a paper on Naga languages.

Only a limited amount of ground could be covered in such an expedition and so only a limited amount of knowledge resulted. These methods of exploration and the subsequent pattern of information gathering set up a framework of categorisation of the hills largely based on geography.

The geographical framework may be further observed in the report of Capt St John Michell in 1883. This was essentially a military intelligence report on the north-east frontier of India. The nature of this report makes it clear that there was no official British conceptualisation of the Nagas or the Naga Hills as an identifiable unit or country. The prime concern was with Upper Assam and after a brief introduction Michell considered firstly the tribes to the north and secondly those to the south of Upper Assam. He then devoted a chapter to each of the major tribes - Abors, Mishmis, Miris, Daphlas, Akas, Singphos, Khamptis and Eastern Nagas. Each chapter gave a brief description of the people, but the main parts dealt with political transactions between them and the British, and then military operations in the area. Finally, a comprehensive list of routes gave stages on a march with notes on villages, places to camp, and the friendliness of the locals, plus a map. Michell was careful to delineate the area which contained the Eastern Naga peoples and noted the necessity of isolating this group of Nagas: 'It is important to separate clearly these hills from the country of the Hatigoria, Sema, Lhota, and Angami Nagas' (Michell 1883: 203). Furthermore, 'the real Nagas, such as the Angamis, the Hatigoria, the Lahoopas, &c., are called Kachyans by the Burmese, and appear an entirely distinct family from the so-called Nagas of the Sibsagar frontier, and do not recognise or acknowledge them in any way.' (ibid: 204). This categorisation is quite different to any that would be given today, particularly the identification of the Nagas with the

Kachin of Burma: this linking is discussed further in Chapter Nine. It perhaps also shows that the need to classify the hill peoples was a problem that the British created, and that the difficulties experienced in defining who was who arose because of the very different world view of the hill peoples themselves: they had no need of such a classification. In addition, the driving purpose behind British classification and compartmentalisation at this time was twofold; military and academic. The military needs are illustrated by Michell's report; the separation of groups into bounded areas facilitated effective policing, punishment and tours. The academic needs derive from the ethnological aims of searching for origins, migratory patterns and placing groups on an evolutionary scale. Curiously the two are linked, firstly because of the dual role played by some military men such as Woodthorpe, and secondly because the armchair anthropologists in England depended on and used all the information they could get from the hills, which at this time meant largely from army officers. Given the superficial similarity in aims it is perhaps not surprising that many military men found anthropology so alluring.

The Gazetteer of Manipur by E.W. Dun, published by the government in 1886, takes a similar form to Michell's report. Dun has a section on the people divided into two, the Manipuris and the hill tribes. In the former he considers social organisation but in the latter there is again an evident lack of knowledge. Several hill groups were known, including five tribes of Nagas: Lahupa, Tankul, (but Dun writes that there is no perceptible difference between these two tribes), Kolya or Khoirau, Kaupui, and Marring. The spellings given are those of Dun; they are at variance with modern and also with some contemporary 19th century spellings. In the hill tribe section Dun confined himself almost

entirely to material observation, for example, house type, the sort of weapons used, village site and general physical appearance. The other introductory chapters deal with the Manipuri part of the country. The bulk of the book consists of a gazetteer proper, a list of places (that is largely villages) in Manipur, including those of the hill tribes followed by a list of routes. Again there is an emphasis on military information such as camping grounds, stockades, climate, food supplies, and particularly in the case of the hill tribes, the numbers of fighting men there or at least the number of houses. More information on Naga tribes in Manipur was given by Watt (1886) but his comments were limited to material culture and customs and not structured in any way.

Other, more descriptive works were published in this period. In 1884, John Avery published a brief survey of the hill tribes of Assam in the *American Antiquarian*. Avery makes reference to Woodthorpe's work and his 'kilted' distinction, but prefers to suggest his own model of classification. Thus, Western Nagas are the Rengma, Kachar and Angami; Eastern Nagas are the Hatigoria, Tablung, Joboka, Bardwaria and Namsangia; while the Sema and Lhota are the 'connecting link between the eastern and western divisions of this people' (Avery 1884: 314). Avery's description of the Nagas is sparse, making short notes on the housing, clothing, death ceremonies and lack of hereditary or organised government. In 1887 another descriptive account was published. David Prain's article on 'The Angami Nagas' was only the second (after Capt Butler's in 1875) specifically on the Angami and one of very few on any specific group. Prain was unaware of the work of Capt Butler, Woodthorpe, Peal or Godwin-Austen at the time he wrote his piece according to the postscript. His account appears to be first-hand (see Appendix 3) and particularly describes agricultural, domestic and some

personal life. He notes the existence of clans but does not develop their importance. In a similar way Prain refers to genna as an observance and does indicate the large part it played in Naga life, but makes no extrapolation of a belief system: 'Religion hardly exists' (Prain 1887: 488).

The consolidation of knowledge in the 30 years after 1890 was rather sporadic. It built on and developed some of the threads that can be discerned in writings up to this date, but also laid the foundation for the blossoming of publication that came in the 1920s. By the turn of the century the published diaries of the early touring officers had become the gazetteers, censuses and military intelligence reports that contained much the same information but in a slightly different form. The histories and reminiscences of military men that were now published affirmed for those at home the British role and status in the area of the Naga Hills. The language primers offered tools to the administrative and military men working there while the few miscellaneous articles that were printed fed the armchair anthropologists and folklorists. Consolidation was exemplified by Miss Godden's article in the *JAI* of 1896, which collected and presented material from other sources, utilising the descriptions of Naga life compiled by earlier authors. This highlights one of the difficulties of analysing Naga life from British sources: the tendency for writers to utilise and build on the work of their predecessors rather than making fresh assessments.

There was some new material brought into the otherwise stagnant publication record of these 30 years. Two names dominate the period, Hodson and Shakespear, but representing three people; Col J. and Col L.W. Shakespear, as well as Col T.C. Hodson. Between them (mainly J.

Shakespear and Hodson) they accounted for 14 of the articles and five of the books listed in Hutton's bibliography for this period. Hodson and J. Shakespear began the series of books ⁴ on the tribal people and history of Assam, which remain the major contribution to knowledge about the Nagas in this century. Both L.W. and J. Shakespear wrote on the military history and government of the hill peoples in this area, in addition to an interest expressed in articles on the folk-lore of the people, but their primary interest was not with the Nagas. An increasing number of papers were published in *Folklore*, the journal of the Folklore Society. This fitted in with concerns of origins because myths and oral history were used theoretically as remnants of earlier societies. Yet it was not until the 1960s that anthropologists began to use myths effectively and examine their meanings and uses for societies at the time of their collection.

Hodson retired from the Naga Hills to the East London College but later became Professor of Anthropology at Cambridge University. Hodson apparently collected material without any idea of publication at the start of the century (Elwin 1969: 445). His main interest was with the tribes of Manipur, and he published a general article on them in 1905. Other papers followed on headhunting and belief systems, and two books, one on *The Meitheids* in 1908, and one on *The Naga Tribes of Manipur* in 1911. It was this latter which is of importance here, despite Elwin's comment (1969: 445) that it is 'a rather confused book which attempts to bring far too much within its compass'. The confusion partly arises again because of the plethora of Naga tribes in the region Hodson was considering. At the outset he divided the Naga tribes in Manipur into seven groups, but then considered them as a whole under headings such as

⁴ These books were published by Macmillan for the Assam Secretariat.

belief and tribal organisation, apparently in a search for common features that would readily assign the Nagas to a place in the academic world. This work is still the major source of information on many Naga groups, and only one separate book has been written on the individual 'tribes' that Hodson enumerated, a small and disappointing work on the Tangkhuls (Horam 1977). In addition, Hodson's book set the pattern for the later anthropological works on the tribes of the Assam hills. The layout included five sections; General, Domestic Life, Laws and Customs, Religion, and Folk-tales. Hutton, in his first book, added another standard element to the pattern: Language. The rigidity of the layout may have aided the writers and been intended to facilitate easy comparison between the Naga tribes, but it also may have helped to stultify any development or incorporation of contemporary anthropological theory. The books remained rooted in turn of the century ethnological theory and concerns.

The next book on the Naga tribes should have been published in 1915. This was Hutton's *The Angami Nagas*, on which he began work the year after Hodson's book was published, in 1912 when he was transferred to the Naga Hills from Eastern Bengal. The war in Europe coupled with a Naga revolt ⁵ in 1917 and the organisation of recruitment of a large group of Nagas as porters for the Western Front in 1916 delayed the publication of this book for six years. Whilst payment made to those Nagas who served in France would have increased the cash economy, other aspects of Naga life remained constant apart from the revolt. There remains an unanswered question, about the connection if any of Nagas serving in France and the revolt in the hills. The experience in France

⁵ Published references to this revolt are sparse. It was apparently put down with the use of Kuki-Chin, with a usual British flair for dividing the hill peoples.

certainly showed the fragility of the British which was reinforced some 25 years later by the Japanese. Thus, warfare did not disappear from the Naga Hills itself, neither during the period of the war in Europe nor before when the Nagas had been under British control for some considerable time. Raiding and disputes on the fringes of the administered area meant that the sphere of British rule was continually expanding, either formally through the correct procedure or informally by local officers making decisions on the spot. The Naga Hills also occasionally served as a base for expeditions against peoples further afield. In addition there were infrequent promenades through adjacent territory, to show the power of the Europeans, deal with village cross-border disputes and collect political and military intelligence. The same pattern of gradual expansion, apparently largely in response to a request by a village or area to be taken under protection, and consolidation of territory already taken, continued throughout the 1920s and indeed up to the end of the British empire.

The 1920s opened with Hutton's paper on lycanthropy in the *JRAI* (1920) and was followed in 1921 firstly by *The Angami Nagas* and then *The Sema Nagas*. These two large volumes set the tone for future scholarship on the Nagas; right up to the 1980s it has proved impossible for writers to get away from the theoretical constraints laid down and enshrined in this period. Even historical writing has tended to follow the somewhat confused, occasionally subjective, peculiarly comparative 19th century style that became the norm and has perhaps placed Naga studies in a strange dated realm of their own. Despite this general criticism, the work of Hutton and Mills remains as the most important contribution to description and analysis of Naga life in the early part of this century. The year after Hutton's first books came out, Malinowski's *Argonauts of*

the Western Pacific and Radcliffe Brown's *Andaman Islanders* were published, heralding the start of new directions for British anthropology. These changes were not immediately apparent, and in any case Hutton and Mills were physically separated from their academic peers. Furthermore, both Hutton and Mills had been conscientious participant observers for several years, albeit of a different and powerful kind with formal and directive responsibilities and authority.⁶

This participation was not with a single village or even a tribe, but with an entire region and the adjacent uncontrolled areas. Furthermore, the involvement in power brokerage, in ruling and administering the people they were observing, gave them a different relationship to later fieldworking students of anthropology, although it could be said that their power basis was more open and honest. Their wide geographical remit in the Naga Hills probably strengthened their ethnological preoccupations, with the habit, shown especially in the work of Hutton, of continually making comparisons, not only among different groups and villages of Nagas, but with peoples in south-east Asia, the Pacific and other parts of the world. Thus, their work became bound up with the evolutionist-diffusionist debate which came to a head in the 1920s (discussed in Chapter Three above).

In the 1930s publication tailed off dramatically, even by Hutton and Mills. Two volumes were published; one by another administrator, N.E.

⁶ J.H.Hutton is best remembered for his work on the Indian census of 1931 rather than his enormous knowledge and contributions on the Nagas. His work laid out the framework for future censuses and had a considerable impact on the perception of the structure of Indian society; the result of Hutton's work as Census Commissioner was the publication in 1946 of his book *Caste in India*. Hutton was the Honorary Director of Ethnography for Assam until 1930, a position he doubtless had to relinquish because of his census commitments. He was succeeded then, as he was as Commissioner of the Naga Hills on his retirement in 1936, by his long-term friend and colleague, J.P.Mills. When Mills retired from India eleven years later in 1947 he followed Hodson and Hutton into academic life.

Parry, on *The Lakhers*, a Kuki-Chin grouping further to the south, and the other, Mills' third book, on *The Rengma Nagas*. Even now, nearly 20 years after Hodson, the format he had set up was still in use and anthropological writing on these hill peoples was locked in the older style. Academic anthropologists now came to work in the area, notably H.E. Kauffmann and C. von Fürer-Haimendorf. Then, as now, the Naga Hills were kept separate from the rest of India and it was difficult to get a pass to enter, let alone stay for any length of time. Fürer-Haimendorf was allowed in to do field research, and was introduced to the people and region by Mills. In the apparent tradition of the hills, Fürer-Haimendorf had come with somewhat 19th century ethnological concerns, being attracted in particular by the 'megalithic ritual of some of the Naga tribes' (1976: 1). He never produced a monograph on the lines of Hutton and Mills and the published results of his fieldwork are scattered in academic articles, a semi-popular book, *The Naked Nagas* and a compact ethnography of the Konyak Nagas (Fürer-Haimendorf 1939 and 1969A).⁷ Fürer-Haimendorf's main work was with the Konyak people to the north, not all of whom were under British control, and who had last been described by Michell in his intelligence report of the 1880s. The contrast with the work of the administrator-anthropologists is quite marked, Fürer-Haimendorf being able to produce different insights and analysis, especially in his 1969 book.

Otherwise, apart from the short book and articles by Ursula Graham Bower, who worked with Naga groups in the south-west in 1938-46, the Second World War, the departure of Mills, and then independence

⁷ Fürer-Haimendorf was a good photographer and produced several short articles copiously illustrated. Many photographs have been frequently published. He also took cine film, some of which is reproduced on the Cambridge videodisc. His field notes and diaries, of great potential use, are incorporated on the computer software which can be linked to the videodisc. Mills also was interested in photography.

effectively brought an end to field research and publication on the Nagas. These events marked other problems. At independence Britain handed over to the new Indian government a tract of land and its inhabitants that had never been totally ruled, administered or controlled by the imperial power. Some of the Nagas living on both sides of the Burmese border, a line arbitrarily drawn by the British, were effectively independent when power was transferred to the Indian and Burmese governments. The administered area of the Naga Hills had always been kept separate from the rest of British India, for reasons of expense of administration as well as the officers' concern that Naga culture was very different to that of other parts of British India and possible exploitation by other Indians should not take place. The hand of the administration in the Naga Hills had been comparatively light. The area did not produce enough revenue for the British to justify a complex administration, and this, coupled with the calibre and interest of the officers who worked there, placed the Nagas in a special position. A great many of the Nagas, both ruled and unadministered, wanted their own independence away from India. After 1948 the Indian government found it desirable and then necessary in the face of increasing insurgence, to retain the isolationist policy of their predecessors. For the Indian government insurgency was coupled with the Chinese threat from across the north-east frontier. This alone would probably have stimulated a military response to Naga attempts at secession, but there was also the need to maintain the political integrity of the new India and not set a secessionist precedent for more geographically central parts of the nation.

This combination of circumstances has left considerable gaps in the published record of Naga life. Books and articles exist containing

information of varying quality and amount on the Angami, Ao, Lotha, Sema, Rengma, Konyak and southern groups. But the peoples living on the fringes and outside the administered line, identified by Hutton and Mills as the Kalyo-Kengyu, Chang, Yimchungr, and Sangtam, barely exist in the literature. The problems of insurgence and the question of independence for the Nagas has closed the area for further research since the 1950s and into the foreseeable future. Publications since the war have concentrated on the modern history and politics. These are primarily by Indian nationals, including Naga writers, and have rarely looked at the sociology or anthropology of any Naga group. Those which do make reference to the past or discuss culture or society draw heavily on the work of the colonial authors. One recent book, *A Pilgrimage to the Nagas* (Ganguli 1984), is essentially a record of travel and while it provides tantalising glimpses it makes no attempt to describe social change or analyse modern society.

Another important source of written information consists of the unpublished diaries and notebooks of people working in the hills. ^e Some of these take the same form as the published diary records of the early 19th century. Generally they provide much supplementary information on the history and society of the Nagas but primarily on groups that are already well described. The papers also provide important insights into Anglo-Naga relations and attitudes, and in some cases appear to be more informative than the published accounts of a few writers.

A number of themes and problems present themselves from even a brief

^e Unfortunately the private papers of at least one official are believed to have been destroyed by his heirs but those of others are known to exist in public and in private hands and some are accessible.

survey of the history and published literature. A basic difficulty concerns the naming and composition of Naga groups, especially because of the inconsistency and variations that occurred throughout the 19th century, and with the unadministered and fringe groups up until the present. The identity and size of the groups, what actually held them together, are particular problems that have largely been by-passed. In concert with this a unity of some sort, differentiating Nagas from others has always been assumed, but given the history of British involvement in the area, it is difficult to see on what basis. Unifying elements have been hinted at in the past, such as material culture, but there are other possibilities such as belief systems and general relationships that should be considered. There may, however, be a western or British constructed pattern imposed on a region and people that had no such groupings but which came to adopt the system of the ruling power. Language, so often taken as a measure of unity, definitely cannot be used here. In fact it suggests the reverse, disunity, because of the enormous number of languages in use throughout the hills among a population of less than a million people ⁹. The belief system certainly requires further examination, for the main claim to unity proposed historically by the Nagas derives from common origin stories and particular places. Furthermore, such systems would be important in consideration of certain widespread cultural practices such as headhunting, and may develop the dynamic behind Naga society.

The problems of group composition are increased by the lack of information on many groups or tribes that are accepted as being Naga but

⁹ It is clearly impossible to be accurate about the numbers of Naga when there is no clear definition of who they are. This difficulty is exacerbated by their being spread across international and internal boundaries. The census figures for Nagaland are: 1971 - 516,449; 1981 - 773,281. The substantial change may be more to do with the political problems than the birthrate.

have never or only poorly been described. On top of this, information does not exist on all of the surrounding peoples nor on crossover points between them: there needs to be discussion about whether that is a useful concept, assuming as it does that the peoples formed discrete units. The effect of the British on the area and social and material change has been largely ignored, in particular the impact of the gradual expansion of alien control on intra- and inter-village life; the histories state what happened, but really only discuss the political and not the social results.

Museum collections of Naga material culture, especially the large amount in Britain, remain a largely unused source of information on and about the Nagas. The character of these collections reinforces the dependency on British recording and conceptualisation which has developed the modern political state and problems, and is essential for the writing of history and anthropology. The nature of this Anglo-Naga relationship requires further examination, and this is done in the next chapter.

ANGLO-NAGA RELATIONS

In considering Anglo-Naga relations generally, two key questions present themselves. They concern the voluminous literature and the huge quantity of Naga material culture now held in Britain. Why was so much written about these people in journal articles, books and popular magazines? Why was so much material collected? In both of these areas the quantity would seem to be unusual both in proportion to the number of Naga people involved and in comparison to the writings on and collections from neighbouring hill peoples. The question of collecting is specifically considered in Chapter Seven. As a background, this chapter looks at the relationship between the British and the Nagas, and the general perceptions each held of the other. Whilst there was only a small number of Nagas in contact with the British, so too there were comparatively few Britons working, serving or visiting the region in the colonial period (and even less thereafter). For the British involved in direct contact with the Nagas a particular separatist, paternalistic and protective view seems to have developed and consistently remained throughout the colonial period. This was probably seen to be reciprocated by the Nagas in their remembrance of British officers and ultimately in their involvement with the British in the Second World War, which was decisively fought out at Kohima, the Angami Naga 'village' and headquarters of the British administration in the Naga hills.

The character of the Anglo-Naga relationship can be examined in several ways, but in general two forms must be considered. The first is that on the ground, face-to-face, and the second concerns Britain as a whole, not just the government of Assam, India and Burma, but the people in Britain itself. This is important here because of the interest in the Nagas (and in other people and places around the world). The two forms are interconnected so that it is difficult to separate them out. Officers on the ground enacted, interpreted and helped to form policies of the administration. The same set of officers produced papers and books published not only for academic consideration in Britain but also for popular consumption, expressing the dangers of working abroad and the peculiarities of the people there. Museum collections were formed for both academic study and popular exhibition and education. These exhibitions and the literature provided a view of the Nagas for mass consumption, which in turn will have affected and determined policy and attitudes toward the Nagas.

Consideration of direct contact between the British and the Nagas may be divided into two phases (see West 1984); the military and the administrative, the first marked by control and considerable expansion of power, and the second by ruling the area, with effectively continuous extension of its boundaries. One crucial feature throughout, but especially in the administrative phase, was the work of establishing and maintaining political relations with the unadministered groups eastwards of Assam, with the occasional military foray into this area. The military-administrative division is apparent in the literature with the writings of military men being important for understanding Naga society in the 19th century and those of the administrators in the 20th century.

This phrasing would at first seem to be effective only on the western, Indian side of the Nagas: the history of contact on the eastern, Burmese side being quite different, largely because it was practically non-existent. The 1931 census shows clearly that the Burmese Nagas dwelt in one of the two totally unadministered parts of Burma, and they were surrounded by a large portion of loosely administered hill country (Bennison 1933). Nagas were included in the Upper Chindwin administrative district, and their villages often had both Naga and Kachin peoples living there. The British did not gain full control over Burma until after their invasion of Upper Burma (the third Anglo-Burmese war) in 1885-86, and so came later to the easternmost Nagas. The area was left comparatively undisturbed with little contact by the British until the 1920s when growing references to human sacrifice led to an expedition from the Burmese side. After the expedition contact appears again to have been broken, and the next major incursion into the area was probably during the Second World War. General histories of the war indicate that Japanese activity was likely in the Naga area and it is possible that some useful information exists in Japanese archives.

Thus, in discussing the relationship between the British and the Nagas it is necessary to distinguish the Nagas on the Assam side of the border from those in Burma. The division between the two groups of Nagas is important here, partly because so much has been written about the Indian side Nagas and partly because nearly all museum collections are from the Indian side. But to limit the study to the Indian side would be to deny the history of contact and ignore the question of the extent of the Naga peoples, begging the question who are Nagas? The material written on the Burmese side Nagas, especially in the 20th century would

seem to have had considerable effect on the notoriety of the Nagas in general in Britain because of the emphasis on human sacrifice.

It is simpler to think of the Naga area as one, ignoring the Indo-Burmese border. In this total Naga area approximately one third, to the west, came under British control and administration before 1948, a second, central third was in regular contact and patrolled by the British and the last, eastern third was rarely, if ever visited by the British and then from a different direction. In this sense the phasing of the history of British contact still holds, for the forays into the Burmese Naga territory in the 1920s seem largely to have been at the instigation of and led by administrators such as Grant Brown and Dewar. At this time these men in describing the people were able to use models borrowed from their colleagues in India, and classify these hill people as Nagas. What remained was to determine their tribal divisions and detail their way of life. Further consideration of the Nagas on the Burmese side of the border is given in Chapter Nine and the 1920s expeditions are discussed below.

In order to set the Anglo-Naga relationship in context, it is necessary to briefly note the general relationship between Britain and India in the 19th century; this underwent change from control by the East India Company to incorporation in Empire.

In 1818 'the British completed their hegemony of India' (Spear 1973: 116) which before that date had consisted 'mainly of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, a tract to the north of the Ganges running up to Delhi, and the coastal Carnatic in the south (ibid: 117). Therefore, that year there also began 'one of the great debates of nineteenth century Britain,

carried on not so much in Parliament as by publicists, minute-writers at their desks and public men around dinner tables. What was to be done with India now that Britain controlled it?' (ibid: 120). This involved not only law and order, frontier protection, the organisation of land revenue, the encouragement of trade, but also how the promotion of the welfare of the people was to be managed.

Britain controlled India through the Company but in 1818, in addition to other areas, 'the frontier lost itself in the tangled hills of Assam and the north-east' (ibid: 129). There were obvious questions here about where this frontier was to be. These were partially answered in the Treaty of Yandaboo in 1826 when Burma ceded some recent conquests including Assam and Manipur. Final annexation of Burma was not until 1886 leaving afterwards a period of 60 years when the hill country between Burma and India was loosely- or un-administered. Before this the British faced the Nagas solely from the west and the priority was to secure the frontier.

The British attempts to define and maintain a frontier underwent several policy changes. In 1851, the British attempted a policy of withdrawal from the hills, that is complete non-interference, for some 16 years. Before that year the method of control was from a distance. In this period the British appear to have been seen as agents of the Company. Bronson, the first missionary in the Naga hills, arrived among the Naga in January 1839. On his first day he recorded that 'their great fear was that I was a servant of the Company' (1839: 282). The next day chiefs of the village repeated their objections to Bronson's presence:

they feared that I was a servant of the Company, come to spy out their roads, sources of wealth, number of slaves, amount of population, and means of defence, and the best methods of taking the country. Others feared that I might live peaceably among them

for a time and afterward get power and influence, and make them all my people. It was in vain that I told them of another country [Bronson was an American Baptist] beside the English across the great waters (1839:283).

The early relationship was partially dominated on the British side by a need to discover and explore the area. As noted earlier, from the outset the Nagas appear to have been seen by the British as one people, distinguished by village names; a reversal of the Naga self-identity of village/clan first, building up distinctions outward until boundaries are drawn between the hill peoples (Nagas) and plains peoples, Manipuris or British. The village distinction was complicated early for the British whose colonial experience required them to look for larger groupings for administrative convenience; the British were involved for military and ruling purposes, not anthropology. The search for 'tribes' began early. Browne Wood in 1844 wrote of 'the Kohema tribe' (1844: 773) referring to the people of Kohima or perhaps to the Angami. The larger groupings seem to have been perceived by the British as political entities with a single leadership. In another early account, Brodie wrote of the 'Seema Rajah' coming in 'with about 400 followers' (Brodie 1845: 828). Later on he referred to chiefs of various 'Lotah villages' (ibid: 837) and to the division of Naga tribes into Boree (dependent) and Abor (independent) (ibid: 839). This latter division caused some confusion in the identification of Naga groupings ' and museum collections.

To facilitate their need for knowledge, the British established a base in the plains. Between 1832 and 1850 some 14 expeditions were made

' This confusion arises partly because there are a people to the north of the Brahmaputra who were known as the Abor by the British and some other outsiders, Nagas and Abors came into contact through the British, if not otherwise. This problem of identification is discussed further in Chapter Eight.

into the hills (12 in the years 1839 to 1850). Many of these expeditions visited Angami Naga country in the south east of the hills, partly because of the need to explore routes into Manipur. The prevailing British policy at the time was essentially outlined by Brodie in 1845. It was reactive rather than proactive: apart from dealing with Naga incursions it essentially consisted of responding to cases presented by Nagas.

Brodie referred to 'cases which have been lately brought to notice'. He was at this time operating from 'Seesagur', that is Sibsagar. Early in the paper he outlined his perception of his role and a rationale for dealing with such cases:

Having taken engagements from all the Boree Chiefs to abstain from warfare, it seems necessary, that the officer, in charge here, should be furnished with instructions as to how far he should interfere in their quarrels. It is obviously desirable, that he should do so as little as possible, but in the following cases it seems necessary:-

1st. In any attack by one Boree tribe on another. In this case both parties be summoned down, and in the event of refusal to come, or to settle the dispute as directed, their village might be occupied till they complied. 2d. In an attack by a Boree on an Abor tribe, dependent or independent of a Boree tribe. On proper complaint being made in a case of this kind, the same course might be followed. In both cases, the parties complained against are our dependents, and we have a clear right to their submission.

These are the only cases in which it seems to me to be absolutely necessary that interference by force should take place. But in the event of a Boree complaining against an Abor tribe, every means might be taken - either through the Boree Chiefs, on whom they are dependent; or if not so dependent, through any Boree tribe which may be on friendly terms with them - to induce the Abor tribe to come down, and submit their dispute to adjustment. If this cannot be accomplished, I am of the opinion, that interference should not take place. (Brodie 1845: 839-40).

Here Brodie was effectively outlining the policy, of as little interference as possible, which dominated Anglo-Naga relations throughout the colonial period. It was a pragmatic policy, which ran to its full when there was no threat to British subjects or commercial

interests such as tea plantations. It became increasingly overridden by a moral position, that is to interfere and take action against headhunting and human sacrifice. There is also the notion of 'dependent' tribes, the basis of which is difficult to ascertain. While Hodson noted the Nagas paying revenue to the Manipuris (1911:12), Hutton stated 'what the precise relations the Naga tribes had with the various nations of the plains before the coming of the British Raj, we have no means of knowing' (1921A: 13). Terwiel (1980) suggests that the Ahoms, the Tai people of Assam, successfully moved through the hills in the 13th century, he also (1981: 26) states that initially, at least, they had to accept overlordship of a Naga leader. Whilst there is an implication in the oral history that this position was ultimately reversed, it is impossible to know whether the British were replacement leaders in the local ethnic power structure. The British position vis-a-vis dependents may therefore have been one which they inherited or developed themselves. ²

Brodie's report is full of the difficulties encountered by the British in attempting to understand the politics and conflict relationships of various Naga groupings, tribes or villages. The word Naga was frequently prefixed by a qualifying name, many of which seem to have subsequently fallen out of use and, apart from the difficulties faced in transcription, may well have been names of clans, khels, villages or other groupings. Brodie saw his role as being to pacify, adjudicate and conciliate:

..there are the following [cases], which I was unable to adjust while in the hills, from not being able to bring the parties together.

² This point is discussed further in Chapter Seven, in considering some Naga ethnographies which do suggest that Nagas paid tribute or had a form of exchange with the plains.

A feud between Mikilaie and Losuctuja early in 1834. The Chief of the former tribe complained, that 14 of his men had been cut up by the Hatheegurh Nagas. These denied all knowledge of the matter, and said it was probably done by the Soomtiya Nagas, who were at enmity with Mikilae [sic]. The Soomtiya Nagas deny it, but allow that there is an old feud between their tribe and Mikilae, and I will endeavour to bring the parties together at the earliest period possible.

About the beginning of December last, the Sonarree Chiefs complained that the Topoo and Tootee Abors had carried off and detained a boy and girl from their village; I had hoped to have settled this, but could find no means of getting the opposite party present. It would appear that the Nagas in this direction are in the habit of making captives, with a view to obtain ransom.

The following occurrences among the Nagas to the eastward have been brought to notice.

I received a report towards the end of November last, that the Paundwar, Makrong, and Singpoongiya Nagas, had cut up three men, belonging to Horoo Bansury. On enquiry it turned out, that Mokreng or Koting-gaon is tributary to Horoo Bansury; and that a Naga belonging to the former tribe had gone with tribute to the latter, and was put to death. The Koting Nagas shortly after this, cut up the three men alluded to. The Pandwar Chief came in himself, and stated that he was in no way whatever concerned in the matter; he thought the dispute might be settled through the Burdwar and Namsang Chiefs; and they were applied to, but I have not heard that they have yet been able to adjust it. Both parties in this case are Abors. (Brodie 1845: 841.)

This passage indicates what were to become many of the dominant concerns in the Anglo-Naga relationship. One was keeping the peace among the tribes and villages themselves, and two others were linked, concerning the treatment of humans. These are the references to taking captives and the putting to death of a visitor, that is the implication of human sacrifice as distinct from the other great concern, headhunting. Stories of captives, slaves and sacrifice abounded in the hills throughout this century and the next (see below), and apart from the practical concern, based on a moral belief, of stopping these practices, tales certainly reached Britain and engaged and fascinated the public. An example is the anonymous 'The Adventure of a Lady Amongst the Nagas' published in 1880 in *Chamber's Journal*.

It is also worth noting that in the passage above Brodie refers to the 'Singpoongiya Nagas'. This may be a reference to Singpho or Jingphaw (that is the Kachin) who are generally elsewhere regarded as an entirely separate group of hill peoples, predominantly in a neighbouring area in the Burmese hills. Such a reference could have arisen because the term 'Naga' was really just a general name for the hill peoples overall, and depended on the prefix to define and determine which group was under discussion, but it does open up further the possibilities of describing the limits of Nagas and Naga culture. ³ This is discussed further in Chapter Nine.

Brodie also noted the importance of material exchanges, an idea which again influenced later periods (as indicated in Chapter Six):

I [believe] the Assam Government had found it more convenient to conciliate the Nagas by presents, than to overawe them by coercion; and I am still of opinion that the Political Officer, who has charge of the relations with these tribes, should have power to dispense presents liberally. (Brodie 1845:840).

In this reference to the past Assam Government Brodie would have been referring to relationships developed by the East India Company.

British involvement with the Nagas before and after 1866 differed. The policy of absolute non-interference had not stopped Nagas coming down to raid, so after 1866 a policy of security or protection as cheaply as possible was developed. This required the maintenance of a small force (of native troops or police under the command of a British officer) in the Naga Hills. Two aspects of the Anglo-Naga relationship developed directly and indirectly from this. Firstly the separation of the area from the rest of India and secondly the creation of a small

³ Brodie's reference may be compared with Michell's (1883) mention of Kachyans (see Chapter Four). What are now regarded as quite distinct peoples were clearly not named, even if observed as such in the 19th century.

group of men with shared experience. These men also appear to have seen their work as distinct, specific and thus isolated from the rest of the colonial service in India. This combined to provide the basis for an Anglo-Naga culture.

The 1870s were a significant decade in terms of the amount of material culture collected and/or presented to museums and the quantity of literature published. There was a considerable increase in the number of officers working in the hills, partly because of the surveys undertaken. In addition, the 1870s also saw a greater sentimental and personal involvement of the British in the hills. Two officers were killed, Lt Holcombe, Capt Butler, and two civilians, Carnegy and Damant. British women were besieged with officers and others at Kohima, and subsequently eight Angami Naga villages were destroyed and the most powerful, Khonoma, besieged, attacked and finally entered when the defenders abandoned it. It was probably during this time of Anglo-Naga conflict deriving from Naga resistance to the British, that the dominant culture among the British officers was laid down. This culture may be characterised as dependent on certain concepts about the Nagas and the British relationship with them, which included an amateur anthropological interest that manifested itself in writing and collecting. This may be linked to British administrative needs and is explored below. It is important to note that there was still some continuity with the pre-1850 period, because of the Butler father-son link but also seen in the fundamental similarities in perception of policy.

During this decade the problem of establishing uniform names and groupings for the Nagas remained; it continued until beyond the end of

the colonial period, when the Kalyo-Kengyu became the Khieumingan and the Zeliangrong were formed from the Zemi, Liangmei and Rongmei. All this points to a looseness in the structure of groups above the level of clan or village. This is demonstrated by Damant's paper, posthumously published in 1880:

... the names by which they are known among themselves and to the people of the plains; this last is very important, as many instances have occurred where inquirers working in different parts of the same country have described what is essentially one and the same tribe under different names, and the result has been that people residing at a distance have in more than one instance supposed them to be distinct tribes. It is important, as a preliminary to deeper inquiries, that these points should be finally settled; until that is done, we must to a great measure be working in the dark, and considerable confusion must arise. (Damant 1880:228).

Damant went on to try and unravel the confusion by classifying tribes according to 'dialect' under three sub-headings, western, central and eastern, which suggests that he accepted the idea of an overall Naga category defined by common language. He believed the western family to be well known, except for the 'Luhupas and cognate tribes, amongst whom some new tribes and languages will doubtless be discovered when their country has been explored' (ibid: 229). This family included the Angami. The Central Naga family contained the Lhota, Sema and Hatigorria (Ao), but while the Lhota were well known, the Sema and Hatigorria had hardly been visited or their country explored. The Eastern Naga groups offered the biggest problems, for here

the greatest confusion exists; there is such a multiplicity of tribes, each speaking a different dialect, and they are so small in numbers, sometimes consisting of only one small village, that, without visiting each village personally, it is impossible to define the limits of each tribe with any approach to accuracy or even to say precisely how many tribes there are (Damant: 229-30).

Later in the paper Damant introduced a further classification, of Miscellaneous tribes, probably under the central family, whose 'existence was only discovered in 1874' (ibid: 248). The eastern Naga

country extended to the 'Singpho' country on the east, a clear delineation of the larger groupings of Naga and Singpho. Woodthorpe, in 1881 expressed a regret that political and other considerations had prevented him from continuing his explorations of Eastern Naga country further into Burma so as to trace the tribes and see what similarities existed.

The British officers were faced with a continuing puzzle which increased in complexity as more information was gained. They tried to make sense of the hill people groupings, not merely because it was part of their job, but out of a personal and academic interest, which they shared with each other. The academic interest is demonstrated by the number of papers produced for the Anthropological Institute and the Asiatic Society of Bengal. When papers were read in London, other officers from the Naga hills who were on leave or retired, would frequently attend and participate in the discussion afterwards. This practice continued into the 20th century, enabling an exchange and probably continuity of ideas, practices, and beliefs both formally and informally and thus assisted in the maintenance of a set of attitudes amongst officers working face to face. It would seem that not all those who worked in the hills were accepted into this British group. P.F. Adams, an experienced officer, working in the hills in the 1930s to 1940s, does not seem to have been part of it. He does not appear to have published any articles (although he made a small object collection), but more importantly, he seems to have had ideas different from his colleagues. This becomes clear in Mills' letters to Archer, when Mills is quite scathing about Adams, largely centred it appears on violent disagreement about the amount of autonomy the Nagas would have after independence. Mills himself had become out of favour with the Congress

Party and the British administration had to move him out of the Naga hills because of his outspokenness. For Mills this left Pawsey and Archer to carry forward the ideas. Pawsey was Mills' natural successor, having worked in the Naga hills area since the 1920s; Archer was there only for the years 1946-48, but had worked in other parts of India, and was obviously regarded as suitable by Mills. ⁴

These ideas and attitudes which seem to have been the subject of dispute in Mills' last years, at the end of the colonial period, formed a part of a culture which originated in the 19th century and early Anglo-Naga contact. The culture was based on a keen interest in the Naga people coupled with a respect for them and gilded by an affection for them. There is a sense of personal involvement which comes across in the writings, and which was probably exacerbated in practice by serving several years in one area, with a small, discrete group of other British officers, no British troops, and a considerable amount of autonomy, isolation and separation. This may be partially summed up by Woodthorpe, speaking at the Anthropological Institute in London:

I feel how meagre these papers of mine are, and how much more might be said about the Nagas and their peculiar customs, but I trust that I have said enough to show what a very interesting field of study these hills afford, and what a pleasant life the surveyor's was there, each day's march bringing something new before him, with just enough suspicion of danger to tinge his work with excitement. Personally, I shall never regret the few seasons spent in those hills, and the many pleasant memories they have left to me of work done and dangers shared with men I loved and honoured. (Woodthorpe 1881-81: 212).

From an early period the officers expressed an admiration for the Nagas, and a concern lest they be exploited. In 1855 Stewart, discussing the Nagas of North Cachar, noted their attachment to their home land,

⁴ Within these few years Archer fell into the officers' culture. He gathered material for a book and made a collection (see Appendix 3).

such that if forced to move, then should the opportunity present itself, they would all return and build on the site of their old village.

When the soil near their homes is exhausted, they proceed to great distances to cultivate, little heeding the labour of carrying back their harvests; and for a people who appear so lazy and idle as the Nagas (the casual visitor generally finding them sitting lolling at their doors, drinking grog) it is really wonderful to see the sacrifices they make to this love of certain localities. (Stewart 1855: 608).

Damant described the Angami as the most important tribe not only because they were seen to be the most numerous but because they were 'the most warlike and enterprising of any of the Naga tribes' (1880: 229). These qualities, love of home coupled with a readiness to fight and an enterprising character, would have appealed to the middle classes of late 19th century Britain, from whence the British officers came. There were no British troops in the Naga area which placed the class system into something of a vacuum, with only what were seen as racial categories in existence, British, Nagas, other hill peoples and Indians. Some of the civilian officers had their wives with them, but the women did not usually go on tour and also spent some of the time away from the Naga hills themselves. British children were also absent except at a very early age. There was, thus, a great resemblance to the British public school in terms of gender, class and background; most if not all of the officers went to public school in Britain.

The racial categories available seem to have emphasised the affection or concern for the Nagas. In the later years this is especially evident. Hutton on a 1926 tour came across Sema Nagas who had worked 'last cold weather' on an Indian owned tea garden. They had come in to see him with a problem; they did not know whether they would get paid the Rs 600/- to Rs 1000/- owed. The difficulty was that the Semas did not know if they were employed by the overseer or the manager; 'Each

put the responsibility on the other. The one lives in Sibsagar and the other in Lakhimpur and we cannot get the two together for a case.' (Hutton 1926D: 10th December). Effectively there was no jurisdiction and since the tea garden was not on the Tea Association's list, there was nothing Hutton could do. He felt the frustration keenly, outlining the disadvantages to the Nagas. They could not stay on the plains indefinitely, had no real form of redress whilst on the plains and even less back in their village because of the difficulties of running a case from there. The expense of lawyers was also prohibitive. In Hutton's opinion special provision was needed, for 'the plains employers take full advantage [of the law] and every cold weather hundreds of Nagas get cheated'. 'This is a scandal which is getting worse yearly' (ibid: 10th December). This is an example of the problems which the British officers feared would worsen if the Naga hills themselves were opened to Indian trade, and some of the reasons why the separation of the Nagas was seen as essential.

The sense of injustice felt by Hutton was coupled with a frustration that officers perhaps rarely found. They acted as adjudicators and diplomats, distributors of funds and justice. Much time was spent acting as magistrate in individual criminal and land cases and other disputes, in addition to projects such as the provision of village schools and included the granting of permission for village guns. The administrators also dealt with inter-village disputes. Here the problems raised questions similar to those inherent in the model proposed by Brodie in the difficulties between villages under full administration, those in the control area just outside of the formal administration boundary and those even further beyond. On 5th February 1926 Hutton was visited by the headmen of several small Sangtam Naga villages complaining of a

village called Pensure or Amichorr: the identity of villages beyond the control area was still open to question. The complaints were that Pensure

has demanded the red cloths from some of the smaller villages in the control area under threat of raids if they don't get them. This Pensure is not the notorious Panso (or Aoshed, as the Changs call it) of the "control" area further north, [but] a recent and comparatively insignificant offshoot. I think Mr Mills confused the two last year, but they will both probably have to be dealt with sooner or later. (Hutton 1926D: 5th February)

Here again the question of interference or not is raised, and the words 'dealt with' imply an acceptance of eventual punishment in a paternalistic way. Panso was the subject of an expedition in the 1930s.

This protective attitude to the Nagas, with a combination of respect and paternalism, extended to a general dislike of the missions operating in the hills. Although the officers did have contact with missionaries, Balfour meeting one at Mills' house when he toured the hills, the dislike is apparent, especially in the writings of Mills. Mills saw the missionaries destroying aspects of life that he believed to be integral and unnecessary to change. In particular he felt the systems of feasts of merit gave a needed redistribution of food and wealth, noting that in Christian villages rich men's granaries were bursting with grain, while the poor had nothing. The general dislike may have been fuelled by the fact that the missionaries were nonconformists, mostly Baptists and American, and therefore not part of the British Anglican community. This is highlighted in one of Mills' letters to Balfour, referring to the Appendix on missions in his *The Ao Nagas*. This passage also indicates views on the Indian community, the separation of those working in the Naga hills from the rest of government service and a notion that the Nagas deserved more respect than to be treated as children.

I suppose what Indians one sees are deplorable people. When will Governments (and missions) learn sense? As someone put it, missions.

treat native boys as little Englishmen who happen to be born brown. The only thing is to keep pegging away. I have written an Appendix on mission work, and the Bishop is keen to get it printed separately and distributed by the S.P.G. The American Baps will foam when they see it. (18th October 1924)

An earlier reference to missions was made by Lt Hinde in 1876. Hinde was appreciative of the missionary he met and recorded his complaints of oppression of his 23 converts by other Nagas. This missionary was a native, not an American Baptist, which may have influenced Hinde's attitude. (Woodthorpe 1876: Appendix C.)

The Naga response to the British varied over time. Resistance was the key theme in the 1870s, but this was from the dominant Angami group, and given the inter-village strife, some Nagas seem to have welcomed the British as another force to play off in local politics and conflict. Initially there was a questioning as to why the British were there. This is shown in Bronson's writings, and also in a passage by Hinde. He had already visited the village of Nankam once and now returned on his way back.

I found, as I had expected, that the Nankam men had got tired of us, and were by no means inclined to accord us the cheerful welcome we had received from them on our first visit. This I found, as I observed before, to be almost invariably the case. They refused even to show us water. One old man said to us :- "Why should we show you water? Why are you here again? You said last time you were here you had come to make a map. What are you looking for now? Have you no rice in your own village that you travel about to eat?" (Woodthorpe 1876: Appendix C, 25th February 1876).

The movements of the British around the hills were known and remembered by the Nagas for some considerable time, bringing a continuity of perception on their side to mirror that of the British. Such continuity was probably aided in the relative consistency in the attitude and behaviour of the British. In 1923 Hutton was touring 'Eastern Naga' country last visited by Col Woodthorpe nearly 50 years

before. Hutton was able to refer to Woodthorpe's account and on 14th April guessed that he was camping near where his predecessor had stopped for the night, since he had 'rightly described the spot as an admirable camping ground'. The next night they halted at Yangmun. The villagers asked

if they should "clear the camp the sahibs used last time" (48 years ago) and Anphang [a neighbouring village] mentioned that they had given Col Woodthorpe 2 goats, pig, 10 fowls, and 20 eggs, and that they regarded sahibs as their brother and would do whatever they were asked to do' (Hutton 1923E: 15th April).

The feeling of the officers working on their own independent of government was reinforced by such continuity. There was also a separation in the government's apparent lack of recognition of that work and the tribulations met. Woodthorpe demonstrated this in his 1881 paper. Referring to the 'outrage' committed on the survey party in February 1875 'when in the incredibly brief space of a couple of minutes. Lieutenant Holcombe and 80 men were most treacherously murdered, and fifty-one others wounded, out of a total of 197 all told'. He went on to castigate the government because the

remainder only escaped by the bravery and presence of mind of Captain Badgley, the Survey Officer, who, though severely wounded by cuts on both legs and arms, brought them safely away after a four days' march through the hills, carrying the wounded out with him. For this service he has received not so much as even the thanks of the government. (Woodthorpe 1880-81: 207)

The officers had a view of moral responsibility in their independence, even if they felt the government did not do its part. The code extended to their work with the Nagas. The officers did get exasperated and angered in their work, as Woodthorpe was with the death of Holcombe and 80 men; he was equally angry over the death of Butler and burnt the offending village. In the 1920s Mills wrote to Balfour

(then Curator of the Pitt Rivers Museum) of his dilemma in needing and wanting to take action against a village, but wanting to remain consistent in the British attitude toward women. The indiscriminate practice of headhunting, involving taking the heads of women and the suggestion that this was an especially valuable achievement had always horrified the British. Mills wrote that he soon expected 'to visit Yungya again. With any luck I ought to be able to surprise it and loot it properly, to the advantage of the P.R. I should like to fire on it, but there is the risk of hitting women and children if they have no chance of getting them away. The men deserve bullets' (11 July 1923).

