

# **KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION IN COLONIAL MIZORAM**

**A dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the  
degree of Master of Philosophy**

**BY**

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**AIZAWL: MIZORAM**



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**CERTIFICATE**

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled “**KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION IN COLONIAL MIZORAM**” submitted by C. Lalremruata in fulfilment of Master of Philosophy is an original work carried out by him under my supervision and has not been submitted to other University or Institution for the award of any other degree.

Date: 14<sup>th</sup> December 2016

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Place: Aizawl

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## DECLARATION

I, C. Lalremruata, 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.

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Dated Aizawl

(C. LALREMRUATA)

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

#### Introduction

Around the eighteenth century, a number of significant events took place in the world. Of all these, the practice of colonialism occupied a dominant status. In the year 1498, a sea route to India was discovered by Vasco da Gama, a Portuguese sailor and explorer. As a result, the Europeans, viz., the English, the French, the Portuguese and the Dutch came to India for trade. Gradually, the European states increasingly involved themselves in the practice of colonialism. Apart from this, they also used to spread missionary activities in India. Since the eighteenth century, European states increasingly made their power visible not only through ritual performance and dramatic display, but through the gradual expansion of “officializing” procedures that established and extended their capacity in many areas.<sup>1</sup>

In India, colonialism arrived after the decline of the Mughal Empire in the eighteenth century. As the eighteenth century was a period of internal power struggle in India and with the declining power of the Mughal Empire, the British officials were provided with the perfect opportunity to establish their hold over Indian Territory. Following the break-up of the Mughal Empire, three political systems emerged: The Mughal (national), the regional and the local. Each system had a characteristic structure and realm of activity, as well as characteristic types of officials.<sup>2</sup>

Gradually, the colonial power of the British began to spread across the Indian sub-continent. Ever since the beginning of colonial rule in India, the North-Eastern Frontier of India had ever been a fruitful source of trouble and expense to the Government of this Empire.<sup>3</sup> Particularly, from around the mid-nineteenth century, Mizoram (Lushai Hills) became the concern of the British colonial government due to their resistance against the British territorial expansion and the extension of tea gardens in the plain areas, which the Mizos claimed at the same time as their safe hunting ground. The main factor for these ‘raids’ chiefly seemed to be the infringement of the British on the territory claimed by the Mizo chiefs. The acts

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<sup>1</sup> Cohn, Bernard S., *Colonialism And Its Forms Of Knowledge, The British In India*, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Cohn, Bernard S., *An Anthropologist among the Historians and Other Essays*, p. 321.

<sup>3</sup> Woodthorpe, R.G., *The Lushai Expedition (1871-72)*, p. 3.

committed by the hill tribes of Mizoram upon the plain people urged the British Government to conduct military operations in order to stop them from their threatening campaign. More frequently, the Mizo chiefs continued their invasions in the British colonial territories. In response to these, throughout the 1860's, various methods were tried out to secure the British frontier but each proved of no avail.

Finally, the British Government sent two successive military expeditions in 1871-72 and 1889-90. In January 1871, the Mizos under chief Bengkhuaia invaded the tea garden of Cachar which resulted in the killing of James Winchester, who was the manager of tea garden by that time and his daughter Mary Winchester was taken captive. As a result, the British Government sent an expedition which came to be known as the 'Lushai Expedition of 1871-72'. The Mizo villages were crushed one by one and Mary Winchester was rescued. This expedition also crushed a certain number of Mizo chiefs. Mizo chiefs made a truce not to make further attacks. Frontier posts were built to protect the border and bazaars were opened to encourage the Lushais to trade.

After a decade, the truce was broken and there erupted intermittent "raids" again. In 1889, the British organised another punitive expedition named 'The Expedition of 1889'. It was commanded by Col. FVC Tregear. From their camping site at Demagiri, they started on 19<sup>th</sup> December, 1888. They easily penetrated the southern villages with little resistance from the Lushai chiefs. They fortified at Lunglei and prepared locations and roads for the next expedition. After completing their mission, they returned in April 1889. Consequently, the colonial government, without recognizing the meaning of "raids" with respect to the Mizos, reinforced another military operation 1889 on a larger scale in two columns – Northern and Southern to suppress 'savage' activities. Then, the major campaign called 'The Chin-Lushai Expedition 1889-90' immediately followed.

