

**IMPACT OF  
THE MISSIONARY MOVEMENT  
IN MANIPUR**

**L. JEYASEELAN**

**Scholar**

*No Micro-study can be regarded as satisfactory unless it is done in the context of the system itself. The nature of a part cannot be understood unless it is regarded as an integral element of the whole. For understanding the social reality one must again see it from different angles. "Multiple Operationism" is the only method of properly understanding social reality.*

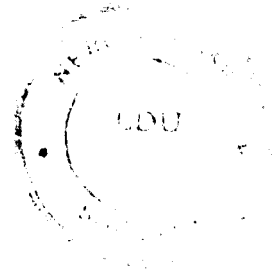
*In the light of the above observation, this work brings out a proper evaluation of the impact of the missionary movement in the areas of social, political and economic life of the people of Manipur. A reader will find an objective assessment of the role of the Christian Missionaries. In the process of achieving that task, the author has generated a mine of valuable information on a field having immense social significance.*

## THE AUTHOR

*DR. L. JEYASEELAN (b. 1958) obtained his M.A. (Pol. Sc.) from Manipur University, Imphal, Manipur, India. He was awarded Ph.D. degree from the same University in 1995.*

*He is the author of the book 'History of the Catholic Church in Manipur'. He has published articles in several journals and he is in the Editorial Board of 'Catholic Manipur', a quarterly published from Imphal. He is an Executive Member of Church History Association of India (North East Branch).*

# IMPACT OF THE MISSIONARY MOVEMENT IN MANIPUR



**L. JEYASEELAN**

*Foreword*

**DR. M. HORAM**

*Former Dean*

School of Social Sciences  
Manipur University



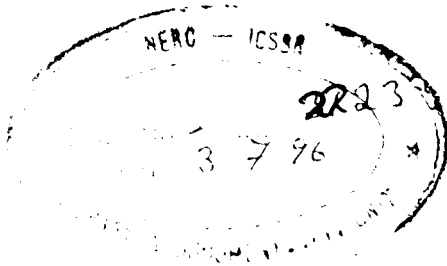
**SCHOLAR PUBLISHING HOUSE (P) LTD.**

85, MODEL BASTI, NEW DELHI-110 005

# IMPACT OF THE MISSIONARY MOVEMENT IN MANIPUR

—L. JEYASEELAN

20017  
JEY



002223

Edition : 1996

ISBN : 81-7172-339-X

© Publishers

No part of this publication may be reproduced in any form whatsoever, without the prior written permission of the publishers.

*Published by* : Inderjeet Sharma  
for **Scholar Publishing House (P) Ltd.**  
85, Model Basti, New Delhi-110 005  
Phones : 752 8303, 777 6565, 73 7718  
Fax : 011-777 6565

*Printed at* : BENGAL PRINTING PRESS, 7770002

# CONTENTS

## Chapter 1

<b>LAND AND THE PEOPLE</b>	...	1
<b>THE LAND (Name)</b>	...	1
Location	...	2
Population	...	2
A Brief Political History	...	5
<b>THE PEOPLE</b>	...	8
The Meiteis	...	8
The Naga Tribes	...	8
The Kuki-Chin-Mizo Tribes	...	11
<b>RELIGIOUS FOLLOWING</b>	...	13
Christianity in India	...	16
Christianity in North-East India	...	19

## Chapter 2

<b>TRADITIONAL SOCIETY</b>	...	25
<b>SOCIAL LIFE</b>	...	25
Village Life	...	25
Youth Dormitory	...	28
Marriage	...	29
Bride price	...	30
Divorce	...	31
Name-giving Ceremony	...	32
Drink	...	33
Festivals	...	34
<b>RELIGIOUS PRACTICES</b>	...	35
Animism	...	36
Ancestor Worship	...	36
Concept of God	...	38
Priesthood	...	39
Burial Customs	...	40
Life after death	...	42
<b>POLITICAL LIFE</b>	...	42

Village Administration	...	42
Practice of Head-hunting	...	44
<b>ECONOMIC LIFE</b>	...	45
Agriculture	...	45
Industry	...	47
Trade	...	47
Hunting & Fishing	...	48

### Chapter 3

#### **ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF MAJOR CHRISTIAN CHURCHES**

<b>IN MANIPUR</b>	...	50
<b>THE BAPTIST CHURCH</b>	...	53
Evangelization Work	...	59
Youth and Women Movements	...	59
Education	...	61
Manipur Theological College	...	61
<b>THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH</b>	...	61
<b>THE CATHOLIC CHURCH</b>	...	68
<b>THE SEVENTH DAY ADVENTISTS</b>	...	78

### Chapter 4

#### **CHRISTIAN CHURCHES IN CHURACHANDPUR DISTRICT**

<b>CHURACHANDPUR DISTRICT :</b>	...	80
<b>(AN INTRODUCTORY NOTE)</b>	...	80
<b>ARRIVAL OF THE MISSIONARIES IN THE SOUTH DISTRICT</b>	...	82
Revival in Welsh	...	82
Watkin R. Roberts on the Scene	...	84
Thadou-Kuki Pioneer Mission	...	85
Problem between Christian Missions	...	88
Emergence of North-East India General Mission (NEIGM)	...	89
Formation of different Presbyteries under NEIGM	...	95
<b>THE CATHOLIC CHURCH</b>	...	100
<b>THE BAPTIST CHURCH OF MANIPUR MISSION</b>	...	103
<b>THE SALVATION ARMY</b>	...	104
<b>THE UNITED PENTECOSTAL CHURCH</b>	...	106
<b>THE CHRISTIAN REVIVAL CHURCH</b>	...	106
<b>THE REVIVAL CHURCH OF GOD</b>	...	107

<b>THE INDEPENDENT CHURCH OF INDIA</b>	...	108
<b>THE EVANGELICAL FREE CHURCH OF INDIA AND PARTNERSHIP MISSION SOCIETY</b>	...	111
<b>THE ZOMI CHRISTIAN CHURCH</b>	...	113
<b>THE REFORMED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH</b>	...	115
<b>THE CHURCH OF CHRIST</b>	...	116
<b>THE NEW TESTAMENT BAPTIST CHURCHES ASSOCIATION</b>	...	116
<b>THE ASSEMBLY OF GOD</b>	...	118
<b>THE CHURCH OF FOURSQUARE GOSPEL</b>	...	119
<b>SOME OTHER SECTS</b>	...	119

**Chapter 5**

<b>IMPACT ON SOCIETY</b>	...	122
<b>CULTURAL CHANGES AND DEVELOPMENT</b>	...	125
Change in Life Style	...	129
Dress	...	134
Hair Style	...	135
House Construction	...	135
Celebration of Festivals	...	136
Impact on the Youth Dormitory System	...	139
Head-Hunting	...	140
Traditional Arts	...	141
<b>FULFILMENT OF RELIGIOUS NEED</b>	...	141
Religious Life	...	146
Superstitious Practice	...	153
Christian Ethics	...	155
Human Dignity	...	156
Church Leadership	...	157
<b>MISSION EDUCATION</b>	...	159
<b>EDUCATION POLICY</b>	...	163
Moral Education	...	167
Contribution to Literacy	...	169
Growth of Literature	...	171
<b>HEALTH CARE</b>	...	175
Care of the Drug Addicts	...	179