The relationship of the British with the Nagas was thus complicated. The feelings of respect and affection were tempered with others, 'Today nothing but shrieking crowds of litigious Semas. And filthy weather...' (Mills to Balfour 11 July 1923). Whilst the need for protection and the dangers of the job were realised, at other times the accompanying troops were seen as hindrance to the more interesting work to be done; 'Hutton and I hope to tour in the Yachungr country in April, and see something of the Changs too. But these infernal escorts make anthropology difficult' (Mills to Balfour 20th January 1923). Touring without escorts would not have been considered, not only because of the experiences of the 1870s but also the death of Noel Williamson who ventured into the Abor country in 1910, with no real escort, and was killed.

The Nagas became involved with the British on their expeditions both within the hills to other Naga tribes and outside, for example in the Abor punitive expedition of 1911 following Williamson's death. Before 1855 Lt Bivar suggested that the Angami Nagas be recruited into the militia outside of the hills. This was proposed as a way of 'quieting

and civilising this rude tribe' and 20 were taken into the Nowgong militia (Stewart 1855: 654-55). When the Nagas were used, it was frequently as porters rather than as fighting men, except in the Second World War.⁵ The lure for such work, apart from any general 'warlike' spirit as noted by Damant and Stewart, was the possibility of acquiring heads or other parts of the body. These were then used in headtaking rituals in the village and incorporated a new generation into headtaker's status. This presumably also had an influence in the conceptualisation of what was required to gain the status of headhunter. Furer-Haimendorf found some debate in Konyak villages when, returning from a punitive expedition with heads from Panso that were already trophies in the 1930s, he offered them to his friends for use in headtaking rituals. Other Nagas were returning from expeditions with just one finger but acquiring headhunter status. In the Second World War Pawsey gave specific instructions that Nagas could only remove a finger, for fear of establishing a bloody reciprocity with the Japanese.

By the outbreak of the Second World War the Nagas had become well known in Britain. This may be partly due to the amount of material exhibited in British museums and the academic literature but they had, in addition, passed into popular writing. Several articles including headhunting in the title, but not necessarily very much in the body of the text, were written by Mills or by a journalist in association with him. They appeared in a variety of popular (and less popular) magazines in the mid 1920s, such as *The Illustrated London News* (1926), *Sphere* (1926), *Methodist Church Magazine* (1926), *The World Today* (1927), *Country Life* (1927) whilst articles by others appeared in *The Times*,

⁵ In the First World War some 2,000 Semas went to France and worked as a Labour Corps. They returned with at least one German helmet, which was decorated in the hills, and subsequently collected and returned to Europe; it is now in the Pitt Rivers Museum.

Blackwoods Magazine, and *Scientific American*. The basis of this information is Hutton's bibliography in Mills' *The Ao Nagas*. Although Hutton, in later editions extended the bibliography, he felt it was certainly incomplete after 1925 since when literature on the area had greatly proliferated. It is likely that many more popular articles were published and have not been found.

That the relationship was not limited to the British who went to the Naga hills but played a more significant role, somehow, in British consciousness is exemplified by an illustration in *The Golden Budget For Boys* published by Blackie & Son Limited in London around the late 1920s. This is a book of ten stirring short stories. Only one is set outside of Britain, and this is in the New Hebrides. There is an illustration at each end of the contents list. The second, occupying almost a full page, is undoubtedly a Naga, probably a Sema. He is carrying a dao in one hand, a spear decorated with hair in the other, wears a cowrie covered waist flap, a baldrick (sash with hair across the chest from the shoulder to the waist), cotton in the ear, and a bear's hair 'hat' with five barred hornbill feathers on his head. The illustration at the other end might conceivably be of a tribesman from the north-west frontier of India, bearded, with a turban and having just fired an old rifle or musket. The two other illustrations show a white hunter, with rifle and a Zulu warrior in the background, and the coloured frontispiece shows two Boy Scouts, one with a rifle, looking down from some rocks on a herd of antelope whilst a bear, very close watches them (this is entitled 'The Trackers Tracked'). Two of the illustrations clearly show significant and troublesome parts of the British empire, (South Africa and the north-west frontier of India), the third perhaps shows the 'spirit which built the empire'. In this sense

the illustrations stand for themselves and indicate that the picture of the Naga would also be recognisable and significant. Yet the British wars against the Nagas had not received as much coverage as that against the Boers or the tribes of the north-west frontier, nor involved so many British people or so much taxation. The disparity in public knowledge and publicity in the 19th century had been felt as a slight to their efforts and courage by some of the officers in the hills.

It was the misfortune of those engaged in the Naga Hills expedition [that is of 1879 against Khonomah] that they were overshadowed and their gallant deeds almost ignored, by the Afghan wars then in progress. Some of the English papers imagined that the operations in the Naga Hills were included in it, and the Government of India, which has only eyes for the North-West Frontier, showed little desire to recognise the hard work and good service rendered on its eastern border, amidst difficulties far greater than those which beset our troops in Afghanistan. (Johnstone 1896: 181)

In contrast there is Ursula Graham Bower's description of her first sight of Nagas, from a car in the late 1930s. She did not know who they were, asked, and when told 'Nagas' - 'There was a sudden surge of recognition. I must have sat there like a fool gaping. Nagas! - of course! - an illumination so plain, so known and obvious, that I was speechless at my own stupidity in not remembering sooner.' (Bower 1952: 3-4). Bower had family connections with the area: her grand-uncle, Sir Hamilton Bower led the Abor punitive expedition of 1911. There are a great many pieces collected on this expedition in British museums⁶, and it is likely that the region received publicity through this. But Bower's feelings that recognition should have been obvious seem to imply a more public knowledge than family history. The key to this, and to the popular publications on the Nagas in the 1920s, is the perennial question of headhunting. This is central to the Anglo-Naga relationship for a number of reasons, and seems to have been partially responsible

⁶ At least eight different collectors, with varying quantities of material now scattered around British museums, are known. It is intended that these will form the subject of a separate paper. See also Chapter Seven.

for giving the Nagas a wider notoriety in Britain through academic and popular writing and British policy in the hills.

Headhunting was publicised in a series of articles with sensational title or content from around 1910 onwards. The notoriety of headhunting was supplemented by the more ghoulish problem of human sacrifice, from the same time onwards. The publicity began in the academic journals but by the 1920s spread to popular magazines and newspapers. This extended the readership to the lower middle classes, and coincided with an increase in museum display and exhibition. It also coincided with moves toward Indian independence, when the question of what would happen to the Nagas must have been of great concern to the administrators in the hills. It is this wider publicity which characterised the second period of Anglo-Naga relations. Reasons for the publicity can only be suggested. First there is the newspaper coverage given to the parliamentary response to reports of human sacrifice in Burma. Between 1925 and 1930 *The Times* of London carried stories concerning the investigation into human sacrifice among the Nagas in Burma and the subsequent expedition to secure its abolition.⁷ Secondly there is the more general notion of links with the new version of the great 19th century debate. For the Nagas in the 19th century the question of how their well being was best promoted seems to have been answered by non-interference as far as possible. The issue of independence for the Nagas brought a problem in how that separation and lack of interference was to be continued? How was the idyll to be maintained? There was also the question of connections being made between the Nagas of Burma and the

⁷ The publicity given to the build up to this expedition and its aftermath, for example in *The Times* 1925-30, coupled with the surge of other writing on the Nagas, is intended to be the subject of a separate paper.

Nagas of Assam, and where the international border, if any, was to be drawn. What would happen to the hill peoples? In the progress toward the end of colonialism, the British officers' culture of separatism would have been concerned for the future of their charges. One need would certainly have been to have the Nagas better known and their issues more fully discussed, hence, perhaps, the popular articles reinforcing newspaper stories and generating further publicity. The income received from publication in popular journals would not seem to offer an alternative explanation in the sense of making money. Whether there was a considered strategy or not, wider promotion of the Naga's existence would seem to be a motive in and was certainly an outcome of the 1920s publicity. Given this it is worth considering British policy and response toward Nagas and headhunting.

The initial concern with headhunting was from a military and pacification point-of-view, since it was inherent in inter-village conflict and in raids on tea gardens on the fringes of the plains. The British were also keen to understand the reason for headhunting, especially since it was seen as so alien to civilised life. Headhunting was sensational for academic in addition to popular audiences, but the general concern with the practice overshadowed any work on other parts of the prosperity complex such as feasts of merit.

Headhunting was implicitly distinguished from human sacrifice in the literature. This appears to be on the basis that headhunting consisted of taking a head whilst on a raid; an idea that it was done during warfare, although the tactics adopted in the raid seemed to the British to be an unfair or debased form of warfare. Human sacrifice, on the other hand, depended on the killing of a captive, perhaps specially

acquired for the purpose, who had done no wrong so that the killing could not be seen as a just execution. These distinctions are inferred from the literature as distinctions made by the British. It is unlikely that the Nagas would have seen them in the same way for both were aspects of the 'prosperity' complex. Slavery was also associated, by the British, with the practice of human sacrifice. This was again poorly, if at all defined, but the association was based on the role of the captive before sacrifice, or on the assumption that slaves might be sacrificed in lieu of a specially obtained captive. It is important to note the existence of slavery (for example for debt) which did not result in death by sacrifice. The problems of definition have probably been worsened by translation and compounded by poor methods of investigation. The evidence for human sacrifice is thin; it is considered below but apart from rumours in the hills reported to the officers, it depends on two reports, one by Needham in 1888 and one by Dewar in 1927, the last being the result of the special expedition to investigate and abolish human sacrifice.

The first article specifically on human sacrifice was published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (Gait 1898). This was a general survey of the practice in Assam, past and present. It included a section on the Nagas, partly derived from A.W.Davis and partly from Needham. Davis' account is essentially hearsay of the time before British annexation, except for an example where a woman and child were killed to avert smallpox in 1891; these last killings were enacted as a conventional headtaking raid. Needham's account derives from his 1888 expedition to explore the country between Assam and the Hukong Valley (variously spelled in the literature) in Burma. It gives further details, and although Needham did not see sacrifice, it reads as a

description of contemporary practice from local sources, but is obviously second or third hand.

Ten years later Hodson published his article on headhunting in the journal *Folklore* (Hodson 1909). This account was descriptive of the practice but somewhat sensationalist. It dealt with unspecified groups of Naga, partly based on hearsay, and discussed other practices to do with the erection of stones and death amongst the Tangkhul Nagas, Kuki and Lushai. Hodson was trying ineffectually to find links to explain headhunting. The sensational mode was followed by Grant Brown two years later in an article for the *Journal of the Burma Research Society* (Grant Brown 1911A). This again was essentially hearsay, based on the story of a Shan who had lived in a Naga area as a boy and seen human sacrifice. Brown also repeated Needham's report, as Gait had done.

These publications provided the background to the action taken in the 1920s to stop 'slavery and human sacrifices which are common in the strip of unadministered territory bordering on and in the Hukawang Valley' in Burma (*The Times* 4th March 1925). The Nagas' reasons for not giving up the practice included that 'sickness would befall them, and they would die; and besides their crops would fail' (ibid). Before an expedition was deemed necessary, an official visit was made to tell the Nagas to cease the practice. Reports of this visit alone brought responses in Britain. *The Times* commented that to read about the visit was

to feel a thrill of excitement and of interest in this remote region between Burma and Assam - a region not unknown of course, to some among the British rulers of Burma, but one which very few white men have seen, and where a strange sort of life goes on, much as if the white man's burden had never been shouldered and Christian ideas of freedom and justice had not become current over the greater part of the globe (4th March 1925)

Later that year a missionary, Rev A.T.Houghton, located in Upper Burma, wrote

we long to be in advance of Government compulsion with the compelling power of the love of Christ we believe the saving power of the grace of God in Christ Jesus will be more effectual than a whole army of troops to compel the abolition of slavery and human sacrifice. (*The Times* 4th May 1925)

The results of the 1926-27 expedition led by T.P. Dewar to the Burmese Nagas were published in Burma in a government report (Dewar 1927). This contained a descriptive account of the Burmese Nagas, written on anthropological lines. A report on the human relics brought back, mostly skulls with a few other bones, was published in Calcutta (Guha and Basu 1931). Dewar died before the Burmese section of the 1931 Census of India was published in 1933 (Bennison 1933). In this census report, his 1927 report on the Nagas was reprinted as Appendix E, but the entire section on human sacrifice was omitted and no reference to the practice was included. This is surprising given the publicity accorded the expedition in the 1920s. However, it may be that the British government did not want the Nagas publicised again or that the evidence found by the expedition was not sufficient to warrant such extravagant claims of human sacrifice. Dewar reported that human sacrifice was a last resort, among but few Naga groups, 'to cure some lingering malady, epidemic amongst men and cattle, successive years of poor harvests' (Dewar 1927: 10). It was clearly part of the prosperity complex in that 'a human procured and sacrificed, the result being that the crops were a success, the health of the people and cattle improved, and the Nagas attained wealth' (ibid). Dewar's phraseology is interesting; 'When such misfortunes occur, a diviner is consulted and he declares that the sacrifice of a human is essential he makes a general statement that a human has to be killed'. As an officer in the

Burma Frontier Service, Dewar was more familiar with other tribes, such as the Kachin. He explained Nagas using terms with which he was familiar from other tribes, but which may not have been appropriate or accurate. For example, he explained religion in terms of *nat* ceremonies to appease spirits, but which appear similar to the *genna* ceremonies and feasts of merit of the western Nagas. He described human sacrifice in terms of spirit appeasement and *nats*, when it would seem to have little difference to headhunting; in order to regain prosperity, the death of a human was required. The distinguishing feature of human sacrifice was the purchase of victims from Nagas to the west, who were usually 'prisoners of war, captives taken in raids, persons seized and sold for bad debts, etc., in one case a woman was sold by her husband because she was an inveterate thief' (ibid: 11). The victim's head was cut off in a ceremony resembling a feast of merit and including the sacrifice of animals. Dewar's evidence for the practice seems to have depended on informants describing what happened in the past, what would happen should a sacrifice now be held, or what happened in another Naga group. The key distinction between headhunting and human sacrifice would seem to be that in the latter it was a captive who was killed.

Hutton's seminal paper on Naga headhunting for the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* was published in 1928, thus coinciding with the peak of interest and publicity on the subject. He did not make use of Dewar's paper and so was presumably unaware of it or unable to obtain a copy. Hutton referred briefly to the question of human sacrifice in Assam and suggested that it had links to headhunting. It would seem that since the Burmese Nagas were so little known, it was to the administrators of the western Nagas that the academics, policymakers and public had to look for explanation.

For the British military-administrative culture in the Naga Hills, with men who had been separated and ignored for so long, it is ironic that public recognition finally came not in Assam but in Burma. In many respects the 1920s were the peak of empire in terms of public ideology, as epitomised by *The Times'* leader quoted above. The Nagas and their practices must have represented all that the British attempted to conquer and change, and were at this time supremely confident that change could be achieved. The imagery of an isolated, difficult terrain which could be tamed, full of dangerous, barbaric, heathen natives, who could be Christianised, must have been very powerful. Alongside this the Nagas and their hills in general had qualities which appealed to the British; there was still a sense of mystery in the unexplored and little contacted areas where headhunting and possibly human sacrifice were still practiced; the picturesque qualities of Naga costume had been noted early in the colonial period, and the camera now enabled these to be more widely known (many published articles were short, but copiously illustrated); that same quality would have encouraged the display of museum collections and the comparatively easy identity of Naga pieces. Outside of the popular imagery, the Nagas played a prominent role in the disciplines of anthropology, ethnology and ethnography, simply because articles on them recurred in the academic journals, and the museums closely associated with British universities teaching anthropology all had large collections, at Oxford, Cambridge and the British Museum.

The core characteristics of the popular imagery, the use in anthropology and the large museum collections essentially derived from those who worked in the hills. These were mostly or almost entirely men, with the particular exception of Ursula Graham Bower at the end of the colonial period. In fact, there were many women who did work in the

hills, as missionaries and with their administrator husbands. Some of these women wrote up their experiences, such as Mrs Clark and Mrs Cawley, but the officer's culture seems to have reflected their version of the Naga culture here, in seeing it as essentially male and the women's position dependent on that of their husband or father. The status of women according to other lights was not investigated in the colonial period, and the possibilities for example, of a hierarchy relating to weaving techniques and ability, have not been considered.

It was this male culture which dominated Anglo-Naga relations on the ground, and through the publicity and symbolism of the 1920s the Nagas seem to have become publicly identified as one people. In 1938, after her first visit, Ursula Graham Bower gave a lecture on the Kabui and Tangkhul Nagas to the Royal Central Asian Society in London. At the end she was asked 'do any traces of human sacrifice remain among the customs of the tribes in that region?' (Bower 1939: 18-19) In reply, she discussed headhunting, again from a perspective that it was in essence, bound up with or the same as the question of human sacrifice.

Headhunting is also central to the basis of the Anglo-Naga relationship. It was because of headhunting that the British became so involved in the hills; their initial involvement drew them further in because their presence altered part of the prosperity complex which was so important to Naga life. The complex was altered through the prohibition of headhunting, which required protecting administered Naga groups. The British military and civilian officers responsible for this protection developed a specific culture of their own to enable them to understand and administer the Nagas. This culture was justified by and part of the development of 19th century anthropological theory. Two

strands were developed: writing about Nagas and collecting objects from them. The peak of this relationship was the 1920s when more articles and books were written about the Nagas than at any other time, more objects were collected and deposited in museums. This peak coincided with the ending of ethnological ideas as the mainstream of anthropology, the resurgence of concern about headhunting and a subsequent wave of public interest in the Nagas.

These threads are more deeply connected. The British collecting of Naga material culture, especially in the early years, largely involved objects concerned with war and the ornamentation and costume that marked headtaker status. Subsequent collection of textiles involved the status concerned with wealth. The enormous quantity of material which was brought out (probably at least 5,000 pieces by 1930), largely over a 60 year period, came from a small population, estimates of which vary. In 1914 Hutton suggested there were only 200,000 Nagas. Whilst not all Nagas were under administration, British protection of certain Naga areas altered power structures, village relationships and trade routes. The central importance of much material culture was its identification of prosperity, that is success in headtaking, wealth and sex. This material was also valuable and traded amongst Nagas, so it is likely that British collecting had some economic effect. In order to understand the significance of British museum collections, it is necessary to examine the extent of Naga material culture, its meanings, uses and methods of circulation among the Nagas. This is done in the next chapter which also explores British influence on trade and exchange relationships. Following on from this Chapter Seven examines the process of British collecting and forms of exchange.

MATERIAL CULTURE AND TRADE

Material Culture

The historical Naga material culture, of the British colonial period and before, belongs to an era without national identity and when the balance between tribal, village and clan identity was different and the boundaries of the Nagas were not so fixed. The period of British control of the hills, which was so important for arriving at the current economic and political state of affairs, has left records of Naga life and Anglo-Naga relations in two forms; published books and articles and the Naga material culture preserved in collections in India, Europe and especially Britain.

The material culture from which the collectors had to choose was limited in extent but rich in decorative quality and variation of type. Many ceremonial and costume pieces are distinctive in the attachment of hair dyed red, coupled with red-dyed basketry, white cowry shells and Job's Tears seeds, yellow orchid stem, iridescent beetle wings, and black hair. These, together with finely woven cloths make the material visually spectacular and interesting, qualities which must have increased their attractiveness for collectors. In addition the pieces would have fitted many stereotypes of 'tribal' life, for the use of local natural materials and hair served as reminders of the dangers

inherent in the hills where the practice of headhunting continued in some parts beyond the colonial period.

The material culture of the Nagas could be categorised in several ways, but here it is useful to consider a distinction between fixed and portable. The fixed primarily includes houses and house decoration, morungs and morung decoration, standing stones and forked posts, the massive village gates and other defences, and the enormous log drums or slit gongs used by some groups. These structures, monuments and pieces were not intended for movement after their erection, although they had great significance for the Nagas. House decoration, monoliths and forked posts were all linked with the status of the individual, mostly through success and progress in giving the feasts of merit. Each feast in the series was larger than the last, and while the length and components of the series varied from group to group, so that in some, few, if any individuals attained the whole; any progress, particularly past a certain point, brought renown. Various points entitled the erection of, for example, a large forked post, house decoration in the form of massive wooden horns or a different roofing material; the detail of entitlement varied from group to group. Monoliths were erected also to commemorate particularly successful individuals (males), marking especially their sexual prowess in the number of successful seductions or the number of breasts caressed.

The nature of the morungs varied by group, all being particularly associated with warriors and the taking and receiving of heads. They contained often large carvings on the structural wooden posts and on friezes, in relief or almost complete three dimensional. These represented important animals such as the hornbill, tiger and leopard;

humans; heads and sexual intercourse; and they also illustrated myths. Although potentially portable, and of interest to collectors, these carvings were of significance to the Nagas, who had not intended them for trade or transport and few appear to have been removed from the hills and taken to Europe. Some copies of particular carvings, on a smaller scale, were commissioned and manufactured and have been brought to Britain. The main resource for morung carvings remains the photographic record, especially that made by Mills and Fürer-Haimendorf. Associated with the morung among some groups were the huge log drums or slit gongs, made of a tree trunk, again not intended for trade or transport, being especially important to the village and its prosperity.

The gates of the village in many groups, most notably the Angami, were of thick and heavy wood and decorated with carving. These also were of special significance to the village and hemmed with prohibitions and ceremonies when being constructed and hung; they would generally last some time. W.G. Archer took a particular interest in the art and anthropology of the gates which had hitherto been neglected by observers; Archer worked in the hills (1946-48) when several new gates were required after destruction in the Japanese invasion and subsequent war. He left manuscript notes on the design and carving as well as the ceremonies he saw when new gates were hung.

In contrast to these major forms of fixed material culture, the portable artefacts offer a greater variety of domestic objects. The bulk of the portable is comparable in theme, with links to headhunting and feasts of merit.¹ Thus, the shield, spear and dao were made in

¹ The links of costume (cloths and personal ornament) to status, through the prosperity complex are discussed in West 1984.

decorated forms, which were also usable, and were associated with warfare. There was a range of ornamentation for the head, chest, arms, legs and loins proclaiming success in headtaking and war. Some cloths were linked to headhunting, but the main diversity in textiles was associated with the series woven to mark achievement in feasts of merit. The insignia of ornament and cloth design varied from group to group. The bulk of this ornamentation linked to status was for men; the status of women was determined by that of their husband or father and gave rights to certain cloth designs among some groups. Other forms of status among women may have existed but not been considered or investigated.

Apart from ornaments and textiles specifically linked to status, numerous forms of decoration, especially for the neck and ear existed for both men and women. Necklaces of many strings of small beads were worn particularly by women. The number and type of ornaments such as bead necklaces, which were not directly linked to status, would also have indicated wealth and, therefore, to a certain extent the standing of that individual or household in the community. Some ornamentation was for everyday use, as were some cloths and bamboo hats and raincovers. An important distinction would seem to be that achieved ornament tended to consist of or be made from difficult-to-acquire materials which needed to be shown and not hidden

Additional personal material culture consisted of tobacco smoking materials such as pipes; otherwise the remainder might be considered domestic. This comprised tools and equipment for agriculture and hunting, such as hoes, rakes and traps, and for the preparation of grain and rice beer. Storage containers for food and materials were of basketry, and eating and drinking materials of wood and bamboo. Little

pottery was made. Tools were made for shell and other bead-making, for carving and for the processes of weaving. A small variety of musical instruments were made and used and a few different types of currency existed. Apart from the keeping and decorating of trophy heads or skulls, and some bones, this comprises the extent of the portable material culture.

The distinction between fixed and portable material culture is important not only in examining European acquisition but also in its circulation among the Nagas. Fixed material culture, because of its size, weight or position in house structure had to be made in the locality by the village. It consisted of usually substantial pieces of wood or stone. Smaller pieces were usually built into the house, such as stone roof tiles or carvings made on house posts.

The portable material culture is quite different. It included materials not found in the hills such as sea shells and material not found in every locality such as iron. Some of the objects produced required specialised skills, for example weaving, fabric painting, iron smelting and working, pottery making, which were not found in every village. Specialised work extended to the manufacture of articles such as the conical basketry hats which were produced in one area only. In order to understand the value and meaning of material culture of the Nagas it is necessary to look at the circulation of objects in the hills apart from recording the use of objects to denote status and practical uses for agriculture and domestic production. Objects were circulated through trade. Most traded pieces were finished products for ceremonial use, raw materials for status-denoting objects or specialised materials such as iron.

Any attempt to describe Naga trade in the colonial period produces a number of complications, not least the problem of defining 'trade'. The process of exchange of goods may be viewed at a number of levels, for example between individuals, households, villages, groups, the Naga tribes, and they may all be inter-related. This in itself is complicated by definitions in current vogue at various points after 1830 when the literature which must be used was produced, and further confusions are created by writers, especially Hutton and Mills, using data collected in one period as material evidence for life as it was before the arrival of the British. British intrusion had a considerable effect on trade in the administered area and far outside the area of jurisdiction.

Trade in the Literature

Trade is given scant attention in the major monographs on the Naga peoples, and the generally prevailing perspective is that there was none or only very little trade in the past; an implied suggestion that the Nagas lived in a static, primitive self-contained state. This is illustrated by comparatively recent writing. B.B.Ghosh states that before 1948 'the people were not developed, and so their trade and commerce also did not develop. Moreover, the district is mountainous. For these two reasons they did not have, in olden time [sic], any road communication' (1981: 109). He later noted that the people could not be described as self sufficient because in his view there was not a sufficiency of food or goods, but they were, rather, self-contained, living off their own produce except salt obtained by bartering produce such as rice, cotton, fowls, pigs, at a high price. This is a repeat of his earlier view on another Naga region: 'The

district being mountainous and the people having not developed trade and commerce in earlier times, there was practically no road communication before the advent of the British' (1979A: 97). Also that they required only to purchase salt and so there was practically no currency but 'after their coming in contact with the modern civilisation under British rule towards the end of the nineteenth century, they gradually felt the need of money to purchase different things, particularly salt and iron pieces to make the dao and spear' (1979A: 83). Bareh, in 1970, provided a different view;

Prior to the British advent, barter played a dominant role in the local economy. The system was primitive and prevailed among the neighbouring tribes. Its anomaly was that necessity and not value determined the price of a thing. Merchandise comprising woven goods, yarns, live-stock, food-grains, agricultural implements, household furniture, wares were interchanged in a community. There were no market centres. The trade was conducted by pedlars and vendors. The tribes practised also a primitive system of currency. (1970: 123).

Neither of these views are correct and represent generalisations that under-emphasise what trade existed and ignore its complexity. They do, however, demonstrate the viewpoint that trade involves and implies 'civilisation', money or currency, established values, manufactured goods, market centres and road communication. In fact the Nagas fulfilled some of the conditions of trade implied in such a viewpoint and others besides, in a form unrecognised by some writers. This chapter outlines the background to trade, with an examination of what was traded and some of the factors influencing Naga trade such as the relative power of different tribes, groups and villages, as well as British influence on trade. There are difficulties in searching for information not only because of dependence on British sources at a time of exploration, expansion and the novelty of contact with new peoples, but also because of British or western perception of trade. This last is

akin to that outlined above by Ghosh and Bareh, and in addition it is worth indicating the general British perception of what trade was and its place in the elements that make a great power; one historian suggests that 'Britain not only placed agriculture behind industry in importance, in the last analysis she placed industry behind trade' (Beales 1971: 172). This statement hints at what observers and workers in the hills expected to find as evidence of trade, and the little importance attached to the comparatively small scale activities of the Nagas trading raw materials, and objects made from them, that were apparently easily obtained from the environment.

A 19th century anthropological view of trade is supplied by Tylor (1930, originally 1881), but this will not have been of much assistance to those who based their remarks on relatively superficial observation and thought. For Tylor trade derived from the production of a surplus, the 'main principle of modern commerce'; both trade and manufacture created wealth, for the production of a surplus led to trade that created personal and public wealth.

There is no agent of civilisation more beneficial than the free trader, who gives the inhabitants of every region the advantages of all other regions, and whose business is to work out the law that what serves the general profit of mankind serves also the private of the individual man. (Tylor 1930: II: 44)

The wealth that existed among the Nagas, which they might ascribe to 'life-force' or 'prosperity/ fertility', might also partly be ascribed to successful trade, but that wealth was not (or barely) acknowledged by most observers. Similarly, trade was observed but its local importance, place and signification was obscured as the observers strove to understand another society using the categories of their own, at the same time as they attempted to control the people of that society. The process of gradual learning about the area and its people, in particular

the frequent revision of names of villages and categorisation of the peoples, mean that it is often uncertain as to which group of Nagas a writer is referring. This brings difficulties when examining trade in determining how it was carried on, for example between villages, or groups or individuals. Although Hutton and Mills brought consistency in their work they but briefly noted trade and provided no analysis. In the major works there is some implicit recognition of the part trade played in relationships throughout the hills but there is a greater emphasis on manufactures, and the actual disposal or exchange of goods is barely mentioned. A major problem arises from Hutton and Mills tribal categories. This classification led them to consider relationships (and thus trade where mentioned) between tribes rather than between villages. Tribes were not an economic unit.

An examination of trade among the Nagas in the colonial period reflects a number of linked characteristics of that period and leads to larger problems demonstrated by seeking information about the material culture of the Nagas. Looking at trade reflects the historical development of the literature; terminological and categorisation problems of Naga tribes, groups and villages; the apparently detailed but actually superficial descriptions of material culture in the literature; the development of themes, links to social structure and other significances of material culture that emerge when questions are asked concerning its identification, purpose and use; the problem of where the boundaries of the Nagas as a people lie and the relationship of material culture to those boundaries. These themes cannot all be examined in detail in this chapter but an outline of the extent and importance of trade in the Naga hills in the colonial period will involve them at varying levels.

Trade

The third expedition to the Naga area in the initial period of British contact was led by Lt Grange in 1839 and aimed at seeking a convenient route across the hills from Manipur to Assam. In Grange's report there is an early reference to the importance of Oodarbund on the Matura River (in the Zeliang ² area) as a market for the Cachar Nagas who took down cotton to barter for salt, dried fish, conch shells, beads (and 'etc'). Here not only food but 'costume-status' items linked into the prosperity-wealth complex among the Nagas were being traded. A few days later Grange reached Semkur - where he was told that the inhabitants were about to leave because of their daily fear of being cut up by the Angamis unless they bribed them with salt, dried fish (and 'etc'). He also noted that the Semkur people were 'not great cultivators, but live chiefly by the produce of their salt springs and by traffic with the peaceful Nagas around them. They [the Semkur people] bring dried fish, beads, conch shells and brass ornaments from Oodarbund Haut and barter them for cotton, wax, ivory, chillies etc' (Grange 1839A: 452). The Semkur people were Cacharis, that is plains people, although Grange calls them 'Demi-Nagas' because of the men's intermarriage with Naga women. This leads him to disparagingly refer to the Semkurs as having 'lost their good qualities and [resembling] more the meaner and more cowardly Nagas of the lower hills of Cachar' (ibid: 452). It should be noted that Grange also refers to a trade in slaves, as do other writers, but the information is always third hand.

Later Grange moved north to Angami Naga country and found trade of a

² Zeliang is here used, as in its modern sense, to mean Zemi and Liangmei groups, previously known as the Kacha tribe,

different sort. Here cotton would not grow and was obtained from the Zeliang Nagas. The Angami were regarded as great wanderers, making incursions into Manipur and obtaining iron implements from the Nagas there. One role of the Angamis starts to be clearly indicated from Grange's report. They moved over a large area, presumably with little fear, and some at least of their 'trade' was conducted from a position of considerable power.

Grange's second expedition into the Naga hills took place almost a year later, from December 1839 to February 1840. Grange entered the hills from the north, crossing south-eastwards from Nowgong, near the Brahmaputra River, again toward the Angami and passing close to the Lhota and Rengma groups. In this expedition Grange came into contact with the westerly Rengmas, that is those of the Mikir Hills, and perceived the substantial feud between the Lhota and Rengma, as well as the lively trading activities of the Lhota themselves. They traded regularly with the plains Assamese and, it seems, the Rengma of the Mikir Hills. The Lhota obtained brass ornaments through Rengma villages and spears and daos from the plainsmen. Grange regarded the Rengma as a group subdued by pressure from other Nagas, especially the Lhota and Angami, and taking refuge in the Mikir Hills and in Mikir villages. The Rengma there grew cotton and traded this for salt.

Grange's few references to trade in his two published reports indicate some of the major themes of Naga trade in the colonial period. Trade was in the hands of the Nagas themselves. Assamese and Manipuris, the plains people, rarely entered the hills but came to recognised market villages or places in the lowlands, often beside rivers, and the Nagas came down to trade there. Before the arrival of the British this

practice probably owed much to the plains peoples' fear of the Nagas. But also the hills were relatively inaccessible; paths were narrow and cut through dense forest or jungle. Naga villages' relationship with each other generally varied from hesitant wariness to aggression and open conflict: in some the reciprocity was determined by power and, with that, patronage. Paths leading to villages often had traps or defences laid along them, such as *panjis*, long or short spikes of bamboo set in the ground as an effective deterrent. It is likely that external trading parties, if not attacked, would have been manipulated, as were the British: clever messages, alliances and blinds led to the British burning at least one village having been set up to do so by another.

Such trade routes as existed among the Nagas were much valued and guarded to prevent by-passing for extra profit by a village further along the line. Hutton recorded:

an attempt on the part of one village to trade directly with another at some distance has often caused war with an intervening village through which the trade used to pass (much to the profit of that intervening village) and which retaliates for its loss by making war on the interlopers, cutting up their trading parties, destroying the intercommunication between the offending villages, and compelling their trade to return to its old channel. Trade routes east of the administered area are still jealously protected in this way, and each village on a route makes its little profit on all articles passing backwards and forwards - daos, salt, pigs, cloths, pots, and the like. (Hutton 1921B: 167).

Although Hutton was here referring initially to the Sema, examples exist from other groups.

Where linear control was broken, or did not exist, an alternative model was that of the more powerful Naga villages or groups dominating the surrounding area, often for a considerable distance. A prime example, particularly in the latter half of the 19th century, was the

exceptionally powerful Angami village of Khonoma. It seems that members of such a village could move freely and in relative safety throughout the area. Thus, Grange identified the Lhota as traders controlling routes (preventing the Rengma from intruding), and the Angami as controlling a wide area. The Angami were trading within that area but also taking tribute from some of the weaker villages, tribute derived from trade.

Even after the British arrived, administered, protected and controlled, much of the hills' trade remained substantially in the hands of the Nagas. There seem to be two main reasons for this. Firstly that the area was not seen by the British government as a commercial proposition. A few early writers made optimistic suggestions or hints about resources, either mineral or through soil fertility, or in the existing but 'indolent' human potential, but these hints were not taken up. The reluctant extension of British rule to protect against unadministered Nagas was reflected in that taxation was not easy and produced little so that administration needed to be as cheap and simple as possible. This last is linked to the second reason for the lack of outside trade. As noted before, the British operated strict control over entry into the hills throughout their regime, a control which included a system of passes for Nagas to go down to the plains to trade. Few outsiders were allowed into the hills so exterior trade was effectively dependent on movement of the Nagas. The effect of British policy and action on trade is discussed further below.

Another theme implied by Grange which is important is a division of Naga trade into what might be called fringe (exterior) trade and interior trade. The fringe trade consists of the outermost groups in

regular communication with the plains and to some extent acting as middle-men between the plains and the central or interior groups. In 1892 it was reported that the Sema had never had any contact with the plains and were beyond the limits of 'the most enterprising [plains] traders ... owing to their treacherous and bloodthirsty habits' (Davis 1892: 247). Nagas acting on the fringes might be more, or less powerful in the relationship with their interior neighbours. The second element of trade is that conducted among the Nagas themselves, within the groups having no contact with the plains.

The differentiation of interior and exterior Nagas, effectively between those with and those without contact with the plains, was recognised by the Bor Naga and Abor Naga, or Boree and Aboree, distinction. Boree were 'tame' Nagas, that is they were those who came down to trade (and Aboree were 'untamed'). Lt Brodie in 1845 thought of them as dependent and independent. Brodie also noted that in the north, which would be among the Konyak peoples, the Boree tribe dominated their Aboree neighbours, whereas this was not so in the west. The Angami in the west, for example, would constitute an Abor group dominating their Boree, Zeliang, neighbours. (See Brodie 1845: 839 and Wilcox et al 1873: 286 and 303.)

It is worth examining what other literature there is concerning the trade of the outermost groups in the period up to 1850 before the non-interference policy. This provides a basis for consideration of Naga trade and changes in trading patterns 50 or more years later. Information on the central and eastern groups largely comes from a later period.

The groups in contact up to 1850 were the Zeliangroung (a modern term including the Rongmei, Zemi, Lianmei, Kacha, Kachacha, Kabui, Zeliang of the 19th century); the Angami; the Lhota; Mikir Hills Rengma; Ao (then known under several divisions such as Hatigoria); and the Konyak. Trading in this period between the plains and the Nagas mainly concerned food, livestock, metal and cotton or cloth, but with variations all around the Naga perimeter. The variations depended on the relative power of fringe Nagas and their interior neighbours. In this period the British were most concerned about the Angami as a powerful, expansionist group close to tea gardens and the protected plains.

In 1827 Lt Pemberton (Pemberton 1828) noted the Zemi Nagas around the Barak River trading both westwards to the Cachar Plains, and eastwards, going to Imphal, capital of Manipur. In both directions they took cotton and (Grange states in 1839) wax, ivory, chillies. They brought back fowls, salt, dried fish, tobacco, cloth and (again noted in 1839) conch shells, beads and brass. In this area the Zemi, or some of them, were subject to the Angami and may not have been able to make any profit or surplus on Zemi-Angami trade.

It is possible to make some speculation as to the use of the goods exchanged. The brass ornaments probably stayed amongst the Zemi for neither the literature (even up to 1922) nor museum collections show brass ornaments among the Angami although they are common among Zeliangroung (and Nagas to the northeast).

The conch shell is especially interesting and will be discussed further below. Grange noted that 'the Nagas are particularly fond of the conch shells, which they cut up for neck ornaments, and which are valued

at one rupee per shell' (1839: 449). These were status ornaments, primarily for headhunting, and there could have been considerable demand for such expensive shells among the powerful and aggressive Angami villages. Much of the village's and individual's power and prosperity would derive in a physical and spiritual sense from their prowess at headhunting. One particular type of conch shell ornament appears to have been used only by the Tengima group of Angami, which included the Khonoma subgroup that was so powerful in the 1840s dominating the Zemi and threatening the British.

In 1841 Robinson wrote of the Angamis that they did not appear to have any immediate communication with the plains to the southwest of them, but that 'a small trade was, however, maintained with them by means of the Kacharis and some of the Nagas of the lowest hills' (Robinson 1841: 388). He also noted that 'though the Angamis are a very powerful confederation, they appear to have had no communication with the markets in Asam [sic], from which they were probably intercepted by the Latoo Nagas, with whom they have been at constant war' (ibid). Here Robinson is referring to Angami communication with the northwest plains. The Angami do seem to have been blocked in this direction by the Lhota, but the Rengma were in between the two and being squeezed by both.

Naga trade in this northwesterly direction seems to have focussed on the region of the junction of the Dhunsiri and Doyang Rivers, and along the Dhunsiri and some tributaries. The area was first explored by Lt Bigge in 1841 and visited several times by the British in the 1840s. Bigge's first meeting with the Lhota, the first of any European, took place at Golaghaut (now Golohat), a market centre on the Dhunsiri. Here arrived 'a fleet of boats laden with cotton from the Lotah Nagah Hills

on the Doyang River ... about 70 of the Naga came down ... and were engaged the whole day in bartering their cotton for salt, dried fish, dogs, fowls and ducks, with a few brass rings' (Bigge 1841: 130). The trade interested Bigge who found that although there were several merchants from far off at Golaghaut, their stock was almost entirely salt. The animals on the other hand constituted local produce in addition to the iron which was found and worked locally at Golaghaut, and the Naga obtained their daos from there. Lt Brodie on a visit in 1845 noted raw (unspun) cotton taken down to there by Nagas for trade.

Here are two of the elements to trade on the Assamese side: local plains people and outside merchants. There were also two parts of the Lhota trade. Bigge wanted to know where they got the red dye for the hair on their spears and was told that it was brought to them from the *Abor Nagas* some distance to the south 'of whom they seemed to stand in much dread, and from whom they said they received a large portion of the cotton' (ibid: 130). Bigge found the nearby Mikir Hills Rengma also in fear of these 'Abors'. In the time of J.P. Mills, early in the 20th century, the Lhota bought their spear shafts ready decorated from the Rengma. It may be these latter who are referred to as Abor although the local reaction of fear suggests rather the Sema or Angami Nagas, and Bigge at the time believed that these Abor Nagas 'will be found to mean the Angamees' (ibid). This possible change in trade pattern from Angami to Rengma would be an example of the British influence; British protection strengthening some weaker groups and rearranging trade routes and relationships by altering the power structure and creating a new boundary in the hills.

The area further to the north was explored briefly in the 1840s by Lt Brodie who referred to six passes from the hills to the plains which different groups of Nagas used to visit markets. The Nagas brought down cotton, cloths, ginger, pepper and betelnut, ^a and returned with salt, rice, daos, cattle, poultry and dried fish. Brodie also visited the area further to the north-east, Konyak country. While the acquisition of salt from the plains was a prime motive for the westernmost Nagas, the Konyaks were able to take salt down and sell it in the plains. Robinson commented in 1841 that the Konyaks owned brine springs of much value and the Assamese levied a tax on what these Nagas sold in the plains. He also thought that the Naga manufacturing method was wasteful and hoped that European speculators would move in.

An alternative contemporary view to Robinson was provided by the missionary Bronson (1839) who was much impressed by Naga salt making: 'their ingenuity has made them quite independent of the expensive furniture required at our own salt-works. One man to attend the arch [part of the construction for boiling], one to bring the brine, and four to gather wood are all that is necessary to complete the establishment' (Bronson 1839: 282). On his way into the Naga hills in January 1839 he came across traders before reaching these salt springs.

The road ... is crowded with salt traders, going to or coming from the Noga [sic] *bathe* [salt market], for the purpose of bartering various articles for the salt made at the Noga [sic] Hills by which means I shall have a large company of poor ignorant heathen with me all the way. (Bronson 1839: 281)

He arrived at the salt market the following day where he found 'a large collection of traders' (ibid: 282). The market was in a valley and was the point where Bronson passed from the company of the Assamese traders

^a The Nagas do not seem to have practised betel chewing themselves.

to the Naga traders and proceeded further into the interior.

Before looking at the later period it is worth noting the continued expansion of Angami power in this period. While Robinson in 1841 viewed the Angamis as being without outside contact, in 1848 'a thousand Angami Naga visited the station of Nowgong to trade with the merchants in salt and cornelian' (Moffatt Mills 1854, quoted in Elwin 1969). This story must have been well known and perhaps considered remarkable, for it was quoted in the same form a year later, by Butler:

During the year 1848, a thousand Angahmee Nagahs [sic] visited the station of Now-Gong, to trade with the merchants in salt and cornelian beads, which they greatly prize, and utmost good-will was manifested towards the authorities and the people of the plains. (Butler 1855: 173)

Nowgong was a major base for British expeditions in the 1830s and 1840s but no such trade was observed before. Furthermore, Moffatt Mills in 1854 remarked that 'a vast change has come over the Angamee Nagas within the last eight years that I have been in this district'. Whereas before they 'did not know the use or value of money, now many are become expert traders, and know the value of money thoroughly, and are bent on trade', visiting 'Gowalpara' and wanting to go to Calcutta to get cornelian beads and muskets.

In 1855 Lt Stewart reinforced this view of the Angami:

The Angamies have not only displayed great enterprise in war, but they are also remarkable among the tribes for their love of commerce. Many of them find their way down to the marts in Cachar and Assam, some proceed as far as Gowhatti, Sylhet and Dacca, and some have even gone as far as Calcutta in pursuit of trade. They bring down from their hills, ivory, wax, and cloths manufactured from the nettle fibre, and take up in exchange salt, brass wire, shells, gunpowder, &c. &c. (Stewart 1855: 651)

Although the British defeated the Angami in 1850, Angami power did not disappear. In practice the 1850 defeat was of only one of the most

powerful Angami villages, Khonoma. The subsequent British withdrawal from the hills for 16 years probably aided the rebuilding of Khonoma and Angami power generally. Some British officers felt that the best way forward to cope with the Angamis was to encourage trade thereby offering a profitable diversion from headhunting and other aggressive and unsettling incursions. Whether deliberately supported or not, such development of Angami trade in the 19th century appears to have happened. It may have been detrimental to keeping the peace. Stewart, quoted above, recorded their trading for shells and gunpowder. He noted: 'They [the Angamis] fully appreciate the superiority of fire-arms over other weapons, and have succeeded in providing themselves with a considerable number of muskets, which they use with effect' (1855: 651). The importance of obtaining shells was further emphasised by Peal from his travels in 1879. He noted flint guns among one group and later 'old flint muskets of English make, were not uncommon, the powder being made on the spot by the Nagas, nitre collected from the sites of old cow-houses; where the sulphur came from I could not ascertain' (Peal 1881A: 16-17). Peal's revolver was admired at several points on his journey. When he demonstrated it by firing into an old tree stump, the Nagas were quick to cut out the bullets. Peal noted a young Naga setting a high value on some bullets which Peal exchanged for a sample of Naga gunpowder.

