

Resistance in Southern Mizoram During the Colonial Period

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 BRIEF INTRODUCTION OF MIZORAM.

Mizoram situated in the North-East Corner of India is a state gifted with endless variety of landscape, hilly terrains, meandering streams, rich wealth of flora and fauna and many more to choose from. It achieved its statehood and became the 23rd state of India on 20th Feb, 1987.¹ It lies between 21° 56'N – 24° 31'N latitudes and 92° 16'E – 93° 26' E longitudes. Sandwiched between Myanmar and Bangladesh, its location is of strategic significance geographically and politically and shares a total common international boundary of about 585 kilometers with these two countries.²

It is bounded on the north by the state of Assam and the state of Manipur, on the east and south by Chin Hills and Arakan of Myanmar, and on the west by the Chittagong hill tracts of Bangladesh and the state of Tripura. Mizoram borders three states of India - Assam, Manipur and Tripura. Its geographical borders with Assam, Manipur and Tripura extended over 123 km, 95 km and 66 km, respectively. The hills run in ridges from north to south. They have an average height of 900 meters; the highest point being the Blue Mountain is 2165 meters.³ Mizoram has a total geographical area of 21,081 square kilometers. Its maximum dimensions – north to south – 285 kilometers and east to west is 115 kilometers.⁴ The whole population of male in 2014 was 5, 55, 339 and female 5, 41, 867 and the total was 10, 97,206.⁵

¹ <http://www.mizoramonline.in/About/profile/index.html>. Access on 18th June 2015.

² Rintluanga Pachuau, *Mizoram: A Study in Comprehensive Geography*, p.24.

³ <http://www.newkerala.com/states-of-india/mizoram>.

⁴ Rintluanga Pachuau, *op.cit.*, p.24.

⁵ *Statistical handbook Mizoram*, 2014, p.1.

The physical set up of Mizoram is composed predominantly of mountainous terrain of tertiary rocks. The mountain ranges are inclined north to south direction in parallel series. The ranges are separated from one another by narrow deep valleys. The elevation ranges from 21 meters at Tlabung to 21,157 metres at Phawngpui. There are only few and small patches of flat lands, which are mostly intermont-plains.

The terrain of Mizoram is young and immature. It shows prominent relief features with steep slopes, and is still undergoing denudation in response to various exogenetic (isostatic gravity) processes. Since the terrain is young, the geomorphic features of the state do not show much diversity in the formation of landforms. But one distinct features observed in Mizoram is that the western slope of the mountain ranges all have a higher degree of slopes. The most dominant process in evaluation of these forms is the action of running water, and is operating from upper tertiary period onwards.⁶

Mizoram has a pleasant and moderate climate which is in sharp contrast to the other hilly areas in the North-East India. It is tolerably warm in summer and not so cold in winter. The temperature varies from 9° C and 20° C, the minimum level lasting practically for a few days only and hardly rising above 30 degree C even in summer.

Winter starts from November and lasts up to February the next year, which is followed by spring that usually ends in the middle of April. Around this time, storms start to come occasionally heralding the coming of summer, during which the hills and mountains are shrouded in a mystique world of bluish hazes. With sporadic drizzles to counteract it, the heat even at this time is temperate and bearable. The period from June to August is known as the rainy season. The average rainfall in Mizoram is 208 cm. The climate is most pleasant during autumn which stretches from September to October,

⁶ Rintluanga Pachuau, *op.cit.*, p.24.

during which the air begins to be clear and one can get good views of the distant mountain ranges from a vantage point.⁷ As the present study exclusively deals with the southern portion of Mizoram, the next section will present each of these three southern districts geographical climatic and topographical information.

1.1.1 LUNGLEI DISTRICT.

Lunglei district falls in the southern part of Mizoram. In 2014, the population 1, 61,428 of this district stood of which male of which 82,891 and female 78, 537; the area covers 4,536 sq kilometers.⁸ It is surrounded by four districts such as Saiha district, Lawngtlai district, Serchhip District and Mamit district on the South-East, South-West, North-East and North-West respectively. It shares international border with Bangladesh on the west and Myanmar in the east. Lunglei district occupies more or less the central part of Mizoram, extending more to the southern side; 235 km from Aizawl along NH 54. Lunglei district fall within the Latitudes of 22°30' N - 23°18' N and 92°15' E - 93°10' E Longitudes with an average altitude of 1222 meters.

1.1.2 CLIMATE.

Lunglei district have the benefit of a moderate climate owing to its tropical location. It is neither very hot nor too cold throughout the year. And the district falls under the direct influence of the south west monsoon. As such the area receives an adequate amount of rainfall which is responsible for a humid tropical climate characterized by short winter and long summer with heavy rainfall. General information about the temperature condition of Lunglei district is made through the analysis of

⁷ <https://tourism.mizoram.gov.in/page/climate.html>. Access on 29th July 2015.

⁸ *Statistical handbook Mizoram*, 2014, p.1.

the temperature data obtained from Pushpak, 72 RCC (GREF) *Tawipui*, a few kilometers from Lunglei Town, for a period of 10 years since 1996-2005. The district experience a warm summer and yet due to the prevalence of monsoon showers, the temperature is kept down to a considerable extent. Temperature does not fluctuate much throughout the year. The highest temperature is observed during the months of April and May. The temperature remains high, but thereafter, the onset of Monsoon (*Fur*) brings down the temperature. May and June are the warmest months with mean daily maximum at about 36°C and the mean daily minimum at 18.5°C. And the highest maximum temperature recorded was 39°C in May 1998 and also on April 1999. The temperature started to fall down sharply from the month of November and it is minimized in December and January. January is the coldest month with the mean daily maximum temperature at 26.6° and the mean daily maximum of 9.9°C. However, the lowest minimum temperature was recorded at 8°C in December 1999, also on January and February of 2000.

1.1.3 TOPOGRAPHICAL DETAILS.

The general topography of Lunglei district varies widely. While the eastern and northern parts of the district are characterized by a rather hilly terrain with a high and prominent relief, the western and south western parts of the district, on the other hand is portrayed by comparatively low and less prominent ridges. The areas, as a whole is characterized mainly by several ridgelines and intervening valleys.

The western flank of the district bordering Bangladesh is characterized by several low undulating hillocks with varying dimensions. The western boundary of the district is formed by *Sazuk lui* (*Bara Harina Chhara*) until it joins the *Karnaphuli* (Khawthlang Tuipui) River. *Sazuk lui* originates in the north-western side of the district near *Saisen* village, and flows towards southern direction for about 50km before it ultimately empties itself into the *Karnaphuli* River. The other half of the western

boundary, i.e., the south western boundary of the district, on the other hand, is formed by another two major rivers. *Tuichawng* River, which enters the district from *Chawngte* village flows towards north and forms the south-western boundary for about 25 km., before it flows inside the district. The *Khawthlangtuipui (Karnaphuli)* river is one of the most important rivers within the district. The total length of the *Khawthlangtuipui* River within the district is about 34 kilometres.

The western and southern parts of the district are characterized by linear ridges which run more or less parallel to one another. The hills in these areas are generally low dissected, undulating and low relief. The ridges are long and slender and separated by wide valleys and small hills. One ridge starts from the south of *Chawilung* village which extends towards north for a distance of about 15 km. This ridge passes through *Chawilung, Hmunthar and Zohmun* villages, and is terminated by the *Karnaphuli* River. This ridge is locally named *Puankhai Tlangdung*.

To the east of this *Puankhai Tlangdung*, runs *Tuilianpui* or *Sazai lui* which enters the study area from Mamit district near Mar S village. On the eastern side of this ridge, flows *Kau lui* which originates from *Thorang tlang* in the north. To the north *Kau lui*, extends a long ridge towards north which starts from *Tleu tlang* near *Tleu* village. This ridge passes through *Kawnpui* and *Darngawn* villages. The eastern side of this ridge is bounded by *Tut* (Gutur) river. The north-western boundary of the district is formed by *Mar lui* which enters the town area from Mamit district.

The *Chhimtuipui (Kolodyne)* river is one of the most important rivers within the district. It enters the district from Myanmar and flows in the northwest direction till it is joined by the *Tuichang* River from where it flows in the southward direction. The total length of the river within the district is measured to be 77 kilometers.⁹

⁹.<https://dmr.mizoram.gov.in/uploads/files/lunglei-dm-plan.pdf>. Access on 29th July 2015.

1.1.4 Lawngtlai District.

Lawngtlai District is situated in the south west of the state of Mizoram, between 92°30' 93E Longitudes and 21°85 – 22°60' latitudes.¹⁰ It has international boundaries with Bangladesh in the west and Myanmar in the east. The district is bounded by Lunglei and Saiha District in the north and in the south respectively. The total area of Lawngtlai district covered 2, 557 sq kilometers and the population consisted of males 60, 599 and females 57, 295 and the total population was 1, 17,894 in 2014.¹¹

1.1.5 CLIMATE.

Lawngtlai District has moderate climate. Relative humidity is highest during the south-west monsoon when they are about 85%. Heavy rainfall is usually received during the month from May up to September every year. The temperature ranges from 15 degree to 25 degree during winter. The average annual rainfall is about 285cm. The hottest period starts from the month of March up to August every year. During the rainy season there is heavy clouded. There is an increase of cloudiness from March onwards. A clear and cool weather starts appearing from the month of September up to January the next year.¹²

1.1.6 TOPOGRAPHICAL DETAIL.

Lawngtlai district is situated within the tropical belt. In this region the tropical wet evergreen, mixed deciduous forest and wild banana forests are found. The western part of

¹⁰ <https://dmr.mizoram.gov.in/uploads/files/lawngtlai-dm-plan.pdf>. Access on 27th August 2015.

¹¹ *Statistical handbook Mizoram*, 2014, p.1.

¹² <https://dmr.mizoram.gov.in/uploads/files/lawngtlai-dm-plan.pdf>. . Access on 27th August 2015.

the region is covered by a thick virgin forest. Host of skima wallichii, Banyan tree, Gulmohar tree, Gamari, Jarus, Champa and several kinds of bamboos, climbers of different kinds and many kinds of wild fruits are found in this area. Several kinds of plants and herbs which are good for making herbal medicines are also found. The physical feature is mainly hilly except some small strip of low lying area along the western side of Chamdud Valley. The hills are of a mountainous system with a soft earth surface. Landslide disaster is commonly seen especially during rainy season throughout the area. The western side of the district is covered by thick virgin forest. The main rivers are *Chhimtuipui* river, *Ngengpui River*, *Chawngte River* and *Tuiphal River*. The average annual rainfall is about 285 cm.¹³

1.1.7 SAIHA DISTRICT.

Saiha District is one of the eight districts of Mizoram state in India. The district is bounded on north by Lunglei, Lawngtlai District and on the west by Lawngtlai and on the south and east by Myanmar. The majority of the district inhabitants are Lakher (Mara) people.¹⁴ The district lies in the loop of *Kolodyne* river, geographically situated between the Latitude 22°.07 and 22°.38 North and between the Longitude 92°.55 and 93°.10 East.¹⁵ Saiha district covered an area of 1,399 sq kilometres. The total population in 2014 was 56,574 with 28,594 males and 27,980 females.¹⁶

1.1.8 CLIMATE.

Saiha district is having warm wet weather in summer and cold-dry in winter. It has congenial climate and mild temperature. During summer, it received heavy amount

¹³ *Op.cit.*

¹⁴ <http://saiha.nic.in/IDPSaiha/IDP%20SAIHA.pdf>. Access on 11th October 2015.

¹⁵ K Zohra, 'The Maras: Indigenous Tradition and Folkculture,p.2.

¹⁶ *Statistical handbook Mizoram*, 2014, p.1.

of rainfall due to the influence of south-west monsoon. May is the warmest and hottest month of the year and during winter December, January and February are the driest/coldest months of a year. There is a little moderate difference between summer and winter, when during winter; the temperature varies from 11° C to 18°C from 18°C to 29°C in summer.¹⁷

1.1.9 TOPOGRAPHICAL DETAIL.

The district is isolated from the rest of India because of its distance and forbidding nature of hilly terrain. Hill ranges are numerous, and are separated from one another by ridges, furrows and gorges. The average height of these ranges is about 900-1500 metres. There are number of rugged cliffs, precipices and high peaks. The *Siahatla* with a height of 2022 metres is the highest mountain. There are other mountains in the district like the *Tliautlu* with a height of 1940 metres, the *Kahrie* 1918 metres, the *Zyhno thiena byuh* 1864 metres, the *Leiparotla* 1840 metres, *the Mawma* 1834 metres, the *Meisabyu* 1810 metres, the *Chhochhopaw* 1791 metres, the *Irene Peak* 1787 metres, and *Ngiapikana* 17665. Several rivers and stream runs through the district in various directions. The rivers are the *Kolodyne*, the *Tisi*, *the Pala*, the *Ka-ao*, the *Kaochao*, the *Raphu*, the *Khemu*, the *Dawva*, the *Salyu*, the *Titlao* and *the Tisopi* etc. In fact, the *Kolodyne* River is the biggest river in Mizoram.¹⁸

1.2 Origin Myth.

Tracing the origin of the Mizo has been attempted by many scholars and historians. According to Liangkhaia, “Mizo are the descendents of Japheth son of Noah

¹⁷ <http://saiha.nic.in/IDPSaiha/IDP%20SAIHA.pdf>. Access on 11th October 2015.

¹⁸ K, Zohra, *op.cit.*,p.2.

in the bible”.¹⁹ The Mizo myth tells us that human being originated from a great hole within the earth and which they called *Chhinlung* or a ‘closed-stone’ which is a literal translation of the word. They also believed that their ancestors came out from that hole and at last Ralte sub-tribe came out and creating a rumpus which the guardian-god feared of the growing human population and closed the stone to prevent the exits of human being on earth²⁰. Among the various Mizo tribes, it is called in various names such as *Duhlian* called it *Chhinlung*, *Pawih* and *Hmar* called it *Sinlung* and *Tinlung* to *Paihte*²¹. For some writers the word *Chhin lung* is not exactly what it literally means but the name of a Chinese prince *Chin lung* the son of *Shih Huang Ti* from the *Chin* dynasty who built the Great Wall.²² According to Professor Sangkima, the place of *Chhinlung* is found in Szechwan province of China,²³ where it is situated in the southern part of china. It is believed that there are three reasons why *Chhinlung* was left. First, their enemies were stronger than them so they had no enough power to drive them away, so they had to move in search of new settlement. Secondly, due to the cruelty of the ruler Cheng known in history as Shih-Hwang-Ti who imposed severe punishment to them, they were forced to leave the home when they were subjected to rigorous work. Thirdly, they left due to the conflict between their leader Prince *Chinlung* and his father who was supported by his other sons.²⁴ When they left *Chhinlung*, they migrated to Myanmar and settled in the Shan State and then proceed to *Kabaw* valley to *Khampat* and they moved on to the Chin Hills.²⁵

¹⁹ Rev, Liangkhaia, *Mizo Chanchin*, p.13.

²⁰ LB Thanga, *The Mizos: A Study in Racial Personality*, p1.

²¹ Hrangthiauva, *Mizo History*. p.1.

²² LB Thanga, *op.cit.*,p.3.

²³ Sangkima, “Sources OF The History Of Mizoram” in *Essays On The History Of The Mizos*, p.3.

²⁴ Sangkima, “Conceptualizing Origin Myths Of The Mizo” in *Historical Journal Mizoram volume –XV*, p.2.

²⁵ <http://mizoram.nic.in/about/history.htm>. Access on 13th October 2015.

1.3 Migration

Between A.D 1,000 - 1500, Mizo resided between *Run and Tiau rivers*.²⁶ The various clans of the Mizo were said to have entered Mizoram at three different point of time. The first group to migrate from the Chin Hills was the so-called ‘Old *Kuki* Group’ while the second group was ‘New *Kuki* Group’. It is believed that they arrived on the land during 14th-15th Century A.D. The third group known as *Lusei* were said to have entered by the second half of the 17th century.²⁷ *Palian* clan was believed to be the first clan who moved and inhabited the land. Subsequently, they were followed by *Zadeng, Rokhum, Chenkual, Thangluah, Rivung and Sailo*.²⁸ Among all the clans, Sailo clan began to settle in one village i.e. *Selesih*, the village with seven thousand households, popularly known as *Selesih Sangsarih*, they had seven *Sailo* chiefs namely *Pukawlha, Darpuiliana, Darliankuala, Rohnaa, Lalchera, Thangphunga* and *Lalsailova*. Due to their joined settlement they came to emerge as the ruling clan.²⁹ By the second half of the 18th century AD, *Selesih Sangsarih* began to scattered in different directions as the chiefs were craving for more power of their own which led them to feud over marriages, lands, plunders etc.³⁰

1.3.1 LUSEI.

As they dispersed to different directions, the Southern parts of Lushai Hills were ruled by the sons of Rolura the famous progenitor of the Southern *Sailo* chiefs. Rolura’s ancestor can be traced back to *Zahmuaka*, the progenitor of the *Lusei* Chief. *Zahmuaka*, the first *Lusei* chief had six sons, namely *Zadenga, Paliana, Thangluaha, Thangura, Rivunga and Rokhuma*. *Thangura* begot *Chawnglula* and *Thangmanga, Thanmanga*

²⁶ Rev, Liangkhaia, *op.cit.*, p. 43.

²⁷ Malsawmliana, “A Study Of The Thangur Chiefs: With Special Reference To Lallula” in *Historical Journal Mizoram volume-IX*,p.24 .

²⁸ Liangkhaia, *op.cit.*, pp. 83-89.

²⁹ VL, Siama, *Mizo History*,p.36.

³⁰ Malsawmliana, *op.cit.*, p.26.

begot *Sailova*, *Sailova* begot *Chungnunga*, *Lianlula* and *Chenkuala*, *Chungnunga* begot *Lalhluma*, *Rohnaa*, *Lalchera* and *Thangphunga*, *Lalchera* begot *Rolura*.³¹ *Lalchera* father of *Rolura* was one of the Chief in *Selesih Sangsarih* and when they dispersed, his son *Rolura* cross the *Tiau* river and moved towards the Southern hills. *Rolura* had two sons, namely *Lalrivunga* and *Tlutpawrha*. *Tlutpawrha* sons were *Vandula* Chief of *Leite* village, *Seipuia* Chief of *Theiriat*, *Lalthangvunga* Chief of *Haulawng*, *Lalluauva* Chief of *Bualpui* village. The sons of *Lalrivunga* were *Khawzaia* Chief of *Rawpui* village, *Lalthuama* Chief of *Khawnglung* and who was the father of *Vansanga*, *Lalpuithanga* Chief of *Sailam*, the father of *Sangvunga* and *Bengkhuai*, *Thangduta* Chief of *Kawlhawk* and his sons, *Chhim Lalburha* and *Rungnawla*, *Dailala* whose son *Rohnuna* the Chief of *Bungtlang* village.³²

When *Rolura* proceed towards the Southern Hills, the first village he established was *Chamring*, from there he transferred to *Sialsuk Diarkhai*, from *Sialsuk Diarkhai* to *Tumbawk* (village between *Lungrang* and *Zote*) then he made *Chhipphir* village where he laid his head. After his dead, his son *Tlutpawrha* occupied the village and after he moved out, it was inhabited by *Vansanga* (*Vansanga*'s father was *Lalthuama* who was the son of *Lalrivunga*, *Lalrivunga* was the brother of *Tlutpawrha*) the great chief who resisted the British fervently during 1890-92. When this chief was caught by the British, his village was given to *Lalluaua*. When *Tlutpawrha* shifted from *Chhipphir* village, he moved further to the south and annexed *Lunglei*. *Lalrivunga*, the eldest son of *Rolura* made a village on *Chaltlang* near *Zote* village, from *Zote* he transferred to *Sekhum* village and died there. His sons then proceed further to the northern side and annexed *Thenzawl*, *Serchhip* and *Sailam*.³³

Another clan inhabiting the Southern Hills was *Thangluah* clan. *Thangluaha* was the son *Zahmuaka*; *Thangluaha* had two sons namely *Lalhrilha* and *Khawchhiaha*.

³¹ C Chawngkunga, *Genealogical Tree of Mizo*, p.39.

³² Lalthanliana, *Zoram Chanchin* (Kum 1900 hmalam), p.411.

³³ *Ibid.*

Lalhrilha had three sons namely Lalhlura, Lalhlana and Zahuapa. Zahuapa begot Ropuiliana, Ropuiliana begot Lalpuihluta, Lalpuihluta begot Rothangpuia who was a faithful ally to the British during the Expedition of 1871-1872.³⁴ After their migration to Mizoram the first place they dwelt in was the village of *Chawngtui*, after forty years they moved to *Thenzawl* and proceeded further to the west and inhabited between Tut and Mat Rivers where the *Thorang* range is situated. It was between 1840-50 Lalpuihluta, father of Rothangpuia inhabit the *Thorang* range. Not long after they inhabited this area, Sailova the son of Lianlula Sailo wanted to control the place and war was started. Thangluah clan was defeated they were forced to move further to the south and made their settlement at *Tlabung* where *Sirte* and *Uiphum* ranges are situated. From 1850 onwards Rothangpuia was the leading chief of Thangluah clan.³⁵

1.3.2 MARA.

The Maras or Lakhers were known as the Shendus when they first came into contact with the British.³⁶ Their migration started from *Leisai* in Chin Hills Burma. From *Leisai* they moved to *Saro* and thence to *Chakang*, both of which places are in *Haka*³⁷. From *Chakang* they cross the *Kolodyne* and came into the Lushai Hills and settled at *Phusa*, on a high hill between *Ainak* and *Siata*. From here they moved to *Khupi* on the *Tisi* river and then to *Theiri* and to *Beukhi*. From *Beukhi* the *Siaha* clan and *Saiko* *Tlongsai* clan break up, the former inhabited various sites in the neighbourhood of *Beukhi* ending up at their present site of *Siaha*, while the latter moved successively to *Saikowkhitlang*, *Khangchetla*, *Zongbuki*, *Chholong* and *Khihlong*. From *Saiko* they formed the other villages of *Tlongsai* group ruled over by *Hleuchang* chiefs.³⁸

³⁴ Zothanpuui, "A brief Study Of The Thangluah Chief, Rothangpuia" in *Historical Journal Mizoram Volume- IX*, p.95.

