

Factors Leading to the Acceptance of Christianity : A Case Study of the Bokars of Arunachal Pradesh

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Living with nature on earth, human beings initially failed to realize the mechanism of natural forces. However, having been constantly associated with it they began to ponder upon various changes and wonders that were happening around them. In the long run people began to understand these changes or happenings in of nature and gradually started basic needs and requirements, As Karl Marx said :

He [human being] opposes himself to nature as one of her own forces. Setting in motion arms, legs, heads and hands, the natural forces of his body, in order to appropriate nature's production in a form adapted to his own wants.¹

However, the understanding of the wonders of nature and its mechanism did not come suddenly or accidentally in the minds of human beings. It took millions of years of trial and error, by constantly struggle to survive and closely observing and experiencing the workings of nature, before they started learning from their mistakes. As Karl Marx rightly said, historical development is not an automatic process of something that happened accidentally. However, L.H. Morgan did not recognize these phenomena. In his conclusion he said : "Civilization must be regarded as an accident of circumstances".²

So to understand the changing trends in the belief of the Bokars one has to know the various process of development by studying the social, economic and religious factors in order to bring out a clear picture of change in that particular community. As Romila Thapar says: "change [is] dependent on ecological, technological and economic factors."³ However, she further says that : "This does not apply only to economic resources but also relates to patterns of acculturation of religious expression."⁴

Thus in this paper we will try to see how the existing situation in the Bokar society led them to switch from the traditional practices and beliefs to a new faith, i.e. Christianity.

The erstwhile North Frontier Agency now called Arunachal Pradesh covers a total area of 83,578 square miles, with its total population of 1091117.⁵ It extends geographically between 26°30'N and 29°30'N latitude and between 91°30'E and 97°30'E longitudes.⁶ The area is sparsely populated and is inhabited by various tribes. The Adis are one of the major tribes of Arunachal Pradesh. They inhabit the Siang region, the central part of Arunachal Pradesh. The Siang region covers an area of 18518 sq. km, with a total population of 22415.⁷ The region is politically divided into three districts, namely, West Siang, East Siang and Upper Siang districts with its headquarters at Along, Pasighat and Yinkiong respectively. Membas, Khambas and Adis inhabit the region. Membas and Khambas are later migrants, They settled in some parts of Mechuka sub-division and in Singa circles and the area around Gelling respectively. The rest of the Siang region is occupied by the Adis. Adis are further divided into various sub-tribes, namely, Ashing, Bokar, Bori, Gallong, Karko, Milang, Padam, Pailibo, Panggi, Ramo, Shimong, and Tangam.

This study focuses on one of the segments of the larger Adi tribal community, i.e., Bokar. The Bokars are concentrated on the northernmost area of Monigong and Pidi circles of Mechuka sub-division on West Siang district. According to the 2001 census, the total population of Bokars was 3727, out of which 1816 are males and 1911 are females. Thus the sex ratio i.e., number of female per 1000 males is 1052. They are scattered in 42 villages and there are 575 households.⁸ The biggest is Monigong. The circle headquarters, with 98 households and 463 persons,⁹ and the smallest is Panglum with 2 households and 12 persons.¹⁰ Namasiba is the last village with 15 households and 92 persons.¹¹ The Bokars share boundaries with Tibet in the north and northwest, Membas and Ramos in the west and southwest, Pailibos in the south, Boris in the south and southeast, and Ashing and Khambas in the east and Northeast.

Bokar society is patriarchal and follows the rule of patrilineal inheritance. The major share of the paternal properties goes to the eldest and youngest sons : eldest, because he carries the dead body of the father and youngest, because he carries the dead body of the mother. However, other brothers too receive some shares but are less in importance. A widowed mother and daughter share jewellerys, such as necklace made of beads, procelain and precious stones, bangles, etc., but they have no claim to the landed property, Polygamy is common and adelphic or fraternal polyandry is prevalent. As Bikash Banerjee says :

This practice (adelphic polyandry) among the Bokars may also be termed as the fraternal cisisbeism' since solemnization is not done with all the brothers, but it is done with only one of them.¹²