**Chapter 6**

<b>IMPACT ON POLITICS</b>	...	181
<b>ETHNIC CONSCIOUSNESS</b>	...	184
<b>POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS</b>	...	188
Rise of Political Parties	...	191

Hmar National Union and Hmar People's Congress	... 193
The Kuki National Assembly	... 194
Rise of Kuki National Front (KNF)	... 196
United Zomi Organization	... 197
The Zomi National Congress (ZNC) and Zo Re-Unification Organization (ZORO)	... 197
The Paite National Council	... 200
The Zomi Democratic Front	... 202
<b>ELECTORAL POLITICS</b>	... 203
<b>POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION</b>	... 206
<b>NATIONALISTIC ASPIRATIONS</b>	... 210
Towards National Integration	... 213
<b>TRIBAL POLITY</b>	... 217
<b>STUDENT UNIONS AND VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS</b>	... 223

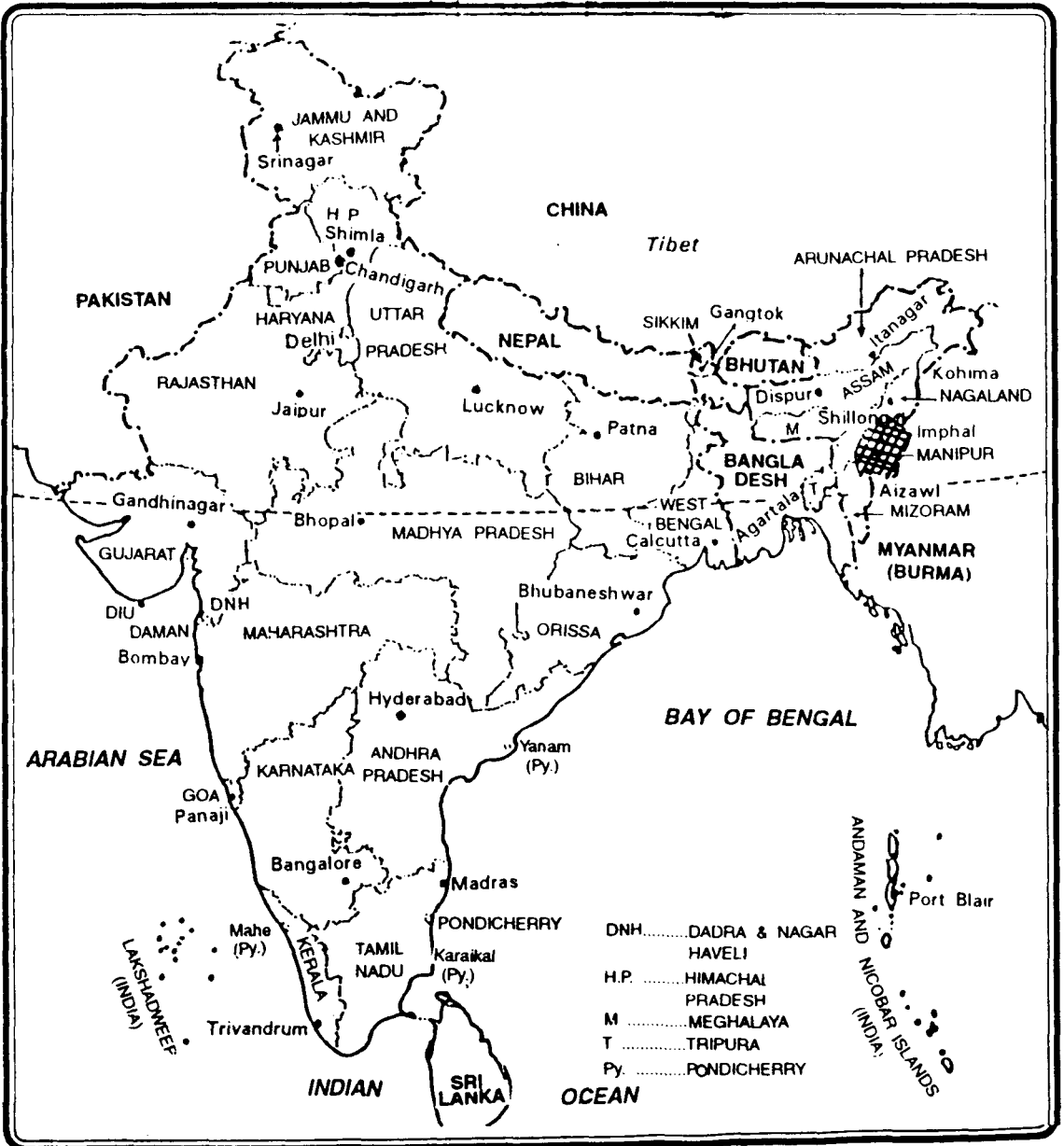
## Chapter 7

<b>IMPACT ON ECONOMY</b>	... 226
<b>AN EFFORT TOWARDS CHANGING ECONOMIC PATTERN</b>	... 229
<b>TOWARDS MATERIAL PROSPERITY</b>	... 232
<b>STRATIFICATION OF SOCIETY</b>	... 236
<b>RESOURCE MOBILIZATION</b>	... 237
<b>DIGNITY OF LABOUR</b>	... 241
<b>EMPLOYMENT GENERATION</b>	... 242
<b>WELFARE WORKS</b>	... 245
A Case Study	... 248

## Chapter 8

<b>CONCLUSION</b>	... 254
<b>APPENDIX</b>	... 281
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY</b>	... 289
<b>GLOSSARY</b>	... 309

# INDIA



## CHAPTER 1

# LAND AND THE PEOPLE

### THE LAND (NAME)

Manipur, one of the seven sisters of North East India, is aesthetically described by many as "Land of Gems", "Jewel of India", "A Little Paradise", "A Flower on Lofty Heights" and "the Switzerland of India".<sup>1</sup>

In the olden days, Manipur was known by the neighbouring states by different names which were given to it. In Rennell's Memoir and maps of India it was called 'Mecklay'. In the narrative of Symes and in maps of that period, Manipur was called 'Cassey'. To the Shans it was known as 'Kase' and to the Burmese as 'Kathe', a corruption of the same word ; the Ahoms called it 'Makeli' and the Cacharis 'Magli', while the old Assamese name for it was 'Moglan'.<sup>2</sup>