³⁵ Lalthanliana, *op.cit.*, p.364.

³⁶ NE Parry, *The Lakhers*, p.5.

³⁷ Haka is situated in Chin Hills Myanmar.

³⁸ NE Parry, *op.cit.*, p.2.

1.3.3 LAI

Lai were known as '*Chin*' by the Burmese and the term '*Chin*' is imprecise and should be pronounced as '*Khyang*' which means ally or comrade.³⁹ All the kindred tribes believed their origin was to South China and they moved to Myanmar by following the mouth of Brahmaputra and Salwin rivers. They were believed to have settled down in the Chindwin Valley around 750 AD and finally settled on Chin Hills in Myanmar.⁴⁰ The first group migrated to Mizoram was under the Leadership of the Hnawncheu Chief Vanhnaitlirha and was followed by the group headed by Chief Lianchia Hlawhching. They were followed by Chinzah chief Taihmunga to have permanent settlement and after him Fanai chief Rorehlova migrated to Mizoram.⁴¹

1.4 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM.

Even though colonial empires gradually began to collapse after the World War II, its studies is nevertheless significant and relevant in the decades following it up till the 21st century. Colonialism is critically seen not as aberration but as a purposeful design intended to spread a hegemonic structure whereby one people ("whites") benefit from the exploitation and subjugation of another people ("non-white"). Colonialism is a form of systematic oppression and domination. If a particular group is politically disenfranchised within their own country, then that group may be an oppressed internal colony. If the group is economically exploited within the society, then the group represents the possibility of domestic colonization. Minority groups often become culturally

³⁹ F.K. Lehman, *The Structure Of Chin Society*, p. 3.

⁴⁰ Jangkhongam Doungel, *Lai Chieftainship And Its Impact In Politics*, p.1.

⁴¹ Upa Manglinga Hlawhcheu, *Lai Hnam, Chin-Hills atanga lo Chhuk Hmasate*, pp. 1-2.

manipulated and commodified within their own societies through the market, the media, and campaign of fears and consumption, and this lead to domestic colonization.⁴²

Works of the colonial writers and the official documents are the major available written sources. These writings were dominated by the colonial agenda of promoting the colonizer's superiority while emphasizing the perceived shortcomings of the natives. For that reason, complete dependence on colonial sources might result in bias understanding of the issue and the propose work will be far from truth. Thus, a critical study of the colonial documents and writings is considered imperative.

It is evident that many of the Mizo writers based their works on colonial sources. Colonial domination was so pervasive that even in the 21st century many works on British colonialism written by local authors simply reproduce what had been discussed by the colonial writers without any critical evaluation. These colonial literatures have not provided enough information on Mizo resistance against the British colonialism. Therefore, deeper examination in this area is needed.

Colonial resistance by the chiefs of southern Mizoram is the main theme of the study. The study attempts to answer certain questions related to the theme such as; what were the various expressions of colonial resistance offered by the Mizo in southern Lushai Hills? Whether there was strong cultural and religious resistance against the forces of colonialism? What were the perceptions of traditional Mizo elite on British colonialism in general and Christianity in particular? What were the resultant outcomes of the confrontation between forces of colonialism and Mizo traditional forces?

⁴² David L Brunsmma, "Colonialism" in Darity, William A.(ed.), *International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, Vol2*, 2nd Edition, p.11.

1.5 REVIEW OF LITERATURE.

Tlawm ve lo—Lalnu Ropuiliani by Lalsangzuali Sailo is a biographical work on southern chief Vanpuilala's (popularly known as Vandula) widow, Ropuiliani. The author uses historical documents as well as folklore. The book not only contains the life of Ropuiliani, but also the life and story of southern chiefs such as the Fanai, Pawi and Lusei. An instance where the *Pawi* chief Hausata and his brothers killed Lt Steward in 1888 and the feud between CS Murray and the *Fanai* chief Zakapa in 1891 are mentioned in this book. It also contains the lineage of the southern Sailo chiefs and the Northern Chiefs too. The husband of Ropuiliani, Vandula resist the British fervently and her brother Vanhnuailiana was also vehement opponent of the British. Belonging to such a family, she totally resists the British and control all her relatives and descendants. Though Vandula's clan laid their lives leaving behind Lalthuama as the head after he passed away, Lalthuama was under the complete control of his mother, Ropuiliani. The book mentions how Ropuiliani resisted the British, her denial of paying revenue, refused to give rice and animal products and also denial of providing colliers. She was arrested due to her resistance and refusal of surrendering herself to the British and was send to Chittagong Jail where she eventually died. She was the only Mizo chieftainess who resists the British till death. Though the book provides valuable information during the colonial period, the author is the descendent of Ropuiliani and the main theme of the book, it appears, is to glorify her. The other southern chiefs' resistances are dealt briefly but not specifically.

Zalen Nana British Do by Dr Lalthanliana published in 2000 by Mizoram Publication Board shows how the Mizo chiefs resisted the British. The policy of conciliation on the Lushai hills is noticeable. The author divides how the British came into Mizoram into four categories—the expedition of 1869, The Lushai Expedition 1871-1872, the expedition of 1888- 1889 and The Chin-Lushai Expedition (1889-90). Out of these four invasions, the later three experienced British's penetration from north, west

and south and how the Mizo chiefs resisted. The author mentions that weak resistance was made by the southern chiefs, besides, it also mentions the works and designation of the British officers during those times is written. In this book, a negotiation of the Mizo Chiefs and the British before their invasion is highlighted. The resistance made by the Mizo chiefs, mainly arm resistance; and other, forms of the resistance made by the Mizo is not systematically highlighted and no sufficient information on the southern part is given.

Suhas Chatterjee's *Mizoram under the British Rule*, published in 1985 is a historical work. The author mentions that the Mizo people officially recorded as *Kuki* up till the expedition of 1871-1872 was changed to *Lushai*. The writer mainly based his sources on British official documents; and it seems that any inquiry was not made in Mizoram. The book contains the first contact of Mizo with the British up to the times of the Christian missionaries, including the British policy of conciliation and forward policy, the British expedition to the Lushai and the consolidation of the British rule and the problems faced by the British. At the same time, there is no case study and all topics are written briefly. The problems faced by the Mizo against the British are insufficiently provided and the resistance made by the chiefs was mostly the armed resistance. How exactly they resisted and what were the forms of resistance was not clearly written in this book. Thus, it seems that the book is only about a study on the work of the British in Mizoram.

The Lushai Expedition 1871-1872 by R.G. Woothrope is the personal observation of the writer during the expedition. The contact between the Mizo Chiefs and the British including the policy of conciliation, and the principal characteristic of three different tribes of the hill Lushai, Paihte or Sokte and Pawi along with their dress and physical appearance are contained in the book. It throws the light on the Mizo culture during those times and the use of tobacco; '*Men, women and children, from the age at which they can hold a pipe, smoke almost incessantly*'. The author does not mention any form of

resistance made by the southern chiefs against the British. It instead glorifies the supremacy of British power. The work mainly focuses on the northern part of Mizoram and any kinds of resistance are not mentioned at all.

A fly on the wheel or how I helped to govern India by Thomas Herbert Lewin mainly deals with the Lushai Expedition of 1871-1872. It gives us detail information on the expedition from the southern column. The author spoke the native vernacular and was regarded as the Lushai's friend. During the expedition, the author was deputed as Political Officer in subordination to the General commanding the southern column. The book contains the friendship between the author and the southern Mizo chief Rothangpuia. Rothangpuia even assisted Lewin during the expedition. Different arm attacks by the British are mentioned in the book. Treaty made between the two parties is mentioned and how Lewin swore an oath of the treaty is provided in the book, *'On the 18th of February I swore the indispensable oath by blood and steel with the Howlong chiefs, and they presented to Government a peace-offering of elephant tusk, home-spun cloth, guyal and the day following the first instalment of captives was sent in, with the promise that the rest, who were scattered in distant villages, should be collected and delivered up as soon as possible.'* He established a permanent post at Demagree (presently Tlabung) and taught them how to use ploughs and cattle, to have permanent cultivating lands so that they can abandon the jum cultivation. He said, *'Almost every measure of reform or improvement which I had advocated was sanctioned by Government. Chiefest among this measures, was the permission to advance small sums (aggregating, however, 4,000 pounds) to the hill people, as loans with which to purchase ploughs and cattle, and so enable them once and forever, as I hope, to abandon their old nomadic system of "jum" culture and to settle down to own, and hold land as permanent cultivators. This movement, if successful, bade fair to change the face of the country and to permanent ameliorate the condition of the people'*. Though the Expedition of 1871-1872 did not colonize the Lushai Hill, the expedition made by the British from the southern column and the resistance made by the southern Mizo chiefs is clearly shown in this book.

The Lushai Hills by Robert Reid gives valuable information from the Expedition of 1888-1889 to the constitution Act of 1935. The author mentions the Expedition of 1889-90 objects was to prevent the raiding of the Mizo, punish the raiders of Chengri – valley and Pakuma Rani and to colonize the Hills. The book contains the amalgamation of the North and South Lushai hills and few works of the South Lushai Hills are provided but no sufficient information is given. Only the British activities are mentioned and resistances made by the Southern chiefs are not provided in the book. It seems the book is a compiled document by the author, no critical study or elaborations are to see.

Lushai Chrysalis by Major A.G. McCall mentions that the Lushais belongs to the Tibeto-Burman group and the origin of the Lushai clan is provided. The book contains the contact of the Mizo and British subjects up till the Chin-Lushai Expedition. The author mentions the rituals and practices of the traditional Mizo beliefs until the arrival of the Christian missionaries and the society up to the colonial period. The book mainly deals with the culture of the people but no information is given on the resistance to colonial rule in the Lushai Hills.

Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance by James C. Scott published by Yale University Press in 1985 examines the effects of the Green Revolution in the Mudha irrigation project in Kedah, a state in Malaysia. The book focuses on the class conflict between the “bourgeoisies” and the “proletariats”. It examines the agriculture and economy, the social organization and the value system that engendered tension in the land. The book describes how the green revolution creates class-consciousness by shedding the old order of things. The author has exposed that the double cropping system is a kind of capitalism that allows only the elite to prosper. The system has brought inequality, creating binary class structure. Before the system of double cropping, the poor, even though they are poor, were always self sufficient, but with the new system they have been marginalized. Though the rich are hindered by the old structure of thing, they are in almost complete control of things. Theoretically, the

book deals with the ‘why’ of things. Why not fight, revolt, and subvert the economic and social structure that keeps them or make them poor. And in doing so, Scott’s main idea is not, the obvious, that of “false consciousness” that argues that the poor’s ignorance is what is preventing them from reacting to the change in paradigm. Rather Scott is arguing that the poor of Kedah knows exactly what is happening to them, why it is happening to them and how it is happening to them. But their procrastination, or rather simply their inaction is due to their knowledge of the impossible obstacles that they would have to overcome if they ever revolted. So, according to Scott, the poor peasants, instead of taking up arms, or any sort of reaction for that matter, they rely on anything that they could in order to support themselves, and hang on to the old ways of things that’s slowly waning.

1.6 OBJECTIVES

The objectives of the study will are:

- To examine the role of Southern Mizo chiefs in the colonial resistance.
- To investigate the impact of colonialism in Southern Mizoram.
- To explore various forms of resistance.

1.7 AREA OF STUDY

The study covers the southern Mizoram which was designated by the British as Southern Lushai Hill, at present comprising the three districts - Lunglei, Lawngtlai and Saiha. The study concentrated from The First Lushai Hills Expedition (1871-1872) to 1947.

1.8 METHODOLOGY

The study used qualitative and descriptive analysis. The data are collected from primary and secondary sources. Reliable secondary resources supplemented the dissertation. The archival sources have been subjected to thorough analysis. Oral sources have also been subjected to interrogate and cross checked with the textual sources to elicit an objective understanding of the topic under study.

CHAPTER II

CONTACT WITH THE BRITISH AND COLONIZATION OF MIZORAM

This Chapter tries to examine the relationship of the Mizos with the British, and the subsequent colonization of Mizoram by the British. In this Chapter, different issues are taken up such as the contact of the Lushais with the British, and the raid made by the Lushais which was followed by the British expedition. How the Southern Lushai Chiefs offered their resistance to the British expedition and their colonization will be systematically studied.

2.1 Lushai-Mizo

When the British Government administrative officials carried out researches on their colonized hills of Burma, they found the same ethnic groups of people speaking different dialects and bearing various names. Beyond the Chittagong Hill tracts or the north-eastern frontier of India, the British acknowledged them as Kuki and *Chin* in line to the west of the Burmans proper. When the British officers came up to the Burman hills, to control the unadministered area, they adopted the name chin which was already utilized by the Burmans. After their annexation of the hills, Chin-Hills came into used in 1896 as an administrative unit within the British Empire.⁴³ And when the British took possession of Bengal and came into closer contact with the people of the hill tribes, specifically the northern hills, the Bengali called them *Kuki* which means savage or wild hill people. The British came to know that majority of the people did not call themselves as *Kuki* and initially they used the term "*Loosye*". Later on, the British adopted the name

⁴³ Sing Khaw Khai, *Zo people and their Culture*, p.1.

“*Lushai*”⁴⁴ as the name for the ethnic group populating the adjacent territory bounded by the Chittagong Hills, Hill Tipperah, Cachar and Manipur. Using Kolodyne River as a line of demarcation, in contrast, they adopted Chin for designating the people inhabiting the terrain west of Burma; accordingly splitting up into objective division of Lushai Hills and Chin Hills respectively. Thus, the word *Kuki* and *Chin* are synonymous and are both primarily used for many of the hill tribes in general.⁴⁵

AS Reid mentioned that “Chins and Lushai are practically one race”,⁴⁶ Carey and Tuck also accept that “the Kukis of Manipur, the Lushai of Bengal and Assam and the Chins...are of one and the same stock”.⁴⁷ Giving the generic name to these, many attempts have been promoted.⁴⁸ The colonial officer TH Lewin said “Under the term ‘Dzo’ are included all the hill tribes of this region”.⁴⁹ The British administrator in the early nineteenth century acquired the term, Kuki, Chin, and Lushai from the Bengal, Burma and Assam; these were not the terms used by the people and were completely alien language to the Mizos.

As the Mizos were majority of the inhabitants’ adjacent territory of Manipur, Cachar, Hill Tipperah and Chittagong hills; till the end of August 1954 it was known as the Lushai Hills, and changed Lushai to Mizo by an act of Parliament as the Lushai were one tribe among others. According to Professor Sangkima, giving a clear cut account on the first used of the word “Mizo” was difficult as it was a gradual process of evolution. While they resided at Burma, they were already called Mizo and the forefather of the Mizos used to say *Keini Mizo te chuan* which means “we the Mizos”.

⁴⁴ Vumson, *Zo History*, p.1.

⁴⁵ Sing Khaw Khai, *op.cit.*, p.1.

⁴⁶ AS Reid, *Chin-Lushai Land*, p.6.

⁴⁷ HN Tuck and Bertram S. Carey, *The Chin Hills Vol.1*, p.2.

⁴⁸ Soong Chul Ro, *op.cit.*, p.7.

⁴⁹ Th Lewin, *Progressive colloquial Exercise in the Lushai dialects of the ‘Dzo’ or Kuki Language*, p.i.

On September 1st 1954 the Lushai Hills District was changed to Mizo Hills District and it was made Union Territory with the name of Mizoram in January 1972.⁵⁰ In order to trace the study in its historical context, it would be unavoidable to use the word Lushai as it had been the popular identification at that time; in the study, the word Lushai and Mizo would be used interchangeably as well as be seen in most occasions as synonymous.

2.2 Contacts with the British.

European overseas exploration from around the 15th century had an immense impact on the other continents; the British being the greatest achievers in territorial conquests. With their ambition of establishing markets and acquiring capital, they further pursued for supremacy, which were justified and strengthened through religious missionary zeal to a certain extent. Their expansion was followed by consolidating their hold over their acquired territories. However, the establishment of authority was a difficult undertaking since the native people acted in opposition to the colonialists. Resistance against the outsiders was an observable trend wherever colonialism operated.

In Asia and Africa, the British subjugated the native people and colonized them eventually. Revenues and other levies were imposed, which led to resistance against the British. By the close of the 19th century, British authority over India was firmly established as well along with other territories in other parts of the world. Subsequent to its victory in the Battle of Plassey in 1757, the East India Company began a policy of consolidating its political power in India centering from Bengal. From the initial stage, though the Company's intention seemed in favour of securing its trade with India, what gradually manifested was its ambition of monopolizing the trade. The company's

⁵⁰ *Mizoram District Gazetteers* 1989, p.2.

officials searched for new lands where they could establish settlements and factories, thus, aspired for political supremacy.

In 1760, Mir Qasim, the Nawab of Bengal handed over Chittagong District to the Company.⁵¹ In the ensuing years, the Company had its influence over the north-eastern region adjacent to Bengal. The Tripuris, the Kacharis and the Manipuris were subdued by the Company, which consequently establishing tea plantations over the areas. The Mizos living in proximity to the areas inhabited by the people were alarmed by the company's activities. Earlier, Mizo occasionally raided and plundered those areas for booties and war captives. However, the extension of tea plantation in the forested lands at the foot hills on the borders of Tripura, Cachar and Manipur which the Mizos claimed as their hunting grounds, created a sense of insecurity and alarm among the Mizos. Thus, in order to defend their claimed territories, they took on an aggressive policy towards their neighbouring territories. These were the earlier instances where they came into contact with the Company's subjects. The Company therefore knew the existence of the Mizo tribes through the experiences reported by their subjects and of their known incidents.

Mainly, products from the forests, tea plantation and hunting wild elephants benefitted the East India Company in the hill areas. At the early instances when they got raided by the Mizo, they did not adopt a retaliatory measure but instead attempted to carry on a conciliatory policy.⁵²

The British Government entered Mizoram several times due to the aggressive actions of the Mizo Chiefs. The first of such aggression was when the chief Lalsuthlaha raided Kochabari in 1844 and Capt. Blackwood was sent with a military contingent to

⁵¹ Lalhrualtuanga Ralte, *Zoram Vartian*, p.16.

⁵² RG Woodthrope, *The Lushai Expedition 1871-1872*, pp.1-5.

punish this chief.⁵³ The second incident of Mizo raid took place in 1850, when Ngura Sailo raided a 'Thado' village near Silchar and was punished by Col Lister. The third instance of the Mizos raid was when Rothangpuia, a Thangluah chief forayed into the British territory and plundered many villages. In retaliation, his village was burnt by a British expeditionary force under Major Raban in 1861.⁵⁴ When such disciplinary action was taken on him, he came to know the British were too powerful to be challenge, in 1866 he sent a messenger for peace agreement to Capt. TH Lewin the then Superintendent of Chittagong Hill Tracts. The messengers of Rothangpuia and Lewin met at Kassalong, to conclude an agreement. In the words of TH Lewin —having contracted a solemn alliance, offensive and defensive, with Rutton Poia and his allied chiefs, the compact having been duly ratified by the sacrifice of a guyal, with the proper ceremonies, and sealed by infinite potations.⁵⁵ In the winter of 1868-69, Vanhnuailiana and his brothers raided Mirawng village under Manipur Raj. During this time, forays were made in Cachar by Suakpuilala and Vanpuilala; an incursion was made in Adampore on the month of December and two tea garden of Loharbond and Monierkhle was raided in January 1869. To punish the Mizos for their raids on Cachar in 1868-69, more than 1000 soldiers with cannon came to the Lushai Hill under General Nuthal but totally failed in their mission due to inclement weather and ignorance of the topography on the part of the British forces.⁵⁶

The failure of British expedition in 1869 must have emboldened the Mizo chiefs, who by January 1871 conducted a concerted attack on settlements within the British territory of Cachar and even Tripura and Manipur.⁵⁷ The Southern Chiefs who participated in these raids were the sons of Rolura and some villages of Lianlula. From the Northern hills the chiefs were the sons of Lalsavunga, the Eastern Chiefs were Pawihbawiha, Lalphunga and Lalhleia — the descendent of Lallianvunga were also involved. There may be two possible reasons of Mizos raid on the British territory.

⁵³ AG McCall, *Lushai Chrysalis*, p. 40.

⁵⁴ TH Lewin, *A Fly on the Wheel*.p.190.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*,p.203.

⁵⁶ Lalthanliana, *Zalen Nana British Do*, pp.18-20.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

Firstly, Chief Ngursailova wanted to take revenge on the British due to their captured of his father and his imprisonment for life, and for this he talked to the other Sailo chiefs and united them.⁵⁸ Secondly, the Mizo chiefs thought the British had encroached upon their land by establishing tea plantation.⁵⁹

On 23th and 24th 1871, raids were made by the united Mizos chiefs, which were serious and widespread. Pawiakuki village in Tripura state was burned to the ground. A series of raids were carried out at Alexandrapur, Anierkhal, Monierhal and Nudigram. In these raids, the foray made by the Southern Chiefs Bengkhuaia, son of Rolura and several men from Sangvunga's village, first took place on the Cachar Village of Anierkhal,⁶⁰ in which twenty-five persons were killed and thirty-seven persons were captured and the village burned.⁶¹ When news of this Anierkhal incidents came to the government, Mr. Metcalf Asst. Commissioner of Hailakandy Sub-division took some police men and reached the place at 4pm, three Mizo warriors were still there, after a few exchange of shots with the police they retreated into the forest.⁶²

While the captives from Anierkhal were hid in the nearby forest by one group; the other groups pounced upon the Alexandrapur tea garden and destroyed it. The Mizo killed twelve tea garden labourers and the proprietor Mr Sellar escaped the incident. However, a neighbouring tea planter, Mr. Winchester who was having breakfast with him was killed and his daughter Mary Winchester was also taken as captive.⁶³ The capturing of Mary Winchester and the killing of her father, Mr Winchester was a watershed in Mizo history.