Peal was travelling far outside the administered area, and even in 1879 was close to Burma. British movement back into the hills from 1867 onwards had entailed the gradual takeover of more territory and more Naga groups. By the late 1920s only the Yimchungr, Phom, Chang, Sangtam and Khiemungan (the latter then known to the west as the Kalyo-Kengyu) groups lay fully outside the administered boundary on the Indian side,

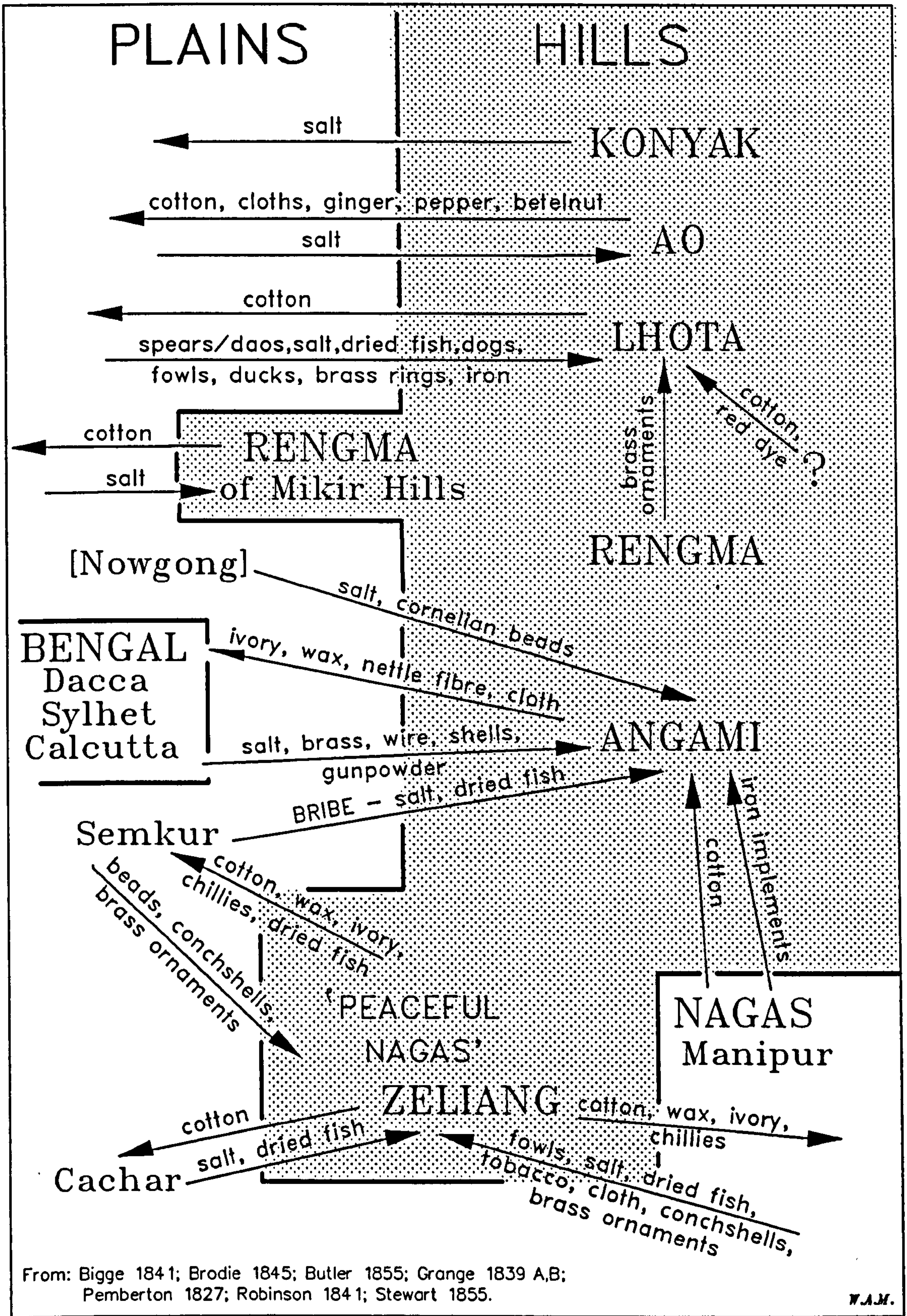


Figure 1. Naga Trade before 1850
 Diagram to illustrate the pattern of some Naga trade c. 1827 - 50

much to the frustration of some officers. Trade was conducted across this boundary, especially from the Kalyo-Kengyu.

The effect of British administration on trade was several, but documentation is not complete and must be extracted from the mass of information about Naga customs - for example religion, war and domestic life, which are the type of headings used in the major monographs. The issue of currency and the transition from a barter to a money economy was of some concern but it is the allusions in passages such as those dealing with costumes and feasts of merit which indicate a complex system of trade throughout the hills.

For the Nagas success in by-passing a village meant that the successful village was prosperous. This is a circular notion; success in war required some force or power, brought heads that increased the fertility or prosperity of the victors, and in addition trade wealth would be increased. The personal wealth of individuals was marked by feasts of merit, which were a series of status feasts each time requiring increased distribution of food and drink, offering ornaments and a greater place in the next world, and demonstrating prosperity. In order to maintain a position and to progress in feasts of merit, increased trading power would be advantageous, and increased trading power came from prosperity by relying on ability in headhunting. Thus continual extension of by-passing other villages would give one village considerable power and control of trade over a wide area, reinforced ideally and materially by tribute. Specialisation in the manufacture and/or trade of particular items seems to be a further feature of trade with some groups.

These points were reinforced by Furer-Haimendorf for the Konyak. After he had brought back already-taken heads from a punitive expedition and given them to the Konyak, the heads were accepted as though local warriors had captured them and headtaking ceremonies held. This involved young men gaining headtaker status and needing ornaments.

Many of the ornaments to which the young Wakching men were now entitled had to be made or brought from other villages. An important part of a head-hunter's outfit is, for instance, the ceremonial spear, tufted with black and red goats hair. These spears are not manufactured at Wakching, but only in some neighbouring villages to the east, such as Chi and Totok. The Wakching men had therefore to set out on trading expeditions in order to provide the necessary ornaments as well as the pigs for the coming feasts, and for these they bartered daos, brass rings, and other goods made in Wakching. (Furer-Haimendorf 1938B: 214)

The receipt of heads convinced the Wakching people that there would be an especially good harvest that year. The link of prosperity, status, wealth and trade is shown by the amount of activity the receipt of heads created and for Furer-Haimendorf it 'exert[ed] a stimulating influence on the economics of the people' (ibid: 214).

British protection or administration and the abolition of war and headhunting changed the relationship between administered villages and those outside the boundary. Protection meant that responses to outside incursion had to be made by the British, thereby defining boundary lines. The existence of these new boundaries, by altering these relationships seems to have cut off some trade routes and realigned others.

Inside British territory protection offered advantages to hitherto weaker villages and gave opportunity for increased participation in trade, but while some trade routes may have been stabilised, others became unstable. Mills relates that the Rengma, at some time before

1920, tried to by-pass the Lhota and trade directly with the plains. This attempt brought conflict with the Lhota asserting themselves by force. These attempts may well have occurred during the administered period, with the Rengma using British protection to try to by-pass their old enemies. (See Mills 1937: 72-73.) This illustrates a second aspect of protection; the comparative freedom of movement offered to Nagas within the British administered area. This enabled the development of widespread travelling by traders and was particularly taken up by the Angami.

Other changes derive from the nature of traded goods. Firstly, there were changes in skills, and in manufacturing expertise. For example, villages might develop new skills such as weaving or blacksmithing. Conversely, the introduction of outside items led to the demise of some skills and brought a decline in the use of certain objects; for example, commercial dyes and machine-spun cloth and cotton, buttons, and factory-made metal implements entered the hills, while the increased use of firearms added a new dimension to conflict. These changes also interfered with trading routes and patterns not only in the protected area but in cross-British boundary trade, because of changes in demand. For example, if red dye came from outside the boundary and commercial dye became easily available from another direction the whole nature of trade altered.

It may be an important possibility that the incursions of outside Naga groups into administered areas, which were seen as deriving from the desire for and need for heads, were also due to attempts to reinstate or protect previously existing trade routes.

A second change stems from the imposition of Western standards or morals on Naga life. A great deal of trade concerned ceremonial items, especially costume, that is textiles and ornaments awarded for and marking status achieved through increased prosperity, via headhunting, feasts of merit and sexual prowess, in a male-orientated culture. The British banned the first channel of achievement, the missionaries effectively banned the second and also disapproved of the means of attaining the third. Demand for certain types of ornament and textiles, and presumably materials for their manufacture, thus altered.

With the data available, it is not possible to examine in detail what was traded and where for the whole area or even for a single group, but a survey of selected trade goods is set out below. Salt features most prominently in any reference to trade in the literature, possibly because it was the most easily recognisable bartered item and also readily acknowledged as a needed substance by the European observers. Two aspects to this trade have already been indicated. Firstly, salt entered the hills from Assam via the Lhota and Ao groups and from them was traded on. The Lhota traded on to the Rengma who in turn traded on to the Sema and the Angami. The Ao moved salt on to the Phom, Chang and Sema. Secondly, salt from brine springs in the hills, notably from the Zeliang, Konyak and Sangtam groups was also traded. The Zeliang traded to the Angami and the Konyak to the plains; Sangtam salt went to the Sema, Yimchungr, Eastern Rengma and via them to the Eastern Angami.

Shells appear to be another important staple of trade, moving inwards to the heart of the hills following a route from the sea. By the time of Hutton's research, 1912-15, he reckoned that the trade in shells and beads and 'the making up of shells into forms popular among the

Nagas [was] almost entirely in the hands of the [Angami] village of Khonoma' (Hutton 1921A: 67). By this time the Angami had become wide-ranging traders, going down to Calcutta for shells and other items, returning via Burma and Manipur. The distribution network, at least within the westernmost hills was also largely in the hands of the Angami with traders going up to Ao country to sell conch shell beads. Mills commented on the Ao copying Angami fashion and also implied that the increased supply of conch shell supplanted bone, but that bone beads were still used further east among the Konyak. Beads were also distributed by Angami traders, Mills called them pedlars, visiting the Eastern Rengma who otherwise acquired the beads via village to village pass-on trade from a start at Kohima bazaar, situated in Angami country.

For the Eastern Rengma this focus on trade on an Angami, that is a westerly axis, was a change from an earlier north-south direction and trade with the Tangkhul Naga (on the outskirts of Manipur). The Eastern Rengma area was 'annexed' in 1922; it consisted of only three villages, one of which had been used as a military base in 1910-12 against a Khiemungan village (of Makware). Mills records two instances of an earlier trade with the Tangkhul, perhaps since long stopped. One was in daos. The daos in the Eastern Rengma/Tangkhul trade were themselves of a distinctive and peculiar shape, and double edged. The other instance was a particular neck ornament of cane, orchid stem and cowry shell.

Trade in cowries is disappointingly poorly recorded. The shell trade noted by Hutton as under Angami control seems very much to do with the large conch shell either whole or in pieces. Like these shells, the cowry also had value and was used throughout the hills either as detail decoration for example, in a cross pattern, or as lines on cloth, or

with the sides rubbed and fixed in densely packed rows. That the cowry had interchangeable value is indicated by the Sema using these shells or brass rings as stakes in sports competitions (Hutton 1921B: 110).

Cowries were especially used on three pieces of costume; chest ornaments, wrist ornaments and genital coverings, aprons or kilts. Some form of apron-like covering for men existed among most groups. The Sema, Lhota, Chang and Ao used a ceremonial apron covered in rows of rubbed cowries (with a brass disc added among the Chang). The centre for these seems to have been the Ao who traded to the Sema. In 1922 Mills noted that the Ao type was supplanting the smaller version previously worn by the Lhota.

The Angami men wore what British writers were delighted to call a kilt. This was a plain blue cloth decorated with a few rows of unrubbed cowries, the number of rows depending on the wearer's achievements, indicating sexual or headhunting prowess. Among the Rengma cowries were used sparsely, but this may have indicated too high a price for them to become part of a comparatively easily gained measure of status.

Wristlets were pieces of cloth of some width (about 150mm, 6 inches) onto which cowry shells and/or other decoration was attached. The Northern Lhota bought wristlets of rubbed cowries sewn onto cloth from the Ao; these were also worn by the Sema and probably also came from the Ao, for the Sema in the past did not weave. The Southern Lhota used similar wristlets but of unrubbed cowries.

Most of the recording of trade in the eastern hills and groups has been largely of one way traffic, that is what the more westerly groups

received from the east. The group of most interest to the administrator-ethnographers was the Khiemungan, then known as the Kalyo-Kengyu, and of especial interest because of the number and variety of colourful objects manufactured by them. These objects included daos, leg and arm ornaments and hats. The Khiemungan traded directly with the Chang, Sema and Eastern Rengma (and possibly also the Sangtam) and through these groups reached the Ao, Konyak, Western Rengma, probably the Lhota and Kohima bazaar.

The Khiemungan were especially expert in basketry, making fine conical hats in plaited dyed red cane and yellow orchid stem, and also finely made red and yellow plaited wristlets and leggings. Similar leggings were made by the Angami and traded to the Ao and Lhota but were viewed by western observers as crude and clumsy compared to the Khiemungan versions.

The hats produced by the Khiemungan were traded widely over the hills, the broadly plaited understructure being decorated with a red band from back to front over the top and two red squares inserted in the lower sides. The thin strips of red cane were twilled and decorated with narrow designs in yellow orchid stem. A different type of conical hat, in red and yellow vertical stripes was also used in the hills. The Ao acquired this type from the Phom, a small group, but it is not clear whether the Phom were the manufacturers or intermediary traders.

Finally it is worth looking briefly at the question of iron, especially in the form of daos, the axe-like artefacts serving as weapons and tools. The distribution of daos in time and by area is

apparently a complex matter with changes in shape as well as trade route, but records are sparse.

At the time of Hutton, in 1920, the Angami made daos, but in the past iron was imported from Manipur and probably daos were imported from the Tangkhul. The Lhota in the 19th century bought daos from the Assamese in the plains, and still did so in the time of Mills but he also records both northern and southern groups making daos. Among the Lhota Mills also notes obsolete daos of two types; one with an especially long narrow blade, the other with an axe like blade. Some of these obsolete daos were kept as heirlooms but were remembered as having come from the north and east. Similar types were still in use among the Chang and Sangtam, both unadministered groups, and this may again be an instance of disruption or change of trade route.

Outside of the plains the major sources for dao production seem to have been the Konyak and Khiemungan. The Khiemungan supplied the Sangtam, Eastern Rengma, Sema and possibly Chang. The Chang also distributed for the Konyak, to the Sema and possibly the Ao. Worn out daos sometimes circulated back to the manufacturers, for example from Ao to Chang to Konyak. In the late 1920s the Eastern Rengma were buying daos from the Angamis which they called *Saha 'nyu* (sahibs daos) because they could not obtain these until, Mills states 'Government brought peace and opened up trade'; that is, after the 1922 annexation. (Mills 1937: 72).

Daos normally had the blade hafted into a wooden handle which was decorated by most Naga groups (except the Angami) with hair dyed red and/or black. There was one especially unusual type, an all metal dao

known to the Western Rengma as the Chang dao and to the Eastern Rengma as the Sema dao. This type originated from the Konyak who made them from old worn out daos. The Chang may have been key traders here obtaining the old daos from the Ao (and possibly from other groups) in exchange for decorated spearshafts.

A further importance of iron and daos was the value attached to them that apparently enabled them to be used as currency. The writers do not define what they mean by currency; presumably or possibly an item of consistent value and demand without a fixed bartering partner. Hutton and Mills both write of daos and metal being used as currency in the recent past. The Ao used strips of iron; the Western Rengma specially made large spearheads; the Eastern Rengma a certain type of imported dao and small hoes. The axe-shaped all-metal dao that the Western Rengma could only get through the Sema (in exchange for cloths) may also have had some value; Mills wrote that the Ao valued it highly (Mills 1937: 72). The Sema used blades of worn out daos as currency (Hutton 1921B: 58).

Other objects were also recorded as currency. For example, the Ao used brass discs in trading across the frontier with Chang, Phom and Konyak groups (Mills 1926: 102-03). Salt in the form of cakes was used among the Sema and Sangtam groups and probably elsewhere. Shells, especially the conch shell either whole or in pieces had value. The conch shell in the 1840s was recorded as being worth one rupee, or ten to a cow and so on. Strings of broken shells and beads were apparently used as currency by the Sangtam, Sema and Yimchungr groups (Hutton 1921B: 58). Some of the items regarded as currency seem in fact to be objects of high value needed for certain occasions, for example, to be

included in a marriage gift or surrounded by certain restrictions, such as the care taken by the Sema when acquiring new ornaments.

The relationship of Naga currency to British or Indian money was unfortunately rarely discussed. Metal seems to travel from west to east; brass heads as chest ornaments seem to replace wooden heads and one such ornament, now in a museum in Britain, has a coin attached. The brass heads were generally imported from the Hindu peoples of the plains and often included a small raised circle on the forehead. Information on traded items such as brass heads can be gleaned from museum collections. Other information is also probably recorded only in museums. An example is part of a gift of F.T.R. Deas to the Royal Scottish Museum in Edinburgh in 1904. This is a 'dress', collected in 1882, which has the appearance of a European shirt. It is in plain cotton and a label pinned on records '1882 - entire dress in which Nagas, men and women are clothed (if at all) when they come into civilised parts. A Naga had this dress on and gave it as [requested? indecipherable word] to F.T.R. Deas' (punctuation not in the original). The 'dress' included some embroidery. The Nagas were known as Nagas, that is as 'naked hill peoples' to the plains people. Nagas rarely came down from the hills other than for purposes of trade or headhunting. This dress would have been worn for trade; whether to cover the body as result of British influence, mission influence, or to avoid offending the Assamese is not known. Nor is it known how common such dresses were, or for how long they were used.

Another area requiring additional sources and research is the question of trade on the Burmese side. Leach (1954) records the use of a 'Naga' hat by a Kachin. This is the conical hat made by the Kalyo-Kengyu, traded westwards to various other Naga groups and obviously also

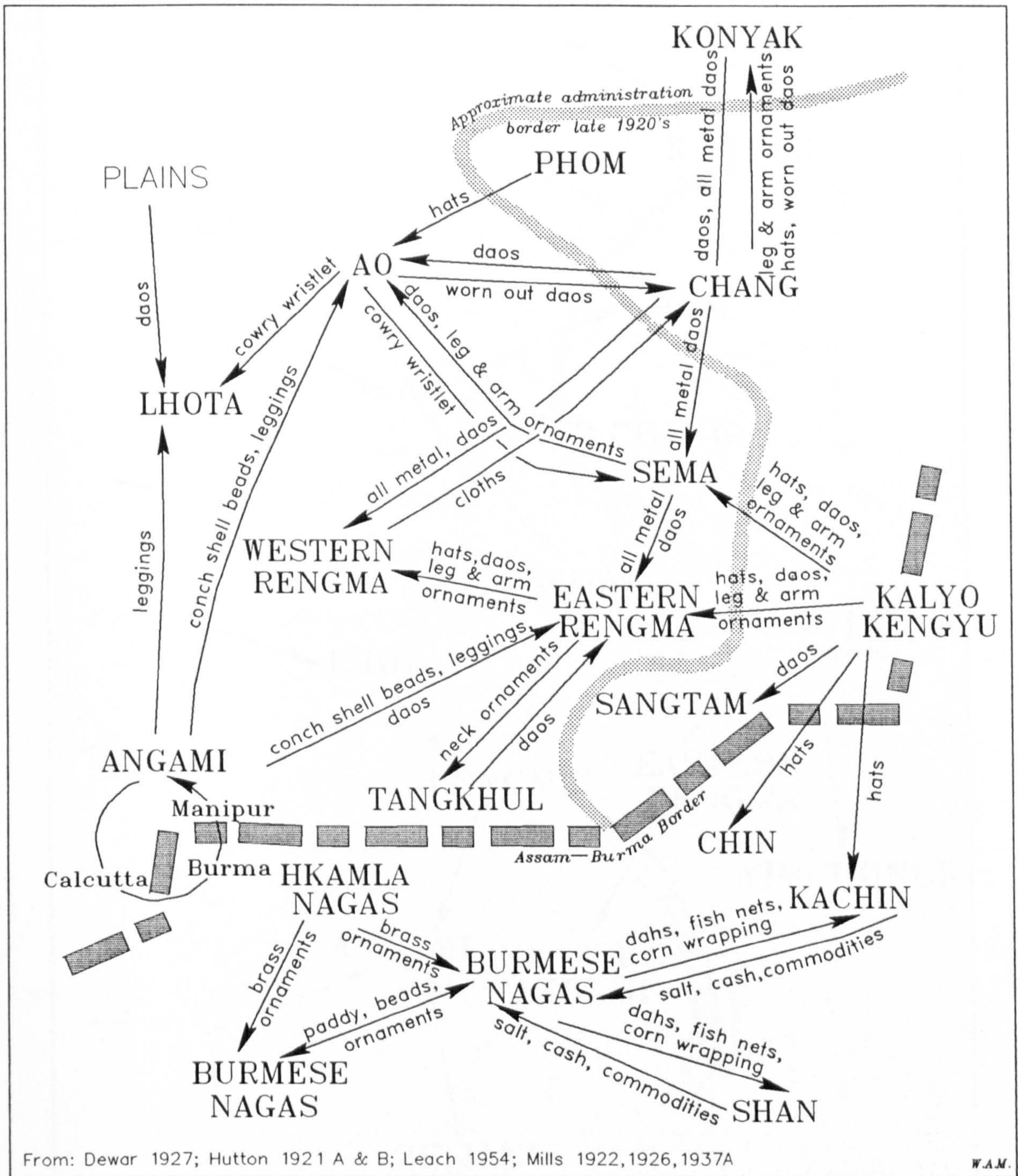


Figure 2. Naga Trade – Early 20th Century.
 Diagram to show some Naga trade patterns c. 1912 – 35.

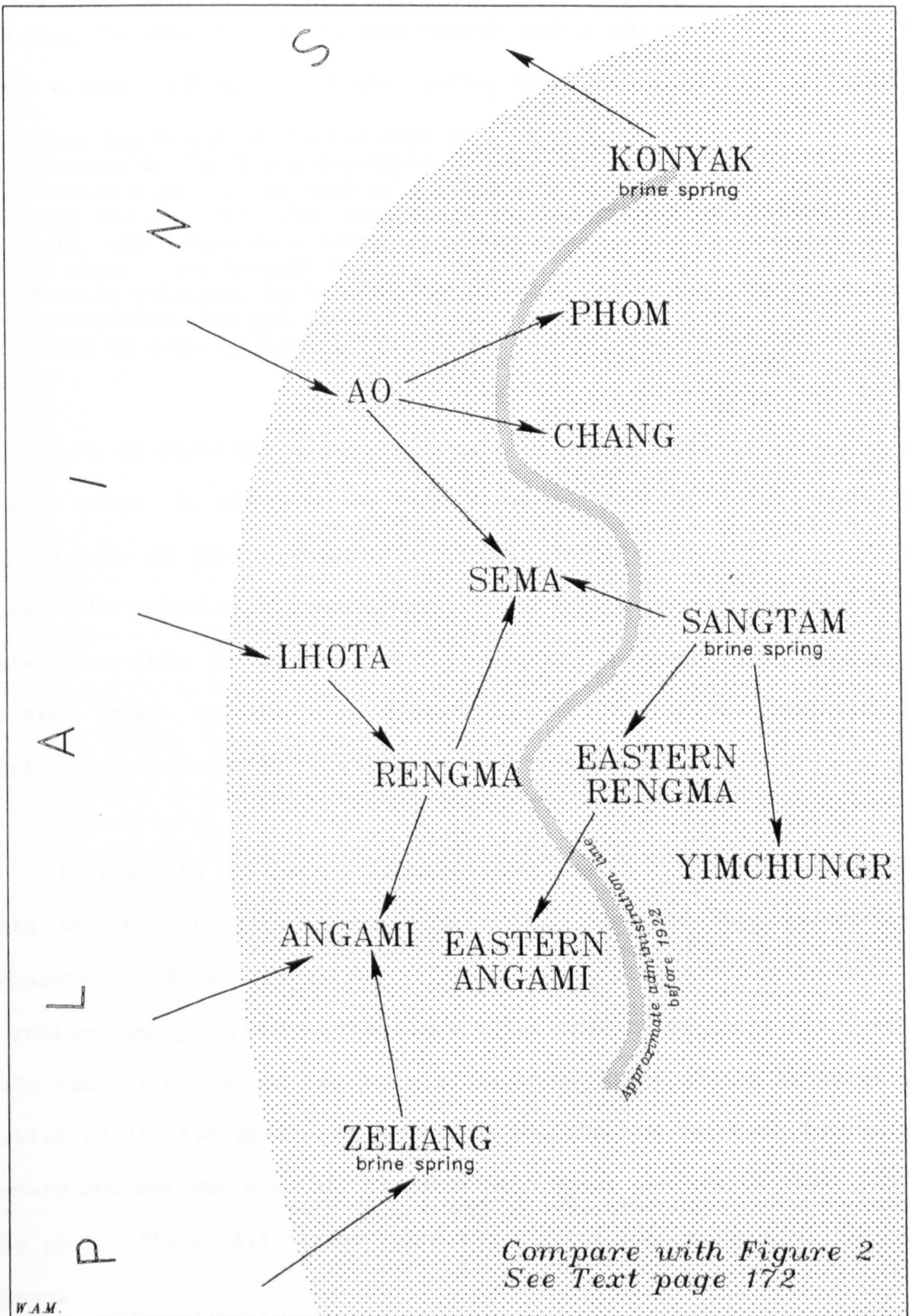


Figure 3. Naga Salt Trade

Diagram to show some Naga salt trade early 20th century

eastwards. Dewar records the conical helmet for the Burmese side Nagas, and also the adoption of the *dah* (sword) and scabbard of the Kachin. He makes a short reference to trade, partly implicit and partly explicit:

Spear heads and shafts are made at all villages where there is a blacksmith. The brass ornaments ... are manufactured at Hkamla, a distant Naga village west of the Namhpuk River. The chief trade is with the low-lying Shan and Kachin villages, where *dahs*, fishing nets, and Indian corn wrappings (*kawpalap*) used in the manufacture of cigars, are brought down by the Naga tribes from distant villages, to be bartered for salt, ready cash, or other commodities. Amongst themselves the Nagas chiefly trade in paddy which is exchanged for ornaments and beads. (Dewar 1927: 23)

There is scope for a continued detailed examination of the value of traded items. In addition the importance of trade in the headhunting/ war/ feasts of merit/ prosperity complex requires careful elucidation that would enable a full assessment of the British impact on trade to be made, but this is complicated by British knowledge progressing as British impact spread; much depends on unravelling the confusion of early explorers and the repetition of their successors.

The analysis of trade is further complicated by British collecting. This was done in three forms. The first, from the Naga perspective, consisted of Nagas travelling to bazaars out of the hills to sell to Europeans amongst others. Mrs Clark noted traders on her first journey into the hills. On the way to a village she heard a singing noise and rattle of 'battle axes'; on investigation she was relieved for it was merely 200 men who were all traders, with spear and axe on their way to the plain. (1907: 31). Later, more experienced, she noted that the cold season

is the time for travel, trade and war. In the baskets of the long procession of traders en route to Assam are grunting pigs and squawking fowls to be disposed of there, and rolls of nice new mats to be quickly picked up by Europeans and natives in the plains. In the baskets so securely bound over with fresh palm leaves are ginger root, red peppers, and bundles of betel leaf for chewing.

These same palm leaves, the Naga's "green silk umbrellas", serve in chance showers to cover the salt brought up in exchange for articles sold. (Clark 1907: 55)

Godwin-Austen saw Nagas at the bazaar in Imphal, Manipur. He saw them as buyers, particularly for brass ornaments. (1873: 4th March). Other Britons collected Naga material from bazaars which are now in museum collections. The source of collection is rarely recorded and those of most definite acquisition in markets outside of the Naga hills were collected in the last years of colonial rule, such as J.L.C. Strong, from Margherita in 1948 and Mrs Jolly from Kalimpong before 1933.

The other two forms of British collecting are linked. One is that done by the government itself, and the other by British officers collecting in the hills. They are linked because it is unlikely that the purposes of acquisition would have been differentiated by the Nagas. Government acquisition is mentioned by Peal, journeying in Naga territory up the Dihing River: 'There is now a great want of blacksmiths up the Dihing and, daos cost double what they did in 1870, which is generally attributed to Government purchasing too indiscriminately' (Peal 1881A: 7-8). Peal's comments on government expenditure are revealing. He indicates one effect of government buying, suggesting that they have paid too much, and misses the broader reasons - such as new trade developments in response to British intervention, and the impoverishment of traditional blacksmiths. Whilst this government intervention had an effect, the purpose behind such purchases is not clear. Were they made to acquire usable items, to stimulate trade, or were they not purchases but part of a material exchange to effect allegiance and peace with the Nagas? This is discussed in the next chapter and is connected with one final aspect of trade. This is another change in the value of objects as they passed into European hands and then to European and American

museums. They became seen as a part of western heritage and also passed into western salerooms, to be used as art or a hedge against inflation, and so on. Which perhaps brings us full circle back to western ideas about trade, as well as western value systems in the estimation, description and concept of the existence of trade. The process of how the British originally acquired the objects thus becomes important, and is considered next in Chapter Seven.

Chapter Seven

COLLECTING IN THE HILLS

The large amount of material recorded as Naga in public museums in Britain alone prompts several questions, some of which have begun to be answered; for example, why there is so much from the Nagas compared to so little from adjacent peoples may be due to the collecting culture discussed in Chapter Five. But other questions remain: how and why was this material collected by the British? How and why did the Nagas release so much? The museum collections are an important record, in that they raise and define these questions and open up analysis of the Anglo-Naga relationship. It is the museum record which shows that objects were brought out from the early period of British contact, the first part of the 19th century and then regularly until the end of the colonial era. Documentation of how these objects were actually collected is similar to that of Naga trade in the hills in that little attention has been paid to it and few records apparently exist.

Analysis of the acquisition of material needs to have awareness of several factors. Firstly, acquisition is a two-way and two-party process. This requires examination of the British purpose in collecting and the Naga reason for giving up objects. For the British side numerous possibilities exist from seizure to purchase: because the British had power much depends on the overt and covert context of the interaction. This might superficially be war or trade, but especially in the latter would be overlaid by the power inherent on both sides and on the

perception of the significance of what was exchanged. For example, with trade, was there really some sort of system or 'market' of like-for-like? Did each side or just one side feel it was getting a bargain? What is a real rate of exchange? This problem of 'bargain' or 'correct price' across cultures is bound up with the purpose of acquisition and nature of the object; is it something of use such as a tool or something which gives wealth, that is currency, or something which brings status in itself or because of its exchange value?

For the Nagas the question of trade is also significant. As shown in Chapter Six, the Nagas were used to trading objects and comestibles throughout the hills and with the outsiders of the plains. Did the transfer of objects to the British become another aspect of this trade? Since the British were outsiders, it is also necessary to look at the conventions of Naga relationships with outsiders, for example with the Assamese of the plains.

The whole problem is clearly complicated by the cultural context which varies on both sides and by place and time. The meanings attached to an object will vary as will its perceived value. A textile for the Nagas might have indicated male or female status, may have been traded internally, have taken a long time to produce and the right to wear been achieved through great personal expenditure and bloodshed. For the British the same piece might be a record in a series of textiles, an example of a weaving technique, a piece of decoration for the home, or a souvenir of a holiday, a job, a campaign, a significant part of life. At some point these connections and values have to meet for a textile or other object to be exchanged on a like-for-like basis, but other motives for exchange may exist. For example, objects may be exchanged to

indicate reciprocal links, friendship, allegiance, to confer different status or power. Such exchange may not be object-for-object but object-for-power. The information that exists on collecting must, therefore, be related to two aspects: the context in which acquisition was made, that is the general nature of Anglo-Naga relations, and the perceptions of the specific exchange relationship by each party.

It is necessary to be aware of a range of possibilities for exchange of objects, because the collections of material culture that exist depend on the transfer of this material culture out of the Naga hills, but the transfer is poorly documented. The notion of collecting in the hills is used here for convenience. It is a misnomer when applied to existing collections for it implies a person who actively seeks out and acquires objects for a particular purpose. What is more important is a broader range of people who visited the hills, those who built up collections, some by active acquisition, others by retention of what they haphazardly acquired, and those who passed on such material to others outside of the hills. Although some information exists in museums, the main source for documenting collecting is the literature. It requires careful culling for indicators of purpose and method. A review of existing information on collecting must essentially be chronological because of the early development of practices which apparently influenced those of later generations of British officers and administrators in the hills. It is also necessary to relate these early developments to Naga links to outsiders.

The information available falls into two time blocks, corresponding with other significant divisions in the literature and the collections in museums in Britain. This is the pre- and post-Hutton period of the

Naga hills. Before Hutton, that is in this instance before 1912-18, inferences about the methods and purposes of collecting must be drawn from incidental references largely centred on the writings and collections of three men; Butler, Woodthorpe and Peal. After 1912 the influence of Balfour, curator of the Pitt Rivers Museum, first on and later with Hutton, developed a purpose which led to and characterised the nature and size of the largest Naga collection brought back to Britain. This had a general effect in apparently stimulating the growth of collecting activity, but specific information on method and purpose outside of the works of Hutton, Mills and Fürer-Haimendorf remains scant and must be diligently sought out. One feature derives from the origin of the information available, that is that it is essentially British, in both the literature and the museum record. The two time blocks correspond to European perceptions of collecting, especially the anthropological purpose which is concerned with identification of peoples and thus related to the exercise of colonial power.

The Plains-Hills Relationship

It is necessary to examine various features of the exchange relationship, especially in the early British contact period and to examine the Naga-outsider relationship. The Nagas were familiar with trade with each other and with the plains. They were not, it seems, used to outsiders penetrating far into the hills for any purpose, other than for war or protection, depending on the relationship existing (see below). Nagas also may have had a tribute relationship with some outsiders, apparently based on status and power, with the Nagas being in

the subordinate position. This relationship is not well documented, but Hutton and Mills give some indications in their books.

Hutton outlined the difficulty: 'what the precise relations the Naga tribes had with the various nations of the plains before the coming of the British Raj, we have no way of knowing' (1921A: 13). There is a definite idea of tribute, passing from some Nagas to the plains, but which might be more equitable than at first appears. Hutton noted that 'some Lhota and Ao villages ... held grants of plains lands from the Assam Rajas' (ibid). Mills affirmed this for the Lhota, it being done

on the understanding apparently that the Lhotas in return for the land would refrain from taking Assamese heads. This agreement was loyally kept, and villages such as Khoro who had no hostile Naga neighbours whom they could raid, used to content themselves with waylaying and killing an occasional Mikir on his way to or from market in the plains. (1922: 1)

Again, for the Ao, they 'for long ... had maintained friendly relations with the Ahom Rajas, and several villages had received grants of land in the plains in exchange for presents and promises to refrain from raiding' (Mills 1926: 11).

Hutton (in Mills 1926: 4, footnote 2) suggested that communication between hills and plains was greater at some distant time in the past and that the Aos were more closely related to Assamese than were other Naga tribes. The relationship of the Aos to the plains was complex, as Mills demonstrated: a story of how certain hereditary privileges were obtained by one clan involved the Raja of Assam being called to make judgement (1926: 42-43). Mills also recorded tales explaining the origin of Nagas and plains people. Their ancestors were brothers. In one the story the younger brother (ancestor of the Assamese) apparently tricked the older (ancestor of the Aos) into paying tribute as they parted for

their respective realms of plains and hills. Another version had the Konyak ancestor as another younger brother (1926: 311). The older brother would have had seniority.

Throughout there is a notion of gift exchange to maintain a peaceful relationship; land passing one way and presents going the other. Nagas apparently viewed the hills as their realm and the plains as that of the Assamese or Manipuris. Peace would have been a two way process. Hutton recorded that 'during the Burmese invasion many Assamese took refuge in Ao country' (in Mills 1926: 4, footnote 2), and presumably did so with safety. On the other hand the Manipuris around 1833 'raided Angami country as far as Kohima' (Hutton 1921A: 13) and sacked it. Here, any 'treaty' relationship must have broken down. The date of this raid possibly corresponds to a period when Angamis were extending their power and trading activities, as was evident in the early British contact period.

Early British involvement in the hills was a matter of their demonstrating power and gathering information, especially to find their way about. This search for information correlated with the needs of anthropology in Britain, especially the surveys made in the Naga Hills in the 1860s and 1870s, when Woodthorpe was involved. In the reports of these and previous expeditions lies records of the characteristics of the early Anglo-Naga exchanges.

19th Century Collecting

The first direct references to collecting are useful: they give information on specific exchanges and supply a framework for how exchange was seen to be managed by the British. The earliest direct reference would seem to be that of Browne Wood in 1844 which sets the tone for some aspects of the Anglo-Naga exchange relationship. Browne Wood was reporting a journey made into the Naga hills earlier in 1844. On 18th February believing he had found a place suitable for tea manufacture he asked the local *gaonbura* (government appointed headman)

if he had any objections to my sending up Assamese tea-makers to manufacture tea on the spot, telling him that I would give him *monees* [beads], salt, daws [daos], &c., to which, he replied, he would be very happy to accommodate in any way, and that I should be welcome to send up the Assamese tea-makers, and that he would protect them. he agreed also to supply them with provisions on my giving him *monees*, salt, &c. (Browne Wood 1844: 774-75)

Thus, an exchange relationship was already in place, with protection specifically paid for in salt, beads and daos. The nature of this relationship is detailed further in the British claim for recognition of their sovereignty (and perhaps general protection) being acknowledged by gifts of cloth. Browne Wood exemplifies this relationship in a later passage dealing with the same *gaonbura*:

On my asking him for the fine cloths he had engaged to pay annually to Government, he asked me whether his neighbors [sic] and other Nagas had given me in theirs; I told him that some had, and that I was going round to the others, to collect. He told me that he could not give me his five, until the Konoma and Mozoma (his superiors,) had given in theirs; to which I replied, I should remain in his village, until he gave me the five cloths he had agreed to pay to Government, and that I could not go away without them. On this, he had a conference with his chiefs, and presently afterwards Jeereebie [the *gaonbura*] brought me his five cloths, but with a very bad grace. I gave him and his four Gaon Boors some presents, with which they were highly pleased and we parted very good friends. Some of the Naga ryots [apparently khels] brought me to my encampment some tea seeds, which they bartered for salt and *monees*. I endeavoured to procure some rice from the Nagas, but they told me, that they had a bad crop that season, and had not a sufficiency for themselves; having been obliged to purchase a supply for their present consumption, they could not afford to give me more than one

maund; this of course could not go very far among my people. I had only brought five days' provisions with me from Dhemapoor [Dimapur], half of which was now expended; I therefore determined to return to Dhemapoor, where I expected certain Naga chiefs, whom I had summoned, awaiting my arrival. (Browne Wood 1844: 775)

This passage indicates that whilst the British, in the form of the government, were able to extract cloths in acknowledgement for allegiance and reciprocity, perhaps for protection, and for appointment of gaonburas, other transactions required separate exchanges. This points to the significance of cloths, in being the material which conferred and conveys status and symbolises power (the British were in the habit of giving gaonburas a particular red cloth to symbolise their position). Other transactions needed exchange of other materials, here beads, salt and daos indicating their importance. The problem of procurement of rice and other provisions lasted for a good part of the 19th century and probably continued in parts in the next. These provisions were always to be paid for, as the diaries of Woodthorpe show, but there was a question over whether the Nagas had a duty to supply or not. The Nagas frequently refused or attempted to avoid supplying, indicating a varied perception of the exchange and general Anglo-Naga relationship.

Some of the subtleties are indicated by the diaries of Woodthorpe. The main exchange relationship consisted of presents made by Nagas when the British arrived at various villages and, separately, British purchases of provisions for their columns. Although the British diarists entered these separately, there is no indication of the viewpoint of the Nagas themselves. The diaries also begin to indicate the effect of British intrusion on trade amongst the Nagas themselves. Thus, in one of the appendices to Woodthorpe's diary Lt Ogle recorded his detached

duty in the hills in the 1875-76 season. On 27th December at a small village (unnamed) his troop were met with (unspecified) presents, and a large basket of rice tied to the village stockade; Ogle paid one rupee for this rice in four-anna pieces. Thereupon, one of the Nagas in his troop brought out a worn spear-spike and offered it for the money; he was given one of the four-anna pieces but asked for all 'The iron was of greater value to them and it and the silver changed hands without further bargaining'. On the 28th at another village Ogle recorded the exchange of fowls, vegetables '&c' for two-anna and four-anna bits. Ogle's record shows another dimension to the exchange relationship between visiting columns and villages in the transfer or trade of objects between Nagas.

The appendices of Lt Hinde further exemplify this relationship. His first appendix deals with his January 1876 duties and he noted that at nearly all the villages visited he was kindly received and that at all he obtained supplies of rice, fowls, '&c' 'for which we paid at the rates laid down in your letter'. This refers to a point on which Woodthorpe was keen; that the exchanges should be made at standard rates, at least from the British point of view. This would not have taken account of Naga protestations, which seem to have been frequent, and were as noted by Browne Wood above, that there was insufficient rice or other provisions available. Woodthorpe noted his view of the problem in his diary for the 10 February 1876, provoked by his inability to obtain any rice that day:

Am surprised to hear that Lance paid so liberally for everything at Tablung. It, of course, has made our way more difficult. Lance's modesty or his generosity induced him to clothe the nakedness of nearly every Tablungia in red or green. His liberality induced him to listen to every representation about rights of property over every bamboo or tokopat on any hillside. He gave Rs. 100 for the stockade at Tablung, and 1 anna for every tokopat leaf. This plays old scratches with us. If we did the same we could never camp

anywhere under 50 Rs. (Woodthorpe 1876; 10th February)

Whilst Woodthorpe was crying out for fixed standards, the passage indicates that officers were relatively autonomous, and that exchange was seen as an important question. Woodthorpe also drew the line at what he saw as excessive gift giving, prestation or presentation on the part of the Nagas. On the 5th February, at Tablung he noted that 'a fine methun [sic] had been brought in as present. Refused to take so much as we do not come to loot. Accepted a spear in token of submission'.

The real value and use of the money paid to the Nagas for provisions is open to question, as in Ogle's example above. Woodthorpe also noted its apparent lack of use as currency on 22nd February, when having paid a young man for the rice provided he was 'exceedingly pleased with the small silver coins saying he should put them on his large becowried waist flap'. The coins were thus apparently seen as having potential exchange value but were also used as outward signs of wealth and status. Such attachment of coins is apparent on various ornaments in museum collections held in Britain, for example on a string holding a metal head from the Konyak area on a piece in the Hancock Museum, Newcastle. This example was collected in the 1940s and perhaps indicates the continuing importance of displaying and simultaneously storing both wealth and status. Such subsequent use of material given in exchange indicates the perceived values of the objects.

The British viewpoint must have been coloured by the almost continual receipt of gifts in addition to provisions purchased. For example, Woodthorpe recorded, on 27th January, a deputation from Khenza village bringing fowls, eggs and a couple of spear hafts (probably those

decorated with red dyed hair), These gifts were explained by him on 14th March when he recorded having told Nagas from Chichimi village that he accepted presents as a sign of friendship but did not bind himself to go to their village. On this occasion he gave as presents to an old fellow who visited the camp a red cloth and a cap, and caps to two others. The indication that at least some Naga villages wanted the British to visit implies a value of potential protection or trade; Woodthorpe here making gifts in lieu of visiting.

These early records indicate some aspects of an official sphere of exchange. Gifts were made to initiate a relationship, which may have been meant to be one of peace rather than one of protection. There is also the intrusion of money into the hills, the British using coins to pay for food they required. This must have saved on the expense of carrying barter exchange-goods into the hills, but it would appear that the British were only able to use coins because they had Nagas with them who were able to exchange goods for them. The Nagas accompanying the British would have been from the administered areas further west: areas under administration would have had to pay tax in coins.

Outside of this official sphere of exchange two other types of transaction were in progress from the British point of view. The first was stealing or looting by Nagas and the second the purchase of Naga manufactures by the British. There are a few instances of stealing or looting given in Woodthorpe's diaries, by Naga villagers and by Nagas serving in the British columns. The looting refers to objects seen in villages by the British and which were known or believed to be material looted after conflicts of earlier years. Hence Lt Hinde, in his second

appendix on his 1876 duties detached from Woodthorpe, reported for the 11th February:

In this village (Namsang) I observed a Goorkha kookrie in the hands of one of the Nagas, who, on seeing me look at it, ran off into his house and returned without it. This might have been part of the loot of the Gelaki guard (cut up some years ago), but I did not take any notice of it, nor make any inquiries, as I had no authority to open up the matter. The village, however, is generally supposed to have been one of the guilty ones.

A more complicated instance of looting was given by Woodthorpe on 26th February, here involving Nagas serving with the column. This again shows the effect of British movement in the hills on Naga trade. Woodthorpe recorded his own and Col Thullier's observations. The surrounding villages, some seven of them, had come in with presents, goats, rice '&c', and the provisions were obviously purchased with coins. Serving in the column were Nagas from the Rengma village of Themoketsa and Woodthorpe reported that they had been doing 'good business in exchanging goats' hair and brass ornaments, necklaces etc. (the latter being loot) for the rupees paid for rice etc.' It is thus implied that such looting had been condoned and so presumably had occurred when various villages were burnt in late January in retribution for the death of Capt Butler (after an ambush in December 1875). This apparent view of the legitimacy of looting during and after a punitive expedition was certainly still in existence in the 1920s (see below, on Mills).

This condoning is in stark contrast to what the British saw as stealing and which they endeavoured to control and punish. An example here is Woodthorpe's record of 17th March 1876 of punishing a Naga serving with him for stealing a spear haft (again presumably a valuable decorated one) from the village of Lungtam. Hinde recorded another

instance which indicates the more general relationship between the incursive columns and the villages. On 25th February, Hinde visited Nankam village again and found the inhabitants tired of receiving the British and unwelcoming:

They also got up some cock-and-bull story about one of Mr Ogle's guard having stolen a dao from one of their women; of course, I made an immediate inquiry, gave the woman an opportunity of identifying the offender, which she was unable to do, and finally discovered that it could not have been a man of our party, but in all probability a Mungatung Naga who had passed down the road just after us.

Apart from showing an example of one aspect of the general relations between the Nagas and the British, and mutual suspicion, there is also an indication that columns wanted material goods whether it be by purchase or theft and Hinde obviously took the accusation seriously even if he also considered it politically expedient so to do.