Such practice is also common among the Gallongs.¹³ The Bokars practise clan exogamy. They are classified into seven clans, namely, Dunyo, Karo, Ningyo, Panging, Saji and Tamang. They also enter into matrimonial relationships with other neighbouring tribes, i.e., Boris, Gallongs, Minyions, Pailibos, Ramos, and Tagins except Membas. This is because of religious differences. Being patriarchal and following patrilineal rules, the Bokars consider the birth of a son absolutely necessary. This is one of the reasons for the practice of polygamy and increase in the female population. However, a female child is also gladly welcomed because they add to the labour force and bring much wealth (in terms of bride price) to the family. Slavery was widely prevalent before the 1960s and slaves constituted an important form of moveable property. Slaves were acquired by capture during raids, by purchase, through bondage, as part of bride price and by barter trade. Slaves were, however, treated cordially by their masters. The slaves lived in the master's house, ate the same food cooked for their masters, and took part in the raids for capturing new slaves.¹⁴ Nevertheless, when they were found guilty of committing offences, the slaves were heavily punished and even killed, in case of adultery with their master's wife or any female members of his family.

After the 1960s, slavery was abolished with the continuous efforts of the staffs of the Government of India. Compensation at the rate of Rs. 500/- was given to the master. Some of the liberated slaves went back to their original home and the rest adopted their master's clan, while a few inheritage their master's property when he died without any heir. Slaves were the work force and their liberation meant great economic loss for the master and his family.

The Bokars practise jhum cultivation and use slash and burn methods. Menfolk clear the jungles and women sow seeds with the help of the dibbling stick. They grow food grains - millet, paddy, and maize, vegetables (pumpkin, gourds, potatoes, yams etc.), and a few cash crops like chilly, garlic, ginger, cucumber, ec. Maize and millet form their staple diet. Domestication of animals is also a common economic activity. Unlike other Adi groups, Bokars took up pastoral activity on a considerable scale, Cattle of different variety are reared for milk and butter, which constituted important items of trade with the Membas. Hunting and fishing prey.

Community hunting was organized for bigger game, such as hunting for the musk deer and *takings* (*Budorcas taxicolor*).¹⁵ Employing various kinds of fish-traps, the whole community participated. Bokars used tools and implements of crude technology like felling axe, common dao, knife, wooden pedal-soil-digger called *Dulup*,¹⁶ the wooden rake called *Peye*,¹⁷ which are used in their agricultural operations.

Bokars carried on their trade the Tiberans, their neighbours, i.e., Ramos, Membas, Boris, Tagins and down south with the Gallongs and Minyongs. Bokars exported chilli, hides, musk, and butter to Tibet and imported from them like salt, woollen coat, Dao and daggers of different size and quality, bowls of different size and values, beads and bead necklaces, cowries, conch-shell pieces, ornaments of brass, bell-metal and silver, blankets, etc.¹⁸ After obtaining these items from Tibet, Bokars again sold them to their neighbours. Thus they acted as intermediaries between Tibetans and other 'sub-tribes' of the Adis and earned great profit. Salt being an essential item, the Pailibos carry on their trade through intermediaries who happen to be the Bokars.¹⁹ Bokars collected heavy taxes in the form of tribute from the Boris who attempted to pass through their territory to trade with the Tibetans. As a result, they never went beyond Bokar territory and exchanged goods with them only. However, this lucrative business had to be abandoned because of the Chinese aggression of 1962. After 1962, the Indian army prevented the local people from crossing the McMohan line. Hence contacts with the Tibetans ended thus leading to loss of trading activities and therefore, of wealth. Now they have to rely on whatever goods are supplied by the Indian market system, which is flourishing in Along, the district headquarters. Money as a medium of exchange was not popular among the Bokars until the 1970s. Primitive way of barter-trade continued till the 1980s.

