

Christianity and Social Change among the Naga Tribes of Manipur

M. Thanmung, Ph.D.

=====

Abstract

Manipur state is a border state in the North Eastern corner of India. The Nagas are a group of people who belong to the Mongoloid stock. The Naga is a generic name for the group of tribes inhabiting Nagaland, Northern Manipur and the bordering districts of Assam and Arunachal Pradesh in Indian and Somra tract in Myanmar. There are fifteen (15) Naga tribes in Manipur. Here the writer specially refers to the Naga Tribes of Manipur.

This work discusses how social change occurs in Naga Society of Manipur State of North East India. It specially emphasize on the impact of Christianity in the social life of the Naga tribes of Manipur State. In this context, the study of the impact of Christianity means the social change that has been brought about in the Naga Society, not only because of accepting and following the Christian doctrines and principles but also because of the activities of Christian missionaries. The missionaries made it a condition that if an individual had to worship God, he must be able to read. Therefore, the involvement of the missionaries in educational programmes was to be viewed as supplementary to the primary task of communicating the spiritual message to the people.

This work discusses how the advent of Christianity into Manipur marks the beginning of a new life and how its introduction into the hills is pregnant with many effects of far reaching importance.

It discusses some of the most important ways such as church polity, education and literature through which Christianity helped to shape the new culture in the tribal society. They enabled the tribes to adjust to the situation that had been forced upon them without losing their sense of distinct identity. Through church polity, new structures of tribal identity were created through education and literature. Christianity provided the people with the skill necessary to function by themselves within the new order.

This work also discusses how when the animists were converted into Christianity, their lives were transformed into a newer and richer life. How the new culture taught them about personal cleanliness.

It is also pointed out how the introduction of common language through education by the missionary brought wider social relations involving different villagers living in the region. Again my discussion also includes how the process of modernization and growth of education brought about consciousness in the mind of the people and how a Naga tribe like Tangkhul (one of the Naga tribes of Manipur) came to know that they belonged to a Naga tribe thus promoting solidarity.

Key words: Naga tribes, Tangkhul Naga, Christianity, social change

Religion as an Important Part of Life and Identity

In every part of the world, religion is an all-pervading phenomenon in man's life. Religion has exercised the most profound influence over man's thought and behaviour. Among tribal people, religion is interwoven in their entire social life and shapes most of their social behaviour.ⁱ In any society social change may be brought about through several processes, viz., the natural environment, demographic situation, technological innovations, economic development, ideas and ideology (religion, political ideology and social philosophy). etc. Gangmumei Kamei mentions W.F. Ogburn's observation that "all social change takes place through the medium of ideas" giving primacy to the ideological factor of social change. Ideas and ideology are powerful motivating factors in the society taken as one as they are closely interlinked. Religious beliefs, political ideology, social philosophy are subsumed in the ideas and political ideology.ⁱⁱ (M. Horam, 1970:12)

Social Change in Manipur through Christianity

Social change occurred in Manipur in an extended time frame since the beginning of the 18th century due to several factors. The social change was brought about in Manipur by the process of ideas and ideology in the form of religious changes, conversion into Hinduism, Christianity. Meitei-Sanamahi movements have greatly contributed to the social change among the people of Manipur. Secondly, war, conquest, insurgency has been the frequent phenomenon in the history of Manipur.

The Burmese wars, the British conquest, and participation in the First and Second World Wars have produced tremendous impact on the outlook of the people and in social and economic life of the people. Thirdly, western education is a vehicle of social change.ⁱⁱⁱ

In our context, impact of Christianity means the social change that has been brought in our society not only because of accepting and following the Christian doctrine and principle but also because of the activities of Christian missionaries. Like in other tribal regions of India, in

Language in India www.languageinindia.com ISSN 1930-2940 15:2 February 2015

M. Thanmung, Ph.D.

Christianity and Social Change among the Naga Tribes of Manipur

the tribal areas of Manipur, western education was brought by the Christian missionaries. The missionaries made it a condition that if an individual has to worship God, he must be able to read. Therefore, the involvement of missionaries in educational programme was to be viewed as supplementary to the primary task of communicating the spiritual message to the people.^{iv}

K.P. Guite writes: Had not Christianity been introduced in the hill areas of Manipur, the condition of the tribals would be very much otherwise and would be all the more an uphill and colossal task for their development. But now owing to their conversion to Christianity any of them had been enlightened to the unfailing teaching of the Lord Jesus Christ. With the vehement forces of teachings found in their Bible, the tribals had been virtually transformed traditionally, culturally, socially, educationally, economically and religiously.^v