The British were also involved in another type of transaction, that in collecting for a purpose. The late 19th century provided a background against which such collecting must be considered. Whilst there is no direct evidence for the stimulation provided by 'ethnological studies' (Braunholtz 1938: 12) on collecting a great deal can be inferred and deducted. Significant collections were made by Capt Butler, Woodthorpe and Peal although only that of Peal directly entered a museum, the others passing through intermediaries. The two military officers, Capt Butler and Woodthorpe, and some of those with whom they worked, such as Godwin-Austen, had papers published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* and the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*. These are indications of the type of academic and anthropological interest taken in the people of the hills. That Capt Butler was aware of the work of Dalton (1872) is evidenced by his thoughts and reaction to the book, as noted above in Chapter Four. Butler and others were

probably also aware that the failed Ethnological Congress in Calcutta, proposed by Dr J. Fayerer to the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1866, had included a plan for the transport of 'twenty typical specimens of the hill tribes to Calcutta' which was vetoed by the Commissioner of Assam because of the political consequences of any casualties (Dalton 1872: 1). This general interest in the humans of the hills was shown by Capt Butler and by Godwin-Austen:

I do not think we can find a more picturesque costume anywhere than that of the men, but it requires to be seen to be understood, and I am afraid no amount of description can adequately represent the vivid colours, and general get-up of a well dressed Angami warrior. (Butler 1875: 324-25);

These Nagas are a very interesting race to be among, and their costume is particularly picturesque, with their plaited cane leggings and bunches of wool or red hair in their ears fastened to boars tusks. (Godwin-Austen 1873, unidentified periodical attached)

Peal, a civilian, also wrote for the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, but had less connection with it whilst he was in the hills.

The method of acquiring Naga objects by purchase was rarely recorded. An example would be that of 2nd February 1876 when Woodthorpe was on the borders of Ao-Konyak country. He noted 'Some cloths in these villages are white with blue stripes worked in patterns. I bought one at Santong'. That there are few references to Woodthorpe actually collecting, that is purchasing material, is surprising given the sizeable collection which eventually came to the Pitt Rivers Museum. During the compilation of this diary Woodthorpe was clearly interested in the Naga peoples he visited and the environment, making sketches as well as notes in his diary. It is possible that some of the objects officially received as presents formed part of this collection. There is no indication of what happened to this substantial amount of material accepted officially, for example the large number of cloths Browne Wood

must have obtained in 1844. Some of this may have gone back into circulation, being used as payment or other forms of exchange with the Nagas. It was not deposited in public museums in Britain, at least in the name of the government.

The collecting habit and similar forms of present giving were shown by other men in the hills in the 1870s. Godwin-Austen took an interest in the people and geology of the Naga hills, combining the two in an article 'On the Rude Stone Monuments of certain Naga Tribes' (1875). He collected geological specimens, as he recorded in his journal for 13th January 1873. It is not known whether he formed a collection of material culture; none is known from the museum record but on one occasion, 31st December 1872 he noted that several men came into the camp with spears and earrings for sale 'and I bought four or five' (Godwin-Austen 1872). Like other officers Godwin-Austen occasionally referred to the purchase of food, as for example on 6th February 1873 when he bought zu (rice beer), fowls and eggs. Godwin-Austen also commented on the difficulties of obtaining rice and his native police using a rice-measure too large and therefore angering the Nagas.

These processes of collecting are dominated by personnel acting in the hills in an official capacity, thus primarily military officers, but may also have applied to civilian administrators. At this time, the late 19th century, the Anglo-Naga relationship was primarily in a military phase (see West 1984), with few administrators. Woodthorpe's record (noted above) makes it clear that alongside this, some officers at least were involved in purposive collecting, in the acquisition of particular objects, definitely for themselves. The civilians who did work in the hills were more likely to be involved in purposive collecting if they

were to make any acquisitions. They found themselves in a different position from the military officers in this regard, as is recorded by S.E. Peal. Peal took a tour to Nongyang Lake on the Burmese Frontier in February 1879, that is around the same period as the officers noted above were in the hills further to the west. Peal took with him as small a party as possible, 'seven picked Bengali coolies, an Assamese orderly and his mate in charge of my arms and instruments, &c., a cook used to camping, a Khampti boatman and his Duania mate, and, subsequently a Singphu guide' (Peal 1881A: 1-2). The party would not have been dissimilar to the official touring groups (and Peal did have to obtain permission from the Commissioner of Assam to make his journey), except in being without Naga or other hill groups as porters, and possibly also being smaller in size. When Peal came to collect objects he reported:

I asked the Naga headman to assist me in procuring some *curios*, personal ornaments, costumes, &c., but it proved to be no easy matter. They might give away, but how could they sell such things? Of course, if given, a present was expected in return of, say, at least double value.

At first they quite failed to see why I wanted their costumes and ornaments, unless for some unstated purpose, not a good one, - to perform magic with, perhaps; but gradually I got them to see it as a harmless and laughable peculiarity of mine, and I secured a few of the things, though at exorbitant rates. I got them to see it best and easiest by selecting a girl well got up, and saying I would like to take the "lot" as it stood, bar the girl. Naga-like, they could not resist the temptation to palm off bad things for good. Eventually, we got what we wanted, had breakfast, and, while packing (Peal 1881A: 27).

That same day Peal made further acquisitions, still in the area of what he called the 'Kutchu Nagas':

Ere midday we were off down for the Namtsik, where, meeting a young Naga I secured some samples of his gunpowder in exchange for some bullets, on which he set a high value. The powder was kept in dry bamboo tubes, with a stopper and bit of cloth. I also made him sell me his jacket and crinoline, or at least three-fourths of it, for he said if he went up home without it, he would be a laughing-stock to all the girls, even though he had his cloth on.
(Peal 1881A: 27-28).

(Some of Peal's collection is in the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford.)

Peal demonstrates the other end of exchange, in the British persuading the Nagas to part with certain items, but done on the basis of reciprocal gifts rather than being sold. Peal also raises the question of value, in suggesting the Nagas expected at least double value, that is presumably meaning at least twice what he was prepared to pay initially. He also came across another indication of the perception of value when 'I also saw here a huge pair of *jangphais* or amber ear-plugs, worn by a very old but remarkably good-looking woman. She would not part with them, though I offered a large sum, their full market value in Assam.' (Peal 1881A: 28). Some items could not be obtained because, it seems, their value could not be measured in the type of exchange offered; this remained so for particular items, in the few reports that exist, into the 20th century.

Peal's experience enables a reconsideration of the military officers' exchanges. They bought provisions and also, probably, personal collections using money - rupees and annas. In many areas it would seem that they were only able to do this because they had brought with them Nagas who were able to exchange goods for that money, a type of three-party barter. If this system had not been available, the local Nagas might not always have accepted money for the provisions. An exception would be those who used the money as ornament or decoration, apparently indicating wealth or status but this also might not have been possible outside of the context of some Nagas exchanging goods for that money and therefore signifying its worth. Peal, with his small party including no hill men, could not offer or operate this system and had to enter the process of exchanging gifts. At this time Peal was not in an area very much more remote from the British and the plains than Woodthorpe and Butler had been.

Whilst considering collecting by civilians in the hills it is worth briefly noting the earliest Naga material culture known in Britain. This was probably in the collection of the Tower of London, although not now extant. This material was presented by the East India Company in 1850 and collected by their agent in Gauhati and is discussed further below (Chapter Eight). It may well have been acquired specifically for the Company's London museum. This would be an example of another purpose in collecting, that of using material in Britain to symbolise the extent of commercial success, worldwide contact and the prosperity of the company. Such a purpose is otherwise not much evident in the Naga Hills because of the almost entirely military and administrative nature of British rule. The commercial side of the colonial connection lay in the plains to the west. (See West 1992A and C for an example of the use of a collection to demonstrate commercial and personal success.)

The examples given above have considered the general context of exchange, including direct purchase from the Nagas, purchase of provisions by the British and looting and theft between Nagas in villages and those serving with the British. The specimens presented to Liverpool Museum by Capt E.C. Elliston offer an example of another form of acquisition, which was undoubtedly seen as legitimate - looting. This perhaps highlights the need for a further distinction to be made between ransacking and trophy-taking. Ransacking here would be looting in the sense of removing large quantities of material from villages pre- or post-burning or from battlefields; trophy taking would be similar in process, but involving very few objects, taken as souvenirs or trophies of victory. The implication is that the former, ransacking, is done specifically for future gain or profit, whereas the latter, trophy-taking, is done for personal use and status. The fine distinction is

between degrees of legitimation of action and is that implied by British officers. Hence Elliston's few specimens are probably in the 'trophy' category, a pair of boars tusk ear ornaments with red cane and yellow orchid decoration and a fine basketry shield with tiger-skin cover. These were given in 1882 and recorded as 'Taken at Khomphima'. It is difficult to know what place is meant by this, but perhaps it is Kohima and the raising of the siege there in 1879.

The analysis of acquisition may suggest various methods and purposes, but there is difficulty in outlining one side of the relationship, without also considering the purpose of the other side in participating. For example, Godwin-Austen was on tour with Capt Butler and noted gifts that Butler (presumably as senior officer) received. On 30th January 1873 he recorded that Thizami village Nagas 'presented Butler with a very long spear (10 feet 9 inches long) & wd not take it back when he wanted to return it'. This particular exchange took place against a background of recent 'Naga Kuki' raids on Naga villages, and one of the two villages burnt was Thizami. It would seem that the present was a reciprocal request for protection which Butler either did not want to or could not take up, or simply did not want the spear, but these are inferences not made in the text of Godwin-Austen's journal. The question arises, as with Browne Wood's cloths and other material noted above, as to what happened to the spear? Did Butler keep it, and it eventually passed to his heirs in Britain? Was it given away to Nagas or other officers? or used in another exchange? There are several possibilities. This context is important for consideration of accumulation of museum collections. It is clear that Naga individuals and villages made a large number of prestations to British officers, both officially and perhaps semi- or un-officially. This question of

official or not is from the British point of view; was it legitimate to be taken for personal use or not, that is in the latter case, was it really government property? If it were officially government property, could it be taken personally as a 'perk' of the job? The Naga viewpoint would presumably have been different and quite straightforward; the gifts were made as part of transactions in order to secure protection or friendship. If there was an awareness of the complexities of official and non-official gifts, and 'perks' of the job, there may also have been consideration of gifts to secure a sort of 'protection on the side'. This is venturing into the area of bribery, which was clearly rejected by the officers in regard to court cases, but may have operated with more subtlety in establishing a particular and personal relationship which facilitated general Naga village, group (tribe) or other interests, the sort of relationship discussed in Chapter Five. The material acquired by the British may thus have effectively been re-used in the hills, been destroyed, or transferred to Britain probably by becoming part of the personal collection of individual British officers.

The early period of collecting by the British reveals a number of themes, some of which continue, but generally there is a substantial change in the process in the second period. By this latter time the administered Nagas had become used to paying tax (avoiding where possible) and valued the red cloths given by the British to mark the administration designated headman (Mills 1926: 405). The familiarity with money, at least among some, marked a change in trading and other exchange relationships and possibilities. Gifts to officers, at least in the administered districts were probably now more likely to be made in an attempt to influence court judgements, as happened elsewhere in the colonies (see, for example, Collis 1938). The nature of the exchanges in

the early period were characterised by the newness of British contact. This element continued in the unadministered parts of the hills, where the country remained potentially hostile and punitive and other expeditions were still met with resistance.

Early 20th Century Collecting

After the 1870s where there is comparatively a great deal of information on collecting and the context in which it took place, there is little recorded until the time of Hutton, although material continued to flow out of the Naga hills. It is the period of Hutton, after 1912, when the change is most marked although there are clear similarities in the experiences of Hutton and Mills and some of their predecessors in the hills. In short, the most significant changes centre on a greater familiarity with the British touring through villages, the use of money as a medium of exchange, and taxation and subsequent reduction in present-giving in the heavily administered areas. A key factor was also new motivations for collecting linked to anthropology.

The main reason for the dividing line in collecting between the two periods is apparent in the collections existing in British museums. The greater part of Naga holdings in Britain was collected in this second period, by Hutton and Mills, and is in the Pitt Rivers Museum. This collection is not different merely by size, but in character, and this is because the process of collecting was directed by the curator of the museum. Balfour's interest was in material culture generally, meaning an emphasis on the everyday object as much as the (in European eyes) ornamental, decorative and military. His own interests are shown by his

published articles, such as those on fire-making and fish traps, Balfour wanted to build up a collection of what he saw as representative examples of the entire material culture of particular groups or tribes. This model, implying that a single series of objects could stand for every item used in a society, allowed for the notion of duplication and the search for items to fill gaps to complete a series. This had further connotations not only for the museum collection but also for collecting in the field. For the museum the notion of duplication spread, continued until the 1960s and 1970s and is still prevalent especially as regards ethnography collections in many museums. It meant that items seen as duplicates could be and were exchanged with other museums for pieces required to fill gaps. The idea that gaps existed brought an emphasis on the search for unusual types, to show hybrids as well as completing series. The problem here is that with a large collection, unless it is particularly well documented, it is difficult to gauge how widespread was the use of a particular type. It would also be necessary to at least attempt to answer the question, when does one type end and another begin?

Balfour established contact with Mills and Hutton early in their careers, and was able to use this relationship to give shape to the collections they were making and eventually presenting to the museum. Hutton's donations began in 1912 and by 1921 were sufficiently well known for Crooke to write in his review of *The Angami Nagas* that a university should kit out an expedition and in addition to undertaking an ethnographic survey 'many valuable specimens, like those Mr Hutton has generously presented to the Pitt Rivers Museum at Oxford could be secured' (1921: 280). The closest to such an expedition was the visit of Balfour to the Naga hills in 1922 briefly discussed below, and the work

of Fürer-Haimendorf in the 1930s. The work of Hutton and Mills must have been seen, on a practical basis, to obviate the need for such an expedition for as Crooke himself noted, the status of Hutton was high; 'Mr Hutton apologises for having undertaken the work on the ground that the characteristic culture of the Nagas is rapidly disappearing. He calls himself "a mere amateur" his book, however, needs no apology' (ibid: 280).

The letters of Mills to Balfour, covering the period 1919 to 1934 indicate some of the methods used for collecting, the purpose in collecting and in giving to museums and what pieces were being looked out by the administrators. Balfour's influence reached other administrators and workers in the hills as is evidenced by supplementary records such as that of Lambert in 1937 on his journey from the Brahmaputra to the Chindwin. Lambert noted that in the Namsang area he saw ear ornaments of fretted horn disc against a background of conch shell and Professor Balfour had asked him to look out for them (Lambert 1937: 314). This paper was given at a meeting in London in January 1937. Hutton was in the audience and interestingly noted that this country traversed by Lambert was last visited by Woodthorpe in 1876 and Peal, on his journey to the Nongyang Lake, in 1879 (ibid: 323).

One of Mills' early letters, 3rd October 1919, refers to a list of things Balfour specially wanted. The filling of gaps and making of series of objects is evident from a number of letters. On 4th March 1924 Mills reports that he is sending a series of specimens showing Kuki *cire perdu* work, and on 26th January 1928 that he is making up a series of examples to illustrate the development of the teapot. The search for the unusual and gap filler was indicated also on the 4th March when Mills

mentioned that he was sending a Kacha Naga dao of curious type, and the notion of series being complete in 'My next trip [is] beyond Kerami, but as both you and Hutton have been over the ground I don't expect to find anything new'.

Mills' purpose in collecting is thus partly illustrated by what would have been seen as the scientific process of making up series of specimens in much the same way as natural historians built up series of species; Mills was also an accomplished observer of birdlife and wrote on this, an interest he appears to have shared with Balfour. The role of Balfour in giving some academic, that is anthropological, credence to Mills and Hutton was probably vital. The two collectors and writers seem to have identified themselves as administrators first and amateur anthropologists second. Anthropology was one hobby amongst others. The hobby gave Mills at least some sense of pride in his achievement in building a large collection, but that he felt he needed the reinforcement of others is perhaps indicated by having Balfour write a Foreword to some of the Naga monographs.

For Mills it is clear that building up a collection was particularly important even though he knew he would never see his own material displayed together as a whole, let alone with that of Hutton, because of the typological rather than cultural system of exhibition in the Pitt Rivers Museum. Mills was a collector in the sense of assembling material from all over; he was not concentrating specifically on the Naga Hills or even the hill peoples. Mills was collecting to a rationale, and one devised by a colleague abroad, and his material went directly to museums as he acquired it; Hutton was in a similar position.

This separates them out from those who assembled collections which subsequently were transferred in whole or in part to museums.

The purposes behind Hutton and Mills' collecting, and perhaps that of others such as Lambert, must have influenced the methods used, some of which show the continuity with the earlier period. Mills letters reveal 'looting' after punitive expeditions, a method used in the 1930s by Fürer-Haimendorf to obtain already taken heads which he then distributed to administered Konyak villages and observed the head-taking rituals subsequently held. In 1923 Mills wrote to Balfour about the Phom village of Ourangkong which lost 47 heads, the Phom village of Mongyu being the ringleader in the raid; 'I should love to burn it, after looting it carefully on behalf of the P.R.' (10th June). In July Mills wrote that he expected soon to visit another village, Yungya, again 'With any luck I should be able to surprise it and loot it properly, to the advantage of the P.R.' (11th July 1923). In September (11th) Mills reported that they did attack Yungya: 'plenty of loot, but all rubbish! I went through it in detail'. He did obtain an 'antique spear'. Looting in this way was clearly an important method of collecting, and there is no reason to suppose it was limited to Mills or to this period.

Both Hutton and Mills also purchased material. Mills wrote to Balfour on 15th April 1924 about a series of wooden heads he had obtained for the museum which 'cost so little that there is nothing to indemnify me for'. Purchase was comparatively easy for them since they were overtly in a power relationship with the Nagas. Because of their particular interest in material culture and their familiarity with the hills Hutton and Mills were able to look out for, and attempt to collect, anything they saw as unusual. Such a potential pattern of

collecting would have well suited the ideas of their mentor Balfour. The record of Balfour's visit to the hills gives an opportunity of further examining these ideas.

The diary of Balfour offers more detail on the process or method of collecting than any other, as might be expected. Balfour visited the Naga hills in late 1922 and records a range of methods, including gift, purchase from individuals and at markets or bazaars, and confiscation by the administrators. Examples of gifts are: 28th October, the headman of Lengsa village gave a fine cloth embroidered with red dogs' hair and a man's cloth with wax painted white band across it 'both very good examples, a substantial gift'; 30th October 1922, given a shield plume; 15th November, a great stone celt brought and given to Mills who gave it to Balfour; 7th November, given a spear haft. Purchases included: 18th September, a bead-making outfit for 1.5 rupees and later unfinished beads for 1 rupee each; 30th October, Balfour heard a musician play and bought the instrument; 1st November, a fine dao from a transfrontier Chang who came in after breakfast, for 15 rupees; 20th November it being 'genna' (that is, taboo) to see casting done, Balfour was only able to see it by agreeing to buy the cast bar with all its faults and so to take the risk of failure; 30th November, a fine ivory armlet bought from an Ao for 8.5 rupees who wanted to sell it to help him 'purchase' a wife. On 30th September Balfour visited Imphal bazaar and bought brass bugle ended armlets, a brass head fillet and Manipuri lamps. Finally the confiscation came about because Yacham village raided Kanahu village and the eight skulls captured by Hutton when the village was punished were confiscated and 'are now in the Pitt Rivers' (diary 8th November). Confiscation here may mean the same as Mills' 'looting'.

Balfour's examples indicate the wide range of possibilities open to those who worked in the hills and those who visited the vicinity. The gifts he recorded which were made to himself and to Mills open up other questions concerning the exchange relationship. Were these objects gifts, in the sense of no return being expected or were they part of a wider transaction, for example of maintaining a relationship, particularly an exchange relationship, or even peace with the British? This is discussed further below in the context of the ideas of Mauss on gift relationships. Although the collections of Hutton and Mills are the best documented, generally giving a village and sometimes the name of a Naga person associated with the object, the method or acquisition remains rarely recorded.

The Anglo-Naga Exchange Relationships

Apart from at least implying the purpose and role of any exchange, the method of acquisition is clearly important because it can indicate the value attached to the object by the Nagas. It is the context of that collection which provides further information. This is seen in the 1870s when it is apparent that the use of money to purchase provisions was dependent on a secondary exchange of goods between the two parties as a whole involved in the transaction, that is between the British column and the Naga village. By the 1920s it is likely that the administered Nagas were familiar with the British, particularly those connected with Hutton and Mills, acquiring objects from them. The realisation of any perceived importance of objects to the British administrators may also have increased the number and variety of gifts; making gifts could be seen as an important way of easing and maintaining what might be

regarded as favoured relationships. Despite this, some objects remained beyond the price of the British because of the value associated with them. Punitive expeditions were a source of material culture both for the British and for any Nagas who were with them, the former acquiring for museums, and the latter, in the 1870s at least, acquiring as potential wealth for themselves. Mills mentioned that he hoped to surprise the village of Yungya in connection with looting from it. This would be because the Naga villagers would remove articles that were portable and of value to themselves before the conflagration. When Mills found only 'rubbish', perhaps the value attached to object by both Naga and British officer was here generally similar; though if the village was surprised before anything could be removed then Mills' view of 'rubbish' might be that no new specimen types were present or available freely.

This last point does raise questions about the nature of the type specimens favoured by Balfour. In collecting such material for itself, somewhat detached from its use in the community, these collectors also detached some of its analytical value. The general phrase 'rich man's cloth' does not give as much information as to which rich man and his relative significance in the clan and village, or why he was prepared to part with the cloth. The identification of material collected was according to a given set of ideas about the material culture and the purpose of ethnological studies, and thus even the well documented collections of Hutton and Mills have serious constraints. These are further discussed in Chapter Nine.

Another key method of acquisition remains the gift, on a personal basis and as an official gift to the government; sometimes the two must

have been indistinguishable. The context of the transaction or prestation is important here, but difficult to seek out. Such gifts seem to have been seen as important in maintaining a type of relationship between the Nagas and the British. Gift exchange among the Nagas is poorly documented, but it certainly existed. Mills recorded for the Ao that if two men wished to formally become friends they would exchange gifts of a dao and a spear (1926: 198-99). In this light the British requiring gifts of cloths might not be seen as tokens of submission but as part of a friendship relationship. The Nagas would, thus, not be making offers of gifts to develop a relationship of protection but one of mutual peace and reciprocity. This would help explain why the British found themselves continually having to take over and 'administrate' more and more Naga territory, as follows. The British exchange of gifts with administered Nagas might establish relations of peace, which suited the British since the Nagas then ceased headhunting in the plains; the prohibition on headhunting amongst Nagas would have seemed peculiar to the Nagas, although the concomitant of that was that their enlarged and now administered groups received protection from and revenge on their behalf by the British against attack by any unadministered Nagas.

This Anglo-Naga exchange relationship can be viewed in the context of Mauss (1954). He suggested that 'contracts are fulfilled and exchanges of goods are made by means of gifts' and further, that prestations may be 'in theory voluntary, disinterested and spontaneous, but are in fact obligatory and interested' (1954: 1). Mauss pointed out three aspects to a gift relationship: the obligation to give, the obligation to receive and the obligation to repay. This exchange 'is not exclusively goods and wealth, real and personal property and things of economic value' but may include ritual, military assistance, women,

children 'in which the market is but one element and the circulation of wealth but one part of a wide and enduring contract' (1954: 3). Lastly, he stated that:

it is groups, and not individuals, which carry on exchange, make contracts, and are bound by obligations; the persons represented in the contracts are moral persons - clans, tribes and families; the groups, or the chiefs as intermediaries for the groups, confront and oppose each other. (Mauss 1954: 3)

The sanction is 'private or open warfare' (ibid).

If we follow Mauss, then Naga gifts of material culture were made to initiate a reciprocal relationship. As noted above, on one recorded occasion the Nagas made a gift and would not take it back: the obligation to give and the obligation to receive was in danger of being broken. Clearly, the gifts initially were also intended to form a relationship between groups and not individuals. The question arises as to how the Nagas expected to be repaid, superficially, and the purpose of the underlying relationship. The superficial repayment may be accounted for in material goods, even in the exchange of rice for coins, and the example given above (Peal 1881A: 27) illustrates where a gift exchange relationship was wanted by the Nagas and an economic transaction by Peal. The underlying relationship, as has been suggested earlier, might be more concerned with the maintenance of peace or perhaps *laissez-faire*: both parties wanting to continue their life without interference. Such an aim would be contradictory, since for the British it meant that the plains and the tea gardens would not be raided, whilst for the Nagas it would mean being able to continue with raids. The exchange may instead be seen in several ways depending on whether interior or exterior Naga groups were involved. Contracts with the interior may simply, at first, have meant no interference, but with the exterior groups a tacit agreement of Nagas not raiding in exchange

for military assistance or 'protection'. This relationship was ultimately formalised through taxation and the cessation of internal Naga headhunting among contracted groups as opposed to raids on the plains. Once this process had begun, the British were effectively committed to increasing their contractual and exchange sphere outward from the plains. The exchange relationship with groups adjacent to the exterior would, of necessity, follow the same pattern if the already contracted and protected group was not to return to headhunting. The sanction, as in Mauss, being warfare, to both sides: a 'punitive expedition' by the British and 'rebellion' by the Nagas. When Woodthorpe refused a high value gift (a mithan, in an example given above), because 'we did not come to loot', he was implying a power relationship to which he could or would not commit himself or the government. The looting and burning done by the British on punitive expeditions might also be seen as part of the sanction of warfare by wealth destruction or removal.

The British followed and initiated this gift form of contract, as evidenced by the preliminaries to the 1926-27 Burmese expedition. At the meeting requesting the Nagas to give up human sacrifice, that is essentially meaning to give up headhunting, the British initiated a relationship by gift giving. A number of presents were given by the government party including 'guns, clothing and useful articles to chiefs and subordinate chiefs' and cheroots and matches to the rest. There were not many women present, but those that were received 'beads, needles and thread, scissors etc' (*The Times* 4th March 1925).

The operation of such relationships through exchange existed on several levels. British officers may have seen themselves acting in various capacities when acquiring material culture: official (that is

government authorised, such as taxation), semi-official (that is easing the path of exploration) or personal (that is collecting for themselves). The perspective of the Nagas on such distinctions, and generally, is difficult to determine with the data available. Since the same British men were likely to be involved in all these roles, it would necessitate an understanding by the Nagas of British society and colonialism, which would come over time. Thus the form of the relationship may have changed over time for the administered groups, as each came to know and understand the other. Instead of always signifying contracts between groups, some gifts may indicate contracts, at least attempted, between individuals (as, for example, in any attempt to influence a court judgement).

Whilst the purchase of material from individual Nagas may also be part of this exchange, purchase from Nagas at bazaars would need to be differentiated. Acquisition from a bazaar does illustrate the need to connect this with trade in the hills amongst the Nagas themselves. This gives the background to the purchase, that is in how the Naga object came to be available and offered for sale in the bazaar. The movement of peoples as individuals as well as the circulation of objects is important, as for example in the transfrontier Chang bringing in material for Balfour to purchase. In addition the purchase itself may be part of a wider process for the Nagas themselves. The young man who sold a bracelet to Balfour to gain wealth to 'purchase' a wife, may perhaps have otherwise sold it to another Naga. In this instance the British had become a part of the conventional trade and exchange mechanisms operating amongst the Nagas. The introduction of currency in the form of coins would also become part of conventional trade amongst some groups. The British would have been important here for legitimising the use of

this currency; this is a product of the exchange relationship which would have been important in trade, the creation of wealth and, therefore, status amongst the Nagas.

Thus, reciprocal relationships appear to have centred on transactions involving artefacts, many of which are now in museum and other collections. The general importance of these objects in symbolising and making possible this reciprocity needs emphasising, and offers a new dimension in the examination of collections of historical material culture. It may also indicate why there is so much Naga material in Britain; for the British to achieve comparative peace with such an energetic, dynamic and warlike group with so few casualties the reciprocal exchange needed to be massive. What the British were seen to offer in return is difficult to assess, but at the very least offered new opportunities for wealth for individual Nagas through easier trade and a new legitimated currency. If this is correct it would seem that the British inadvertently tapped into a vital aspect of Naga identity and social relationships, that which concerned personal status. The collections in Britain might then be seen not necessarily as the property of particular individuals as donors but as part of the exchange relationship by which the British largely bought peace and were also able to administrate. This especially highlights the problem of what happened to material officially received by officers on behalf of the government.

The museum collections in Britain can be seen, then, as the remains of these relationships. The material objects and collections signify the endurance of that relationship, symbolising a reciprocity which brought Naga support in the Second World War. In this sense the collections are

tokens of a living relationship and not dead specimens in a museum. When the objects are exhibited, what is displayed is the Anglo-Naga relationship, at least in history, in simple terms just because the objects are in Britain. Having examined the process of collection and some possible significances both of that collecting and the material objects acquired, it is now appropriate to turn to an examination of those collections themselves, and this is done in Chapter Eight. The collections held in museums in Britain are but part of the total exchange, yet it is important to describe and determine their character and especially then to assess what use they can be for ethnography.

Chapter Eight

NAGA COLLECTIONS IN BRITISH MUSEUMS

The British collecting of Naga material culture has two key aspects which have been introduced and discussed in this study. First, the collecting reflects British (and European) theoretical perceptions of tribal peoples in the colonies. This occurs through the process of British anthropological and military-administrative enquiry proceeding hand-in-hand trying to identify local peoples. Material culture was seen as a part of that identification because of the dominant anthropological theory in force effectively throughout the colonial period. Secondly, it is part of one side of an important material and symbolic relationship between the British and the Nagas. The transfer of material culture to the British symbolised the initiation and maintenance of that relationship and probably helped to keep the peace. It also provided new opportunities for wealth and helped change the Naga trading patterns.

Given these aspects, the material culture which remains from this period is therefore important as evidence in a number of areas. These include changes in and development of anthropological theory and the values attached to objects by Nagas at different times; the changing importance of objects to the British over time; and the changing classification of groups and the identity of the Naga peoples. Potentially this is also evidence for other areas such as any changes in forms and style of material culture and centres of manufacture, which will reflect changes in Naga society and the Anglo-Naga relationship.

However, examination of this evidence reveals continuing problems around the area of identity of the Nagas. If these problems are ignored, any other analysis would of necessity be superficial or meaningless, because the extent of its significance, that is the boundary of what is being analysed, is not known.

Material culture from the Naga peoples exists in large quantities in the 'west', that is Europe, U.S.A., and especially Britain. It is held in private and public hands. There is a considerable quantity of Naga material in British public access museums and it is this which will be examined here. These collections offer varying degrees of ease of access, quality of documentation and size of collection. Because most of the officers and visitors to the Naga Hills in the colonial period were British and maintained links with, returned or retired to Britain, these collections should offer great potential.

In approaching this area it is necessary to have a view of the total amount of Naga material culture in public museums. This enables a variety of documentation to be produced and used, such as an indication of the spread of donors, and a table showing the chronology of collecting (see appendices). Concentrating on selected collections would distort the picture; even the enormous amount of material at the Pitt Rivers Museum, some 5,000 pieces, which would require computer handling for speed, is also subject to the general and particular constraints outlined below. Private collections in Britain would have been useful to include, but their overall whereabouts, documentation and access presents a far greater problem than that of public institutions. In addition, the public museum seems to have had an idealised place and

been seen as the eventual repository for material by a number of especially early collectors.

One important point is that problems of cataloguing and conventions of numbering and enumerating (for example, is a 'pair' one or two specimens), which make it impossible to state precisely how many pieces there are in many even small collections, let alone the whole of Britain. One other vital reason for this is the problem of identification of Nagas; this will become apparent below. Figures given for the sizes of collections (as in Appendix 1) should, therefore, be treated with caution, and are meant as a guide rather than to be definitive.

Museum Survey and Documentation Problems

The basis for the analysis of collections here is a postal survey complemented by visits to museums carried out between 1984 and 1991. This was done after initial sampling of the Naga collections at Liverpool and Manchester University museums and some experience of those at the Horniman Museum. The postal survey was based largely on the Museum Ethnographers Group Survey (Schumann 1986) and resulted in 117 letters sent with 100 replies, 43 of which were positive. The positive replies indicated holdings of a range from one to over 100 pieces; the larger collections made no attempt to quantify their material, save that it was a 'large' collection. It is known that other museums which replied 'no', (that is, that they had no Naga material), do have some pieces which would conventionally be catalogued as Naga. Ten museums

reported that with no specialist staff, and poorly catalogued ethnography collections, they might have some Naga objects.

The results of the survey are crude in terms of a numerical total and in giving only the barest indication of provenance by group, collection date, types of object, partly because of the nature of the replies received; some replies listed holdings in detail, others gave a very general indication of both size, provenance and donor. The enormous variation in the nature of replies enabled a chronology of museum collections to be put together only after some follow-up visits had been made. Since not all collections could be visited, and because the documentation available varies so much in quality and potential, the resulting chronology can only give an indication of the size and origin of Naga materials in Britain. The chronology also depends on additional work undertaken to identify the latest date for collection and attempts to resolve other problems of documentation, the details of which are given below. The chronology is given in Appendix 4; other material derived from the survey are given in Appendices 1 to 3.

The initial sampling showed a number of problems including objects with no documentation at all and equally problematical, documentation offering terminological difficulties. Manchester Museum for example, divides its lists of Naga material by the group; thus there are categories of Naga, Abor Naga, Angami Naga, Ao Naga, Chang Naga, Dafla Naga, Konyak Naga, Lhota Naga, Rengma Naga, Sema Naga, Phom Naga and South Sangtam Naga. The problem here lies with the Abor Naga and Dafla Naga groups. At first sight the word Naga appears to have been tagged on to the names of two other groups, which are separate from and not conventionally regarded as Naga, and who live in the hills to the north

of the Brahmaputra River. This suggests problems with the prefix Abor or Dafla, but could otherwise indicate problems with the meaning of the term Naga. This is additionally complicated by historical change and confusion in identification.

The historical reasons for the difficulties lie in the early travellers' naming of the peoples they visited. Elwin noted that 'in the last century [the name Naga] was used indiscriminately for the Abors and Daflas as well' (Elwin quoted by Yunuo 1974: 42 source not given). There is a further complication with the term Abor because it had a specific earlier meaning. Hutton (1965:16) explained that the earliest Europeans in the area divided the Nagas in two, northern, *pakka*, and southern, *kuchcha*. The Assamese divided the northern *pakka* group into *bori* Nagas and *abori* Nagas. The *bori* or tame Nagas were those in regular communication with and thus known to the plains people. The *abori* Nagas were of the remoter groups and 'untamed'. This distinction and terminology may have been taken over by European visitors.

There is a further possibility with the term 'Abor', which also indicates potential problems with other apparently well documented areas collections in the Naga hills. In 1911 Mr Noel Williamson, an experienced Political Officer who had worked in the Naga Hills and toured Abor and Mishmi country to the north of the Brahmaputra, was killed by Abors at Komsing. Few British officers were killed in the hills considering the nature of the work they did in taking over areas and peoples, and a punitive expedition was mounted immediately. The expedition over 1911-12 was led by Hamilton Bower and included Nagas as porters. On such expeditions Nagas took the opportunity whenever possible to secure trophy heads or, failing that, fingers or other body

parts: the Naga porters came from the administered parts of the hills and thus rarely had the opportunity to secure the coveted heads and/or gain headtaker status. The survey of Naga collections threw up a surprisingly large number of collections made from this expedition; there are at least eight from named officers. This material could be Abor but may also include objects from Naga porters or acquired when porters were initially assembled in Naga areas.

These problems are related in general to the question of where the boundaries of the Nagas lie, and how they are to be defined. The terminological difficulties indicate that problems may exist even with apparently well documented collections. This arises partly out of the methods of acquiring and accessioning material in the museum itself. The expertise of the curator depends usually on the literature available to him or her in addition to experience of similar collections; only rarely will fieldwork have been undertaken in the same area and, of course, the majority of collections are now historical. This has also meant that great reliance is placed on the information given by the donor, although that may be second-hand since many objects are given by a relation after the collector has died. The methods of museum curators vary by individual and over time, but they are rarely recorded (see West 1982 for an attempt to do this). The quality of documentation with which a researcher is faced is therefore variable and often to an unknown extent.

It was clear from the initial sampling that documentation of objects could be inconsistent in terms of level, that is 'Naga', 'Angami Naga' or 'Khonoma Naga' in addition to looser categories in some uncurated collections such as 'India' or 'Burma'. Other difficulties included:

that the Burmese Nagas might not be recorded as such but as other or unnamed hill peoples; and the problems of the whereabouts of the northern boundary of the Nagas (including the Wanchos or not) and that of the Abor peoples. With this in mind the letter requesting information asked specifically about Naga material culture, but also about named related or adjacent material and gave the geographical area of Assam and Burma together with some examples of groups such as Abor and Mishmi. The bulk of positive replies indicated material from either the Naga peoples only or at least in any quantity. This indicates that Naga material might be well known or easy to identify, but it also shows that distributed in museums throughout the country there is a far greater preponderance of material from the Naga peoples as against other hill peoples in Assam or Burma.

In terms of quantities, which are subject to caveats given above, the following may be summarised from the survey and visits. At least 41 museums or public institutions in Britain now definitely hold collections recorded as from the Naga peoples; in the past the number of institutions was far greater. This amounts to 7-8,000 objects. In order to gauge the total quantity of Naga material brought out of the hills collections in private hands and other countries must be added to this figure, and we are not yet in a position to make such an estimate. The British public collections can be crudely divided by size. Three museums have very large collections: the British Museum with around 768, the Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology with around 613, and the exceptional collection at the Oxford University Pitt Rivers Museum with around 4,748. Four museums have collections of between 100-200 pieces: the Horniman Museum, London with 194, Manchester University Museum with 161, the Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh with over 109 and

Bristol City Museum with 121. Two other museums have sizeable collections, Liverpool with over 90 and the Victoria and Albert Museum with 91 although a large proportion of this is on loan. Finally there are some 33 museums with collections of less than 50 pieces which range in size from one to around 53; in this latter, Glasgow includes some 34 objects which are modern and collected through access to craftspeople in the 1982 Festival of India exhibitions. The types of museum holding collections vary from specialist Ethnography/Anthropology museums and departments to general local and/or smaller museums, from Regimental museums to museums or departments with specialist coverage such as textiles. Because of the quantifying difficulties the numbers given are very likely to be under-recording sizes.

This material was acquired largely by donation although some museums, especially those specialising in ethnography, made purchases. The collections were acquired from over 210 people and institutions, hereafter referred to, for convenience, as donors (see list in Appendix 2). In some museums, even with large collections, there are only a very few donors whereas others, smaller, have many donors. For example, Bristol Museum with a collection of over 121 pieces has six donors¹ but 110 pieces came from two people: Glasgow Museum's colonial collection of some 18-19 pieces came from eight sources. The bulk of the donors were individuals and can be linked with reasonable certainty to the (mostly) men who are known to have worked in the hills in a military or civil service capacity even though the documentation is often poor. One of the difficulties of poorly documented collections is that they

¹ These six include one gift of material in appearance distinctly Naga, documented as Chin, but which would otherwise be attributed as Naga. This material, from Raikes, is discussed further in Chapter Nine.

were recorded under the name of the donor only and there is no information on the collector or date of collection. Frequently the objects have been passed down through a family and the donor bore a different name to the collector, exacerbating a problem in identification. The attribution 'Naga' is often that of the curator or visiting specialist based on comparison with objects seen elsewhere. As will be discussed below, this causes problems since the boundaries of the Nagas are not definite, and the extent of comparable material culture of the hill peoples in this region is not known or documented. Such an attribution may, therefore, not be accurate and will distort the picture of collecting and effectively give rise to an apparent delimitation of types of material culture in the hills which is incorrect. Research on donors of undocumented collections can begin to redress this by establishing where and when they worked in or visited the hill region in India or Burma.

The collections need also to be examined from the donor perspective in two ways, for each gives a different view of the relationship of Britain and the Nagas in the colonial period. The general chronology of when the material was collected is quite different to that of when it was presented to museums. For example over 80 pieces given in the 1920s and after are now known to have been collected in the 19th century and over 160 pieces given in the 1950s and 1960s were certainly brought out of the Naga hills region in the colonial period. The documentation associated with objects rarely gives dates either of collection or of use in the hills. This is a major problem with ethnographic collections and museums generally, deriving from the old theoretical base of the associated discipline of anthropology and from practices in museums and exhibitions which are beginning to be rectified now. Museums have

generally used the idea of the 'ethnographic present' whereby cultural and social life of peoples outside of Europe and North America is described using literature and material culture of diverse periods using the present tense. This implies that these societies have remained the same in social structure, beliefs and cultural practices if not for all time then certainly since the first European interaction and so for the last two hundred or more years: it denies the possibility and reality of change within that society in addition to changes brought through contact with European culture, industry and commerce, colonialisation and imperialism. The use of the 'ethnographic present' was established in anthropology, in common use in the 1930s (see for example, C. Daryll Forde *Habitat, Economy and Society* first published in 1934 and reprinted in paperback in 1963), but remains in use today (see for example, Jacobs 1990 on the Nagas). It has been used as a convenient convention but fails to convey any sense of change, progression or development and tends to reinforce stereotypical views of the static nature of so-called primitive society. In museums this has meant scant attention paid to dating objects, especially when acquired in the past, and exhibitions and displays with objects collected at different points over a period of 100 years or more to illustrate a society and lifestyle of today. Instead, within museums, greater attention has been paid to the identification of an object by a 'people' or group which itself raises other questions and problems that are discussed below and in the next chapter.

Most collections are poorly documented in terms of date of collection or use; when dates are given it is by curators who frequently have to rely on the convention of 'pre-' or 'before-' the date of accession into the museum to give an approximate chronology. Research on

donors does enable such dates to be pushed back further and give a more realistic picture. This is particularly true of the Naga hills region with only a limited number of British officers serving in the area, and many if not most or all of these from a class background in Britain which warranted an entry in '*Who's Who*' or an obituary in *The Times*. Donations by heirs or descendants with different surnames make this impossible unless indications exist in letters or other documentation associated with the collection. Sadly, it seems that many museum accessions were made with no such letters, or that they have been destroyed as being of no importance. Even though research on donors may bring only minimal information such as very approximate dates, perhaps over a long period, it can also bring more precision in geographical location. Such information of chronology and place is vital if any proper and accurate assessment and use is to be made of historical collections of material culture.

Hutton, Mills and the Pitt Rivers

The general picture of collection and presentation to museums in Britain is further complicated by the huge donations made by Hutton and Mills and those they inspired or which are linked to them. In these latter categories are men such as H.G. Dennehy and C. von Furer-Haimendorf. Dennehy was born in 1890, probably in Bristol and went to Cambridge University. He entered the Indian Civil Service in 1914 and for some time between then and 1933, certainly in the early 1920s, he served in the Naga hills. In 1933 he transferred to a secretaryship in the Government of Assam and eventually became Chief Secretary for Assam and was knighted. In the 1920s he published at least one article on an

aspect of Naga life (Dennehy 1927) and made collections in the Naga hills, quite well documented, which were given to Bristol and to Cambridge. He also sold material at auction, some of which was bought by the Wellcome Institute. Furer-Haimendorf went to the Naga hills to pursue his own academic, anthropological research. He came into contact with Mills and accompanied him on a punitive expedition to a Kalyo-Kengyu village in 1936 (see Furer-Haimendorf 1938B). While the nature of Furer-Haimendorf's research and collection was not dictated by Hutton and Mills, the work they had already done and the methods and procedures they had developed must have had some influence. Furer-Haimendorf made large collections in this period which were acquired by Cambridge University Museum and the British Museum (the latter via the large collection of H.G. Beasley). He also took many photographs and made sound recordings and moving films. Many of the photographs were reproduced in popular magazines.

The collections made by Hutton and Mills are of such a size as to stand apart and are best considered separately. Hutton and Mills are well known for the donations made to the Pitt Rivers Museum but both also gave material to the Cambridge University museum. The gifts to the latter, apart from those of Hutton in 1924 (two pieces) were made after Hutton's retirement and subsequent appointment as Professor of Anthropology at Cambridge University. Although the gifts to Cambridge are as usual for Hutton and Mills generally well documented, they do not match their donations to the Pitt Rivers Museum in size and range. Hutton also made gifts to the Horniman Museum in 1936, the Royal Scottish Museum in 1947 and the Bankfield Museum, Halifax in 1947, while Mills gave to Manchester University Museum in 1922, 1925 and 1939 and to the British Museum in 1921; again these are small, discrete collections.

Separating out the substantial donations of Hutton and Mills, some 4,000 pieces, brings two divides in consideration of the collections. The first, of some broader significance explored further in later chapters, concerns a chronological divide. Although Hutton worked in the hills and gave to the Pitt Rivers during the 1914-18 European war, it is convenient to use 1921 as a crude division after which there is a general increase in collections made in and brought out of the Naga hills area. This increase derives from Hutton's activities and influence, both personal and more widespread through his writing, from the 1921 publication of the *The Angami Nagas* onward. The effect of Hutton, was considerably reinforced and enhanced by having in Mills a second officer with similar interests, abilities and productivity in a comparatively small area and population. The disparity in size of collections made before and after 1921 is partially due to the activities of those who worked with Hutton and Mills, such as Lambert, Pawsey, Dennehy and Fürer-Haimendorf, some of whom were also linked to Balfour. A further reason for this may be the nature of the territory. In the 1920s and 1930s officers working in the Naga Hills were still on the fringes of unknown and unexplored land and people. Incursions into administered territory by outside Nagas continued and the British had to be still enlarging their knowledge of these groups. It is interesting that, as the old evolutionary-material culture anthropology was replaced by social anthropology, the officers began to write more in the *Journal* of the Royal Geographical Society, rather than that of the Royal Anthropological Institute. Hutton and Mills continued with the latter, but Fürer-Haimendorf, Lambert and Reid all wrote for the former. The officers continued to explore and collect material culture; the discipline best suited to them appears to have changed.

A further divide which can be seen by separating out the collections of Hutton and Mills centres on geography, in two ways. Firstly, the bulk of collections aside from these two are from the westerly and northerly groups in the Naga Hills, particularly the Angami, Sema, Ao, and Konyak. The bulk of the material from the Chang, Yimchungr, Kalyo-Kengyu, Phom is not only in the Pitt Rivers, it was also collected by Hutton and Mills. Secondly, and essentially coterminous with the above, the divide hinges on the present geographical locations of the material in Britain. These two administrators influenced the shape and quality of the Pitt Rivers Museum to an enormous extent: their effect on other institutions was important particularly in offering a quality in terms of documentation, but the size of their gifts was not very different to those of other major donors to those institutions, except in the case of Hutton's gifts to Cambridge (of around 142 pieces).

Balfour's 48 years as Curator of the Pitt Rivers Museum began in 1891. He was a graduate in Zoology (maintaining the 19th century links between natural history and ethnography) and had worked as assistant to Tylor in the museum from 1884. Balfour was, therefore, involved with the museum from its inception in Oxford, unpacking the material which arrived in 1884 and seeing the museum through until the late 1930s.

