## REVISITING THE 'JAKHA- JAPANESE' RELATION: A POSTCOLONIAL STUDY

Dissertation submitted to the Nagaland University in partial fulfillment for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy in English

Submitted by:

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I, KHRIETHONO LESE, hereby declare that the dissertation entitled, *REVISITING THE 'JAKHA-JAPANESE' RELATION : A POSTCOLONIAL STUDY*, is a bonafide record of research work done by me, under the supervision of **PROFESSOR ROSEMARY DZÜVICHÜ**, Department of English, Nagaland University, Kohima Campus, Meriema during the period of my research (2019-2021). The dissertation has not been submitted either in full or in part to any other Universities or Institution. This is being submitted to the Nagaland University for the Degree of Master of Philosophy in English.

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## **ABSTRACT**

Jakhama Nagas descended from a brave race whose tales are being told even today, reminiscing and remembering those great days when the village had courageous warriors who not only safeguarded their village but also protected the neighboring villages around them. For many years, there have been no written records of the Jakhama traditions and legendary stories; therefore their history has been passed down through generations by oral narration. They were Nagas, people who were adamantly opposed to the arrival of the colonizers on their land. When Christianity and education were introduced, the Nagas showed strong resistance, however they were eventually defeated under British administration. Despite the fact that, the colonizers landed on the Naga Hills and stayed among them long before the Japanese invaders, the Japanese had a significant impact on the Jakhama Nagas. The Japanese were only on the Nagas' land for merely two months, but they quickly gained their trust, and villagers began assisting them with cover and rations. Many events occurred over time that aided the development of relations between the Japanese and the Jakhama people, as well as certain incidents that eventually led to the Japanese defeat and departure from the Naga Hills. Even to this day, some elders will credit the Japanese for the education and understanding of the outside world that arrived to their land. Despite the fact that they caused destruction, the good impact they left behind was bigger.

The subject of postcolonialism is addressed in Chapter One, in order to comprehend the relationship between the Jakhama people and the Japanese. The investigation and retracing of any possible link between the two parties is the focus of the inquiry, which necessitates understanding of postcolonial theory and research. As

a result, the dissertation will start with knowledge of it before applying to the research.

Chapter Two entitled, "British Colonialism on Angami Nagas", discusses the initial coming of the British colonizers and the harsh resistance the Nagas gave upon their entry. The Origin of the Angami Nagas who are recollected as brave warriors especially those from Khonoma village is studied in this chapter. Events leading to Battle of Khonoma, by which the power and control of the Colonizers were established, is also taken into consideration. The impact of Christianity and education upon Nagas, altering the very custom and traditions of a traditional Naga lifestyle is also examined along.

The third chapter, "Japanese Invasion of Naga Hills", studies the arrival of the Japanese upon various villages, especially to those in the southern Angami region to which Jakhama belonged to. The importance of oral tradition in history to the present generation in recollecting past history and traditions is studied in the chapter. The cordial acceptance of the Japanese upon its land is traced in the chapter. The Battle of Kohima, and its impact upon Naga Hills. Ballads sung in memory of the Japanese by the Angami Nagas who in a way sympathized with the Japanese for the harsh defeat they had to encounter is also traced in the chapter.

Chapter Four titled, "War Narratives from Jakhama", gives us an insight of the Japanese stay and their relation with the village of Jakhama. The origin of the village with brave warriors and its settlement upon the current location is also taken into consideration. One of the major force which highly impacted the Jakhama village was the coming of Japanese upon its land in April, 1944. Through oral narrations various turnouts of events which led to the Japanese establishing its headquarters upon their

land is examined. Japanese establishing a school for the natives whereby they taught the young ones in Japanese language – the alphabets, numbers, songs and national anthem. These songs, phrases, national anthem, etc taught in Japanese is still sung and spoken by various elders who witnessed it first-hand.

The fifth chapter, "Feminist Perspective on Confrontation with the Japanese", studies the theory of feminism and how it has influenced the present day. Discrimination, stereotyping, objectification of women, oppression, and patriarchy are some of the common themes studied in feminist thought. A brief history on the treatment and various limitations laid upon an Angami woman is also brought into light. The concept of 'self' for Naga women is built with man as the absolute and woman as the other, as dictated by norms and traditions. Women have always been keen observers, standing in the backdrop, observing since she was shut down to voice out her opinions and perspectives. Some of their experiences or memories are passed down through oral narrations while some vanished into thin air as an individual passed away, as such some narrations of the war are traced and examined from the eyes of the Jakhama women who saw the war and experienced its chaos.

Chapter Six , the concluding chapter emphasizes a thorough comprehension of all of the previous chapters while also presenting the research findings.

## **CHAPTER 1**

#### INTRODUCTION

The chapter examines postcolonial studies through historical series of the Jakhama natives who firsthand encountered with the Japanese troops. The theory of postcolonialism which has been applied in the analysis of the relationship between the colonial force – the Japanese soldiers and the natives of Jakhama Village shall be discussed in the first chapter. From the sixteenth century to the present, the term postcolonialism refers itself to the historical, political, cultural, and textual ramifications of the colonial interaction between the West and the non-West. The postcolonial era refers to the period following the end of colonial control. Postcolonial literature is broadly characterized as writing that critically or subversively examines the colonial connection, rather than just being writing that came after empire.

As a result, postcolonial writing is heavily influenced by imperial experiences of cultural exclusion and division. It is also a nationalist writing, especially in its early stages. Building on this, postcoloniality might be described as the condition in which colonized people attempted to take their position as historical agents in a more globalised world, either violently or otherwise. From the early days of exploration and colonization, postcolonialism critically investigates the interaction between colonizers and colonized. Postcolonial is an umbrella term that encompasses a wide range of works of literature, some of which were previously prohibited but gained freedom under it, resulting in works not only by men but also by a large number of brilliant female writers who had colonial experience and sought to break away from the set norms of the societies. In its earliest phase, "postcolonial criticism

took as its main subject matter white representations of colonial countries and criticized these for their limitations and their bias" (Barry 190)

Postcolonialism is considered as articulating along economic, cultural, historical, and social aspects, and as a result, it manifests itself in varied ways around the world. However, it does share some characteristics with people all across the world. People from formerly colonized societies often feel a sense of belongings and attachments as a result of their shared history. Colonist literature, on the other hand, was concerned with colonial growth particularly. It encapsulated imperialism's viewpoint. Overall, it was literature about non-European regions dominated by Europeans published by and for conquering Europeans. Postcolonialism "can be seen as a theoretical resistance to the mystifying amnesia of the colonial aftermath" (Gandhi 4).

Since the late 1970s, critics have used the term "postcolonialism" to describe the different cultural repercussions of colonization. It's a term that refers to the cultural arena that has been influenced by imperialism from the time of colonialism to the present day. New writing in English, world fiction, international or transcultural writing, and Commonwealth literature are all terms used to describe postcolonial writings in English. Bill Ashcroft, G.Griffiths and Helen Tiffin have elaborated the meaning of the term in their book titled *Key Concepts in Postcolonial Studies* as follows:

"Post-colonialism / postcolonialism is now used in wide and diverse ways to include the study and analysis of European colonialisms, the discursive operations of empire, the subtleties of subject construction in colonial discourse and the resistance of those subjects, and most importantly perhaps,

the differing response to such incursions and their contemporary colonial legacies in both pre- and post-independence nations and communities" (187).

As Elleke Boehmer points out, over the last few decades, a large number of cultural criticisms of empire and its aftermath have been published under the label, "postcolonial", and while their perspectives may differ, she says: The process of overhauling includes postcolonial literature. To convey colonized experience, postcolonial writers aimed to undermine the narratives that promoted colonization — the myths of power, race classification, and imagery of subjugation — both thematically and formally. As a result, postcolonial writing is heavily influenced by imperial experiences of cultural exclusion and division. (Boehmer 3)

When postcolonialism originally arose as a literary theory with roots in the aftermath of Colonialism, literary critics had differing viewpoints. Postcolonial theory, according to modern literary critics, is a field of literary and cultural research that aims to comprehend the former colonizer's fierce resistance. Dennis Walder has elaborated that: "Postcolonial theory is needed because it has a subversive posture towards the canon, in celebrating the neglected or marginalized, bringing with it a particular politics, history and geography" (60).

Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin have also used the term 'post-colonial' to cover all the culture affected by the imperial process from the moment of colonization to the present day". Thus, in literary and cultural studies, postcolonialism is a critical theoretical approach that denotes opposition to unjust and equal forms of political and cultural authority. Today postcolonialism is an important, as well as, critical discourse and frequently critics use this term in different ways with the prime

objective being, as Young says, "to empower the powerless and provide them a status of dignity at par with those privileged and dignified in social hierarchy" (113). Postcolonialism has been defined in so many aspects by so many individuals. One could define it as: "Basically a study of the structures of power relations between the colonizers and the colonized or to put it more simply, what Aime Cesaire calls, relations of domination and submission" (Shukla 2). The origins of postcolonial criticism can be traced back to Frantz Fanon's 1961 book, *The Wretched of the Earth*, which expressed what could be described as "cultural resistance" to France's African empire. The first step for 'colonised' people in reclaiming their own history, according to Fanon, is to reclaim their own past.

Edward Said is often regarded as the father of postcolonial theory. Orientalism, his major literary work, is recognized as the cornerstone of Postcolonial Culture studies. The study of postcolonial theory began with the publication of Orientalism in 1978. It completely transformed postcolonial thought and literature. It portrays the imbalance between the West and the East by demonstrating the West's superiority over the East, with the West dominating the East at all times. To highlight the relationship between two dissimilar cultures – West and East, Said used phrases and concepts such as orient, the other, occident, and accident. In continental literature, it raised consciousness. To establish the West's dominance, qualities such as irrationality, sensuality, primitiveness, despotism and sloth are given to the East. East and West are in binary opposition.

In his views, on Said's *Orientalism*, even Peter Barry displays his opinion of a superior West and an inferior East. He claims that Said was the first to adequately expose the fundamental ideas of postcolonial thought through his book. As a result,

Edward Said's Orientalism (1978), a specific exposure of the Eurocentric universalism that takes for granted both the superiority of what is European or Western, and the inferiority of what is not, is another key book that can be said to initiate postcolonial criticism proper. Said defines a 'Orientalism' cultural legacy in Europe, which is a specific and long-standing form of classifying the East as 'Other' and inferior to the West (Barry 186).

To grasp the many faces of postcolonial theory, Barry goes on to define the three stages of postcolonial literature. The writer searches for a genre form and mentions its universal validity in the first stage, Adopt. The author adapts or borrows the form, particularly the European form, to the national subject matter in the second stage. The Adept stage is the final level, and it focuses on the text's independence. We don't see any interference of European cultural traditions in the final level. Barry made the following remark about the third stage:

"Characteristically, post colonial writers evoke or create a precolonial version of their own nation, rejecting the modern and the contemporary, which is tainted with the colonial status of their countries. Here, then, is the first characteristic of postcolonial criticism – an awareness of representations of the non-European as exotic or immoral 'Other' "(Barry 187).

Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, an immigrant Third World academic and another well-known pioneer of Postcolonial critique, uses her position to problematize the postcolonial situation and analyze continuous Western supremacy. She is best known for her 1983 article ,Can the Subaltern Speak?, and for translating Jacques Derrida's, Of Grammatology, which identified her as a critic who feminized deconstruction research while keeping the situation of subalterns in mind. Spivak

expanded the definition of subaltern literature to include women who were previously marginalized.

Spivak critiques the Eurocentric attitudes of the West in this essay, exposing the irony that the subalterns have woken to a realization of their own rights by making active declarations against unjust domination and inequity. She attacks the Eurocentric attitudes of the West. Spivak believes that knowledge is never pure; it is constantly manipulated by economic interests and power in the West. Knowledge is exported from the West to the Third World in the same way that any other commodity is. Western academics have long positioned themselves and their understanding of Eastern civilizations as objective.

It is usually created stereotypically with the political and economic interests of the West in mind. She joins Edward Said in order to attack western writer's representations of the Third World in academic discourse. Her contribution to the subaltern state under colonialism was "to expand its significant to include groups who do not on the social scale at all such as the tribal's or unscheduled castes, untouchables, and within all these groups. Spivak's most important contribution to postcolonial theory is her terms – subaltern, essentialism, strategic essentialism, which has obtained a special reference in modern postcolonial literary and critical studies. Although subaltern is a military term, Spivak used it to describe women's inferior rank and marginal status, as well as the literature on the subject. She is widely regarded as the first postcolonial theorist to advocate a completely feminist agenda.Spivak the necessity of feminist viewpoints stress on is part of a larger role she has played in postcolonial studies over the last two decades, maybe unintentionally: that of the theoretical conscience. (Beterns 211)

Another prominent figure in current postcolonial studies is **Homi K. Bhabha**, who popularized postcolonial theory by addressing new notions like hybridity, ambivalence, mimicry and difference. His concept of hybridity became popular in describing the postcolonial theory vision that all cultures are intertwined and cannot be separated. According to Bhabha, such expressions reflected methods in which colonized people have fought the colonizer's power. In postcolonial criticism, his book, *The Location of Culture (1994)*, made a significant contribution. His concept of hybridity has become one of the most popular in postcolonial cultural criticism. He rejects the binary oppositions of West and non-west, centre and margin, civilized and savage, and sees postcolonial as "hybrids" identified by both their own people and colonial power. Selden remarks:

"Bhabha sees hybridity as a problematic of colonial representation which reverses the effects of the colonialist disavowel (of difference), so that other 'denied' knowledges enter upon the dominant discurses and obliterate the foundations of its power" (Selden 228).

In addition, he emphasizes the issue of cultural identity. He uses the term mimicry to describe how native cultures are becoming more westernized. Native peoples who have been influenced by colonialism are gradually drifting away from their own culture and assimilating to new Western civilization without realizing that they are being culturally destroyed. If one were to believe Homi Bhabha's statement given in an interview with Gowri Ramnarayan at The Hindu Sunday, on August 22,2004, then all literature would be considered or termed to be postcolonial. He stated:

"The purpose of postcolonialism is to allow people to understand their lives, the lives of others, and their lives in relation to others" (Shukla vii).

Every state or nation that has had a colonial experience does not have the same definition of postcolonialism. People from the colonial countries share evident commonalities in their past experiences, yet they have their own individual characteristics and a heritage to pass on to others. The ultimate purpose of postcolonial theory is to eliminate colonialism's residual impacts on civilizations. It isn't only about saving post-worlds; its also about figuring out how the world can go on from this moment together, to a position of mutual respect.

Homi Bhabha provides a comprehensive definition of postcolonialism that dismantles the obstacles that some postcolonial theorists have created.

"Postcolonial criticism bears witness to the unequal and uneven forces of cultural representation involved in the contest for political and social authority... Postcolonial perspectives emerge from the colonial testimony of Third World countries and the discourse of 'minorities' within the geopolitical divisions of East and West, North and South... They formulate their critical revisions around issues of cultural difference, social authority, and political discrimination in order to reveal the antagonistic and ambivalent moments within the rationalizations of modernity".(Bhabha 171)

Although postcolonialism emerged after colonialism; colonialism continues to dominate the consciousness of people in independent countries such as India, Africa, the West Indies, New Zealand, and Canada. It covers topics such as neocolonialism, resistance, subversion, reconstruction, identity quest, diaspora issues, alienation, landscape, national identity, feminism, and political concerns, among others. Citizens

can use postcolonialism as a forum to discuss their experiences throughout the colonial period. Migration, slavery, oppression, resistance, representation, diversity, race, gender, place, and response to powerful speech are just a few examples.

Ever since its inception in the 1980s, postcolonialism has been associated with fields including women's studies, cultural studies, and gay/lesbian studies. Postcolonial women writers have attempted to develop their own literature by placing women in the context of changing social scenes, with a particular focus on the psychology of such women. Postcolonial criticism emphasizes cultural differences in literary texts and is one of numerous critical methods we've looked at that focus on certain themes, such as gender (feminist criticism), class (Marxist critique), and sexual orientation (lesbian/gay criticism) (Barry 191).