⁵⁸ Lalhruaitluanga Ralte, *Thangliana*, p.123.

⁵⁹ Lalthanliana, *op.cit.*, p.25.

⁶⁰ AG McCall, *op.cit.*, p.47.

⁶¹ Suhas Chatterjee, *Mizoram Under the British Rule*, p.63.

⁶² Lalthanliana *op.cit.*, p.26.

⁶³ Suhas Chatterjee, *op.cit.*, p.63.

On the same day, an attack was made again on the neighbouring garden of Kutlicherra at 4pm. When raids on Aneirhel and Alexandrapur were heard, the British prepared to resist the Southern Chiefs and their warriors. The Mizo first attacked the Bungalow of the tea garden manager, Mr. Bungshow. Mr Bungshow and his Assistant Manager, Mr Cookies took the help from labourers and fruit-sellers on the roads, who were supplied with guns and secured them inside the Bungalow. When they were attacked, they resisted fervently and the Mizo could not capture the Bungalow. Unsuccessful, the attackers turned to the house of the garden labourers and killed five men and hurt many others. Due to their failure, about thirty warriors attacked again on the next day on 24th January; but their attempt was unsuccessful due to the arrival of police force that compelled them to retreat into the forest.⁶⁴

2.3 Debate on Military Expedition.

The policy of conciliation carried by the British was futile as their subjects were raided by the Mizo. For the military expeditions, necessary measures to be adopted were to punish the tribes concerned in these raids, to get back the British subjects, and to prevent a repetition of their incursions for the future. The incidents of raids, in spite of the efforts of the frontier officers, proved the ineffectiveness of the policy of conciliation. Thus, the policy recommended by the local officers was of condign punishment.⁶⁵

The Lieutenant-Governor explained his personal views on the subject in a Minute on the 18th May 1871, where he stated that rather than measures of pure retaliation, he suggested military exploration of the country. Sir G. Campbell thought that it was necessary to secure a convenient location for the troops which were to be posted in the centre of the Lushai Country in order to establish means of communication with them. He further stated that if the Mizos cooperate, they should demand surrender of their captive

⁶⁴ Lalthanliana *op.cit.*, p.29.

⁶⁵ Suhas Chatterjee, *op.cit.*, p.63.

subjects. And also, if a fair amount of success were attained in that way, they should enter into friendly relations with them; but, if they resisted, they should use military force and compel respect.⁶⁶

The proposal of fresh expedition against the Lushai was submitted by Sir William Grey, Lieutenant Governor of Bengal to the Government of India. But the Government of India refused to admit that it was necessary to chastise the Lushais by military expedition. Here, the Government of Bengal was not satisfied with the decision of the central government posing a series of debated arguments.

In the mean time, a large number of memoranda were also submitted to the Secretariat of the Government of Bengal from the local officers, urging a punitive expedition against the Lushais. The pillars of the British administration were those local officers (the District Magistrates or the Commissioners); it was really difficult for the Provincial Secretariat to turn down their proposals.⁶⁷

Edgar who was extremely positive about his mission in conciliating the Lushais was also perplexed by the repeated raids, and thus, submitted an advice to completely subjugate the tribes. He made it clear that the Lushai country should be annexed for the protection of the tea garden at the Cachar frontier. Even Lewin, known for his love and affection for the Lushais, also supported a full-scale military expedition in the Lushai country.

Lord Ulich Brown, the Commissioner of Chittagong, in his memorandum bitterly attacked the Policy of conciliation and recommended a Forward Policy. He stated that the

⁶⁶ Alexander Mackenzie, *The North-East Frontier of India*, pp.309-310

⁶⁷ Suhas Chatterjee, *op.cit.*

raids were extremely profitable to the Lushai Chiefs and they would not give them up so easily. He further submitted that the policy of conciliation not only encouraged the tribal to attack the frontier but also, it harmfully reacted upon the law abiding British subjects of the border area. Brown did not keep it secret that the Lushai Chiefs, being treacherous, had not kept the promises they made before the Government officials and committed raids again. Conciliation made them bold and they considered the risk of committing a raid was null. He suggested that the real policy should be severe punishment for raids, and conciliatory measures and kind treatment afterwards.⁶⁸

The Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, Sir Cecil Beadon, was a staunch supporter of the policy of conciliation and his successors till the time of Grey followed the line of Beadon. They did not pay much attention to the raids which became the regular feature of Lushai borders since the sixties of the nineteenth century. Lord Lawrence, the Viceroy, also advocated the Policy of Neutrality. But the assumption of Lieutenant Governor, Grey, made a considerable change in the outlook of the Government of Bengal; He demanded a Positive Policy.

In the meantime, Lawrence was succeeded by Lord Mayo and there came an end of the routine life of the Executive Council. The Government of India threw off the garb of conciliation to take recourse to dynamism. Like the provincial Government, the Centre also could not do away with the views expressed by the local administrators in their memorandums. Those local officers, without an exception, advocated a large scale military expedition and to give up the Policy of Conciliation. Under these circumstances, the Governor General-in-Council met to discuss the Lushai Policy. There was a great debate on military expedition and military exploration. The Government of Bengal did not move an inch from their demand for an expedition. The Anglo Indian newspapers supported the Government of Bengal. The '*Observer*' on 25-2-1871 in the editorial changed the Policy of Conciliation as 'backboneless policy—somewhat discredited

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

policy of rupees and rum.’⁶⁹ The powerful tea merchants did not lag behind. They also put pressure upon the Government of India to change the Policy. Interested public were not in a mood to enjoy the academic discussion on military expedition or explorations. Under the instruction of the Viceroy, the Commander-in-Chief (Lord Napier) inspected the Cachar frontiers and in concurrence with the local officers recommended the expedition. Governor General-in-Council accorded the approval in sending the troops with the instruction that the preparations for the expedition should be made secret.⁷⁰

2.4 The Lushai Expedition 1871-1872.

The Governor General-in-Council decided to enter the Lushai Hills from two columns; one from Silchar headed by Brigadier General G. Boucher, the other from Chittagong under General Brownlow. As the present study is concerned only with Southern Lushai Hills, elaborated discussion would be made about expedition in the Southern Lushai Hills.

The Chittagong Column, under General Brownlow, consisted of the troops - 2nd Gurkhas, 4th Goorkhas, 27th Punjab Infantry, 1 Coy. Sappers and Miners, 1 Mountain Battery and Chittagong Frontier Police accompanied, by boat and coolie transport. Following officers were attached to the Chittagong column —

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.63-67.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

Brigadier General C.H. Brownlow C.B., Staff Corps, to command.
 Capt. C.E. Bates, Staff Corps, to be Brigade Major.
 Capt. C.J. East, 41st foot, to be Asst. Quarter Master General.
 Capt. I.G. Cockburn, 1st Battalion, 6th Foot, to be Aide-de-camp.
 Capt T.H. Lewin was appointed as the Civil Officer.⁷¹

The expeditionary force began to assemble at Kassalong in mid-November 1871, with the object of confronting against the *Sailo* and *Haulawng* clans, with the latter of whom was Mr. Winchester's little daughter, whose release together with numerous other captives, was to be effected.⁷²

On the 12th of November Rothangpuia, with two minor chiefs went to meet T.H. Lewin, where he offered his service to the cause of the British and agreed to provide assistance within his power, and was introduced to General Brownlow.⁷³ On the 17th of November, the military expedition arrived at *Demagree* (Present Tlabung), they built stockade and cleared a large area for the accommodation of the troops. On 22nd November, the General visited Rothangpuia in his village and was escorted by 2nd Gurkhas. T.H. Lewin was acted as his interpreter. They had a breakfast and a gyal was killed in honour of the visit, two baskets full of meat was sent to the camp for their consumption.⁷⁴ While they stationed at this place, before any trigger was pulled for the expedition, chief Vanpuia also surrendered to the British.

On 8th December, TH Lewin went to the village of Lianggura, but it was deserted by the villagers. A pig, two guals and fifty maunds of unhusked grains were taken by the men of Lewin. The food stuffs, left behind by the villagers suggested a clear notion that it

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p.67.

⁷² L.W Shakespear, *History Of The Assam Rifles*.p.74.

⁷³ TH Lewin, *op.cit.*, p.263.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p.264.

was only for temporary. So, Lewin left a party to ambush the villagers and at nightfall the Chief himself returned to look for the gyal and was apprehended,⁷⁵ and was the first chief captured in the Southern Lushai Hill during this expedition. Lewin tried to persuade him to act as the British ambassador, to negotiate the Sailo chiefs, but he refused and remained stubborn without any response. After two days of rigorous detainment, he accepted to act as their ambassador to parley the *Sailo* chiefs who were the sons of Chief Lianlula.⁷⁶ The British wanted the Sailo Chiefs not to oppose and disrupt them on their way to the Haulawng country. On the 13th December, Liangngura returned and reported that no less than five of the *Sailo* chiefs along with their villagers assembled on the village of Vanhnuna. Their message to the British was to leave the country at once, on this condition only that they would assist them in recovering the captives, if they proceed any farther they would be attacked. After hearing these messages from Liangngura, General Brownlow gave an order to attack on the following morning.⁷⁷

The first gunshot happened on 9th December. Mizo warriors opened fire on the British army who were patrolling on the forest but retreated straight away without inflicting any harm.⁷⁸ The Mizos already had had gun which they traded from Burma, Bengal, and Cachar. They also learned the use of gun and making of gun powder from the Burmese. These weapons were flintlock muskets of England origin, Tower marked and some being stamped with the name “Alton” while others had French marks and stamps.⁷⁹ Although the Mizo used guns which were traded from their neighbours, they were not sufficient. Their main weapons were the indigenous *daos*, spears, and bows and arrows.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p.267.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*,p.268.

⁷⁸ Lalhruaitluanga Ralte, *Thangliana*, p.132.

⁷⁹ LW Shakespear, *The Assam Rifles*, p.77.

On December 14th 1871, the first major attack made by the British was Belkhai village of Vanhnuna who resisted the peace negotiation of the British.⁸⁰ From the right, 2nd Gurkhas under Major MacIntyre, feigned an attack; after they had the attention of the Mizos, the main force of the 2nd Gurkhas led by Colonel Macpherson crested the hill where the village was situated and charged with bayonet, three Mizo were shot dead and one or two were wounded.⁸¹ The Mizos burned the village before the army entered. The army took the grains and animals, and left. On the next day, Mizo warriors attacked three Gurkha on the outskirts of the village and killed one; the army responded instantly and two Mizos were killed.⁸²

On 21st December, the next move made by the British was on the village of Lungchem where Lalhira was the chief.⁸³ Under the command of Colonel Macpherson, two companies of Gurkha set out and assaulted the village.⁸⁴ Meanwhile they were watched by General Brownlow and TH Lewin with field-glasses from the next range of the hill which would be four or five miles away. There was a great deal of firing; General was given flag signal that the attack had been made without losing any army on the British side and a large stores of grains had been seized.⁸⁵

On 26th December, without any opposition they took Vanhnuaia's village, called Sesawm,⁸⁶ and they decided to move forward to the Villages of Vankunga and Vanhnuna but burned by the inhabitant. To prevent the useless destruction of villages, TH Lewin sent some of his men with Rothangpuia's men to intercede with Mizo Chiefs. But the attempt was meaningless.⁸⁷

⁸⁰ Thomas Herbert Lewin wrote as the village of Vanlula in his book 'A fly on the wheel' but in the book of 'Zalennana British do' by Lalthanliana, he wrote as Vanhnuna's village, the latter seems to be correct because Lewin wrote from the way he heard the sound of their language.

⁸¹ Lalhruaitluanga Ralte, *op.cit.*, p.132.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p.134.

⁸³ Lalthanliana, *op.cit.*, p.81.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p.136.

⁸⁵ TH Lewin, *op.cit.*, p.270.

⁸⁶ Lalthanliana *op.cit.*, p.82.

⁸⁷ TH Lewin, *op.cit.*, p.271.

Advancing from Vanhnuna's village, they reached the Thorang ranges on 31st December. They entered Kawnpui village and the chief was Hunliana. No attack was occurred because the inhabitants fled, and the British seized their food stuff which the villagers left behind.⁸⁸ On the 2nd of January, General Brownlow and TH Lewin ascended the Thorang range, hoping to detect some sign of General Bourcheir's column; but could not get any signal from them. Only about ten miles off, the largest village of the Sailo tribe, Buarpui with the house of the head chief Savunga, was visible.⁸⁹ Also, about eight miles to the northern side, Lalngura village of Zopui was situated, and on the northern side of Buarpui the village of Lalzika can be seen.⁹⁰ The General was determined to attacked and destroyed all these villages.⁹¹

On the following day, Captain Battye of the 2nd Gurkhas, with two companies of that regiment was sent to investigate Lalngura's village and reported that it was held in force by the Mizos, who appeared to be ready for fighting.⁹² The next day, the regiment of Colonel Macpherson, 2nd Gurkha set out on the morning. Major MacIntyre led the assault and was the first man over the stockade.⁹³ As they were opposed by the Mizo there was violent firing and one Gurkha was killed and nine wounded, Captain Battye was also slightly wounded in the attack.⁹⁴ On that night, some men of Savunga approached TH Lewin to have a discussion with him. They said that their chief Savunga wished to come immediately with a peace-offering of elephant tusks. He replied that he might do with safety but until that the progress of the expedition would not be stayed and also added that their villages and crops would be spared if no resistance were offered. The next day was halted to see if anything would come of this overture, but the Mizos made no sign.⁹⁵

⁸⁸ Lalhruaitluanga Ralte, *op.cit.*, p.139.

⁸⁹ TH Lewin, *op.cit.*, p.272.

⁹⁰ Lalthanliana *op.cit.*, p.82.

⁹¹ TH Lewin, *op.cit.*, p.273.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 273.

⁹³ Lalthanliana *op.cit.*, p.82.

⁹⁴ TH Lewin, *op.cit.*, p.273.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

‘On the 6th of January, they advanced upon the village of Savunga. The road was not easy as it was blocked by huge boulders.’⁹⁶ ‘On arriving at a ‘jhum’, within about nine hundred yards of a small outlying village, they saw that it was filled with armed men, and the General thought this as a favorable opportunity for showing the Lushais the force of their guns which had not been used. Fifty Gurkhas were sent forward skirmishing straight to the front, while the mountain-battery was directed to open fire over their heads. They were shot by two mountain-batteries. The Mizo abandoned their village and spread to different directions for their own safety. On their way up to the village they found that the villagers prepared an avalanche of rocks which was to have swept the path leading upwards and also a store of spears and arrows to be launched on their head but the used of cannon make their plan in to naught’.⁹⁷

Lewin took Rothangpuia and his men along with fifty Gurkhas on the 13th January to subdue the next village which was plainly visible from their camp, but the inhabitants knew their approach and burned their village. Rothangpuia looked very discomfort due to the unnecessary destruction made by the villagers and did not want to proceed farther. He thought that if they keep on going there would be no peace between them. He made a proposal of returning to the village of Savunga, whence he would pass by a long roundabout route to south and thus only be able to gain access to Bengkhuaia and Sangvunga, the two brother who ruled the *Haulawng* tribe; his proposal was accepted by the General and stop the progress of the Expedition on Savunga’s village and Rothangpuia set off to meet Bengkhuaia and was accompanied by Subedar Muhamed Azim. He was directed to inform them that they should release all the captives unconditionally and free access for the British to the Haulawng territory, otherwise they should be attacked.⁹⁸

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*,p.274.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*,p.275.

During Rothangpuia's mission, the General turned his interest to the last remaining village of the brave *Sailo* Chief Lalzika of Pukzing, youngest son of Savunga, who made no sign of submission. The military set out at 8:30 am on the 21st January to avoid the mists of the early morning. To hold-up them, the Mizo blocked the road by stockade and while the army cleaned, they let fall an avalanche of rocks and stones to them, then they retreated to their village.⁹⁹ The military advance was resumed, about seven hundred yards of distance, seven-pound rifle guns was fired and the inhabitants fled in dismay. Though the village was fenced with a stockade and was in a strong position, it could not handle the cannon. The British took this village without any loss.¹⁰⁰

The British applied the tactic of scorch earth method in this village by destroying their crops and granaries in the surrounding areas. When they returned to their camp at Savunga's Village, news about the release of Mary Winchester, who had been delivered into the hand of Colonel Tyler of the 4th Gurkha was heard from Rothangpuia.¹⁰¹ Rather than keeping her in the camp, Colonel Tyler thought it would be more suitable for the girl to stay with the Mizo and then kept her to Rothangpuia's wife in one of his village called Lungno.¹⁰² One of the main objectives of the southern column was then achieved.

When Rothangpuia was again sent to negotiate with the Haulawng Chiefs, he requested the General to discontinue their attacked on the Mizos; otherwise, his safety might be jeopardized. While halting the expedition and waiting for Rothangpuia, one night they heard the sound of two gun shots followed by a scream of wounded man, and was replied with fire. Under the cover of darkness, the Mizos shot down one sentry through the jungle and retreated¹⁰³ applying the technique of guerrilla warfare. Thus, the military set out on 12th of February 1872, as there was no news from Rothangpuia, even after one week.

⁹⁹ Lalhruaitluanga Ralte, *op.cit.*, p.144.

¹⁰⁰ TH Lewin, *op.cit.*, p.276.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰² Lalhruaitluanga Ralte, *op.cit.*, p.144.

¹⁰³ TH Lewin, *op.cit.*, p.277.

The advancing force consisted of three hundred Gurkhas, with the two mountain guns and half a company of Sappers. According to TH Lewin —The path descended first some 2,300 feet into the valley of *Dalesari (Tlawng)* stream; then rose for 1,300 feet, leading along a ridge for some distance; then another plunge of 1,000 feet into the bed of another hill-stream, whence a final ascent of 1,600 feet brought us out on to a rolling upland- the country of the Haulawng.¹⁰⁴ After climbing valleys and hills, they camped for the night and in the morning, Lewin and Captain East went out together to explore their surroundings. At some distance, they saw a village burnt by the inhabitants on the day before their advance. When they reached the village, the villagers approached them, and had a friendly dialogue which makes them happy of hearing the news that the Mizos want to have peace with them; their chiefs were willing to release the captives. They sent the villagers back to their chiefs to bring the captives and arranged the matters so that no harm will be done to them.¹⁰⁵

The Chittagong column reached the village of Lianrikhuma on 13th February, and rest for a while and then proceeded on. In the jungles around Chawngmama's village, they found stores of grains and other things and left them untouched. They were told by the inhabitants that the left column or the Cachar column were about four days journey to the east, the General abandoned the hope of meeting with the left column as they were at the extreme end and lofty ranges of hills intervened.¹⁰⁶

From Lalburha's village, one and half day journey, emissaries came to them on 14th February with a word of peace from their chief, who after staying for a while, they were sent back to call their chief. When they entered Chawngmama's village Thenzawl, they were also followed by the people of Lianrikhuma. Forty inhabitants were on the village, showing no resistance from them, they resided and spend the night.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p.280.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p.281.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p.281

¹⁰⁷ Lalhruaitluanga Ralte, *op.cit.*, p.148.

The General sent out two reconnoitering parties on 15th February; one led by Major MacIntyre and returned after few hours and reported with the information about the roads and passes northwards. The second party under Captain Battye went east, and gave a report by sending messenger that a stream was there just a mile below their camp; the passage was barred by large body of armed Mizos. The General gave an order to return to the party, and Lewin was sent to negotiate with them. He found the fort guarded by Bengkhuaia's men, and requested them to get their chiefs. On that night, some Mizo men called Lewin while he was asleep in his hut, their message was that their chiefs wanted to have peace, and they will gather on the stream at dawn and requested him to come alone.¹⁰⁸

In the morning, Lewin went alone after crossing a stream through a rough bridge of tree trunk. A venerable white-bearded man took his hand and two other men bearing light canes made a passage for them through the crowd and led to the chiefs. The chiefs rose and received him. When he asked for Sangvunga, he approached him and handed over him a gun and Bengkhuaia took his short sword and hung it on the neck of Lewin. He also presented a sword and a mounted dagger as a returned gift. As Lewin spoke Lushai language and since the Chiefs had slight familiarity with Bengali language,¹⁰⁹ negotiations were carried out and Lewin ensured the Mizo chiefs that the force will be withdrawn if they complied with the conditions he made such as:-

- 1) They should give up all the British subjects whom they held captive.
- 2) Free and friendly access to their village both now and in future must be granted to the British.

¹⁰⁸ TH Lewin, *op.cit.*, p.282.

¹⁰⁹ Lalhrualtuanga Ralte,, *op.cit.*, p.152.

3) They should take solemn oath to abstain from making any raids in future upon British territory.

After some consultation, the terms of Lewin was accepted as their desire was to have peace, and promised him that they would send a definite answer on the next day.¹¹⁰

On the 18th February, a peace agreement was made, swearing an oath by blood and steel. As a peace-offering they presented the Government an elephant tusks, homespun cloth, guyal etc. And the day following, the first installment of captives were sent and promised that the rest who were scattered in distant villages should be collected and delivered to them.¹¹¹

The expeditionary force of the Southern Column (also called Chittagong column or right column) subdued the Mizo Chiefs of the Southern Lushai Hills by making peace agreement with the following chiefs-

- 1) Savunga
- 2) Lalgura
- 3) Lalzika
- 4) Vanhnuaia and his two brothers
- 5) Vankunga
- 6) Vanhnuna
- 7) Vanlula
- 8) Vanhuliana
- 9) Dothiauva
- 10) Vanchhuma
- 11) Lalhlira

¹¹⁰ TH Lewin, *op.cit*, p.282.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p.285.