The Pitt Rivers collection in 1884 probably had but 14 Naga pieces, all weapons, supplemented by transfers from the Ashmolean Museum of one spear (in 1884) and the collection of Dr Jarbo (in 1886). The grounds for any particular interest in the Nagas are thus limited in the initial collection, but Balfour may have been influenced by the gifts of S.E. Peal. These arrived in 1897 and 1898 and consisted of 106 objects. The first collection was given through Frank Finn of the Calcutta Museum and

it may be this museum link which directed Peal to the Pitt Rivers. The museum has over 381 pieces which were collected before 1921, of which some 298 were actually given before that year. Apart from the collectors noted above, and some small donations, there is the gift of Dr E.T. Wilson made in 1909 of 150 Naga objects of Col. R.G. Woodthorpe's collection, supplemented over a few succeeding years by photographs and sketches made by the Colonel. Woodthorpe's collection appears to have been broken up on his death, perhaps according to his wishes, and some of his collection probably remains in private hands.

The Woodthorpe and Peal material alone made a large collection from the Naga peoples. Soon after this Balfour must have come into contact with Hutton. The contact may initially have come from Hutton. Writing in the new preface to the second edition of *The Angami Nagas* (1969) Hutton explained the origins of his book:

I started it when, transferred to the Naga Hills from Eastern Bengal in 1912, I was rather shocked to find that of a tribe I had to work and live with there was no systematic or informed account to which I could refer for customs and ways of life entirely different from those I had known in Dacca or Bakargani. I had little knowledge of anthropology at that time (p xi)

The book was originally scheduled for publication in 1915 so Hutton spent but three years gathering and laying out material. He published some of Woodthorpe's sketches from the Pitt Rivers collection in his book and noted that objects were in the museum. Hutton's deposits there began in 1914: by 1923 he had sent nearly 1,000 objects including those collected on the transfrontier expeditions of April that year. The collections of Mills in the Pitt Rivers Museum date from 1920.

Balfour's interest in the distribution of material culture was linked to its use in supplementing or advancing theory concerning the

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happiest years I had known since I left childhood for a boarding school' (1921A: second edition 1969: xii). Balfour, when recently back from the Naga Hills wrote that the secret of the administrators' influence over the Nagas was primarily because of the 'sympathy which they exhibit towards their *proteges*, and to the keen interest which they take in the indigenous culture' (1923A: 19). Balfour was probably influenced by Hutton's and Mills' ideas and concerns when he wrote that 'the imposition of systematic government upon hitherto independent natives involves changes of a drastic and far-reaching nature. The problem which has to be faced and solved is involved in the questions (1) what changes are essential? and (2) in what manner can they best be effected?' (ibid: 15), sentiments which probably sum up the nature of the relationship on the part of most of the British officers.

Hutton's main and overt concern was with missions. He saw them as detrimental, and the increasing number of Christians destroying traditional beliefs and customs, especially among Aos and Lhota. Hutton wrote of this in his preface to *The Angami Nagas* (1921A) and in his introduction to *The Lhota Nagas* (Mills 1922). Mills also wrote on the theme in his appendix on missions in his *The Ao Nagas* (Mills 1926A). For Hutton especially, and Mills, the need was to take the opportunity to reconstruct Naga life as it was, before contact and particularly before missions. One way of doing this was to collect examples of all the variations, such as in material culture, and by the use of the then prevailing anthropological theory, to reconstruct the untouched Naga life. This 'pure' life would, of course, be important in the larger question of origins of people and culture.

The Balfour-administrator relationship proved tremendously fruitful for the Pitt Rivers Museum. The Hutton-Mills collections alone are enormous, and hence Mills' pride in them is not surprising. Their collections were developed on lines of obtaining single examples from each group encountered. This raises two problems: firstly the question of duplicates and their disposal, discussed earlier, above; secondly, the question of group identification. What is to constitute a group for the purposes of providing a series of material culture? This is linked to the more fundamental question of Naga groups and identity.

The Pitt Rivers Museum shows up this problem. The dominant self-identification of the Nagas by village and clan conflicted with the wider tribal identities desired by the British administrators. This enabled the British to impose conceptual, if not practically used in detail, classification systems upon the Nagas. The systems are frequently limited to individual officers, that is each person constructed their own. The whole systems are not laid out but fragments are seen in the well-documented museum collections. For example in the Pitt Rivers Museum the Angami collections are divided in the following classification; the name of the grouping is given and in brackets the names of all the donors in that category: Angami (largely Hutton, but several others; a general category); Central Angami (Reid); Chakrimi Angami (Hutton); Dzuno-Kehene Angami (Hutton); Eastern Angami (Mills and Hutton); Khizami Angami (Mills, Hutton and Balfour); Memi Angami (Mills and Hutton); Southern Angami (Reid); Tengima Angami (Hutton); Western Angami (Mills). The general Angami category will include material later identified as Angami here by, for example, curatorial experience. The process is not limited to the Angami. Some tribes exist probably only as categories in the collection, for example: Layu (Lambert); Ledo (Peal);

Merwang-Mai (Mills); Chaokik Tribe (Mills); Hinduised Nagas (Mills). The last category is interesting; all the pieces were from the village of Semkur in the Cachar Hills, all collected by Mills, probably when posted to that area. It poses questions which relate especially to the identification of Nagas and are discussed below.

The collections of Hutton and Mills are important but limited to a short period of 20 years at most, however much they tried to make their collections both representative of the usual or conventional and also to acquire unusual pieces. Essentially they represent one fifth of a century within which a large amount of Naga material culture was brought out of the hills. They are also limited to the areas within which they worked, and although both officers collected widely over the Naga hills, the Naga peoples of Burma and Wancho people of Arunchal Pradesh are not represented, nor effectively is material from the southern, Manipur, Naga groups. This poses problems because, in a similar fashion to their books, the collections made by Hutton and Mills are used as a bench mark for all Naga collections, and other identifications made from them. This implies that their collections are of central importance to all Naga material culture; instead they should be seen as of significance in size, type range, geographical range and documentation, especially within the total corpus of Naga collections from this period, but they must not be seen as providing the dominating and central view of the total of Naga material culture either synchronically or diachronically. Making a representative collection at one point in time, or utilising the idea of 'type' specimens, as was done in their books, ignores the complexities of variety in the physical object and the corresponding variety in the range of meanings and symbolism associated with it. This may be rectified by comparison with material collected in the same

period, albeit less well documented. This synchronic problem also ignores the variety across different groups, especially those from whom collections were not made. Hutton's and Mills' concern for life as it was before British intrusion encouraged them to collect 'old' and possibly prevented them from collecting hybrid or new pieces. The diachronic problem is linked to this last point and is also important, for utilising material collected in one period whilst effectively ignoring the remainder gives a distorted view of the material culture over time, omitting the idea and fact of change and significance accorded to particular pieces.

Thus, while the collections of Hutton and Mills are of great importance, dependency upon them, which often also means dependency on collections in the Pitt Rivers and perhaps also those in Cambridge, ignores the total picture of collecting from the Nagas and Naga material culture. For example, the process of collecting over a long period, the changes over that time and the significance of collecting and the resulting collections to the people who made them and those who saw them; also how much, if at all, were Hutton and Mills part of a wider movement of change in attitude to and perception of colonised peoples? The effective isolation of collections made in a 20 year period for primary use in documentation, or even of those larger collections based in one or two museums would appear to leave many questions unanswered and perspectives unseen.

Collecting Chronology

The chronology of collecting across the board reflects the history and the growth of knowledge about the Naga hills. The crude counts indicate periods of significant growth in collecting which correlate to a certain extent with those of literature publication. The chronology by date of collection has been used as a base for this. This included results of research on donors which pushed back the earliest date for collection, sometimes defining narrowly, otherwise covering a period of several decades. For example, Dr Anderson presented material to the British Museum and to the Royal Scottish Museum Edinburgh in 1889 and 1887. The entry for Anderson in *Who Was Who* indicates that these donations were made after his return from working in Calcutta as the Superintendent of the Indian Museum and Professor of Comparative Anatomy between 1864 and 1886. In all circumstances such as this, the earliest of the two dates has been taken for placement in the chronology. Although for Anderson this covers a 22 year period, he was especially active in the early part of his time in India, undertaking two expeditions to China, in 1868-69 and 1874-75, the first via Bhamo in northern Burma, and the material is as likely to be acquired in his early years in India as in the latter part. Anderson was born and educated in Edinburgh, but lived in London after his return from India which suggests why donations were made to both cities. Sir Henry Cotton's heirs made a gift in his name to the Horniman Museum in 1916, after his death in 1915. Cotton served in the Indian Civil Service from 1865 until his retirement in 1902; he later became Liberal Member of Parliament for Nottingham East 1906-10. Although his whole period in India could be used as dates in the chronology, the period 1896-1902 has been chosen because he was Commissioner of Assam in these years;

however, he also worked as Magistrate and Collector of Chittagong in Burma in 1878-80 and while it is just possible that he acquired Naga material there the documentation from the Horniman indicates that the material is from the Angami, Ao and Konyak which suggests the latter period of his service is more likely. A third example is Major-General Archibald Edward Campbell whose heirs appear to have made a donation of his collection in the year of his death, 1921. Campbell's army career lasted from 1851 to 1892 when he went onto the retired list; his army career, apparently all in India is not well described, and the material could have been collected at any point; the earlier date is used for consistency.

Thus, apart from difficulties in determining the exact or even approximate date of collection, much of the material is still dated by the year of its accession by the receiving museum, or the earliest date possible in this method. For example, Liverpool Museum acquired the bulk of Norwich Castle Museum's ethnography collection in 1956. This included some Naga material, most notably that from A.R.Nevill and Miss E.M.Carnegy and the Norwich accession dates were initially used for these pieces although there is a case for pushing these dates back into the 19th century, which is discussed below. Many museums acquired Naga (and other) material from the huge collections of the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum which were divided and distributed at various times, particularly in the 1950s. Much of this material was bought, largely from auctions and dates of these have been used where they are known and pushed back further through the vendor where this is known.

Despite these problems, a chronology has been attempted (see Appendix 4). This does indicate 'bulges' in the collecting/presenting of

material which correlate to the literature chronology and reflect the history of Anglo-Naga relations. In the period up to 1869 and in the decades from 1880 to 1919 the numbers of objects collected/presented range from 40 to 70, but in the 1870s a sudden flourish doubles or trebles this amount, even excluding the Pitt Rivers Museum holding material from Woodthorpe and Peal who were especially active in the 1870s. A further flourish in the 1910s increases numbers in this decade above the average range, due to the large quantities of material brought back from the Abor punitive expedition of 1912. After 1920 the picture becomes complicated by the activities of Hutton and Mills, especially their large Oxford collections, but also by Dennehy, Fürer-Haimendorf, Balfour and to a lesser extent, Archer, Parry and Pawsey; all these men knew of or worked with each other, at least having links with Hutton or Mills. Even the exclusion of the Hutton, Mills and Dennehy collections from the 1920s still indicates a considerable increase in comparison to earlier periods, apart from the 1870s. Simply excluding the Oxford material gives collections in excess of 400 pieces for the 1920s. The dates of some of these collections may be pushed back further by subsequent research, but so too will material of later dates and decades. Material from the 1930s, even including that of Hutton and Mills outside of Oxford is nearly still within the usual pre-1920 range, but the enormous donations of Fürer-Haimendorf treble their number.

The 1940s saw one major increase in donations. This was the large collection made in the late 1930s by Sir Robert Reid when Governor of Assam, and given to the Pitt Rivers in 1946 and 1955. This numbered well over 100 pieces, mostly textiles, and many were regarded as duplicates and used in exchanges with other museums throughout the world. The amount of material collected in the 1940s was considerably increased

from the usual range because of the battles between British and Japanese troops fought in the Naga Hills. Thus, Baron, Crook and Yarrow alone collected some 37 pieces in 1945-46 and it is likely that donations made in later years also derive from this phase of the 1939-45 world war. Later decades fall into a pattern of between around 20 and 70 pieces, plus single large groupings such as the Wellcome material in the 1950s, a donation of 66 pieces to the Horniman Museum London in the 1960s and one of 175 pieces to the British Museum in the 1980s.

Thus the increases in quantities collected by decade, above a crude average, tend to depend on events in the hills or the actions of a few individuals, apart from the 1920s and the 1870s. The 1870s as a period of importance may be linked to the gathering pace of British intrusion in the hills, increasing both the data collection work and the number of officers there, but such an explanation needs further consideration. The decade of the 1920s also poses questions as to why so much material was brought out in this period and its effect on the Nagas and within the hills. On top of this the consistent nature of collecting in and from the Naga hills, produced a corpus of material far in excess of and distributed more widely around Britain than that from any of the neighbouring hill peoples.

The importance of individual collectors is noted above. Apart from Hutton and Mills and the Oxford group of Woodthorpe, Peal, Reid, Lambert, and then Dennehy and Fürer-Haimendorf, the most prolific collectors whose material passed into public institutions were Foster (1872, 1878 some 48 pieces, British Museum); Anonymous Bournemouth (between 1928-31, some 33 pieces presumably from one person); Bryer (gift of some 66 pieces to the British Museum in 1929); Lechmere-Oertel

(gift of 31 pieces to Cambridge in 1930); Driberg (gift of 37 pieces in 1947 to Cambridge); Sweeting (some 33 pieces transferred to Manchester in 1951 from Buxton Museum); Kiernan (some 66 pieces given to the Horniman Museum in 1966); and Gelpey (175 pieces to the British Museum in 1982). These are all the collections known to be over 30 pieces in size. Unfortunately, little has been found about this group of collectors/donors, apart from J.H. Driberg. He was a Lecturer in Ethnology at the University of Cambridge and the Naga material was part of a larger bequest, including African objects. Driberg was born in 1888 into a 'service family' and in 1922 joined the Uganda colonial administration. He left in 1925 and pursued an academic career in London and Cambridge, doing military work in the war, and died unexpectedly in 1946 (Evans-Pritchard 1947). He may well have been related to the Driberg who was District Commissioner at Lakhimpur in 1888 (Chakravorty 1964), and the Naga material come from this time; it is otherwise possible that he was given it by Hutton.

The collections made by particular individuals do deserve further consideration and this is done below. First, it is important to examine what was collected in terms of which groups of Nagas are represented and what categories of objects were collected, across the whole time span. The work of individuals is then better seen against this background, and takes on different significances, although this depends on how collections and their documentation are perceived. This question of perception is a central problem of museum and collection research illustrated by the Naga material and is discussed further below.

Collections by Tribe and Place

The majority of artefacts identified or documented by Naga group, outside of the collections made by Hutton, Mills, and their associates such as Balfour, Dennehy and Flüer-Haimendorf are from the Angami and Konyak Nagas. This reflects the pattern of exploration in the Naga hills, with movement by the British from the plains in the west and the north. The earliest Angami collections were probably the earliest collections made from the Naga peoples and were owned by the East India Company. They are known from the *Official Catalogue of the Tower Armouries* (1859) as being a collection of seven pieces, a sword, a spear, a dao, three shields and a bamboo rod with hair decoration, which were presented to the Tower of London in 1850 by the East India Company. They were perhaps part of a larger collection comprising other material, but the Tower specialised in weaponry. None of these pieces is now definitely extant although some may be part of a loan of Naga pieces from the Tower to the Horniman Museum (letter from Richardson, Tower 1987); the link cannot be positively made. It is not known for how long the pieces were owned by the company, nor how they acquired them. Further, the documentation of the pieces as Angami opens up numerous questions. The identity of Naga groups in the mid-19th century and before does not necessarily correspond with their identity today, as has been noted earlier. The ascription of Angami to these pieces may have been a means of identifying the precise group, set of villages or location of the collecting, or have been the ascription offered by the Naga(s) or the plainspeoples from whom the pieces were obtained. It is important to note that "Angami" is apparently a corruption of the name "Gnamei" given to them by the Manipuris' (Hutton 1921A: 14). Since knowledge about the Naga peoples was limited at this period, the use of

the term 'Angami' may simply have been thought to be the correct prefix. It is the heading of the group of items in the catalogue which identifies the pieces as Angami, rather than parts of each entry. Furthermore, an extract is given from a letter from the Company's agent as 'Gowhatty' describing the use of the spear. 'Gowhatty' is presumably Gauhati which was used as the capital of Assam until the capital was moved to Shillong in 1877. For the agent to have acquired objects from Angamis thus would have meant the Angamis travelling some distance into the plains, the agent travelling to, or near to Angami country in the hills, or intermediaries bringing the material for trade. Given the hostility that frequently existed between the Angami and the British in this period it is probably quite likely that the material was acquired by the Company from one of the early military explorers in the Naga Hills. The attribution Angami, although possible, is thus open to doubt.

Between this East India Company material and 1920 are a series of some eight collectors giving a total of less than 50 pieces which are definitely ascribed as Angami (outside of the collections of Hutton). It is very likely that many of the Naga objects acquired in this period were from the Angami because they were the group most in contact with the British and who occupied probably the largest space in British thoughts about the Nagas at this time. The situation changes immediately in the 1920s with the gifts of Mills to Manchester and collections made at that time by Parry and Innes. One of the difficulties with the Oxford material acquired before 1920 is that the ascriptions, for example for the Jarbo and Woodthorpe material, seem to have been made later; objects which arrived at Oxford after 1920, such as the Ingram material, which

were collected much earlier, again were identified by curators for allotment to a group where possible.

The material categorised as Konyak with positive ascription probably is in greater quantity up until 1920. The earliest collections here are those made by Capt Butler between 1869 and 1875: they were given to Cambridge in 1916 but Jacobs, researching in the 1980s found them recorded as Butler's property. The ascription of tribal groups such as Chang to parts of this collection are probably also the work of Jacobs and other recent curators. This is not to suggest that the attributions made in this way are erroneous, but to make clear that they are not based on documentation that came with the object but by comparison with objects in other museum collections, not necessarily of the same date. Again around seven collectors/donors feature with collections ascribed to the Konyak outside of Oxford and before the 1920s. These include ascriptions by curators (in the case of the material from Miss Andre in Liverpool, based on comparison with other museum material, by myself) and by also unravelling some of the early names attached to the material. This latter process involves the collections of Cruikshank in Glasgow and Foster at the British Museum. Cruikshank's collection includes objects from the Namsangias, a 19th century name for some of the peoples now known as Konyaks and Foster's pieces from Jaboka and 'Bamparha', places in what is now seen as Konyak country. It is possible that all of Foster's collection is from the Konyak peoples although not all definitely documented as such. Later collections from the Konyak people are from Hutton, Mills and particularly Fúrer-Haimendorf.

Apart from these two groups, other material pre-1920 (and outside of Oxford) is documented from the Tangkhul, Kabui, Ao and Chang groups. The

Chang material is from Capt Butler 1869-75 and subject to the reservations noted above. The Tangkhul are represented by one hat at the British Museum from Vallentin via Franks in 1871 and four penal rings also at the British Museum from Vacher in 1899. Franks was a curator at the British Museum and one of his particular interests was the development of the ethnography collection, much of which he built up by personally financing purchases (see Braunholtz 1970). The penal rings from Vacher include two of cane and would seem to be penis rings rather than implements of detention. Since both the Tangkhul and Kabui groups were in early and reasonably constant contact with the British it is perhaps surprising that there is not more material documented from them. The Kabui objects are from Brown in Edinburgh given in 1872 and Keatinge at the British Museum in 1879. The Ao group were in contact and in conflict with the British at the end of the 19th century and an administrative subdivision was opened at Mokochung for the Aos in 1890. The earliest documented pieces are from Mrs Howell in 1895 (in Cambridge) and from 1896-1902 and Sir Henry Cotton at the Horniman Museum, which coincides with the period of extension of British control.

Other Naga groups are not represented at all before 1920: outside of and even within Oxford they depend almost entirely on Hutton and Mills. A notable exception is a collection of 13 pieces from the Sema people made by Meiklejohn of the forestry department and given to the Royal Scottish Museum in Edinburgh in 1936. Even groups that are 'well known' through the writings of Hutton and Mills have very few collections outside of Oxford; for example the Rengma depend on one spear in Manchester given by Mills in 1924-25 and the Lhota two cloths, a skirt and an apron given by Mills to Manchester and the British Museum between 1921 and 1940. The post 1945 period brings better documented collections

although it is not always possible to know whether this documentation is the work of curators by attribution or given by the collectors themselves. Thus the large collection (33 pieces) from Sweeting in Manchester would seem to have been documented post accession in the museum whereas the 24 piece collection from Yarrow, made in 1946 and given to Sheffield in 1947 was clearly documented by the collector himself. This last collection contributed greatly to the otherwise paucity of definitely documented material for many groups with three objects from the Angami, eight Sema, one Lhota, three Ao, one Western Rengma, four Eastern Rengma, two Konyak and two Chang. It is tempting to suppose that Yarrow came into contact with the core group of 'administrator-anthropologists', that is Hutton, Mills, Pawsey and Archer, to have given such precise documentation including the division between the Western and Eastern Rengma.

Some few objects are documented by place name. For example, Manipur East (in the Keatinge collection, 1879, British Museum) or Assam (Higgins collection, 1919, British Museum). Assuming that the material is otherwise ascribed as Naga, the place-name even on such a general basis is important. Since Nagas are located in both India and Burma and within several provinces or states within India both historically and contemporaneously, having an indication of region is useful. Assuming that the Higgins piece is Naga, then it is especially significant. The Nagas are not well-known for using boats and the only apparent reference is in an early 19th century paper by Grange (1839) to Nagas coming down river to trade (see Chapter Six). Higgins' gift of a paddle is potentially important. Another boat-based object is a 'canoe prow ornament' in the material from Miss Andre given to Liverpool in 1913, but this has the appearance and size of an ear ornament.

Other general places are indicated by research, such as 'Burma' for the collections of R. Grant Brown and Judge David Wilson. R.G. Brown must be distinguished from R. Brown, donor to Edinburgh and Political Agent in Manipur in the 1870s. R. Grant Brown was a civil servant who seems to have spent his entire career in the I.C.S. in Burma in the Chindwin District, which at this time extended far to the north and touched on the Naga Hills in India and included Nagas. He wrote several articles on or with references to the hill peoples of that area, including the Burmese Nagas; thus the 'typical' Naga material (red basketry conical hats and leggings) from him in Liverpool is quite likely to be from this District, that is from Burma. Wilson gave a small collection of material from the hill peoples in Burma to Glasgow in 1907, 1908 and 1923. This included a 'Naga-style' spear from Burma. Since Wilson spent the bulk, if not all, of his I.C.S. career in Burma the place attribution of the spear is probably accurate and both important. The spear is 'typical' in that it has hair attached in the manner characteristic of many Naga spears and shows a wide distribution of this type of object, important when the boundaries of the Naga people, both geographical and conceptual, are considered.

Specific places include Makum Fort (the Bush collection in Bolton, given in 1923 and recorded as collected in 1899). The place name is not entirely clear in the records and the location of Makum Fort has not yet been ascertained. In 1933 Mrs Jolly acquired a bag from Kalimpong which eventually went to Leicester and in 1948 J.L.C. Strong bought a neck ornament in the Margherita Bazaar, Assam which was later given to Edinburgh. Mr and Mrs Jolly were well known to the administrators. Mr Jolly was an engineer mentioned by Hutton in his tour diaries and Balfour met the couple in Imphal in 1922. Mrs Jolly's acquisition is

interesting, for it suggests that other material may have been brought back by them, especially since they knew the prolific collectors of the 1920s, and if such material is not in public collections then it offers a possible source for some of the apparently considerable quantities of Naga material in private hands. Margherita is a settlement in the north of Assam, close to what is now the Indian boundary between the plains and Arunchal Pradesh and in the foothills of the Patkoi Range at a point close to the Burmese border. The purchase from the bazaar is indicative of trade to the plains by the Konyak or adjacent Nagas.

Collections by Type of Object

What is clear from the survey is that although a large quantity of Naga material exists in public collections outside of Oxford, and many of the names of donors are familiar from the history of the hills, very little of it is documented. This does raise the question, when is an object undocumented? Is it when there is no donor, no place of collection or association with collection, no ascription of group or a combination of some or all three? There are well over 100 pieces in collections for which none of these facts are known, including some, such as the Bournemouth material where a date of accession is known and some, such as two pieces in Halifax which were purchased from the Caledonian market in London. Some collections with no date or donor do have ascription of group, but this is almost certainly done by curators on basis of comparison, although it may be from a label attached which is deemed to be from the collector. This poses other questions which are addressed further below, primarily that, in the absence of

documentation, how is it known that an object is a Naga object, from the Naga peoples and/or hills?

Before examining the nature of this problem further, it is worth considering two other perspectives on the whole corpus of Naga collections: the nature of the Naga collections, that is the types of object of which they comprise and secondly the people who made the collections.

An examination of the quantities of material collected until 1920 gives a further indication of the impact of Hutton and Mills and their colleagues on an already large amount of material acquired from a comparatively small number of people in an obscure and remote colonised area. The material collected can be crudely categorised to indicate the apparent interests of collectors over this period (see appendices). The categories used are Weapons, including spears, daos, shields, swords, spearheads and dao holders (guns were important to the Nagas but none seem to have been collected in the early period); Ornament, including personal ornamentation for the neck, arm, wrist, leg and chest; Cloths, including body cloths and skirts; Costume, that is hats and headdresses, waistbelts and aprons, tails and panji holders, chest sashes; and Other including domestic equipment such as for firelighting, pipes, baskets, tools, and miscellaneous objects such as charms.

This categorisation is crude and arbitrary and overtly uses an outsider, that is foreign, rather than a Naga perception to classify the material culture. A Naga typology might classify, for example, by status items, those used or made by men and women, children and adults, and would thus cross these categories which have been used. But since the

purpose is to look at the types of object collected by outsiders it is preferable to use an outsider system of classification even if that is also arbitrary. The categories draw a distinction between items used, that is two classes, the Weapons and Other; and items worn, that is three classes, Ornaments, Costume pieces and Cloths. The distinctions made within the larger groups of used and worn reflect other perceptions besides that of the world external to Nagas: such as the importance of war and headhunting which might also be a Naga categorisation; and the curiosity value of ornamentation and costume as opposed to cloths, which might for the Nagas be a difference of male/female.

The categorisation was done on a very rough count from data available and excluding the collections at Oxford. It gives a ratio of 1 cloth to 4+ weapons to 4 ornaments to 3.5 costume to 2.75 other in the period up to 1919. The ratio for costume is skewed by the large number of hats in particular and headresses (over 43 of some 70 pieces of costume) collected in this period. There is a clear indication that the most popular items for collectors were weapons and ornaments along with hats. In addition, many of the items in the 'Other' section were associated with war or headhunting, being trophy heads or baskets associated with headtaking from the northern, Konyak groups. Many or most of the ornaments were also associated with headhunting, being status symbols demonstrating success in headtaking, although the extent of knowledge about these pieces among the collectors is not known. The low number of cloths collected reflects the lack of knowledge among the British of the significance of Feasts of Merit for which many cloths were important, marking the status of the feast-giver; it may also reflect the cost of the cloths and their value to the Nagas. The 'Other' material in this period is quite diverse, apart from headhunting

associated material noted above, largely representing a few tools, some pipes, and a few containers.

The same types of material predominate the post-1920 collections outside of those connected with the circle of men associated with the administrator-anthropologists. The 1920s and after are marked by improved documentation in terms of Naga group and significance of the object, by a greater variety of material collected in terms of representing more of the total material culture of the Naga peoples. The impetus for this, associated with Balfour, Hutton and Mills, has already been discussed. The acquisition of textiles increased considerably in the post-1920 period, not only at Oxford but in other museums and collections, some stemming from Mills (such as those at Manchester). Although aspects of material culture such as domestic items (for example baskets), tools and small collections illustrative of processes (for example shell grinding) also increased, the collection of ornaments, costume and daos remained popular.

Collectors

A final perspective on the collections is that of the collectors themselves. Many of the names of donors to museums are those of people known to have worked in or visited the hills in some capacity, although sometimes there must be some supposition, which cannot be proven, of an heir or executor giving material. An example here would be Miss E.M. Carnegie who made a gift, including some 20 hats, to Norwich Castle Museum in 1905. This was later transferred to Liverpool Museum in 1956. The name Carnegie was well known in the hills; P.T. Carnegie was a

Political Officer in the Naga Hills in the 1870s and took part in 1877 in a punitive expedition with Capt Brydon against the Angami village of Mozema (Shakespeare 1914: 219-20). This would appear to be a reprisal for a Mozema attack on a khel in Kohima (aided or at least abetted by another khel in the village) where one man, five women and 20 children were killed (Carnegy's 1876 report quoted by Hutton 1921: 163). In December 1877 Carnegy was accidentally killed by a sentry at the Manipuri outpost of Kongal Tannah (Johnstone 1896: 101-02). This is the only Carnegy known to be in the hills prior to 1905 and it is likely that the Norwich collection derives from him, and may even have been made in the aftermath of the expedition to Mozema.

Many of the early collectors can be identified as men in military or political positions in the hills, such as Woodthorpe, R. Brown, Hannay, Campbell, Howell, Nevill, Cotton, Davidson. Others, such as Anderson and Prain occupied civilian posts in or near the area, or can be identified as members of the Indian Civil Service such as Grant Brown, Wilson and George. After 1920 the variety of occupations increases with people such as Jolly, the railway engineer Salberg, forester Meiklejohn, traveller and later Allied-resistance recruiter Ursula Graham Bower, Balfour the curator, and Strong the planter. Few women appear in the hills and those that do seem to have family connections, such as Ursula Graham Bower and her grand-uncle Maj-Gen Sir Hamilton Bower who commanded the Assam Brigade 1908-14. Sons, as in the case of the Shakespears and the Butlers, often followed their fathers in careers in military service in the same area.

Some of the collectors are known to have brought out material and sold it in Britain. Dennehy is an example of this. Private collections

of Naga material from the colonial period are known to exist and some have been published in photographs, source not given (see Jacobs 1990). There is also a large quantity of Naga material in European Museums. These collections are outside the scope of this study. Some of the European material may have been acquired from anthropologists with European connections who worked in the hills, notably Furer-Haimendorf and Kauffman, but some also may derive from material brought back and sold at auction, with an origin almost certainly from British officers. Most of Wellcome's large Naga collection was bought through auctions in London in the 1920s and 1930s.

Analytical Frameworks and Problems

There exists, then, a large corpus of Naga material in British public museums, offering three key ethnographical perspectives, by Naga group, type of material and collector/donor each reflecting different significances in the history and anthropology of the Nagas and of Anglo-Naga relations. Whilst the best documented material is linked to the administrator-anthropologists and is held in Oxford, it stems from a particular and comparatively short period in the whole of British contact with the Naga peoples in the colonial era. Material outside of this time offers other insights and poses other questions concerning history, anthropology and Anglo-Naga relations. An individual piece, such as that in Edinburgh presented by Deas in 1904 and apparently collected in 1882, shows the importance of objects held outside the major Naga museum collections. ^a

^a This cloth is that documented as used by Nagas going down to trade (see Chapter Six).

The collections of Naga material culture in museums, when examined using a European historical and analytical framework, seem to be divided in two. This divide is chronological and refers partially to the actions of individuals but is also driven by 19th and early 20th century anthropological theory. Although this is part of an explanation of how and why so much material came to be collected, the effect of that collection in the Naga Hills needs also to be explored.

British intrusion and collecting undoubtedly had an effect on the Naga economy and trading but this will have varied geographically and tribally: it is bound up with the sphere of administration and exploration, the different activities of the British inside and outside the protected areas. If the transactions involving material culture are partially seen as an exchange process between the British and the Nagas then a substantial amount of these collections were involved within that process. As has been suggested this would seem to incorporate the initiation and maintenance of a relationship between the Nagas and the British. It would necessarily operate on various levels: individual, clan, village, tribe, depending on the perception of both and each party involved. When the British were unable to tax or perceived that relationship broken, they destroyed or removed portable and static material culture by punitive expeditions. When the British administered or protected they taxed using a currency they introduced and gave an opportunity to Nagas to gain. From the British perspective, obtaining material culture was part of a process of discovering more about their subjects; the artefacts gained were classified using categories they created, and believed were observable amongst the Nagas. The depositing of this material in museums in Britain reinforced ideas which classified and explained the Nagas and symbolised the Anglo-Naga relationship. That

relationship created forms of identity which were important in the political world of the Empire and which over-ruled Naga forms of identity by clan and village. This system of identification rested on the assumption that the Nagas were a cohesive group or set of groups: that the word Naga had some coherent and definitive meaning to a bounded set of hill peoples. This assumption is manifest in the museum collection data, and is the one constant among many discrepancies. The enormous difficulties raised by such assumptions are fundamental to the description and analysis of Naga society and ethnography, and they are explored in the next chapter.

IDENTIFICATION OF NAGAS

This chapter describes and discusses the problems of the identification of Nagas which are stimulated by the difficulties of museum documentation but which have a wider relevance to ethnography and anthropology. The specific problems emerging from the museum collections are considered first, and then the categories of identification are surveyed. A discussion of the general question of the Naga boundary follows. Finally, a definition of how the term is actually used, that is the meaning that 'Naga' incorporates, can be proposed.

Museum and Artefact Problems of Identification

The main, documented Naga collections are used as a basis for the identification of undocumented material in other museums, for example that in Nottingham Museum. This small collection was part of a large (3,000 piece) general collection given by a local dealer W.J. (Billy) Thompson in 1950 (see MacCormick 1984). It was subsequently identified by B.A.L. Cranstone (then Assistant Keeper at the British Museum) in 1950-51 undoubtedly drawing on literature and his experience of the British Museum and knowledge of the Pitt Rivers Museum. Reliance on the work of Hutton and Mills, either through their books or their collections is evident throughout Britain since many curators have identified material either by group or simply as Naga on the basis of

comparison or description. General problems associated with identification are considered more fully below but prior to this some more basic questions are posed, particularly about material culture.

Identification of objects in museums is continuously overlaid by successive curators using various sources to build on the work of their predecessors. Ideally the quality and quantity of documentation is improved. However, in smaller museums with limited staffing and frequently a complete lack of familiarity with ethnography collections, this work has been done by inexperienced staff (see West 1989). Original accession records may simply give the name of the donor and that of the people, for example the Naga collection of Miss Andre in Liverpool given in 1913. No other contemporary records exist for this collection, and the name is not associated with any person known to have worked in the Naga hills. The attribution 'Naga' may have come from the donor or from the curator; little other Naga material was in the museum collection at this time, probably only that from Capt E.C. Elliston consisting of a shield and some ear ornaments. Material in other museums, completely undocumented until recently, such as the small quantity in Birmingham, has attributions undoubtedly made by the curator alone. How is material known to be Naga, and what is meant by this term?

Identification of material as 'Naga' does appear to be comparatively easy. This is due partly to the nature of most of the material collected, that is weapons, ornaments, and costume; the peculiar characteristics associated with this material culture include the attachment of red-dyed hair, the apparent uniqueness of the dao in shape and form, the conical hats with red-dyed basketry and yellow orchid stem, the prevalence of such basketry on other items and the incidence

of other unusual items such as 'tails'.¹ Thus, unlike the material culture of adjacent hill peoples, such as the Kachin, Chin, Daflas, Miri, Abor, that of the Naga appears to be well-known. Respondents to the survey generally had no difficulty in identifying material as 'Naga' or knowing that there was none in their collection. This may be related to the high proportion of 'Naga' material in museums in comparison to adjacent hill and plains people, but it may also be due to the apparent ease of identification of Naga objects.

Naga material is largely linked with Assam, but the material most easily identified, as noted above, whilst used by what were 'Assamese' Nagas is in reality more closely associated with those Nagas close to and straddling the artificial border between India and Burma imposed by the British. The makers of one of the key objects, the ubiquitous conical hat, were the Kalyo-Kengyu Nagas, a group effectively outside British control for the whole of the colonial period. The distribution of these hats is not fully known, but to a certain extent they could be said to symbolically represent Nagas. However, in reality, this representation is of the unadministered makers of the hats rather than the users. It is unlikely that such a representation would be intended in a museum display, for there is not an ethnography of the Kalyo-Kengyu on which to base an exhibition. Given the British predilection for such hats, were some traded simply with a view to selling them to the British? The hats were also traded eastwards and Leach (1954) refers to them in Burma (see below). The apparent uniqueness of Naga material

¹ 'Tail' is another word, like 'kilt', apparently used with delight by British observers. It obviously has all sorts of ambiguities and implications. The 'tail' was a ceremonial *panji* basket, worn behind at the waist. One variety had a horizontal projection decorated with a long hair fringe; the other was simply the basket but with a long hair tassel. The 'long tail' featured among the Angami, Ao, Eastern Rengma, Lhota, Sema; the short tail among the Ao, Sema, Lhota, Western Rengma.

could thus give rise to spurious identification. In Bristol City Museums there is a substantial and largely well documented Naga collection from Dennehy with additional material from Spencer. There exist also a number of 'typical' Naga spears and hats: spears with fringes of red-dyed and black hair attached and conical hats decorated with, again 'typical', circular brass discs, hair and other ornamentation. These pieces are clearly documented as from Burma and not Naga, and are discussed below. They would appear to demonstrate a far wider spread for the material culture complex traditionally viewed as Naga, and further complicate the question of the boundaries of the Naga people.

The question of how an object is to be identified is crucial for the Naga Hills. A great deal of material culture was traded, as discussed in Chapter Six. The incidence of trade raises the question of whether the object is to be identified by its maker or user. Documented collections may indicate, for example, where and from which group a conical hat was collected, but in unidentified collections should they be categorised with their manufacturing group? Since this group, the Kalyo-Kengyu were effectively not administered in the colonial period, little is known about how the hats were made and also whether it was only this group that was producing them, or even just part of this group. The hat is used here as a prime example, but others objects, such as the dao, raise similar problems.

The Naga self-identity, especially in the 19th century, was by village rather than larger grouping. By identifying material according to Naga group, collectors, curators and writers may give a misperception of the ownership or distribution of material culture and manufacturing techniques. An example is the distribution of blacksmiths and potters

among the Rengma. The Rengma were especially noted as pottery makers and as blacksmiths as, for example in 'The Rengmas are great blacksmiths and make all the weapons and implements required by the Southern Lhotas of the inner ranges while the Northern Lhotas are supplied in a similar way by the Aos' (Mills 1922: 42). But Mills noted previously that while some Lhotas did undertake metalwork 'the trade of a blacksmith is regarded by the Lhotas as a very unlucky one, and is restricted to the families members of which have been blacksmiths in the past it is not surprising that Lhota blacksmiths are few and far between' (Mills 1922: 41). Among the Rengmas the distribution of smiths was limited to certain villages; among the Eastern Rengma 'It is tabu for Meluri and Sahunya to do iron-work. Lephori are allowed to do it, but rarely make anything, preferring to buy from other tribes' (Mills 1937A: 69). While Mills went on to suggest that 'The Western Rengmas are expert smiths, and their spearheads and "daos" are traded over a very large area' he also noted that only members of the Khinzonyu and Tepenyu clans were allowed to practise the art; although this restriction had been lifted by the 1930s still no member of the Nsenyu or Sampinyu clans had ever so practised (Mills 1937A: 69-70). The example of blacksmithy, production of daos, spearheads and other metal tools, thus brings in questions of village and clan identity. It also implies gender, for the smiths were male and the weapons certainly designed for male use. Rengma pottery, on the other hand, was limited by village and gender according to what was being made. According to Mills, cooking pots were made by women only, and then only in the Rengma village of Tseminyu. He implied that manufacture was possible but not practised in other Western Rengma villages, and was 'definitely tabu' in all Eastern Rengma villages (1937A: 68). Pottery also here seems to have been manufactured by the gender which would use it; cooking pots produced by women for female

use, but pottery pipe bowls were made by both men and women (in the same village, Tseminyu). With the pipes there was a further distinction 'women may make them for sale, men may only make them for their own use', although Mills did not specify whether women could sell to men and to other women (Mills 1937A: 68). He noted that here among the Rengma both sexes chewed tobacco, but he did not state whether both men and women smoked.

A further example of the difficulties of identity are shown by the distinctive painted band, used as a central feature on Ao cloths (Chongli *Tsungkote*psu or *Mangkote*psu, Mongsen *Tsungkote*p), the Northern Lhota (*rukhusu*) and the Western Rengma (*arrhi hupi* in the south and *anikezu tsu* in the north) (Mills 1926A: 36; 1922: 10; 1937A: 22). The separate central band was painted with designs symbolising headtaking and was incorporated into a cloth of generally similar design, particularly between the Ao and the Lhota; the descriptions of cloths by Hutton and Mills are inconsistent and incomplete. The cloth as a whole, with the painted band symbolised headtaking status among each group, and the addition of other painted symbols among the Ao would also indicate feasts of merit status. Among the Ao the painting on cloth was done by men, largely from the village of Longsa 'Longsa practically holds the monopoly of the decoration of the median bands of *tsungkote*psu cloths' (Mills 1926A: 94). Mills noted that the Northern Lhotas bought their median bands from the Aos and the Southern Lhotas from the Rengmas (1922: 10). This opens up numerous difficulties for identification, especially of a painted band separate from any cloth. Should the band be identified by tribe of making or use, and would it be more appropriate to refer to the village and not the tribe? The bands were not used by all the Ao being forbidden to the clans of Mulir and Mongsentsungr.

Additional complications are as was noted by Archer whilst on tour in the hills in January 1947 (Archer 1947). Mills had noted (1937A: 68) that as far as he knew only the Ao and Rengma practised the art of painting on cloth, and among the latter the art had died out in the village of Tseminyu and only two or three men in Tesophenyu knew it. Archer found the situation the same; the art dead in Tseminyu for over 20 years but still with two households producing in Tesophenyu. Archer interestingly gives a rate of production for one of the households; one a year for the last 20 years, and a selling price of 40 rupees. A few days later Archer visited the Lhota village of Lungsa, where he obviously made enquiries about the painted band (among other aspects of Naga life) and showed villagers the pattern illustrated in Mills *The Lhota Nagas*. While the pattern was recognised, the villagers 'indignantly repudiated the suggestion that a Lhota could buy one [a painted band] from a Rengma' and stated that bands were still made by the Lhota villages of Okotzi and Pangti and that it 'was from a Lhota village only that such a cloth could be bought'. Apart from indicating other possible sources for the manufacture of the sap-painted band, these statements also highlight an identity with the 'tribe' as much as to the village. There is, additionally, the possibility of change over time, in self-identity (from village to tribe), and also in, for example, the taking up of manufacturing techniques, although this would appear to be unlikely in the case of the painted band. Archer's notes also indicate the significance of the band and cloth to the Lhota, in their claiming ownership of the whole production.

In examining collections of material culture in museums, if an object is to be understood, the more information associated with it then the more value it has. For example, date and place of manufacture,

maker's name and status, method of collection including underlying reasons on both sides of the exchange or other 'transaction', use in Britain, all signify the importance of an object in different societies, cultures and periods. They provide a basis for analysis of the meaning, position and use of the object within that society at a particular time. The initial problem is simple; much, if not all of this information is missing. Can any be recovered?

There are two main sources used for the identification of material culture; comparison with existing collections and published materials, particularly books and exhibition catalogues because they are often more accessible, easily obtained and better known than papers in journals. The collections would be in public museums, usually those with a large collection in the area required and specialist staff to provide access and information. For the Nagas the key texts used would thus most likely be the books of Hutton and Mills; the museum collections would be the better documented Naga collections in the museums at Oxford, Cambridge and the British Museum, again mainly material from Hutton and Mills and Fürer-Haimendorf. There are a range of problems in using these two approaches and especially in depending on them alone.

The books of Hutton and Mills contain a few photographs of objects and give descriptions. When one tries to apply these in identification they are generally found to be very rudimentary. Only the more obvious pieces stand out, such as the cloths with a painted central band. Textiles in general present considerable difficulties; there are a great many varieties according to levels of feasts of merit achieved and the sex of the wearer, apart from headhunting status cloths and other non-ceremonial cloths. Other pieces also require more information, for

example, exactly how are the 'tails' for this particular group constructed, or what do the changes in shapes of the 'enemies teeth' ornament signify - fashion, village, tribe, date, or are these differences irrelevant? When descriptions do appear to be adequate they are often apparently specific to one piece, one village, one period, one person. It becomes difficult to match on a more general basis because it is not indicated what variation in an object is important or significant. Essentially the books can give a general indication of what an object is, and perhaps suggestions of areas but more precise information is usually not available. Often it is other, associated information which indicates the general area, such as the extent and type of tattooing, indicating origins of patterns on small wooden heads or on bamboo mugs with burnt decoration.

The notion of checking objects against those in 'good' collections will run into similar difficulties at the outset. The museum information is generally specific to that object and no indication is given of significant points to consider variation within and without a corpus. This is where the method of a museum collecting a single series to show the range of an object rather than recording random variation within a village or 'type' leads to problems. It means that it is difficult to 'match up' because it is not clear whether a variation, in for example, textile band widths, indicates that the object is within a permissible range or has become something else. That something else may signify other features, for example statuses, tribes, villages.

An additional problem here is dating an object and the variation which must occur over time and thus show deviance from any description or comparison. There is a particular difficulty because little attention

has been paid to dating ethnographic material culture. This means that whilst information concerning people and place of origin has been deemed important the date of collection and the date the object was made and used has generally been ignored. This has begun to be rectified generally, partly through the exhibition of material associated with particular events or people. The prime example here is the commemoration of Captain Cook's voyages and death, and the exhibition of material collected on those voyages. This had to be assembled from sources around the world after detective work in tracing the objects historically and geographically from the 18th century. This example highlights another feature connected with dating which has dominated ethnographic collectiana. This is the concern with societies before European intrusion, pre-contact, as in the case of Cook and the Pacific. The same holds true for many collections because implicit in the lack of dating is the notion that this material represents another way of living, prior to European expansion, rather than an acknowledgement of links to a trading world, let alone a perception of the world as a whole with a myriad of interrelationships. Hutton and Mills demonstrate this first notion, because in their writing and collecting they were keen to show Naga society as it was before British intrusion. They appeared to have seen this as a sort of 'rescue ethnography and collecting' before it was too late to record and acquire. Despite this, there is no examination and little acknowledgement of change either pre-colonial or post-colonial. The exceptions recognised are mainly the effects of the missions and changes due to the abolition of headhunting. Some references are made to objects changing, that for example a particular type of dao is no longer in use, but no reasons for this are given and the underlying theoretical structure for such change belongs to the old ethnological aspect of anthropology.