With the limits of colonial gender, women's standing and esteem in precolonial societies transformed. The only role of a woman in many traditional
communities was to carry children, equating womanhood and motherhood. Her one
and only identity is as a mother. Remaining childless after marriage would result in
societal discrimination and a bad reputation for her and her family. Giving birth to a
son who will uphold male authority becomes extremely important for the mother, as it
alleviates her status as an outsider to patriarchal rule. Creating the groundwork for
what became known as "postcolonial feminism", a response to feminism that focused
only on women's experiences in Western societies and former colonized countries. It
looked at colonialism's gender past and how it continues to effect women's status in
today's world. Indigenous peoples' struggles in various regions of the world in the
early twenty-first century are also referred to as postcolonialism. According to Terry
Eagelton, postcolonial studies is "the most flourishing sector of cultural studies

today", and "has been one the most precious achievements of cultural theory" (Terry 6).

## Naga Postcolonialism

The Nagas' postcolonial period may roughly be dated back to 1947, when India gained independence and British troops were withdrawn from the Naga Hills. Since then, the Nagas' social and cultural environment has undergone numerous transformations. As a result of colonization, Naga society witnessed significant changes in all realms of social, political, and cultural alteration. The effect of Christianity and Western education by British Missionaries was huge and impactful, leading to a major shift in their traditional community life. However, these changes did not fully changed the Naga culture and traditions, they in different ways preserved their old cultures with these new influences. Chandrika Singh in his book, *The Naga Society*, stated that:

"History bears the testimony that many old cultures and civilizations lost their identities in the mighty waves of subjugation and assimilation by the powerful forces. However, in the case of the Naga society and its cultural as well as social norms and values, it never happened that the Naga people lost their identity. Even during the British rule the Naga society preserved its social norms and values and kept the social identity intake with the exception that it was effected by the current of modernization" (Singh 2012)

Even during the British rule the Naga society preserved its social norms and values and kept the social identity intake with the exception 1 *states that* the , "the purpose of the British expedition was to find a route from Manipur and

Assam via Naga country so that their subjects in Manipur and Assam could be protected from any further Burmese invasion" (Kire 12). Strategically, the Naga Hills provided a natural frontier to the British position in India. The British deemed the Nags to be barbaric, savages, and some parts of their country was declared as Excluded Areas because they saw no value or interest in dealing with them. The Nagas has complete independence before British colonization in the Naga Hills. To every state that has had a colonial experience, postcolonialism cannot mean the same thing.

Similarly, postcolonial literature as seen through the eyes of chosen Naga writers demonstrates the ever-shifting expansion of Naga writings in English, which can be found in every social and cultural corner of the community. Their writings exhibit a wide range of interests, with each addressing a particular scenario, adding to the growing body of Naga literature. In various parts of the Naga Hills, both the British and the Japanese colonized Nagas. During the 1940s, this double colonization did occur in most parts of the Naga Hills but mostly in the Angami region. While the British used Christianity and western education as their main tactics to colonize the Nagas, the Japanese, on the other hand, used resistance to Christianity and instead encouraged the Nagas to pursue their own form of religion- animism.

Racial similarities, on the other hand, was crucial in allowing the Japanese troops to interact with the natives. Both colonizers contributed to the development of the Naga Hills in their own unique ways. They opened the Nagas' eyes to a whole new world beyond the hills that they called home. Nagas using oral narration has time in history preserved their tradition and past experiences of the war. Much of the Naga perspective on colonization has been undermined as written records were not much

found or traced; it was oral narration which helped them to a great extend to pass on their brave tales and saga of terror to the younger generations.

"Oral tradition, in simple terms encompasses the complete way of life of the people. It is broadly a tradition that primarily preserves its knowledge system by passing it down from generation to generation through orality, the different forms of stories, songs, and verbal instructions." (Pou 30)

# Postcolonial examination of the Jakhama – Angami natives and the Japanese Army:

It is quite fascinating as to how an army so feared by other's for its brutality comes and settle down in the hills of the Jakhama Village for almost two months without the villagers fleeing away from them, in fear but actually resorts to residing together in a peaceful manner. Jakhama is the second largest village in the Southern Angami area and is filled with many oral historical accounts and legendary stories attached to her. Known to have many brave and strong warriors from its village, Jakhama was one of those villages who did not give in easily to the colonization of the British Army. Together with other villages and as a whole, the Angami tribe besieged Kohima, though ultimately, Britishers subdued all the villages and established control over them. An important occurrence that directly involved Jakhama Village was the Japanese occupation of the area during the Second World War or natively known as "Japan Rüwhuo" (Japan War)..

So far no written records has been traced down through which one can find that the villagers isolated their homes and fled away in search of protection, food and shelter. Through the oral narrations which has been passed down from the village elders, it provides us an insight on the Japanese's unseen relationship with the Jakhama village. Whether it was the sense of having similar racial features despite the difference in their mode of language for communication making it difficult for them to properly converse with one another or some other factors which led to the amicable understanding between both sides, through applying postcolonial study their relationship will be studied in depth.

Resistance has always been a key feature when it comes to postcolonial study, but in this case we find acceptance of colonial power from the Jakhama locals. Women in history have always played a major role in various ways, some in the front while some under the shadow of man. Nagas being a society where women are said to be given equal opportunity and status in the society, postcolonial feminism helps us understand the in depth truth of what lies behind the curtain. With the coming of Christianity and Education, various changes were brought to the Nagas, it paved the way for a new kind of generation who were open minded and explorers ready to venture out. A community which depended at isolation to keep its people save from any invaders were transformed into a community who is now very much different as well as progressed from the olden one.

## **CHAPTER - 2**

#### BRITISH COLONIALISM ON ANGAMI NAGAS

- 2.1: THE ANGAMI NAGAS
- 2.2: BRITISH COLONISATION OF THE ANGAMIS : SEIGE OF KOHIMA GARRISON AND THE BATTLE OF KHONOMA
- 2.3: IMPACT

## 2.1: THE ANGAMI NAGAS

The Angamis are a major Naga ethnic group native to Nagaland, settled in Kohima District and various other parts of the State. They are a prominent tribe of the Nagas, occupying the heart of Naga ancestral domain. Though they were one of the earliest settlers in the Naga Hills, yet there is not much extreme written records. One of such written records is done by J.H.Hutton, who served as an administrator in Naga Hills from 1917 to 1935. "Hutton tried his best to include all aspects of Angami work in his account, but when the question of singling out the essential features of their life arises, his account reveals certain inadequacies which probably can be attributed to colonial culture and his ties with the government he came to represent" (Sanyu,3).

The theories of migration and origin is still something which is discussable since there are no facts related to it, but it is mainly traced through a story in Oral tradition, which shows evidences of shared migration narrative along with other tribes as Chokri, Khezha, Sema, Lotha, Rengmas and Maos of Manipur. The Angami story of the origin of the Naga tribes centres in the Kezami Village of *Kezakenoma*. It says that, there once lived an old couple who owned a great flat stone with magical properties. When paddy was dried upon it, the load multiplied because the stone was inhabited by a spirit. The three sons of the household took turns to dry their paddy on this stone, until one day, they quarreled, and their parents, fearing bloodshed broke eggs on the stone, covered it with brushwood, laid faggots on it and set it on fire. The narrative continue that the stone burst with a crack like thunder, and the spirit went up to heaven in a cloud of smoke, and the virtue of the stone departed from it. The three sons went their own ways and became ancestors of the Angami, Lotha, and Sumi tribes, but their parents stayed and gave birth to the seven Kezami village descendants (Kire 59).

As indigenous people, oral narration has always been a part of the society which helps to revive not only the forgotten history and memories of the past but also to keep the traditions and cultures alive. The Angamis also called themselves *Tenyimia*, a named derived from *Tuonyümia*, which means the *swift walker*, given to Angami by his two brothers, Lotha and Sema. Through oral narrations we also find that before this theory of origin from Kezhakeno, the Angami existence traces to Mongolia from which they migrated or were taken to China to work on the Great Wall of China, all of these are based on oral narration passed down since generations and no written record seems to validate it. The Angami Naga does not have an unappealing appearance. His height, which is tall for a hillman, is usually around five

feet nine inches and occasionally rises to six feet. The young bucks are typically fine, light, well-formed, and powerful, though the men of the Khonoma tribe are typically constructed on heavier lines (Hutton 20). The physical characteristics of the Angami Nagas varied greatly from village to village, and even from home to house. Angami women do not wear decorations on their legs or feet, but they do wear the bugle-shaped bracelet mentioned previously on the upper arm, as well as weird brass wristlets with palmate ends that turn away from one another (28).

Tenyidie is the common language spoken by the Angami tribe in varying dialects from village to village and from region to region. But it is mutually comprehensible. The Angami village is invariably built either on the summit of a hill, on high saddles for variety of reasons, dominantly for strategic defense purposes. The selection of new village area was done keeping in mind the fact that village feuds were very frequent before conversion to Christianity, and always took into account the advantage of a location where enemy approaches could be clearly detected. All Angami houses were built facing east, this was done so that the morning sun could shine onto the courtyard and porch where members of the household would be working at basketry or weaving.

Arthur Swinson in his book, *KOHIMA :The Story of the Greatest Battle Ever fought*, speaks of the beauty of the Naga Hills and also features as terrace field system of the Angami Nagas. He said, Great hillsides are terraced, irrigated, and rice-planted. The Nagas kill two birds with one stone by using this form of agriculture: removing the forest not only makes land available, but it also offers a fire field. This method was used to step and clean large areas to the south of Kohima. Under the British administration, the Angamis were divided into four divisions for the purpose

of effective administration and the same arrangement though bearing different names continues till date. The divisions were: Western Angami, Northern Angami, Southern Angami and Chakhroma. The Angami Nagas known to follow a form of pure democracy, did not have a village chief. In times of battle, they remained unified, but jealously and distrust of one clan against another was invariably a source of weakness, according to Hutton. Even in times of peace, the villagers would break into riots and be incessantly troubled by internal bickering. It is difficult to say how the administration was run among the Angamis where extreme type of democracy existed. Prior to the development of the Angami *Peyumia* (Chief), at the village level , the *Zievo* (priest), was the most important figure among the Angamis.

The independent minded Angamis did not attach much importance to chieftainship, as one Angami was considered as good as any other Angami. They had no council in the past. Any urgent problem or dispute was taken to public meetings where decisions were taken. The Angami tribe had a nominal head of the village known as "kemovo," who was religious as well as administrative, for the convenience of administration and religious ceremonies. As a result, Hutton observes that in the instance of the Angami, it is difficult to explain how, given their special independence of character, their village was barely holding together until the British government arrived.

Before converting to Christianity later with the arrival of Britishers, the Angamis practiced Animism and believed in the existence of spirits, whom they pacify by offering sacrifices and observing *genna*. The Angamis referred to their entity, God as *Ukepenuopfü*, and the spirits which they believed existed in all forms was called *Terhuomia*. Stone is an important object of worship for the Angamis.

Some spirits are believed to reside in them and most villages have a spirit stone called *Kiputsie*, the god of stones was called *Kitsierhuo*. Some other popular terhuomia known to and feared by the Angamis are: *Ruottshe ,Keshüdi , Telepfü, Temi, Rapu,Rhuolo Meciemo, Miawenuo, Dzüraü, Chükhieo* (Dzüvichü 157). The status of a women to that of men is seen in the laws that govern inheritance among the Angamis. A women is not allowed to inherit any ancestral property. "Women have one advantage provided by culture. She lives under the protection of her father before marriage and after marriage, lives under the protection of her brothers" (Kire 68).

A community which existed closely knitted in isolation away from any alien force came to witness the coming of an external force which gradually entered their land and subjugated them even after they fiercefully attempted to break away from it chains. The colonizers forcefully tried to invade the land of the Angamis but faced huge resistance from them as Angami Nagas were great warriors who fought bravely without any fear to keep its land alive and free. A land filled with people who loved peace and sought nothing but the welfare of its community, helping each other in fields, merry making, defending its land from any alien force was completely destroyed into ashes and bits with the coming of the Colonizers.

## 2.2: BRITISH COLONIZATION OF THE ANGAMIS : SIEZE OF KOHIMA GARRISON AND THE BATTLE OF KHONOMA

British Colonization of the Nagas as accounted through various records states that "the purpose of the British expedition was to find a route from Manipur to Assam via Naga country so that their subjects in Manipur and Assam could be protected from any further Burmese invasion." (Kire 12). Strategically, the Naga Hills provided a

natural frontier to the British position in India. It was in a period of when some traces of Angamis having trades with the Ahom of Assam along its territory that colonialism made its appearance in Naga Hills. The colonizers had a hard time in conquering and capturing the Naga Hills as the Nagas resisted all kinds of outside dominion and preferred to be isolated from other interferences. Every Naga village was like a sovereign independent state, each bearing intense love and pride for their village and land, which would not be affected by hard life or any other factor.

Each Naga village had its own way of administration in implementing its own customary laws, most Naga tribes except the Angami tribe had the village chief-in-council. Angami Nagas has their own unique way of administration and practiced free democracy. Like every other Naga tribe having its own unique way of tradition and customs even the Angamis had their own. In his forward note to the book , *Naga Identity*, Balmiki Prasad Singh, the former Union Home Secretary remarks about the unique identity of the Nagas: The Nagas' uniqueness rests in their institutions of governance—their villages, morungs, community-based agriculture methods and processes, arts and crafts, rituals and beliefs; and their lores and legends (Kumar 13).

Since time immemorial, the Nagas have never been ruled by foreign powers and lived in a natural state where any principality that ever engulfed them was rudimentary, unblemished, and the purest that nature could supply. Their primal worlds had survived for generations, unaffected by what was going on around them, until the twentieth century. Angami Nagas as a community had a whole different identity before the arrival of the Britishers on its vast green terrains. It was an era of head-hunting when the Britishers first came upon to settle down. We find written facts where it has been provided that no direct indication of wanting to capture the

lands of the Nagas was planned, it was an indirect capture. As a close community which remained in a state of isolation from each other, Angami Nagas had an accentuated spirit of self sufficiency and independence.

"Working groups from different clans assisted each other to finish the hard job of farming, which was not only practiced, but was also crucial to the economic structure. All Naga tribes lived in villages, which were mostly self-sufficient, producing enough food for their own needs, albeit not always for trading with neighboring communities. Naga religion and culture was integrally tied to the agrarian system" (47).

Angami Naga's led a community life, where they not only go or come together to and from agricultural plots but also work together in the field. All aspects of their life were no more isolated from alien influences with the coming of the Britishers. The simple lifestyle of a common Angami was drastically changed with various changes brought about by the Colonizers .The simple Naga life which had existed in the early part of twentieth century remained unaffected only in some isolated pockets of the hills but a larger section adopted complicated and sophisticated life style. The close-knit society also demands each member to live up to the expectation of the whole community.

Nagas lived in their own world before the British arrived in the Naga Hills, they were cut off from the rest of the world and allowed to live in perfect isolation from foreign forces. Their only touch with the outside world was with the Assamese Ahoms. They were greatly affected by the Treaty of Yandabo, 1826 between the British and the Burmese by which British became "de facto guardian", for the Nagas. As a result, the life of Nagas were drastically altered. The introduction of British

Colonial Administration coupled with persuasion of Christian Missionaries brought out revolutionary change and altered the life in these hills. One of such administrative reforms established by the Britishers was the institution of *Gaonbura*, also known as G.B in short. One GB was selected from each khel and also a head G.B for the whole of the village. Although these selected G.B's were not a part of the Government servants yet they acted as a link of communication and mutual understanding bond between the government and the people. This system of gaonbura introduced then has remained effective even after the withdrew of British forces from the Naga Hills and the whole of India.