The Chin-Lushai Expedition of 1889-90 was put into action so as to subjugate the tribes as yet neutral, to explore and open out, as far as practicable, the partially known country between Chittagong and Burma and to establish semi-permanent posts to ensure complete pacification and recognition of British power by the tribes.<sup>4</sup> At last, the colonial government realized that the tribal "raids" would not cease unless they

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<sup>4</sup> Reid, Robert, *The Lushai Hills*, p. 17.

were totally conquered and placed under the ‘civilized’ administration of the British.<sup>5</sup> Apart from the punishment of the chiefs who were involved in a series of “raids”, the expedition was carried out with the intention of further territorial expansion of South-East Asia. Finally, the Mizoram was incorporated into the British dominion in 1895 and the colonial administration restored law and order.<sup>6</sup>

Immediately, the British colonial rule came into force and extended its influence after the British annexation of Mizoram. Mizoram, the little known, the land which was totally surrounded by such varying contacts as the four areas of the Province of Burma called Tiddim, Falam, Haka and Arracan, the two Indian States of Tripura and Manipur, and the three British Indian districts of Sylhet and Cachar in Assam and the Chittagong Hill Tracts of the Province of Bengal.<sup>7</sup> The geographical expanse of Mizoram was surrounded by the river Tuipuilian on the west; on the east by the river Tiau (Tyao) and Koladyne; while their southern boundary was roughly a line drawn east and west through the junction of the Mat and Koladyne rivers and their most northerly villages were found on the borders of the Silchar district.

At this time, the Mizos owned no central authority but were governed by their chiefs. The men who claimed this position vary in number in different tribes, many of them being little more than village headmen or even leaders of factions or sections of the community.<sup>8</sup> At the same time, they were powerful and independent people. They cannot be considered as a ‘nation’, for they had no coherence of government and policy, but, with slight differences, they spoke one language and followed the same customs. They were known to the Bengallees by the name of ‘Kuki’ and to the Burmese as the ‘Lankhe’. They were three in number, viz., Haulawng, Sailo and Rothangpuia’s clan. Their numbers were estimated as follow by Captain Graham in 1861: -

Haulawng	:	12,600
Sailo	:	10,800
Rothangpuia	:	2,580 <sup>9</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Nag, Sajal, *Pied Pipers in North-East India: Bamboo Flowers, Rat Famine and the Politics of Philanthropy, 1881-2007*, p. 60.

<sup>6</sup> Chatterjee, Suhas, Preface to *Mizoram Under The British Rule*, p. vi.

<sup>7</sup> McCall, A.G., *Lushai Chrysalis*, p. 21.

<sup>8</sup> Reid, A.S., *Chin-Lushai Land*, p. 225.

<sup>9</sup> Lewin, T.H., *The Hill Tracts of Chittagong and the Dwellers Therein, With Comparative Vocabulary of the Hill Dialects*, p. 138.



Soon after the annexation, the colonial government began to control all the resources of learning and culture in establishing forms of knowledge. The colonizers wanted to generate a substantial amount of colonial knowledge through various means for the convenience of their ‘civilizing mission’. Even at a global level, the forms and bodies of knowledge enabled European colonizers to achieve domination over their colonized subjects. So, the production of colonial knowledge on indigenous society has been the most central theme and aspect of post-colonial studies.

The most eminent scholars like Edward Said, Ronald Inden, Bernard S. Cohn, Nicholas Dirks, Gauri Viswanathan and Thomas Metcalf all agreed in their influential works with the view that European colonial conquest was dependent not just upon superior military, political and economic power, but also upon the ‘power of knowledge’ – or ‘cultural technologies of rule’ in Dirk’s formulation.<sup>10</sup> So, the production of colonial knowledge by collaborating with the colonized subjects for the better functioning and administration in the colonial state is one of the key instruments for the consolidation of the colonial rule.