Bokars are nature worshippers and believe in evil spirits. Performance of rituals and sacrifices to rid themselves of various diseases were frequent. The rituals and sacrifices are performed under the guidance of the priest, called *Nyibo*. His position can neither be inherited nor acquired by training like the Hindu Brahmins. For instance, there are some persons called *mijiks* who acquired great knowledge by dint of constant association with the *nyibos*, and by virtue of talent and wisdom, yet their position is one step lower than that of a *nyibo*.²⁰ The *nyibo* are born with inherent 'divine' qualities and talents that they imbibed during their childhood. By foretelling future action and phenomena and narrating the mythical stories of the creation of the universe as well as life on the earth.²¹

L.R.N. Srivastava also says:

Early proof on one's inherent qualities and talents determines one's real qualification for the eligibility for the profession of a *nyibo*.²²

Though the people revered *nyibo*, yet he does not enjoy any special privileges; rather he lived a simple life like any ordinary member of the village. When the spirit responsible for causing diseases and illness and misery are identified, sacrifices are made to propitiate them as per the advice of the *nyibos*. The family members of the sick person then arrange for the sacrifices of mithun, cows, pigs, chickens, ec., as prescribed by the *nyibos*, to appease the spirits. Practices of such sacrifices involved huge wastage of wealth. Moreover, in many cases these sacrifices neither brought any benefit nor cured the diseases or sick persons. This led to suspicion in the minds of the people about the authenticity of these rituals and sacrifices. Furthermore, practices of polygamy, polygyny and adelphic polyandry created much tension in the family, resulting in poor unkeep of their children. Children today deserve more care and attending from the parents. However, such practices definitely distracted the attention of parents from their children.

Economically, the Bokars were well-off in the earlier days since they were engaged in multipurpose economic activities, from cultivation, hunting, fishing and food gathering to lucrative trade. However, as mentioned earlier trading activities ended after 1962. They carried out barter-trade, but this system of exchange could not continue in the modern trading system. Money took the upper hand as medium of exchange. Whatever little they could produce and obtain from nature they had to convert into money and buy necessary items required for daily use. Demand for their goods is now limited. Thus, continuance of their traditional rituals and sacrifices became increasingly difficult. In such a situation when people came across the new faith i.e., Christianity, with new ideas and hope, they readily accepted it. Initially, it was the poor people who could no longer afford to make sacrifices to appease evil spirits that got converted to Christianity. They were, however, ostracized by the richer sections of the people. Now approximately about 60% to 70% of the Bokar population have become Christian.

Membas are the neighbours of Ramos, Bokars and Pailibos. They are Buddhist "adherent to the Nyingma sect of Mahayana Buddhism,"²³ and have inhabited the Mechuka valley for eleven generations. Now the

question arises as to why the Membas did not incorporate these tribal groups of the region into the fold of Buddhism after associating with them for such a long period, while Buddhism like Christianity also embarked on proselytization?

First of all, we will see the views of the tribals on the Membas and vice versa, then the relationship between the two tribes of the region, i.e., Bokars, Ramos and Pailibos considered Membas as of lower class. This is because Membas are later migrants to the Mechuka valley. In search of pastureland and cultivation the Membas had migrated to this valley. As T. Norbu says: "The migration of these people (the Membas) to the area might have been caused by... quest for better land."²⁴

On the other hand Membas "being Buddhist thought themselves superior"²⁵ to the neighbouring tribal groups. Both Ramos and Membas claim to have settled first in the Mechuka valley. Dhasmana says that according to Uyu Gamne's story,²⁶ it was a Tagin who first visited the Mechuka valley. The Ramos on migrating from Tibet first settled in Manigong area along with the Bokars. Since they claim to be the descendant of the same ancestor they lived together happily and entered into matrimonial alliances. However, on their trade mission to Tibet, misunderstanding cropped up between them over the barter trade of a cow, which led to blood feud between them. Many Ramos were killed, some fled to Tibet while the rest escaped to Mechuka valley. On arriving at the valley the Ramos sought help from the Membas. The then Memba Deva, Deva Phile Dorjee Mane gave them shelter and helped them to settle down in the valley. The Ramos settled on the west bank of the river Siyom so as to prevent them from sudden or surprise attack of the Bokars. Taking this incident as "evidence" Dhasmana concluded that the Membas settled in the Mechuka valley before the Ramos. But the Ramos still claim that they are the first settlers. Ramos, Bokars and Pilibos are related to each other; as a result they upheld the Ramos' claims. However, before drawing any conclusion this area needs to be subjected to further research.