- 12) Sangvunga
- 13) Bengkhuaia
- 14) Vansanga
- 15) Chawngmama
- 16) Lianrikhuma
- 17) Lalburha
- 18) Zathawma
- 19) Vandula
- 20) Sangliana
- 21) Seipuia
- 22) Vantawnga and his two bothers¹¹²

2.5 The Chin-Lushai Expedition.

Peace had been maintained for a considerable period of time of the 1871-1872 expedition. But on 18th January 1882, it was broken when Hausata, a Pawi¹¹³ chief and Muallianpui (Fanai) chiefs together raided the village of Lalhheuva, the successor of Rothangpuia. They killed twenty nine people, wounded seven and carried off ninety nine persons as captives and took number of animals for consumption. On 18th November 1883, Muallianpui villagers attacked a Frontier Police party who were on the way to Demagiri from Burkhul to Kolodyne River¹¹⁴ and killed two sepoy and a servant. A group of about twenty Lakhers (Mara) assaulted six Chakmas in February 1886 and killed two of them.¹¹⁵ In 1888, Lt Stewart was killed by the men of Hausata, breaching the peace settlement. The death of Lt Steward was avenged by the British under Col Treager's leadership in 1888-1889. Meanwhile, a number of raids were carried out by the Mizos. The Mizos committed a raid upon the territory of Pakuma Rani on 13th December 1888, an ally of the British, killing the Rani and other forty two persons. The Mizos took

¹¹² Lalhrualtuanga Ralte, *op.cit*, p.152.

¹¹³ Pawi is one of the Mizo tribe who inhabited the track between Tiau and Kolodyne river in the south east of Mizoram.

¹¹⁴ C Lalthlengliana, *The Lushai Hills; Annexation, Resistance and Pacification (1886-1898)*, p.17

¹¹⁵ Lalrimawia, *Mizoram; History and Cultural Identity (1890-1947)*, p.38

away fifteen captives and thirteen heads. Pakuma Rani's village was situated only four miles from Demagiri. Mizo Chief Kalkhama was suspected for the raid but the real perpetrators were the sons of deceased Chiefs Vuta who were Nikhama, Lungliana and Kairuma. The Chengri Valley was raided by the Mizo chief Lianphunga, son of Suakpuilala, in which twenty four villages containing 545 houses and killed 101 people and carried off ninety one captives were carried off.¹¹⁶

These incidents compelled the British in sending another expedition which they called 'The Chin-Lushai Expedition' of 1889-90. The southern column of the expedition was under the command of Brigadier-General V.W. Treager and consisted of the following troops;-

No. 2 Co. Bengal Sappers and Miners	117
3 rd Bengal Infantry	821
Detachment 9 th Bengal Infantry	301
2-2 nd (P.W.O) Gurkha Rifles	779
Half Battalion 2-4 th Gurkha Rifles	369
28 th Bombay Infantry (Pioneers)	731
Chittagong Frontier Police	202

The specific works assigned to the Southern Column consisted of –

¹¹⁶ FDEP. October 1889; Nos 27-66. John Edgar, *Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal letter to The Secretary of the Government of India.*

1. The construction of a mule path to Haka which would there unite with that being carried on from Kan, and thus form a through communication between India and Burma
2. The establishment of posts on the route so as to secure complete pacification and recognition of British power
3. The subjugation of tribes as yet neutral, but now by force of circumstances brought within the sphere of British dominion ¹¹⁷

The British Government decided to colonize the Mizo Hills eventually. Political Officers were posted both in Aizawl and Lunglei, Captain HR. Browne was appointed as Political Officer in the North and Mr Murray took charge as the first Superintendent of South Lushai Hills on 1st April, 1891. ¹¹⁸

MARA.

The first recorded raid of Mara (who resided in the extreme south eastern Mizoram) started in 1838 at a Khumi village called Hle ngkreing. Thirty to forty people were killed and thirty-eight women and children were taken to slavery. ¹¹⁹ On 1847, it was reported that the Maras raided the subject of Kalindi Rani, the Phru who were now known as the Bohmong. ¹²⁰ From 1847 onwards, they started to attack the British territory

¹¹⁷ AS Reid, *Chin-Lushai Land*, p.186.

¹¹⁸ Lalrimawia, *op.cit.*, p.39.

¹¹⁹ NE Parry, *The Lakhers*, p.7

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*

of Chittagong Hill Tract under Bengal Government in which 107 persons were killed, fifteen wounded and 186 were taken as captives.¹²¹

In 1871-1872, the Maras attacked the Pyndoo out post. Between 1874-1875 a number of raids were carried out. When the Lushai expedition took place in 1869 and 1871-1872, the Maras were left untouched.¹²² There was silence for long years. When Hausata murdered Lt John Steward, another expedition was undertaken to the Lushai Hills in 1888-1889 and some of the Mara villages were brought under the British rule.¹²³

Paitha, the village which was subject to the British was raided in 1906 by the Zeuhngang and carried off some runaway slaves and killed one. An expedition was prepared but before it was started, captives were released and the expedition was postponed on 1907. In 1907, Colonel Cole and Colonel Loch took a column to Savang and twenty guns was fined to the Zeuhngang for their raid on Paitha in 1906.¹²⁴ In 1917, the Balo village of Khumi tribe was also raided by the Lakis of Zyhno group and killed almost all the inhabitants. In the same year, Lochei, the British protected village was forayed by the people from Chapi and took some women for slaves.¹²⁵ As a result of these, retaliation was taken by the Superintendent of the Lushai Hills, Lakis and Chapi were punished.¹²⁶ In 1922, a meeting was held at Baw between the Superintendent of the Lushai Hills, the Deputy Commissioners of the Chin Hills and the North Arakan Hill Tracts and settled the boundaries between the three districts and the independent villages were divided among themselves.¹²⁷ In 1924, the Mara region of Zyhno, Hawthai, larger part of Tlosai-Siaha, small parts of Vytu and Chapi-Ngiaphia territories fell into the

¹²¹ John Hamlet Hlychho, *The Maras: Head Hunters to Soul-Hunters*, p.151.

¹²² Zakhu Hlychho, *Mara-te Tobul*, p.153

¹²³ NE Parry, *op.cit.*,p.7,

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*,p.11.

¹²⁵ John Hamlet Hlychho., *op.cit.*, p.152.

¹²⁶ NE Parry,*op.cit.*,p.12,

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*

Lushai district.¹²⁸ Therefore, from 1924, all the Mara areas have been under the British rule.¹²⁹

2.6. Conclusion.

The British colonization of Mizoram was due to the resistance made by the Lushai to defend their territory they used for hunting animals, which was occupied by the East India Company for tea plantation. The British used the policy of conciliation. Due to the continuous resistance made by the Lushai, they carried the expedition to buy themselves peace. In the expedition of 1871-1872, the chiefs of South Lushai Hills resisted the British fervently. The British adopted scorch earth policy and were well equipped with better arms than the Mizos. For resisting the British expedition, the Southern Lushai chiefs used the guns which they traded from their neighbouring country. The Mizos had possessed guns, but not sufficient to use, and was also of lower quality than the British. The weapons mainly used were indigenous products such as *daos*, spears, bows and arrows, avalanche of rocks. Guerrilla warfare was also practiced by them. Though the southern chiefs played a great role on resisting the British, the reason of their failure was due to the technological imbalance of weaponry and the effective intervention of Chief Rothangpuia on the side of the British, who knew about the land and the people deeply.

¹²⁸ John Hamlet Hlychho, *op.cit.*, p.152.

¹²⁹ NE Parry, *op.cit.*, p.12.

CHAPTER III

IMPACT OF COLONIAL RULE

Some of the elements of the colonial rule will be examined while seeking to understand the colonial rules in Southern Mizoram and the impact of colonialism will be investigated in this chapter.

3.1 Administration.

When the British colonized the Lushai Hills and put the Northern Hill under Assam and the Southern Hill under Bengal, Chin-Lushai conference was held in Calcutta on 25th December 1892 to discuss civil and military affairs connected with the control of the Chin and Lushai hills. The following Resolutions were passed:-

1. The majority of the conference are of opinion that it is very desirable that the whole tract country known as the Chin- Lushai Hills should be brought under one Administrative head as soon as this can be done. They also consider it advisable that the new Administration should be subordinate to the Chief Commissioner of Assam. Sir J. Dormer and Sir Alexander Mackenzie would defer any final decision as regards the eastern part of the tract till further information is obtained.
2. The conference is not prepared to assert that this step can be taken immediately. As matters now stand, the difficulties of communication, of supplies, and of transport are very serious, and it will in any case be necessary to suspend action until after the close of the present cold season's operations in the Chin and Lushai Hills.
3. The first thing to be done for the control of this tract is to improve the communications between the important places such as Cachar and Aijal, Aijal and western side of the tract. The opening out of these lines is a work of pressing importance. The necessary commissariat staff should also be provided to arrange for transport and supplies, till the tract is able to provide them for itself.

4. The conference is of opinion that the boundaries of the new administrative area should be, generally speaking, the boundaries of the tract occupied by the savages newly brought under British control, but the details of those boundaries can only be settled after consultation with local officers.

5. The conference is agreed that North and South Lushai, with such portion of the Arracan Hill Tracts as may hereafter be determined, should be placed under Assam at once on condition that –

(1) Complete transport and commissariat equipment for supplies from Chittagong to South Lushai, and from Cachar to North Lushai are provided

(2) Funds are granted for food and telegraph from Aijal to Lungleh.¹³⁰

The Chin-Lushai conference was again held at Lungleh in 1896. The recommendations of the officers who attended the Chin-Lushai Conference at Lungleh in December 1896 included the following points-

1. Withdrawal of the outpost at Fort Treager, but no other change in the position of existing permanent posts;

2. Constitution of a single battalion of Military Police, of 10 companies of 110 men each, to replace the existing battalion in the North and South Lushai Hills and the Civil Police force at Demagiri.

3. Construction of roads between Aijal and Lungleh and between Aijal and Falam. On the completion of these roads it will probably be safe to effect considerable reductions in the garrisons of the Chin and Lushai Hills.

4. Amalgamation of the North and South Lushai Hills at some date not later than the 1st April 1898.¹³¹

¹³⁰ Foreign Department Report On Chin Lushai Hills, September 1892, NAI.

¹³¹ MSA, CB 19, Pol 188. *Letter to the Chief Commissioner of Assam from the Secretary to the Government of India, Fort William, the 27th January 1898. No. 147-E.B.*

As a result of these conference, the proposal of the amalgamation of the North and South Lushai hills was materialized on 1st April 1898 and brought under the provision of Assam Frontier Tract Regulation 1880 and notifications were issued under the provision of this Act and the Scheduled District Act, 1874¹³² and the first superintendent was Col J Shakespear. Further administrative streamlining was undertaken in the form of dividing the entire Lushai hills district into two sub- division i.e. Aizawl sub- division and Lunglei Sub-division, and Aizawl as headquarters of the district and Lunglei as headquarters for Lunglei sub-division. Shakespear formulated the ‘Land Settlement Policy’ and made the boundaries of different chiefs. In 1901, a new system of ‘Circle Administration’ was introduced under which the district was divided into eighteen circles, eleven in Aizawl sub- division and seven in Lunglei sub-division, and Circle Interpreter was posted in each circle as an intermediary between the Sub- Divisional officers and the chiefs.¹³³ Circle Interpreters were aided by one circle *Chaprasai*,¹³⁴ the performance of circle interpreters depended on acuity and competency, coupled with a methodological control of records and reports. Circle interpreters were given register for used within each current year, in which all orders of a purely current nature were to be recorded and any notes he considered fit to enter. Then, it should be handed to the Lushai clerk to be kept by him for a period of three years and it would be discarded. Before handing in their current registers, circle interpreters extracted orders and notes which had a further temporary significance and these were taken up in the new register for the following years. The specific duties of the circle interpreters were to prepare House Tax Assessment and statistics.

Lushai clerk was filled from the ranks of circle interpreter and had a great measure of responsibility as the smooth working of some of the more troublesome sides of the Administration such as impressments and supplies greatly depended on this officer. The Lushai clerk at Lungleh was the President of Rahsi veng Panchayat and was responsible for the control of Rahsi veng. He was in charge for the assessment and

¹³² AG McCall, *The Lushai Hills District Cover*, p.1.

¹³³ *Mizoram District Gazetteers* 1989, p. 47.

¹³⁴ Chaprasai was a colonial government servant of subordinate rank.

collection of Personal Residence Surcharge in Lungleh Station. The people of Lungleh, non-government civilians paid him *Sachhiah*,¹³⁵ irrespective of the place where the animals were shot; chiefs of other villages were not entitled to claim his due if any animals were shot by Rahsi veng inhabitant in their areas. Lushai clerk was also responsible for calling supplies as required on demand by Government Officers and responsible for the smooth working and control that all impressments and demands were informed. The general control of Circle Register was taken up by him. He compiled monthly statistics which he received from the circle interpreter and did the primary work for the statistical clerk who was accountable for the correctness of the final figures.¹³⁶

The chiefs were deprived of their rights but were allowed to remain as chiefs in their own village on the condition that they should pay and uphold law and order within their respective jurisdiction as directed by the government. The following rights of the chiefs were abolished:-

1. Right to order capital punishment
2. Right to seize food stores and property of villagers who wished to transfer their allegiance.
3. Proprietary rights over lands, now arbitrarily reserved by Government, in the interest of the Public living in neighboring areas in British India.
4. Right to tax traders doing business within the Chief's jurisdiction.
5. Right to freedom of action in relation to making their sons chiefs under their own jurisdiction.
6. Right to help *Bawis* who were by custom, not open to redemption.
7. Right to freedom of action in relation to other kinds of *Bawi* who used to constitute the means whereby the chiefs could cultivate and acquire the ability to sustain their villages in peace and in war.

¹³⁵ Sachhiah was a portion of an animal's meat, given as a due by subjects to their chief.

¹³⁶ AG McCall, *op.cit.*, p.1.

8. Right to attach the property of their villages when they wished or deemed fit, with or without fault on the part of the villagers.¹³⁷

*Khawchhiar*¹³⁸ was put in each village as a secretary of the chief. He maintained a book in which he recorded the village house list with details of revenue exemption and especially *Kuli-awl*,¹³⁹ and list of all persons holding guns with license number. He recorded all orders received for supply of impressed labour and kept village boundary paper and all orders of a permanent nature affecting the village or the people. The other works of *Khawchhiar* was to maintain a birth register in which names of each child born, male or female and the name of the child's father. The name must be entered as soon as the child was given a name. He should also record any death stating cause and age. He must submitted report of detail, list of names monthly to reach the circle interpreter without fail by the seventh of every month succeeding that for which statistic had been compiled. On receipt of all the returns, the circle interpreter would incorporate these in his monthly return and submit as early as possible to the superintendent or sub-divisional officer to reach those officers not later than the 15th of any month. *Khawchhiar* must paid a fine of Re1/- if there were any irregularities or delayed. His registers should be examined when opportunity permits by the Vaccinating Inspection Staff, Circle Staff and Officers on tour.¹⁴⁰

3.2 Economy.

The Mizos practiced jhum cultivation for agriculture. In this cultivation, forest were cut down and burned to fertilize the soil. When the fertilized soil was degraded, they moved to another suitable land. After the Expedition of 1871-1872, TH Lewin introduced a new kind of permanent cultivating land, this was mentioned by Lewin that—

¹³⁷ *Mizoram District Gazetteers* 1989, p. 48.

¹³⁸ *Khawchhiar* was a village writer.

¹³⁹ *Kuli-awl* was an exemption of forced-labour to the people.

¹⁴⁰ AG McCall, *op.cit.*.p.1

Chiefest among these measures, was the permission to advance small sums (aggregating, however, £4,000) to the hill people, as loans with which to purchase ploughs and cattle, and so enable them once and forever, as I hoped, to abandon their old nomadic system of “jum” culture and settle down to own, and hold land, as a permanent cultivators.¹⁴¹ He also established bazaar (market) in Demagiri and was opened in 1873; Rs 3000 was sanctioned by the government and eleven shops had been established under his supervision. Rubber was the main item and during these times barter system was used for trade and Mizos used to exchange rubber, ivory, cotton, etc., for salt, iron, *dao*, tobacco etc.¹⁴²

It seemed that money was not introduced to the Mizos during the 1870s, but when the British colonized the hills in 1890, the used of money was known by the people. When Murray was defeated by Zakapa, Shakespear announced the rewards of Zakapa, Pazika and his councilors to be Rs 500, Rs, 200 and Rs 100 respectively.¹⁴³ Shakespear held a durbar of chiefs on 1st to 4th January 1892 near Lunglei and was attended by representatives from ‘every tribe’. Shakespear announced that the British occupation was permanent; feud with one another would not be tolerated and severe punishment should be taken. Regarding revenue, tribute payment in the form of rice would be accepted and labour should be paid 4 annas a day¹⁴⁴. From these, we can see that money was introduced. Thus, one impact of colonialism in the Southern Lushai Hills was the used of money economy.

In 1895, when coolies were demanded from the chiefs and without any objection, the chiefs supplied them with coolies and gave tribute; the payment of rice instead of money was insisted in most cases.¹⁴⁵ In the Chin-Lushai conference 1896 held in Lungleh, Mr Porteous, Political Officer from the North Lushai hills proposed the payment of

¹⁴¹ Th Lewin, *A fly on the wheel*, p.294.

¹⁴² Lahngurliana Sailo, “*Frontier Markets and The Mizos*” in *Historical Journal Mizoram Volume-XV*, p. 101.

¹⁴³ C Lalthlengliana, *op.cit.*, p.92.

¹⁴⁴ J Shakespear, *Administration report of the South Lushai Hills for the year 1891-92*.

¹⁴⁵ MSA, CB 4, G-44.

impressed labour 4 annas¹⁴⁶ daily to the market rate which was 8 annas, and hiked the rate of house tax paid from Re. 1 per house to the rate of Rs. 2 usual in the other hill tracts of the Province of Assam.¹⁴⁷ After consultation with the administration of Assam, rules regulating the rates of tribute and impressed labour were enforced from April 1899. Regarding the rules relating to tribute, it was paid in rice at the rate of 20 seers¹⁴⁸ of cleaned rice or one mound¹⁴⁹ of unhusked rice per house, and the superintendent decided whether husked or unhusked grain was to be taken. When rice was not taken, the rate of commutation was Rs 2/- per house. A rule relating to impressed labour was that, each house supplied one coolie for ten days, exclusive of the days spent in coming and leaving, and the rate was eight *annas* a day.¹⁵⁰ Even though money was introduced initially but not extensively, tribute payment in the form of rice was insisted because the British depended on the food supply of the people, which degraded their economy. The people still needed to pay *Fathang* to their chiefs and the payment of tribute in the form of items really affected their economy.

3.3 Religion.

Wherever the colonial powers were established, Christian missions inevitably followed. Historically, the general assumption was that colonial expansion to the non-Christian world was believed to be God's providence; it was regarded as opportunities for propagating the Gospel to the "heathen" world.¹⁵¹ The Mizo religious belief before the arrival of the Christian missionaries was "animism". They believed that the existence of human being was bounded by a ghostly company of powerful elements, and tendencies, mostly unfriendly in their character, formless spirit of which no image could be made and

¹⁴⁶ Anna was a currency formerly used in India and Pakistan, 25 paise coin was colloquially referred to as 4 annas.

¹⁴⁷ MSA, CB 3, Pol-36. *Letter to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal from R.H. Snyed Hutchinson Superintendent South Lushai Hills, Summary of opinions of Officers attending the chin-Lushai Conference held at Lungleh, December 1896, on subjects submitted for discussion.*

¹⁴⁸ One seer is equivalent to 1.25 kilogram.

¹⁴⁹ One mound is equivalent to 37.324 kilograms.

¹⁵⁰ MSA, CB 13, Pol-136. *Letter to the Commissioner of Chittagong from C.E.A. W. Oldham Under Secretary to the Government of Bengal.*

¹⁵¹ http://biblicalstudies.org.uk/pdf/jcta/07-03_vashum.pdf. Access on 28th October 2015.

no definite idea can be formed. Some of the spiritual beings had responsibility or spheres of influence of their own; one preside over cholera, another over small-pox, another over cattle disease; and some dwell in rocks, other haunts trees and others are connected with rivers, whirlpool, waterfalls or strange pools hidden in the depth of the hills. All of them required to be diligently propitiated, by reason of the ills which came from them, and usually the resources they had provided the means for their propitiation.¹⁵² All these sacrificial rituals were performed by the priest.

Contrasting the pre-colonial Mizo religion with Christianity, we must look the teaching of Christianity as the old religion was animism. In Christianity, there is only one God who created Heaven and Earth and the way to him was his crucified son Jesus who took away all the sins of men. If men repent his sin and turn to God, he is forgiven. Christianity teaches the message of love, peace, and harmony. To love one another and live together peacefully and helping others and forgive each other in times of disputes are the main teaching of Christianity.

With recognition of colonial government, the persons who first brought Christian religion in Lushai hills were JH Lorrain and his companion FW Savidge. They received a permission of ingress to Lushai Hills on 25th December 1893 from AW Davis who was the political officer of the Lushai Hills. Under the sponsorship of a rich merchant of Leeds, near London name Arthington, this Mission came to be known as Arthington Aborigine Mission.¹⁵³ They left Silchar on 26th December 1893 and took the route of *Tlawng* River by boat and spent 16 days in the river and finally reached Sairang on January 11, 1894; however, JH Lorrain recorded the date of their arrival in his Log Book on 13 January 1894.