The first missionary couple who arrived to the Naga hills was, R.E.W.Clatk and Mrs.Mary Mead Clark, who succeeded in establishing the first church at Molung Kimong, in the Ao Naga Hills on 22nd December, 1872. Soon after their arrival and successfully establishing a church in the Naga country, other missionaries also began to work in various parts of the Naga Hills. Rev.C.D.King and Mrs.King were the next missionary couple who chose to work among the Angamis in 1878, but their mission came to bear fruit only in 1883 when they established Kohima Baptist Church. Christianity was considered a threat to the cultures and beliefs the Angamis had in regard to their *Ukepenuopfü*, whom they considered the creator of all man and forces.

Christianity faced a mixed response and outlook from the Angamis, the first converts were chastised and ostracized from their villages, but slowly as time passed by , the influence of Christianity and education being taught , they could not stop the rapid growth and conversion of Angamis to Christians. One of the first Angami converts was Nisier of Khonoma. Slowly overcoming the advantages of education, the Khonoma village produced some of the best doctors, scientists and musicians .

With establishments of mission schools and hospitals, the missionaries were able to draw not only the Christian converts but also the non-converted to a new ways of seeing the world (Pou 63).

"The introduction of British Colonial administration coupled with persuasion of Christian Missionaries brought out revolutionary change and altered the life in these hills" (Rizvi, Roy 96)

It is noted that Christian Missionary work was one of the steady, massive modernization influences into the Naga life, particularly in the area of education, sanitation, literature and the introduction of a religion of universal brotherhood. Even the old tradition of head hunting was replaced with the fond interest in education and to earn a new way of life in the ever growing society. Though some British anthropologist have also find the missionaries to be partially responsible for the degradation of the unique culture and tradition of the Nagas (Angamis). Referring to this, J.P.Mills in his book, *The Ao Nagas*, said, "One of the mistakes made by the Mission, the gravest in my opinion, and the one most fraught with danger for the future, is their policy of strenuously imposing an alien Western culture on their converts".

The colonizers opened up a whole new world to the Nagas (Angamis) who once lived in isolation worshipping different spirits whom they claimed to have been protecting them and providing them. They were exposed to a whole new culture and a way of life which seemed alienated at first but gradually became the new identity of the Nagas. Destruction was brought upon its land and people but also nevertheless the Britishers took it to their responsibility to educate the Nagas and show them a better way of lifestyle – a life not spent in isolation from others but one where the Nagas

could together as one identity develop with time and become an advanced race. Dr. V.K Nuh stated:

"During the colonial rule, the tribal's were kept out of the national mainstream and treated as a separate entity. Some books and articles have been written by renowned journalist and other popular writers in honest appreciation of the massive problems faced by the tribal indigenous people. Unfortunately much harm has also been done to them by others who had been unscrupulous, prejudiced and biased in their views" (V.K Nuh 19).

Though the initial entry of the British in the Angami country was met with strong resistance, yet they gradually ended seizing Kohima, the heart of the Angamis under its rule and changed its district of Naga Hills from Samaguting (Chumukedima), declaring Kohima as its headquarter. Kohima was occupied on 14 November 1878. It was with this establishment of British colonial rule in Kohima that later it found prominence from every point of view. Kohima became the main centre of British administration where major developments also took place. The seize of Kohima brought about various turns to the rule of the colonizers. After the British took control of Kohima, the Nagas attacked British officers visiting Khonoma village, resulting in conflict between the British ad the Nagas.

#### THE BATTLE OF KHONOMA – REVOLT OF THE ANGAMI NAGAS

History accounts that the British Imperial Army recorded that the fiercest resistance to the colonial rule was in these hills of the Naga tribes. Khonoma, an Angami village of brave and mighty warriors fought against the British from the moment of their entry till 1880 when a major offensive was launched against the village ending in a stalemate. The village of Khonoma played an unparalleled role in

the history of the Angamis. The name of the village is derived from *Khwuno*, a native plant which was found un these hills inhabited by them. The original name, *Khwunomia* meaning *Men of Khwuno*, has come to be called *Khonoma* in recent times. It was the great sense of honour and deep love for its land to be free from any external control to fight against any invasion on its land or people. The entry of the British army was resisted fiercefully by spear-wielding warriors who had no fear of the modern ammunitions carried around by the colonizers as they saw the expedition as an inroad into their lands. Angami Nagas dwelled in isolation with close-knit community in the village, trespassing through their territory without their permission would mean invasion of their space and peace which was at all not acceptable to its people. They lived in harmony with one another living a normal life and did not want any interference.

The Britishers entered the land of the Angamis when 'head-hunting' was profoundly practiced by all villages. It was seen as a way of earning gallantry of stature and status in the community. A brave warrior is accounted by the number of heads he brought back from any village disputes with neighboring villagers. It was also a way by which young women chose their suitors for marriage. A warrior who has hunted many heads was given a higher status and gained more respect from the elders and also the village as a whole.

"For the Naga, headhunting was a way of showing their valor to their enemies. The reputation of being a powerful warrior village provided protection for their village as well as all the other villages that came seeking to be safeguarded by them " (Kire 220). This practice of head-hunting was though not understandable by the Britishers, probably dealt as a cultural shock to them who came from westernized

country where they used modern means of weaponry for any war or disputes. There were many factors which led to the Battle of Khonoma, the continued raids on Assam, forcible collection of revenue imposed by the British ,etc.

The discovery of the fact that a Khonoma warrior killed a tiger and the news of the villagers collecting arms and ammunitions alarmed the British of their strength and sense of patriotism. Their sense of patriotism is reflected in the songs and ballads composed during the period. One of such is by Yani-ü during the Anglo-Angami war

#### Khwunomia Geizo

We lu kiju sikemo kunu

Themia mou terhomia kemhie

Mero we chu seirhi pekrei pie

Puorienosho nha mezu no ze

Sono perhie vor ubarie

Bieu imu lapezei lielo

Kiju chaju lugei kebei ha...

Thepe thero uramia therhie

Chadu haze sikemoku vo

Uru-u su uzhalho-u chu

Uro peko uru-u whogei

This song speaks of the unknown colonizers who came unnumbered and fearless with the force to capture the land of the *Khwunomia* ( Khonoma), wielding their man-made weapons. The songs speaks of strength to its people to not worry and pray for its brave warriors to send back the invaders and to be proud of their mighty warriors and land. It sings of good wishes to its people of Khonoma to harvest well beneath the sky, and never undergo any plague or hunger but to rise up in glory and someday return to where life is good.

A land that was filled with prosperity and brave warriors was surrounded on all sides, and was attacked on the 22nd November ,1879 after so many failed expeditions to the Angami land by the forceful British armed forces whose only aim was to capture Khonoma at all cost and bring it under its control, after Deputy Commissioner Damant was killed by warriors of Khonoma. The warriors of Khonoma could not withstand the superior weaponry of their enemies and fled their village by night to take refuge in their mountain forts called *Phegei* or *Tsiekha*, referred to as *Chakka Fort* in British records.

"Mention must be made of the fact that troops preparing to leave for Afghanistan were redirected to Kohima. From this, one can understand the gravity of the battle. Fifty elephants were sent from Dhaka to Kohima along with hundred of ponies. The mortality rate of these poor animals was quite considerable. Ironically, only one officer, Lieutenant Ridgeway was awarded the Victoria Cross in a battle which was describes as, 'the severest fighting ever known in these hills' " (Kire 14).

The Battle of Khonoma is to this day remembered and recollected, traced down through oral traditions from generation to generations and finally down to being written down by various Naga writers. One of such is Easterine Kire who in her first novel, *A Naga Village Remembered*, based on the heavy resistances put forward by the legendary mighty and stubborn warriors of Khonoma against the invading forces of British colonizers in the later part of nineteenth century, can also be traced down as a rich source of oral tradition passed down carefully with the thought of letting the younger generation to be aware of what and how their great ancestors battled and fought against an alien rule which threatened their identity, culture and state of peace. It says in fiction what history has not fully told. The Khonoma brave warriors surely defended their land with great determination. J.B. Bhattacharjee writes:

"The prolonged war of the resistance that the little known village of Khonoma in Nagaland offered to the military might of the arch imperialist of the west has earned its people an enviable position to all freedom loving peoples...the blood, sweat, tears of the people of Khonoma, the martyrdom of those who laid their lives, their sacrifice and suffering will continue to inspire our present and future generations with the spirit of patriotism and love for freedom." (Bhattarcharjee 18)

Oral records which has been passed down to this day says that nineteen men of Khonoma and 500 troops of the British Army lost their lives in a battle described as the "severest fighting ever known in these hills". In her reconstruction of the Battle of Khonoma, she portrays the fierce warriors who were respected not only in their village but also the neighboring villages, presenting Khonoma as a brave and strong Angami village which is an undeniable truth. Hutton in his book, *The Angami Nagas*,

said that the, 'Khonoma was stronger than most other villages." On 27 March,1880, a treaty was enacted between Her Majesty's Government and the elders of Khonoma which ended the Battle of Khonoma and established the British rule over all the villages. After this Battle, the Britishers were very harsh on the Khonoma villagers not allowing to rebuild any houses which were burnt in the battle. The Battle was not a historical tragedy of the Nagas losing their land to the British, despite being regarded as a failure; it stands out for serving a higher purpose; the birth of Naga national consciousness.

The Nagas unflinching challenge to the British over these highlands, on the other hand, has inspired patriotic ideals that have since spread throughout Naga Hills. Though defeated, Khonoma survived with time and once again built its village keeping alive the true heritage of Khonoma, the land of brave Angami warriors. This war even with passage of time is still remembered, recorded and written down in books and also passed on through oral narrations to its younger generations to cherish and celebrate the same spirit of patriotism. Commemorating its lost brave warriors in the battle, Khonoma celebrated "Centennial Commemoration of our Heroes", whereupon that day on 22<sup>nd</sup> November, 1979, its people quoted with sense of brotherhood to its lost warriors:

"It's been a hundred years since they first met. But they are not forgotten. Their names are still remembered and cherished, and their deeds talking about and sung in ballads. They died but they did not die in vain. Their courage, their patriotism and their sense of honour have always been a source of inspiration to our people and will continue to be for generations yet to come. This is also an occasion where we should honour our heroes by

trying to imbibe their spirit – the spirit of the heroes who made the supreme sacrifice ... so that we might be free."

#### **2.3: IMPACT**

The impact of the British Colonizers on Angami Nagas has been huge, there is no aspect of their life which is kept untouched by the influence of the British. The transformation of society comprising a simple native life where each day was a celebration of songs and stories, of myths and legends being passed down orally to a new community of people whose life is filled with drastic change with the influence of education adding with westernization and modernization is credited to the British impact of colonizing its people. The invading alien forces referred to them as barbaric, not capable of living a decent life when they first entered their land but soon even the colonizers realized how Nagas were peace loving people who were of friendly nature and believed in community spirit and welfare of each other. Village self-sufficiency and democratic administrative system was degraded in order to make people dependent on district administration, primarily to achieve their aim of complete rule.

They were Angami Nagas who sang to the skies and to the land they tilled on for livelihood and believed in a creator whom they called *Ukepenuopfü*. They would live in harmony with the spirits which according to them protected them from evil forces. They would sing of legends and brave warriors who brought pride and respect to their village. But with the arrival of the Britishers, everything rapidly changed. Much resistance was seen when the colonizers first entered their land but soon they too started living a life which was an imitation of the alien forces who now

dwelled within their territory claiming to protect them. The Naga identity, indigenous religion, self-sustaining way of life, language, handloom, handicrafts, local customs were all severely harmed by colonization which accompanied by dominance, economic exploitation and collapse of local political systems.

Education was something which the British colonizers wanted to impart the Nagas as a token of appreciation for the friendly and warm environment which the Nagas offered them and also to westernize them. Some researches are of the view that with the influence of the Colonizers and Christianity, Nagas as a whole of which the Angamis are a part of, lost its true identity and culture. While some are of the view that though with each influence and advancements, the Nagas kept intact with their true origins and kept practicing their culture and traditions uniquely. While some observes the evidences of cultural identity lost. B.Pakem in his Nationality, Ethnicity And Cultural Identity in North- East India, observes that, when we try to define the Nagas' cultural identity now, it has become quite hazy and unclear, he says, Looking traditional was a component of celebration at festivals for Nagas in the past, and festivals were a part of their lives. However, this is now only a footnote in history. Festivals are no longer considered a part of young people's lives. They have lost their allure and excitement. This is clearly attributable to the arrival of Christianity. They consider Christmas to be more important than their own traditional festivals (Pakem 332).

The impact of missionary education and Christian gospel immensely revolutionized the Naga society during the colonial period. Richard M.Eaton as such observes the drastic growth and change in the Christian population percentage reaching 90% by 1990 and stated that, the Nagas had the most significant conversion

to Christianity in Asia, second only to the Philippines. Abraham Lotha also brings to light that , " in practice, conversion to Christianity also meant conversion to modernity and Western morality, particularly American Protestant Puritanism" (Lotha 79).

Christian Missionaries brought a steady but massive modernizing influences into the Naga people, particularly focusing education, sanitation, literature and also the introduction of universal brotherhood. With more interested inculcating each passing time in education and to earn one's social status, the desire of headhunting slowly drifted away from the Nagas, adding to which even the colonizers gave a total ban to such activity. Westernization of the Angamis and Nagas came hand in hand with the spread of Christianity and adaptation of a new way of life.

The introduction of English to supplant local dialects resulted in their eventual demise of local culture. The hidden objective of English education was to westernize culture and beliefs in order to make conversion to Christianity easier.

"Since conversion to Christianity and conversion to modernity was understood by the Nagas as synonymous, the new converts become 'mimic' westerners – in the way they dress, ate/drank, behaved, and thought" (Pou 68).

Western culturally based Christianity disrupted the very notion and identity of Naga culture. Noulezhalie Ricky Medom as such suggest in his book that, "the Naga Christian today requires a re-examination of the cultural heritage, which has been unwittingly discarded" (Medom 79). With so much of alien influence from the coming of the Colonizers to westernization, Naga society as a whole took a drastic turn from its old traditions and way of lifestyle. Piketo Sema, in his book, *British* 

Policy and Administration in Nagaland, speaks of the American Missionaries who had the innovative and long-lasting influence on Naga culture." In fact, it should be noted that culturally Naga Hills became a colony of American evangelism" (Sema 161).

Much credit is given to the colonial experience that awakened the sense and responsibility of brotherhood sense and nationhood spirit in the Angami Nagas and the Nagas as a whole. In his book *Tribes of Nagaland and Tripura*, S.S.Shashi, an eminent social scientist and Litterateur wrote: the British government's attitude toward the Nagas was designed to preserve the people from outsider exploitation, meddle as little as possible, and avoid certain disruptions of Naga culture, and to that end, isolation was sought to shield the Nagas from a civilization that would destroy them.

The effects of colonialism on the Nagas slowly became evident even in their way of dressing as well. A shift from people who would hardly wear any clothe covering their bodies simply because clothing was not available in many and now to wearing half-pants, long pants, petticoats, shirts, skirts, etc saw the change of the society. It is an undeniable fact that the British brought about many positive changes and shifted the close-knitted community into a whole new one with a new identity embraced by the Nagas with time. The impact of the Colonizers is seen even to this day. The modern day Angamis and Nagas as a whole credits its value of education and modernization to the colonizers, had they never entered their land, they would have remained isolated in their own world unknown of what lays beyond their boundary.

When the Britishers left the Naga Hills after been defeated by the Indian Forces in 1947, the Nagas were left in a state of turmoil where they started facing identity crisis. The waves of modernization brought by the Britishers remained with them and a feeling of wanting to break away from the social and political turmoil of the Indian supremacy. We see Easterine Kire's book , *A Terrible Matriarchy*, focusing on how a simple Naga Angami village is coped away with changes that swept across their land by the wind of modernization, the unending turmoil of political unrest in the backdrop of the society. The novel is set in and around the town of Kohima in the 60s and 70s.