In the words of L. Jeyaseelan, it is also an acknowledged fact that a society does not possess that energy or the potential to change by itself. An external element, a force, an individual, a religion all have been factors responsible for change of all types. That's why many scholars overwhelmingly rate impact of missionary endeavor as one of the main agents of cultural, political, social and economic changes brought about in Manipur.^{vi}

Change in Civilizational Mode

The advent of Christianity into Manipur marks the beginning of a new life and its introduction into the hills is pregnant with many effects of far-reaching importance. It has brought civilization to those head-hunting people who enthralled themselves with blood feuds between village and village. Our forefathers were naked and their knowledge was limited. They were fighting each other and their life and property were insecure. But with the introduction of modern education by the Missionaries, the tribal people were brought from that stage to the present more civilized stage.^{vii}

The development or the change has occurred because Missionary movements are often based on a zeal that is very much philanthropic. It is true that most of the tribals are still poor, devoid of formal education and oppressed by fears which arise out of lack of modern knowledge. Christian Missionaries worked upon this for more than a century.

In the initial stage, there was much confusion and bitterness over the native religion. Missionaries were often beaten up, chased by villagers and in some cases they were not even permitted to enter villages. The Missionaries used the persuasive power to win over the people gradually. Once the Gospel message spread far and wide, hundreds of people who heard the new Gospel embraced Christian religion. In a short span of time, there were startling changes in different spheres of life.

At the beginning stage, there was no clear distinction between Sunday school and Christian Endeavour Society. But later on a clear distinct function was established for the two organizations. Sunday school teaches Bible whereas Christian Endeavour Society went a step

Language in India www.languageinindia.com ISSN 1930-2940 15:2 February 2015

M. Thanmung, Ph.D.

Christianity and Social Change among the Naga Tribes of Manipur

further in imparting Christian character and morality especially to the young people. It provides leadership training for the young people in the churches because of their participation in various youth programmes which they themselves planned under the supervision of the church leaders. They also organized so many other activities like temperance movement, gospel teams, social work, choir and so on. All these activities gave them opportunities to develop and mould their Christian lives. So, the Christian Endeavour Society has played an important role in the transformation of the social life of the young people in the society and in church.

N. B. Bose points out that Christianity has undoubtedly brought the message of a richer life, a wider companionship, and a new sense of dignity to converts. But it is interesting to note that the Christian religion has always been trying to get near the belief of modern civilization. And this was particularly so during the British rule when the converts felt closer to the British rulers than to their benighted countrymen. It is only after independence that allegiance to one's native culture is being encouraged. It is now gaining acceptance that there can be a Christian religion which does not necessarily draw men and women away from their own culture and civilization. Yet up to now, the Christian Missionary enterprise has been the principal agent of westernization among the Nagas.^{viii}

Cultural Change and Development

The advent of Christianity seems to have made the people dependent on institution, whether it is educational or social. Joseph Athickal in his work mentions the words of Thomas Odea that "Religion often plays the role of institutionalizing immaturity and develops in its adherent's dependence upon religious institution and leads to assume individual responsibility and self-direction".^{ix}

When Christian Missionaries normally approach a people to evangelize, a definite interaction of each other's culture takes place. Whatever be the package one may offer, people do get interested when they came to be convinced that what was offered was good enough to enrich their life. They are not worried whether what they are assimilating or taking in as part of their life has anything to do with their culture or in any way underscoring their own way of life for generations. There is no other way of introducing new Christian belief and practices or new socio-economic ideas than by effectively persuading individuals to deviate from their traditional ways.^x

Church Polity, Education and Literature

There were many ways in which Christianity helped to shape the new culture that developed but some of the most important were church polity, education and literature.^{xi} They enabled the tribes to adjust to the situation that had been forced upon them without losing their sense of distinct identity. Church polity developed new structures of tribal identity through

education and literature. Christianity provided the people with the skill necessary to function by themselves within the new order.

Ecclesiastical Organization

At the time of the introduction of Christianity, the only polity in most areas was that of independent and isolated village-states. There was no organization or council that brought together all the members of a single tribe, let alone members of different neighbouring tribes. It was the church organization - the association, presbyteries, Synods, councils, convention, assemblies and dioceses - which provided the first forum in which representatives of an entire tribe and, in due course, of different tribes to come together for any purpose whatsoever. Church polity provided the basis for a new politics of identity. In this sense it was Christianity that created self-consciousness of different tribal cultural identity.