¹⁵² AG McCall, *op.cit.*, p.67.

¹⁵³ H Thangtungnung, *Anglo-Lushai Relations 1890-1947*, p.121.

13 Jan 94 Arrival at Sairang (on 11 Jan 1894)

Arrival in Sairang, 50 coolies at work for fort. Told if asked Capt. Loch he would _____? Them to us. Write and sent letter up by 2 boatmen, answered that he could give us no assistance.¹⁵⁴

Before the permission of ingress to Lushai Hill was received from AW Davis, they met Assam Chief Commissioner Sir W. Ward (while he visited Silchar on December) and they had a negotiation with him. After a serious conversation, Lorrain had a glimmer of light to enter in the Lushai Hills. Lorrain and his friend FW Savidge were the first white men who were not a government employee to live in such a fearful raid place, so the officials were anxious for them. They were also frightened that Lorrain and his friend would be a trouble for the government and as well afraid that the Lushai people, who became Christians would resisted the government too. Under a strict condition, an agreement was made and the permission of ingress was given to them. When they arrived at Sairang, they asked for the coolies to Captain Loch, but he refused to give them due to the order they received that no assistance should be given to the missionaries.¹⁵⁵

Though the government had officially refused to give them any assistance, they however reached the Lushai Hills to finish their task. Whether or not they had been influenced by the ideologies of “cultural hegemony” is not known, but their main aim was to preach the Gospel. Despite facing many difficult circumstances, they still preferred to finish their mission.

As they were not given any assistance they were delayed in Sairang for five days. Lorrain wrote his first impression on Lushai people:

¹⁵⁴ JH Lorrain, *Log Book*, p.27.

¹⁵⁵ PL Lianzuala, *op.cit.*, p.95.

16.1.94 *Delayed in Sairang 5 days trying to get goods conveyed upto Aijal*

First Impression. I am sure if you were to walk through a Lushai village and were to see the pigs, fowls and youngsters all rotting and scrambling about in the dirt and could peep inside the squalid hovels in which these people live; you would think that it was high time that they were taught to be a little less like beast. And yet with all this dirt the Lushais seem to be a fine race and capable of great improvement. We can see the differences between these who have come in contact with their conquerors and these who have not. The former class wash their faces and some even make themselves look very nice.¹⁵⁶

Lorrain's first impression reflected the Mizo society of the period. Without any education the people was still in a "primitive society". As far as health was concerned, youngsters mixing up with pigs and fowls suggested that the society was not hygienic as compared to the standard of their society. The living conditions of the Mizos might be low, but to compare human with beast was inadvisable which portrait his mentality of white's superiority. He had seen them as a fine race, capable of great improvement, which showed that he had a great hope for them to become "civilize".

Since Lorrain's main intention was preaching about the Christian God to the Mizos who had their own traditional belief system, where a space for supernatural entities was present, he was confused with the equivalent word for God. As Lorrain mainly based his source of knowledge on TH Lewin's *Progressive Colloquial Exercises in the Lushai Dialect*, Lorrain was confused with the usage of the word *Pathian* and *Khuavang*. Lewin note down in his book, 'Patien' as 'evil spirit' (p. xii) and 'Kua-vang' as 'God, the good

¹⁵⁶ JH Lorrain, *Log Book*, p.28.

spirit' (p.ix)¹⁵⁷. But when Lorrain dwelt amongst the people of northern Lushai Hills, he found out that the people there referred 'the good spirit' as 'Pathian'.

29.1.94 Pathian = God or Devil

*The word we used in the south (according to Lewin) for Devil seems to be used here for God and the word we have always used for God not known here at all.*¹⁵⁸

It was only during the time of the Welsh Missionaries DE Jones (1897-1926) and Edwin Rowlands (1898-1923) that 'Pathian' was validated as the equivalent of God.¹⁵⁹ And when Lorrain published his *Dictionary of the Lushai Language* (1940), he put 'Pathian' as 'God, the Giver and Preserver of Life'¹⁶⁰ and 'Khua-vang' as 'the name of guardian spirit'.¹⁶¹

The Arthington Aborigine Mission was terminated and the Lushai Hills Mission was left under the hand of Welsh Mission. DE Jones, the Welsh missionary, arrived on 31st August, 1897 and the two missionaries of Arthington Aborigine Mission left the Lushai hills on 31st December, 1897.¹⁶² In 1899, DE Jones visited the Southern Lushai Hill and preached the Gospel. In a village of Pukpui, people gathered to listen his preaching. DE Jones was curious that whenever they preached on other villages only few adults and children listen to them, but in this village a crowd gathered to listen and after he inquired, it was due to the prophecy of Darphawka¹⁶³ who foretold, "*Tuipui ral*

¹⁵⁷ TH Lewin, *The Progressive Colloquial Exercises in the Lushai Dialect of the 'Dzo' or Kuki Language, with Vocabularies and Popular Tales.*

¹⁵⁸ JH Lorrain, *Log Book*, p.28.

¹⁵⁹ Lalhluangliana Kiangte (ed.), *Thuhlaril*, p.136. The book describes about the debate between Thangphunga and Suaka as to which was greater: 'Pathian' or 'Khuavang'? Khamliana at last suggested the usage of 'Pathian' as the word equivalent for God which DE Jones and E. Rowlands agreed to.

¹⁶⁰ JH Lorrain, *Dictionary of the Lushai Language*, p.352.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p.267.

¹⁶² B Lalhluangliana, *India, Burma, Bangladesh-a MIZO KOHHRANTE*, p.20.

¹⁶³ Lalhmuaka, *Zoram Thim Ata Engah*, p.107.

atangin mingo an lo kal anga, an thu lo awih rawh u".¹⁶⁴ In the same year, Sub-Overseer, Sohan Roy preached the gospel and Thankunga¹⁶⁵ asked him whether his message was same with the British Missionary or not. When he heard that the message was same, he then converted to Christianity on 18th December 1899, and along with him eight families converted.¹⁶⁶ In 1900, EW Rowland visited Lunglei and held a Christian convention. There were forty Christians during that time.¹⁶⁷ Due to the dispute between Christians and the chief of *Pukpui* village, chief Darmaka, the Christians were ostracised them from his village and a Christian village was established in *Sethlun* by the government in 1902. Eleven houses from *Pukpui* and six houses from other village joined them.¹⁶⁸

Under the Baptist Missionary Society, JH Lorrain and FW Savidge came back to Southern Mizoram and reached Lunglei on 13th March 1903.¹⁶⁹ In Lunglei, there were 125 Christian converts including children and 30 houses with 13 persons baptized by the Welsh Missionary who worked on the Northern Lushai Hills.¹⁷⁰ The first work they take up was on education and health care.¹⁷¹

3.4 Education and health care.

Government Schools were opened at *Demagiri* (Present Tlabung), Lunglei and Aizawl in 1893 to educate the children of British *sepoys* and other employees. These schools experienced regular changes of teachers and poor attendance of pupils. John Shakespear proposed grand-in-aid system of school in South Lushai hills after seeing the

¹⁶⁴ Men will come from beyond the sea and listen them.

¹⁶⁵ Darphawka brother in law was Thankunga, due to the prophecy made by Darphawka he was curious about the new religion. Later he became one of the first pastor among the Mizo.

¹⁶⁶ Rev V, Lazawnga, *Zoram Baptist Kohhran Chanchin Pawimawh Lawrkhawm*, p.26.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁹ PL Lianzuala, , *op.cit.*, p.303.

¹⁷⁰ *The Annual Report of BMS on Mizoram 1901-1938*, p. 7

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*,p.8.

need for its improvement.¹⁷² The two missionaries arrived in 1894, built their house and moved in on 9th February 1894, and they also built a school along with it and opened it on April 2nd 1894.

14 Feb. 94 Moved into our House on Friday 9 Feb. 1894. The First Mission House in Lushailand.¹⁷³

11 April 94. First school in Lushai land Opened on April 2nd 1894 with 2 pupils Tongphunga and Suaka. From 9 to 11 Every Morning Mastered Alphabet and word of one syllable in one week. Before one month passed could read almost anything we wrote. Had job to get many to start 'we are like monkeys and can learn nothing'.¹⁷⁴

Lorrain and his friend FW Savidge made the Lushai alphabet while they were in Silchar.¹⁷⁵ They studied the Lushai vocabularies and the language structure from the works of TH Lewin and Brojo Nath Saha's *Grammar of the Lushai Language* (1884). JH Lorrain made the statement as follows-

When we first came into contact with the Lushais at Kassalong in the Chittagong Hill Tracts in 1892, and settled amongst them at Fort Aijal in January, 1894, the tribe had no written language. Years before – in 1874 – Lt Col. (then Capt) Thomas Herbert Lewin, Deputy Commissioner of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, had published his 'Progressive Colloquial Exercises in the Lushai Dialect', and in 1884 Assistant Surgeon Brojo Nath Shaha, Civil Medical Officer of the same district, had published his 'Grammar of the Lushai Language,' both of which we found extremely useful in our earliest effort to learn words and phrases. Neither of these works, however, pretended to suggest a mode of literation which could be taught to the

¹⁷² J Zorema. *op.cit.*, p. 67.

¹⁷³ JH Lorrain, *Log Book*, p.29.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p.32.

¹⁷⁵ PL Lianzuala, , *op.cit.*, p.152.

*Lushais. It therefore fell to our lot to reduce the language to writing in such a way that our system could be readily adopted by the people themselves. For this purpose we chose the simple Roman script, with, a few slight emendations adopted since, is still used throughout the tribe with eminently satisfactory results.*¹⁷⁶

The alphabet they constructed while they were stationed at Silchar was:

À A B D E F G H I J K L M N O P R S T U V Z CH¹⁷⁷

They realigned the alphabet in 1897 as follows:

A AW B CH D E F G H I J K L M N O P R S T Ṭ U V Z¹⁷⁸

In the initial years, Lorrain and his companion Savidge made a great effort to teach their newly constructed alphabets to Liana Hauhnar, Khuma and others while they were stationed at Silchar. After their several attempts to teach and the failure of their students, they shifted their attention to Suaka and Thangphunga, who joined them lately by the pressure of Captian Loch.¹⁷⁹

On their arrival on the South Lushai Hills in 1903, JH Lorrain and FW Savidge established a school at Serkawn along with hostel having seven seats. FW Savidge selected seven students from the Government school and took them to Serkawn.¹⁸⁰ Later on, twenty four students were registered.¹⁸¹ In February 1905, education of the Lunglei Sub-division was transferred to the Baptist Mission with Savidge as the Honorary

¹⁷⁶ JH Lorrain, *Dictionary of the Lushai Language*, p.v .

¹⁷⁷ PL Lianzuala, *op.cit.*, p.154.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*,p.116.

¹⁸⁰ PL Lianzuala, *op.cit.*, p.322.

¹⁸¹ *The Annual Report of BMS on Mizoram 1901-1938*, p. 8.

Inspector. Schools were opened in 1906 in the village of Sethlun, Bualpui and Darhulha's village.¹⁸²

To win the heart of the people, Mission dispensary was opened at *Serkawn* by the two missionaries and hundreds of patients had visited the dispensary.¹⁸³ From different villages, people took medicines from the dispensary. Numbers of people who took the medicines and the years are shown on the table —

Year	Number of People
1904	1500
1905	1560
1906	2760
1907	4188
1909	4000
1910	5000
1911	4695
1912	5427
1913	4146
1914	5486
1915	7314
1916	7434
1917	6845
1918	5331
1919	9176

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¹⁸² J Zorema, *op.cit.*, p. 68.

¹⁸³ *The Annual Report of BMS on Mizoram 1901-1938*, p.7.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

¹⁸⁴ K Lalrinthanga and J Lalduhawma(ed), *BCM Mission Compendium, 1939-2014*, p.689.

To their support, BMS sent another two missionaries — Miss O. E. Dicks of Cheltenham who was a trained nurse and midwife, and Miss E. M. Chapman of Catford who was a trained teacher.¹⁸⁵ In 1922, Miss E.M. Oliver who was a trained nurse reached Serkawn to help them in Dispensary. On February 1923, the wife of Lushai Hills Superintendent Mrs Scott opened a new Hospital and the new hospital was named ‘Serkawn Damdawi In’ which is now known as ‘Christian Hospital Serkawn’.¹⁸⁶

3.5 Culture.

When the British colonized the Lushai hills, the chiefs were deprived of some of their rights and a new system of administration was introduced. These brought a new change in society and created a new social group. When the post of Circle Interpreter was introduced, the people who held this job gained importance in the society and misused their power and misutilized the new administrative system causing public protests in 1906 and 1907 in the far south of Lushai Hills. In December 1907, Major Cole and a force of 100 Military Police under Lt. Col. Lock visited the troubled area and fined the villagers involved in these protests Rs. 500/- in the shape of 20 guns.¹⁸⁷ These showed the injustice of the British administration in the Lushai Hills, when they imposed fines to the protestors rather than the Circle Interpreters who were the root cause of the protests.

The coming of Christianity gradually undermined the traditional authority and church was the alternative power center. As education was introduced, a new kind of educated class emerged in the society and began to assert position and status in the newly stratified socio-political establishment and the chiefs slowly lost their influence in the society.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁵ *The Annual Report of BMS on Mizoram 1901-1938*, p.153.

¹⁸⁶ KMS Dawngliana, , *BCM Handbook(Mizoram Baptist Kohhran thu chitin Chuanna)*, p.68.

¹⁸⁷ *Mizoram District Gazetteers 1989*, p.44.

¹⁸⁸ O Rosanga, *Mizo Resistance against Colonial Rule in Mizoram*, in *NEIHA Proceedings*, 2011, p.336.

Another impact of colonial rule in the Mizo society was the abolition of the customary practice of drinking “Zu”.¹⁸⁹ Regarding the drinking of “Zu” which the British called it strong drink, it was evident on the 1913 report of BMS given by Lorrain that the missionaries forbade all the Christians, his statement as follows-

*The association of strong drink in Lushai is all utterly opposed to a holy Christian life. At a beer drink all the vilest passions of the people are let loose, obscene songs and jests abound, and it is unthinkable that any follower of Jesus could join such a company and still keep his garment unspotted by the world. So with the fully consent of our early converts, we made a rule that strong drink must be abandoned by all Lushais who wish to join the Christian community, and therefore everyone who bears the name of Christian in this country is a total abstainer.*¹⁹⁰

Though the use of *Zu* had great significance in the daily life of the people, the missionary prevented the newly converts and encouraged them to abstain from drinking *Zu*. As a result, beer vases were broken and thrown away and abandoned into disuse in many villages. Tea replaced the drinking of *Zu* as a beverage. The common use of *Zu* became insignificant.

After 1936, another resultant impact was the abolition of *Zawlbuk*.¹⁹¹ *Zawlbuk* was a bachelor dormitory and an important social institution where bachelors spent the night by sleeping together and a place where they were trained and shaped into responsible adults and much of their nights were spent here. The education of *Zawlbuk* could be classified into upper and lower stage. The lower stage was known as *thingnawifawn*.¹⁹² Mizo parents sent their boys about eleven years old to *Zawlbuk* and

¹⁸⁹ Zu is a fermented rice beer.

¹⁹⁰ Jh Lorrain, *BMS, South Lushai Hills Mission Report for 1913*, p.98.

¹⁹¹ H Thangtunung, *Anglo-Lushai Relations*, p.142.

¹⁹² *Thingnawifawn* was to collect fire stick or twig, done by male child.

were admitted into the stage of *thingnawifawm*. Their main duties were to collect fire wood to fuel the fire and if any defaulters were found, punishment was inflicted on them, which were to collect two bundles of fire wood immediately even after nightfall. In this stage, they learned obedience to their elders, self- discipline and respect of social norms and values. After passing the *thingnawifawm* stage, they were admitted to the upper stage known as *Tlangval*,¹⁹³ where they were accepted as a grown up adult and could started sleeping in *Zawlbuk* along with the other bachelors.¹⁹⁴

As the missionaries established school and gave formal education after 1894, it indirectly replaced the *Zawlbuk* system and as such the *Zawlbuk* gradually lost its importance. Christianity taught new morality in the service of Christ and as a result the traditional practices in all forms were dislocated which led to the degradation of the *Zawlbuk* practice.¹⁹⁵ Moreover, by abolishing *Zawlbuk*, the authorities of the chiefs were reduced under the colonial regime. The obliteration of *Zawlbuk* resulted in the decline of indigenous cultural practice, it also deprived the youths from learning oral tradition about their history and culture. As modern education and Christian ethical values were infused in the society, it resulted in tremendous disregard and discredit of the old value systems and traditional practices by the younger generations.

The forms of music and dance changed from traditional to western style and the missionaries discouraged the native Christians to composed songs in traditional tunes as they considered it to be connected with the native ritual lore.¹⁹⁶ Instead of composing new songs, western hymns were translated into Mizo language and used in worship and devotional services. However, the Mizos were a good composer of songs and lovers of music and art and also creative and talented people as well, the native Christians started

¹⁹³ Tlangval is a bachelor.

¹⁹⁴ C Lalremruata, *Zawlbuk- A Traditional School Of The Mizo in Historical Journal Mizoram Volume – XV*, p.243.

¹⁹⁵ H Thangtunung, *op.cit.*, p.143.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p.145.

composing a song with the mixed culture of western and indigenous, which produced a new style of songs known as *Lengkhawm zai*.

The dress code was also changed into western ways, the indigenous customs and fineries which consisted of homemade cloth, white coat, blouse, two pronged pin, amber necklaces etc were replaced by European clothing. Shoes were started worn by young women as fashion and started using hair oil, face powder and soap, and men began to cut their hair short and wore tailor-made cloths and shoes.

3.6 Conclusion.

When the Lushai Hills came under the colonial rule, for easy administration the British government segregated the Lushai Hills into two parts and placing the Southern Lushai hills under the administration of Bengal and the Northern Lushai Hills under the administration of Assam. On 1st April 1898, the North and South Lushai Hills were amalgamated and put under the administration of Assam. The impact of colonialism in the Lushai Hills changed the Mizo society in many ways. For administrative purpose, circle interpreters and Lushai clerks were introduced which created a new social class in the society and denial of the rights of the chiefs showed the paramouncy of the British. The introduction of taxes and levies in the form of cash and tribute payment which was insisted in the form of rice was degrading the economy of the people. The new religion introduced western education which played a crucial role for administering the hills and also initiated health care for winning the heart of the people which converted them into Christianity. The coming of Christianity gradually undermined the traditional authority and church was the alternative power centers. As education was introduced, a new kind of educated class emerged in the society and began to assert position and status in the newly stratified socio-political establishment and the chiefs slowly lost their influence in society and the educated class started to deprecate the importance of *Zawlbuk*. *Zawlbuk*

was finally abolished which degraded the culture of the Mizo people and the prohibition of drinking *Zu* by the missionaries and replaced with tea was another impact of colonial rule. The change in music and dances along with dress code showed the domination of the British

CHAPTER IV

RESISTANCE TO COLONIAL RULE

This chapter focuses on the resistance offered by the Chiefs and their people of South Lushai Hills to colonialism and its impact. The chapter begins by exploring the meaning and the varied forms of resistance and proceeds to try and understand the forms of Mizo resistance to British colonialism in the South Lushai Hills.

4.1 Meaning and forms of Resistance.

The meaning of resistance according to Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary is 'dislike of or opposition to a plan, an idea etc; refusal to obey and the act of using force to oppose something.'¹⁹⁷ "Resistance" is a relatively under research field of social science. Depending on the definition of "power", different types of activities will count as resistance. According to Vinthagen, "Within resistance studies there exists a plurality of concepts and definition of resistance incorporating e.g. 'disguised resistance', 'critical resistance, 'off-kilter resistance' or 'civil resistance'. Within other somewhat overlapping fields, such as social movement studies, terrorism studies or subaltern studies, there exist also suggestions of other concepts with different but similar connotations, e.g. 'contention', 'protest', 'power struggle', 'revolution', or 'mimicry'.¹⁹⁸ Scholars have used the term resistance to describe a wide variety of actions and behaviours at all levels of human social life such as individual, collective, institutional and in a number of different settings, including political systems, entertainment and literature, and the workplace. Indeed, everything from revolutions to hairstyles has been described as resistance. The

¹⁹⁷Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, p.1291.

¹⁹⁸Stellan Vinthagen, *Understanding "Resistance": Exploring definitions, perspectives, forms and implications*, www.resistancestudies.org. Access on 29th March 2015.

term resistance is defined variously as acting autonomously, in one's own interest or active effort to oppose, fight and refuse to cooperate.¹⁹⁹

According to James C. Scott “resistance includes any act(s) by member(s) of a subordinate class that is or are intended either to mitigate or deny claims-(for example, rents, taxes, prestige) made on that class by super-ordinate classes (for example, landlords, large farmers, the state) or to advance its own claims (for example, work, land, charity, respect) vis-a-vis those super-ordinate classes.”²⁰⁰ Thus, all the definitions of resistance are intrinsically intertwined; it can be said that resistance is anything opposed to its adversary whether it is active or passive, military or unarmed, physical or mental, overt or covert and between dominant and oppress.

In so far as Mizo resistance to British colonial expansion in the South Lushai Hills we may look at two forms of resistance, which are appropriate for the present study. Scott has made a categorization which built on the two main forms of resistance,²⁰¹ the public and the disguised resistance which correspond to three forms of domination (material, status and ideological), resulting in six types of resistance.