The impact of the colonizers on the native Angami people was immense but when they left without giving them independence from the Indian forces, it merely ended as a freedom from the British rule but merely an exchange of masters under which the Nagas had to struggle yet again. Though there is no doubt that the spirit of oneness and nationalism had its birth due to the presence of the British on its land. The Naga people were used by the British as loyal laborers and allies during different army campaigns against their opponents because of their simple, honest temperament. Economic exploitations, the main reason for colonization, were systematically achieved, with the help of industrialization in England.

Because Nagas were pure, honest, god-fearing, fearless, and simple, they were easy targets. As a result, they were mesmerized by new industrial discoveries, convinced of the superiority of western civilization, and thus developed an inferiority complex about Naga culture and pride. Only with appropriate indigenous education would it be possible to combat the long term impacts of colonization and build an indigenous history, halting the dissolution of traditional communities, economies,

languages. There has been a loss of identity and self respect on an individual level and as a whole; these negative impact or past trauma and many positive outcomes brought by the colonizers should be dealt and studied effectively keeping in mind the current stand of the Naga people.

## **CHAPTER: 3**

#### JAPANESE INVASION OF NAGA HILLS

The Nagas coming from a tradition which used "Kelhuo tieyie", meaning oral history as a mode of passing down legends, myths, songs, folktales, folklores and their traditions, also any form of important information to the younger generation, every knowledge and information acquired by them was passed from one generation to another through oral traditions. As a result, study of the Naga insurrections against the British and the coming of the Japanese invaders in the Naga Hills, are accounts mainly from the British perspective owing to their systematic and voluminous record maintenance. However this does not mean that the conclusions were summarily biased or unidirectional. In fact, the records and observations made by the early British writers and scholars about the Nagas and the Japanese invaders were in tune with the oral information communicated down to the younger generations by their older folks.

With more recent studies and interviews done by researchers in various fields, slowly but gradually the Naga perspective of the war and its aftermath is coming to light. Not only is the British side but also of the Nagas whose land upon which the colonizers settled down and brought about total destruction in the name of bringing advancement and freedom to its land and people is been studied. It was not only the Nagas but the whole world accounted the colonization of the Naga Hills from the eyes of the British since no written records were found back then as Nagas lacked education.

The Battle of Kohima which is considered as one of the greatest battle fought in history in which the Japanese were badly defeated due to various reasons is remembered and accounted as a failure of the Japanese ultimate invasion of the Naga Hills. This battle fought between the British and Japan where the Nagas aided to both side is remembered by the Nagas who witnessed the destructive war as " *Japanmia Rüwhuo*", meaning " Japanese War" and not the Battle of Kohima as accounted in present day. One commonly believed tradition of the Nagas is that they blindly believe their elders and ancestors with a blind faith as they are assumed to be trustworthy and honest people. This very faith over their ancestors by Nagas ,is the sole reason oral tradition has been imparted till this day and importance is given to it ." *U themiae Kepenuopfū mu phichūmia die peleya, sūla uko dieko kepeleu geinu thedzie mu thezho morokesuoko pupie siekelhuomia ze keza lieya*" ,meaning Nagas believed in their ancestor/elders as they believed God and so whatever information or legends which has been passed down from generation through oral narrations are been accepted and preserved by each generation.

The Japanese entered Naga hills in a period when Nagas were already under the colonization of British rule, many Nagas wanted to break away from this chain of control and get their freedom which was seen by the Japanese as a way of connecting with the Nagas by promising them freedom. " Japanmia u rüna nu kevor teiki Meriemiae uko üse umeiu üdi pukecü phichümia kinu si" (Nagi 100 ), the Japanese soldiers upon entering Meriema village were called as umeiu meaning, " mother's brother" by the villagers.

The Nagas were already been blind folded by the Japanese promises of freedom from the colonizers and also that the Japanese were similar as them and they

were brothers to Nagas as they look similar even in physical appearances. Japanese spies who came and settled along with Nagas learning and studying about their land and people surely blended well among the Nagas and also brain-washed them. It is evident that they have learned that Nagas were friendly, honest but also people who blindly believed in others as they come from a race who believed in honesty and trust. Japan's involvement into the war was motivated by a desire to expand its territory and gain access to the seized territories natural resources in order to improve its economic situation and become a world power.

By the time these Japanese spies made their way and settled down in the Naga Hills, education and Christianity has made its way into the community. The mission schools established by the British were doing a great deal in imparting western education to the Nagas and also side by side converting more and more people into Christians. As such, Mr.A.Kevichusa became the first Naga Graduate in 1925. The British and Nagas has established a friendly relationship and so almost all Nagas sided with the British when the battle took place between the British and Japanese, also meanwhile the British would go around saying that the Japanese are Nagas' true enemies, "Japanmia sü u ngumvümia".

# BATTLE OF KOHIMA 1944 – THE FORGOTTEN BATTLE

This battle was fought during the Second World War, also as part of the Burma Campaign between the British and the Japanese. World War II was a watershed moment in world history, it had demonstrated one of humanity's most dreadful weapons of mass destruction: warfare technologies. The Battle of Kohima

was the sole reason for Naga participation in World War II. Never as famous as other storming battles, the Battle of Kohima came to be called, "The Forgotten Battle". The battle has been dubbed as the "Stalingrad of the East", by war historians who have realized its significance. The battle was fought from 4<sup>th</sup> April to 22 June in 1944.

The Naga villagers had long suspected the Japanese had penetrated their country based on strange footprints, horse droppings and movements in the woods. But it wasn't until 4<sup>th</sup> of April that they were eventually disclosed. They quickly invaded the villages south of Kohima and started firing their targets in Kohima and hence began the fiercest fighting in history over the siege of Kohima. The Nagas saw significant transformations as a result of the Second World War. The statement of Lord Admiral Mountbatten demonstrates the significance of the struggle for the Naga region: "The Battle of Kohima will probably go down as one of the greatest battles in history".

The British used Nagas as guides, porters, spies, stretcher-bearers, and even trench-diggers. They gladly served the British, and some of them even devoted their lives in the process. The Battle was fought between the 31<sup>st</sup> Division of Japanese Army commanded by Lt. Gen. Kotuko Sato and the 2<sup>nd</sup> Division of the British Allied Forces headed by Major General John M.L.Grover. In 2013, the Battle of Kohima was voted as Britain's greatest battle after a debate at the National Army Museum in London, a winner over the likes of D-Day and Waterloo.

"The battle had lasted sixty-four days and seen some of the most stubborn, close, and bloody fighting in the whole of the second World War. It had been fought across an utterly incredible terrain, in appalling weather. Surely not even the battlefields of Flanders saw such rainfall. The courage and fortitude

shown by all ranks and all races, and by both armies had been utterly astonishing." (Swinson 299)

When a journalist in June 1956, asked Colonel Kuniji Kato, Sato's Chief Staff Officer for a description of his events on the battle, he politely but firmly declined, saying, "Not Kohima ...", "Not that great bitter battle" (Swinson 307). The terrain and climatic conditions under which both forces fought against is remarkable. With no reinforcements coming to aid them, still they were very much focused on fighting the war till their last breath, both forces showed immense capabilities of tolerance and patriotic sense to win the battle in all courses.

Easterine Kire, a reknown Naga writer in her novel, "Mari", speaks of the terror the Nagas had to face during the battle. The pain of separation from family with the uncertainty of whether to ever meet again or no. Through recollecting Mari, the writer's aunt life during the battle, it brings to light how people now have very little memory before the battle. It is as though there was no proper life before the battle. Reminiscing the war years was very common, and people who missed it felt as though they have missed out a life changing event, Kohima was never the same after the war ended.

Also many Naga soldiers who aided and worked for the British during the war were also killed by the Japanese. Visopi Angami, a Naga who fought alongside the British, was seriously wounded by a Japanese officer in a hand-to-hand combat, but he managed to escape despite losing a lot of blood. While on intelligence assignment, Veheyi, who also worked with the British was arrested and shot by the Japanese. According to Sergeant Fred Hazell; there were two or three hundred Nagas. Ammunition and water were carried by men, women, young lads, and even young

girls. There were little girls tripping along with a box of ammunition on their heads. (Hart 156)

Casü mu Aru Geizo 1994, was composed by the villagers, remembering the two Zhavame patriots Casü and Aru, who had high compassion for the Japanese who came to their land proclaiming brotherhood. They aided them in all that they can, helped them settled down in Zhavame only later to be killed by the Japanese. This ballad is as such said to have been sung and composed in helplessness as there was nothing left to do or say, and so as a prayer to God for their two leaders who were killed.

## Casü mu Aru geizo 1944 -

So hi mojo, sono di zolie

Japanmia terhü chü u ra vor

Kekramia no kepruo geinu

Bono se vor u ra va

Kekramia ze terhü chü a peka

So hi mojo, sono di zolie

With war, Japanese infiltrated our land

White man you came on plane

And bombed my land War with white man destroyed and cause me immense loss U ramie leshükhu kethu Ketsa la Casü Aru ha kie pie U khrie chü, nouca kerüchü Keba ki we rünou caü Casü Aru, Japanimia thalie re, la puo ra va, Deprived of written word and learned individuals, Casü and Aru were called

lovingly to have heart to heart discussion

Those were moments to be cherished

Unable to withstand war, the retreating Japanese captured

Tuoülie my Casü Aru teze Vapfümia

Rüna nu pha pie tha, rünoukemo chü,

Rünoukemo Japanimia geija

Mha kevi chü ro, kuolietie ciü

Mha kevi chü kemo lanu kuolie mo ishie

So hi mojo, sono di zolie.

Casü and Aru, held them as captives at Vapfümia village,

twas a mournful sight to behold

Sorrowful and disheartened we feel

If good deeds were done, you'd have won

Yet you lost because you failed to do good.

So hi mojo sono di zolie. (Nagi 327)

For the Nagas, it was simply the "Japan Riiwhuo" meaning" Japanese war', had the Japanese never entered the hills, the war wouldn't have taken place. Nagas knew Japanese were arriving but their speed took them by surprise. Nagas have great respect for honesty, good sense of the British administrators and so becoming friends with the Britishers, their friends war became theirs too, since Nagas had naturally helping hands. The Nagas' assistance to the British made the British's war against the Japanese a little easier. They were able to find the Japanese bases in the Naga Hills with the help of the Nagas, and their injured were evacuated.



Fig.3.1 Lt. Gen.Kotoku Sato, commander of the Japanese 31st

Division



Fig.3.2.Lt.Gen. Renya Mutaguchi, commander of the Japanese  $15^{\rm th}$  Army

( Photo source. Internet:Google)



Fig 3.3 Soldier showing respect to fellow comrade who were killed in the battle  ${}^{\circ}$ 



Fig 3.4. Soldiers during the event of the war (Photo souce. Internet: Google)



Fig 3.5 Images during the on-going battle.



Fig-3.6 Various scenes captured during the war.

(Photo souce. Internet: Google)

. The Nagas assisted the British in transporting their belongings up and down high hillsides and thick jungle, as well as leading them through the jungle, as one incorrect turn would lead to their becoming lost. As a result, Naga played a crucial part in the Battle of Kohima. Even before the war, the British administration dispatched the majority of Naga government officials to their villages for intelligence purposes, instructing them to relay any information to the nearest military unit. Arthur Swinson says that the Nagas were of much help to the British, whatever was asked of them, the Nagas gladly did it. He further says:

"How many lives were owed to the courage and skill of these remarkable hillmen will never be known; but the figure must certainly run into thousands" (Swinson 213)

In the beginning Japanese were polite but later became difficult. When they arrived in Naga Hills , the Nagas aided them. The Naga people believed that both Nagas and the Japanese people belonged to the same family as they looked similar in physical appearances and even the Japanese imparted the same sense of brotherhood to them. The Japanese invaders came upon the Naga Hills proclaiming that they were sons of the elder brother while Nagas were of the younger one and so they must help each other , "Japanmia phichiu nuo mu Nagamia nhicuu nuo, krü puo nuo, süla nieko hieko khruohi morosuo".

The Nagas supported the Japanese for some time but started siding with the British when the Japanese began mistreating them, murdering their cattle's and even destroying their household belongings when supplies were not forthcoming. "

Mhapuorei vor mota, rünamiae themia hako üse kemeda seyie, u kechükeba zo icüu leta di rüna bu baliesuo di taphre se Khonora vota mu Britishmia kitsa ration

phfücüta, sidi vo Britishmia khruohi di Japanmia kebachüko pushütuota" (Nagi 69). With no food supplies coming, the villagers soon came to conclusion that the Japanese were not man of their words and so abandoned their village and went to villages where the British would provide them proper food in exchange of information on the Japanese troops.

However, some few people such as Phizo, backed the Japanese during the conflict because they promised to recognize Nagaland as a sovereign state if they won. The Japanese invasion of the Naga Hills gave certain Nagas the opportunity to break free from British authority. Nagas yearned for a district nation-state for their own people after the fight. Phizo, took up the case and thus became a prominent figure in Naga politics calling for a free state. From the perspectives of the Nagas, the war was fought on Naga soil but it was not their war. They simply got caught in it with no choice. In many cases, they were compelled to take sides. They were innocent victims who got caught in the chaos and suffered the ravages of the war. Many died, many more became wounded and all suffered in different ways, the Nagas were so profoundly affected that their traditional society was gone forever. The Naga community underwent a drastic changes during the World War II. The Naga people became refugees in their own country, families were permanently split from each other, women were ravaged and left to die, and many died of starvation, but these events are little mentioned in Indian history.

The Nagas had both positive and negative consequences as a result of the Battle of Kohima. During and after the war, the Nagas faced a great deal of adversity. They were afflicted with a variety of ailments, which resulted in deaths as well as ill-treatment by the Japanese and the Indian National Army. They were unable to live a

regular life in their villages and were forced to flee to the forest or their field home. The conflict, however, brought the Nagas' isolation from the outside world to an end. As a result of their interactions with many people, Nagas realized the need of knowledge during the struggle. They recognized the importance of education in bringing civilization, money, power, science, technology, and government service to them. Kase Toshikazu a Japanese writer in his book on , *The Eclipse of the Rising Sun*, (London: 1951) stated that the, "Kohima battle was the worst of its kind yet chronicled in the annals of war".

The aftermath of the conflict also resulted in the founding of the Naga Hills District Tribal Council, which has since then grown into an important political organization dedicated to the Nagas' welfare and interests. It also began focusing on establishing Naga identity. Furthermore, unlike the Japanese, the British did not deprive the Nagas of their livelihood by slaughtering their cattle or destroying their household items. This could be one of the major reasons for the Nagas' sympathy to shift on to the British. The Nagas might have supported the Japanese if they had treated them well and given them with food and other supplies like the British did.

The Nagas to this day believes that it was the lack of food supplies which left the Japanese soldiers in starvation and with no alternatives had to demand ration from the villagers and later became harsher with their actions and exploiting the Nagas. Naga elders who witnessed the battle and the state of the Japanese remarked that, incase proper food and war supplements were sent from Imphal, then it was sure that the Japanese would have won in that gruesome war.

"Japanmiae puo ration vorkelie sie kuotoulieketuou ngutuo zo derei Burma mu Imphal tsa kebakoe mhapuorei ketseshü mota, süla kemezhie, thekhe chü idi kasekawau ngu."

### Sato's farewell speech:

It is apparent that this operation was planned because of one man's irrational ambition.: Lieut. General Mutaguchi, commander of the 15<sup>th</sup> Army. I do not intend to be censured by anyone. Our 31<sup>st</sup> Division has done its duty... Now, I must say good-bye to you...Now the moment has come when I cease to be your commander: but I hope we shall meet again at the Yusakuni Shrine. I pray for your health and happiness. Good-bye.