Education

The schools, particularly the central station school where the members of different villages and tribes studied together, made an important contribution to the development of the new tribal polity and identity. Christianity played a central role because the British Government turned over to the mission almost complete responsibility for education thus providing them with an instrument of influence especially in the early days when their numbers were small.

Literature

Literature also played a central role in creating a new tribal culture. Before the coming of Christianity, the dialects of different villages were unintelligible to members of other villages of the same tribe. When reducing a language to writing the missionaries had to choose one of the dialects for the purpose of communication. The dialect of the area where the first mission was located was chosen to represent the group of dialects that formed a language. This in effect gave a single language to the entire tribe giving a sense of common identity to groups that had been previously dialectically divided.

Change from Animism to Christianity and Consequent Changes

Christianity, indeed, had brought about a radical social change by broadening world view from particularism to universalism. It cemented the traditionally hostile tribe groups speaking different languages into a broad group of related tribes. It brought a change in their way of life. Forgetting their own cultural way of life they adopted the western culture of life.^{xii}

Cultural change among the Tangkhul occurred through contacts with other cultures, invention and internal adjustment of its culture. In the traditional Tangkhul society, the people frankly believed in the philosophy of head-hunting and indulged in that venture. To them it was partly religious, partly as a means to show social maturity, partly as a proof of success, and partly

for fertility and agricultural prosperity. It was the mainspring of their life and social activities and behavior that were inextricably woven round the practice. With the disappearance of head-hunting, many elements in their culture had been changed.

When the Tangkhul animists converted into Christianity, they started asking openly why they should honour their formal religious function and observe their traditional or cultural festivals. Today many of the children of the old head-hunters are working as Christian missionaries and evangelists converting others. In this connection, R.R. Shimray observes that from head-hunting to heart-hunting is a matter of life and death to them”.^{xiii}

Function of Traditional and Modern Festivals

Traditional Tangkhuls celebrated their festivals with great gusto. Dancing and drinking form an important feature of the celebration. The joy of life was sustained by the successive festivals among them. Their festivals undoubtedly possessed religious characters intimately connected with their way of life.

There were quite a number of festivals celebrated during the year. Luir Phanit (sowing festival), Mangkhap (completion of harvest), Dharkhat (offering of the harvest), Chumphut (opening of granary after harvest), and Thisham (festival for the death) were prominent. With the conversion of the people into Christianity, some of the traditional festivals like the Thisham and Chumphut festivals have been sealed off. The rest of the festivals though celebrated ceased to have their formal glory and are greatly Christianized in their celebration. Christmas and other Christian festivals have become more and more prominent.

Living Space

Generally, a Tangkhul house contains three rooms. The front room is called “*Yamkup*” which is meant for the domestic animals and served as the grinding room. The middle room is the living room and kitchen as well. The third room is their bed room-cum-stall room. In the olden days, common people covered their roofs with thatch whereas, the wealthy ones covered with ‘*lengcheng*’ (wood plank).^{xiv} In front of the main door, two curved beams were added to the cable by persons who could perform requisite *gennas*.^{xv} The house of those who were better off was decorated with skulls, carvings and paintings. Tangkhuls’ use of planks and shingle in their houses shows the appearance of great durability.^{xvi} In course of time the majestically decorated traditional buildings have almost disappeared. *Lengcheng* (wood plank) has been replaced by C.I Sheets, skulls and carvings were replaced by flowers, and other pieces of art.

Traditionally, rough log planks, *thingpamkhong* (stools) hewn from solid log, neatly plaited cane and *mathira polang* (bamboo baskets), and some hampai (earthen pots), a row of *kazei* (spears), a mat or two, consisted of the furniture of Naga house. The very changes are those of acquiring materials such as lamps, shoes, umbrellas, matches, battery torches, guns, and other modern utensils, implements and weapons replacing the old ones.

Language in India www.languageinindia.com ISSN 1930-2940 15:2 February 2015

M. Thanmung, Ph.D.

Christianity and Social Change among the Naga Tribes of Manipur

Scantily Dressed

The Nagas have been described by many writers as ‘naked’ or ‘savage’. Certainly Tangkhuls had scanty dress or clothing for working in the fields. But on the days of social functions and holidays, both men and women wore much elaborate costumes. They had a variety of clothes and ornaments worn on different occasions, different clothes for different sexes and age-groups. A man’s wealth or prowess or his status indicated the cloth he was allowed to wear. In the process of modernization, use of tailored and readymade and often ultra-modern garments is on the increase. The colourful Tangkhul shawls are no longer a must with the younger generation.