Initially, both the Ramos and the Membas maintained cordial relationship and even helped each other in raids against the Tagins.²⁷ But this relationship did not last long. Trouble started in about the 1870s when a person named Goyong Megong belonging to the Kiri clan of Ramo area married a Bokar girl named Baying, kidnapped by a Tensam Ramo who killed the girl's brother. In retaliation, Ramos and Bokars killed Goyong and two of his brothers while the third managed to escape to Tibet and

reported to Deva Anyu and prevailed on him to invade the Ramo area. Deva Anyu sent Deva Tomden of Shoka to go and arrange the land and collect taxes from the Ramos. Accordingly, Deva Tomden along with a hundred soldiers first reached the Memba area and after collecting Memba potters he advanced to the Ramo area. The Ramos submitted to him, but they secretly planned to kill him and arranged a feast in honour of Deva Tomden who, however, refused to join it. He continued his expedition further south and reached the Pailibo areas where he made Mukrak Rinya the Deva of that area. From there he went to Tamin Panke where he made Sapu Raksap and Taji Rumi Devas. In the meantime the Ramos sent a message to the Pailibos to kill Deva Tomden. The Pailibos also did not like the foreign intervention in their area and planned to kill him. They arranged a grand in his honor at Tamin Panke. When the party was in full swing the Pailibos suddenly attacked and killed him on the spot. Seeing the fall of their leader, the entire Toibetan force surrendered the soldiers were released afterwards.²⁸ Another version of this story tells us that the killing of Deva Tomden was followed by the massacre of the Tibetan force and only two or three of them could flee away to Tibet to tell tale of the disastrous incident.²⁹ Relations with the Membas further deteriorated when, during the last decade of the nineteenth century, a Ramo named Sanko went to the Memba area where he was arrested. However, he managed to escape and reported the incident to his people. As a reaction to this event, the Ramos with the help of the Pailibos raided the Dizinthang village of the Membas and killed about eighty people³⁰ and burnt down the entire village, Deva Pema Philey of Mechuka valley went to Lhasa and reported the matter to Deva Lhalu (Chieftain of Gaza). On hearing the news a Deva Lhalu sent a punitive expedition.³¹ But before they reached the valley the Ramos fled. The troops burnt down the Ramo villages of Ergo and Rapum. However, occasional raids by the Ramos continued to Memba villages to steal cattle and persons for slaves. Moreover, they are cultural different and their language, customs and tradition are far from similar. They continued to maintain their differences, which is evident from the fact that till date they do not enter into matrimonial relationship. As Dashmana says : "Surprisingly, even after a long association with the Membas there is not a single inter-tribal marriage."³²

Furthermore, it was reported that in 1964 when gastro-enteritis broke out in the Bokar area, the Bokars decided to make human sacrifices to check this epidemic. Even in olden days gastro-enteritis was common and

killed many Bokars. To contain this the traditional faith was to put human palm in the beer pot and if consumed, the patient would be cured. Since, Bokars are related to Ramos and Pailibos, the ultimate option was a Memba tribesman. Thus : "Bokars came and killed a Memba adult from the village Kandashila."³³

Thus, the relationship between the Membas and tribal groups continued to deteriorate and in such a situation the question of bringing the latter into the Buddhist fold did not arise. On the other hand, Christian missionaries continued these efforts to bring the tribals of Arunachal Pradesh under their fold, despite the decision of the Union Cabinet of the 26th May 1953, which runs as follows :-

Missionaries, whether Indian or foreign, Christian or non-Christian should be discouraged from proselytizing work in the N.E.F.A. as this is likely to disturb the existing social structure and create a clash of culture. No new mission should be allowed to open and the old ones may be allowed to gradually fade out without any replacements. Social, non-sectarian and non-political organizations like Rama Krishana Mission, the Gandhian Sevak Sangha, the Saradaya Samaj etc., may be encouraged to send carefully selected workers to go and live among the tribes provided they are prepared to make such services a life long mission.³⁴