There are also a number of explanations showing how the State got the name 'Manipur'. According to some, it came to be known because there was much diamond ore in the area in ancient times ; 'Mani' meaning diamond and 'pur' place. The legend goes like this: when the country was at one time waterlogged, Lord Shiva and Uma, who in Manipur were known as Nongpokningthou and Panthoibi respectively descended upon it and performed the Lai Haraoba dance. The entire country was lit up day and

- 
1. B.K. Ahluwalia and Shashi Ahluwalia, Social Change in Manipur, Delhi, 1984, p. 1.
  2. Yule and Burnell, A Glossary of Anglo-Indian words, p. 597 and Surgeon General Balfour, The Encyclopedia of India, pp. 805-51 cited in Jyotirmoy Roy, History of Manipur, Imphal, 1973, p. 2.

night by the snake God Ananta who came to see the dance with the magic gem (mani) on his hood. From this, the land was named Manipur, 'The City of Gem'.<sup>3</sup>

### **Location**

Geographically, Manipur is a border State in the North-Eastern corner of the country having an international boundary of about 350 km. with Myanmar on the East and South East. The rest of the boundary is shared by the neighbouring Indian States of Nagaland in the North, Cachar District of Assam in the West and Mizoram in the South. It has an area of 22,327 sq. km. which constitutes less than 1 per cent of the total land mass of the country. It lies between longitude 93.03 E to 94.78 E and latitude 23.83 N to 25.68 N.<sup>4</sup>

The State is divided into broad divisions viz., the Hills and the Valley. The Valley lies in the central part of the State and Hills surround the Valley. The average elevation of the Valley is about 790 M above the sea level and that of the Hills is between 1,500 M and 1,800 M.<sup>5</sup>

For administrative convenience, the State is divided into 8 districts. Out of the eight districts, 3 are in the Valley and 5 are in the Hills. The districts in the Valley are—(1) Imphal District, (2) Bishnupur District, (3) Thoubal District. The Hill districts are—(1) Chandel District, (2) Churachandpur District, (3) Senapati District, (4) Tamenglong District and (5) Ukhrul District.

In the field of communication, two National Highways run through the State. NH-39 links Imphal with the railway head of Dimapur in Nagaland at a distance of 215 km. to the North and NH-53 with Silchar in Assam towards the South West. The State also is connected by air with Guwahati, Dimapur, Calcutta and Delhi.

### **Population**

According to the latest Census (1991), India's provisional population stands at 8,36,605,522 (excludes Jammu & Kashmir where the 1991 Census had not been held). Manipur had a population of 14,11,375

---

3. B.K. Ahluwalia and Shashi Ahluwalia, op. cit., p. 1.

4. Cfr. Planning Department, Eighth Five Year Plan 1992-1997 and Annual Plan 1992-1993 Review and Outline, Government of Manipur, Vol.1., p. 1 and Directorate of Economics & Statistics, Statistical Handbook of Manipur, Imphal, 1983, p. 1.

5. Planning Department, op. cit., p. 1.

(provisional Census 1981). 73.6% of the population live in 2,035 villages. The population of Scheduled Tribes constituted 27.3% and the Scheduled Castes 1.2%. The provisional population of Manipur in 1991 Census stands at 18,26,714. Of the total 32 Indian Administrative Units consisting of 25 States and 7 Union Territories, Manipur occupies the 20th position having a population of .22% in comparison to the total population of India. It has experienced a growth rate of .01%, since the 1981 position was of 0.21%. The density of population in the hills is as low as 32 persons and in the Valley it is as high as 526 persons per sq. km. The estimated population in the year 2000 is 22.40 lakhs.<sup>6</sup>

**DECADAL VARIATION IN THE POPULATION OF MANIPUR  
SINCE 1901**

<i>Year</i>	<i>Persons</i>	<i>Decade Variation</i>	<i>Percentage Decade Variation</i>
1901	284,465	—	—
1911	346,222	+61,757	+21.07
1921	384,016	+37,794	+10.92
1931	445,606	+61,590	+16.04
1941	512,069	+66,463	+14.92
1951	577,635	+65,566	+12.80
1961	780,037	+202,402	+35.04
1971	1,072,753	+292,716	+35.04
1981	1,420,953	+348,200	+32.46
1991	1,826,714	+405,761	+28.56

The provisional population of Manipur at 1991 Census is 18,26,714 consisting of 9,31,511 males and 8,95,203 females. Since the last ten years there has been an increase of 4,05,761 persons showing a decennial growth rate of 28.56 percent during 1981-91.\*

6. Amulya Ratna Nanda, Census of India, 1991 Provisional Population Totals : Workers and their Distribution, Series-1, Paper-3 New Delhi, 1991, pp. 61-63

\* A.R. Khan, Census of India, 1991, Series-15, Manipur, Paper-1 of 1991, p. 7.

**DISTRICTWISE PROVISIONAL POPULATION OF MANIPUR ACCORDING  
TO 1991 CENSUS\***

<i>Sl. No.</i>	<i>Name of the District</i>	<i>Persons Male/Female</i>	<i>Total</i>
1.	Senapati District	Persons Males Females	2,06,913 1,05,047 1,01,866
2.	Tamenglong District	Persons Males Females	85,572 44,127 41,445
3.	Churachandpur District	Persons Males Females	1,76,039 90,563 85,476
4.	Chandel District	Persons Males Females	70,734 36,900 33,834
5.	Thoubal District	Persons Males Females	2,90,393 1,46,913 1,43,480
6.	Bishnupur District	Persons Males Females	1,79,903 90,415 89,488
7.	Imphal District	Persons Males Females	7,07,184 3,58,981 3,48,203
8.	Ukhrul District	Persons Males Females	1,09,952 58,563 51,389
	<b>Total population</b>	Persons Males Females	<b>18,26,690</b> <b>9,31,509</b> <b>8,95,181</b>

\*\* Source : Amulya Ratna Nanda, Census of India, 1991, op. cit., pp.137-138.