Oral Traditions

The oral tradition of Tangkhul contains past economic understandings, war and victories and historical incidents. Storytelling, recitations of poems and singing songs animated the leisure hour of the Tangkhul. Musically, as a tribe, they have a rich heritage of songs and dances. The Tangkhul Naga Christians today have gone for Christian hymns in western tunes and youngsters have gone for western pop music in a big way. Except for a few tradition-conscious young people they have a very small repertoire of their own tribal songs.^{xvii}

Change in Health and Hygiene Conditions

The impact of Christianity on Tangkhul culture is tremendous on individuals and society. When the animists were converted into Christianity, their lives were transformed into a newer and richer life. Health and hygiene among them were marvelously improved. The new culture taught them about personnel cleanliness. They became more hygienic.

The first symbolic change was seen in the adoption of western styles of haircut from *haokuirat* (traditional coiffure) by the Christian students. They learned a new standard of clothing instead of scanty dress. Divorce and polygamy faded. People no more took pride in drinking *leiyu* (rice beer). War and head-hunting between the villages disappeared. Instead, people searched souls. Their fatalistic attitude towards life has turned to be a life of faith and hope. Christianity brought a new meaning to their life.

The impact of Christianity has brought about drastic changes in the life style of those who have embraced the religion. Due to Christianization, the colourful tribes are utilizing the best development programmes.^{xviii} The Christian religion has provided them the benefit of modern civilization. And this was particularly so during the period of British rule when the converts felt closer to the British rulers than to their benighted countrymen. The western way of life spread among those who could afford to do so, while education improved living style and reliance upon modern medicine got introduced whenever Christianity was to enter. Yet it might be worthwhile asking the question whether Christianity and westernization in India are necessarily identical with each other. They are not. For there can be a Christian religion which

Language in India www.languageinindia.com ISSN 1930-2940 15:2 February 2015

M. Thanmung, Ph.D.

Christianity and Social Change among the Naga Tribes of Manipur

does not necessarily draw men and women away from their own civilization. Yet up to now, principal agent of westernization among the tribal groups has been Christian missionary enterprise. It is after independence that Christianity among the Nagas has been encouraging the native culture.^{xix}

On converting into Christianity people separated themselves from the traditional way of life. The separation became inevitable as the Christians no longer subscribed to the animistic presupposition basis of the festivals involving rituals in spirit worship. Since the inception of the Ukhrul church in 1902, the Missionaries listed a number of church rules that were to be faithfully observed. If a Christian participated a *genna* or other observances he or she was disciplined by the church.

Christians rejected the animal sacrifices and various rites intended to propitiate the malevolent spirit or pleasing the great gods. These involved a multitude of rituals performed for the good of the whole village, as in time of war or planting or harvesting or for the good of the clan or family or individual in time of illness and other calamity. The practice of stone and deity worship, paganism and the occult gave way to Christianity which resulted in many changes in attitude toward worship of native gods.^{xx} The native converts changed their master from the village chief and elders to the Missionary and Evangelist and it became impossible for the Christians and the animistic villager to live side by side as a community in a village.

Another important contribution that Christianity made in the general area of the life style among the tribal people of the hills was in providing a basis for the new relationship among villagers and tribes as Christians emphasise upon the love for neighbour and enemy alike.^{xxi} It was the church organization which brought members of different villages and tribe within common structure for the first time. Villages of the same tribe that had previously been at war with each other were brought together in association and Presbyteries. Different tribes were brought together in convention, council, and assemblies. Thus, evangelism and church polity brought togetherness among the people of different tribes.

One of the most remarkable social changes among the Tangkhul was the process of transition from village level organization to another level displaying a more advanced social organisation. The process of moving from one level to another level involves not merely a reshaping of the social order but restructuring of social relationships and development of a new social norm.

In traditional Tangkhul society, the social relations among the individuals are on the basis of kinship, clan and villages. The village society functions within one language area. The only possible exception is where members of the same tribe but speaking different languages enter into marriage relationship, probably often in the bilingual tracts where the two linguistically different villages meet. Thus in many villages social relationship is essentially at the kinship level which is limited to a narrow region.