Though the battle brought much chaos and destruction, yet it is undeniable that because of this war the minds of the Nagas were opened up to the outside world and ignited in them a spirit of nationhood and the need for freedom struggle. Nagas through with time after the end of the war learned to be: "Brave like Japanese, educated like Britishers".

There are many songs and ballads sung in memory of the Japanese by the Angami Nagas who in a way sympathized with the Japanese troops who were defeated even though they were brave and mighty warriors who did not fear death or any hurdle on their way. It was starvation and lack of ration which mainly resorted to their loss in the battle. One such usually sung ballad by Angami Nagas was, "Huokiü kra huokiü nyüya shie" meaning, "Sometimes you'll weep, at times you'll laugh". With many inspiration from this ballad, Rev.Savito Nagi, author of, Japan Rüwhuo,

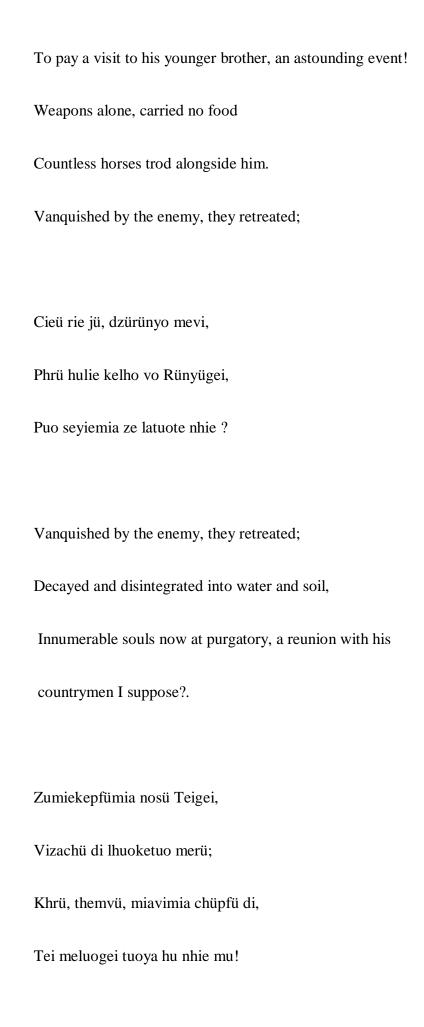
composed a ballad in 2018 with the title: "Japan Rüwhuo Geizo", meaning "Japan War Song".

# Japan Rüwhuo Geizo

Rev. Savito Nagi Rüwhuo nosü chükeliemia ya. Huokiü kra huokiü nyü shie! Japan rüpfünuo dzükekru chü Razieramo dzükezha pfüthe; Battle you belong to the achiever. Sometimes you'll weep, at times you'll laugh! Soldiers of Japan came pouring in like water flowing in brooks, Crossed oceans and unknown land; Puo siezeu ki tsur ungo chü! Rünyie rübei, kecüca pfü mo,

Puo kier phrühulie kelho sa vor.

Ngumvümia yalie lho, pesie la;



Nippon Naga Uchie uvümia,

Khunhie Kerüüchü nu lhuotuo. Amen.

Bearer of zumie, you shall live a good life in heaven.

Hoping you'd appear as the moon and stars

or a reputable person up there in the sky.

Nippon Naga our ancestor

We shall live in paradise someday. Amen. (Nagi 170)

## CHAPTER – 4

#### WAR NARRATIVES FROM JAKHAMA

4.1. JAKHAMA VILLAGE: ORIGIN

4.2. WAR NARRATIVES FROM JAKHAMA

4.1 JAKHAMA VILLAGE: ORIGIN

Jakhama is one of the oldest and well known Angami village with many legendary stories attached to her. It is located in the southern Angami part of Nagaland. It rests on a low-lying hillock, dwarfed by the exotic and lofty mountains, " Chen – Hicie, Thübo/ Chieyiezho and Terwozu", of the Mt.Japfü range in the west. Like any other Naga village having no written records of its origin, Jakhama also has none of its traditions or legendary stories of their ancestors written down through

years. It is only through oral narrations that its traditions, folktales, folksongs and

history is passed down from the older to the younger generation.

It is through oral narrations that the origin of Jakhama village is recounted According to oral history, Viken, Keyho's second son and a courageous and skilled warrior, founded Jakhama village.. The ancestors are believed to have emerged from a place locally called, "Kehoza", meaning "Lake of Life". It is said that there is a huge area of water with large snakes to guard this lake. Near this lake is found a huge stone where the ancestors are said to have emerged out of this stone. Oral narrations says that imprinted marks of human knees, palms, feet of humans as well as animals are found on the surface of this stone.

It is believed by the Jakhama people that whoever sees the "Kehoza" stone and the sacred imprints on it and reveals them to other people will perish. With time locating the exact spot of the stone has become difficult due to this belief and at the same time, getting back the stone has been made harder due to occurrences of massive landslides that have displaced the buried stone. However though unseen to the naked eye, yet the village still uphold its sacredness of "Kehoza Cü" and venerate it every year with a cock and piece of metal, the ritual, "Kehoza Se", meaning, "Veneration of the Lake of Life" is performed every year in the month of January.

After emerging from *Kehoza*, the ancestors of Jakhama made their first settlement at "*Voküpfü*" then at Makhel also known as Mekhroma. From there they dispersed in different directions at different times, while the ancestors of Jakhama moved towards the southwest direction and made settlements at Viswema village and then finally to the location of present day Jakhama village. It is also mentioned that their ancestors had passed through "*Kezol tsa*", meaning "dark forest" and *Dzüko*", meaning "discouraged" valley. They found *Kezol tsa*, too dark for settlement and *Dzüko* unsuitable to settle down due to absence of "*Chede*" (fig tree) which was necessary to perform certain rituals.

Since before the arrival of the British in Naga Hills, every village practiced headhunting as a way of earning merit and social status in the community, Jakhama also had many brave warriors to protect them from their enemies. People of Viswema were greatly troubled by enemy warriors of "Mezhomi" (Zeliangs), coming from the north side of the village and so during their stay in Viswema, *Viken*, the second of *Keyho*, a brave Jakhama warrior volunteered to go and check these invading warriors so that Viswema village could dwell harmoniously.





Fig.4.1-4.2 Viken Zi in the middle of terrace fields at Dzükozou.





Fig.4.3-4.4 An overview of Jakhama Village and the green terrace fields which leads straight to the door steps of the village



Fig 4.5 Village Kharü ( gate) at the entrance

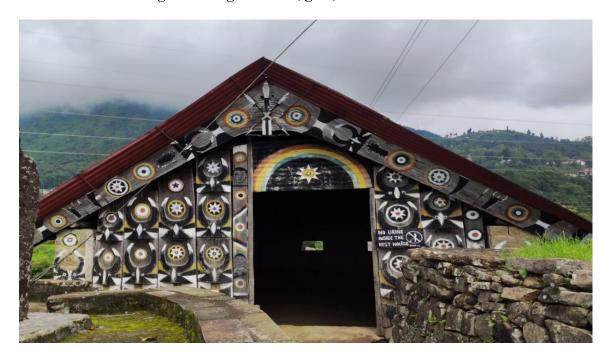


Fig 4.6 Traditional rest house at Jakhama village

Viken in doing so chooses a huge rock for hid hide out and shelter, the remnant of which remains even to this day named as "Viken Zi", meaning "the bed of Viken", in the middle of the vest terrace field at "Dzükozou" in Jakhama village. Viken is till this day remembered as the brave-mightiest warrior of Jakhama who protected his land from the invaders of the Zeliangs. Viken was the first to set foot on the soil of present day Jakhama village. He succeeded in stopping the advance of the Mezho warriors and found settlement in Jakhama. His people who came to settle down in the new soil following him came to be called "Mezhokhami", meaning people who checked the Mezhos / Zeliangs. Not only known by his own villagers, he is also very famously known by the neighboring villages for his bravery and war skills. People who came and joined Viken in the first were called "Zhokha Nu" and those who came later were called "Ghe Nu'. Thus came the name "Zhokhami", meaning the people of Zhokha. The transition to the present day name "Jakhama" took place when the British came to their land in the 19th century and were unable to correctly pronounce "Zhokhami", and documentarily recorded it as, "Jakhama" village.

Jakhama village has seen its part of head-hunting and also in bringing about peace and harmony among warring villages. Owing to their reputation as skilled and daring warriors, along with quality of good statesmanship made people to honour and obey decrees passed by them. This caused change in the people that came to their influence, from the fierce head-hunting warriors to peace-loving cultivators. It is said through oral narrations that whenever some groups of people or villages were unable to settle their disputes, they usually approached Jakhama villagers to pass judgement for them.. As findings from oral narrations, it is said that famous, "Dzükou" valley was discovered by Yiethün of Jakhama village. He is said to be a colossus in stature and a popular man. In hunting trips, he would frequently travel to Dzükou area till

,"*Taguma*". To this day, many anecdotes about his hunting adventures and how he was able to beat his opponents owing to his huge stature is being told.

Saho Sophie's baptism in 1905 is said to have brought Christianity to Jakhama village in the shape of the Baptist Church. It was discovered that a certain Kohima Village school teacher Khiezei-o Linyü, used to inform people about Christianity. Among people who got influenced, Saho Sophie had the courage to follow through on his desire to be baptized by Rev.S.W. Rivenburg. Since then under his influence, slowly his own family members got baptized and converted to Christianity. Jakhama village is now 90% filled with Christians, only a few remaining following paganism.

#### 4.2. WAR NARRATIVES FROM JAKHAMA

Before British colonialism of the Naga Hills, Jakhama and the whole of Naga Hills enjoyed complete independence without interference from any foreign power. Jakhama as such had brave warriors who did not accept the invasion of the British without any hesitation. Together with other villages and as a whole, the Angami Nagas besieged Kohima, though ultimately, British subdued all the villages and established control over them. An important occurrence that directly involved Jakhama village was the invasion of the area during Second World War.

No written records has been found of the Jakhama people making an attempt to flee away from their own land in the fear of the unknown invaders. Oral narrations been passed down generation to generation gives us an insight of the relationship the Jakhama people and the Japanese had during the war. Since many

who first hand experienced the war and the coming of the Japanese had passed away with due time, not many links can be traced back even with the help of oral narrations. Oral tradition which has been used by generations to pass down traditions, cultures and norms is much more than just the songs and stories that memorialize the history of the people, it constitutes the philosophy and the life world of people. With the coming of Westernization and Christianity impacting life of the Nagas, many drastic changes came about in the society but nevertheless it has not changed the outlook of a Naga towards his or her cultures and traditions which an individual is deeply rooted with.

In the preface of KB Veio Pou's book, *Literary Cultures of India's Northeast: Naga Writings in English*, he states that: despite being neglected for so long, the Nagas' oral legacy has not succumbed to antiquity. Yes, much of what makes it up has vanished due to misunderstandings following the meeting with "modernity," but the oral tradition could not be eradicated because it has always been the people's way of life. (Pou ix ) As indigenous people, oral narration has always been a part of the society which helps to revive not only the forgotten history and memories of the past but also to keep the traditions and cultures alive. Reconstructing or even retracing the history of societies disposed of any written records is an extremely difficult task and thus calls upon unique and unconventional methodology.

"Nagamiae phichümia dieu se u dze chü vor, uko kepeleu mu uko zhoko se lhuo vor. Mia puoe phichü parta liro dietho pu mu puo seyieu khrie ketho di mhachütaya. Süla niaki keletie ki rei phichümia die zetuo idi phichümia dieu se thela chü vor. Thenyie puo sierta mu kerüchülie re bata ro phichüu

kedipuo pushi süu se thela nu votatuo iwa d imha pepi kevor si mu ngu, "
Phichümia die-e Kepenuopfü sieso-u" (Nagi 2).

History and the progress of the Naga community, as passed down by ancestors through oral narrations, have always been regarded as the truth, and Nagas have built their lives on it. Nagas believed that as a person grows older, he becomes wiser and dedicates his entire heart to his town and others. Even when there were village disagreement, the elders were summoned to resolve the matter, and whatever decision they make was obeyed with much obedience. Nagas also believed that the village elder's words were the most valuable teaching words, second only to God's.

Similarly, history has been repeated in recent years through the eyes of older generations who observed the war and its aftermath firsthand. Jakhama village is now seen through the eyes of its elders who were present throughout the conflict and lived to tell their story and share the unforgettable sights of the horrific war to the younger generation. Many have forgotten and some have died with the passage of time, but the never-ending narrative of war images lives on. Jan Vansina on importance of passing on oral tradition quotes in her book ,*Oral Tradition as history:* 

"Whether memory changes or not, culture is reproduced by remembrance put into words and deeds. The mind through memory carries culture from generation to generation ... Oral tradition should be central to students of ideology of society, of psychology, of art, and finally, of history."

One of the major forces which highly impacted the Jakhama village was the coming of Japanese upon its land in April, 1944. It was an era of Second World War, when Japanese first arrived and settled down with them seeking their service and tolerance of the demands they were to make from the locals. They knew the Japanese

were coming as they have heard news from the Burma refugees who came before them. Though the speed at which the Japanese arrived completely took them by shock,"Jakhama village was never a battle field between the Japanese and the British troops" (Kehozecho Zachariah Kulnu, personal interview).

When they arrived, they turned the Baptist church to school where they started teaching the children. The Japanese set up a kind of educational schooling headed by General Shiroki, Administrative Officer of Japan force, at the dormitory of *Porütso Khel* and a memorial stone is erected in memory of it at "*Porütso Cükhwe*". They taught the villagers Japanese numbers, alphabets and various songs, one of which was Japanese National Anthem. The alphabets were not picked up easily but the counting of numbers and the songs, that were learnt, are said to have orally passed down to generations. Their National Anthem is still clearly recollected by various individuals who first hand experienced the war, to this day:

Siro jinni, akhakhu

Hino maru somethe

Ai-ai chikhu shiya

Niho nino hathewa

Bethemi sontho

Wakeri nowa (2x)

Some other commonly used Japanese phrases taught during the war were; Nipon Naga thoma tacü, "Japan Nagas are friends", Arigato guzaimas, "Thank you very much", masta, "way", Thayetsü, "Sir", Sedi," gakra" (wild vegetables mostly found in Angami areas of the Naga Hills) (Nagi 128). These instructions in Japanese words and alphabets was primarily done to assist them in communicating with the Jakhama people in order to have a mutual understanding. The Japanese soldiers would continue to proclaim that they had come not to torture or enslave the villagers, but to assist them in obtaining complete freedom from British authority; upon hearing this news, the villagers became quite delighted and began to trust the Japanese. Some villagers who personally witnessed the arrival of the Japanese in 1944 recall them as good-natured people who cared for the Nagas as their own brothers, while the Indian National Army who accompanied them were harsh and less sympathetic.

Upon their arrival, since they needed an interpreter, Mr Niseü was brought before the Japanese by the locals but the Japanese didn't allow saying he is a Gorkha –Nepali, looking at his physical stature. As one of the first educated Naga Youth from the village, Mr.Visar was then called to become the interpreter. He later became very popular during the war, it is through oral narration we get to learn that even Japanese soldiers feared his name. Mr. Visar of Jakhama village also joined the Indian National Congress to fight British rule in 1944. He was a man who was blown away by the Indian National Army and joined the call for British to leave our country completely. "Visar bu rei INA nu tsüphrümia puo rhi nunu puo ze mhachü bataketuo la puo zelieta. Terhü tei pete nu Visar meyie se, Japan chüpahiko Visar za putuo ro preitaya, sidi puo bu thesemisi puo se di Japanmia ze whituoya" (Nagi 127).