The decision of the Union Cabinet was strictly followed by the government of Arunachal Pradesh under the guidance of the Chief Secretary of the State. In upholding the decision, the government machineries along with the tribal groups advocating traditional faith burnt down and destroyed many churches.³⁵ Those who preached the gospel were arrested. One believer was beaten to death and another, a female, was hanged upside down.³⁶ In spite of these persecutions meted out from the government officials as well as from the local people, Christians continued to spread the gospel in the region. As a result, today there are around 1342 churches and 340400 Christian converts,³⁷ i.e., 31% of the population of Arunachal Pradesh.

Prohibition and persecution continued. This led to opening up of various educational institutions on the border of Assam - Arunachal in the territory of Assam. Here students from various parts of Arunachal were admitted. In course of time, many got converted and when they were back home they made an effort to educate their own people and bring them to their fold. One such instance is a Bokar boy from Paum village

to Tato circle named. Bote Yuto³⁸ (now named Jose Bote Yuto), L.L.B. Pune University. He was admitted to St. Xavier's School, Harmoti, North Lakhimpur district, Assam, around 15 km from Arunachal boundary, i.e., Banderduwa and 35 km from the capital, Itanagar. He was admitted to class VII in 1987 and after one year i.e., in class VIII, he got converted to Catholic Christian faith. Father C.C. Jose, Principal, St. Xavier's School baptized him in 1988. From that time onwards he started to spread the gospel in his area, i.e., Tato, Mechuka and Manigong, though on part-time basis. Initially the response was very poor but in the long run with the constant preaching by the fellow missionary members they succeed bring a few hundreds into Catholic faith. However, in Manigong and Pidi circles, there also exist other denominations such as Baptist, Presbyterian, Pentecostal, Revival, etc. Their influences are also very strong and there are some few hundreds who follow their teachings and were converted to Christianity. In Pidi circle Pentecostal is dominant. When I asked them (Jose Bote Yuto, John Tapu,³⁹ Tabum Taper,⁴⁰ Sanker Rinya,⁴¹ Taju Podo,⁴² Chungjen Chije,⁴³ and TadiK Chije⁴⁴) why the Bokars accepted the new faith, their replies were more or less the same, irrespective of whether they were Christians or non-Christians. All of them said that it was because their traditional rituals and practices involved lots of sacrifices, which the poor people could not afford to make. Earlier the Bokars were rich enough because trade with Tibet flourished and being intermediaries they benefitted a lot. But this privilege came to an end after 1962. People drank to much and comitted lots of crime such as murder, quarrel at home and outside, etc. Moreover, people kept as many wives as they wanted without bothering to care for their children. As a result, it is these children who are in the forefront of spreading the gospel and converting their own people to the new faith.

The Christian missionaries from Along and other places visit neighbouring villages and try to make people understand and accept Christianity. When they do not find good response from the people they move to some different areas. In this way they visited Kambang, Kaying, Payum, Yapik, Tato, Mechuk a and Manigong and Pidi circles of the Bokars. The missionaries tell them that it is the religion followed by many great nations like USA. England and other developed countries. Adhering to the traditional faith, customs, and practices would in no way develop the region. Some of them even went to the extent of creating fear psychosis among the people and disassociated themselves from various traditional activities and feasts. They go to church and visit one another's house

and sing hymns and offer prayers in a group. Singing and prayer became a kind of great activity amongst the youth. Seeing these other non-convert boys and girls desired to participate and join them. Later on they also subscribed to that faith.

No doubt, Christianity has brought many changes in Bokar society. Bokar Christian converts gave up brewing local beer (which was made of millet). They do not drink it any more. They are involved in various social activities and help each other in times of need. Heinous crimes like murder which were frequent amongst the Bokars have now become things of the past. They respect each other. They advocate practice of monogamy and urge the parents to look after the children's academic carrier.