Apart from being able to place an object historically, a corpus of dated objects may enable stylistic variation and change to be observed and developed. It would also give a clearer picture of the material culture experienced by a particular individual. For example, it seems clear that there was an increase in shell trading within the colonial period, especially amongst the administered groups. Apart from a corresponding increase in the use of shells as ornaments on cloths, the value of the shell as a status item or to indicate particular prowess may have changed. Some items made with 'Jobs Tears' seeds may reflect this change. The 'enemies teeth' ² ornament is one pertinent example. Some of these are made in finely worked red and yellow basketry, with well-fixed hair and rows of cowries, even rubbed cowries. Others have pieces of red and yellow cloth and rows of white 'Jobs Tears' seeds. Is there any significance in this variation? For example, does it indicate changes over time, geography, status, wealth or a combination of some of these? An alternative explanation is that certain objects were made for sale to the British or others who visited. This begins to indicate the complexity of material culture, in asking questions which reflect a range of realities and changes in society; the making of objects for 'tourists', the replacement of cowries by seeds or vice-versa, or the variation permissible at a single time all make statements about economic life, its interconnection with status and what elements were essential in signifying that status.

² The 'enemies teeth' ornament is 'a flat piece of wood, about 10 inches long and 5 inches deep, covered with fine plaited work of red cane, with a border of cowries and a fringe of scarlet goat's hair at the ends and bottom. It is supposed to represent the head of an enemy, the red cane being the tongue and palate, the cowries the teeth, and the fringe of red hair the blood pouring out of the mouth' (Mills 1922: 14). The size and materials of specimens in museum collections vary quite considerably. The groups among which 'enemies teeth' were found include the Angami, Ao, Lhota, Western Rengma and Sema.

These problems start to show the documentation that is ideally required. Dating is one of the core factors. Since this information is rarely incorporated in the description of an object it is usually necessary to be familiar with the accession numbering system of a museum. This frequently includes a date and enables the earliest date to be that of entry to the museum. On some lists where dating information is given, it is this museum entry year which has to be used. This is generally expressed as pre-x, as in pre-1924, meaning the object was given in 1924. It also, of course means that the object may be no earlier than x, in this case 1924. The ranges of date possibilities correspond with those of the museum's existence. As has been shown, dates can sometimes be pushed further back through a knowledge of the museum's history. The 'ethnographic present' has become unacceptable, but the ahistorical treatment of museum collections creates categories which prevent the time depth of both objects and societies of origin being considered. Methods of improving the dating of objects include research on the pre-museum history of the piece. This usually concerns the biography of the donor or close relative, which for example, by giving the period of time spent in a particular area and the regions and peoples contacted, may begin to delimit the period of possible collection.

This process may give only very general or no results, but in any case can only give a date and place of collection. There is no indication as to when the object was used or even its purpose. Whilst the date and the place are important, so too are the people, the group which used the piece and the person who owned it, to give an idea of the value and status use of the object and to provide a basis for symbolic and other analysis. These questions raise the issue of what it is that

is being identified. What are the key categories which identify an object?

Categories of Object Identification

The issue of categorisation is clearly linked to that of the theoretical concerns of the identifier, and in turn with the contemporary thought of the discipline with which the material culture is associated. The disregard of dating and the emphasis placed on identifying an object with a group of people reflect the concerns of ethnology and ethnography. The 19th and early-20th century preoccupation with origins of peoples and whether they could be traced through material culture, in establishing what objects were held in common, required identification by people. So too did the more recent ethnography, with its functionalist emphasis on portraying the workings of a society and a later structuralist emphasis on explaining the linkages of those workings and subsequently the symbolic associations of material culture. Here again identification primarily by people was sufficient and other information, such as dating, extraneous. The objects illustrated these features and explanations and had no intrinsic merit in themselves. The intervening theoretical model for the use of collections between ethnology and ethnography was the 'ethnographic present': merely to see them as illustrative of life outside industrialised society. A pre-ethnology or comparative technology form might lay less stress on the people, the object having intrinsic value as a type for a 'species' in the interrelationship of material culture, for example, as part of the transition between an axe and a sword. This model assumes no history, for although it is evolutionary, it mixes

archaeological, historical and contemporary material. Dates and people are really only required when it is overlaid with another model, for example one purporting to show the primacy of a particular people.

The association with a people, although frequently made, is unquantified. Identifying statements such as 'an Angami Naga arm ornament' proclaim an association with the Angamis but in what form? What is the precise nature of this link, for example, was it made or used by an Angami, in an Angami or other village? When an identification is made the primary link needs to be defined and qualified. This is a particular problem for the Nagas and therefore demonstrates a general example. Since curators are continually attempting to refine their documentation, having an object described by the tribal group appears to be a great step forward. This link may be formed from books, comparison with other collections, the discovery of other documentation, or by visiting experts. This last would usually amount to a combination of the first two (books and other collections), especially with historical material, except where the expert has visited an area and seen material in use (which is difficult for historical material culture). These descriptions are associations; an object is not 'Angami Naga' except by being made or used by them.

The difficulties in the Naga hills for this sort of identification are enormous. Whereas many curators would be happy with tribal groupings this is because these categories have been and still are the major western or British method of subdividing the Nagas. The Naga process of identification, firstly by clan or village, does not easily fit this model. The problem in making this ascription to a tribal group or people is clarifying whether it is that of maker or user. As has been shown

there is a great deal of trade among the Nagas, not only between groups but also between villages within groups. This is complicated by some villages having inhabitants from different tribal groups. The conical hats offer a simple example; if ascribed at all it is usually to the users of that particular hat. The actual use may vary. Since the hats were traded for some distance from the east, through different groups, a hat may have been held simply for trade. Here not only the group/village/people identification needs to be precise, but also the use of the hat; it might not properly be a 'hat' in this instance but a commodity, a form of wealth or potential wealth.

Trade is only one practice complicating identification. Already noted is the use and significance of objects changing over time because, for example, of the end of headhunting, changes in feasts of merit through missionizing, or the greater availability of some items such as shells. This is coloured by the difference between administered and unadministered groups and the status/power of tribal groups, villages and individuals on each side of the control-line boundaries. Trade and cultural similarities also brought the problem of the similar objects in use in several areas. Without further information this means some unidentified objects could potentially be associated and thus ascribed to any one of numerous vilages and groups quite apart from any additional possibilities created through trading patterns.

Apart from the question of identity by Naga group, there are other forms of identity which arise out of the general context of the material culture. Already noted is the Naga manufacture, circulation (trade) and use (practical and symbolic) of an object. There is also the British acquisition, circulation and use of the Naga objects. The context of

acquisition is the key in indicating the value, uses and perception of the object on both sides of the transaction; at this point the object has several identities, in terms of the prestation (or other method of acquisition) as well as the Naga and British identities. British identities are bound up with the use of the object for example, as souvenir, memento, academic record, exhibition material, propaganda material. The circulation, that is the exchange of material in Britain, gives it additional uses and values. Some objects collected in the Naga hills remained in private hands, sold at auction or privately. This material, and that which was sold to museums, is a form of wealth. The objects given to museums, whether openly for this purpose or not, effectively preserve the memory of the collector or the donor, and illustrate a particular view or description of other peoples. Artefacts thus become evidence of that particular view.

The contexts of use and collection offer a number of identities for a particular object, and the connection between the naming, that is the given identity of the object, and the context is clearly important. The question of identity goes beyond this. It offers so much variation potentially, although there is rarely if ever sufficient documentation to permit interpretation on all of these levels. It is, perhaps, more usual to begin with an object and start off with the question, where is this from? The notion that it is Naga may stem from a brief accession record, listing objects and stating 'Naga' against them, or depend on, with completely unplaced pieces, experience and comparison in a recognition that this particular form of decoration, style, type is Naga. What is meant by Naga? The problem is clearly shown in the question of material from Burma and the question of hats, and exists both in museum

collections and in the literature. It revolves around where Nagas begin and end, but also when is or was a Naga not a Naga.

The Boundaries of Nagas

Since the general names for the hill peoples were not in common use, especially as a form of identity, such ascriptions of Nagas are by the British. There is a general sense of what Nagas are or were, but this is not defined. The words of Robinson and Hutton on this issue have already been quoted. The political situation now has changed the identity, not only by the creation of the state of Nagaland but by the need to use the term to gain independence or at least various forms of autonomy; to politically mark the difference between the hill peoples and plains peoples. The lack of definition of the term 'Naga' confuses a number of issues in dealing with historical collections and other materials especially those from the 19th century.

To reiterate and summarize, the ascription of the term Naga implies one of two elements; either the peoples living within a geographical boundary or certain hill peoples who all have something in common which makes them Naga as opposed to, for example, Kachin. There is also the possibility of these elements being combined and a third implication, that Naga is the name the hill peoples called themselves, a process of self-identity. From the historical records extant it is not clear whether the people now known as Naga ever referred to themselves as such before British entry, but it would seem that they did not. The appellation was used in contact with the British but this was because of the need to communicate in agreed terms; whilst the name was used with

the British and plains peoples, it was not particularly significant at first, always being supplemented or pre-fixed by a tribal or village name: the prefix suggesting a more precise location of the suffix which merely meant 'naked hill people'. This is not to suggest that no common identity existed, but that any earlier, pre-19th century common identity is now overlaid by the colonial inter-relationships and historical record and the contemporary political need.

An initial consideration of the question of geographical boundaries for the Nagas would appear to be comparatively straightforward. These are the peoples who live in the hills to the south of the Brahmaputra, east of the Assam plains and Cachar hills, surround the northerly part of Manipur and extend into Burma. This is where the difficulties begin. The boundary in Burma is not really determined. The problems arise out of the colonial history; the British in India were able to define the north, west and south boundary on that side, since these were administered groups. By defining the boundary they also defined the groups which were Naga. The area to the east was unadministered, the real frontier zone, but beyond that lay the Indo-Burma boundary. There was some knowledge of Naga groups occupying the area up to the boundary, or at least names were given for them, most notably the Kalyo-Kengyu. Thus it appeared that geographical boundaries were possible.

Once it is accepted that Nagas exist in Burma, the boundary becomes more difficult to define. Little has been published on the Nagas in Burma. Two key sources are the works of Dewar and of Stevenson. Dewar's report was published in 1927 and again apparently with deletions and additions in 1933 (in Bennison 1933). Dewar's report is the more extensive, naming some five tribes which he divides into 31 subtribes

and then into around 100 villages. He isolated the area occupied by the Nagas and having named both groups and villages the main problem appears simply to be that they were unadministered and therefore little known.

The boundary to the north offers greater problems. The old boundary was effectively fixed at the Brahmaputra River and adjacent plains. After independence there were implied suggestions that the people known as Wancho and the Nocte should be recognised as Naga. Here there are additional difficulties of nationalist politics and the potential usefulness of being identified as Naga, as noted above. But there were other reasons and it is these which take us out of a consideration of the geographical boundary alone and into the question of what other elements make up the Nagas.

The question which emerges is quite simple; how is any person living within the geographical boundary or named villages to be identified as a Naga? The examples of Burma and of the Wancho and Nocte highlight the issues here. Elwin discussed the peoples of the north-east frontier districts, what is now Arunachal Pradesh, in various works (for example, see Elwin 1957, and 1959). The peoples of the Tirap district he listed as the Wanchos, Noctes, Singphos (that is Kachins), and Tangsas (Elwin 1957: 25). The Tirap district or division of the then North-East Frontier, consisted of the narrow strip of mountains dividing Margherita and the Brahmaputra. It was an area extending from the Tuensang district of the Konyak Nagas in a north-easterly direction and linking with the mountains to the north of the Brahmaputra. Its easterly boundary was with Burma. The peoples here are adjacent to Naga groups in Assam and Burma as well as to other groups of hill peoples. Elwin's brief record indicated that the Wancho and the Nocte tribes had many characteristics

in common with the Konyak Naga peoples to their south. It would appear that the Wancho and Nocte had more in common with the Konyak than the Konyak did with other southerly Naga groups such as the Angami or even the Sema. The question arises as to why the Wancho and Nocte are simply hill tribes, whereas the Konyak and others are Naga hill tribes.

The similarities between these two tribes and Naga tribes are evident in both social organisation and material culture, as well as belief systems. Both the Wancho and Nocte were, before the 1950s, headhunting groups with powerful chiefs. Elwin noted variation in the function of the morung across the hills as a whole;

Among some of the Changs, Yimchungrs and Sangtams, for example, it is not used for residential purposes but mainly to have the great log-drum or xylophone which is beaten to summon to war, festival, for a dirge and, in former days to display the skulls of enemies. The Semas do not build morungs at all. On the other hand, for the Phoms, Konyaks, Wanchos and Noctes, the morung is the centre of male social life and all the young warriors sleep there at night. (Elwin 1959: 138)

Elwin noted that the stimulus to the production of what he called art was headhunting and feasts of merit, and their abolition or suppression by government and missionaries threatened the continuance of art. This art he saw as being the carvings in the morung and personal ornamentation.

Apart from elements of social organisation and the importance of the prosperity-associated cultures of headhunting and feasts of merit, it is the material culture which also indicates similarities with that of the northern Naga groups. The morung carvings follow similar themes and styles to those of the Konyak. The portable material culture includes tobacco pipes, small wooden heads as chest ornaments, hair ornaments, basket ornaments which all are paralleled and might be traded with the

groups to the south. There are some variations in weaving patterns where the Wancho include a figure of a human embroidered on a waistbelt where the Konyak might have one painted on a bark belt. It should be noted that the Wancho tattoo; their designs coupled with the use of human figure designs in various forms is closely linked to that of the Chang Nagas as well as the Konyak Nagas. In discussing the Tirap division, Elwin noted that 'human hair is specially valued in Tirap, perhaps on account of its magical value in making the crops grown tall and long, and the Liju women, who shave their heads say they do so to make themselves less attractive to the headhunter' (1959: 31). He also recorded 'no one will ever part with a dao or basket adorned with human hair' (ibid: 31).

Certain differences do exist in the style and existence of some objects and associated beliefs. For example, the apparent importance of the hand in headhunting iconography. Elwin shows wooden hair ornaments with a head at one end (or a double head) and a hand at the other with the caption: 'Wancho ornaments worn by warriors who have taken heads and assisted in the killing of a third enemy (for which they were entitled to put up a wooden hand)' (Elwin 1959: 162). The differences which do or did exist between the Wanchos, Noctes and Konyaks, in both social organisation and material culture would appear to be no greater than those among tribes named as Naga. There are clearly influences from other, more northerly groups on the material culture of the Wancho particularly in the poker work designs on bamboo. This influence extends into the Naga hills themselves in the designs on Konyak and Phom bamboo but also the existence of various influences is seen in the Naga area in the widespread trading of certain items such as hats.

It would appear that the hill tribes of the Assam (Naga) and north-east frontier area might be considered as a whole, but with significant variations within that whole. The appellation 'Naga' to some of the tribes seems to be quite arbitrary and depend on historical factors concerning their relationship with the British as much as any other feature. The most significant division between the hill tribes of the north-east frontier and those of Assam would seem to be Buddhism. The tribes of the western end of the north-east frontier district, close to Tibet, were Buddhist and in the division to the north of the Tirap, in Lohit, there were also Buddhist tribes. These last were Singpho (that is Kachin) and Khampti tribes, the Khamptis having migrated from Burma toward the end of the 18th century. Shortly after this, groups of Kachins had also migrated to the area: the fact that Kachins were already there indicates problems of terminological changes - Singpho being an alternative spelling of Jingphaw, an older name for Kachin peoples. Elwin also believed that many clans of the Mishmi had origins in Burma.

The movements of hill peoples over past centuries were considerable and much occupied early ethnologists. Hutton also devoted space to an examination of the migration history of Naga tribes. This migration history is complicated by the movement across what are now national borders as well as significant internal borders, and prevents an easy view of the whole. In discussing the Tirap Elwin stated that in the 'old days' (undefined) Rang-pangs were alleged to live here, but no one knows who they are or were for 'no such tribe exists' (Elwin 1957: 25). There are or were Naga groups in Burma of similar name; one of the Naga tribes listed by Dewar is the 'Rangpan' and they were also noted by Grant Brown as one of the main Burmese Naga groups (1911A). This may simply be

another derogatory name applied by plains or hill outsiders to other hill groups, as for example are the names Naga and Abor.³ Whilst this derogatory use may be the case, it is possible that in the confusion of names and places there are or were other links between the Nagas of Burma and the peoples of Tirap. It is necessary to look at the defining elements of the Nagas of Burma.

Before examining the Burmese Nagas it is necessary to note the dominance of particular sources. For example, published materials in the form of academically accepted books and journal articles are usually given precedence over sources such as magazine articles. Where does the museum record lie in this hierarchy? Documentation associated with collections may conflict with other evidence, for example does or did the tribe Peal called Ledo or that which Mills called Chaokik (in the Pitt Rivers classification) exist? When Elwin stated that Rangpans do not exist, he seems to mean that a cohesive, structured group identified by the name Rangpan did not exist. The problem would seem to be whose system of classification and categorisation is being used. The Pitt Rivers Museum has a section called Northern (Tirap) Nagas, albeit with one object, a hoe, given by C.R. Stonor, an agricultural officer, who worked in the area in the late 1940s. If this is what he defined the people as (or they defined themselves as), that is Nagas, can they later be reclassified? In the 1940s it could be argued that some groups or people found it politically expedient to identify themselves as Naga. Such expediency may have featured throughout the history of Anglo-Naga relations.

³ The Abor people are now known by their own name, the Adi.

The Nagas in Burma present further definitional problems. For Leach there clearly were characteristic differences between the main hill groups such as the Kachin, Shan, and Naga. He stated 'the confusion of language is associated with a complicated political inter-relationship between Shans, Kachins and Nagas, but all details are so far lacking' (1954: 45). His summary of the problem he examined is relevant here:

The problem then that presents itself is this. In the Kachin Hills Area as a whole we find a considerable number of named groups culturally distinct or partly distinct. In places these groups are segregated into fairly well-defined areas, in other places they are all jumbled up. A study of Kachin social organisation cannot therefore proceed in the classical manner which treated culture groups as social isolates. (Leach 1954: 60)

Whilst acknowledging that differences exist on cultural grounds, Leach for the purposes of his book, used Kachin as 'a general category for all the peoples of the Kachin Hills Area who are not (even in theory) Buddhists' (ibid: 57). Here Naga groups might be included in this category.

The difficulty is exacerbated by the way in which Naga groups in Burma have been described. In being approached from the Burmese side the descriptive concepts and categories most often associated with other hill peoples have been applied, primarily by Dewar, to the Nagas in Burma. Thus Dewar discussed 'nat' ceremonies and houses. 'The Nagas are Animists or spirit worshippers. The chief spirits feared are: "Mu (the heavens), "Ga" (the earth), "Bum" (the mountains), and "Sawn," or "Jawn" the *nat* of Hades said to have power over life and death' (Dewar 1927: 8). The copy of this work in the Royal Anthropological Institute library has been annotated at this point and the writer suggests parallels with Chang Naga beliefs. Dewar discussed how these spirits were appeased and the use of nat houses and ceremonies:

In many of the villages there is a "nat house", at which the community sacrifice to the communal spirits. Some clans hold these

communal sacrifices at fixed time during the year, and other clans only when occasion arises, such as once in two or more years. In villages where there are no "nat houses" the communal sacrifices are held at some recognised house, or particular spot in the village. These nat ceremonies are held, to ward off and cure sickness, or disease, for a fruitful harvest, welfare of the village cattle, pigs, etc. The animals sacrificed vary amongst the different clans, some sacrifice only cattle, pigs, and fowls, others include buffaloes, dogs and goats. (Dewar 1927: 8)

Dewar then went on to indicate the role of human sacrifice in this complex:

In addition to the above some clans include human beings, or only the parts taken from the corpse of a sacrificed human, and still others use the head, arms, and legs, of enemies they have killed to propitiate the spirits. At a deserted village site a "phallic" worship stone, planted three to four generations ago was seen. It was said that the offering used to purify houses in the village, at which women had died at child birth; generally human flesh, was placed before the stone to fall to decay. (Dewar 1927: 8)

This may be the crux of the distinction between some of the hill groups; a division between those who are Buddhist and those not, and among the non-Buddhist a further division between those who practiced headhunting/human sacrifice and those who did not. This last would be the division or definition of the Nagas (headhunters) and the Kachin. Such a definition would not merely depend on headhunting but would seem to include at least the sexual prowess element of the prosperity complex; feasts of merit in various forms existed among a number of the hill peoples, such as the Chin. On the existence of headhunting Stevenson noted:

Because headhunting exists in a few unadministered areas and human sacrifice once had a place in the religion of a very small minority, the whole of the tribes have lived, in the past, under a sinister cloud of mystery. As late as 1937 an article appeared in a certain periodical ascribing the exotic practice of cannibalism to the Kachin, who have never even collected the heads, let alone devoured the corpses, of their fellow men; while in general all the tribes have been given a very false reputation for a degree of primitiveness bordering on the savage. (Stevenson 1944: 22)

Stevenson also discussed the men's house (morung) and the process of raiding for heads among the Nagas of Burma (ibid: 16). Dewar (1927)

suggested that not all of the Burmese Naga groups had morungs. He noted the presence of separate houses for young people among his different Naga sub-tribe categories. The incidence of these houses appears to be related to attitudes to sexual intercourse before marriage.

These distinctions, between Buddhist/non-Buddhist and then headhunters/non-headhunters, provide a basis for the identification of the term Naga, which may be extended. The material culture appears to offer an additional feature amid further complications. The distinctive elements of Naga material culture include the use of animal and human hair, sometimes dyed, as decoration and the use of hornbill feathers. Hair is used on numerous items, such as tails, daos, spears, cloths, hats and headgear. Some of these items appear elsewhere in the hill area generally, but without the decorative hair. The Apa Tani of Arunchal Pradesh have a 'tail' of plain basketry (Elwin 1959: 106). The dao itself (as distinct from the *dah*, the national weapon of Burma) appears unique to the Nagas, with and without hair. Dewar discusses the presence of decorated spears among the Burmese Nagas, mostly it seems traded from the Nagas in the west of Burma although 'here and there in the villages visited men may be found who have learnt the art from their neighbours' (1927: 22). The question of hats is discussed further below.

The intermingling of the Kachin and the Naga was noted by Dewar:

At several places in the Naga Hills, small Kachin settlements existed till quite a recent date, in fact at the time of writing a few households are living on the south-west of the Sangpan Bum in the Namhpuk Valley, also in the north in the Tarung valley. The original history of how these Kachin families entered the Naga Hills is unknown. That they exercised considerable influence over the Nagas is abundantly proved in the present day by the descendants of the original families, who although they live outside the Naga Hills exercise a loose control over the Naga clans in their neighbourhood and also over several of the more distantly situated clans. (in Bennison 1933: 267).

As an indication of the relationship in some parts: 'The Pangaw Nagas have intermarried freely with the Kachins, and, but for a few households who in appearance, dress, habits and customs, are practically the same as Kachins, may in the present day be considered an extinct clan.' (Dewar 1933: 268). The difference in dress, that is in at least some aspects of the material culture was also indicated by the Nagas living on either side of the Sangpan Range in Burma: 'those of the west still retain their national costume, whereas those on the east have borrowed articles of dress from their more civilised neighbours, the Kachins and the Shans' (ibid: 268).

The limited information available on the material culture of the Burmese Naga groups, with no collections from them acknowledged in British museums and few collections from other adjacent hill peoples, prevent a full analysis of the correlations of identity and material culture at present. This is particularly relevant to the identification of Naga material culture. In Bristol Museum are some spears, typically 'Naga', decorated with dyed red hair, also some conical hats, ornamented with brass discs and other typically 'Naga' features. These are numbered and reasonably well documented; if they had not, they would almost certainly have been categorised as 'Naga', meaning the hills district on the Indian side of the border. These spears and hats together with other material were collected by Col Raikes in Burma in 1889. Some items are war trophies as in 'hunting bag taken at Siyin Ywa Ma in 1889 from the body of a dead Chin'. All of the pieces are described as Chin, and information on collection or origin given for most of them. These typically 'Naga' spears are given as Chin. For example, 'Two Chin spears - brought by Chins to the Chindwin valley and offered for sale. Hair is supposed to be that of goats. Spears all made by Chins and bartered in

all the Chin valley. Intended for fighting as thrusting spears.' The hats are also described as Chin.

Stevenson noted that 'the northernmost boundary of Chin occupation in Burma is the Namwe Chaung in the Somra tract of the present Naga Hills district' (1944: 5). The northern groups are those most involved in the series of feasts of merit. It is likely that, although not recorded, these Chin had contact with the Naga to the north. The spears may have been traded from the Naga rather than have been made by the Chin themselves.

The origin of the hats acquired by Raikes is part of the wider question of hats in the hill district. Raikes' hats are described as 'used by a chief as a war helmet amongst the Haka tribe of Chins', 'used by the Haka tribe', and another 'Chin war helmet ... from the Chinbok tribe, north of the Upper Chindwin District'. The Upper Chindwin administrative district was quite large. In 1931 parts to the north remained unadministered and loosely administered. These Chinbok were a northerly group, and the Haka were further to the south (there was another Chinbok tribe to the south of the Haka) ⁴. The hats acquired by Raikes were made of basketry, of conical shape and decorated with brass discs, boars tusks and buffalo horns. These hats, with or without decoration, were used by Naga groups on the Indian side (the northern- and eastern- most groups), having been made by the Kalyo-Kengyu and traded through various groups. It would seem, from their wide distribution, that these hats were particularly valued and it is likely

⁴ The identification of hill peoples on the Burmese side using the 19th and 20th century literature is as, if not more complex than in Assam. Work has been done by L.G.Hill on sorting out the problem.

that they were traded in an easterly direction as well. In 1927 the expedition to the Burmese Nagas reported:

At the village of Tulin, in unexplored territory, the Nagas were found to be not so remote from outside contact as elsewhere. The dress of the men, which showed influence from India, was a strange assortment of garments. The men, in conical hat, dyed cape [sic ?canel] adorned with boar tusches, and wearing plumes of human hair, presented a most incongruous appearance. (*The Times* 7th April)

The notion that these Nagas were less remote from contact may have been partially based on the expedition recognising elements of material culture. Leach, when discussing items of Kachin culture borrowed from elsewhere noted that a 'Kachin priest's hat is a Naga helmet' (Leach 1964: 231). He probably meant this conical hat, rather than, for example, the flatter, dome shaped hat covered in hair and worn by the Sema.

Basketry hats were common throughout the hill area of Assam and Arunachal Pradesh, and in adjacent parts of Burma associated with the Nagas. Burmese hill peoples away from the Naga area more usually wore headcloths. Elwin (1959: 107) indicated the various shapes and techniques of the Arunachal Pradesh region, which revolved around the Siang Division, to the north-east of the Tirap Division. Basu (1929) classified the hats into two groups, the first from these two divisions, from the Abor, Mishmi, Dafla and Hill-Miri and the second consisting of hats and caps from the Nagas and other hill tribes of Assam. This second group is entirely Naga as far as basketry hats are concerned because the other type noted by Basu were caps made of cloth and worn, for example by the Khasi.

In making these distinctions and considering the identity of material culture there is a shift from the user of the item to the maker

of the item. The typical Naga hat, as worn by the Kachin priest, is one made by a Naga group. It would seem that the spears decorated with hair are identified with the Naga because they are made by them. The dao is probably a weapon/tool unique to the Nagas and seems not to have been traded outside Naga groups. Dewar records some Burmese Nagas using the Kachin *dah*, more like a short broad-bladed sword, again classifying on the basis of manufacture rather than use. It is as if these items at least were considered to be characteristic of a particular culture or hill people and so were not only a means of identity of that people but also the people were a means of identity of that material culture. In this sense at least the distribution of material culture is parallel with and a means of the identification of the Naga peoples.

Naga

The identification of Naga material culture is bound up with the identification of the Nagas. This is not merely because of the apparent importance of some items of material culture in delineating the extent of the Nagas, but because when identifying an object as Naga this reference may be to an item that was made by, used by or traded by the Nagas. Completely undocumented 'Naga' material in museum or other collections is only 'Naga' because of a peculiar identification that is concerned with the historical set of Anglo-Naga relations, of which the collecting or acquisition of material culture was a part. For example, a conical hat or a spear decorated with hair might be identified as Naga but actually used by the Kachin or Chin; in other circumstances it might be referred to as Kachin or Chin rather than as Naga. Whilst these may seem to be obvious examples, the lack of documentation of trade in the

general hill area and limited museum collections mean that many other examples are likely to exist.

What is being identified as Naga then, stems from the period of Anglo-Naga contact and the collections built up from the relationship in this period. Essentially this means that when referring to an object as Naga, identifying it as Naga, what is being referred to is the set of relations between a group of British officers and a group of hill people with whom they were in contact. These officers built up a culture of their own which included a set of attitudes toward the hill peoples, a method of relating to and transacting with them, a way of describing them. This included the premise that there was a large general group which could be identified by certain undefined features and was equivalent to being Naga. The Naga peoples had their own form of identity, based primarily on belonging to clans and villages. In the process of the developing and geographically and quantitatively increasing relationship between the two, the British and the hill peoples, certain concepts became combined to create a new identity; the political Nagas of the post colonial period. This latter involved new combinations of the tribal groups identified by the British, coupled with a political definition of Nagas within new administrative boundaries. This is not to suggest that the term 'Naga' had no validity amongst those known as Naga in the colonial period, especially in the 19th century, but that Naga as an historical form of identity in this period is practically the result of the relationship developed between the two sides, British and Nagas. This must be seen in the context of colonialism and independence, where the location of power lay with the British and their form of political organisation remained dominant. Additionally, the British side of the relationship depended to a large

extent on a particular group of military and administrative officers who had in practice formed a distinct response to working in the Naga hills and to the people therein.

Thus, the term 'Naga' primarily refers to groups that were described and recorded as such in this period; the material culture was acquired in this period as part of that process. Certain items become seen as distinctive 'Naga' items because they are a part of this description, recording and acquisition, thus objects can be Naga because they were made by *or* used by the Nagas. There does appear to be or have been a distinctive Naga culture dependent on aspects of belief and practice such as headhunting and sexual prowess and certain items of material culture such as hats, daos and the decoration of objects with hair. These aspects and items are not limited to the peoples known as Nagas, but are part of an overlapping complex of social organisation, belief systems, cultural practices and material culture which exists or existed in the hills that are now part of Burma and India and primarily in those hills adjacent to the international border. The examination of the use and context of material culture during the colonial period reflects this and emphasises the peculiarities of the identity of Nagas and the identification of objects as Naga.

The corpus of Naga material culture existing in museum and other collections thus primarily belongs not only to a specific historical period but is also tangible evidence of a set of colonial and imperial relations of that period. The identification of objects requires more than ascription to a particular tribal group; the context of acquisition needs to be determined as does the circulation and use of the objects separate from their overt purpose or function. Identification of objects

is parallel to identification of peoples; through it the boundaries and thus the core of a culture, are set down. 'Naga culture' has been seen as coterminous with 'Naga people' by means of 19th century theoretical articulation. A different methodology, of identifying cultures amongst the hill peoples, was effectively tried to a limited extent, by isolating tribal groups, but this also fitted theoretical expectations and administrative needs. The identification of material culture in museums has highlighted problems and asked questions which affect not only the representation of that people and culture in the museum, but their representation within ethnography and anthropology.

CONCLUSION

We are now in a position to determine the significance and broader relevance of this study for Naga ethnography and for museum ethnography. The study has aimed to make sense of collections of material culture by realising their inherent layers of meaning and indicating their potential as an anthropological record. Material has been examined in a number of contexts which provide a general analytical framework. This can be discussed in a series of developmental themes, drawing out the main points considered so far. The framework is described below in terms of its general applicability, with the case of the Nagas then being used as a specific example.

Studies of material culture whether they focus on geographical area, social group or type of object, conventionally depend upon information which identifies the use and association of the object in its 'native' society. The society is usually, or is deemed to be, that which both produces and uses the object. As a convention of identifying and naming in the museum in Britain, the adoption of this procedure has consequences for the use of the object in the museum. The object is identified as 'belonging' to a named group of people and is then used to represent that named group. The object stands for the group in the absence of their human presence. The object, through its own nature and its juxtaposition to others in the representation, relays information about the nature of the people and their society. The categories used to

interpret this information are a combination of those of the viewer and those of the museum, whose perspectives frequently coincide because most often both viewer and museum are a part of the same culture. Such a method of identification and representation fails to ask a number of questions which centre on the fact that the material has been moved from one context to another. In ethnographical collections this means it has been transferred from one culture to the museum. In each culture the object has a different use. Whilst these uses and their dependent categories need to be examined, it is important to ask, how did the objects come to be in the museum? They were transported from one culture to another, but who was moving with them? Which culture or society came to the other? The bulk of existing ethnographic collections are historical residues from the colonial period. They were, therefore, usually transported to the U.K. by the visiting British. This means that in order to understand the identification of the objects, this visitation by the British must be examined in detail.

The first stage is to consider the processes of outside intrusion on the local scene. There are questions here of how and why this took (or takes) place, and the nature of this outside intrusion. The importance of examining this intrusion lies in the need to unravel the methods and purposes behind the process of collecting information. Particularly in societies where anthropology has been the key academic discipline and source of record, at least until recent years, the main documentation is that which has been made by outsiders. It is therefore important that the process by which they collected information and developed an understanding of that culture is examined to enable the categories and perceptions used in that documentation to be drawn out and evaluated. A re-evaluation of the documentation is then possible and can be used in

subsequent work. From these considerations of the process and nature of intrusion and the collecting of information, questions emerge concerning the people involved. Who exactly were these outsiders and what was their purpose in moving into the area? Here it is not the British in general which are involved, but a series of individuals who may be placed into certain groupings because they have background, work or interests in common.

Having established the history and character of this intrusion and the outline of the resulting documentation, it is then necessary to examine the response in the locality. Generally, the local response is frequently difficult to gauge and evaluate because of the limitations of the documentation. It was generally ignored or negatively recorded. For example, a perception of a propensity to warfare may have been officially described as arising from the character or morals of the local people, implying that they were outside of civilisation, rather than as a response to invasion. This enabled justification of the terminology, such as 'punitive' expedition, in legitimating rule on moral as well as legal grounds. It is important to ask, what was the response to the intrusion? For example what was the part played by locals in providing information to outsiders? Again, this also needs to be asked specifically: who was involved and what was their purpose?

The people involved in establishing and maintaining the intrusion of outsiders, through military action and administration, were the key players in the movement of material to Britain. If not collecting themselves they acted as gatekeepers to the collection of local material culture. What is and was the significance of the objects acquired? This has two aspects. The first, which is bound up with the process of

collecting, is the significance of the material to the outsiders. What did it mean and represent to them? The second is the range, use and significances of the material culture to the local people. This is vital in order to analyse what parts of that range were collected and, most importantly, to examine the effect of intrusion and collecting on local life. Through this analysis material culture is articulating the local-outsider relationship; fundamentally it is providing tangible means for the identification of that relationship, as the outcome of the process of exchange under varying conditions. In considering the identification of the relationship there emerges a further crucial question; who exactly were the parties concerned? This raises issues about the criteria used to identify a person as a member of a group and the group as part of a culture. To examine these issues it is necessary to turn back to the information available, which was often based on contemporary theory, the inadequacies of which rapidly become clear. Central to this framework is the historical basis of most ethnography collections but the relevance of this analysis to modern anthropological fieldwork is discussed below.

At this point it is necessary to show how this framework operates in summarising what has been achieved by developing it and applying it to the Nagas. In considering the existence of material culture collections in Britain, the first question appears simplistic. Was it Nagas bringing objects with them to Britain or the British going to the Naga hills area and taking objects back home? Whilst the answer is obvious for the Nagas it reflects the general point regarding colonial activity. The early points of Anglo-Naga contact must then be examined, which requires the analysis of the British entering the Naga area, why they did so and the methods used, for example, military, explorative,

administrative. From this arises data concerning the development and use of concepts such as Naga tribes and subtribes which are important anthropologically and in understanding expansion of the administration. The consideration of how these concepts came about, and who formulated them produces evidence that on the Indian side of the Naga Hills there was a group of men who over a century developed a common culture of their own in response to their perceptions of the Nagas. To determine the effect of this intrusion on the Nagas, and the nature of their response, the use of material culture was particularly considered. The effect is particularly well revealed in the detail of British impact on trade and this has been an important part of this study.

The examination of Naga trade and the effect of British administrative and military action raises a significant general point. The development of colonies and empire was very much concerned with economic activity. Trade was the main purpose of this British-overseas link, with the aim of creating wealth. The distribution of wealth in the colonised area was altered. Various assumptions were made by the colonisers about the pre-existing productivity and motivation of the people who were taken over, which were reinforced by some 19th century anthropological thought. These assumptions and theories meant that little attention was paid to existing trading patterns. A consequence of this was the failure to properly realise the value of objects and their social significance. The value was bound up with the system of 'wealth'; the term 'value' has an ambiguity which is useful here, meaning both economic worth and social value. Thus the trading system, in which material culture plays a considerable part, when analysed may reflect and be part of the underlying philosophy of that culture.

Thus, examination of Naga trade required discussion and exploration of the place of objects in the local-outsider, that is the Anglo-Naga relationship. These objects had two sets of meanings and importance, to the locals and to the outsiders. The objects circulated amongst both as well as between them. A description of the local use of objects and the meanings given to them is therefore required initially. Within this the form of their circulation is important, that is the methods and rationale for trade. In particular the patterns of this trade must be unravelled. For the Nagas this provides information about sets of relationships between Naga groups and villages. This information is limited by the categories established by the outsiders, who frequently discussed Naga tribes rather than individual villages, as though these groups were an economic unit. Despite this, general patterns of trade can be determined. The process and history of British intrusion is important, with the impact of the outsiders over time and through geography clearly seen. British administered areas and the imposition of frontier lines altered trading patterns. The nature of cross frontier trade altered, as did that within and without the administered area. This had an effect on wealth and status, as well as on the value of particular objects.

Local Naga trade and the impact of outsiders on trading patterns provides a context for the acquisition of material culture by the British. The methods of collecting require description and, linked to this, the purpose of collecting needs to be examined. This is especially important given the large quantity of objects collected and now held in British museums. The driving force behind this acquisition must be related to the processes of gaining information about and describing the 'other', that is to the categories and theories used by the British in

their attempt to understand Naga society, to rule and administer, and to justify that rule. The development of anthropological theory played an important part in this, particularly the ethnological perspectives of the 19th century which were coterminous with the extension of colonial rule.

The significance of the objects lies in the meaning given to their acquisition by both sides, that is the meaning given to the fact of their acquisition by the British, by both the Nagas and the British. In whatever form collecting took an exchange occurred, be it in terms of conventional trade, or of conflict in the context of looting or trophy-taking after battle. Especially important is the place of object exchange in defining the relationship between locals and outsiders, the Nagas and the British. The form of the exchange defined the specific relationship while the general pattern of acquisition, because of its links to theory and through the incorporation of such material into British society, consolidated that relationship and its structure. The objects were used as part of the methodology of colonial identification, that is the way in which other peoples were categorised. The categorisation was open to various interpretations, for example of human evolution, societal evolution, diffusion of cultural traits. It also enabled a structure, rooted in theory, of discrete groups to be established which facilitated colonial rule through the development of administrative units. The process of depositing collected objects in museums in Britain provided a means by which those objects could be incorporated into British culture and society. This symbolised the incorporation of that people, here the Nagas, into Britain and the empire, and helped legitimate colonial rule. It also reinforced and reproduced the notion of empire and colonial rule through the

representation of the people in exhibitions. The collections and thus the material culture provide an identity or identification of the Nagas.

The form of this identity must be considered. It rests on the identification of the objects themselves, because from this emerge broader questions concerning the identification of the people. The objects are a consistent form of reality which both the Nagas and the British have and had in common. They were produced for a particular purpose and had a set of meanings among the Nagas which related to social structure and belief systems. Those objects most prized by the British were also those most sought after by the Nagas. For the Nagas, the acquisition and use of these pieces was bound up with status, wealth and the performance of certain tasks. These activities were determined by the need to gain prosperity and thus, effectively to enable reproduction both biologically and socially, on an individual and societal basis. For the British these same objects had a personal, cultural and political use. The material could be used as personal trophy, a sign of achievement in war or in exotic travel and contact with the 'other'. Culturally it was linked to theories about the relationships of humans and human societies. Politically it was part of the construction of administration and power. In this way the acquisition of material culture summarised the extent of the relationship between the Nagas and the British, in giving it meaning and in signifying its nature.

The detail of this process concerns how objects are identified as being Naga or from a particular group of Nagas. Such identification rests largely on documentation from the collector or curatorial work which utilises the records of Naga life made by men who frequently were

collectors or at least part of their specific culture. These identifications depend, in turn, on the way Naga society was perceived and recorded, and the categories used to do this. The process of identification thus turns full circle, for the identification of an object as Naga depends on the form of development of the Anglo-Naga relationship, which provided the rationale for the collection of material culture. It is in this way that objects signify the Anglo-Naga relationship, and open up questions about that relationship and the process and history of anthropology.

Whilst this study has concerned a historical material culture and relationship, the questions raised also relate to modern anthropology. In particular they concern modern identification of peoples and their relationships. The role of material culture in signifying the local-outsider relationship is important. It establishes boundaries and how they may be crossed, for example by the use of specific local costume. These boundaries are not only between the anthropologist and the local people but also between the various local groups, and locals and those who they consider to be outsiders. The conventional social anthropological focus has been on the relationships and the way in which they have developed (especially since the work of Malinowski). A focus on the material culture instead, or additionally, raises different questions and the potential of different analyses.

Such a focus has been the rationale of this study and the questions raised, which are part of its analytical framework, demonstrate its significance. There are two key and inter-related dimensions to this significance, for Naga ethnography and museum ethnography, from which arises a third which concerns the process of modern fieldwork and the

importance of material culture. This third dimension needs to be discussed in the context of the social importance of objects and their history. It is considered below after an examination of the first two dimensions.

For Naga ethnography this study has drawn out the significance of sources other than Hutton and Mills, and in so doing, has shown the importance of a historical dimension to the resulting ethnographies. This in itself leads to a re-consideration of the format of Anglo-Naga relations and how this has not only affected but also produced the ethnographies. These dimensions provide the context in which information about Naga society was assembled and show the influences which led the material to be laid out in certain ways. The context needs to be explored in order to unravel the construction of our knowledge of Nagas. While many of these themes are generally considered in the modern examination of anthropological writing, in order to re-evaluate the way in which a culture is described, they have not been brought together for the study of material culture and in particular have not previously been considered for the Naga ethnography.

An immediate result of applying these dimensions of analysis of ethnography within a study of material culture has been to draw out and underline the importance of trade. The significance of trade amongst the Nagas has not previously been explored and indeed was paid little attention in the main ethnographic monographs. The impact of the British on Naga trade is part of the impact of the British on Naga life overall. Here the stimulation of questions about material culture provokes an analysis of trade and British impact which exemplifies the complexities as well as the shortcomings of Naga ethnographies. The differentiation

of Naga groupings, the use of changing categorisation systems by the ethnographers, and the moving British frontier are parts of the volatile synchronic and diachronic structure which provided a dynamic in the Anglo-Naga relationship. Trade itself was a central part of the prosperity complex, in particular wealth-status development and with links to headhunting and conflict. The consideration of trade enables a re-evaluation of the practical and symbolic importance of material culture within Naga life. It also suggests the importance of museum collections as a record and data bank for Naga ethnography. The objects are comparable to certain archival records in being a contemporary source of information, but are especially significant in being a record to both parties, that is to the British and to the Nagas, with different meanings for each. In particular the objects are a primary source for the Nagas since it was they who largely initiated the manufacture of such pieces for their own use, even if that use in some circumstances might have been for immediate trade, and that trade was sale to the white outsider for their museum.

The question of trade thus takes us onto the dimension of museum ethnography. The contributions of this framework and study to Naga ethnography have also indicated some of its significance for museums, but this needs to be articulated separately. Although the central focus of the disciplines (anthropology and museum ethnography) is essentially the same in the representation of other peoples, the difference in the key raw materials available tend towards difference in approach.

For museum ethnography this study has shown that the historical theme in the framework is of especial importance. The method in museum ethnography has effectively been that of the ethnographic present. The

lack of attention paid to the dating of ethnographic objects has resulted in the lack of questioning of the categorisation and identification of such material. This has essentially meant a denial of change within societies. Modern museum exhibitions have frequently moved away from a technical material culture approach to one of using the objects in an anthropological representation of social organisation. History and change have tended to be ignored. This is partly because of the reliance of museum ethnographers on the published anthropological works for information to make a representation. These works also frequently deny history and, in the past, change. The work of Leach (1954) is crucial in rectifying this and has particular applicability in this study. The effective denial of chronology and, therefore, of social change is apparent in most ethnographical museums. This has resulted in and been reinforced by a methodology in cataloguing which has ignored date as a key part of the identification of the object. The exclusion of the category of chronology has developed focii elsewhere in the essential need to provide forms of identity for an object.

The practice of chronology, of dating objects, in the ethnography museum of necessity leads into two areas. Firstly, to the examination of the collectors and secondly to an analysis of the collections as part of the outsider-local relationship rather than as separate objects. The role of the collector is important in the search for better documentation and especially dating. It also enables the analysis of categories of collector (and frequently writer) to be examined. This permits a focus on the purpose of collecting and subsequently the significance, the extent and the limitations of the collection to be analysed. The collections cannot be seen as a series of individual objects, separate from the context of their acquisition. The collections

are bound up with the colonial process: they are part of that process and their identification results from that process. The museum itself is an important part of the incorporation of the objects and hence of the people into British life: for historical collections the connection is of colonialism, that is the incorporation into the empire.

In examining these issues of dating and collection, this study has shown the significance of a new analytical framework for museum ethnography. This framework has connotations in suggesting the importance of museum collections and documentation as data. The value lies in a number of areas which have repeatedly emerged above by approaching material culture from different perspectives. In particular, there is the simple provision of information additional to the published ethnographies. Coupled with this, the collections frequently challenge the existing ethnography and ask different questions which may require new and different analyses. One of the main questions developed is about the colonial relationship, which stems from focusing on the collecting process, that is asking who collected, why and how they did so. Here the collections completed a circle: they helped provide a theoretical basis and justification for colonial rule. This circle was instigated by the initial intrusion and the collecting of objects as part of the process of gaining information which enabled power and rule. The objects were then removed and deposited in a museum at home as part of the process of incorporating the colonies into the ruling country. The museum then used the objects as the basis of exhibition which demonstrated the difference between the two societies and cultures, and by inferring different status, could help to justify rule.