Later, the Deputy Commissioner of Naga Hills, Kohima apprehended and imprisoned him. Visar responded to the demand for Naga freedom and sovereignty even after the war ended, seeing the hardship of the Nagas, and served the Naga Nation in numerous positions. He became the President of Naga National Council

from 1945 to 1950, and was a pioneer in the Naga campaign for Independence. Naga Independence Day was announced on August 14,1947, while under his presidency. He led multiple Naga delegations to meet with Indian political leaders, notably Mahatma Gandhi, who were then in charge of making decisions for the country, to plea for the Naga cause. Visar selflessly dedicated his best for the Naga cause, the inscription on his monolith created in his honour says it all: "He lived a Patriot and died as One."

According to some village elders, before the arrival of Japanese in Jakhama, the villagers did not possess bags to even carry their necessities, "Likhuo pfhe rei jü", they lived in poverty, "mhajütoya",they did not have many items, "mhanya-mhara ba phiya mo", and they did not eat a variety of foods other than rice, vegetables and meat, "Kecükekrie luuhau cütuoya mo, kecü puo cü mu krie tuoya kezha zo", but with Japanese, they were introduced to a wide variety of foods. The villagers were introduced to everyday essentials like edible items and clothing materials began to change. It was during the war the villagers got to taste food like bread, condensed milk and even packed food.

They were for the first time exposed to modern machineries like jeep, motorbikes and even airplanes. Clothes like coats, trousers and caps worn by the Japanese or the Britishers were some of the styles that left a lasting impression on the people. These recollections gives us an insight of the way of life the people had, the introduction of a new way of living must have been a whole new discovery to them, to taste something new gave them immense pleasure, such was the innocence of the people (Kehozecho Zachariah Kulnu, personal interview). Jakhama quickly became the Japanese headquarters in the Southern Angami Naga Hills area, where they

established camps and even housed their leader Lt.Gen. Kotuku Sato and General Officer Shiroki who headed the school at Jakhama where they taught Japanese alphabets and songs to the people.

From becoming porters for the Japanese to helping them survive by tirelessly bringing them more food even if the village was not itself so rich, the villagers quietly agreed to their every demand as the Japanese were also good to them. Mr Pukoho Rolnu recalls the arrival of the Japanese in their village and their stay with them for roughly a month or so. The tribe came in touch with people who resembled them in appearance, physical stature, and even many of their behaviors. He feels the Japanese were excellent brave soldiers who brought the village many new changes. It is through them that they learned so much about the outside world. He continues to praise the Japanese for their good discipline, obedience and military prowess. Nagas were given the spirit of nationhood by the Japanese, who installed in them a desire to break free from all outside forces and struggle for their independence. Despite the fact that Christianity and education were scarce at that time, the Jakhama people were honest and brave people who believed in brotherhood and thus sought to learn from the Japanese.



Fig 4.7 Stone erected at Porütso Cükhwe.



Fig 4.8 Dak Bungalow of the British which is still present to this day.



Fig 4.9. Monolith in memory of Visar Angami



Fig 4.10. Traditional decoration on the entry of Angami House



Fig 4.11 Khatso Natso Khel Morung



Fig 4.12 An old house with mithun head decorated on its entrance



Fig 4.13. Mr. Pukoho Rolnu, 95 Years, from Jakhama village.



Fig

4.14. Mr Thinuzeho Kirha, 86 Years ,from Jakhama Village.

When the Japanese gained more support, they even began printing currency in the village. The villagers were gradually forced to carry their loads and work under them." Japanmia Army 31<sup>st</sup> Division Oking vor ba mu raka machine rei se Kehorü nunu rakako chupie keza salie Hydro chüu nu." Many nearby villages where the Japanese had settled had heard about residents abandoning their land and fleeing to deep jungles in quest of refuge from the Japanese, and some of them even came to Jakhama for safety and security." Japfüphiki rüna pete nu Japanmia bathor phre, kenuotsa rüna huo we uko ze balie lhoketa la ta rüna kekreira vota nha terha nu rüshütuoketa ba derei Jakhamia la we ta mo, zanuoki rünamia bu vor uko ze balie".

The Jakhama people, on the other hand did not flee away from their land because their jungles were already overrun with the Japanese forces and moreover the village had elders who overlooked the village bravely. The village elders would recall and say that Jakhama and the Japanese truly had a good bond but amidst that the villagers could no longer attend to the Japanese's roaring demands. Though the exhaustion of going out every day to look for wild vegetables, harvest food and grind grains with their own bare hands as there were no machines back then, took its toll on the people, and they quickly became tired of it. Instead of assisting them, the soldiers will come in and demand their food, for which the people would have to work ceaselessly. If someone claims that there is no more grain or food in the house to give to the soldiers, they will just search the entire house for it. The villagers were angered by their actions, and the fact that they would have to provide food for the horses that would come and eat their standing crops was seen as an act of insult by the villagers. Each villager regarded every grain of rice or the simplest of food as a blessing and holds it in high regard. It was a time when the village was not as prosperous or welloff as it is today, and providing for someone other than one's own family was difficult. And that is why when the soldiers continued to demand food every day, the villagers could no longer comply.

While for others, seeing new people in the village who appeared to be physically similar to them was immensely exciting. The Japanese made frequent visits to the village in quest of supplies, and they engaged in friendly conversations with young men in the community. When the younger ones volunteered to assist the Japanese, it was a rare occurrence. Mr. Thinuzeho Kirha narrates his encounters with the Japanese, "One afternoon, the elders informed that the Japanese had arrived in Viswema and would be visiting our village that evening. I recall going to see them when I was about ten years old. They arrived in groups of 5 or 6, each armed with long swords and firearms. Following their consultation with the elders, they headed out for their camps in the highlands surrounding the village. They would frequently visit our village to collect rations. A group of troops commanded by an officer arrived on one of these visits and were ordered to pound the rice. I volunteered to help because I was quite skilled at pounding rice at the time, and my friends eventually joined me. When we were done, the officer approached me and handed me a soft Japanese currency. All of my friends congratulated me, claiming that I deserved it and was the finest. The episode instilled in me a great deal of confidence, and it still makes me feel great."

Although amidst all of these demands, there was one such incident which demonstrated to the locals that the Japanese will not win the war and it is rather in their benefit to back the Britishers and defend their village then rather stay under the Japanese. The soldiers once captured a British Officer and held him captive for seven days, starving him. The following day, in front of all the villagers, he was murdered with a sword. The elders cautioned the people not to see it, but many did not heed

their warnings and went to observe the act. The British Officer's blood splashed all over the soldier who killed the British with his poison wiped sword. The villagers, who were superstitious at the time, were persuaded that the Japanese would not win the war after witnessing this event.

"Japanmia Brirish chüpahikoe Britishmia kezha puo teze vor di rüna nu zha 7 pekhepie ba,si ba di khunhia rünamia mhodzü nunu themia süu vo ziepie rünamia pekietue üta. Süla phichümiakoe themia bu vo meho hienu di kha derei huomiae vo meho. Japanmia Zhiecha se mia zawatuoü baketa sie their (poison) pie zhiechau kezhüwa di pfhe yopuo se kezeipie bawaya. Sükemhie di zhiechau chüpie ba di se vor mechü mhodzü nunu British kezhau vo ziepie mechüu pekieshü. Puo vo zakeshü ki themiau zie rüpfhü vo zakeshüu vawata! ... süla Jakhamiakoe mhatho kesuo hau ngukewa sie, Japanmia kuolie lhote, uko zhapie tha rei krei mote, kuolie lhote!" (Nagi 129).

After such incident, it became evident that the villagers had to change side in order to keep their village and its people save from various killings for they knew what the Britishers would do if they keep aiding the Japanese who seemed to have come upon their land only to command and take off their food and grains. The villagers so resolved to send messengers from their village to the British in Khonoma, informing them of the Japanese's whereabouts in order to get rid of them and also save their village in return. They did all this with the sole purpose of obtaining freedom for their people, not to hurt the Japanese.

The British quickly aided the villagers and the Japanese fled away from their land. The gruesome sight of the battle which later took place between the British Japanese will stay with any man who watched it directly until his death, such was the

anguish and pain that even bystanders had to endure. According to the village elders, a battle as such shall never again take place in the village, because both British and Japanese have demonstrated the enormous dread of war and its effects and some seniors would pray to this day, that their descendants never have to experience it like they did.

Though they were the ones who helped the British chase the Japanese away, resulting in their defeat, the villagers will never forget that, aside from demanding and forcing food from the villagers, the Japanese never misbehaved with anyone, especially their womenfolk, this act of theirs is deeply respected even today. " *Kecüca vakecüu la motuoü liro Japanmia kethokoe uzho kesuo, mha kethevie puorei chü mo " (Nagi 134).* Through the personal interviews, various documentaries, it is evident that had if the Japanese arrived with proper rations and had aided the villagers as the British did with various supply of food, clothes, housing materials, etc then the village elders believed that the war was surely to be victorious to the Japanese as they were soldiers who were brave and disciplined who aimed to achieve their aim at all costs. Nevertheless the elders still to this day thank the Japanese for entering their land as even though they brought chaos in their demands yet it is undeniable that because of the Japanese, their secluded land came into focus and also they came to realization of the outside world. Not only that much developments and advancements came to their land after they left their village.

Jakhama village to this day speaks of their encounter with the Japanese, the education imparted on them. Speaking of Japanese invasion of Southern Angami Hills, one can never forget to mention this village as the Japanese had in some way had an invisible connection with them which made them stay at their land for a longer

period than others. The coming of the Japanese has become an important part of the

village history to the present generation.

"Japanmia vor mo cü sie Nagamia tsie rei melo ba zotuo derei uko kevor la

mhasi sedelie. Kimhie di terhü chü mu kimhie di lhuo pevilieta icüko silie.

Kijürü Keneieu nunu Nagamiae kemezhiekeshü geinu, kimhie di vi kehie

kholieta icüu se u pecoshülie". (Mr Pukho Rolnu, personal interview)

A ballad, "külü", is composed in remembrance of both the two forces by the

villagers which is sung even to this day. It tells the story of the coming of the

Japanese on their land, and how their presence changed the lives of men and women

in the village. After observing what they were doing, several of the village's wise men

decided that it would be better for them to go in search of the British for assistance

and do them good. Hoping for a positive response from the white man to bring them

assistance, which became the wish of the entire village, young and old. The villagers

will remember this war tragedy until the end of their old days and think of America.

Japan British

No Japan kephi cie ne

Khisa elü tho kedi-e ne

After the arrival of the Japanese

Work/roles of young men and women altered

Ora khe-o mhashe keviko

Vitho thüse keko mi kicho khashü yo

Kha keshü cü dzü keswupwe hametso heli

Dzü kevipwe a metsoshitsu

Wise men of the village

Went to do good things for the White men

Speak of good rather than vices to them

Come and tell us of agreement from them

Khisa elü ketsa kethi zo medo ketha kohi

Lezo phine otsa othi tso tiho

America lezo tha te ho.

Became the will of both young and old to assist them;

Will remember this occurrence till the end of their days

Thinking of the Americans.

After the war ended, slowly but gradually many advancements and changes came about in the village. New schools and churches were established and the village evolved into a self sufficient village with many achievements, its people getting education not only in the village but from various other places. The war opened their eyes to a whole new world, which they knew had to be explored in order for their younger generations to live a better life. One of many advancements brought about in the land of Jakhama village is the establishment of St.Joseph's Autonomous College which is now home to thousands of students coming from all across Nagaland and even the neighboring states.

# CHAPTER V : FEMINIST PERSPECTIVE ON CONRONTATIONS WITH THE JAPANESE

Feminism is a collection of social and political movements, and philosophies with the objective of defining, establishing, and achieving gender equality in politics, economics, personal life and social life. It is a worldwide phenomenon that is represented by many institutions dedicated to advancing women's rights and interests, despite its origins in the West. Traditionally, feminist literary criticism has attempted to re-examine existing texts from the literary canon through new outlook. The development and discovery of female writing traditions, as well as the rediscovery of old texts, are all goals of feminist criticism, as are interpreting the symbolism of women's writing so that it is not forgotten or ignored by the patriarchal point of view, while resisting to sexism.

It is a relatively new movement that opposes dominant social, political and cultural paradigms that oppress women. It promotes equal rights, benefits and opportunities for women who wish to improve their lives and living conditions, especially when it comes to issues that are unique to them. Feminism, in its broadest sense, is a sociopolitical movement aimed at defining, achieving, and protecting women's equality of rights, position, and power. Female Enlightenment philosophers were keen to point out the inclusiveness and restricted reach of reformist rhetoric.

Olympe de Gouges, a well-known playwright, published , Declaration of the Rights of Woman and the (Female) Citizen (1791), asserting women to be not only men's equals, but also their partners. The following year, Mary Wollstonecraft's,

feminist essay, A Vindication of the Rights of Woman, was published in England. She urged that women and men be given equal chances in education, labor, and politics, challenging the concept that women exist solely to pleasure men. She said that women are just as sensible as men. Feminism as a movement advocates gender equality for women and campaigns for their rights and interests, as well as a political and sociological theories and philosophies dealing with issues of gender difference.

It is thought to have grown from three distinct eras or waves that aided in the development of feminist theory. It can be found in feminist geography, feminist history, and feminist literary critique, among other fields. The third wave of feminism, which began in the 1990s and continues now, is the longest in history. Much of the third wave's philosophy is based on post-structuralist view of gender and sexuality. Third-wave feminism continues to address economic, social, and cultural inequities and includes increased calls for women to have more influence in politics and the media. Feminists have had to keep an emphasis on women's reproductive rights in response to political activities. Feminist theory focuses on gender politics, power relations, and sexuality in order to analyze gender inequalities. While feminist philosophy critique these social and political ties, it also emphasizes the advancement of women's rights and interests.

Discrimination, stereotyping, objectification of women, oppression, and patriarchy are some of the common themes studied in feminist thought. Simone de Beauvoir was one of the most famous feminist writers of the twentieth century. Her works, such as, *The Second Sex* and *She came to Stay*, often explored the women's roles in society and called out the wicked double standards she grew up with. She was also one of the first woman to openly discuss how women were socialized to "be

women". Virginia Woolf was one of the most widely read and well-known feminist writers of the twentieth century. She was known for her, *stream of consciousness*, writing style, as well as the fact that she regularly placed women at the centre of her stories, which was a rarity at that time. She was also one of the first feminist writer to bring a woman's inner life to the forefront.

Literature reflects and shapes prejudices and other cultural preconceptions, according to feminist literary criticism. This type of feminist criticism examines or undermines patriarchal attitudes, sometimes in the same work. It was concerned with female authorship and the representation of women's conditions in literature, particularly the portrayal of fictional female characters. Feminist critics reassess the canon in order to rediscover female-authored literature. They revalue women's experiences, examine male and female representations of women in literature, challenge male and female representations of women as the Other, and examine power relations in texts and in life, working with a few to break them down, seeing reading as a political act and demonstrating the extent patriarchy. Michael Ryan in his book, *Literary theory: A Practical Introduction*, states that: It (feminism) is interested with how women's lives have changed through time, and it questions what about women's experiences differs from men's, whether due to an intrinsic ontological or psychological difference or historical imprinting and social construction (101).

History and reality show that women of many races, ethnicities, and cultures from various socioeconomic groups have all experienced subjugation at the hands of men who have dominated, regulated, controlled, prevailed, ruled, and managed society and women in various ways. Women are viewed as the "weaker sex", and as a result, they have been denied full social, economic, political, and constitutional

justice. When a woman is discriminated against, she is discounted, inferiorized by male-designed social mores, and denied equal rights or recognition as individuals or a group on par with men from birth to death. This fight for gender equality is not new. Women have reacted to their historical subjection in a variety of ways: artistic, intellectual, quite, or subversive. Feminism is a movement that represents women's battle for equal rights.