## **A Brief Political History**

Politically, the ancient history of Manipur is lost in obscurity, but there can be no doubt that it has existed as an independent kingdom from an early period. We have no means of ascertaining what form of government it had before the year 700 A.D., however, it is believed that a monarchy prevailed at that time.<sup>7</sup> The Kingdom of Manipur first emerged from obscurity as a neighbour of the Shan Kingdom of Pong. It first achieved importance under Gharib Niwaz, who occupied the throne for forty years during which time he was constantly engaged in warfare with the Burmese, with considerable success. In 1754 Gharib Niwaz was killed by one of his sons ; and this was the beginning of a dreary tale of invasion and of internal feuds.<sup>8</sup>

The Burmese invaded the Valley in 1762, and the Raja having sought the aid of the Company, a treaty of alliance was negotiated by Mr. Verelst on 14th September of that year. Jai Singh was anxious to have the British troops in Manipur, and willing to maintain them, but the idea of sending troops to Manipur was not at that time entertained by the Company. It was not until 1824, when the Burmese, during the course of the First Burmese War, came in contact with the British in Assam, that the Manipuris were armed by the British. Thus supported, the Manipuris not only cleared their own territory but invaded Burma and occupied the Kubo Valley. At the conclusion of the war in 1826 (Treaty of Yandaboo) ; the Company recognized the Raja of Manipur. It is said that at that time the adult male population of Manipur did not exceed 3,000 men, the country having undergone years of incessant oppression and anarchy. After the final defeat of the Burmese and the appointment of a British Regent in Manipur in 1835, Manipur was secured from outside interference. It was not, however, destined to enjoy peace since various members of the royal family fought with one another to gain power in the Kingdom. The Kukis, the Lushais and the Nagas disturbed the frontier, troubling the country with continual raids.<sup>9</sup>

In 1879, Manipur rendered signal service to the British Government in the Naga war ; the force furnished by Manipur, led by the Political Agent, Colonel Johnstone, prevented a great catastrophe at Kohima. In recognition, the Raja received a decoration with a considerable quantity of arms and

---

7. Sir James Johnstone, *Manipur and the Naga Hills*, Delhi, 1986, p. 80.

8. Krishna M. Mittal, *Frontier and Overseas Expeditions from India*, Delhi, 1983, p. 221.

9. Report compiled in the Intelligence Branch Division of the Chief of the Staff, Army Headquarters, India, cited in Cultural Publishing House, *North and North-Eastern Frontier Tribes of India*, Delhi, 1983, p. 222.

ammunition. In 1885, the State again gave great assistance to the British Army in the Kubo Valley. The last revolution took place in 1890, the moving spirit behind which was Tikendrajit, the Senapati or Chief Military Officer in the State, and the younger brother of the Raja, Sur Chandra Singh. At the time, Sur Chandra Singh having voluntarily abdicated and taken refuge in Cachar, the Government of India recognised his second brother, the Jubraj as Regent, and decided to intervene so that they were the masters of the situation. The presence of the Senapati was to be inimical to future peace by the British, and it was decided to deport him. The Chief Commissioner of Assam, with an escort of 400 men of the 42nd and 44th Gurkha Rifles under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Skene, proceeded to Manipur for this purpose, and arrived at the Capital on the 22nd March 1890 where there were also 100 men of the 43rd Gurkhas. During the negotiations Lieutenant Brackenbury was wounded. Quinton, the Chief Commissioner, Mr. Grimwood and others lost their lives, while they were trying to meet Senapati outside the fort. Colonel Skene who assumed command, understood the precarious situation and he decided to retire at Cachar.<sup>10</sup>

Captain Cowley with 200 soldiers of the 43rd Gurkhas from Cachar had followed Colonel Skene in case of any eventualities. As expected, they met the retreating Colonel Skene and his troop near Leimatak on 26th March, 1890. Preparations were immediately made for a punitive expedition. Advance was then made in April, and by the end of May all the Manipuris who were involved in the killing, were captured. Some were executed and others were deported. Thereafter Manipur was made to forfeit its crown to the British. It was, however, granted to Churachand, a minor of five years of age, who was made to rule the family.<sup>11</sup> At the time of the investiture on 29th September 1892, Raja Churachand Singh was only 6 years old. He, alongwith his half brother Rajkumar Dijendra Singh were sent to Mayo College, Ajmer, where they received education from August 1895 to July 1901. On their return to Manipur, the Raja joined the Imperial Cadet Corps in May 1905.<sup>12</sup>

The British Government having a firm hold over Manipur found it easier to maintain peace. From 1905-1922, the troops in Manipur helped the Government of India in quelling the disturbance in the neighbouring hills. During the First World War the Government of Manipur donated rupees one lakh to the War Subscription Fund of the Government of India and also gave one lakh thirty-four thousand rupees on war loan. Two thousand

---

10. Cultural Publishing House, op. cit., pp. 222-223.

11. Ibid., p. 224.

12. Jyotirmoy Roy, History of Manipur, Imphal, 1973, pp. 135-136.

Labour Corps were raised by Colonel H.W.G. Cole, the Political Agent, and they went from Manipur to France.<sup>13</sup>

During the end of Churachand's reign, the Second World War broke out in 1938. He extended his liberal support to the British Government's war efforts. In the month of September 1941, he abdicated the throne in favour of his eldest son Bodhachandra Singh. Within a few months of accession of Bodhachandra Singh, Japan joined the Axis Powers and declared war against the British and the Americans. Imphal became the target of intermittent Japanese bombing since the second week of May 1942. At the same time, the Indian National Congress under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, with great disgust asked the British to "Quit India". It became the battle cry in all corners of India. During the war, Maharaja Bodhachandra Singh remained all along in Manipur. The British Government was very pleased with him for his faithful support.<sup>14</sup>

On 15th August 1947, India became free and the paramountcy of the British Crown over the Native States also came to an end. After 56 years, the Maharaja of Manipur again gained full control over the Administration of Manipur. But that time monarchical system in India died. After the war, the currents of Indian political movements started flowing in Manipur also.<sup>15</sup>

Since the attainment of India's Independence, the then Home Minister Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel had been working for the integration of the Native States with the Indian Union. Maharaja Bodhachandra Singh in accordance with the wishes of the people of Manipur agreed to the proposal of Sardar Patel. On 15th October, 1949, the instrument of Accession was signed by the Maharaja in Shillong and since then Manipur became a part of Indian Union.<sup>16</sup>

The Constituent Assembly of India finally passed the Constitution of India on November 26, 1949. It came into force on January 26, 1950. The new Constitution gave Manipur the Status of Part C state. Her administration had been entrusted to the President of India who would carry out administration through a Chief Commissioner appointed by him. The Manipuris demanded statehood and on 3rd September, 1970, the then Prime Minister late Shrimati Indira Gandhi announced in the Lok Sabha the acceptance of the Government in principle, the granting statehood to Manipur, Tripura and Meghalaya. In 1971, the Reorganisation of North-East India Bill was framed and passed the Act in 1972. On the 21st January,

---

13. Jyotirmoy Roy, op cit., p. 137.

14. Ibid., pp. 138-143.

15. Ibid., pp. 144-148.

16. Ibid., p. 149.

1972, Manipur State was formally inaugurated by late Shrimati Indira Gandhi at Imphal. In view of the special nature of the problem of the hill-people, hill districts were granted "Autonomous Councils". After the general elections in March 1972, Md. Alimuddin, leader of the Manipur People's Party (MPP) formed the first Government of Manipur State.<sup>17</sup>

## **THE PEOPLE**

Historically, the origin of the people of Manipur is uncertain, but as tradition goes, they are an amalgamation of several hill tribes, the Koomals of the East ; the Moirangs of the South ; and the Meitei and Loongs of the North East.<sup>18</sup>

### **The Meiteis**

'Meitei', also commonly called Manipuri, is the dominant ethnic group of Manipur, who mostly live in the Valley. Although they are genetically Mongoloid and speak a Tibeto-Burman language, they differ culturally from the surrounding hill tribes by following Hindu customs.<sup>19</sup> The group name "Meitei" has been derived from mi=man and tei=separate. Brian Houghton expressed the view that in the 'Moitay' of Manipur, we have the combined appellations of the Siamese 'Tai' and the Kachin Chinese 'Moy'. In other words, the Manipurian tribe, called Cossiahs by the Bengalis, belong to 'Moy' section of the great tribe called 'Tai' by themselves and Shanvel Syan by the Burmese, the sectional name being also foreign and equivalent to the native.<sup>20</sup>

There is a sizeable Muslim population who are called Meitei Pangals. There are also the Scheduled Castes, Dhupi (Dhobi), Lois, Muchi (Ravidas), Namasudra, Patni, Sutradhar and Yaithibi.