Resistance exists in the public form as public declared resistance such as ‘open revolts’, ‘petitions’, ‘demonstrations’, ‘land Invasion’. ‘Open revolts’—to be in an ‘open revolt’ means to break away from or rise against constituted authority, as by open rebellion. It also connotes the refusal to accept or be subjected to some authority, condition, etc. it means to turn away in mental rebellion, disgust, or abhorrence; or to feel mental aversion.²⁰² ‘Petition’— *Oxford Advanced Learners’ Dictionary* defines petition as a written document signed by a large number of people that asks somebody in a position of authority to do or change something. It can also mean an official document

¹⁹⁹ A Hollander Jocelyn and Rachel L. Einwohner, *Conceptualizing Resistance*, p.534

²⁰⁰ James C Scott, *Weapons of the week: Everyday forms of peasant resistance*, p. 290

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*

²⁰² www.thefreedictionary.com/revolt. Access on 3rd July. 2016.

asking a court to take a particular course of action. As an action, it means to make a formal request to somebody in authority, especially by sending them a petition.²⁰³ ‘Demonstration’—According to Merriam-Webster Dictionary, ‘demonstration’ refers to an act of showing someone how something is used or done. It can also mean an event in which people gather together in order to show that they support or oppose something or someone. The term is also used to describe an act of showing or proving something.²⁰⁴ ‘Land invasions’—‘Land Invasion’ refers to the illegal occupation of land, with the intention of establishing dwellings / a settlement upon it. An invasion may be by one individual or by hundreds of households - but the nature of the problem and the measures required to deal with it are the same. These are against material domination; assertion of worth or decoration of status symbols against status domination; or counter-ideologies against ideological domination.

Resistance also exists in the disguised form (low profile, undisclosed or “infra-politics”) as everyday resistance, for examples-‘poaching’, ‘squatting’, ‘desertion’, ‘evasion’, ‘foot-dragging’. Oxford Advanced Learners’ Dictionary defines ‘poaching’ as to take and use somebody or something that belongs to somebody or something else, especially in a secret, dishonest way. In its literal sense, it means to illegally hunt animals, birds or fish on somebody else’s property or without permission.²⁰⁵ Squatting—to ‘squat’ means to live in a building or on land this is not yours, without the owner’s permission.²⁰⁶ It can also mean to settle on unoccupied land without legal claim; or to occupy a given piece of public land in order to acquire title to it.²⁰⁷ ‘Desertion’ means ‘to stop buying, using or supporting something’. In a passive tone, it means to go away from a place and leave it empty.²⁰⁸ It also connotes abandonment without consent or legal justification of a person, post, or relationship and the associated duties and obligations.

²⁰³ *Oxford Advanced Learners’ Dictionary*, p.1130

²⁰⁴ <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/demonstration>. Access on 3rd July 2016.

²⁰⁵ *Oxford Advanced Learners’ Dictionary*, p.1161

²⁰⁶ *Ibid*, p.1485

²⁰⁷ <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/squatting>. Access on 3rd July 2016.

²⁰⁸ *Oxford Advanced Learners’ Dictionary*, p.413.

To a certain extent, it can also mean a state of being deserted or forsaken.²⁰⁹ ‘Evasion’ means the act of avoiding something that you do not want to do or deal with; or the act of evading something. It also means a way of avoiding something. It can also mean a statement or action that avoids directly dealing with something (such as a difficult problem or question)²¹⁰. ‘Foot- dragging’ means the failure to act with the necessary promptness or vigor. In simpler terms, it means failure to do something quickly because one does not want to do it.²¹¹ In disguised form, resistance also exist as direct resistance by disguised resisters against material domination; hidden transcripts of anger or disguised discourse of dignity against status domination; or dissident subcultures (e.g. millennial religion, myths of social banditry class heroes) against ideological domination.²¹²

The term “subaltern” is used in a postcolonial theory. “Subaltern” originally is a term for subordinates in military hierarchies which is elaborated in the work of Antonio Gramsci to refer to groups who are outside the established structure of political representation. Subaltern was first used in a non-military sense by Marxist Antonio Gramsci. Subaltern classes may include peasants, employees and other groups denied access to ‘hegemonic’ power. Thus, Subaltern was a notion of resistance to elite domination.²¹³

4.2 Armed resistance in South Lushai Hills.

When the British subjugated the native people and colonized them, revenues and other levies were imposed. When the Lushai Hills was annexed, for the construction of road, supply of coolies was demanded to the chiefs which became big problems to

²⁰⁹ <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/desertion>. Access on 3rd July 2016.

²¹⁰ <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/evasion>. Access on 3rd July 2016.

²¹¹ <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/foot-dragging>. Access on 3rd July 2016.

²¹² <http://www.resistancestudies.org/files/VinthagenResistance.pdf>. Access on 3rd July 2016..

²¹³ Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffith and Helen Tiffin (et.al), *Post Colonial Theory: Key Concept, Second Edition*, p.200

them.²¹⁴ All the revenues and taxes obliged and demand of coolies were the impact of colonialism. As South Lushai Hills was under the administrative control of the Deputy Commissioner of Chittagong Hill Tracts after its attachment to Bengal, C. S. Murray of the Bengal Police was appointed Superintendent with Headquarter at Lunglei.²¹⁵ Beside the Fort at Lunglei, they established Fort Treager in Darzo village and a base at Demagiri.²¹⁶

The first instance of resistance to the colonial rule of the British was when Mr Murray demanded a girl for sexual satisfaction and was resisted by a Fanai²¹⁷ chief Zakapa of Khawhri village. According to LW Shakespear, the main reason of revolt that broke out in the Southern Hill was 'a result of injudicious action on the part of Mr Murray (Civil Police), who was on tour with an escort of Frontier Police and visiting Zakapa's village, a chief who had submitted but whose people were still restive and unsettled, and who lived some distance north of Fort Tregear across the Koladyne River.'²¹⁸ In the beginning there was no misunderstanding in the relations between the British and Zakapa.²¹⁹ On 8th February, Murray reached Zakapa's village and halted the night. When Murray demanded coolies to the chief Zakapa, he answered him in a good and friendly manner; courteously agreeing to give them the labourers he demanded.²²⁰ The following day, Zakapa along with Lalchhuma, the neighbouring chief whose village was only a distance of two hundred yards, were called to meet Murray but refused to meet him. On the next day, they still declined to meet Murray.²²¹ Murray walked to Lalchhuma's village to find them in the chief's house with a large number of men around them. He asked the chief whether he should obeyed him or not and threatening him. Unless they followed him to Zakapa's village, he told them before leaving the village,

²¹⁴ SuhasChatterjee, *Mizoram Under the British Rule*, p.113.

²¹⁵ J Zorema, *Indirect Rule In Mizoram 1890-1954*, p. 36

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*

²¹⁷ Fanai is a sub-tribe of Pawi(Lai) tribe.

²¹⁸ LW Shakespear, *History of Assam Rifles*, p. 96.

²¹⁹ Lalthanliana, *Zalen Nana British Do*, p.159.

²²⁰ SuhasChatterjee, *Mizoram Under the British Rule*, p.113.

²²¹ C Lalthlengliana, *The Lushai Hills; Annexation, Resistance and Pacification (1886-1898)*, p.88

“This is the last time I give you the order; if you refuse to obey, you must take the consequence”.²²²

Murray left twenty men with two signallers in Zakapa’s village and moved out to destroy their granary which was about two and half miles away from the village. While they were off to burn granary, Murray’s men whom he left in the village were attacked by Zakapa’s men who killed three soldiers, two signallers, and one chef; while the others escaped the incident to the forest. On their way back to the village, Murray and his men were ambushed by Zakapa’s men. News of the incident and the reason was soon spread to other neighbouring villages. Fifty nine men of Murray’s *coolie* from Dokapa’s village to Zakapa’s village and were on the way to Lalbuta’s village threw down their loads when they heard the outburst and joined the attacked. Not only Dokapa’s men, but also Kapchhunga and Lachhuma’s villagers joined in.²²³ Though Murray’s men shot back, they could not withstand for long and somehow managed to retreat and made their way to *Chhimtuipui* (Koladyne) through the forest and reached their camp on the following day.²²⁴

The Commissioner of Chittagong Division David Robert Lyall asked Murray to explain the entire episode specially the refusal of coolies supply by the chiefs as he had doubt on Murray.²²⁵ The main reason of this incident was not the supply of coolies as the enquiry revealed. Mr. Murray’s interpreter’s statement reveals that there was something else besides the supply of coolies as to the cause of the violence:

Zakapa sent 50 coolies to carry the baggage. Mr Murray had asked for 100. On the arrival of Mr Murray to Jacopa’s village, Jacoba met the sahib with welcome. Mr Murray told me to get two girls for himself and the ChotaSaheb

²²² *Ibid.*, p.88

²²³ C Lalthlengliana, *op.cit.*, p.91

²²⁴ Lalthanliana, *Zalen Nana British Do*, p.160

²²⁵ C Lalthlengliana, *op.cit.*, p.88

*(Mr Tyler). I said, where shall I get them from. Mr Murray said, tell the chief to get them. I did so. Then I and Vaitlaia and Jacopa searched for these girls, and could not get them any. Then we went to Mr Murray and told him and he said, 'Why cannot you get them; go and make a 'Banda bust'. After we persuaded two girls to come but when I told them that they would sleep with the Saheb, they said "No, we won't" and run away.*²²⁶

The interpreter reported that they had searched girls desperately, and if Murray agreed he would catch them but was not agreed.

*No do not catch them, the Sepoy will see, but if you cannot bring me two women, I will have the wives of Jacopa and Pajika. Jacopa was present and Mr. Murray said it in Lushai, and at once Jacopa's family began to leave the village.*²²⁷

The enquiry report was accepted by the government and Mr Murray was instantly removed as his conduct was disgraceful that led to the principal cause of the outbreak.²²⁸ Captain Hutchinson moved to Zakapa's village from Fort Treager with 100 men from 2nd Gurkha and 50 men from Frontier Police on 20th February 1891. When they reached the village, without any armed resistance from the inhabitants, they took and burned the village. Zakapa was nowhere to be found, and he moved from place to place to escape from the British encounter.²²⁹ Meanwhile, Flying columns under the leadership of Colonel Evans and Lieutenant Cole searched the hills scrupulously for the chiefs and their *mantris* who were involved in the attacked. Dokapa, Kapchhunga, Lalchhuma and their *mantris* were caught on March 1891.²³⁰

²²⁶ *Ibid.*,p.90

²²⁷ *Ibid.*

²²⁸ *Ibid.*

²²⁹ Lalthanliana, *op.cit*, p.160

²³⁰ C Lalthlengliana, *op.cit*,p.91

The Government of India and the Secretary of State agreed Captain Shakespear to take charge from Murray on the 16th April 1891 and his first task was to punish Zakapa²³¹. Shakespear held a *darbar* of chiefs from 1st to 4th January 1892 near Lunglei and was attended by representatives from every tribe of South Lushai Hills. Shakespear reiterated that the British occupation was permanent; internal conflict would not be tolerated and severe punishment would follow. Regarding revenue, tribute payment in the form of rice will be permitted and labour should be paid 4 *annas* a day²³², The Commissioner thought that it was less and made it to 8 *annas*.²³³

On 30th January 1892, Shakespear met McCabe, the Superintendent of the North Lushai Hills, at Kairuma's village and settled the boundary between the North and South Lushai hills. Shakespear then proceeded to the South in the village of Dokulha (Lai chief), brother of Hausata²³⁴ who involved in the murder of Lt Steward. Shakespear was investigating a blood feud between Dokulha and a Mara chief Thongliena which was detrimental to the peace of Southern Lushai Hills.

On 17th February, Shakespear assistant Mr R. Sneyd Hutchinson was sent with Subedar and thirty-six men against Dokulha's village.²³⁵ Hutchinson's account read as follows:

"We reached old jhums in about an hour and then struck down a path into some of this year's jhums. Two houses were heavily laden with dhan but nobody was about. When then we went through high tree jungle up to the top of a hill. While ascending I heard a cock crowing so knew we were near our goal and advanced with great caution. On topping the summit I saw the

²³¹ Robert Reid, *The Lushai Hills*, p.44

²³² MSA, CB-1, G-9, J Shakespear, *Administration report of the South Lushai Hills for the year 1891-92*.

²³³ Robert Reid, *op.cit*, p.45

²³⁴ *Ibid*.

²³⁵ *Ibid*

village with light of fires in the houses lying below me; we moved rapidly down the side but were observed just nearing the north village and yell was given. I charged into the village with some 15 men who were near me: men with guns came tumbling out of the houses and I heard shot fired. I had ordered my men not to fire but to follow me in a rush on the Chief's house, the situation of which I knew. Unfortunately a man with a gun took deliberate point blank aim at me and I fired at him with my pistol, he lurched forward dropping the gun but was seized and carried off by some other men near him, the gun remaining with me. The delay of a minute or so just stopped me from getting Dokola who made away as I entered the house in company with some other men.”²³⁶

Mr. Hutchinson did not know the man who disappeared before him, but learned later that it was the Chief Dokulha himself. On 18th February, Dokulha gave himself to the British.²³⁷ Dokulha made a statement after two days of his capture which showed the feud in the hills as follows:

Thongliena's men shot my brother Vantura. If I did not kill some men my brother's spirit would have no slave in the "Head men's village, therefore I went and shot two men of Thongliena's village. We met some of BoiteThilkara's village and mistook them for Thongliena's men and so shot at them.”²³⁸

The news of Lalburha's resistance against the British and his attacked on McCabe on 2nd March 1892 reached Shakespear on the 5th and decided to proceed on the North with 3 British Officers and 150 rifles of the Frontier Police.²³⁹ Though Shakespear was not call for this, he knew that the *Haulawng* chiefs were a branch of the *Sailo* and if

²³⁶ *Ibid.*,45

²³⁷ *Ibid.*,p.46

²³⁸ C Lalthlengliana, *op.cit*,p.92

²³⁹ *Ibid.*,p.47

he moved around the *Haulawng* group of Villages it would prevent them from joining the other Lushais.²⁴⁰ He reached Lalauva's village Bualpui from Lunglei and proceeded to Vansanga's village Chhiphir. Before reaching the village, they were ambushed by Vansanga's men on 16th March 1892. After repulsing their attackers, Shakespear and his forces annexed the village.²⁴¹ Shakespear was invited by Vansanga's mother to visit her village, Zote.²⁴² On his way, he found that the village was strongly stockade and stormed the stockades but lose one *sepoy*. He realised that he could not took the village with just 150 rifles. Therefore he returned to Vansanga's village and wait for the reinforcement.²⁴³ One account written in Mizo vernacular claimed that the British annexed *Zote* Village and then proceeded to Lungrang.²⁴⁴ When they reach near the village, they knew that it was well defended and the inhabitants were fully prepared to resist the British. The village was situated on a precipice and the villagers prepared *lung sahbuaak* (an avalanche of rocks).²⁴⁵ Under the command of Lt Boileau, they attacked from the flank, fired and moved towards the small gate which was luckily opened. In the mean time, for letting the flanking group, the main group tried to divert their attention. One Lushai was injured and one *sepoy* was killed. The Lungrang sentinels were surprised from the rear and scattered to different direction. The British forces took the village, and on their way back to Vansanga's village the Mizos continued to harass them from the jungle with frequent volley of fires.²⁴⁶

When the British took *Chhiphir* village, they halted the night and made a good post to defend themselves from the Mizos. When the combined force of Rolura's son attacked them, it was not easy for Shakespear to proceed further with about 100 men. He himself was attacked on this stockade by chief Vansanga and his brothers. Shakespear sought reinforcement from Chittagong. This battle lasted for the whole month of April.

²⁴⁰ C Lalthlengliana, *op.cit*,p.92

²⁴¹ Lalthanliana, *op.cit*, p.164

²⁴² A.G McCall, *LuhsaiChrysalis*, p 61.

²⁴³ MSA, CB-1, G-9, J Shakespear, *op.cit*.

²⁴⁴ Lalthanliana, *op.cit*, p.164

²⁴⁵ *Ibid*

²⁴⁶ C Lalthlengliana, *op.cit*,.p.96

Convoy between Lunglei and *Chhiphir* were attacked, telegraph lines were cut off and no means of communication was possible. As their situation was grave, Government of Bengal informed Burma and asked for assistance. From the Chin Hills, under the command of Captain Rose, 150 Gurkha Rifles and 100 soldiers entered Dokhuma's village on 2nd May. On the news of their arrival, the Mizos ceased fire and left the village.²⁴⁷

Despite the establishment of British rule in South Lushai Hills from mid 1890, the Mizos in this area were far from being subdued and sporadic violence remained unabated. A number of Mizo chiefs were still not convinced about the permanency and finality of the British rule and the occupation of the land. They put up resistance of various forms- arm resistance was the foremost one which intended to resist the British colonizers with arms struggle. However, due to resource and manpower imbalance, which favoured the British, the Mizo chiefs who resisted them were eventually subdued one after another.

4.3 Evasion and denial of service.

Notwithstanding their failure to resist the British colonizers through armed struggle, some Mizo chiefs continued to refuse to accept the paramountcy of the British in the entire Lushai Hills. The chiefs and their subjects showed not only hostile attitude toward the British but also resorted to evading the colonial officials and refused to comply with their demands for tribute payment in the form of labour and payment of house tax. One of such Mizo chief in South Lushai Hills who refused to co-operate with the British colonial authority was Chieftainess Ropuiliani, widow of chief Vandula, one of the most powerful chiefs in South Lushai Hills. While projecting her youngest son Lalthuama as the head of villages under the control of her deceased husband, Ropuiliani

²⁴⁷ Lalthanliana, *op.cit*, p.166

in fact had complete control over him. Though Lalthuama did not resist the British with arms, but he was a big trouble to the colonial authority in South Lushai Hills. A scholar working on British colonialism in Lushai Hills states that Lalthuama, ‘was under the complete control of his mother, RopuiLeni’.²⁴⁸ There were six villages under the control of Vandula and when he died, Ropuiliani, a very strong willed woman consequently dominated all these villages.²⁴⁹ All the villages under her influence were passively hostile to the British; Shakespear always found difficulty in getting tribute and labour from them. Shakespear had written about her as follows:

*Her influence is directly hostile to us, as is only natural when it is considered that she is the daughter of one great chief who always opposed us, and the widow of another. Since her husband’s death she has seen his brothers becoming more and more friendly with us, and increasing their prestige by virtue of this alliance. So much so that I overlooked her entirely and attributed Lalthuama’s frequent faults to his own youthful folly. All the villages belonging to this group have been more or less troublesome, not actively hostile but passively obstructive. It has always been difficult to get tribute or labour from them.*²⁵⁰

As Lalthuama’s conduct posed a threat to the British, he was arrested several times. The reason behind Lalthuama’s resistance to the British authority was his mother Ropuiliani, who from behind the scene instigated him. The first reason of his arrest was when General Treager sent messengers to Muallianpui Chiefs; they have to go through Lalthuama’s village and were stopped by him. Secondly, they found out that Paawna, Chief of *Thlengang* who kept the head of Lt Steward, was residing with him and also he was in league with Vantura and Dokola, and the other chiefs responsible in Lt Steward’s murder. In May 1889, a bugler was killed in Lungleh, Lalthuama sent his men to guide

²⁴⁸SuhasChatterjee, *op.cit*, p.113.

²⁴⁹ NAI, FDEP, January 1894; Nos 445P, J. Shakespear, *Report concerning Ropui Lieni, widow of Vandula, and her son, Lalthuama, at present prisoners in Lungleh*

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

the killers to Tiau and Lunglerh, thus affecting their escape from capture. For all these reason he was jailed ²⁵¹ and could be released if only he could pay 30 guns, 1 guyal, 10 pigs, 20 chickens and 100 mounds of rice.²⁵² On January 21st 1890, his people brought the demand to the British, but insisted that 100 mounds of rice should be given only when he reached his home and he would pay to the army camp near the Mat River. He was released that day and 100 mound of rice was given to the colonial authority on 28th January.²⁵³

In 1888, Thonglien, Chief of Serkor raided a village near *Ruma* in the Chittagong Hill Tracts and held two captives. Lalthuama hid the two captives in his village but he had no share on this raid. Consequently a fine of Rs 50 was imposed on him for concealing the two captives.²⁵⁴

When Hutchinson visited Lalthuama's village in August 1891, the latter did not welcome them in a friendly manner and Hutchinson received a report from a Lushei bugler that about 10 men of Lalthuama tried to attack him. Hearing the report, he arrested Lalthuama and released him only when he learned that the reporter was drunk and the information was incorrect. This was the second time that this chief was arrested.²⁵⁵

When a local interpreter working for the colonial government in South Lushai Hills, Satinkhara was murdered at Hnahthial village, which was ruled by chief Dokhara, as usual Lalthuama was suspected to be involved deeply in this murder. Though Dokhara did not belong to any chiefly clan but having married Vandula's daughter he was given a village to rule. As he was the son-in-law of Vandula, Dokhara was subordinated to

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*

²⁵² Lalsangzuali Sailo, *Tlawmve lo LalnuRopuliani*, p. 59-65

²⁵³ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁴ NAI, FDEP, January 1894; Nos 445P, J. Shakespear, *op.cit.*

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

Lalthuama.²⁵⁶ Satinkhara used to collect taxes and conveyed the important orders of the government to the chiefs and he very often used abusive languages to the villagers. Being fed up of him and his domineering attitude, chieftainess Ropuiliani incited a brave warrior Hnawncheuva and said “ *Hnawncheuvalah hi, ka huai ka huai itia, Satinkhara pawh that ngam hlei lo*”²⁵⁷ which means, “ Hnawncheu, you think yourself brave and bold enough, but you don’t have the courage to kill Satinkhara”. After a few days, Satinkhara was murdered. Hnawncheuva, who murdered Satinkhara was not arrested immediately due to the outbreak of armed resistance in South Lushai Hills which the British called ‘the rising in March 1892’. However, it was announced that whoever gave shelter to this man should be punished. Shakespear received information that Hnawncheuva was under the protection of Lalthuama. He immediately arrested Lalthuama and kept him in the residence of Darmaka an interpreter, working under Shakespear. He ordered Lalthuama to bring Hnawncheuva or pay a fine of 100 guns. However, Lalthuama paid only 13 guns out of 100, which were fined. He escaped from the interpreter’s house and refused to return.