The introduction of a common language through education by Pettigrew brought wider social relations involving different villages living in the region. All the Tangkhul villages now speaking a common language felt a new sense of identity. The whole Tangkhul villages became a single linguistic group and tribe.

With urbanization, there is an increase in the involvement of church organization and rationality of action. For, a man who comes under the influence of town life, his religious attitude and practices are greatly influenced by the variety of contacts and experiences in the urban market. Old values are questioned and new needs are conceived, the traditional form of religious expression fall into disuse.^{xxii}

Modernization

When we say modernization, it involves several factors, like introduction of cash economy, availability and use of unknown commodities, modern education, medicine, newspaper, books, model for new life-style and new judicial and political system. Christianity has definitely given some of these items. Hence, modernization is definitely not non-Christian. It, in fact, paves a way for further development. The development may reach out to many existential angles.^{xxiii}

The process of modernization and growth of education bring about political consciousness in the minds of the people. The Tangkhuls like the other Naga tribes came to know that they are part of a group of Naga tribes. Time and again, some Tangkhul leaders in collaboration with other leaders from other Naga tribes of Manipur have been demanding to form a united Naga homeland under the Union of India.

The British government introduced all round change in Tangkhul traditional lives. M.K. Shimray stated that “*Bora Saheb Higgin* (P.M.S.) stopped the practice of extracting tribute by bigger and stronger villages from smaller villages prevalent among the Tangkhul.^{xxiv} The village no longer acted as the main organization socially and politically. Village became the smallest unit of political administration within the British domination.

With the arrival of Christianity, the floodgate of a new world vision was opened to the tribal world by the Missionary activities. Apart from the day of Labour Corps, the Missionary played a great role in providing even physical opportunities for the tribal people to come in contact with the rest of the world. Foreign Missionaries, as they were keen on the local church, facilitated opportunities for the Nagas to go out of the country to study the Bible and to get other necessary training.^{xxv}

Evangelization and Role of Indigenous Leadership

After the First World War, the missionaries created a well organized and thorough plan for better administration and gave wider scope for native church leaders in the mission work. The

native converts became enthusiastic in evangelism. The zeal of the early Christian is abundantly testified by their beliefs, their readiness to endure all things, dangerous journey by land and rivers, personal obloquy and abuse, scourging in the service of what they conceived to be eternal truth.

The early 1920s mark the beginning of involvement of the native workers who were trained and recruited in mission station which inculcated new habits and customs in mass evangelization among their own tribes. In May 1921 a revival began among the Tangkhul Nagas, led by two young men, one the headmaster of the school at Ukhrul, Miksha Shimray, and the other by the pastor of the church T. Luikham.^{xxvi} R. Ruichumhao who was the first member of the tribe to receive high school education was the most outstanding church leader. He took up evangelist work and served as the superintendent pastor of the western circle till his death in 1933. Ruichumhao's life became the most effective instrument in those days for conversion through preaching.^{xxvii} The number of converts grew like wildfire, and there were instances of mass conversion. A church record shows that within a period of one decade beginning from 1920, more than twenty local churches were organized in the Tangkhul hills.

In the village of Somdal and Serarakhong the Christian groups made a public demonstration against the evil of rice beer. They gathered rice beer pots and all utensils or articles associated with animistic worship and smashed them and burned them all.^{xxviii}

Social Role of Christianity

Christianity among the Nagas helps to knit the ultimate source of social cohesion. Social values emanate from religious faith. For the Tangkhuls, Christianity is the foundation upon which social values rest. Children should obey their parents, should not tell lie or cheat, women should be faithful to men, people should be honest and virtuous. These social values maintain social cohesion. It is religion that asks men to renounce unsocial activities and requires him to accept limitation upon his wants and desires.

Besides, Christianity shapes domestic, economic and political institutions. Religious rites are performed on many occasions as in relation to vital events and dominant interests, birth, initiation, marriage, sickness, death and so on, and they are intimately concerned with family and kinship interests and with political institutions. In Tangkhul society Christianity is the central element of its life.