### **The Naga Tribes**

Other ethnic groups that live in Manipur are the Naga Tribes and Kuki-Chin Tribes. These Tribes are 29 in all. The 'Naga' is a generic name for the group of tribes inhabiting Nagaland, Northern Manipur and bordering districts of Assam and Arunachal Pradesh. History upholds the existence of a people known as 'Naga'. As early as the 13th century the Ahom Kings had political and commercial dealings with the Nagas. An even earlier reference to them was made by Ptolemy, the great geographer and historian in the 4th century A.D.<sup>21</sup>

17. Jyotirmoy Roy, *op. cit.*, pp. 151-156.

18. Krishna M. Mittal, *op. cit.*, p. 221.

19. R.R. Lolly, *The Baptist Church in Manipur*, Imphal, 1985, pp. 4-5.

20. T.C. Hodson, *The Meitheis*, Delhi, 1981, p. 10.

21. M. Horam, *Naga Polity*, Delhi, pp. 21-22.

Dr. M. Horam has this to say regarding the origin of 'Nagas'. According to him :

A popular theory upheld by those who knew next to nothing about the Naga people is that the etymon of 'Naga' poses no problem if it is taken to be derived from the root word 'Naga' meaning 'Snake' in general and the 'cobra' in particular. Nagas are so-called because they worship 'Naga' the snake god. Moreover, the Nagas have been snake worshippers. A second and more erudite theory attributed to J.N. Hutton derives the word Naga from the word 'Nagna', meaning 'Mountaineer', 'Mountainous' or 'inaccessible place'. A third theory traces the word 'Naga' back to 'Nangta', i.e., 'Naked Savages' or just 'Naked Mannah' means 'Naked man'. That the Nagas are scantily clothed is true but why they alone should have been singled out as 'Naked man' when the same, if not greater degree of nudity is found not only among other neighbouring hill tribes but also among her South Indians.... Yet other writers support the theory that the word 'Naga' simply means 'people'. This theory is forwarded by Peal who holds that the term occurs in Buranjis and that its correct form should be 'Noga' and not 'Naga' which is derived from the root word 'Nog' or 'Nok' both words meaning 'people' in the language of some Eastern Naga tribes.<sup>22</sup>

Whoever first called the Nagas by that name and whatever the word may mean, the Nagas themselves knew each other by the name of the tribe to which they belonged. Even the tribal names like Angami, Ao, Lotha and Tangkhul seem to have been coined most probably by the British Administrators. Each Naga tribe today continues to have its own name.

The Naga tribes of Manipur are the Tangkhul, the Rongmei (Kabui), the Mao, the Kacha Naga (Liangmei), the Maram, the Maring, the Anal, the Monsang, the Lamgang, the Moyon, the Zemi, the Thangal, the Angami and the Sema. The Zemis, the Liangmeis (Kacha Nagas) and the Rongmeis (the Kabui) are allied tribes. They live in the Tamenglong District. The Maos, the Maram and the Thangals live in the Senapati District and Sadar Hills bordering Nagaland. The Tangkhuls live in the Ukhrul District. The Marings, the Moyon, the Monsang, the Lamgang and the Anals live in Chandel District.<sup>23</sup>

---

22. M. Horam. op. cit., p. 24

23. Jyotirmoy Roy, op. cit., p. 189.

**TRIBAL POPULATION IN MANIPUR\***  
**(ACCORDING TO 1971 & 1981 CENSUS)**

Sl. No.	Name of Tribes	1971	1981
1.	Aimol	836	1100
2.	Anal	6670	8770 *
3.	Angami	70	82
4.	Chiru	2785	3664
5.	Chothe	1905	2507
6.	Gangte	6307	8298
7.	Hmar	23312	30672
8.	Kabui	40257	52966
9.	Kacha Naga	13026	17138
10.	Koirao	1620	2132
11.	Koireng	458	603
12.	Kom	6550	8618
13.	Lamgang	2622	3450
14.	Any Mizo, Lushai Tribes	7483	9845
15.	Maram	4539	5972
16.	Maring	9825	12927
17.	Mao	33379	43917
18.	Monsang	930	1224
19.	Moyon	1360	1989
20.	Paite	24755	32570
21.	Purum	N.A.	N.A.
22.	Ralte	154	203
23.	Sema	3	5
24.	Simte	4177	5476
25.	Salhte (Sukte)**	3	5
26.	Tangkhul	57851	76115
27.	Thadou	59955	78883
28.	Vaiphei	12347	16245
29.	Zou	10060	13235
30.	Unspecified	1227	N.A.
	Total	334466	438611

\* Source : (i) Directorate of Economics & Statistics, Statistical Handbook of Manipur, Government of Manipur, Imphal, 1982, pp. 16-19.

(ii) V.P. Sharma, The Hmars of Manipur, New Delhi, pp. 5-6.

\*\* Lian Khan Mang Hatzaw, the President of the Tedim Chin Union says that the Sukte (Tedim Chin) tribe has a population more than 4,000, mostly living in Churachandpur District of Manipur.