Feminism, on the other hand, is about more than just equal rights for women. It is a never-ending fight for social justice; it is a critical project that criticizes legal, economic, social and political limits on women's basic rights. It aims to eliminate the inequities that women have faced throughout history and in all civilizations for millennia. The central tenets of feminism have come to refer to a system of ideas that determine how women conceive of themselves, how they experience culture, how they examine and affirm the value of women, and how they raise consciousness to remove barriers to women's freedom from discrimination, injustice, oppression, and male dominance as a philosophy, an ideology or a doctrine..

The predominantly patriarchal Naga society is represented in beliefs such as suspicions around the birth of a male child, the man as the breadwinner and protector of the society, and women's subordination to their husbands. However, as a result of the embrace of Christianity and the expansion of knowledge, the current condition among Naga women has steadily changed. Naga society which follows a patrilineal and patriarchal system, features patriarchal customs and attitudes that affects women's standing. The belief in male superiority and female inferiority inspires institutions and traditions. As a result, while patriarchy exists in all contemporary societies, its impact varies from tribe to tribe along the Naga society.

Thenumia (women) has been confined to the four walls of the house before the coming of westernization and much influence of Christianity. However, with the passage of time, she is granted more freedom in areas other than her household responsibilities. She is given additional rights as a result of the various societal changes and developments that are going place, but she is still bound by many traditional do's and don'ts. In terms of property rights, women have the fewest rights; a daughter is not entitled to any of the ancestral property. This property is known as siephruo, and it can only be owned by a male child. If a woman is the sole child, the ancestral property will be given to her father's immediate relations; this is known as kayie, custody of property. However, if it is a property bought by the parents themselves then it can be given to the daughter with full authority since it is not an ancestral property. When Angami Nagas practiced Animism before the coming of Christianity, there were some specific religious ceremonies which were usually performed by the women. Some of those rituals are:

I. *Kezie* : dedication of a new house.

II. *Mekhru zie*: annual ceremonies in remembrance of the death.

III. Tsiakrii : starting of field works.

IV. *Liede* : starting of the harvest.

V. Ki kenyü : sanctification of the harvest. (Zehol 58)

Women were not allowed to fetch water from the spring or any other water sources during Sekrenyi (feast of purification in Angami tribe), according to some village elders, since they were afraid of defiling the rite. Even their cooking was not taken by men, and they were not allowed to approach or walk past men folk. These regulations are still in effect today in some villages, but they have now been relaxed

significantly. "Nagamia ba hurei Tenyimia kene-rüzhüu (Naga Style Wrestling) se kemeyie se di rüzhüya mu kenekecii nu zorei thezho puo, thenumia gei menuo morosuoya. Chüpahi pfhenei mu misi se di thenu ze ro kataya, ngumvümia bu u dukhriwa morei kuolie motaya. Mha hako pete thiedzü rei mu tsiedo rei lhenu zho ba. Thenumiae vi mu theja derei terhü nu Thenumia se suo! idi thiedzü teiu nu pecü seya" (Nagi 286). It's an irony that, although being regarded as a blessing, women are regarded as a terrible omen to males during war or any other physical conflict between men. Men among the Angami Nagas have long believed that if a man crosses paths with a woman while wrestling, generally referred to as "Naga wrestling," he will be defeated. If a soldier is spotted with a lady in his uniform and ammunition, it is assumed that he will die in combat or lose the war. Women were thought to be ill omens to men in battle, and it was prohibited to even meet men who were supposed to go to war, let alone be a soldier herself.

In today's society, a woman who is married, barren, and opinionated is mocked. A sterile and unmarked woman is regarded as an empty shell and is frequently filled with shame and remorse throughout her life. A woman, who is unable to provide a male child, is pitied and her status is lower than that of other woman. The concept of 'self' for Naga women is built with man as the absolute and woman as the other, as dictated by norms and traditions. On this, Temsula Ao, a pioneering poet and writer belonging to Nagaland, notes that:

"The socially constructed self of the (Naga) woman in the past was so thoroughly subordinated to the male that in time she too accepted it as the definition of her ontological selfhood" (Ao 129).

In presenting the Naga women, Easterine Kire, a notable Naga writer, recounts how women were not allowed to enter the "thehou"- the community house

which centered man's talk. "No women were allowed to come to the thehou or enter the male dormitories." (Kire 25) Women were prohibited not only to enter but also strictly bound not even to ask about the discussions taken over by the males at the thehou. "It's man-talk. Don't ask after the business of the clan, woman." (21) Through this we see women treated as the second citizen of the village, having less importance than the male of the village. Men since time immemorial have exercised their dominating power over women, suppressing their voices and ignoring their concerns and thoughts.

Naga women from pre-colonial time to this day are living under a patriarchal society where they are tied down by social norms and customs yet they remain courageous, kind hearted, brave, dutiful, compassionate, truthful and strong. In the region's dominant colonial and post-colonial discourse, the Naga woman's experience has gone untold. Easterine Kire, one prominent Naga writer in English while focusing her writings on the Naga people's hardships, she has not overlooked the plight of Naga women, whose voices have been silenced for decades and are represented in her novels, *A Naga Village Remembered*, *A Respectable Woman, Mari*, etc.

In the portrayal of the tale of womankind, there is a significant imbalance. Women have been deemed the "lesser sex", in practically all civilizations across nations, and across ages since patriarchal times, owing to the assumption that women are inferior to males. On account of her gender, every Naga woman has been humiliated and insulted by males. These are not strangers or outsiders. They are their 'respected' uncles, cousins, and in some cases, fathers and brothers, who never fail to remind them of their predestined subordinate roles. Under patriarchal rules

and structures, their secondary standing in regard to men has produced for them a situation that perpetuates. There is a common misconception that tribal customary laws provide women a high status and give them the freedom to make their own decisions. However, this idea has been challenged because most Naga tribes' male bodies either have no women representation or do not provide women decision-making power in traditional tribal councils.

While some as Haimendorf notes, many women in more civilized regions of India may envy the Naga women, their high status, and their free and happy lives, and if the cultural level of a nation is measured by the social position and personal freedom of its women, you should think twice about dismissing the Nagas as savages (Zehol 1). History and reality show that women of many races, ethnicities, and cultures from various socioeconomic groups have all experienced subjugation at the hands of men who have dominated, regulated, controlled, prevailed, ruled, and manages society and women in various ways. Women are a vital element of human civilization as half of the human species, yet their role in almost all civilizations has not been deemed equals to that of men throughout history.

While war and conflict harm and devastates society on all levels- socially, economically, politically and most importantly, at the personal level of its victims – women's experiences can be devastating on a completely different level. Narratives from a feminist perspectives have always brought up different perspectives and insight into a particular study or research. Women have always been keen observers, standing in the backdrop, observing since she was shut down to voice out her opinions and perspectives. Jakhama village as such has war narratives from a feminist perspective which are not to an extend dissimilar to those as accounted by male

section of the community but definitely an insight which helps us understand more about the relation between the villagers and the Japanese invaders.

Though research study has been limited in certain ways, as women were not allowed to participate in public meetings in the village at that time. When newcomersthe Japanese, came in the village, the male members of the community were allowed to freely speak with them while it was not as such for women. The arrival of the Japanese in their land is remembered by certain elders. For instance, seeing a female Japanese soldier for the first time was a completely new experience as they could have never imagined women being as brave soldiers as men. This image of a female soldier was something of a really new discovery to them as in traditional Naga community there were no women warriors, or as a matter of fact women were not allowed to be a part of the section called "warriors" who protected the village against any alien invader.

Women who witnessed the Japanese invasion firsthand recalls the soldier's pleasant demeanor and physical height, which was strikingly similar to that of the villagers. They too, eagerly embraced the Japanese, obedient to their elder's assertions that they were of the same parent, the villagers as the Japanese's younger brothers and so they should offer them help in whichever way possible. They would cheerfully go in search of wild vegetables and collect food for them at first, but as time went, they could no longer take some soldiers' arrogant behavior in feeding their cultivated crops to their horses in any manner they pleased.

Recollecting upon those days when she was young and had to follow certain restrictions laid upon her and all other females by the community, an elderly Jakhama native speaks of how today's women and ladies of this generation are living

a life of full freedom. Before the coming of Christianity or to be precise, before the war broke out and the whole of the community was changed forever, women had to follow some strict norms of the community. A woman before attaining the age of marriage or was engaged to be married, cannot grow her hair long. It was against the traditional norms for a young girl/lady to have longer hair.

Only when she was about to get married, was she allowed to grow her hair longer. Such was the set norms that even though deep down they disliked this rule laid upon them but they could not raise their voice as they were brought up with this tradition, "to obey quietly". It was only after marriage that she gained some freedom to make choices; but even then she would be under so many restrictions as she would have to live under a patriarchal head. She further shared her memory of how even for a pot of water; one would have to wait in line whole day as water resources were quite limited. Women in today's age can study as they like, wear clothes of their choice, work independently but during her age, even though as a young child, she would have to learn how to chop woods, make fire, cook food and do all the household chores.

Men since time in history were born to freedom and superiority set by the community. He could do all that he wished to with no fear, it was women who all along had to be under men's shadow no matter how important of a role she played. A girl child who once reaches an age where she starts learning how to do simple chores, is assigned with more works, she would have to carry her *khorii* (basket) to go carry woods from the forest, to grind cultivated grain by her hand, or to carry water. These works might seem as a mere chores that each individual had to perform but these were the ways in which women were undermined and suppressed.

While reaching out for personal interview with some elders, a certain unheard part of the history relating to women was traced. Naga women have been fighting against reproductive rights in the present generation but it is hardly heard or traces of such cases were found before the coming of Christianity. Through oral narration, it is traced that during the days when animism was practiced in the Jakhama village, women who became pregnant without a father, meaning the father of the unborn child was unknown, such pregnant women's were chased away from village and had to live in the fields. Not only that, the child born of those woman were killed since the father's name was not revealed. Those nameless born children were named as "tekhu nuo", meaning those who were born in the fields.

Such was the case, where women were punished while the "nameless father" of the child was not harmed in any way since his identity was not revealed. Why did the women not raise their voice? Why was the man not punished? Why would the nameless father not appear to save his child? Why did the innocent child have to suffer because of his parents? Why were the women only punished? Such questions were never raised in support of the women; they simply had to comply with the norms whether they agreed not. Though such practices is no longer followed with coming of Christianity and education. Now the village has progressed into a community where most women are being educated, leading an independent life and most of all growing hand in hand with men of the village.

By the time, the Japanese soldiers arrived at Jakhama, already many changes were seen, a female child was allowed to get education, attend the classes conducted by the Japanese and later were even apart of being porters, who worked for the Japanese in order to earn money. Even to this day, some elderly women recollects

how they worked for the Japanese back then, the constant demands they would get from the Japanese for rations, etc.

"I remember carrying paddies three times to Viswema for the Japanese staying there. We would pound rice and gather wild vegetables. The Japanese were also very fond of local tobacco; they even consumed stems and stumps of it. I was angry when Japanese carried off our food stock whenever they like but I was most hurt when their horses grazed my entire standing crops, those were the crops I worked on for the whole year round, it was meant to feed my family for the entire year. Taking away food from starving people and feeding animals is incomprehensible to us and we considered it a taboo." (Vingotsolie Natso, personal interview)

Women in the backdrop had been a silent observer since history. Some of their experiences or memories are passed down through oral narrations while some vanished into thin air as an individual passed away. The lifestyle of a woman even during those days when the Japanese entered Jakhama was inferior to that of man. Women were not allowed to attend any male meetings concerning the administration of the village community. Women's boundaries were limited to that of household chores and anything assigned to her by her husband or the male head of the family. To a woman, in those days all that matters was her family welfare and anything related to household chores. In most cases they were not forced to do things against their will but also since it was the way the community was built that none would think of breaking or going against the social norm which has been passed down from generations. Verrier Elwin remarks,"... tribal woman is in herself exactly the same as

any other woman, with the same position, love and fears, the same devotion to the home, to husband and children, the same faults and the same virtues".

Their only role was to follow their husband's steps and do whatever was asked of her from him with full obedience. Despite the fact that gender inequality is not as prevalent as it is on the mainland of India, Naga women are subjected to discrimination. Lucy Zehol in her book, *Women in Naga Society*, says that: the patriarchal and patrilineal nature of Naga society proves beyond a shadow of a doubt that women are not equal to males in many spheres of life. The patriarchal Naga society is represented in beliefs such as the birth of a male child being auspicious, the man as the breadwinner and protector of the society, and women as domestic servants (Zehol 2).

Apart from narratives of contact between the two- Jakhama and Japanese soldiers, women also gives us an insight on the support Jakhama aided to the neighboring villages who has to flee deserting their own village due to bombing from the Britishers or in fear of the Japanese soldiers. Jakhama village in times of waging terror and chaos remained as a stand for assurance and shelter for the neighboring villages who came to them seeking for refuge and support. Women as such became the narratives of certain sections of the community which were unseen or unnoticed by the male section. One of such narration by women:

"Many Viswema folks came to our village during the war's peak. A widow with two small children was among them. A machine gun bullet hit one of her feet, injuring it. Her damaged foot was decomposing by the time they arrived in our village, so I took her inside and cleansed her wound with warm water before cleaning them. We carried her back to Viswema and

requested medicines from the Japanese soldiers, who thankfully agreed to help. The medications were divided into separate containers and labeled with dose instructions. Her limb was spared because of this early intervention. She stayed with us after the war and recovered completely in just over a year." (Vingotsolie Natso, personal interview)

Women also spoke of how the Japanese were friendly and of good nature imparting education to the villagers in Japanese alphabets and numbers, one would recollect of how the evening set-ups were in the school established by the Japanese where many young children would come with eagerness to learn something new from the Japanese, the image of them shouting back in repetition of whatever the Japanese soldier taught them with full joy is something one would never forget in this life. The Japanese would say "arigato" and the children would shout at the top of their voice "arigato"; they would say "guzaimas" and the children would follow in unison. Such was a pleasant sight until before the villagers soon got tired of the unending demands from the Japanese for soldiers.

As narrated by men that the Japanese would have won, had they brought their proper ration, this similar thought has been shared by women. It was the woman's of the community who grew food and grained most of the rice during those days and to see their hard work which was meant to survive the family for the entire year being consumed away all at once by the invaders and also mostly when their horses started to graze away their standing crops, the women could no longer comply with it. They took as a sign of disrespect from the soldiers who came empty handed without no ration, but simply taking away all that the villagers had saved up for the year. Not only was the food collected to provide the soldiers resided at Jakhama area

but they had to even provide for those residing in Viswema which gradually became a problem for them.

Other than continuously troubling the locals for ration, the Japanese had no other false behavior which displeased the villagers. They would to this day praise them for being good to the locals, "Japanmia u Nagamia gei puo zho vithor zo" (the Japanese soldiers were very good towards the Nagas). Jakhama villagers at first favored the Japanese as they were good in nature and also since they looked similar to the villagers in physical stature. The villagers considered them as their brothers who came from a distant land in search of their help and so they should lend them a helping hand. But soon, the Japanese kept running short of ration, in turn started killing the villagers livestock's, cattle's, demanding for more food each day. It slowly angered the villagers and they went up to the extent of giving them wrong directions against their enemies which subsequently became a disadvantage for them in the long run." Japanmia kecüca vakecüu la motuoü liro kuolie tuo", had the Japanese not exploited the food of the villagers, they would definitely won the war with the support of the locals.

Though keeping aside all the demands of ration leading to losing of trust from the villagers, their growing anger and everything in between, there is one feature of the Japanese which is still very much respected by people of Jakhama village. Mrs Khükehele Tase remarks on their behavior saying, "Japanmia Jakhara thenumia gei kerülie, kemenakecü puorei chü mo, mia vithor zo"(Nagi 131). The Japanese never misbehaved with any of the Jakhama women, they knew how to keep their distance from the womenfolk of the village, treated with respect and never in any ways did any shameful thing, misbehaved or treated Jakhama women wrongly.