Thus, for the ethnographies the analysis depends on a framework of examining chronology, collectors, the collecting process, the meaning given to objects on both sides, and the identification of objects and of people. For museum collections the development of this framework enables collections to be re-examined and their documentation improved. Apart from providing a useful analysis in itself, better documentation should eventually permit some of the potential of collections to be realised. In particular, it should allow the examination of chronological change, spatial and social variation in material culture; it also would assist in making better analyses of historical societies which conventionally have been the province of anthropology. Such work would erode views of societies and cultures as static by asking questions concerning historical change, and in turn it should offer evidence for the limitations of existing collections of material culture, and also of existing ethnographies, in making representations of other societies. The limitations centre on the range of questions asked and issues considered, and especially the neglect of the social importance of material culture, discussed below.

The framework has been here applied to historical collections of material culture and its use in providing evidence for re-evaluation of ethnography. The same frameworks applied to modern fieldwork might open similar deficiencies and ask similar questions. Here in particular the place of material culture exchange (especially gifts and other prestations) as part of the process of fieldwork and within the outsider-local relationship needs description, examination and analysis. It seems to be too often ignored except in informal, oral anecdotes and not recorded as part of the formal process of doing anthropology.

In this study and discussion a central, undeclared tenet has been the social importance of material culture, and its significance for ethnography. This significance concerns the ways in which objects are used to embody meaning, stand as analogy and to give permanence. After the action of headhunting or feasting, which were of central importance in Naga society, it was the objects which provided status and recalled the event. The humans concerned may have been changed inwardly by the experience, but it was the use of the material culture which proclaimed the occurrence and change. The objects demonstrated that the event had taken place, marking any occurrence of inward change and the definite occurrence of change in the acquisition of new status. The change had permanence until a subsequent change of status, for example until the next status was achieved in the series of feasts of merit. In this sense it did not matter if the object was destroyed for another could be obtained. The object therefore did not carry within itself the permanence and status, but signified it in a way the human being alone could not. This is one aspect of each object, in a sense, representing within itself a point in social process. It is thus evidence of process, and with careful and rigorous documentation and examination enables statements to be made about what is or was happening in a particular society. If society is difficult to define, and cannot be regarded as an entity in itself, but a series of relationships and processes, then the material culture is an important part of that process in providing permanent (to a degree) units which embody meanings and relationships. In particular material culture provides a sense of continuity.

In this way the objects become documents but have a greater significance than mere documents because of the varieties of form, and therefore meaning. Like documents they need to be read and the language

and method of reading must be discovered. In modern British society, especially for academic purposes, we are used to using documents, and know how to interpret them. To use material culture requires the development of a methodological framework for interpretation. For non-literate peoples, especially those of the past century in various parts of the world, the material culture and museum collections in particular provide a unique voice. This uniqueness underlies the importance of providing newly emerging nations and other entities with a scholarly assessment of material gathered during the colonial period.

The questions raised by the study of historical material culture have specifically highlighted the importance of identification. ¹ This necessitates the consideration of the Nagas as a whole, which in turn requires the study of the history of anthropological recording in the area, in which the material culture collecting played a prominent part. Thus, for Naga ethnography this study has emphasised the importance of going beyond the colonial frontiers and the problem of the present international boundary. Simultaneously, it has called into question the definition of the Nagas and their differentiation from other hill peoples. There is a need to examine the whole of the hill peoples of the area and their interrelationships, but this needs to be done using the hill peoples' own categories. What is clear from this study is the way

¹ Since Indian independence and for some time before, it seems to have been politically important to be defined as Naga. The Nagas have gained their own state within the Republic of India and thus some degree of self-determination. To them the question of identity is therefore of great importance. By traditional or colonial definition Nagas reside outside the State of Nagaland in Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur and Burma. On what do such definitions and criteria depend? The colonial process and identification, aspects of social organisation, traditional identity or political identity? The dividing up of the hill peoples in various ways has led to their need for a political uniform identity, which might well come to be Naga. This study, which contains suggestions about the identification of Naga which are possibly unwelcome there, provides a context for the present situation. It is not intended to deny contemporary Naga identification, nor self-identity of Nagas.

in which categories have effectively been imposed over the colonial period. The key differentiation was not and is not between groups of hill peoples but between hill peoples and outsiders: this notion was effectively subordinated to the political and administrative needs of the colonial power. In this process museum ethnography has reflected anthropology in looking for smaller units, through the need to identify objects as completely as possible. This process has lost sight of overviews, for example of trading and other relationships. In particular, there has been neglect of the need to examine cultural similarities and their extent, and to ask where differences between cultures lie? It is on the notion of difference that identity hinges and, thus, how particular cultures are defined. This is an important point in the general examination and analysis of the cultures of the societies of the Assam-Burma hills.

This study has shown how the study of material culture has an important part to play in the analysis of hill society and its regional context. This importance arises from general points which have connotations for modern fieldwork as well as for historical analysis. Material culture has a social importance which centres on its embodiment of meaning and signification of relationships. Individual objects carry this and reflect continuity, the degree of permanence and nature of these relationships. The objects also stand alone, as themselves and are open to a variety of interpretations, especially by different cultures. This is evident in the different meanings ascribed to them when they are transported from one culture to another. Although the meanings are different, the object still expresses relationships, and apart from those within each of the two cultures, it also expresses the relationship between the two cultures. The objects are documents, albeit

of a peculiar type with broad potential for meaning. They are the *only* native documents for much of the social and cultural history of many peoples of the world. In the Naga case this is why the study of material culture assumes a greater importance for understanding the development of their culture and social history than it does for their plains neighbours - Assamese, Burmese, Manipuris who possess written documentation of their history. If these documents are to be used they must be interpreted, and methodologies and analytical frameworks must be developed to do this. In order to continue to use this source of information we must be more rigorous in the way these 'documents' are used, and in particular in the way we collect and record material culture. The forms of identification must be assessed and objects must be dated.

In the 19th century material culture played a central role in anthropology. Partly because of this, for purposes of historical analysis it can still have this part, but recognition of the social importance of material culture would bring it more to the fore in modern fieldwork. The reasons for the contemporary focus on material culture are different to those of the 19th century and the methodological and theoretical processes for analysis which are being developed must incorporate the 19th century theories and context in the examination of historical material culture. Contemporary material culture studies and collection can learn from the processes and analysis of the past.

The study of material culture has been much neglected within anthropology. By looking at ways of using the large collections of Naga material culture, this study has provided and tested an analytical framework for the general study of ethnographical collections. No doubt

it has raised more questions than it has answered, but in doing so, it has demonstrated some improvements necessary to the advancement of museum-based studies. The intention has been to show that ethnographical collections have much greater potential value today than has been accepted for a considerable time past. In attempting to formulate that value it is hoped that this study will contribute to the development of an improved museum ethnography which will take a more important role in anthropology, (and indeed history), in the future.

APPENDIX 1

MUSEUM COLLECTIONS OF NAGA MATERIAL IN BRITAIN

This is not to be regarded as a complete listing of Naga Collections, but an indication of their size and scope.

Museums are listed by town or city followed by the name of the institution.

Format of entry

TOWN/CITY

name of museum

total size of collection

range of dates of donations made

specific groups, tribes or places given in the museum record

range of types of object in collection - Cost, War, Head, Orn, Day, Rit
(see abbreviations below)

donor	date of donation	(size, if large collection	name of collector	date of collection	cross-index to B A P
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Notes

The SIZE of collection is approximate or an estimate in most cases. Where it is very likely that more exists, a plus sign + is entered after the number. It should be noted that in counting a 'pair' is counted as two, wherever such detail on the collection is known.

The NAMES/GROUPS/PLACES section records some or all of the names used in the record. It does not include the term 'Naga'; some of the groups entered such as Dafla, are not regarded as Naga, but are included when the museum has identified the material as Naga, or the objects have a conventional Naga description. An example of the latter is the 'Chin' material from Col Raikes in Bristol. Other collections of such material, Dafla, Kuki, Chin etc, are not recorded.

The titles of donors are as given in the museum record. These generally use older conventions of giving initials for a male but identifying a female by Ms or Mrs; thus most of the donors appear to be male.

Collector information: where preceded by an asterisk * then at least the name of the collector or date of collection is given in the museum record. All others are my own identifications of collector/date; where this is uncertain it is indicated with a ?

Cross-indexing, these refer to the collector;

B - biographical details are provided in the DONOR APPENDIX

A - the person wrote books or articles; these are usually in the bibliography

P - the person appears on a list made of people in the Naga Hills; list not given here for lack of space

ABBREVIATIONS

In the list of museum collections only the key words are used. In the chronology of collections appendix additional details are given in some entries. The (C) after the word 'Cost' indicates that there are textiles in the collection; where the (C) is not present the 'Cost' part of the collection will generally consist of hats.

Cost	H	hat/headdress		
	C	cloths	W	waist/lengta/belt
			K	kilt
			ap	apron
			apc	cowrie apron
			cs	sash/baldrick
War	D	dao	dh	daoholder
	S	spear	sh	spearhead
	sd	shield	pl	shield? plume
	sw	sword		
			ds	dao shaft
Head	B	basket		
	Tl	tail, panji holders		
	hd	trophy heads		
	b	bones/teeth		
Orn	O	ornament, general	E	earring
	Om	- metal	N	neck/necklet
	Os	- shell	A	arm
	Ob	- beads	Wr	wrist
			co	chest
			cs	sash/baldrick
			L	leg
			hr	
Day	T	tools (including hoe, knife)		
	Dom	domestic utensils (including tinder equipment, baskets)		
	bg	bag		
	p	pipe		
	cur	currency		
	M	musical instruments		
Rit	carv	carvings, figures		
	R	(religious) charm		

ABERDEEN

University Anthropological Museum						36+		
1900-09								
no groups/tribes/places								
Cost	War	Head	Orn	Day				
Dr Dickie			1900					
Dr D. Prain			n.d.		donor	1884-1905	B	A
Mrs Reid			1909	(28+)	? W.I.Reid	1905-07?		P

BELFAST

Ulster Museum						10		
1910-86: no information								
no groups/tribes/places								
Cost	War	Head	Orn					
no information								
Capt. R. Campbell			1910					

BIRMINGHAM

City Museum & Art Gallery						3		
pre-1978								
no groups								
Cost	War							
no information found in store								
			1978					

BOLTON

Central Museum & Art Gallery						14		
1923								
Makum Fort in S.E. Assam								
Cost	War							
Mr W. Bush			1923		*donor	1899		

BOURNEMOUTH

Russell Cotes Art Gallery & Museum						33		
1928-31								
no groups/tribes/places								
Cost	War	Head	Orn					
no information								
			1928-31					

BRIGHTON

Art Gallery & Museum						43		
turn of 20th century to (majority) post 1932								
Assam, Assam Tezpur, Naga, Sema Naga, Angami, also Meghalaya Shillong								
object range not given								
Cavendish								
Chubb								
Melton Prior								
Ramsolen								
Row					?Capt. G. Row	c.1897		

BRISTOL

City Museum
1867-1928

121+

Chang, Konyak, Angami, Sema, Sangtam, Ao, Lhota, Changki Ao, South
Sangtam, Yacham village, Chinbok, Haka

Cost (C) War Head Orn Day

Mr H.G. Dennehy		1921-27	(89)	*donor	1921-27	B	A	
F. Granger		1867						
Miss L.V. Moore		n.d.		?J.T. Moore				P
Mrs Spencer		1922	(21)	*Norman Spencer				
Col. F.D. Raikes		1915		*donor	1889	B		
not known								

CAMBRIDGE

613+

University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology
1895-1988

Groups include: Angami, Sema, Konyak, Chang, Yimchungr, Lhota, Thado
Kuke Naga, Zeliangroung, Kalyo-Kanu, Patkoi Nagas.

Some specific places given.

Cost (C)	War	Head	Orn	Day	Rit			
W.S. Adie		1947			donor?	pre-1929	B	
Dr H. Balfour		1923-32			donor	1922-23	B	A P
Lady Brackenbury		1967			*donor			
I.H. Burkill		1948						
Butler		1956			*donor	1939-45 (probably 1945)		
Dr P.S. Cassia		1988			donor	1980s		
L.C.G. Clarke		1937	(84)		C. von Fürer-Haimendorf	1936-37	A	P
S.H. Cotton		1919	(28)		*Capt J. Butler	?1869-75	A	P
J.H. Driberg		1947	(37)		?donor family	late 19th	C B	
Dr G.L. Elles		1957			*Brig. R. Howman	1927	B	P
Sir F. Engledow		1941, 1981?						
L.H. Greenwood		1922			*H.G. Dennehy	1922	B	A P
Dr C. von Fürer-Haimendorf		1942-52			donor	1936-37	A	P
Mrs Harmer		1896						
Mrs Howell		1895-1902			*A.A. Howell (son)			
Col. A.A. Howell		1916			donor			
Dr J.H. Hutton		1924-50	(142)		donor	1912-36	B	A P
J. Jennings		1932, n.d.						
F.O. Lechmere-Oertel		1930			*donor			
Mr & Mrs Leighton		1914						
I. Wat Lonkumer		1988						
J.P. Mills		1947	(50)		donor	1915-47	B	A P
Mr Milward		1948-51						
Ms G. Ashin Panmei		1988						
C.R. Pawsey		1941-43	(65)		donor	1919-47	B	A P
Mrs Pearson		1941						
Pitt Rivers Museum		1940			*J.P. Mills	1924	B	A P
W. Ridgeway		1927			*1 coll. A. Ashfield	pre-1906		
Mrs Somerset		1916			*Col. Somerset	1912-13	B	
Col. L. Spence(r)		1932						
Dr D.A. Swallow		1978			*Mrs B.K. Nehru	early 1970s		
F. Tonge		1956						
no information		n.d.			(73+)			

DERBY

Derbyshire School Resources Centre 1
 1961
 no groups/tribes/places
 Day (bag) [shoulder bag]
 Berkeley Galleries, London 1961

DONCASTER

Doncaster Museum 2+?
 not known
 no groups/tribes/places
 War
 not known
 2 spears seen on display in 1988, labelled African

DORCHESTER

The Dorset Military Museum 4
 n.d.-1975
 Ao, Chang: Kohima
 Cost War Rit
 J.B.St V.Hawkins 1975 bamboo cross made 1969
 Maj. M.J.Reynolds n.d.

DUMFRIES

Dumfries Museum 1
 1967
 Assam
 model of dugout
 Royal Scottish Museum 1967 *RSM accession date 1884

EDINBURGH

Royal Scottish Museum 109+
 1872-1969
 Groups include: Manipur area, Kowpoe, Angami, Abor Naga, Sema, Konyak,
 Ao, Phom, Kalyo-Kengyu, Sangtam, Yachumi
 Cost (C) War Head Orn Day

Dr J. Anderson	1887	donor	1864-86	B	
Maj-Gen. Sir H. Bower	1922	donor	1908-14	B	
R. Brown	1872	donor			P
Sir A. Clow	1954	donor probably	1942-47	B	
S. E. Crutwell	1967	P. Crutwell			A
F. T. R. Deas	1904	*donor	1882		
J. Dickson	1929				
Maj-Gen. Gidney	1923	*donor	1913		
Dr J. H. Hutton	1947	donor	1912-36	B	A P
Lt-Col. H. Innes	1932	*donor	1925-26		
W. Meiklejohn	1936	*donor	1920-25		P
Maj-Gen. C. W. F. Melville	1938	*donor	1910-11		
D. J. Nisbet	1969				
Miss Rose	1956				
J. L. C. Strong	1956	*donor	1948		
Mrs Struthers	1900				
R. G. Thoms	1956				
Mrs Webster	1921	?J. E. Webster	1912-13		P
no information	1884, 1899, 1921, 1928				

GLASGOW

Glasgow Museum & Art Gallery 53
 1881-1951, 1983
 Angami, Namsangie, Kuki/Naga, Ao?, Sema?, Konyak?, Naga style Burma, Rongmei
 Cost War Orn Day
 Ajin Alodi Kamei 1983 donor 1980s
 R.D.Cruikshank 1881
 Colonial & Indian Exhibition 1886
 Miss L.D.Dunn 1947
 International Exhibition Glasgow 1888
 Miss J.Love 1949
 G.R.Main 1942
 Miss Mill 1952 *Lt-Col. Davidson 1911-12
 Miss D.Rutherford 1951
 Judge D.Wilson . 1923 donor 1883-1912 B

HALIFAX

Bankfield Museum 15+
 1917-63
 Tankuli Naga, Ao Naga, East Angami Naga, Sema Naga
 Cost (C)
 Caledonian Market 1929
 A.W.Fuller 1917 *previously in Chichester Museum
 Dr J.H.Hutton 1947 donor 1912-36 B A P
 W.Wright 1946 donor P
 not known
 see also Manchester

HASLEMERE

The Educational Museum 1+
 pre-1986
 no groups/tribes/places
 no information object types
 no reply to letter: source Schumann 1986 from 1966 data

HULL

Wilberforce House Museum 1
 pre-1989
 no groups/tribes/places
 War
 1 dao, no information, seen 1989

HULL

Centre for South East Asian Studies, 3
 University of Hull
 pre-1984?
 Cost War
 Tangkghul/not known
 C.J.Christie

IPSWICH

The Museum 9
 n.d.-1981
 Kalyo-Kengyu: Chapukong Line area: Eastern Naga
 Cost War Orn
 Brig. D.N.Reid 1981 R.N.Reid 1937-42 B
 no information n.d.
 see also Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford

KILMARNOCK

Dick Institute 4+
 n.d.
 Lhota, Sema type
 Cost (C) War
 no information n.d.
 [previously had material on loan from Mrs Betts (U.G.Bower), donated by
 her to Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford 1983]

KIRKCALDY

Museum & Art Gallery 4
 1926-27
 no groups/tribes/places
 War Orn
 J.Galloway 1926-27

KIRKLEES (Huddersfield District)

Bagshaw Museum, Batley 1
 1927
 Kohima
 Cost (C)
 Imperial Institute 1927 *Director of LR & Agri
 Assam

LEEDS

City Museum 10
 1926-75
 Duffla/Daphla tribe/Dafla
 Cost War
 Miss A.Crofton 1926
 Leeds University 1964
 J.N.Meadow 1959
 local auction 1975
 no information pre-1959

LEICESTER

Museum Education seervice, New Walk 2
 1969
 Naga, Kalimpong
 Orn Day
 Dryad collection 1969 *Mrs Jolly 1933 P

LIVERPOOL

Liverpool Museum
1882-1965

90+

Khomphima, Angami

Cost War Head Orn

Miss Andre 1913

R. Grant Brown 1919

donor

1909-17

Capt. E.C. Elliston 1882

*donor

?1879

Festival of India Touring Exhibition 1982 ?Ain Alodi Kamei

Hastings Museum 1948

Leicester Museum 1943

Newbury Museum 1955

Norwich Castle Museum 1956:

(Mrs E. Bailey 1946

Lt-Col F.M. Bailey 1911 or before B

(Miss E.M. Carnegy 1905

?P.T. Carnegy 1876-77

P

(R.J. Coulson 1928

?donor early 1920s or before

P

(A.R. Nevill 1904

(?Capt. T.N.C. Nevill early 20th C

(?1870s

P

Oxford - Indian Institute n.d.:

(Mrs Rave 1936

Mrs Parry 1965

N.E. Parry

1920s

A P

Somerset Archaeology & Natural History Society 1940s:

(Maj. E.S. Jackson 1920

Wellcome Historical Medical Museum 1951:

(auctions 1921-28 including:

(H.G. Dennehy 1927

donor

early 1920s B A

LONDON

BRITISH MUSEUM

Ethnography Department/Museum of Mankind

768+

1856-1982

Angami, Ao, Namsangia, Namsangaih, Chang, Chang-noi, garo Hills,
Garo/Khasi hills?, Golohat district, Bamparha, Sema, Dafla, Jaboka,
Kabui, Kacha, Kayo-Kengyu, Kartala, Khansanga, Konyak, Kuki, Lengta,
Lhota, Makware, Manipur, Miri, Moolong, Rengma - Eastern and Western,
Sangtam, Tangkhul, Tankhul, Tongkal, Zemi.

Cost (C) War Head Orn Day Rit

J. Allen 1897

?donor

1870s

P

J.D. Anderson 1889

donor

1864-86

B

Mrs Beasley 1944

(66)

C. von Furer-Haimendorf

1936-37 A

C.S. Bivar 1893

donor/family

1850

H.E. Bryer 1929

(66)

Maj. J.G. Burns 1873

?donor

P

Lady Chelmsford 1922

Col. R. Cook 1951

*donor

1928

Cutter 1867

dealer

see M

Miss S.M. Davis 1963

?A.W. Davis

1896-1908

P

H.S.L. Dewar 1934

?T.P. Dewar

1926-27

A

P

Rev. A.D. Dixie 1926

Mrs E.M. Fitzadam-Ormiston 1928 donors husband

1895

Dr J.M. Foster 1872, 1878 (48)

Capt. A.W. Fuller 1919, 1926 dealer

Miss J. Gelpey 1982 (175)

Miss J.C. Gough-Thomas 1968

London - British Museum continues

London - British Museum continued

C.L.Hardcastle	1910	?Lt Hardcastle	1910		P
Maj. J.Hardcastle	1919-20	*donor	1910-13		
Miss E.de L.Hawthorne	1927				
C.L.Higgins	1919				
H.B.C.Hill	1913	?Gen. Hill	c1883		P
Miss Hirst	1921				
India Museum	1972	*? 1880			
Col. R.H.Keatinge	1879	donor	c1875-76		P
W.L.Loat	1933				
B.S.Lloyd	1932				
J.P.Mills	1921	donor	1915-21	B A	P
Dr T.Murray	1856				
M. Pridham	1874				
Capt. Tupper	1871				
S.Vacher	1899				
Vallentin	1871				
W. Wareham	1871,1882				
Wellcome Historical Medical Museum	1954 (87):				
(auction sources					
Miss M.C.Wilde	1923				
no information					
[Pridham, Tupper, Vallentin, Wareham via A.W.Franks]					

LONDON

HORNIMAN MUSEUM

194+

1898-1983

Ao, Angami, Eastern Naga, Sema, Upper Burma, Tunhal Naga, Chang, Phom-Ao, Kalyo-Kengyu, Phom, Konyak

Cost (C) War Orn Day

W.G.Archer	1964	donor	1946-48	B A	
Mrs M.L.Barker	1966	*brother	1910-11		
Berkeley Galleries	1959				
Miss I.M.Brown	1932				
Central Foundation Girls School	1970:				
(Mr Adams		P.F.Adams	before 1947		P
Sir H.Cotton	1916	donor	1896-1902	B	
Dr D.Crook	1983	*donor ?	1945		
Mrs R.Davidson	1917,1937	?Lt Col Davidson	1911-12		
Mrs Head	1959				
Dr J.H.Hutton	1936	donor	1912-36	B A	P
K.J.Kiernan	1969 (66)	*donor	1940-48		
Oldman	1909	dealer			
T.C.Rowland-Hill	1963	probably early	1940s		
Royal United Services Institute	1963				
F.J.Salberg	1952	donor	1905-41	B	
Stevens	1898	auctions			
Lt-Col. Bowyer Tagg	1950				
Tower (of London) Armouries	1971	[see also London - Tower Armouries]			
Wembley Borough Council	1953				
D. Woodman		?donor			A

LONDON
 ROYAL COLLEGE OF SURGEONS 5
 1882 data; pre-1882
 Ninu in Patkoi Mountains, Konyak
 Head [skulls]
 Mr Barnard Davis
 F.D'O. Partridge
 Col. R.G. Woodthorpe including 1 from Col. Hannay

LONDON
 SCIENCE MUSEUM 6
 Wellcome Historical Medical Museum collection
 1924-28
 no groups/tribes/places
 Sales: Stevens 1924, 1928
 Sothebys 1933
 Glendining 1934

LONDON
 TOWER ARMOURIES 7 (previously)
 Tower of London
 c 1850
 Angami-Naga
 War
 Hon. East India Company c1850 *companys agent
 see Horniman Museum

LONDON
 VICTORIA & ALBERT MUSEUM 91
 1880?-1977
 no groups/tribes/places
 Cost (C) War
 no information 1880?
 no information 1939
 no information 1977
 no information n.d. (61) on loan
 no information n.d.

MANCHESTER
 University Museum 161
 1912-61
 Abor Naga, Angami, Eastern Angami, Ao, Chang, Dafla Naga, Konyak,
 Northern Lhota, Rengma, Sema, Phom, South Sangtam
 Some village names with Mills collection
 Cost (C) War Head Orn Day
 E. Almond 1941
 Halifax Museum n.d.:
 (G.R. Carline 1932 *J.H. Hutton 1912-32 B A P
 (Clayton Collection 1912
 (E.C.S. George 1912 donor 1887-1912 B
 C. Heape 19th century
 J.P. Mills 1922-25, 1927, 1939-40 (80) donor 1915-39B A P

Manchester University Museum - continues

Manchester University Museum - continued

(Capt. T.N.C. Nevill 1922-23 birdskins *donor)
 Dr K.B. Pinson 1930s
 G. Roberts 1961 ?Watkin Roberts 1920s P
 Salford Museum 1952
 H.C. Sweeting 1951 (33) donor
 Wellcome Historical Medical Museum 1950

MONTROSE

Angus District Museums 1
 1883?
 no groups/tribes/places
 War [spear]
 T. Oxley 1883

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE

Hancock Museum 20
 1938-51
 Konyak
 Cost War
 Mrs Baron 1961 *Maj. D.W. Baron 1945
 W. Dodds 1943
 I. Glendenning 1938
 Wellcome Historical Medical Museum 1951

NORWICH Castle Museum - see LIVERPOOL

NOTTINGHAM

Brewhouse Yard Museum c20
 1950
 no groups/tribes/places
 Cost War
 Mr W.J. Thompson 1950 dealer/collector

OXFORD

Pitt Rivers Museum 4748++
 pre 1869-1982
 Examples of group categories: Angami, Central Angami, Chakrim Angami,
 Dzuno-Kehena Angami, Eastern Angami, Khizami Angami, Memi Angami,
 Southern Angami, Tengima Angami, Vizuma Angami, Western Angami, Lyengmai
 Kacha, Layu, Ledo, Maring Naga, Memi, Merwang-Mai Naga, Northern (Tirap)
 Naga, Chaokik tribe, Eastern Chang, Frontier tribes - Bosorr and Tukomi,
 Henima, Hinduized Nagas - Cachar Hills, Kamlung, Chang, Kacha, Kalyo-
 Kengyu, Tankhul: other, main groups include Lhota, Sema, Rengma, Ao,
 Konyak, Yimsungr, Sangtam
 Cost (C) War Head Orn Day Rit
 Ashmolean Museum pre1869
 Asmolean Museum 1886 *Dr Jarbo 1878
 Dr H. Balfour 1920s donor 1922-23
 U.G. Bower (Mrs Betts) 1948, 1983 donor 1938-46

Oxford Pitt Rivers Museum - continues

Oxford Pitt Rivers Museum - continues

Lady Buckingham	n.d.	*Sir James Buckingham c1880	
J. H. Crace	1933	*donor via J. H. Hutton	
A. Duncan	1934	*donor via J. P. Mills	P
Mrs Fitzadam-Ormiston	1934	*donors husband c1895	
Mrs E. M. Hadow	1930	*Rev E. M. Hadow 1904	
Mr & Mrs A. Harris	1890, 1898	*H. E. Cargill	
J. C. Higgins	1934	donor	P
J. Hooper	1929	*Col. R. G. Woodthorpe 1870s	B A P
-	1930		
-	1933	{*some Col Butler 1869-75	A P
		{*some Col Woodthorpe 1870s	B A P
Dr E. H. Hunt	1944	*Sir James Buckingham c1880 [photos]	
Dr J. H. Hutton	1914-38 (1970+)	donor 1912-38	
India Institute	1932		
E. W. B. Ingram	1923	*Miss B. Ingram 1900-01	
Ipswich Museum	1966:		
(Crisp collection	n.d.		
(G. R. Long	1931		
E. Joseph	1946		
E. T. D. Lambert	1936 (87)	donor	P
Maj. E. J. Lugard	1949	*Mrs E. J. Lugard nee Johnson 1893	
H. Mahner-Mons	1929	R. Haberling 1928 [reel film]	
J. P. Mills	1920-38 (2067+)	donor 1915-38	
Parker	1909:		
(Buscot Park Collection	n.d.		
C. R. Pawsey	1982	*Col. R. G. Woodthorpe via J. H. Hutton	B A P
S. E. Peal	1896-97 (106)	donor before 1897	A P
Gen. Pitt Rivers	pre-1884		
Radley college	1928		
Sir R. N. Reid	1946 (120+)	*donor 1937-42	B A
-	1955		
Mrs L. Rogers	1984	*1939?	
J. D. Saul	n.d.	*via J. Hutton (son of J. H.) [paintings]	
Col. L. W. Shakespear	1923 (43)	*donor early 20th century	P
Solloway	1908		
C. R. Stonor	1967	donor	A P
K. L. Storey	1961		
Col. R. C. Temple	1898	?donor c1895	B
Dr E. T. Wilson	1909-10, 1914	(152) *Col. R. G. Woodthorpe 1870s	B A P
Miss I. Wilson	1929	*Col. R. G. Woodthorpe 1870s	B A P
J. D. Woodthorpe	1916	*Col. R. G. Woodthorpe 1870s	B A P

PERTH

Museum & Art Gallery
1961-77

Naga, Kuki
War Orn

no information 1961
no information 1977

PLYMOUTH

City Museum & Art Gallery 21
 1921
 no groups/tribes/places
 Cost War
 Maj-Gen. A.E.Campbell 1921 donor 1851-92 B P

PRESTON

Harris Museum & Art Gallery 4
 n.d.
 no groups/tribes/places
 War
 no information n.d.

SALFORD - Salford Museum - see MANCHESTER

SAFFRON WALDEN

The Museum 21
 1887-1963
 Sema
 Cost War Orn Day
 C.B.Clarke 1887 donor early 1870s? P
 Chelmsford Philosophical Society 1963 *pre-1900
 J.E.Walker 1922 ?Maj.T.N.Walker 1878-79 P

SHEFFIELD

City Museum 24
 1947
 Angami, Sema, Lhota, Ao, West Rengma, East Rengma, Konyak, Chang
 Cost (C) War Day
 Capt. A.Yarrow 1947 (24) *donor 1946

STIRLING

Stirling Smith Gallery & Museum 2+
 n.d.
 no groups/tribes/places
 War
 no information n.d.

TORQUAY

Natural History Society Museum 3
 n.d.-1928
 no groups/tribes/places
 War
 no information n.d.
 Paget-Blake Collection 1928

APPENDIX 2

DONORS TO MUSEUMS

Naga material in museums - donors and associated names

This does not pretend to be a complete record of donors of Naga collections, but represents the data collected and is as accurate as possible.

The term 'donor' has been used to include vendors, bequests etc.

Format

Name of donor	date of donation	Abbreviations M, A, P, Biog	Museum/Institution collector/date collection
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notes

M = collector information from museum records

A = author

P = collector information from list of people in the hills records
(this list is not given in the appendices for lack of space)

Biog = a short biography in Appendix 3

The abbreviations refer to the collector only, and not to the donor where this is a different person

There is some cross-indexing to indicate where donations have passed through several museums or other institutions.

Adams, Mr	1970		London - Horniman via Central Foundation Girls School P.F.Adams - before 1947
		P	
Adie, W.S.	1947		Cambridge donor before 1929
		Biog	
Ajin Alodi Kamei	1983 ?1982		Glasgow Liverpool
Allen, James	1897		London - British Museum ?Allen - 1876
		P	
Almond, E.	1941		Manchester
{Anderson, J.D.	1889		London - British Museum
{Anderson, Dr John	1887		Edinburgh - Royal Scottish donor 1864-87
		Biog	
Andre, Miss	1913		Liverpool
Archer, W.G.	1964		London - Horniman donor 1946-48
		Biog	
Ashfield, Arthur	1906		via Ridgeway 1927 to Cambridge
Ashmolean Museum	1869		Oxford - Pitt Rivers Museum
Bailey, Mrs	1946		via Norwich 1956 to Liverpool Lt-Col F.M.Bailey 1911
		Biog	
Balfour, Dr Henry	1923) 1925) 1932) 1920s		Cambridge Oxford 1922-23
		Biog	
Barker, Mrs M.	1966		London - Horniman brother 1910-11
		M	
Barnard Davis - see Davis, Barnard			
Baron, Mrs	1961		Newcastle Maj.D.W.Baron 1945
		M	
Beasley, Mrs H.G.	1944		London - British Museum C.Von Fürer Haimendorf 1936-37
		M	
Berkeley Galleries	1959 1961		London - Horniman Derby
Betts, Mrs - see Bower, U.G.			
Bivar, C.S.	1893		London - British Museum ?Lt Bivar 1850
		P	
Bower, Maj-Gen. Sir H.	1922		Edinburgh donor 1908-14
		Biog	

Bower, U.G. (Mrs. Betts)	n.d. 1948 1983		Kilmarnock - material on loan Oxford Oxford via Kilmarnock donor 1938-46
		A P	
Bowyer Tagg, Lt Col - see Tagg, Bowyer			
Brackenbury, Lady	1967		Cambridge
		M	donor
Brown, Miss I.M.	1932		London - Horniman
Brown, R.	1872		Edinburgh
		P	donor
Brown, R. Grant	1919		Liverpool
		A P	donor 1889-1917
Bryer, H.E.	1929		London - British Museum
Buckingham, Lady	1880		Oxford
		M	Sir J. Buckingham c1880
Burkill, I.H.	1948		Cambridge
			donor before 1912
Burns, Maj. J.G.	1873		London - British Museum
Buscot Park Collection	1909		Oxford via Parker
Bush, W.	1923		Bolton
		M	donor 1899
Butler, Capt.	1919		via S.H. Cotton to Cambridge
		P	1869-75
Butler	1956		Cambridge
		M	donor 1939-45 (probably 1945)
Campbell, Maj-Gen. A.E.	1921		Plymouth
		Biog	donor 1851-92
Campbell, Capt. R.	1910		Belfast ?1882
Cargill, H.E.	1890, 1898		Oxford via Mr & Mrs Harris
Carline, G.R.	n.d.		Manchester - originally from J.H. Hutton via Halifax Museum
Carnegy, Miss E.M.	1956		Liverpool via Norwich 1905
		P	?P.T. Carnegy 1876-77
Cassia, Dr P.S.	1988		Cambridge
		M	donor 1980s
Cavendish	n.d.		Brighton

Central Foundation Girls School	1970 M P	London - Horniman ?P.F.Adams before 1947
Chelmsford, Lady	1922	London - British Museum
Chelmsford Philosophical Society	1963 M	Saffron Walden pre-1900
Chubb	n. d.	Brighton
Clarke, C.B.	1887 Biog	Saffron Walden donor 1866-87
Clarke, L.C.G.	1937 M	Cambridge C.von Fürer-Haimendorf 1936-37
Clow, Sir Andrew	1954 Biog	Edinburgh donor 1942-47
Colonial & Indian Exhibition	1886	Glasgow
Cook, Col. R.	1951 M	London - British Museum donor 1928
Cotton, Sir H.	1916 Biog	London - Horniman donor 1896-1902
Cotton, S.H.	1919 M P	Cambridge Capt. J.Butler 1869-75
Coulson, R.J.	1956	Liverpool via Norwich 1928
Crace, J.H.	1933	Oxford via J.H.Hutton
Crisp Collection	1966	Oxford via Ipswich
Crofton, Miss A.	1926	Leeds
Crook, Dr D.	1983 M	London - Horniman donor 1945
Cruikshank, R.D.	1881	Glasgow
Crutwell, S.E.	1967 M A	Edinburgh P.Crutwell
Cutter	n. d. M	London - British Museum dealer
Davidson, Mrs R.	1917 P	London - Horniman ?Lt Col R.Davidson 1911-12
Davidson, Lt Col	1952 M	Glasgow via Miss Mill Davidson 1911-12
Davis, Barnard	pre-1881	London - Royal College of Surgeons (Thane 1882)

Davis, Miss S.M.	1963		London - British Museum
		P	?A.W.Davis 1896-1908
Deas, F.T.R.	1904		Edinburgh
		M	donor ?1882
Dennehy, H.G.	1922		Cambridge via L.H.G.Greenwood
	1922-28		Bristol
	1951		Liverpool via Wellcome 1927
		Biog A	donor early 1920s
Dewar, H.S.L.	1934		London - British Museum
		P A	?T.P.Dewar 1926-27
Dickie, Dr	1900		Aberdeen
Dickson, J.	1929		Edinburgh
Dixie, Rev A. Duncan	1926		London - British Museum
Dodds, W.	1943		Newcastle
Driberg, J.H.	1947		Cambridge
		Biog	donor/family late 19th Century
Duncan, A.	1934		Oxford via J.P.Mills
		M	donor
Dunn, L.D.	1947		Glasgow
East India Company	c1850		London - Tower Armouries
Elles, Dr G.L.	1957		Cambridge
		M Biog	Brig. R.Howman 1927
Elliston, Capt E.C.	1882		Liverpool
		M	?1879
Engledow, Sir F.	1941, 1981?		Cambridge
Fitzadam-Ormiston, Mrs E.M.	1928		London - British Museum
	1934		Oxford
		M	donor's husband c1895
Foster, Dr J.M.	1872		London - British Museum
Franks, A.W.	1874, 1892		London - British Museum
		M	some from Pridham, Tupper, Vallentin, Wareham,
Fuller, A.W.F.	1917		Halifax from Chichester Museum
	1908 }		
	1919 }		London - British Museum
	1926 }		1926 from Dixie

Fürer-Haimendorf, C. von	1937 1944		Cambridge via L.C.G. Clarke London - British Museum via H.G. Beasley
	1940) 1949) 1950)		Cambridge
		A	donor 1936-37
Galloway, J.	1926		Kirkcaldy
George, E.C.S.	1912	Biog	Manchester via Halifax donor 1887-1912- collection
Gidney, Maj.	1923		Edinburgh donor 1913
Glasgow International Exhibition 1888 see International Exhibition Glasgow			
Glendenning, I.	1938		Newcastle
Gough-Thomas, Miss J.	1968		London - British Museum
Granger, F.K.	1867		Bristol
Greenwood, L.H.G.	1922	M Biog	Cambridge H.G. Dennehy 1922
Haberling, R.	1928		Oxford via H. Mahner-Mons (reel film)
Hadow, Mrs E.M.	1930	M	Oxford Rev. E. M. Hadow 1904
Hannay, Col.	pre-1881		London - Royal College of Surgeons via Barnard Davis (Thane 1882)
Hardcastle, C.L.	1910	P	London - British Museum ?Lt Hardcastle 1910
Hardcastle, Maj. J.	1919-20	M	London - British Museum donor 1910-13
Harmer, Mrs	1896		Cambridge
Harris, Mr & Mrs A.	1890, 1898	M	Oxford H.E. Cargill
Hawkins, J.B. St V.	1975		Dorchester
Hawthorne, Miss E. de L.	1927		London - British Museum
Head, Mrs	1959		London - Horniman
Heape, C.	n.d.	M	Manchester 19th century

Higgins, C.L.	1919		London - British Museum via Fuller
Higgins, J.C.	1934		Oxford
Higgins, Mrs J.C.	1962	M P	Oxford donor pre-1934
Hill, H.Brian C.	1913	P	London - British Museum ?Gen. Hill c1883
Hill, T.C.Rowland- - see Rowland-Hill, Col. T.C.			
Hirst, Miss	1921		London - British Museum
Hon. East India Company - see East India Company			
Howell, Mrs	1895, 1902,	M	Cambridge A.A.Howell (son)
Howell, Col.A.A.	1916	M	Cambridge donor (see Mrs Howell and P)
Howman, Brig. R.	1957	M Biog	Cambridge via Dr G.L.Elles donor 1927
Hooper, J.	1929-30, 1933	M	Oxford includes: Col. R.G.Woodthorpe 1875 Capt. J.Butler 1869-75
Hunt, Dr E.H.	1944	M	Oxford Sir J.Buckingham c1880 (photo)
Hutton, J.H.	1914-38 1924-50 1936 1947 1947		Oxford Cambridge London - Horniman Edinburgh Halifax
		M A Biog	donor 1912-38 total 2133++
Imperial Institute	1927	M	Kirklees Dir of LR & Agri
India Museum	1972	M	London - British Museum 1880?
Indian Institute	1932		Oxford
Indian Institute, Oxford	n.d.	M	Liverpool ?Mrs Rave 1936
Ingram, E.W.B.	1923	M	Oxford Miss B.Ingram 1900-01
Innes, Lt Col H.	1932	M	Edinburgh donor 1925-26

International Exhibition	1888		Glasgow
Ipswich Museum	1966	M M	Oxford Crisp collection G.R.Long
Jackson, Maj. E.J.	1940s		Liverpool via Somerset Arch. & Nat. Hist. Society 1920
Jarbo, Dr	1886		Oxford - Pitt Rivers via Ashmolean 1878
Jennings, J.	1932		Cambridge
Jolly, Mrs	1933	M P	Leicester donor
Joseph, E.	1946		Oxford
Kamei, Ajin Alodi see Ajin Alodi Kamei			
Keatinge, Col. R.H.	1879	P Biog	London - British Museum donor ?1874-78
Kiernan, Mr K.J.	1969	M	London - Horniman donor 1940-48
Lambert, E.T.D.	1936	M P A	Oxford donor
Lechmere-Oertel, F.O.	1930	M	Cambridge donor
Leeds University	1964		Leeds
Leicester Museum	1943		Liverpool
Leighton, Mr & Mrs	1914		Cambridge
Lloyd, B.S.	1932		London - British Museum
Loat, W.L.	1933		London - British Museum
Long, G.R.	1966		Oxford via Ipswich 1931
Lonkumer, I.Wat	1988		Cambridge
Love, Miss J.	1949		Glasgow
Lugard, Maj. E.J.	1949	M	Oxford Mrs Lugard nee Johnson 1893
Main, G.R.	1942		Glasgow
Meadow, J.N.	1959		Leeds
Meiklejohn, Miss I.W.S.M.	1936	M	Edinburgh W.Meiklejohn 1920-25

Melton Prior	n.d.	Brighton
Melville, Maj-Gen C.V.F.	1938 M	Edinburgh donor 1910-11
Mill, Miss	1952 M	Glasgow Lt-Col. Davidson 1911-12
Mills, J.P.	1920-38 1921 1922-39 1947 M A Biog donor 1915-47 total 2197++	Oxford London - British Museum Manchester Cambridge
Milward, Mrs	1948-51	Cambridge
Moore, Miss L.V.	n.d. P	Bristol ?J.T.Moore pre-1901
Murray, Dr T.	1856	London - British Museum
Nevill, A.R.	1956 P	Liverpool via Norwich 1904 ?Capt T.N.C.Nevill early 20th Century ?Nevill 1870s
Nevill, Capt T.N.C.	1922-23	Manchester - bird skins NOT INCLUDED ON CHRONOLOGY
Nisbet, D.J.	1969	Edinburgh
Oldman	1909	London - Horniman (dealer)
Oxley, T.	1883	Montrose
Panmei, Ms G.Ashin	1988	Cambridge
Parker	1909 M	Oxford from the Buscot Park Collection
Parry, Mrs	1965 M A	Liverpool N.E.Parry 1920s
Partridge, F. d'O.	pre-1881	London - Royal College of Surgeons (Thane 1882)
Pawsey, C.R.	1940-53 1982 Biog A	Cambridge Oxford donor 1919-47
Peal, S.E.	1896-97 A P	Oxford donor before 1897
Pearson, Mrs	1941	Cambridge
Pinson, Dr K.B.	c1930s	Manchester

Pitt Rivers, Gen.	pre-1884		Oxford
Pitt Rivers Museum	1940	M	Cambridge J.P.Mills 1924
Prain, Dr	n.d.	Biog	Aberdeen donor 1884-1905
Pridham, M.	1874		London - British Museum via Franks
Radley College	1928		Oxford
Raikes, Col.F.D.	1915	M Biog	Bristol donor c1889
Ramsolen	n.d.		Brighton
Rave, Mrs	n.d.		Liverpool via Oxford Indian Institute 1936
Reid, Mrs	1909	P	Aberdeen ?W.J/I.Reid 1900-07
Reid, Sir R.N.	1946, 1955	M Biog	Oxford donor 1937-42: see also below
Reid, Brig. D.N.	1981	M	Ipswich Sir R.N.Reid 1937-42: see also above
Reynolds, Maj. M.J.	n.d.		Dorchester
Ridgeway, W.	1927	M Biog	Cambridge A.Ashfield pre-1906
Roberts, G.	pre-1961		Manchester ?c1928 W. Roberts
Rogers, Mrs L.	1984		Oxford ?1939
Rose, Miss	1956		Edinburgh
Row	n.d.	P	Brighton ?Capt. G. Row c1897
Rowland-Hill, Col.T.C.	1963		London - Horniman
Royal United Services Institute	1963		London - Horniman
Rutherford, Miss D.	1951		Glasgow
Salberg, F.J.	1952	Biog	London - Horniman donor 1905-44
Saul, J.D.	n.d.		Oxford via J.H.Hutton family (paintings)

Shakespear, Col.- L.W.	1923	M A	Oxford donor
Somerset, Mrs	1916	M Biog	Cambridge Col. Somerset 1911-12
Spence(r), Col.L.	1932		Cambridge
Spencer, Mrs	1922	M	Bristol Norman Spencer (son)
Stevens	1898		London - Horniman (salerooms)
Stonor, C.R.	1967	P A	Oxford donor c1946
Storey, K.L.	1961		Oxford
Strong, J.K.C.	1956	M	Edinburgh donor 1948
Struthers, Mrs	1900		Edinburgh
Swallow, Dr D.A.	1978	M	Cambridge Mrs B.K.Nehru early 1970s
Sweeting, H.C.	1951	Biog?	Manchester via Buxton Museum ?donor
Somerset Archaeology & Natural History Society	1940s	M	Liverpool ?Maj. E.S.Jackson
Tagg, Lt Col. Bowyer	1950		London - Horniman
Temple, Col.R.C.	1898	Biog	Oxford donor c1885?
Thomas, Miss J. Gough- - see Gough-Thomas			
Thompson, W.J.	1950		Nottingham - local dealer
Thoms, R.G.	1936	M	Edinburgh 1870
Tonge, F.	1956		Cambridge
Tower Armouries	1971		London - Horniman
Tupper, Capt.	1871		London - British Museum via Franks
Vacher, S.	1899		London - British Museum
Vallentin	1871		London - British Museum via Franks
Walker, J.E.	1922	P	Saffron Walden ?Maj.T.N.Walker 1878-79

Wareham	1871, 1882		London - British Museum via Franks
Webster, Mrs	1921	P Biog	Edinburgh ?J.E. Webster 1912-13
Wellcome Historical Medical Museum	1951		Manchester
	1951		Liverpool
	1951		Newcastle
	1954		London - British Museum
Wembley Borough Council	1953		London - Horniman
Wilde, Miss M.C.	1923		London - British Museum
Wilson, Judge David	1923	Biog	Glasgow donor 1883-1912
Wilson, Dr E.T.	1909		Oxford
		M A Biog	Col. R.G. Woodthorpe 1875
Wilson, Miss Ida	1929		Oxford
		M A Biog	Col. R.G. Woodthorpe 1875
Woodman, D.	1979		London - Horniman
		M A	?donor
Woodthorpe, J.D.	1916		Oxford
		M A Biog	Col. R.G. Woodthorpe 1875
Woodthorpe, Col R.G.	pre-1881		London - Royal College of Surgeons (Thane 1882)
	1909-29		Oxford via Hooper, the Wilsons, J.D. Woodthorpe
		Biog A	donor 1875
Wright, W.	1946		Halifax
Yarrow, Capt A.	1947	M	Sheffield donor 1946

APPENDIX 3

PEOPLE AND BIOGRAPHIES

Background information and biographies on collectors in the hills

During the course of this study information has been collected on the numbers of British, Europeans and other outsiders who visited the hills, who they were, when and where they went. Names were also collected of those other British etc with whom they came into contact on their travels in this area. Although much of these data is rudimentary, it would still be too long to be fully entered here. There is an estimated total of 700 names, with some dates and other information for most. The list below is therefore abstracted to provide background materials on the collectors. In some cases the link is not proven, but information is recorded here to show possibilities. The list is in alphabetical order by surname for ease of making reference to other appendices. Ordering by date could prove interesting, but would then partially replicate the Chronology Appendix.