### The Kuki-Chin-Mizo Tribes\*

The Kuki-Chin Tribes who live in Manipur are : Kom, Purum, Gangte, Paite, Simte, Thadou, Vaiphei, ██████████, Hmar, Zou, Ralte and other Mizo (Lushai) Tribes.<sup>24</sup>

From time immemorial the demographic composition of the tribes of Manipur was heterogenous. This was further accentuated by the gradual influx from the neighbouring areas of "Kuki" and "Lushai".<sup>25</sup> The Kukis were referred as wandering race consisting of several tribes. They were first heard of as Kukis in Manipur between 1830 and 1840. As they began to pour into the hill tracts of Manipur in the year 1845, though it caused anxiety, Lieutenant McCulloch understood the fact that they were looking for land for cultivation and settle down. Therefore, he allotted to them lands in different places, where their presence would be useful to expand frontiers.<sup>26</sup> From the report of Cachar District by Colonel Lister in 1853, we see the following : "the inhabitants of the plains to the South were in constant alarm and dread of the tribes of Kukis who resided both within our boundaries and without to the South and South-East, in the independent Tipperah Hills and in the Manipur territories".<sup>27</sup>

✓ E.W. Dun divides the Kukis into Old Kukis and New Kukis. The best known clans of the New Kukis are Thadou, Vungson, Changsen, Singson, Mangvung, Khlangam, Chongloi, Changput, Haokip, Simte. The Kamhao are called Sukte and Guite. The Chassads of whom much has been heard, are an off-shoot of the Haokip. The Old Kuki clans are Kom, Anal, Namfau, Chim, Koireng, Chothe, Purum, Mantak. According to 1881 Census, they all numbered to 17,204 people.<sup>28</sup>

J. Shakespear writes :

This term Kuki, like Naga, Chin, Shendu and many others is not recognised by the people to whom it applies. As we understand, they are closely allied clans, with well marked characteristics belonging to the Tibeto-Burman stock. On the Chittagong border the term is loosely applied to most of the inhabitants of the interior hills beyond the Chittagong Hill Tracts ; in Cachar it generally means some family of the Thadou or Khawtlang clan, locally distinguished as New and Old

\* Officially this term is not in use. However in the larger interest of the people concerned, the author uses both Kuki-Chins and Kuki-Chin-Mizo people, to mean the same.

24. Jyotirmoy Roy, op. cit., p. 189.

25. K.B. Singh, ed., An Introduction to Tribal Language & Culture of Manipur, Imphal, 1976, p. 1.

26. Sir James Johnstone, Manipur and The Naga Hills, Delhi, 1986, p. 26.

27. A. Mackenzie, The North-East Frontier of India, Delhi, 1981, p. 287.

28. E.W. Dun, Gazetteer of Manipur, Delhi, 1975, pp. 32-33.

It established them in the practical performance of the doctrine of Ahimsa in the matter of food, making them as a people adjure to flesh-meat (the eating of fish being a concession to weakness permitted by long-standing custom), in cleaner living according to Orthodox Hindu standards, and it brought to them the Vaishnava doctrine of salvation by faith as illustrated in the legend of Krishna as God incarnate and the Gopis with Radha as their head.<sup>35</sup>

The other religion which entered Manipur slowly was Islam. 'Muslims' were among those captured by King Khagemba at the beginning of the seventeenth century, when he repelled an invasion from the west in 1606 A.D. These Muslims were settled as a separate community in the Valley, and were joined from time to time by other Muslims who came as peaceful settlers. Manipuris call the Muslims 'Pangal', which is a corruption of the word 'Bengal'. We may assume that these migrants of a different faith were named according to their place of faith. Saroj Nalini Parrot is surprised that though Manipur had close links with Burma, not many Buddhists are found in Manipur.<sup>36</sup>

The population of Manipur, distributed according to religion, stood in 1881 as follows.<sup>37</sup>

Hindus	1,30,892
Muslims	4,881
Christians	7
Buddhists	2
Hill Tribes	
(Religion not mentioned)	85,288
(Kukis 25,384 + Nagas 59,904)	
<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	2,21,070
<hr/>	<hr/>

In 1901, there were eight Jains in the State who were merchants from Marwar, 145 Buddhists, most of whom were Nepalis and 45 Christians. According to the Census return, there were only eight native Christians in Manipur in 1901.<sup>38</sup>

Between 1971 to 1981, the growth rate of Christian population in the State has been as high as 3.65% while the Hindu population has been 1.07% and the others very much low.

35. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-3.

36. Saroj Nalini Parrot, *The Religion of Manipur*, Calcutta, 1986, p. 1.

37. E.W. Dun, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

38. B.C. Allen, *Naga Hills and Manipur*, Delhi, 1981, p. 65.

**DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BY RELIGION IN MANIPUR.  
(1951—1981)**

Sl. No.	Religion	1951		1961		1971		1981		Percentage increase/decrease in population		
		Persons	P.C. to total Population	Persons	P.C. to total Population	Persons	P.C. to total Population	Persons	P.C. to total Population	1951-61	1961-71	1971-81
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1.	Hindus	3,47,325	60.13	4,91,112	61.63	6,32,597	58.97	8,53,133	60.44	(+) 38.52	(+) 31.49	(+) 34.87
2.	Muslims	37,197	6.44	48,588	6.23	78,969	6.61	99,327	6.99	(+) 30.62	(+) 46.06	(+) 39.96
3.	Christians	68,394	11.84	1,52,043	19.49	2,79,243	26.03	4,21,702	29.60	(+) 122.30	(+) 83.66	(+) 51.02
4.	Sikhs	50	0.01	523	0.07	1,028	0.10	992	0.07	(+) 946.00	(+) 196.56	(-) 3.50
5.	Buddhists	33	0.01	325	0.04	495	0.05	473	0.03	(+) 884.85	(+) 53.25	(-) 4.44
6.	Jains	150	0.02	778	0.10	1,408	0.13	975	0.07	(+) 418.67	(+) 80.98	(-) 30.75
7.	Other religions & persuasion	1,24,486	21.55	—	—	83,167	7.75	35,490	2.50	—	—	(-) 57.33
8.	Religion not stated	—	—	96,668	12.39	3,846	0.36	8,814	0.62	—	(-) 96.02	(+) 129.17
	Total	5,77,635	100.00	7,90,037	100.00	10,72,753	100.00	14,20,953	100.00	(+) 35.04	(+) 37.53	32.46

\* Source : Directorate of Economics & Statistics, Population of Manipur (social Statistical Indicators), 1991, p. 24.

## **Christianity in India**

Christianity is a religious movement launched about 30 A.D. in Palestine, on the Western sea-bed of Asia, by a Jewish spiritual leader called Jesus. He proclaimed that he was the Messiah or Christ, the Son of God, promised by the prophets and awaited by many as a Saviour. During His short lived public life, He gathered followers from whom an important group of disciples emerged under the name of 'Apostles' who were the active messengers entrusted by Jesus, their Master, to carry out his instructions. The little band of apostles, disciples and such other adherents soon became organised into a dynamic community which from its beginning was known as the Church and quite early its members received the name 'Christians'. In course of time Christianity has spread far and wide.<sup>39</sup>

The fortune of Christianity as a global religion has fluctuated widely since the crucifixion and resurrection of Jesus Christ in A.D. 30. By 500 A.D., 22% of mankind were believers of Jesus Christ, but by 1500 A.D., the number had fallen to 19%. By 1900 A.D., one-third of humanity were Christians, and one half were aware of Christianity and had been influenced by it. In the 20th century, the total number of Christians have grown enormously, from 558 millions in 1900 to 1433 millions by 1980. At the beginning of the 1980's Christians of all sects numbered 1,432,686,500, which is 32.8% of the world population, the most extensive and universal religion in history. There are today Christians in every inhabited country on earth.<sup>40</sup>