Further when I asked Jose Bote Yuto about the allegations made by the non-converts he accepted the fact said that differences arose between them and they criticized those who were converted to Christianity. But he says : "When I look at the changes that are taking place in the minds of the Bokar converts, I get satisfaction and continued to hope for better development in our society."

There also exist various temples at Along, the district headquarters and its neighbouring areas. But the temples confined themselves to their own mode of worship without involving much in the activities of the tribes of the region. Organisations like Rama Krishna Mission opened an educational institution at Along in 1966. They are providing philanthropic services to the people. They not only devote their time educating the children and unlifting the moral values but also run a free mobile medical service and some doctors to people in remote villages around the headquarter. Audiovisual unit is also attached to the mobile service to entertain and at the same time to dispense cultural and moral ideas among the village people. The institution also has a big prayer hall for students and staff. Despite this they never indulge in proselytization. This is evident from the fact that till date not a single Arunachal student has become a convert to that missionary fold. Even Bokars who studied and passed out of that institution remain traditional believers. However, it is also true that this missionary institution had never visited Bokar areas nor dispensed any services to them. This is in contrast to the Christians who continue to serve the people by giving medicines and clothes, etc., and at the same time are involved in proselytization. These medicines and clothes were given to the poor people when church members from Along, Tezpur, Guwahati, and some other places visited the Bokar region. In return people threw a feast to welcome those church members.

In XXIII Session of North East India History Association held in Agartala while presenting this paper, a query was raised by a delegate from Calcutta on the impact of Western education on the people for accepting Christianity.

The Government of Arunachal Pradesh had opened many schools particularly the primary schools in remote areas. But these schools have been in pathetic conditions. For instance, in the primary school at Namasibo there is only one teacher named Taru Chije, who has to look after the children from class I to class V. This is not only the condition in Bokar area but also all primary schools in the remote places of Arunachal Pradesh. In such a condition the question of influences of western education on the Bokar people is irrelevant.

Thus from the above discussion it is clear that the Bokars while reeling under economic pressure could no longer afford to carry on with the wasteful and expensive traditional rituals and practices and were desperately on the look out for some alternative. Though late, ultimately missionaries adhering to Christian faith reached the remote part of Arunachal Pradesh inhabited by the Bokars, despite persecution and tortures from the government officials as well as from the locals. Initially, it was the poorer section of the Bokar society that got converted to Christianity. But now approximately 60% to 70% of the Bokar population have become Christian. Various denominations such as Catholic, Baptist, Presbyterian, Pentecostal, Revival, etc., are preaching the gospel in the region. In almost every village, there is a church and people go to church every Sunday, though there still are some economically well-off families who stick to their traditional beliefs and practices. No doubt, the new faith brought many changes in Bokar society, but rift between the two (the traditional believers and the Christian converts) has emerged. They do not inter-marry. As told by Taju Podo (M. Com. Final year, Arunachal University) from Didu village : "It is they (the Christian converts), who had restricted themselves from entering into marriage relationship with non-converts."

He further said : "It is not that our Bokar people know the basic teaching of Jesus Christ but only to find solace from the wasteful and expensive traditional rituals and sacrifices, and to "escape" from the torments of evil spirits that people accepted and converted to Christianity."

Jipu Pulom, around 80 years old from Namasibo, also lamented that Bokars were giving up the age-old traditional faith and accepting the new faith.