Over the last two decades, ‘knowledge’ has become a key issue in exchanges over the theory and practice of writing about European colonialism in Asia. Knowledge has come to preoccupy historians, anthropologists, geographers, area studies specialists, as well as scholars in post-colonial and gender studies as the production of knowledge is now understood as being fundamental to the power struggles, intellectual transformations and cultural realignments of colonialism.<sup>11</sup>

Colonial conquest was not just the result of the power of superior arms, military organization, political power or economic wealth, as important as these things were. Colonialism was made possible, and then sustained and strengthened, as much by cultural technologies of rule as it was by the more obvious and brutal modes of conquest that first established power on foreign shores. Colonial knowledge both enabled conquest and was produced by it; in certain important ways, knowledge was what colonialism was all about. Cultural forms in newly classified ‘tradition’, societies were reconstructed and transformed by and through colonial technologies of conquest and rule, which created new categories of oppositions between colonizers

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<sup>10</sup> Wagoner, Phillip B, ‘Precolonial Intellectuals and the Production of Colonial Knowledge’, *Comparative Studies in Societies and Histories*, p. 783.

<sup>11</sup> Ballantyne, Tony, ‘Colonial Knowledge’ in Sarah Stockwell (ed.), *The British Empire, Themes and Perspectives*, p. 177.

and colonized, European and Asian, modern and traditional, west and east, even male and female. In addition to this, one of the more salient shifts in the study of colonial societies, and indeed studies of the British Empire more generally, in the last two decades has been a new analytical focus on knowledge and knowledge production.<sup>12</sup> The more the colonizers knew, the more effectively were they able to control and manipulate the colonized.<sup>13</sup>

The colonial government in Mizoram obtained colonial knowledge through their administrative services in various fields. Particularly, from the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Mizoram, the then Lushai Hills became an ‘ethnographic state’ – the colonized subject was first and foremost a ‘body’ to be known and controlled. To be able to rule and to consolidate their colonial domination, the ruler needed to know the culture, history, attitude and social condition of the ruled. Like other colonized states, colonialism thus brought foreign governments, travellers, missionaries, orientalist, ethnographers, geographers, philologists, linguists, folklorists and explorers to various parts of Mizoram.

For instance, in 1901, Public Census was conducted for the first time.<sup>14</sup> From the record of this census, they became familiarized with the socio-economic conditions of the Mizo people. Virtually, the Mizo society in pre-colonial period was an oral society, where colonial knowledge on Mizo history was undertaken by means of oral history. Particularly, in the literary circle of Mizo, TH Lewin has been generally portrayed as the friend of Mizo who sacrificed for the sake of Mizo people in his tenure in Mizoram. TH Lewin had served among the Mizos for nine years and all of his literary productions became a good source of material for the Christian Missionaries in learning the Mizo language.<sup>15</sup> Being one of the earliest colonial ethnographers who initiated the production of knowledge through ethnographic fieldwork as well as collection of oral tradition, he found it necessary to study the Mizo customs to which they made frequent references. The process of his data collection was possible only through ethnographic fieldwork among native villagers.

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<sup>12</sup> Dirks, Nicholas B., Introduction to *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge, The British in India*, by Bernard S. Cohn, p. ix.

<sup>13</sup> Knight, G. Roger, ‘The Blind Eye and the Strong Arm: The Colonial Archive and the Imbrication of Knowledge and Power in Mid-Nineteenth Century Java’, in *Asian Journal of Social Science*, pp. 544-567.

<sup>14</sup> Liangkhaia, *Mizo Chanchin*, p. 154.

<sup>15</sup> Rálte, Lalhrualtuanga, *Zoram Vartian, Chanchintha leh Thuziak khaw v`ar tan dan*, p. 207.

Through this acquired colonial knowledge, they produced scripts and grammars of the Mizo dialects.

Particularly, when the British began their rule over Mizoram, they were at first perplexed that various types of customary laws existed almost in every villages. The British administrative system on the other hand was based on centralized political system. Eventually, they considered Mizo customary law as disorder. So, when NE Parry, Indian Civil Service, took in charge of the Superintendent of Mizoram from 1925-1928, he rendered a significant contribution to the Mizo people and also to the administration. He drafted a Mizo customary law which was eventually published in 1927. In the process of his work, NE Parry had consulted 60 Mizo chiefs, and after obtaining information from these northern and southern chiefs, he ultimately compiled *Monograph on Lushai Customs and Ceremonies*.