In July, Shakespear received news that Ropuiliani in collaboration with Dokhuma and other chiefs planned to attack the British.²⁵⁸ On 7th August, Shakespear with Hutchinson and Mr Pugh took 80 soldiers including interpreter Darmaka and set out to Denlung village to catch the chieftainess. On 8th August, they reached the village and arrested Lalthuama and his mother Ropuiliani.²⁵⁹ Shakespear clearly knew that Lalthuama’s stubbornness and aggravated behaviour was due to the influence of his mother.²⁶⁰ Ropuiliani was the mastermind in hiding Hnawncheuva who murdered the interpreter Satinkhara. In his report, Shakespear mentions:

²⁵⁶ Ibid.

²⁵⁷ As told by RK.Lalhluna of Lunglawn, Lunglei (Padma Shree Awardee) in an interview with the scholar held on 24th September 2015 .

²⁵⁸ NAI, FDEP, January 1894; Nos 445P, J. Shakespear, *op.cit*

²⁵⁹ Lalsangzuali Sailo, *op.cit.* p 135.

²⁶⁰ NAI, FDEP, January 1894; Nos 445P, J. Shakespear, *op.cit.*

*RopuiLieni could have arrested all the murderers, as is clearly shown by the fact that the moment she was captured she sent out orders to have Lancheyyva caught, and he was brought in at once.*²⁶¹

It is evident from this report that Ropuiliani and her son refused to comply with the demand of the colonial officials by allowing the killer of a colonial official (Satinkhara) to roam free within their jurisdiction.

The resistance offered to the British by the Southern chief practically came to an end with the captured of Ropuiliani and her son.²⁶² They were deported to Chittagong Jail with the approval of the Government of India under Regulation III and the Chieftainess died of old age in January 1895.²⁶³

While most chiefs of the South Lushai Hills were subdued especially after the imprisonment of Ropuiliani and her son, another powerful and influential chief who was technically under the jurisdiction of the Political officer of North Lushai Hills and residing at the extreme point where Lungleh, Aijal and Fort White jurisdiction met, refused to cooperate the colonial authority. This chief, named Kairuma was the third son of Vuta, a great Sailo chief and the grandson of Lallula.²⁶⁴ The group ruled by the descendent of the chief Vuta were Kairuma, Lungliana, Neihpuithangi, Lalbuta, Zataia and Ralthianga, they were all under the influence of Kairuma, and also the chiefs Zaduna and Kaphleia from the South Lushai Hills were under his influence.²⁶⁵

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*

²⁶² C Lalthlengliana, *op.cit.*,p.107

²⁶³ Robert Reid, *op.cit.*,p.49

²⁶⁴ K. Laldinpuii, *Kairuma Chief Of Biate in Historical Journal Mizoram Volume-XII.*

²⁶⁵ MSA, CB-4, G-37, *Letter from A. Porteous Political Officer of North Lushai Hills to The Secretary to The Chief Commissioner of Assam.*

Though Kairuma was implicated on the raid upon Pakuma Rani village in the Chittagong Hill tracts in 1889, action against him was not taken while his partners Lungliana and Nikhama were punished in 1890 by Chittagong Northern Lushai expeditionary force under Colonel GI Skinner after their junction with Mr W.W Daly's force at Lianphunga's village.²⁶⁶ MrMcCabe visited the villages of Kairuma, Lungliana and Neihpuithangi (Kairuma's mother) and made notification to pay house-tax at Rs .1/- per house to the Political Officer at Aijal in 1891.²⁶⁷

In February 1892, at the request of Captain Shakespear to MrMcCabe, the two officers met at *Lailen* to settle the dispute between Kairuma and Dokhuma, a chief within the jurisdiction of South Lushai Hills and confirmed Kairuma's possession of the disputed land. On the month of January 1893, Mr Davis, Political Officer of the North Lushai Hills and Capt. Shakespear met at Lailen the village of Kairuma, but the reception was distinctively unfriendly to them. Again in January 1894, the two officers met at Kairuma's village and the response they received was like the previous year - the chiefs refused to meet them but gave them coolies for carriage to the next village. In the words of Mr. Porteous:

“A halt of a fortnight was made in Jataiya's village, and supplies for a force of 100 men taken from the villagers during that time without payment, but not a single gun was surrendered out of the fine imposed, and beyond carrying in their allotted share of rice to ration to Serchhip outpost, none of the coolies ordered from either of these villages were supplied. A guard of 25 men was posted at Kairuma's Village for some week in April to enforce the order for furnishing coolies, but without effect.”

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁷ K. Laldinpuii, *op.cit.*

Kairuma still refused to be under the control of the British and by the order of Mr Davis 50 men for guards were increased, to be posted in the village of Kairuma and Zataia. When Mr. Porteous and Captain Shakespear visited again, the chiefs refused to meet them and again Kairuma was ordered to supply 100 coolies for work at Aijal, but was ignored. For to this refusal, in the first week of April, Mr. Porteous fined him 60 guns and if these were not given by the end of the rainy seasons, he must take the consequences. Kairuma rejected the fines imposed on him, and due to this, an expedition against him was undertaken.²⁶⁸

For various necessary details of the expedition against Kairuma, Mr. Poteous (Political Officer of the North Lushai hills), Captain Loch (Commandant of the North Lushai Hills military police), and Captain Shakespear (Superintendent of the South Lushai hills) met in November and fixed 25th December 1895 as the date of meeting of three column, and Mr Tuck, Political Officer of the Chin Hills was also informed.²⁶⁹ Columns from Aijal, Lungleh and Falam met at Kairuma's village on Tlaikhuang Hills. Kairuma refused to submit and his village was burnt down and a guard of Military Police left on the side of stockade. During the operation, Captain Shakespear captured Zakapa and Zaduna. Due to the captured of the two chiefs, Kairuma realized that he could not withstand the British. According to Captain Shakespear, "His (Kairuma) very wise Upa, Chungnunga, came in and made submission and on payment of a fine in guns and supplying some coolies he was forgiven and since then been one of the very best chiefs." After the submission of Kairuma, the annexation of the whole Lushai Hills was accomplished.²⁷⁰

It may be noted that despite the occupation of North and South Lushai Hills and the claim to have accomplish paramountcy in both areas by the British, some Chiefs and

²⁶⁸ *Op.cit*

²⁶⁹ K. Laldinpuii.*op.cit*

²⁷⁰ MSA, CB-7, G-79, J. Shakespear, *Note on the Lushai Hills, its inhabitants, and its administration since 1888.*

their subjects continued to evade the colonial officials and refused to comply with their demand for tribute payment in the form of house tax and labour (coolie).

4.4 Cultural contestation.

Wherever colonialism operated, it was always followed by a civilizing mission to ‘enlighten’ and to rescue the natives from forces of nature, which exercised insurmountable control over them. One of the most important tools in the hands of the colonizers to promote their civilizing mission among the natives was Christianity supported by education. Immediately after the annexation of both North and South Lushai Hills western Christian missionaries arrived at Aizawl in 1894. These missionaries quickly learn the local language and rendered it into textual form to further facilitate their evangelical enterprise through education. They simultaneously ran evangelistic preaching and school education and very soon win over some Mizos to the new faith-Christianity. However, the new religion and its concomitant western culture and knowledge were antagonistic to the Mizos ethos and belief system, which led the Mizos to contest the civilizing mission of the colonial rule.

4.4.1 Persecution of Christians.

Various incidents of violent opposition to Christianity and its adherents were registered in both the North and South Lushai Hills in the early years of colonial rule. In South Lushai Hills, instances of religious persecution of varying degrees were evident when Christianity begun to win converts. In 1899, DE Jones, the Welsh Missionary from the North Lushai Hills, preached the Gospel in *Pukpui* Village of the South Lushai Hills. Thankunga, the brother- in-law of Darphawka (a man who prophesied the coming of Christian missionaries from across the sea) converted to Christianity; along with him

eight families were converted too.²⁷¹ These newly converted Christians observed Sunday and failed to respect the order of their chief Darmaka. For the construction of road between Lunglei and Aizawl, the demand of labour and coolies was high. The chief of *Pukpui* ordered his people to do road construction work on Sunday, which however, could not be complied with by the Christians as Sunday was observed as a day of worshipping God. As the missionaries prohibited the drinking of *Zu* (rice beer) among Christians, the newly converted Christians were accused by their fellow non-Christian villagers of trying to dissociate themselves from their culture and tradition. This issue became a very important reason for the Christians as well as the non-Christians, which sometimes culminated in many unpleasant situations.

Due to their observation of Sunday and refusal to pay the tributary labour many times, the few Christian population of *Pukpui* Village were denounced by their fellow villagers including their own family. It is claimed that even their relatives snatched away their belongings.²⁷² The Chief of the village sometimes even resorted to killing their livestock for their disobedience to his authority.²⁷³

As these Christians failed to accord due respect to their chief and instead looked upon Thankunga as their leader, chief Darmaka reported this problem of insubordination to the Sub Divisional Officer(S.D.O) of South Lushai Hills and accused Thankunga of trying to steal his chiefship and undermine his authority. The district authority sided with chief Darmaka and found Thankunga guilty of the accusation. Accordingly, Thankunga was imprisoned for 10 days and was forced to work in the construction of road. Hearing this news, DE Jones from the North Lushai Hills went to Lunglei and met the Sub Divisional Officer. After having a negotiation the district authority allowed the Christians to establish a village at Sethlun. The chief of *Pukpui* tried to defer their resettlement by

²⁷¹ V Lalzawnga, *Zoram Baptist KohhranChanchinPawimawhLawrkhawm*, p.26. See also Lalhmuaka, *ZoramThim Ata Engah*, p.107

²⁷² V Lalzawnga, *op.cit.*, p.27

²⁷³ VSaiaithanga, *Rev, MizoKohhranChanchin*, p. 18

preventing them from cultivating their jhums.²⁷⁴ After receiving the permission from the Sub Divisional Officer, the Christian populations from Pukpui village went at night to Sethlun to start new settlement there.²⁷⁵ Altogether, eleven houses from Pukpui and six houses from other villages joined them at Sethlun, which became the first Christian village in Mizoram.²⁷⁶

Another instance of Christian persecution in South Lushai Hills happened in a village called Lunglawn, which lay on the outskirts of Lunglei. The entire information about this incident is orally handed over, yet all possible care and caution are observed in order to capture the reality as it happened. The incident revolved around the chief of Lunglawn, Lalchhunga and the family of Saizema, the son of Chawngbawla, one of the greatest Mizo warriors in South Lushai Hills.²⁷⁷ Saizema of Lunglawn village and a father of six children converted to Christianity along with his wife, Thangtei and children. However, he died soon after his conversion to Christianity. Due to their conversion, Chief Lalchhunga persecuted his family. Lalchhunga used to mistreat the Christian in his village due to their abandonment of drinking *Zu* and their refusal to perform as coolies. The Christians rejected the traditional belief system and turned away from the traditional sacrifices and failed to conform to norms and tradition of the Mizo society of those days. When Saizema died, the chief of Lunglawn did not permit the young men of his village to dig his grave saying that they were Christians and their God would dig his grave. He also not permitted to condole and console them, rebuked that they were Christian and their God would be there. It was customary that the young men used to spend night with the family who were in bereavement; the chief did not authorize the young men to spend night with them and said that they were Christians and their God would be with them, and also prohibited any kind of present given to them and said that

²⁷⁴ Lalzawnga, *op.cit.*, p.27

²⁷⁵ Interview of RK.Lahluna, *op.cit.*

²⁷⁶ V Lalzawnga, *op.cit.*, p.27

²⁷⁷ Saizema was the son of a famous Mizo warrior, Chawngbawla.

God would provide. If anyone gave present to his family, he would be severely punished.²⁷⁸

The cadaver of Saizema was kept inside his house, as there was no one in the village to dig his grave. A *Pawi* stranger asked for shelter in the night in his house without knowing the death of the householder, Saizema. His wife, Thangtei told him her situation and suggested him to make a decision to remain or not. When the stranger opened the curtain and saw the corpse, he just walked out silently. The next day, hearing the news, the people from Sethlun came to Lunglawn and dug Saizema's grave, three feet deep, 3:00 pm in the evening. The chief continued his anti-Christian attitude by doubling *Fathang*²⁷⁹ to Thangtei, the widow of deceased Saizema and commended with his same insult, 'God will provide them'.²⁸⁰

As the Christians abandoned drinking, the chief Lalchhunga wanted to drink rice beer brewed by the Christians in order to insult their practice and belief. He went to Thangtei and forced her to ferment rice for drinking. When she refused he threatened her and being afraid of him she fermented the rice for drinking. When the rice was fermented enough for drinking, the chief drank and felt good. So, the chief asked her to be his concubine, so that he could drink enough of rice beer prepared by the Christians. Thangtei refused his offer and told him about her situation, if she became his concubine there would be no one to look after her children. Moreover, concubine was not accepted by the missionaries and requested the chief to leave her alone. Being frustrated by the reaction of Thangtei to his request, the chief urged his young men to destroy her house, but the young men sympathized with her and rebuffed to follow the order. The chief's whim continued and he expelled Thangtei and her children from the village during a heavy torrential rain before dawn. They went to Zotlang in the house of her son-in-law and reported herself to the Missionaries and asked them where she could attend the

²⁷⁸ Interview with LT Muana Lunglei Serkawn held on 22nd September 2015.

²⁷⁹ Fathang was a tribute paid to the chief in terms of basket of paddy by all his villagers once in a year which was three basket full.

²⁸⁰ Interview of LT Muana, *op.cit.*

church service. The Missionaries suggested her to go to Sethlun as a church was there. To go to Sethlun they had to pass through Lunglawn village. The chief of Lunglawn, hearing the news of Thangtei tried to capture her on the way by sending some young men.²⁸¹ Afraid of being capture by chief Lalchunga, Thangtei and her family took “*vawkkawng tum*”²⁸² or animal trail to reach *Sethlun* avoiding the proper road.

The chieftainess of Zote Village had three female servants who converted to Christianity. After their conversion they were subjected to maltreatment and even torture. Parima, one of the first Christian messengers from South Lushai Hills who stayed in the house of the chief of Bualpui village near Zote, often visited them. His visit infuriated the chieftainess who often beat him till he bleeds. Later on, EW Rowland, the missionary from the Northern Lushai Hills, helps to emancipate the three Christians servants.²⁸³

On another occasion Thankunga and Zathanga, the two first Christian messengers from the South Lushai Hills visited the village of Dophunga in the east. They stopped in the house of a Christian, Saiburha to spend the night. In the evening, his wife came home from the forest with firewood and converse with them in a friendly manner, asking them where they come from and what was their purpose. When she heard that they were from *Sethlun* village and their reason for coming was preaching the Gospel, she refused talking to them and was in a state of sulkiness and did not prepare the food for dinner. Her husband prepared the food and was helped by them.²⁸⁴

It is evident from what has been discussed that Christianity in the beginning of British colonial rule in the Lushai Hills, particularly in South Lushai Hills was seen as opposed to the traditional Mizo social structure and power relations as well as the norms of the society. Though Christianity promoted equality among its adherents it also created

²⁸¹ *Ibid.*

²⁸² *Vawkkawng tum* is a track of animals, not a proper road for human.

²⁸³ Lalhmuaka, *op. cit.*, p.107

²⁸⁴ *Op. cit.*,

a new centre of power in the form of the church at its leadership, which was viewed by the Mizo chiefs as a challenge to their power and authority. This prompted some chiefs to come down heavily on the newly converted Christians and subjected them to various forms of oppressions and abuses.

4.4.2 Countering Christianity through Cultural Revivalism.

Another form of resistance to colonialism and its manifestations was cultural revivalism to counter the new culture and western practices notably Christianity. In the first decade of the 20th century when Christianity was still at its infancy in the Lushai Hills a wave of cultural revivalism swept the entire area in the form of a community song called *Puma Zai/Tlanglam Zai*. According to K. Zawla, *Puma Zai* emerged from Biате tribe, a cognate of Mizo tribe who are mostly found in today's Jaintia Hills of Meghalaya and North Cachar Hills.²⁸⁵ When Mr Edgar came to the Lushai hills in 1871 to retrieve 13 guns pillaged by Lalburha, he brought with him some Biates as coolies, and the Mizos learned their songs known as *Puma Zai*. However, the song vanished quickly. In *Thingtam* (famine) of 1880, the Mizos recollected it from some Kuki rice-sellers along the Tuirial River.²⁸⁶ The song rooted its popularity from a man of Ratu village who sang as a lullaby, some young men learned the song from him and started singing.²⁸⁷ In the month of March 1908,²⁸⁸ Zawngin chief Lalzika sent out four men to learn the song and introduced in his village and killed a gayal to *ai*²⁸⁹ the song. At first, the other chiefs of different villages thought foolish, but soon they found themselves following his example. The enthusiasm became so great that young men would dance even when they ate, holding their food in one hand and waving the other.²⁹⁰ Eventually, the singing of the

²⁸⁵ Sub clan of Mizo

²⁸⁶ K Zawla, *Mizo Pi PuteLeh An Thlahte Chanchin*, p.385

²⁸⁷ Rev Saiaithanga, *op.cit.*, p.29

²⁸⁸ K Zawla, *op.cit*, p.385

²⁸⁹ According to Lorrain in his Dictionary of The Lushai Language page number 4, *ai* means to kill a domestic animals and perform a ceremony of rejoicing over such things as good rice harvest, a pumper crop of hundred red pumpkins, a popular song, etc.

²⁹⁰ Mangkhosat Kigpen, *Christianity and Mizo Culture*, p.228.

song became communal activity, moving from hearth to the courtyard and later known as *Tlanglam Zai* as it came to be performed by every member of the village.²⁹¹

The songs spread throughout the Hills and according to Saiaithanga, it was like conflagration. As the song spread out through the hills with great excitement, it was really difficult for the Christian evangelists to preach the Gospel; there was no one to listen to them. If they convert to Christianity they could not sing the song and the people did not want to abandon singing.²⁹²

The Southern Lushai Hills was also affected intensely. According to Lalhmuaka, ‘in the words of Rev H.S. Luaia, many of the young converted Christian male and female returned to their old ways, the condition of evangelism was not firm enough.²⁹³ The evangelists during those times declared when they preached, the non-Christians would sing *Puma Zai* and dance around them to drown their preaching’. One common song of *Puma Zai/Tlanglam Zai* was-

Lehkha bu keng vai lem chang, (Carrying book, imitating foreigners)
Chanchintha hril reng mai, Puma (Always proclaiming something, Puma).²⁹⁴

As the song and its surrounding social activities such as dancing and drinking were in strong opposition to the new religion, it was indeed a setback to Christianity. JH Lorrain, the Lushai Hills pioneer missionary, who returned to South Lushai Hills in 1904 called it “Satanic Opposition” and mentioned the song in his report as follows:

²⁹¹ Rev Saiaithanga, *op.cit*, p.29

²⁹² *Ibid.*

²⁹³ Lalhmuaka, *op.cit*, p.139

²⁹⁴ CL Hminga, *The Life and Witness of the Churches in Mizoram*, p.85

A strange song, called "Puma Zai," which is said to owe its origin to a man possessed by demons, made its appearance in the north some months ago and spread like wildfire over the country. Many rumours were current as to what this "Puma Zai" would accomplish, and it was stated, that all who acclaimed its advent would be exempted from offering sacrifices to demons, and that the dread spirits would in future be appeased if such votaries merely offered, when ill, a few hairs or feathers instead of the usual sacrifices of animals and birds. In village after village the song was welcomed by the heathen as a revolution from the Evil One, and sacrifices were offered, accompanied by much beer drinking and dancing to inaugurate its use, which it was confidently affirmed would silence for ever the Christian hymns and stamp out the new religion. No words can tell what a severe test these orgies were, and still are, to the scattered converts in the distant villages, but we praise God that in the majority of cases they stood firm and refused to join in the unholy revels.²⁹⁵

The *Puma Zai* reached its end in the bamboo famine of 1912. The bamboo flowerings started on 1911, leading to famine in 1912.²⁹⁶ As there was no rice, the people had not enough rice beer and the heart of the people became soft. Thus, *Puma Zai* ended.²⁹⁷

The new religion, Christianity forbade most of the traditional cultural practices of the Mizo people, which created a strong feeling among them to counter Christianity. In 1915, in a village in the South Lushai Hills, there was controversy on the ground of *Fano dawi*²⁹⁸ and *Kawngpui siam*.²⁹⁹ These were traditional sacrificial acts performed by the public in order to get blessing for their agricultural activities. The Christians in this village

²⁹⁵ Jh Lorrain, BMS, *South Lushai Hills Mission Report for 1908*, p.47

²⁹⁶ Mangkhosat Kigpen, *op.cit.*, p.233.

²⁹⁷ Rev Saiaithanga, *op.cit.*, p.30

²⁹⁸ To offer the annual sacrificed which was made to protect the young growing rice crops on the village jhum from disease

²⁹⁹ To offer an annual sacrifice to ensure prosperity for the whole village especially in the hunting and trapping of wild animals.

not only refused to participate in these sacrifices but also left the village and fine was imposed on them by the chief.³⁰⁰

In the minute of a Baptist Church Presbytery held on 18th October, 1918 at Serkawn, the topic of courting women for men was discussed. Going to the women house in the night before sleeping time was a cultural practice in the Mizo society and some Christian men ignored the church decision. The Church convention minutes as follows:

Sins are often committed among the youth community Christians, the main reason for this is wooing women. From now on, every local church should announce the prohibition of wooing women and terms of the prohibition should be made by the Presbytery; it was proposed by some brothers. We had a big debate on this topic, some brothers are afraid that even if terms and condition are made by the presbytery, those who do not willing to follow will not obey at all. It will be a big problem for the Presbytery if it cannot be implemented. Therefore, we made decision that every deacon from different village should zealously instruct the youth men not to go to the women house. Some church already ban this, we decided to send letters to take their examples to the church those who do not. It was proposed by Pu Buanga and second by Pastor Chautera.³⁰¹

In the Chapchar Presbytery Minute on Serkawn 11th March, 1921, the church convention had an agenda on the chiefs who had converted to Christianity. They passed the agenda that if the chiefs converted to Christian and not becoming the deacon, he will be treated as an ordinary member of the church and should not be involved in any matter

³⁰⁰ Presbytery Minute Book 1915-1931, BCM Archive, p.1.

³⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p.155

of the church.³⁰² This clearly showed that the Church undermined the chiefs and their authority when it comes to the welfare of its members. The Church exercised authority on every social issue; such as if couples were Christians and got divorce, the church did necessary decision-making; even though they were the inhabitants of the villages, the chiefs had no authority over them.

A Traditional Mizo sport which involved the chasing a *guyal* from place to place before it was sacrificed called *Se Chaih* was outlawed by the church in South Lushai Hills to its members as it was contrary to the Christian virtue and connected with a heathenish sacrifice. In *Ralvawng* Village, when the Chief of the village gave order to perform it the Christians rebuffed and were beaten by the Chief for their refusal to participate. The meeting minute of *Chapchar* Presbytery on 16th March, 1922 was follows:

*In some villages, Se Chaih is still organized. Few days back in the village of Ralvawng it was performed. When the Christian refused, the Chief had bitten four persons. So, we agree that it is necessary to report it to the Government. It is better to report on writing and the writing manner will be on the hands of the writer, the writer should be PuBuanga. It was proposed by Mankima and second by PuBuanga.*³⁰³

The Chief of Ralvawng was Thantluanga Sailo, he tried to eradicate the new religion. He gave order to perform *Se Chaih* on Palm Sunday. As the Christians observed Sunday and declined participate in any traditional sacrifice, they repudiated the Chief's order. As it was Palm Sunday, the Christians paraded the village and the Chief ordered them not to pass through his house and put a bamboo as a boundary that they should not cross. Kalkhangliana and Tilhanga ignored and despised the Chief's word. When they

³⁰² *Ibid.*, p.16

³⁰³ *Op.cit.*, p.52

crossed the bamboo, the Chief had beaten them with a bludgeon. According to RK Lalhluna, the reason why the Chief resisted the Christians was when the people converted to Christianity, they gave up Mizo culture and out of fear for losing more number of his people, he not only opposed but tried to eliminate Christianity in his village. When the Christians started observing Sunday and refused to work on this particular day, the Chief also feared that his villagers might suffer starvation. At the same time the Christians also started leaving his village for Sethlun, the first Christian village. Due to the fear of losing his villagers, the Chief opposed and tried to eliminate the new religion.³⁰⁴

4.5 Dissimulation.

In another form of everyday resistance called dissimulation, feelings or intentions are hidden, but pretending to have different one. The control of anger and aggression is, for quite obvious reasons, a prominent part of the socialization of those who grow up in subordinate groups. Much of the ordinary politics of subordinate groups, historically, had been a politics of dissimulation in which both the symbols and practices of resistance were veiled.³⁰⁵ Rather than the used of open insult, nicknames were used. The colonial officers were given names which reflected their dislike for their superiors who took away many of their traditional freedoms and rights. John Shakespear the first Superintendent of amalgamated Lushai Hills confessed in his private letter to a missionary working in North Lushai Hills on his awareness about this issue:

“Yes, I know my Lushai nickname, very well. I am lucky, for some of us got worse one’s. One captain was always called “Sahib Rawnga”, later he brought out a Lushai vocabulary in which Rawnga was said to mean “Of a pleasing kindly disposition.” Another was called “Sakei Sahib”, he said because he wore a striped blazer, but I doubt it. Dear old

³⁰⁴ Interview with RK Lalhluna

³⁰⁵ <http://rauli.cbs.dk/index.php/cjas/article/download/1765/1785>. Access on 15th February 2016.

Porteous, the most well meaning and conscientious of Superintendents, but prone to gusts of fierce wrath with wrong doers, was always known as "Taoura". Then there was "Biang-Shera," Plowden, and "Then-tiaova," Colonel Loch, who was always smiling & many others. Oh, Dundar, was "Sahib Shaaga" and a Bengali overseer, who insisted on being called Sahib not Babu, was named "Sahib Hanga." I don't think he liked it."³⁰⁶

In Mizo vernacular "*Sahib Rawnga*" would mean "Cruel Sahib", like wise "Taoura" would also mean "Mr. Sulky"; "*Then-tiaova*," would mean "Mr. Grin". Captain H.R. Brown, the first political officer of North Lushai Hills was named *Hmaireka* (Mr. Curved face), Mr A.W Davis as *Hmuihmulduma* (Mr. Black Moustache), L.O. Clarke as *Thangte-eka* (Mr. Little famous bowel), Major W.N. Kennedy as *Hnarkula* (Mr. Curved nose), Mr F.C. Hanniker and Col A. Playfair were given the same named as *Pawngvina* (Mr. Choleric), and Mr J.H. Hezlett as *Hmuihmulzara* (Mr. Big moustache).³⁰⁷ It is also evident that dissimulation happened from the letter of Shakespear to Mr Mendus and also mentioned that Major GH Loch was initially given the name *Thenthiauva* (Mr. Grin) but later on when he understood its meaning and protested he was renamed as *Manding Putara* (Mr. Old man).³⁰⁸ It could be seen that the Mizos changed the names they gave after the officers understand the Mizo language. The names that were given to their colonial masters were usually comical and were intended to convey a veiled message of their dislike for those persons. Even though they may never used them when these officials were around, it at least give the Mizos a sense of power and psychological rehabilitation on occasions when they utter those names from their condition of subjectivity and domination. As they could not openly insult the British officers; it was a disguised resistance against their subordination under colonial rule.

³⁰⁶ J Shakespear's letter to Mr Mendus on 20th April 1939.(Hereafter John Skaespear's letter)

³⁰⁷ Lalmachhuana Zofa, *Mizoram Political Records*, pp.280-282

³⁰⁸ John Shakespear's letter.

4.7 Conclusion.

The Mizos who inhabited the Lushai Hills (erstwhile name for Mizoram) came under colonial rule from 1891-92 in the wake of the Chin-Lushai expedition of 1890. In spite of their valiant effort to resist the British colonial expansion, the Mizos failed to maintain their political independence due to the superior might of the British. In their effort to prevent their subjugation at the hands of the British, the Mizos fall back on varied forms of resistance. Even after the annexation of Lushai Hills- North and South- many chiefs and their subjects continued to put up resistance of various sorts to the colonial authority which made the existence of colonial rule in both North and South Lushai Hills precarious.

The forms of dominations by the British in the South Lushai Hills were tributary payments in the form of taxes, labour and exposing them to a new religion with its concomitant western culture and education which transformed the Mizo culture into quasi-western culture. An open armed resistance by Zakapa due to the demand of girls for sexual intercourse by Mr. Murray was one of the forms of resistance. Evasion and denial of service played a crucial role; Ropuiliani resisted the British by not properly responding to their demand for taxes. The murder of an interpreter Satinkhara signified the Mizos dislike for native collaborators to the colonial establishment. As subaltern mentality is to resist elite domination, the new religion that brought new culture was also countered by the South Lushai Hills chiefs by assaulting and persecuting the newly Christian converts among the Mizos. Another manifestation of Mizo resistance to Christianity was a new form of songs known as *Puma Zai*. Resistance to the colonial rule and its officials was also manifested in the form of dissimulation whereby the Mizos practice giving local names to the colonial officers, which were usually comical in nature to them, yet giving them agency at least on a temporary basis in their dealing with the colonial authority.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

The British colonization of Mizoram was due to the resistance made by the Lushai to defend the territory they claimed as their hunting ground, which was occupied by the East India Company for tea plantation. In the initial stage, the British used the policy of conciliation but due to the continuous resistance made by the Mizos; they carried an expedition to buy themselves peace. When the British carried out the expedition of 1871-1872, the chiefs of South Lushai Hills resisted the British with great effort. Since the British were equipped with better arms and adopted 'scorch earth policy', the Mizos eventually sued for peace. For resisting the British expedition, the weapons of the chiefs and warriors of South Lushai Hills included guns which were obtained from their neighbouring tribes. Since the quality of the guns possessed by the Mizos was inferior as compared to the British and were in short supply, the British subdued the Mizos decisively. The Mizos also used the indigenously manufactured weapons, such as *dao*, spears, bows and arrows, avalanche of rocks and practiced the tactic of guerrilla warfare. Though the South Lushai Hill's chiefs resisted the British the reasons for their failure were due to the technological imbalance of weaponry and the assistance given to the British by a native chief, Rothangpuia, who had an intimate knowledge about the geographical terrain and the inhabitants.

Though peace between the British and the Mizos was experienced for a short interval after their agreement, it terminated soon. The annexation of Burma by the British in 1886 opened a new economic and political relation between India and Burma. To optimize the relation, survey party was dispatched by the British government in 1888. The survey party under the command of Lt Stewart was attacked by Hausata, where Lt Stewart was killed along with three *sepoys*. The incident was avenged by the British in the form of another expedition under Col Treager's leadership in 1888-1889. Meanwhile, a number of raids were carried out by the Mizos against the British subjects. This

impelled the British in sending another expedition which they called 'The Chin-Lushai Expedition' of 1889-90. The British Government decided to colonize the Mizo Hill finally.

When the Lushai Hills came under the colonial rule, it was partitioned into two administrative divisions, placing the South Lushai Hills under the administration of Bengal and the North Lushai Hills under the administration of Assam. On 1st April 1898, the North and South Lushai Hills were amalgamated as Lushai Hills and was put under the administration of Assam, eventually incorporating Lakher (Mara) area in 1924. The impact of colonialism in the Lushai Hills changed the Mizo society in many ways. For administrative purpose, Mizoram was divided into eighteen circles, and each circle was under their respective Circle Interpreters. For efficient governance of the colonial establishment, educated natives were co-opted in the administration under various designations, such as *chaprasi*, Lushai clerks etc. Thus, heralding the emergence of new social forces which at the same time posed a challenge to the traditional authority vested in the chiefs. The introduction of taxes, forced labour and an attempt to disarm the Mizos were resisted in various ways.

A new religious belief was brought in to the Lushai Hills by two British missionaries, JH Lorrain and FW Savidge. They arrived on 11th January 1894 and introduced western education, which played a significant role for administering the Hills and also initiated the use of western medicines for winning the heart of the people which converted them into Christianity. The coming of Christianity gradually demean the traditional authority and the church became an alternative center of power. The introduction of western education engendered a new kind of educated class in the society and began to assert hierarchical status in the socio-political establishment. Subsequently, the chiefs slowly lost their influence in the society, and the educated class started to discourage the importance of *Zawlbuk*. This led to the abolition of *Zawlbuk*, degrading the culture of Mizos. The prohibition of drinking *Zu*, for instance, by the missionaries

replaced *Zu* by tea as a light beverage. The alteration of traditional music and dances along with dress code explained the predominance of the British culture. Thus, it can be said that the impact of colonization in Mizoram produced a hybrid culture.

The establishment of colonial rule in Mizoram, particularly in Southern Mizoram did not happen without voices of dissent and resistance. A significant resistance to British colonial domination was armed uprising in the initial period of colonial rule when attempts were made to disarm the Mizos and coerced them to pay tribute in the form of labour and taxes. The year 1891-92 was especially marked by increased military encounters between the British and the Mizos in North and South Lushai Hills which showed that the very foundation of British colonial rule in this region was still very shaky.

Even after those armed resistances at different spots in South Lushai Hills were militarily neutralized by the British, Mizos continued their resistance to the imposition of colonial rule in differing forms. One of these was the call to evade not only the colonial officials when they were on tours to visit villages but also a call to evade colonial tributary taxes and labour imposed on the Mizos. On various occasions some Mizo chiefs refused to meet and entertained British officials who were on tour and declined their request for impressment of labour to carry their necessary supplies from one village to another prompting counter measures from the colonial authority. The refusal to meet and entertain British officials by the Mizo chiefs is in fact a clear case of evasion as understood in everyday forms of resistance. Moreover, the refusal on the part of the Mizo chiefs to pay tributary tax and corvée labour also indicates the existence of evasion and denial of service as forms of everyday resistance in the early days of British colonialism in South Lushai Hills.

The arrival and growth of Christianity, which was perceived as an imposition of western culture on the Mizo society, was also strongly countered in various forms

ranging from persecution to cultural revivalism. It is evident from this exercise that persecution of Christian converts in some villages in South Lushai Hills happened where the victims were not only subjected to verbal and mental abuses but also physically assaulted and beaten up. What emerges from a reading of this initial period of the arrival of Christianity is that many Mizo chiefs in South Lushai Hills did not merely oppose it but were intended on destroying it for fear of losing their hold over their subjects as Christianity created a new power center in the form of the church which exercised very strong authority over the Christian community.

The spread of Christianity, which posed a challenge to the traditional Mizo socio-political structure, was also countered through the medium of cultural revivalism in the form of a new communal song tradition called *Puma Zai/Tlanglam Zai* which was accompanied by the drinking of *Zu*, dancing and other forms of merry making. This tradition gained rapid popularity among the vast majority of Mizo community who had not yet converted to Christianity. Since this cultural revivalism invoked a return to Mizo traditional practices and culture, which came under increasing attack from Christianity as heathenism, it was quickly recruited as a medium to counter Christianity and was quite successful in the short run to win back many Mizo youth from Christianity.

An interesting form of resistance to colonial rule in South as well as North Lushai Hills was where the people hid their intentions or feelings while pretending to appreciate and respect their colonial masters. It was a common tradition among the Mizos to give comical names to others on the basis of their physical appearance and their behaviour. However, after the establishment of colonial rule in South and North Lushai Hills, the same tradition was utilized to poke fun at their colonial masters by giving them funny but insightful names to reflect their physical appearances and attitudes. This form of resistance may sound innocent and harmless, yet, it provided a momentary sense of agency to the Mizo over their colonial rulers.

ABBREVIATION

BCM	: Baptist Church Of Mizoram.
BMS	: Baptist Mission Society.
CB	: Carton Box.
FDEP	: Foreign Department External Proceedings.
G	: General
Ibid	: <i>Ibidem</i> . A Latin word meaning “the same”
MHA	: Mizoram History Association
MSA	: Mizoram State Archive
NAI	: National Archive Of India.
Op.cit	: <i>Opus citatum</i> . A Latin word meaning “work cited”.
P	: Political
Rs	: Rupees
TRI	: Tribal Research Institute.

GLOSSARY

<i>anna</i>	:	A currency formerly used in India and Pakistan, equal to one sixth of a rupee.
<i>Coolie</i>	:	Forced-labour.
<i>Chaprasi</i>	:	Colonial government servants of subordinate rank.
<i>Durbar</i>	:	A meeting of the Lushai Chiefs, organized by the British officials.
<i>Fanai</i>	:	A sub-tribe of Pawi who established their chieftainship in the eastern and southern parts of Mizoram.
<i>Fano dawi</i>	:	To offer the annual sacrificed which was made to protect the young growing rice crops on the village jhum from disease.
<i>Fathang</i>	:	A tribute paid to the chief in terms of basket of paddy by all his villagers once in a year which was three baskets full.
<i>Favang khawmpui</i>	:	A church conference during autumn.
<i>Guyal</i>	:	A species of cow peculiar to the hills.
<i>Haulawng</i>	:	A similar branch of the Sailo clan who established their chieftainship in the boundary of North and South Lushai Hills.
<i>Jhum</i>	:	Shifting cultivation practiced in the hills.
<i>Khawchhiar</i>	:	A village writer.
<i>Kawngpui siam</i>	:	To offer an annual sacrifice to ensure prosperity for the whole village especially in the hunting and trapping of wild animals.
<i>Kuli awl</i>	:	An exemption of forced-labour to the people.
<i>Mantri</i>	:	Minister
<i>Maund</i>	:	Maund is the anglicized name for a traditional unit of mass used in British India, and also in Afghanistan, Persia and Arabia. In India, one mound is equivalent to 37.324 kilograms.

- Pawi* : Pawi is one of the Mizo tribe who inhabited the track between Tiau and Kolodyne river in the south east of Mizoram, now known as Lai
- Sachhiah* : The portion of an animal's meat, given as a due by subjects to their chief.
- Sechaih* : A sport of chasing a guyal from place to place before it is sacrificed.
- Sepoys* : Soldiers.
- Seer* : A seer is a traditional unit of mass and volume used in India, Afghanistan and Iran. In India, the seer (Government seer) was defined by the Standards of Weights and Measures Act (No. 89 of 1956, amended in 1960 and 1964) as being exactly equal to 1.25 kg (1.792 lb).
- Tlangval* : A bachelor.
- Thingnawifawm* : To collect fire stick or twig done by male child.
- Vawk kawng tum* : Vawk kawngtum was a track of animals, not a proper road for human.
- Zu* : A Mizo fermented rice beer.
- Zawlbuk* : A bachelor's dormitory.

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DECLARATION

I, Hosana Lalenvela Khiangte, hereby declare that the subject matter of this dissertation is the record of work done by me, that the content of this dissertation did not form basis of the award of any previous degree to me or to the best of my knowledge to anybody else, and that the dissertation has not been submitted by me for any research degree in other Universities or Institutes.

This is being submitted to Mizoram University for the Degree of Master of Philosophy.

Place: Aizawl Mizoram

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This is to certify that the dissertation entitled “Resistance in Southern Mizoram during the Colonial Period” submitted by Mr. Hosana Lalenvela Khiangte in fulfilment of Master of Philosophy is an original work and has not been submitted elsewhere for other degree. It is recommended that this dissertation be placed before the examiners for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy.

Supervisor

Date: 8th July 2016

(Dr. LALNGURLIANA SAILO)

Place: Aizawl

Associate Professor

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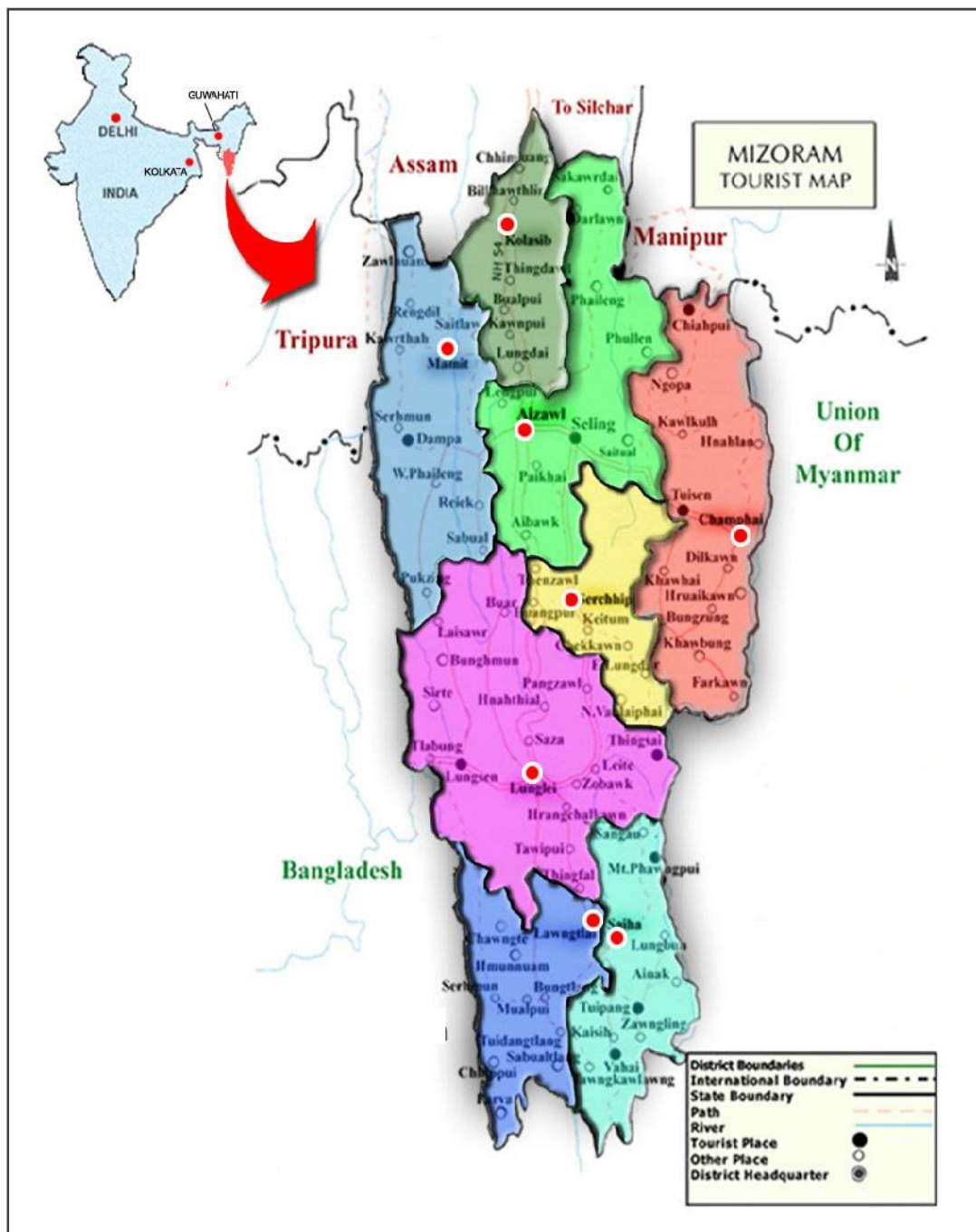
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Hosana Lalenvela Khiangte

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MODERN MAP OF MIZORAM



Source : Department of Tourism, Government of Mizoram