Notes and References

1. K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I (Moscow, 1877 edition), p. 173.
2. L.H. Morgan, *Ancient Society* (Calcutta, 1958), p. 563.
3. Romila Thapar, *The Mauryas* (Calcutta, reprint 1993), p. 2.
4. *Ibid.*
5. Census report, 2001.
6. N. Sharma and S.P. Shukla, *Geography and Development of Hill Areas (A case Study of Arunachal Pradesh)*, (New Delhi, 1992), p. 3.
7. *2001 census report.*
8. *1991 census report.*
9. Bikash Banerjee, *The Bokars, An Anthropological Research on their Ecological Settings and Social System* (Itanagar, 1999), p. 31.
10. *Ibid.*
11. *Ibid.*
12. *Ibid.*
13. N. Sarkar, 'The so-called Polyandry among the Gallongs', *Man in India*, Vol. 53 (2), pp. 128-134.
14. *Ibid*, p. 96.
15. K. Kumar, 'The Traditional Economic Life of the Bokars', *Resarun*, (Journal of the Research Department), vol. IX No. 1, 1983, p. 37.
16. *Ibid*, p. 38.
17. *Ibid.*
18. Idem, Vol. X. No. 1, 1984, p. 13.
19. Sachin Roy, *Aspects of Padam-Minyong Culture* (Itanagar, third reprint, 1997), p. 33.
20. Bikash Banerjee, *op. cit.*, p. 161.
21. *Ibid.*
22. L.R.N. Srivastava, *The Gallongs* (Itanagar, reprint, 1988), pp. 107-108.
23. T. Norbu, 'The Origin and Migration of the Membas', *Resarun*, Vol. XIII, No. 1 and 2, 1987, p. 35.
24. *Ibid*, p. 36.
25. M.M. Dhasmana, *The Ramos of Arunachal, a Socio-Cultural Study*, (New Delhi, 1979), p. 93.

26. Uyu Gamne was a Tagin who the Ramos believed had the power to fly. According to tradition Uyu Gamne came down to Mechuka valley via Takuk pass. He went to Tibet and informed the Deva Sung, the Lord of Same Semang that people can settle down in Mechuka valley but demanded the price of the land. Deva Sung presented him with woollen clothes, salt and swords. (M.M. Dhasmana, *op. cit.*, p. 20).
27. *Ibid*, p. 31.
28. *Ibid*, pp. 28-29.
29. Tabin Pinggam, 'Slaughter of king Tamden' *NEFA Information*, Vol. VI, No. 1, August 1971, pp. 19-21, quoted in Tai Nyori, *History and Culture of The Adis* (New Delhi, 1993), p. 75.
30. M.M. Dhasmana, *op. cit.*, p. 30.
31. Here one may wonder as to why the Tibetan authority took interest in safeguarding the life of migrated people. This is because the Membas were under the control of some Tibetans who collected taxes from them. But the payment of taxes discontinued after Membas came under the Government of India, (D. K. Dutta, 'A visit to Mechuka : Land of the 'Membas', *Resarun*, Vol. XXIV, No. land 2, o. 37.
32. M.M. Dhasmana, *op. cit.*, p. 93.
33. *Ibid*, p. 83.
34. As quoted from Neelam Taram, A Glimpse into Baptist Churches in Arunachal, Annexure - VIII, (I.P. Gupta, Chief Secretary, Arunachal Pradesh, in his letter No. PIA67/65, Itanagar, 16th August '97 to all Deputy Commissioners, Additional Deputy Commissioners, Director Supply & Transport/Deputy Director of S&T), p. 66.
35. As reported in *ibid*, (pp. 52-56), 18 Churches were burnt down and 7 destroyed.
36. On 25th April 1974, Tana Ekha, son of Tana Sera of Sango village in Sagalee, was beaten and he succumbed to his injuries after six days. On 20th July 1974, Teli Eku, wife of Teli Tad of Khemi village was stripped naked and hanged on the post upside down by Techu Takang, the Zila Parisad Member on the order of B.Kumar, EAC, because she refused to renounce her Christian faith. Reported by *ibid*, p. 54.
37. *Ibid*, p. 38.
38. I met him on 04th October 2002.

39. Previously known as Tai Tapu he is from Roing village of Pidi circle, and was introduced to Catholic faith by Jose Bote Yuto.
40. Matriculate, from Roing village a Christian.
41. He is graduate of J.N. College, Pasighat, from Tato village, presently holding the portfolio of Youth President Congress (I), Mechuka division, non-Christian.
42. M. Com. Final year, Arunachal University, from Didu village, non-Christian.
43. A *Nyibo* age 45 years, from Manigong, non-Christian.
44. Local M.L.A., holding the portfolio of Deputy Chairman, State Planning Board, Aruanchal Pradesh, non-Christian.