Conclusion

Cultural and social change was brought by Christian education in the tribal area of Manipur. With Christian education the message of love and forgiveness were instilled upon the minds of the people. With the introduction of Christian education a feeling of love and peace was aroused in the area where this was lacking. Secondly, a common language and written literature were given to the people by the Christian missionaries, which brought about a sense of

Language in India www.languageinindia.com ISSN 1930-2940 15:2 February 2015

M. Thanmung, Ph.D.

Christianity and Social Change among the Naga Tribes of Manipur

togetherness and common understanding through the medium of language and literature. Language is always a cementing factor that brings people of the same tongue together. With the introduction of modern education Tangkhuls came into contact with the civilized world and they came under the influence of other people. So, changes took place in their social, cultural, ideological, religious and many other aspects of life. Their attitude toward life, morality and day to day living are affected. Their material culture, habits, dress and customs, profession and all style of life are greatly affected by the Christian culture. Their old village cultural ways of life were disintegrated, defused and displaced by new ideas and practices. Christianity has transformed the life-style of the tribal society. Intellectually, they have been transformed from universal illiteracy to literacy. Political consciousness is another remarkable contribution of Christianity to the tribal people. The rapid and radical changes in their social life from a primitive and unsophisticated life to a high standard modern life style are all the impact of Christianity. Christianity provided an ideology that helps the tribal people maintain their identity in the face of serious erosion of their traditional religion, social and political institution. Christianity also brought the tribal skill necessary to function effectively within the new society that modernization was bringing.



M. Thanmung, NET., Ph.D.
Chingmeirong
Imphal East District
Manipur
India
mthanmun@gmail.com

ⁱRaghuvirSinha, *Religion and Culture of North-Eastern India*, Arbenav publication, New Delhi, 1977, p.27.

ⁱⁱGangmumei Kamei, *Ethnicity and Social Change*, Akansha Publishing House, New Delhi, 2008, p. 38.

ⁱⁱⁱGangmumei Kamei, *op.cit.*, p.40.

^{iv}Lal Dena, *Christian Mission and Colonialism*, Pandra Institute, Shillong, 1988, p.90.

^v K.P. Guite, *Impact of Christianity on the Life of the Tribal in Manipur: A Case Study of Thangal and Saivom Villages*, Personnel Publication, Imphal 1986, p.1.

-
- ^{vi} L. Jayaseelan, *Impact of Missionary Movement in Manipur*, Mittal Publication, New Delhi, 1996, p.128.
- ^{vii} T. Luikham, *A Short History of the Manipur Baptist Christian Golden Jubilee*, Personnel Publication, Ukhrul, 1948, p.7.
- ^{viii} Nirmal Kumar Bose, *Tribal Life in India*, Akansha Publishing House, New Delhi, 1971, p.60.
- ^{ix} Joseph Athickal, *MaramNagas: A Socio-Cultural Study*, Mittal Publication, New Delhi, 1992, p.162.
- ^x Jeyaseelan, *op.cit.*, p. 126.
- ^{xi} F.S. Down, *Essay On Christianity in North East India*, Indus Publishing Co. New Delhi, 1994, p. 193.
- ^{xii} A.C. Sinha, *Youth Movement in North East India*, HarAnand Publication, New Delhi, 1995, p. 99.
- ^{xiii} R.R. Shimray, *op. cit.*, p. 226.
- ^{xiv} Lengtheng, *The Tangkhul*, Personnel Publication, 2006, p.3.
- ^{xv} Roland Shinmi, *The TangkhulNagas*, Personnel publication, 2005, p.10
- ^{xvi} Hodson, *The Naga Tribes of Manipur*, Publishing Corporation, Delhi, 1984, p. 40.
- ^{xvii} Horam, M., *Nagas Old Way New Trend*, Cosmo Publication, New Delhi, 1977, p. 100.
- ^{xviii} Jeyaseelan, *op. cit.*, p. 123.
- ^{xix} N.K. Bose, *op. cit.*, p. 66.
- ^{xx} A.C. Sinha, *op. cit.*, p. 76.
- ^{xxi} *Ibid.*
- ^{xxii} Jeyaseelan, *op. cit.*, p. 132.
- ^{xxiii} Jeyaseelan, *op. cit.*, p. 133.
- ^{xxiv} M.K. Shimray, *TangkhulMiwurlung*, Personnel Publication, Imphal, 1967, p. 87.
- ^{xxv} Jeyaseelan, *op.cit.*, p. 134.
- ^{xxvi} Johna S. Mahangthei, *40 Years in Manipur*, (an account of the work of Rev. S. Mrs. William Pettigrew), Personnel Publication, Imphal, 1986, p.12.
- ^{xxvii} Lolly, R.R., *The Baptist Church in Manipur*, Personnel Publication, Imphal, 1985, p. 47.
- ^{xxviii} Z. Luiho, *WTNBA., Golden Jubilee Khararchan*, Serarakhong, Ukhrul, 1967, p.9.