This list includes only those names which have been collected from the literature and not from the museum record. In many cases the link is probable or potential and not proven. There are two forms of name given. The first is where a name has been collected from the literature. Here the dates given are not complete. An associated date given in the literature is likely to be a specific event such as an expedition, but the person may have been around and in the Naga hills area for several years. Associated events or places are also given. The second form are biographical notes, usually taken from an obituary in *The Times* newspaper, or from the relevant volume of *Who Was Who* (where the entries from *Who's Who* are collected on the death of the person). Although dates are given where biographical notes have been found, even these are frequently not sufficiently precise for our purposes, but do provide contextual information. Names not known in the literature have only biographical data entered here.

The addition of sources for each person and their dates would make the list too cumbersome. All of the sources are listed in the bibliography. Apart from *Who Was Who* and *The Times*, the main sources used below were: Chakravorty 1964; Ghosh 1982; Hutton's Tour Diaries; Woodthorpe 1876; as indicated on some entries.

Abbreviation: DC = District Commissioner

General Format

NAME	DATE(S)	ADDITIONAL INFORMATION
with initials and title	when known to have been in in the hills	see abbreviations below also listed are special events and/or particular Naga groups visited
BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES (if any)		

Adams, P.F. 1947 (& before) DC Kohima

Adie, W.S. 1897?-1929 Burma

WALTER SIBBALD ADIE 1873-1956
1891-95 Trinity College, Cambridge University.
Elected to Trinity Fellowship but entered ICS (in 1896?). Served
as Accountant General in Bengal, Burma and other provinces.
Lived at Pegu Club, Rangoon and in Calcutta for several years.
1928 called to the Bar.
1929 retired. (The Times 11 April 1956 page 13)

Allen 1876 Butler's funeral

Anderson, Mr 1886 Molungting village

JOHN ANDERSON 1833-1900
MD, LL.D FRS, FSA, FRGS
born 4th October 1833, Edinburgh, son of Thomas Anderson, Banker.
Educated Edinburgh, graduated 1861.
1863-64 Professor of Natural Science, Edinburgh.
1864-86 Superintendent of the Indian Museum, Calcutta and
Professor of Comparative Anatomy, Medical College, Calcutta.
1868-69 and 1874-75 expeditions to China.
Retired to South Kensington, London.
Publications. (Who Was Who)

Archer, W.G. 1946-48 DC Blog

WILLIAM GEORGE ARCHER 1907-79
born 11th February 1907, educated Cambridge.
1934 married Mildred Agnes.
1930 entered ICS.
1931 posted Bihar.
1938-39 District Magistrate, Purnea.
1939-41 Superintendent of Census Operations, Bihar.
1941-42 District Magistrate, Patna.
1942-45 Deputy Commissioner, Santal Pargaras.
1945-46 Special Officer, Santal Law.
1946-48 Additional Deputy Commissioner, Naga Hills.
1948 Retired ICS.
1949-59 Keeper, Indian Section, Victoria and Albert Museum.
1956 on Keeper Emeritus, Indian Section, Victoria and Albert
Museum.
1942-49 editor of *Man in India*.
other publications. (Who Was Who)

Ashfield 1936

Bailey, Capt

1911-13

Lt-Col. FREDERICK MARSHMAN BAILEY 1882-1967

Born 3rd February 1882.

1921 married Hon. Irma Cozens-Hardy.

Sandhurst.

1901-03 17th Bengal Lancers.

1903-05 32nd Sikh Pioneers.

1903-05 two expeditions to Tibet.

1905 Indian Political Department.

1905-09 British Trade Agent, Gyantse, Tibet.

1911 explored in Western China, S.E. Tibet and the Mishmi Hills (Assam).

1911 served on the Abor Expedition.

1913 explored course of Brahmaputra in Tibet.

1915 Indian Expeditionary Force in Flanders and Gallipoli.

1916-38 various posts such as Political Officer, in North West Frontier Province, Mesopotamia, Persia, Central Asia, Sikkim, Central India, Nepal.

1938 retired.

1942-43 Kings Messenger in Central and South America.

Retired to Norfolk. Publications. (Who Was Who)

Balfour, Henry

1922-23

A

Dr HENRY BALFOUR 1863-1939

1887 married Edith.

educated Charterhouse and Oxford.

1884 on undertook care and arrangement of the Pitt Rivers Collection under the direction of Professor Moseley.

1891 on Curator of the Pitt Rivers Museum.

1922-23 visited the Naga Hills.

Publications. (Who Was Who etc)

Betts, Mrs - see Bower, U.G.

Bivar, Lt

1850

Khonoma

Bower, Gen

1911

Abor

Maj-Gen. Sir HAMILTON BOWER 1858-1940

born 1st September 1858, Scotland.

1880 entered army.

1891 Captain ISC.

1893-98 DAQMG Bengal.

1900 Major Indian Army.

1906 Lt-Col Indian Army.

1901-06 Commandant Peking Legation Guard.

1908-14 commanding Assam Brigade.

1912 Abor expedition.

Travelled in Tibet and Turkestan. (Who Was Who)

Bower, U.G.	1938-46	Zemi A
<p>URSULA GRAHAM BOWER 1914-88 born 1914. Educated - Roedean. 1937 visited a friend in Manipur. 1938-45 living among Nagas; led a small section of V force, irregular troops, against the Japanese. Died 12th November 1988. (Macfarlane 1989)</p>		
Brown	1922	Calcutta
Brown, Dr R.	1868-75	Rengma; ManipurA
Brown, R. Grant	1889-1917	DC Upper Chindwin Burma N A
Burkill, I.H.	before 1912	Calcutta MuseumA
Burns	1893	engineer
Butler, Capt. John	1869-75	killed by Nagas 1875A
Campbell, Col. A.E.	1850-81	?Kohima
<p>Maj-Gen. ARCHIBALD EDWARDS CAMPBELL 1834-1921 born 18th March 1921. 1860 married Lucy (died 1915). 1851 entered army. served Sonthal Rebellion 1855-56, Indian Mutiny 1857-58. 1892 Major-General. 1892 retired list. Retired to Plymouth. (Who Was Who)</p>		
Carnegy, P.T.	1876-77	accidentally killed 1877
Clarke, C.B.	1866-87	Bengal
<p>CHARLES BARON CLARKE 1832-1906 born 17th June 1832, Andover. Unmarried. Educated Cambridge. 1857-65 Mathematical Lecturer, Queens College, Cambridge. 1866-87 Inspector of Schools, Bengal. 1887 retired - pensioner uncovenanted Civil Service, Bengal. Retired to Kew, London. Publications. (Who Was Who)</p>		
Clow		
<p>Sir ANDREW CLOW 1890-1957 Born 29th April 1890. Married 1925. 1914 ICS, United Province 1921 on various government posts 1942-47 Governor of Assam retired to Edinburgh. (Who Was Who)</p>		

Cotton 1899-1900

Sir HENRY JOHN STEDMAN COTTON 1845-1915
second son of J.J.Cotton, Madras Civil Service.
1914 married Mary Ryan.
1865 posted ICS.
1867 proceeded to Bengal.
1873-77 various posts.
1878-80 Magistrate and Collector of Chittagong.
1880-96 various posts.
1896-1902 Chief Commissioner of Assam.
1902 retired.
1906-10 Liberal M.P. for Nottingham East.
London address. Publications. (Who Was Who)

Davidson, Lt Col. 1911-12

Davis, A.W. 1886-98

Dennehy, H.G. 1920s

Sir HAROLD GEORGE DENNEHY 1890-1956
born 18th December 1890.
educated Clifton (Bristol) and Emmanuel College, Cambridge.
1914 Indian Civil Service.
1915-19 European War, served with Indian Army Reserve of Officers.
(1920s Naga Hills)
1933 Deputy Commissioner; Secretary, Transferred Departments,
Government of Assam.
1939-47 Chief Secretary, Assam.
Retired to County Dublin.
Publications. (Who Was Who)

Dewar, T.P. 1927 Burma

Driberg 1888

JACK HERBERT DRIBERG 1888-1946
born April 1881 in Assam of a service family.
Educated Lancing College, and Hereford College, Oxford.
1912 joined Uganda administration.
1921 transferred to Sudan administration.
1925 retired medical grounds; worked at London School of Economics
and 1927-29 University College, London.
1931-42 lectured at Department of Archaeology and Anthropology,
Cambridge.
1942 military work Middle East.
1946 died suddenly.
Publications. (Evans-Pritchard 1947)

Fürer-Haimendorf, C. von 1936-37

CHRISTOPH von FÜRER-HAIMENDORF 1909-
Born 1909.
Educated Vienna and London
Professor of Anthropology, School of Oriental and African Studies,
University of London.
Fieldwork in Naga Hills 1936-37
Visited Naga Hills in 1962 and 1970.

George, E.C.S. 1911 DC Moguk

EDWARD CLAUDIUS SCOTNEY GEORGE 1865-1936
born 19th October 1865; married 1896.
Educated Dulwich College.
1887-90 Assistant Commissioner.
1890-97 Officiating Deputy Commissioner, Bhamo.
1898 Deputy Commissioner, Burma.
1897-99 Sub-Commissioner Burma-China Boundary Commission.
1912 retired.
Lived in Berkeley, California, U.S.A. (Who Was Who)

Hannay, Maj. S.F. 1839-59

Hardcastle, Lt 1910 punitive expedition against Kuki

Hill, Gen. Sale 1883

Howell, Capt 1903 DC Naga Hills

Col. ARTHUR ANTHONY HOWELL 1862-1918
son of Very Rev. David Howell, Dean of St Davids.
1895 married Charlotte Isabel Firth (of Sheffield).
Served Africa and European War; no service in India recorded.
Died 15th January 1918 (Who Was Who)

Howman

Brig. ROSS COSENS HOWMAN 1899-1976
Educated Edinburgh Academy and Cadet College, Wellington, South
India. Married 1930 Cecil Elles.
1914-18 served European War.
1918 commissioned India Army.
1919 3rd Afghan War.
1926-27 OC Escort Naga Hills Expedition.
1933 Wa Operations, Burma Frontier.
1934-39 other posts, mostly Waziristan.
1941 raised and commanded 1st Battalion The Assam Regiment.
1942-47 other posts.
1948 retired to Perthshire. (Who Was Who)

Hutton, J.H:	1912-36	
<p>Dr JOHN HENRY HUTTON 1885-1968 educated Oxford. married 1st Stella died 1944; 2nd Maureen. 1909 entered ICS. 1913 joined Folklore Society. 1936 retired. William Wyse Professor of Anthropology, Cambridge. Lived New Radnor. died 23 May 1968. Publications. (Who Was Who)</p>		
Jolly, Mrs (and Mr)	1922	Imphal; Mr Jolly an engineer?
Keatinge, Gen.	1875	Chief Commissioner of Assam (1874-78?)
<p>Gen. RICHARD HARTE KEATINGE 1825-1904 born Dublin 17th June 1825. Married 1st 1846 Harriet Pottinger, died 1874; second 1882 Julia Alderson. 1842 joined Bombay Artillery. Served various places. Commanded native irregular troops. Political Agent in various places. Chief Commissioner Central Provinces. Chief Commissioner Assam. Retired to Horsham, Sussex. (Who Was Who)</p>		
Meiklejohn, W.	1922-26	forestry officer (Assam Forestry Department)
Mills, J.P.	1935-37	DC Naga Hills
<p>JOHN PHILIP MILLS 1890-1960 1913 entered ICS. 1947 retired. Reader in Anthropology, London University. Lived Sydling St Nicholas near Cerne Abbas, Dorset. Publications. (Who Was Who)</p>		
Moore, J.T.	1909	author <i>Twenty Years in Assam</i>
Murray	1889-91	Lushai
Nevill,	1872 1914-27	Calcutta (with Godwin-Austen) Aka, Daflas, Apa Tanang
Parry, N.E.	1924-25	Superintendent Lushai Hills, tours unadministered area to the south of the Lushai Hills and recommends its inclusion within area, agreed by Assam Government.

Pawsey, Mr C.R.

1924-27
1937-47

DC Naga Hills

Sir CHARLES RIDLEY PAWSEY 1894-1972

1953 married..

1914-18 served European War.

1919 entered ICS.

1921 joined Folklore Society.

1942-44 served Burma campaigns.

retired to Suffolk.

Publications.

(Who Was Who)

Peal, S.E.

1880

publications

Peal (brother to S.E.Peal)

1869

travelled near Nongyang Lake

Prain

Lt-Col. Sir DAVID PRAIN 1857-1944

born Scotland 11th July 1857.

1887 married Margaret Thompson, died 1942.

Educated Grammar School and University, Aberdeen.

1882-83 Demonstrator in Anatomy, Edinburgh.

1883-84 Demonstrator in Anatomy, University of Aberdeen.

1884 entered Indian Medical Service.

1887-98 Curator of Calcutta Herbarium.

1895-1905 Professor of Botany, Medical College, Calcutta.

1898-1905 Director of Botany Survey of India and Superintendent
of Royal Botanical Gardens, Calcutta.

1905-22 Director of Kew Gardens.

1922 on other posts in England (especially to do with
botany/forestry).

1898-1907 Trustee of the Indian Museum.

1924-30 Trustee of the British Museum.

1904 Vice-President of the Council of the Asiatic Society of
Bengal.

Address - Surrey.

Publications.

(Who Was Who)

Raikes, Col. F.D.

Lt-Col. FREDERICK DUNCAN RAIKES 1848-1915

born Futteghur, India 1st October 1848.

Educated privately; Royal Military College, Sandhurst.

1868 34th Regiment; 1869 66th Regiment; 1871 Bombay Staff Corps.

1875 thanks of Gov't of India for measures taken to suppress
dacoity in Lower Burma: commended for measures taken after
outbreak of hostilities with Upper Burma, for protection of
country south of the Eastern Frontier Line, Thayetmyo district.

1888-89 thanks of the Gov't of Burma for services performed in a
political capacity during Chin Expedition.

1890-91 thanks of Gov't of India for services in Chin Lushai
campaign of 1890-91.

1896-1901 Commissioner, Saigoing Division, Upper Burma.

Decorated for services in connection with pacification of Upper
Burma (other medals and clasps also).

(Who Was Who)

Reid, W.I. (W.J. ?) 1900-07 DC Naga Hills

Reid

Sir ROBERT NIEL [sic] REID 1883-1964
married 1909 Amy Helen Disney of Muzaffarpur, India.
Educated Malvern; Brasenose College Oxford.
1906 passed into ICS.
1907 joined in Bengal as Assistant Magistrate.
1911 on - various posts.
1927-28 Secretary to Government of Bengal.
1930 Commissioner Rajistani Division; Chief Secretary (off'g).
1931 Commissioner Chittagong Division.
1932 Acting Member, 1934-37 Member of Executive Council Bengal.
1937-42 Governor of Assam.
Acting Governor of Bengal part of 1938 and 1942-43.
1942 China Relations Officer, Calcutta.
1945 Director-General Post and Telegraph Censorship.
1947-55 Chairman, East Suffolk Executive Council under NHS Act.
1949-63 Chairman, Suffolk local valuation panel.
Died 24th October 1964. (Who Was Who)

Ridgeway

Sir WILLIAM RIDGEWAY 1853-1926
born Ballydermot, Kings County.
Various lecturing posts Ireland and Cambridge.
1892 on Professor of Archaeology at Cambridge.
died 12th August 1926. (Who Was Who)

Roberts, Watkin	1928	Welsh missionary
Roberts	1885	murdered on River Chindwin by Burmese ?worked for Bombay-Burma Corp
Row, Capt. G.	1897	punitive exped in Valley of Hong against Akas
Salberg, F.J.	1938	District Engineer

Maj. FRANK JAMES SALBERG 1884-1952
son of late Sali. E. Salberg of Clairville, Forest Hill.
Chartered Civil Engineer.
1905-41 Civil Engineer with Assam Bengal Railway.
1934-41 Chief Engineer.
1941-44 Civil Engineer with Dibru Sadiya Railway.
1906-36 served with Auxillary Forces, India.
Service on North West Frontier, India, Aden, Mesopotamia.
Major in Indian Engineers in Defence of India Corps Railways.
1942-44 servie in Upper Assam.
Died 28 September 1964 (Who Was Who)

Shakespear, L.W. 1900 expedition against Yachumi Nagas

Somerset

Brig-Gen CHARLES WYNDAM SOMERSET 1862-1938
married 1901 Elinor Babara Alice Howell.
1894 entered army.
1895 Captain Indian Army.
1902, Major, 1909 Lt-Col., 1919 Col., Indian Army.
1886-89 served Burma.
1895 served Chitral.
1897-98 served North-West Frontier.
1897-98 served Tirah.
1914-16 served European War.
1920 retired. (Who Was Who)
(1912-13 punitive expedition against Mishmi and Abor)

Stonor, C.R. 1946 approached to be full time
agricultural officer for Naga Hills

Sweeting,

Capt. HENRY CAROL SWEETING 1886?-1956
1914-18 served 5th Battalion The Kings Royal Rifle Corps.
Died Torquay June 1956 at the age of 70.
(The Times 11th June 1956 page 11)

Temple

Sir RICHARD TEMPLE 1850-1931
born Allahabad, North West Province, India.
Educated Trinity College, Cambridge.
1871/72 commission Royal Scots Fusiliers and transfer to Indian
Army; various army posts and Cantonment Magistrate in Punjab -
began researching history, folklore, ethnology of India.
1885 3rd Burma War included 1887-90 Upper Burma Volunteer Rifles.
1895-1904 Chief Commissioner Andaman and Nicobar Islands.
1904 retired to Worcestershire.
(Proceedings of the British Academy volume 17:
London, Humphrey Milford Area House)

Walker, Maj. T.N.	1878-79	Kohima
Walker, G.E.D.	1947	Tirap Margherita
Webster, J.E.	1912-13 1913	DC Naga Hills expedition against Konyaks

JOHN EDWARD WEBSTER 1870-1943
born Ranchi, son of G.K. Webster ICS.
Married 1900 Helen Steel, daughter of H.W. Steel ICS.
Educated Charterhouse and Cambridge.
1891 entered ICS, attached to Eastern Bengal and Assam Commission.
1903 Magistrate and Collector.
1905-19 Deputy Commissioner.
1911 attached to Assam Commission.
1919 Commissioner, Assam.
1927 retired ICS. (Who Was Who)

Wilson,

DAVID ALEC WILSON 1864-1933

born 1st January 1863 son of David Wilson, Glasgow.

Married 1890.

1890 Barrister.

1883-1912 ICS.

1886-1911 Burma.

Retired to Ayr.

Died 28th April 1933.

(Who Was Who) .

Woodthorpe, Col R.G.

see below

Col. ROBERT GOSSET WOODTHORPE 1844-98

educated privately and RMA Woolwich.

1865 joined Royal Engineers, Chatham.

1869 proceeded to India.

1871 joined Survey Department.

1871-72 Lushai Expedition Survey.

1872-73 Garo Hills Expedition.

1874-75 with Naga Hills Field Force - became a close friend of

Capt. J. Butler

1878-79 attached to Kuran Field Force.

1879-80 with Kabul Field Force, wounded.

1883 surveys of Daflas land.

1884-85 with the Aka Field Force and with the mission to Chitral
and Pamirs.

1885 journeyed from Assam to the Bor Khampti country.

1886-87 Burma.

1892-95 Simla - intelligence.

Superintendent Survey India.

Publications.

Died 26th May 1898.

(Who Was Who: Elwin 1969: 40-41: Chakravorty 1964)

Wright, Col

1922-42

Kohima: Abor: Assam Rifles

APPENDIX 4

CHRONOLOGY

A Chronological List of Naga Collections in British Museums

This is a listing of material in date order, as far as possible. The date of collecting in the Naga hills area, where known, takes precedence; where this date is not known, nor can it be surmised, the date of acquisition is given. The earliest date possible is given in an attempt to indicate the possibilities of developing a chronology and to rectify the lack of attention generally paid to date in museums. Further research on collections would enable more dates of collecting rather than of donation to be given.

This cannot be a complete listing of Naga collections in museums in Britain (or the United Kingdom - Belfast has been included). The types of object in collections are indicated, and numbers of each type are given in some instances. A full listing of every object is theoretically possible, dependent on the limitations of museum documentation, but is not attempted here for lack of space. Such a list runs into problems of terminology, especially in the classification and naming of objects. Furthermore, much work remains to be done on the nature of attribution to different Naga groups. Some examples of attribution are given below.

Format

The list is arranged in columns across the page:

DATE	SIG	WHO	WHERE	SIZE	GROUP	OBJECT CATEGORIES
------	-----	-----	-------	------	-------	-------------------

These are explained below:

DATE

The date given is that of collection in the Naga Hills area or of acquisition by the museum. All dates of collection in the hills are indicated by an asterisk * in the SIG column. Where the possible field collection dates cover a range of years, the entry is at the earliest point, for example 1869-75 is at 1869.

SIG

This column indicates the significance of the collection:

* indicates that the date given is that of field collection in the hills: where followed by a question mark ?, the link has not been proven.

D indicates the donor to the museum (the person in the WHO column) was a dealer;

C indicates the donor was a collector of general ethnography.

WHO

This is the name of the field collector where known (entries with an asterisk * in the SIG column): otherwise it is that of the donor. Titles are not always given, since they may not be contemporary with the date of field collection.

WHERE

This gives the location of the museum. This is done by town or city and corresponds to the Museum collection Appendix except in the case of London. London museums and institutions are given by their name: the British Museum is abbreviated to BM.

Dates in brackets after the museum name are those of donation if that is different to, for example, the year of field collection.

Names in brackets after the museum name are those of the donor and are given when different to that of the field collector. Where the name given is an institution, this indicates that it previously held the object(s). Dates accompanying names are those of donation to the current museum.

SIZE

Collections are grouped by collector or donor and the total size given. Exceptions to this are where the donor was a dealer or general collector or where it is not known when the objects were acquired in the Naga Hills area.

GROUP

This gives the names of Naga groups associated with the collection. It is not given for all institutions. In some cases there is no documentation, in others the documentation is not precise or the source of attribution is not known. For some, especially the larger museums, this information is omitted or not given in detail for lack of space. An x indicates where documentation exists but is not given.

OBJECT CATEGORIES

The types of object collected are given in this column, following the abbreviations set out below (which are the same as those used in the Museum Collection appendix). In some cases numbers for each category are given, as examples of the potential of such a list.

General Notes

i) 'Wellcome' indicates the large collection of the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum, which was distributed to various public museums in Britain, mostly in the 1950s. Most of this material was bought at auction, and this is indicated where possible. Much research remains to be done here. (See Museums Association 1986)

ii) x has generally been used in the list to indicate where information is known to exist but is not readily available.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE OBJECT CATEGORIES COLUMN

This is a hierarchical classification, dependent on five main categories of Cost (costume), War (warfare), Head (headhunting), Orn (personal ornament), Day (daily life tools and utensils), Rit (ritual life material). Wherever possible the detailed abbreviations (for example, H and C) have been used). The columns after the main categories below are not hierarchical: the abbreviations on the left are generally merely those of the most common objects. Some objects not given on the list are named in full in the column.

Cost	H	hat/headdress				
	C	cloths	W	waist/lengta/belt		
			K	kilt		
			ap	apron		
			apc	cowrie apron		
		cs	sash/baldrick			
War	D	dao	dh	daoholder	ds	dao shaft
	S	spear	sh	spearhead		
	sd	shield	pl	shield? plume		
	sw	sword				
Head	B	basket				
	Tl	tail, panji holders				
	hd	trophy heads				
	b	bones/teeth				
Orn	O	ornament, general	E	earring		
	Om	- metal	N	neck/necklet		
	Os	- shell	A	arm		
	Ob	- beads	Wr	wrist		
			co	chest		
			cs	sash/baldrick		
			L	leg		
		hr				
Day	T	tools (including hoe, knife)				
	Dom	domestic utensils (including tinder equipment, baskets)				
	bg	bag				
	p	pipe				
	cur	currency				
	M	musical instruments				
Rit	carv	carvings, figures				
	R	(religious) charm				

DATE	SIG	WHO	WHERE	SIZE	GROUP	OBJECT CATEGORIES
1850		Hon. East India Company	India Tower (none now extant)	(7)	Angami Angami-Gowhatty?	1D 1sw 3sd 10 1S
	*?	Bivar, Lt	BM (C.S. Bivar)	6		dom(2boxes, 2lids, 2fire)
1851- -92	*	Campbell, AE	Plymouth	21		13S 2D 4apc 2W
1856		Murray	BM	1		1S
1864- -87	*	Anderson, Dr J	Edinb (1887) BM (1889)	2 3	Angami	2 Os-N 3 C
1866- -87	*	Clarke, CB	SaffWalden	8+		6S male-costume female-costume
1867		Cutter	BM (Franks)	1x		3xH 1S
		Granger	Bristol	1		1sd
pre-1869		Ashmolean Mus.	Oxford	1	Angami	1S
1869-75	*	Butler	Camb(Cotton)	28	Konyak Chang	2W W
		-	Oxford(Hooper)	1	Konyak	1Rit
1870	*	(Thoms)	Edinb	11x	NN	grave group sh Om Os
1870s	*	Nevill	Liverpool(Norwich 1956, AR Nevill 1904)	2x		1D 2pl
1871		Franks	BM	4		Os NK
		Wareham	BM(Franks)	2		2W
		Tupper	BM(Franks)	19		H D E N co dom R misc
		Vallentin	BM(Franks)	1	Tangkhul	H
1872		Brown	Edinb	19x	Kabui Angami Kuki (Konyak)	Om-A C apc sd
		Foster	BM	47		H C W D S sh sd O Om E co wt N tl T dom carv R curr P
1873		Burns(Utd Service Mus)	BM	2	Kartala?	Os-N sh
1874		Pridham	BM(Franks)	10		H apc N A Wr cs L raincover

1874- -78	* Keatinge	BM (1879)	13	Angami) Kabui) Manipur) East)	D(axes?) N A T(hoe, rake, bill) penis rings
1875	* Woodthorpe, RG	Oxford (Wilson, ET 1909)	150		Cost War Head Orn Day(music)
		(- 1910)	1		H (also photos)
		(- 1914)	1		H (also sketches)
		(Woodthorpe, JD 1916)	2		D quiver
		(Wilson, ET & Miss I 1916)			sketches
		(Wilson, Miss I 1929)			sketches
1876	*? Allen	BM (1897)	2		1B 1N
1876- -77	*? Carnegy, PT	Liverpool (Norwich 1956; Carnegy, Miss EM 1905)	20x		H
1878	Foster	BM	1		Om
	* Jarbo, Dr	Oxford (Ashmolean 1886)	9		D 3sh sd 3SShaft horn
1878- -79	*? Walker, TN	SaffWalden (Walker, JE 1922)	4+	Sema	2S sh-x 1sw
pre- 1880	NK	V & A	5	x	C
1880	India Mus	BM(?1972)	2	Kasha(?)	co (en teeth) Os
c1880	* Buckingham, J	Oxford (Buckingham, Lady) (Hunt, EH 1944)	2		2 Wr photos
pre- 1881/2	Woodthorpe	RoyColSurgeons	1	Konyak	hd
	Partridge, Fd'O	RoyColSurgeon	1	Konyak	hd
	(Barnard Davis RoyColSurgeon collection)		2		b-hd
pre- 1881/2	Hannay, Col	RoyColSurgeon (B Davis coll)	1		b-hd
1881	Cruikshank, RD	Glasgow	6	Angami Angamie and Namsangie Assam/N	1H 2D 1basketry-bg 1bg 1N
1882	* Deas, FTR	Edinb (1904)	3		C
	* Campbell, R	Belfast(1910)	2		sd
	Wareham	BM(ChristyFd)	2		H W

1882	Elliston, EC	Liverpool	2	Angami	sd O
1883	Oxley, T	Montrose	1		S
c1883 *?	Hill, Gen	BM (Hill, HBC 1913)	1		Orn
1883- * -1912	Wilson, Judge D	Glasgow	1	Naga-style Burma	S
pre-1884 C	Pitt Rivers, AHLF	Oxford	14		11S 3D
1884	NK	Dumfries	1	(?)	model boat
	NK	Edinb	1		T(hoe)
1884- * -1905	Prain, Dr	Aberdeen	4		co T curr
1885 * C	Temple, R	Oxford (1898)	2		curr
1886	Colonial & Indian Exhibition	Glasgow	2		C?
1887- * 1912	George, ECS	Manch (Halifax Museum 1912)	6		S
1888	International Exhibition	Glasgow	x		C?
1889	NK	Edinb	1		co
	* Bush	Bolton (1923)	14		Makum Fort D S sd x
	* Raikes, FD	Bristol	6x	Burma	H S x
	Vacher, S	BM	4	Tongkal (Tangkhul?)	4-penal rings
1889- * -1917	Brown, RG	Liverpool (1919)	6		2H 4L
1890	Cargill, HE	Oxford (Mr & Mrs Harris: see also 1898)	1		S
1892	(Franks)	BM	3		2NK Os
1893 *	Johnson, Miss	Oxford (Lugard, Maj. EJ 1949: done by his wife nee Johnson)	8	Angami	sketches
1895	Howell, Mrs	Camb	14	Angami Ao x	co apc Om-N x
c1895 *	Fitzadam-Ormiston	BM (1928) Oxford (1934) (both museums given by Mrs Fitzadam-Ormiston)	12 16		H bg B Tl N dom H cs D dom(horns) p

1896	Harmer, Mrs	Camb	6		S
1896-	Peal, SE	Oxford	37		Cost Orn
1896- * 1902	Cotton, SirH	Horniman	22	Angami Ao Konyak(?)	H S N A L sd H p D sd(part) B Tl co
1896- *? -1908	Davis, AW	BM (Davis, Miss SM 1963)	1		A
1897	Peal, SE	Oxford	69	Ledo Banpara Eastern Kamlung-	Orn Orn Orn
c1897 *?	Row, Capt G	Brighton	x		
1898	Cargill, HE	Oxford (Mr & Mrs Harris: see also 1890)	13		H D dh Tl B
pre-1900? *?	Driberg, JH	Cambridge	40		
1900	Dickie	Aberdeen	1	-	S
	Struthers	Edinb	1		C(barkcloth)
1900- * -01	Ingram, Miss B	Oxford (Ingram, EWB 1923)	24		Cost War Orn model
1900-*? -07	Reid, W	Aberdeen (Reid, Mrs 1909)	31		H D sd B Om A Dom M sw p
pre-1901 *	Moore, JT	Bristol (Moore, Miss LV)	1		M
1902	Howell, AA	Camb (Mrs Howell - mother)			
1904 *	Hadow, Rev E	Oxford (Mrs EM Hadow 1930)	19		Cost War Orn Day
1905- * -44	Salberg, FJ	Horniman(1952)	13		2W 3D 1dh 1B 1N 4A lco
pre-1906	* Ashfield, A	Camb (Ridgeway 1927)	1		S
1908 D	Fuller	BM	x		
1908- * -14	Bower, H	Edinb	x		
1909	Buscot Park Collection	Oxford (Parker)	10		9sh 1B
	D Oldman	Horniman	1	-	T

1910	*	anon. (brother Horniman of donor)	(Mrs Barker)	3		H sw quiver
	*?	Hardcastle, Lt BM	(CL Hardcastle)	15	Angami?	Cost: H C W K War: S pl Tl Orn: E A L
1910-11	*?	Hardcastle, Maj BM (1919-20)		24	Angami Sema Makware	Cost War Orn
	*	Melville, CWF	Edinburgh(1938)		x	
pre-1911	*	C Bailey, FM	Liverpool (Norwich 1956: Mrs Bailey 1946)	6	-	Os-N A E
1911-12	*?	Davidson, LtCol?	Horniman (Mrs Davidson 1917)	6		H B D
	*	Davidson, LtCol	Edinburgh (Miss Mill 1952)		x	
	*	Somerset, Col	Camb (Mrs Somerset 1916)	5		
pre-1912	*	Burkill, IH	Camb (1948)	3		
1912		Clayton/ Speak? coll	Manch(Halifax Museum)	1	-	S
1912-13	*?	Webster, JE	Edinburgh (Mrs Webster 1921)	3		B N Wr
1913		Andre, Miss	Liverpool	16	Konyak?	O-carv-hd canoe-O x
	*	Gidney, Maj	Edinburgh(1923)	4		x
1914-38	*	HUTTON, JH	Oxford	1970	xxxx	Cost War Head Orn Day Rit
			Cambridge (1924-50)	142	-	ditto
			Horniman (1936)	2		Day
			Edinburgh	16		
			Halifax (Carline)	3x		
1914		Leighton	Camb	1	-	-
1916		Howell, Col AA	Camb		x	
1917		ChichesterMus			Halifax(Fuller)	1 -C
1919		Higgins, CL	BM(Fuller) (Turvey Abbey)	1	Assam	paddle
	D	Fuller	BM	4		dh Tl p
	D	KF &R (sale?)			Liver(Wellcom)	1L

1919- -47	*	Pawsey, C	Camb (1940-53) Oxford	20x 4		S carv 2paintings
1920		Jackson, Maj	Liverpool (Somerset Archaeology & Nat. Hist. Society 1940s)	x		
1920- -25	*	Meiklejohn	Edin(1936)	13	Sema	H apc dh Tl A Wr x
1920- Day -47	*	MILLS, JP	Oxford (1920-38) BM (1921) Manchester (1922-39) Cambridge (1947)	2067 13 80 50	x x x x	Cost War Head Orn Rit Cost War Orn Cost War Head Orn x
1920s	*	Parry, NE	Liverpool (Mrs Parry 1965)	19	Angami x	C H C N/co-carv co hr x
1921		NK	Edin	1		sd
1921	D	Stevens sale	Liver(Wellcom)	1		L
1921		Hirst	BM	1		dh
1921- -27	*	Dennehy, HG	Bristol (1921-22, 1927) Camb (Greenwood 1922) Liverpool (Wellcome 1951)	89 1 1x	x	{Cost War Head Orn {Day
1922		Spencer, N	Bristol (Mrs Spencer)	21	x	x
		Chelmsford, Lady	BM	4		S
1922- -23	*	Balfour, DrH	Camb (1923, 1925, 1932) Oxford(1920s)	1 12		x x
1923		Shakespeare, LW	Oxford	21		Cost Orn Day
		Wilde, MrsMC	BM	4		H Tl E co
1924	D	Stevens sale	Liver (Wellcome 1951)	2		L
	D	Stevens sale	Science (Wellcome 1950s)	2		B R
1925- -26	*	Innes	Edin	16	Angami	Tl E dom x
1925		NK	Halifax	1		C

1925	D	Stevens sale Liver	1		L
		(Wellcome 1951)			
1926		Crofton, Miss A Leeds	1		H
		Dixie, Rev A D BM(Fuller)	8	poss	H C B co L dom
		Galloway, J Kirkcaldy	4		N A
1926- -27	*?	Dewar, TP BM (HSL Dewar 1934)	7x	Ao N	C C W
1927		Ridgeway, W Camb (see also Ashfield 1906)	1		
		Hawthorne, Miss BM	2x	-	H C
		Galloway, J Kirkcaldy	2	-	S
1927		Dir. LR+Agri? Kirklees Assam (Imperial Inst)	1	Angami Kohima	C
1927	*	Howman, RC Camb (Dr GL Elles 1957)	7	Burma	stone axe heads
1928		NK Edin	1	-	H
	D	Stevens sale Liverpool (Wellcome 1951)	2	-	L
	D	Stevens sale Science (Wellcome 1950s)	2	-	dom staff
		Halifax Mus Manch	1	-	S
		Coulson, RJ Liverpool (Norwich 1956)	4	-	W/ap? co E O
	*	Cook, ColR BM(1951)	6	KK(Burma)	1-N 1-co(hd) 1-D1-dh 1-quiver 1-bolts
		Radley Coll. Oxford	1		feathers
	*	Haberling, R Oxford (H. Mahner-Mons 1929)			reel film
c1928	*	Roberts, W Manchester (G Roberts pre-1961)	1		S
1928- -31		NK Bournemouth	33	-	H W D ds hd T1 E co hr A
pre-1929	*	Adie, WS Camb (1947)	1		x
1929		Bryer, HE BM	66	Ao -	Cost D dh Orn S pl bg p
		CaledonianMkt		Halifax	2-C
		Dickson, J Edin	2	-	E

1930s *	NK	Halifax	5x x	Tangkhul x	C x
1930	Lechmere- -Oertel	Camb	31		Tl x
	C Hooper	Oxford	3		S
1931	NK	Edin	2x		W x
	Long, GR	Oxford (Ipswich Mus. 1966)	1		H
1932	Spence(r), Col L	Camb	x		-
	Jennings, J	Camb	1		-
1932	NK	Edin	1		sd
	NK	Manchester (Wellcome 1951)	1	AborNaga	H
	Brown, Miss IM	Horniman	3		H S D
	Indian Inst.	Oxford	9		x
	Lloyd, BS	BM	1		stone celt
1933	Loat	BM	1	Miri(?)	D
	* Jolly, Mrs	Leicester (Dryad)1969	2	Kalimpong	bg N
	D Sotheby sale	Science (Wellcome 1950s)	1		R
	D Glendining sale	Science (Wellcome 1950s)	1		B
	C Hooper	Oxford	4		War Orn
1934	Duncan, A	Oxford (JP Mills)	1	Manipur	currency dao
c1934 *	Higgins, JC	Oxford Oxford (Mrs Higgins 1962)	4 1x	Tangkhul Manipur	Head Orn Cost
1936	Lambert, ETD	Oxford	87	x	x
	Rave, Mrs	Liverpool (Indian Institute 1960s)	x		
1936- *	Furer-Haim' f	Camb (LCG Clarke 1937) (1940-52) BM (Beasley 1944)	84 3x 70	Konyak x Konyak	x x

1937- -42	* Reid, RN	Oxford (1946, 1955) Ipswich (DN Reid 1981)	98x 5	x Chapukong Line area	C x H W D dh
1938	Glendenning, I	Newcastle	1		D
1938- -46	* Bower, UG	Oxford (1948) (1983)	6 3	x	x C
1939	NK	V & A	9	x	C
1939	*? Rogers, Mrs L		Oxford		3AngamiL
1940- -48	* Kiernan, KJ	Horniman(1969)	66	Angami Sema Ao Ao/Sema Konyak Chang/Konyak Chang Phom NK	C ap K-O S co D dh W Wr p ap D hr L D-blanks dom-spindle cs bg D S staff sd E N H H(part) D dh p S-butt O
1941	Almond, E	Manch	1	Sema	ds
	Pearson, Mrs	Camb	1		x
	Engledow, F	Camb also 1981?	1 7		
1942- -47	* Clow, Sir A	Edin	8	Sema? x	apc D x
1942	Main, GR	Glasgow	4	-	S D
1943	Dodds, W	Newcastle	2	-	H S
	LeicesterMus	Liverpool	2	-	E x
1945	* Baron, Maj DW	Newcastle (Mrs Baron 1961)	8	Konyak	H S D Om-hd
	* Crook, Dr D	Horniman1983	5	Angami	C W ap cs
	* Butler	Camb (1956)	1		curr(paper)
1946- -48	* Archer, WG	Horniman	24	Ao Konyak Chang Phom KK	dom O carv headh-tally H dom dom carv dh
1946	Wright, W	Halifax	1	Sema	Tl

1946 *	Yarrow, A	Sheffield	1947	24	Angami 3 Sema 8 Lhota 1 Ao 3 WRengma 1 ERengma 4 Konyak 2 Chang 2	cs L S N A dom C C C-ptd-strip p C C hr E O D crossbow H dom
	Joseph, E	Oxford		7		Day
c1946 *	Stonor, CR	Oxford (1967)		11		Orn Day
pre-1947 *?	Adams, PF	Horniman (Cent. Found'n Girls Sch. 1970)		9		W E A L
1947	Dunn, MissLD	Glasgow		2	Konyak? Ao?	D D
1948 *	Strong, JLC	Edinburgh (1956)		1	Margherita Bazaar, Assam	Om-N
	HastingsMus	Liverpool		1	x	x
1948- -51	Milward, Mrs	Camb		14	x	models
1949	Love, MissJ	Glasgow		3	Naga Sema	S (2) S
1950	Tagg, LtColBowyer	Horniman		7	Angami Sema	D C cs D S
	Thompson, WJ	Nottingham		c20		H D S
1951	Wellcome	Newcastle		4		H co
	Wellcome n.d.	Liverpool		6		H A/L L
	Wellcome n.d.	Manchester		11	Angami 4 Sema 1 'AborNaga'	pl L H 3H ap dh S girls-pubic-O
	Sweeting, HC	Manchester (Buxton Museum)		33	Angami 1 Konyak 1 Chang 3 Phom 3 'Abor'	Tl Sema 3D D dh sd dom H ap cs D S sd-O A
	Rutherford, MissD	Glasgow		3	Angami	E co
1953	WembleyBoroCl	Horniman		1		carv
	Wellcome	Manch		1	SSangtam	D
1954	Wellcome	BM		87	to come	to come

1955	NewburyMus	Liverpool	1		x
	Wellcome	Liverpool	1		x
1956	Tonge, F	Camb	1		x
	Rose, Miss	Edin	2		B
1958	Wellcome	Manch	1	Chang	1
1959	Head, Mrs	Horniman	3	Tunhul (Tangkhul?) Burma	H D
	BerkeleyGall	Horniman	1	-	H
	Meadow, JN	Leeds	6	-	S D
1961	Berk. Gall. bt	Derby 1	1		bg
	NK	Perth	4		D cs 2pottery
	Storey, KL	Oxford	13		
1963	Rowland-Hill, ColTC	Horniman	3		bow, arrows, quiver
	RUSI (Royal United Services Institute)	Horniman	2		Os
	LeedsUniv'ty	Leeds	1		A
1966	Crisp Coll.	Oxford (Ipswich Museum)	2x		N
1967	Crutwell, P	Edinburgh (SE Crutwell)	5	x	H cs Tl N
	Brackenbury, Lady	Camb	1		x
1968	Gough-Thomas, MissJ		BM	8 Ao? Angami	check D Sshaft A Os H E
1969	Nisbet, DJ	Edin	3	Sema?	C
1970s *	Nehru, Mrs BK	Camb (DA Swallow 1978)	1		C
1971	Tower Armoury	Horniman	4		S sw D
1975	Hawkins	Dorchester	1	Kohima	bamboo cross
	localauction	Leeds	1		S

1977	NK	Perth	2		Kuki-gong-striker- used-by-Naga-Tribe
	NK	V & A	1		C
1979	Woodman, D	Horniman	3		H S D
1981	Engledow, Sir F	Camb (see also 1941)	x	x	x
1982	Gelpey, Mrs J	BM	175	x	x
	Kamei, AA?	Liverpool (Festival of India Exhibition)	1	Rongmei	bg
1983	Kamei, AA	Glasgow (Festival of India Exhibition)	34	Rongmei	costume
1986	NK	Belfast	1	-	D
1988	Cassia, PS	Camb	5		C
	Longkumer, IW	Camb	1		
	Panmei, Mrs GA	Camb	7		

see next page for undated pieces

DATE	SIG	WHO	WHERE	SIZE	GROUP	OBJECT CATEGORIES
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Collections and objects with no dates as yet or at all

			Belfast	7	-	H S B Wr
	Cavendish		Brighton	x		
	Chubb		Brighton	x		
	Melton Prior		Brighton	x		
	Ramsolen		Brighton	x		
			Birmingham	3	-	H S D
	Reynolds, MajMJ		Dorchester	2	Ao Chang	H D dh
			Haslemere	1	-	-
			Ipswich	4	-	H S D co
			Kilmarnock	4	Lhota -	C C D
	SalfordColl		Manchester	1	-	H
			Manchester	8	-	S sh S-shaft hd T
			Manchester	5	Sema	dh ap
					Konyak	2 lime boxes
					SSangtam	D
	Saul, JD		Oxford			paintings
			Preston	4	-	S
			Stirling	2	-	S
			Torquay	1	-	D
	loan		V & A	61	x	C
	x		V & A	c15	x	D

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Notes

Books: country of publication is Britain unless otherwise stated

Where 'Cambridge University Rivers Video Project' is indicated, this means a printout of their copy of the manuscript was used.

Abbreviations:

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J.A.S.B. = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal

J.R.A.I. = Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute

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