Christianity in India is as old as Christianity itself. However, the story of the birth and growth of Christianity in India is profoundly interesting. There are two views among scholars about the origin of Christianity in India. According to one, the foundations of the Church in India were laid by St. Thomas, the Apostle, or even by two Apostles, St. Thomas and St. Bartholomew.<sup>41</sup>

According to traditional accounts in the Acts of Judas Thomas in the 'Apocrypha', St. Thomas, one of Jesus's twelve apostles, came to India about 46 A.D., in pursuance of his injunction to go and preach to the whole world.<sup>42</sup>

It is assumed that St. Thomas left India but he was believed to have returned to India, landing at Muziris (Cranganore) about 52 A.D., and founded seven churches along the Western Coast. He is said to have gone

39. P.N. Chopra, ed., *Religions and Communities of India*, Delhi, 1982, p. 227.

40. David B. Barrett, ed., *World Christian Encyclopedia*, Oxford, 1982, p. 3.

41. A.C. Perumalil, *The Apostles in India*, Patna, 1971, p. 16.

42. P.N. Chopra, op. cit., p. 228.

to East Coast where he carried out his missionary work but was assassinated by a Brahmanic lance. The site of his tomb is located at Mylapore in Madras.<sup>43</sup>

For centuries, Christians in India were confined to the narrow strip of Malabar Coast. Only after Vasco da Gama discovered the sea route to East India towards the end of the 15th century, this was to be changed. In extending its power, it was the concern of the Crown of Portugal to introduce the Christian faith everywhere. Their possessions in India were no exception. In 1000 A.D., the first Franciscan Missionaries followed the Portuguese ships to India. Soon they were joined by the Dominicans and others. The name of Francis Xavier-Basque, a nobleman and Papal Nuncio, landed in Goa on May 6, 1542. The development of Christianity was so good that in 1533, Pope Clement VII was able to erect the Diocese of Goa on the West Coast of India. 25 years later, it was elevated to the status of an Archdiocese with the dioceses of Cochin and Malacca as suffragans. To these Cranganore and Mylapore were added later.<sup>44</sup>

An interesting experiment in Indianising Christianity was made by the Italian Jesuit, Robert de Nobili, who founded the Madura Mission. Seeing that conversions by the Portuguese were contemptuously looked down in India, he wore a sacred thread, put on the robe of the Indian Sanyasin, practised vegetarianism and ablutions, appeared in the sacred city of Madura as a 'Roman Brahmin', and propounded a fifth Veda in which the tenets of Christianity were presented in language similar to the Hindus. He maintained that caste was a social convenience permissible to Christians too. His congregations of 'high caste Christians' considered the Portuguese and their converts low. The 'accommodation theory' of de Nobili led to a heated controversy in ecclesiastical circles in India and Portugal, but the congregation was all but destroyed in the devastating wars caused by the expansion of Mysore under Hyder and Tipu.<sup>45</sup>

India is a land of diverse beliefs and faiths. From a meagre 0.71% in 1881, the proportion of Christians in the total population increased to 2.60% in 1971. The number swelled to 124 lakhs during the period. The number of Christians increased at a much faster rate than any other community in India. The growth rate of Christian population was as high as 32.6% in 1971 against 23.7% recorded by Hindu population.<sup>46</sup> In recent years, the growth of the Christian population has been rather steady in the all India level.

43. P.N. Chopra, *op. cit.*, p. 228.

44. CBCI, *The Catholic Directory of India*, New Delhi, 1980, pp. 241-242.

45. P. Thomas, *Churches in India*, New Delhi, 1969, p. 17.

46. Solomon Doraiswamy, *Christianity in India : Unique and Universal Mission*, Madras, 1986, p. 168.

**THE FOLLOWING TABLE SHOWS CLEARLY THE PERCENTAGE OF RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION OF THE INDIAN POPULATION FOR ALMOST A CENTURY.**

Religions	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971	1981	Mid 1985	2000
Hindus	74.3	72.3	70.4	69.4	84.4	84.3	63.3	85.0	83.5	82.7	82.6	78.8	76.1
Muslims	19.7	20.3	21.2	21.2	9.6	9.9	12.6	9.9	10.7	11.2	11.3	11.6	12.0
Tribal Religionists	2.6	3.2	3.2	3.3	3.3	2.7	7.9	0.5	0.3	0.4	NA	1.5	1.1
Buddhists	1.4	2.5	2.9	NA	NA	NA	0.1	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.71	0.8	1.0
Christians	0.7	0.8	1.0	1.2	1.8	2.1	1.8	2.3	2.4	2.6	2.43	3.9	4.7
Sikhs	0.7	0.7	0.7	1.0	0.4	0.5	1.3	1.7	1.8	1.9	1.96	2.0	2.2
Jains	0.5	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.48	0.5	0.4
Others	0.5	NA	0.2	0.1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	2.5	NA	NA

Na—Not Available

\* Source of these figures are based on Census of India-Tabulation found in David B. Barret, ed., World Christian Encyclopedia, Oxford, 1982, p. 370 and John Vallamattam, Indian Currents Year Book, Delhi, 1991, p. 27.

With the coming of Protestant Missions to India in the 18th century, Christianity began to permeate into all strata of Indian life. Of the great Missionaries of this period, the most outstanding were Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg, who formed the nucleus of Tamil literature ; Christian Friedrich Schwartz, whose statesmanship earned him the esteem of the Raja of Tanjore ; William Carey, the English Cobbler turned Orientalist who translated the New Testament into 36 languages ; Henry Martyn, who translated the New Testament into Urdu and Persian. Many of the Christian Missionaries of various national origins identified themselves with the ethos of India and acquired great proficiency in several languages. Their works on Indian linguistics and literature are prized today. The great Tamil epic, *Thembavani*, composed by the Italian Jesuit, Constant Joseph Beschi (d.1747), whose Indian name was Viramamunivar, possess great literary excellence.<sup>47</sup>

Today, however, steady Indianisation is going on in many aspects of Christian life. Church architecture no longer follows the old Western pattern. Many of today's Missionaries are knowledgeable or even specialists in the fields of agriculture, technology, medicine and education. Christian endeavour has given India over 150 Colleges, 2180 high schools, 210 technical schools and 150 teachers' training schools, 620 hospitals, 670 dispensaries, 90 leprosy centres, 710 orphanages, 90 homes for the aged, 680 hostels and welfare organisations, 275 creches, 50 agricultural settlements, 30 industrial centres and several institutions for the blind, the deaf and the handicapped.<sup>48</sup>

There are several Christian organisations working in India today. Mother Teresa's homes for the dying destitutes, the Christian Agency for Social Action (CASA), Catholic Charities and many other Church and philanthropic, Indian and world organisations have contributed enormously for the uplift of the Indian Society.