Fig 5.1-5.2 : Women elders from Jakhama village



When asked what was the best memory, she has had as a women, Mrs Kethono Zao, reveals with a smile full of joy a recollection of the bygone days, the youthful days she had spent with complete freedom and liveliness. She recalls the days in Jakhama when Christianity was still very young yet everything was fascinating to them. She remembers how happy she was to go to church with her friends and sing hymns loudly- screaming at the top of their lungs, unconcerned about whether they were singing in unison or correctly; all that mattered was that they were having fun singing songs. Those were the days of innocence. She has no recollection of any restrictions placed on her by her parents or anybody else. She also puts light on how obedient women were to men in those days. The village altered dramatically as a result of Christianity, but one thing that remained constant was: the Jakhama people's brave, fearless and hardworking hearts.

Women as such gave some different aspects of narratives which helped in tracing the relation between the Jakhama people and the Japanese. Some remained quite in the backdrop of the war while some were working as porters to the Japanese carrying their rations to neighboring villages. It is also through these narrations we find that women in like other communities also had a lower status to men in the village. Though it differs to some extend with coming of Christianity and education in the village. Things have been changing and evolving with time, it is no denial that because of the war, the outlook of the villagers towards status of women also changed. Women status from a housewife wife, a girl child deprived of education has now evolved into women taking active part in the development of the village. Women do not have the same level of freedom as men, although there are some restrictions on the choices they can make. Many Nagas have opened their eyes to exploration and equality of rights as a result of education and westernization. Women getting

educated, bringing laurels not only to herself but to the whole community. Women are also taking active part in decision making body, with women empowerment in all sections, the village is progressing more and women are playing more and more important roles.

Much has changed since the arrival of Christianity. While there is still more pressure on the woman's scale, she does not have to suffer silently when it comes to morals. Because women's education is on the rise, educated women can speak out against injustices that are perpetrated against them. Furthermore, educated women are less financially reliant on their husbands because they are able to work; this reduces the discrepancy between husband and wife based on gender. Unlike the conventional norm, the Christian faith made divorce laws more stringent. Both the wife and the husband are bound by the vows they made in front of God and man. As a result, women's status both within and beyond the household is rising with the tide of progress. (Zehol 57).

#### **CHAPTER-6**

#### CONCLUSION

The present study about, Revisiting the 'Jakha-Japanese' Relation: A Postcolonial Study, looks at the unquestionable understanding which both parties — the Jakhama people and Japanese had at a time when war was raging in its background. While people from the neighboring villages fled away from their own ancestral land in fear of Japanese invasion or bombings from the Britishers, Jakhama stood as a symbol of strength and refuge to them, providing them with food and shelter. This sense of compassion and empathy shared by the Jakhama villagers to the alien invaders coming to their land in hope for their support and help has been traced from various oral narrations passed on by the village elders. The current study also in many ways had encountered with limitation of resources through which the lost relation between the two parties could have been traced, but with only few elders remaining who could recollect their personal encounters with the Japanese, this study has come thus far.

While tracing the links and bridges of connection between them, it has been done with an outlook to study it as a postcolonial relation. In doing so, an inclusion of the impact of Western education and wave of Christianity also deemed to be of much importance. Like the Britishers, even the Japanese took in education as a mode to connect and understand the natives. The Jakhama Nagas considered the Japanese invaders as their elder brothers from the same parents and in every way sought to be of assistance to them. Jakhama Nagas belonged to a race of brave and honest ancestors whose traditional hostility made the Japanese built their headquarters in their land, and in turn, further extending their staying among them.

Chapter One: Introduction as a result, provides an overview of what postcolonial literary studies entails. It discusses postcolonialism as a mode of presenting colonized nations who have been subjected to colonizer's suppression in social, economic, cultural, and political aspects of their lives. Postcolonialism has been studying the interplay between colonizers and colonized peoples since the dawn of exploration and colonization. While researching various facets of colonized society, the study of women and the atrocities they endured became increasingly important as part of the postcolonial study of various countries. All nations have experienced diverse effects as a result of colonialism; however they all share a common sense of grief and trauma caused by the invaders. As a result, postcolonialism arose to bring such experiences to light and examine them in depth in order to bring out the many consequences of the horrors. Elleke Boehmer, as such says that the process of overhaul includes postcolonial literature. To convey colonized experience, postcolonial writers aimed to undermine the narratives that promoted colonization — the myths of power, race classification, and imagery of subjugation – both thematically and formally. As a result, postcolonial writing is significantly affected by experiences of cultural exclusion and division under colonialism.

As a result, Nagas have their unique set of memories and experiences from the colonial era. Naga society has seen the birth of Naga writers who have depicted the consequences of colonizers on Nagas and how they entirely affected the entire community in their writings, contributing to the growth of postcolonial literature. What interests one about these postcolonial Naga writers is that they are largely women who are using literature to communicate the suppressed sentiments that patriarchy has imposed on them. Today, postcolonialism is a major topic of discussion in both academic and popular circles, and critics routinely use the term in a variety of

ways, with the primary goal of understanding it. To strengthen the powerless and present them with a level of dignity equal to those who are privileged and dignified in social hierarchy. In short, postcolonial studies have the potential to create new communities and networks of people who are united by a shared political and ethical commitment to questioning and challenging the practices and consequences of dominance and subordination.

Chapter Two: British colonialism on Angami Nagas examined that before the arrival of the invaders, the Angami Nagas who belonged to fierce warrior clans enjoyed a state of total independence. The Britishers' invasion of the Naga Hills, home to the Angamis, was never smooth because they were faced with fierce resistance. With the arrival of the Colonizers, a land filled with people who valued peace and desired nothing but the welfare of their society, assisting one other in fields, making joyful, and defending their land from any alien force was entirely decimated into ashes and fragments. With the arrival of the British, the Nagas' homeland was entirely exposed to strangers, a region that had relied on isolation to keep its inhabitants secure from invaders was deteriorated. When the strong and powerful warriors of the Angami Nagas were defeated in the Battle of Khonoma, the British took control of the Angami Nagas. Naga society as a whole departed dramatically from its previous customs and way of life. The American Missionaries had the most innovative and lasting impact on the Naga cultural ethos. Naga Hills, in reality, became a colony of American evangelism on a cultural level.

The impact of British colonialism was so widespread that no part of the community was spared. It is studied that the Naga (Angami) lifestyle that one is living now is a mixing of the British lifestyle with a smattering of Naga traditions and

customs. The British conquerors subjugated all regions of the Naga Hills with the help of Christian missionaries. It aided them in transforming the head-hunting community into one that valued peace and believed in brotherhood. The Angami Nagas, like any other colonized people, experienced changes and reforms in all aspect of their lives - social, economic, political, and so on. Angami Nagas owe colonizers a debt of gratitude for opening their eyes to the outside world of freedom and opportunity, and for instilling in them a sense of nationhood. Though some have experienced a crisis of identity and the loss of customs as a result of westernization, others have not. Only by providing comprehensive indigenous education can we resist the long-term effects of colonization and establish an indigenous history, halting the disintegration of traditional communities, economies, languages, and so on.

Chapter Three: *Japanese Invasion of Naga Hills* investigated the arrival of Japanese forces on the Naga Hills, which had an impact on different villages, particularly those in the southern half of the Angami area. The significance of "kelhou tieyie" (oral narrations) is traced through this work. The invasion has largely been studied from the perspective of British colonizers over the years because Nagas lacked education and the foresight to preserve such significant history through written records. Now that Nagas have evolved into a more educated community, the major limitation comes in the form of fewer sources as many elders who have experienced and lived through war have passed away. Oral history has long been a component of society, helping to resurrect not only forgotten history and recollections from the past, but also to preserve customs and civilizations. Reconstructing or even rebuilding the history of societies that have lost all written records is a tough endeavor that necessitates the use of novel and unconventional methods.

"Japan Rüwhuo" (Japan war) or the infamous Battle of Kohima, which took occurred in 1944, is a watershed moment in Naga subjugation history. Life before the war is rarely retraced or given any thought; it is as if Nagas history began only during the war. The depth of influence and dread of trauma brought on by the war can never be forgotten by anyone who has lived it firsthand. The Nagas suffered a severe blow as a result of colonization, which merely indoctrinated them and gave them a new identity. With the arrival of the Japanese, the Nagas were subjected to yet another colonial control. The Japanese conquerors arrived bearing a fine gospel of brotherhood to the Nagas, but they ended up subjugating them and putting them under their rigorous supervision. Nagas would reminisce about how the war changed them: "Educated as Britishers and valiant as Japanese," they would say.

Chapter Four: War Narratives from Jakhama, researched the war tales from the perspective of Jakhama residents, the influence the Japanese had, and the type of relationship both parties — Jakhama and Japanese — had with one another. From all sides, a great spirit of fraternity was celebrated. Even though the village itself was not in a stable stand, Jakhama, who came from a race of strong, bold, and generous ancestors, voluntarily assisted the Japanese and their never-ending requests. One cannot refute the parties' close relationship; village elders can recall songs in Japanese as well as the Japanese national anthem, even to this day. Though it was ultimately Jakhama that had to turn its back on the Japanese for the sake of the community's welfare, no one can deny that the Japanese were the ones who opened the indigenous' eyes to knowledge and a world beyond their boundaries.

This research discovered that Jakhama generated powerful freedom fighters who were affected by Japanese patriotism for their homeland and people, as well as a

sense of nationhood and freedom from all outside pressures. To this day, the Japanese soldiers' discipline is remembered and told to present generations. "Japanmia vor mo cü sie Nagamia tsie rei melo ba zotuo derei uko kevor la mhasi sedelie. Kimhie di terhü chü mu kimhie di lhuo pevilieta icüko silie. Kijürü Keneieu nunu Nagamiae kemezhiekeshü geinu, kimhie di vi kehie kholieta icüu se u pecoshülie". The people of Jakhama would have never encountered education if the Japanese had never entered their land, nor would they have learned about modern machines and the art of warbattle. Jakhama village's path to prosperity and modernization was paved through toil and suffering.

Chapter Five : Feminist perspectives on confrontation with the Japanese, studied feminism as a concerned research that arose from the study and awareness of equitable social, economic, and political existence for women. Some of the prevalent issues studied in feminist thinking include discrimination, stereotyping, objectification of women, oppression, and patriarchy. In history, women have always been a silent observer who tells numerous aspects of the community that were hidden from male dominion. Women's stories on the war from a feminist perspective show how women were treated as second-class citizens. The image of a female soldier influenced women because it was a live-picture of what freedom could have been if she wasn't bound by her people's customs and traditions. Narratives from a feminist viewpoint have always provided new insights and views into a study or research. Since she was shut down to vocal out her ideas and perspectives, women have always been keen observers, standing in the background, observing.

As such, women perspective on their confrontations with the Japanese examined how the Japanese were not indifferent towards women when they entered

Jakhama. We find no occurrences where women were ill-treated or misbehaved upon by the Japanese soldiers. While tracing such occurrences, the position of women in the Jakhama during the war time has been studied. Women was at no shock of event treated secondary to men, they were to obey male decisions and live under a patriarch, a women before attaining the age of marriage could not grow her hair long as it was against customary law. No women were allowed in meeting were important decisions were to be made, orally it is said that even women enjoyed various freedom yet in practice we see that the final decision was always in the hands of the male superiority. But with time and coming of education and Christianity, now women from the village are enjoying more freedom and taking parts in decision making of the village, with each passing year, the status and importance of women is increasing wit a awareness.

It was a span of more than sixty years, the British had in control of the Naga Hills when the Japanese entered upon its land. By this time already Christianity and education was in full force along the Nagas, though many villagers were still reluctant to accept Christianity. Since the British had Kohima, under control, most development and advances were brought there, mission schools and churches were already in progress and many people in Kohima village were also baptized. Many Nagas were already going to nearby states for further education, whereby their minds were opened to more knowledge and understanding of the outside world. Even as such, not all Naga villages were at such rate of transformation as people from Kohima did.

Jakhama, one of the village belonging to the southern part of the Angami Nagas, was still at its pace of growth, Christianity and education was already among it's village, a church was already constructed in the premises of the village, though still many people were following animism. Upon the arrival of the Japanese on their

land, they were not reluctant but indeed felt a sense of oneness, on seeing them as they looked similar to the Nagas in physical appearance. The Japanese were not Christians or as a matter did not force the villagers to accept any other kind of religion. The conversion of the Baptist church in the village to teach the villagers in Japanese was gladly accepted by them, there seemed no resistance. The villagers were gladly accepting the directions and demands of the Japanese initially.

Britishers who even though stayed among the Nagas for over sixty years could not fully establish a bridge of connection on the whole of Naga Hills. This made the entry of the Japanese into the village easier and thereby establishing a good relationship with the villagers. Even though the later courses changed and people could no longer comply with the Japanese and their demands for continuous ration supply, it is quite evident that it was the Japanese who came and opened up the eyes of the Nagas to great warfare and war skills. Jakhama among those villages, is one who indeed had to suffer under the Japanese from their endless demands of rations supply, yet it is undeniable that it was because of the coming of the Japanese upon their land that their outlook towards the outside word changed completely. It is evident that even through all these hardships, the people of Jakhama can never deny that because of the Japanese, the village transformed and its people's mindset were broadened to the possibilities that lay outside of their comfort zone which needed to be explored.

"Japanmia kemezhiethor di vor terhü chükeshü geinu Nagamia bu mha kekra silie, u peka seshü mu u bu rei kemezhie se derei mhasikelieue zhakuo. Japanmia vor kemosie Nagamia tsie rei melopuopfü ba zotuo, U dzürieu vor di u pethashü di late" (Nagi 347)

Some elders from Jakhama would recollect how on hearing about the bombing of 'Hiroshima and Nagasaki', from the Britishers, they felt a deep sense of pain for their fellow brothers in Japan who must have suffered greatly from this terror and destruction. Such is the link of connection which the villagers who witnessed the war first hand still speak of. The present generation might not understand the depth of the relationship their elders and the Japanese had but the older generation who are still alive speaks of this invisible connection between them and the Japanese who came to their land during the outset of the war. At times would think of how their village ended up supporting the British and leaving the Japanese alone in war and lament upon it too, "Japanmia puo themiako ki vor derei puo themiako puo ze thalie mote".

This particular study as such as mentioned above has been limited to various exploration as there is lack of written records and also people from Jakhama who firsthand experienced the war and invasion have mostly passed away with time. Even though this study, can be used as references by other researches in tracing the perspective and link of connection between the Jakhama people and Japanese ,during the invasion and the outset of war. The basis of the study has been done with oral narrations from various village elders from Jakhama who recollects the coming of the Japanese on their land. With time memory fades away and gets mixed up with personal perspectives and events influencing it but upon all interviews a similar sense of feeling of oneness with the Japanese invaders by the village elders have been traced. It is over seventy-seven years that the Japanese retreated from their land, yet these memories of them have been kept intact by the onlookers, keeping them safe in their thoughts and sharing it to the younger generation through oral history.

The Southern Angami area to which the Jakhama village belonged to as seen were deeply involved in the political development of the Naga people. The feeling of oneness and the need to protect the ethnic identity of the people may be attributed to many factors. Strangers (British) in the form of colonial rulers had created a sense of insecurity, in spite of some positive awakening like the realization of brotherhood amongst the Nagas in general and the tribes in particular. Christianity by the British were used as a mode to bring education and modernization to the Nagas but also hand in hand to bring the Naga Hill under its control. It altered the very norms and traditions of the Nagas, it has had its positive impact on the Nagas, yet it also deteriorated the very essence of the Nagas, and so slowly Naga intellectuals who got aware of this wanted to break away from their chain of control. While on the other hand, the Japanese were different from the Britishers, they deeply respected the traditions of the Nagas ad did not try to disturb or change their traditions, Nagas were allowed to practice their own beliefs. As such even though, they stayed in the Naga Hills just for a short span of period, the Japanese were able to win the trust of the people who amidst seeing the shortcomings of the Japanese still agreed to aid them.

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