Therefore, the history of Christianity in India can be viewed as an integral part of the socio-economic and cultural history of the Indian people than separate from it.

### **Christianity in North-East India**

The earliest known Christian contacts with North-East India were made by the Catholic Missionaries in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. There was a small community at Bondashill in the Cachar district of Assam, the descendants of a small band of "Portuguese" soldiers who were given

---

47. P.N. Chopra, op. cit., pp. 229-232.

48. Ibid., p. 230.

As the Missionary work spread in the Khasi Hills, certain superstitions that held a grip on the mind were slowly but severely shaken. For instance, the belief that divination by breaking an egg could indicate whether a woman was barren or not slowly died down.<sup>58</sup>

An important contribution of the Welsh Missionaries to Khasi culture was setting music to the rhythm of tonic solfa. Christian hymns translated from Welsh and set to music on the Welsh pattern, was introduced in all the Churches. On this music as the base, Khasi music has greatly enriched itself over the years.<sup>59</sup>

Bareh maintains that the main factor for the success of Christianity in the Khasi Hills was that the earliest Christian converts found in Christ a true solution to their spiritual problems.<sup>60</sup>

The earliest attempt to Christianise the Nagas was made in 1839 by the American Baptist Missionary, Dr. Miles Browson, by starting a school and a chapel at the Konyak Naga village at Namsang (now in the Tirap district of Arunachal Pradesh) near the British outpost of Jaipur. As years rolled by, thousands of Nagas embraced the new faith and the Gospel spread to different communities. Christian religion spread through the Naga hills in such proportion that by 1930, the church membership had swelled to 60,000.<sup>61</sup> Since then Christianity has struck its roots deep into Naga soil and has brought far reaching changes in every facet of Naga life and thought.

One of the States of North-East India, where Christians are looked upon with suspicion is Arunachal Pradesh. We read that once members of Subansiri Zilla Parishad passed a resolution in 1974 to the effect that proselytisation by the Christian Mission and their agents should be stopped forthwith.<sup>62</sup>

It is indeed unfortunate that Christianity is almost considered as the enemy of the people because the argument is this that it may corrupt the people from their original habitat and way of life.

Dr. Horam says that the alleged Government policy of not allowing religious groups entry into Arunachal Pradesh and thus denying them full freedom in matters of religion has its own repercussions in the State.<sup>63</sup>

---

58. Nalini Natarajan, *The Missionary Among the Khasis*, New Delhi, 1977, p. 65.

59. *Ibid.*, p. 69.

60. *Ibid.*, p. 93.

61. S.K. Barpujari, 'Christianity and Its Impact on the Nagas', ed. by S. Karotemprel, *The Tribes of North-East India*, Shillong, 1984, pp. 106-107.

62. *Arunachal News*, Nov. 1974, pp. 3-4 cited in B. Datta Ray, *The Emergence and Role of Middle Class in North-East India*, New Delhi, 1983, p. 27.

63. M. Horam, *Naga Insurgency : The Last Thirty Years*, New Delhi, 1988, pp. 250-251.

However, in spite of the opposition, Christianity has emerged as the religion of the hill people of North-East India. As Christianity is accepted by the majority community as one of the religions of India and its adherents are given full protection to practise their own religion, the loyalty of the tribal Christians to the great Indian Society will grow.<sup>64</sup>

According to Frederick S. Downs :

It is difficult to generalise about the impact of Christianity among the people of North-East India. In the Assamese-speaking plains areas Christianity made important contributions in the fields of education, literature and medicine but very few non-tribals became Christians. In hill areas where sanskritization was well advanced before the advent of the British, as among the Mikirs-response to Christian evangelistic activities was very limited. In other hill areas, such as Arunachal Pradesh, British policy so restricted Christian activity that it was not until after Independence that it gained a foothold there in the face of strong local and, to some extent official opposition. Much the same thing could be said about the plains of Manipur. In the hill areas like Meghalaya... the majority of inhabitants still do not embrace that faith. Among the other groups, such as the Mizos and Ao Nagas, virtually the whole tribe has become Christian... rapidly growing Christian communities are indicators of the fact that the Christians now dominate the political, economic, social and, in large measure, cultural life of the hill tribes concerned.<sup>65</sup>

Some have the feeling that the life of the Christians in the region seems to be going towards the right direction. However, the impression of this fact that "Many Christians are Christians only for name's sake", is a pointer for reflection for the custodians of Christianity in the region. It cannot be dismissed as not significant. At the same time, there is definitely enough room for harnessing one's resources to take stock of the situation and make the 'leap' towards the right path. Christianity definitely has a bright future in the region.

B.Pakem is quite assertive when he says that Christianity has laid the foundation not only of evangelization but also of civilization. He adds that the pace of the process of Christianisation and the accompanying material development particularly created a number of social, economic, political and cultural problems in North-East India. These problems were sought to be

---

64. Pankaj Thakur, ed., *India's North-East*. Gauhati, 1982, p. 141.

65. Frederick S. Downs, *Christianity in North East India* op. cit., p. 172.

solved by the people themselves. He further claims that of all the agents of societal changes in the hill areas of the North-East India that of the church is the most important. It was bent on raising the intellectual level of the people. Further, it opens up the avenues for the process of modernisation to operate in an otherwise educationally and economically backward area.<sup>66</sup>

**RELIGIOUS FOLLOWING OF THE PEOPLE OF N.E. INDIA  
(FIGURE ACCORDING TO 1981 CENSUS)\***

Name of the State	Hindus %	Muslims %	Christians %	Sikhs %	Buddhists %	Jains %	Others %	Rel. not stated
1. Assam**								
2. Arunachal Pradesh (6,31,839)	29.24	0.80	4.32	0.19	13.69	0.01	51.60	0.51
3. Manipur (14,20,953)	60.04	6.99	29.68	0.07	0.03	0.07	2.50	0.62
4. Meghalaya (13,35,819)	18.03	3.10	52.62	0.13	0.20	0.04	25.77	0.11
5. Nagaland (7,74,930)	14.36	1.52	80.21	0.10	0.70	0.15	3.59	Nil
6. Tripura (20,53,059)	89.34	6.75	1.21	0.01	2.67	0.02	Nil	Nil
7. Mizoram (4,93,757)	7.14	0.45	83.81	0.09	8.19	Nil	0.32	Nil

66. B. Pakem, 'Christianity in North-East India : Problems and Aspirations of the Hill tribes of North-East India', Consultation on Christianity and the Problems of Hill tribes in North-East India, 21-24 July, 1992, Shillong, pp. 1-11.

\* Sources : (i) John Vallamattam, Indian Currents Year Book, Delhi, 1991, p. 27.  
(ii) Directorate of Economics & Statistics, Population of Manipur, 1991, pp. 1-3.

\*\* Due to disturbed conditions Census in Assam was not held in 1981. Estimated population of the State was 1,98,96,843.