The link between ‘knowledge’ and ‘power’ is very important in the relationship between colonizers and colonized. In this respect, the theory of ‘Orientalism’ propounds that “knowledge of subject races or Orientals is what makes their management easy and profitable; knowledge gives power, more power requires more knowledge”<sup>16</sup> could be possibly subsumed. It is a way of maintaining power over the colonized subjects. Thereby, government agents, informants and Christian missionaries, through their respective services sought and managed to obtain a considerable amount of knowledge on various aspects of the Lushai customs and ceremonies, various practices, cultures, traditions, social values, etc. Subsequently, they began to impose their own interests and standards upon the indigenous tribes and also made an attempt to suit the indigenous systems to theirs.

## **STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM**

The British Government in India, consequently after the Chin - Lushai Expedition of 1889-90 attempted to consolidate their hold all over Mizoram. For the commercial and territorial expansion, the colonial government had to set up ethnographical and anthropological studies to study an ‘unexplored area’ and various institutions in order to consolidate and perpetuate their administrative systems, and also for the better

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<sup>16</sup> Said, Edward W., *Orientalism, Western Conceptions of the Orient*, p. 36.

administration all over the newly acquired territories. Thereby, they began to introduce various administrative systems upon the colonial state. In order to maintain their hold and also as a justification from the eyes of all the civilized nations, numerous ways were devised for the generation of knowledge about the colonized subjects. For this particular purpose, the colonial government soon needed to generate knowledge on the colonial state by any possible means that continuously attacked their commercial activities that consisted of plundering and burning villages, carrying off the enemies' heads and kidnapping the inhabitants as captives amongst themselves and their neighbouring territories.

Alongside the colonizers, the Christian missionaries had their own agenda. Unless and until they understood the people whom they worked for, evangelism could not easily succeed. So, one of the first and foremost tasks to be undertaken for the Christian missionaries was to learn the vernacular language. Not only did they learn the languages of the colonized people, but, they also produced numerous ethnographic texts extracted from the native population. Though the first two pioneer missionaries, JH Lorrain and FW Savidge already had a rudimentary knowledge of the language which they gathered during the period of their stay in the neighbouring areas while waiting for their entry into Mizoram, they began their mission by learning the language of the native people. The missionaries started education and soon produced educated elites whom they employed in their evangelizing mission. With the help of these native elites, their mission work developed to a great extent. Thus, the combined knowledge of both the colonizers and the colonized gave way for the furtherance of the colonial impact in different spheres.

Thus, the aim of this paper is to take up an investigative study of the production of colonial knowledge in Mizoram. How far has colonial knowledge enabled the colonial government to maintain their authority over Mizoram? How did the colonizers acquire and form colonial knowledge from the indigenous people? Do all the new administrative measures introduced by the colonial government out of their own interests really suited to the advancement and development of the Mizo society? How did the colonizers manage to acquire knowledge of the indigenous skills and techniques in order to educate and instruct the indigenous people? Was there any indigenous contribution in this respect? How did colonial accounts represent colonized subjects with respect to their mode of living, characteristics, identity, etc.?

Why do all the colonial documentation, official records, observations and views on the Mizos come to be recognized and accepted by the Mizo people as their real identity and status? Are there any misinterpretations or misrepresentations regarding this issue? Are they reliable? What effect does it entail on the Mizo society?

## **REVIEW OF LITERATURE**

*A Fly on the Wheel or How I Helped to Govern India* (1885) by Thomas Herbert Lewin is mainly confined to the eastern frontier of India during the second half of the nineteenth century. In this book, the author presents by abstracting partly from his diary, how he himself came into contact with the hill tribes of this frontier region. If we go through the whole book, we would come to know the significance of anthropological approach in order to understand the nature of the colonized people. In this book, we find that Lewin stayed and dwelled among the hill tribes and he became more and more acquainted with their cultures and traditions. Lewin also mentions the significance of linguistic knowledge by quoting a proverb – “*No speech, no knowledge.*” He further describes the geographical features of the entire eastern frontier. Different tribes with respect to their cultural, traditional, social and economic aspects are also mentioned elaborately.

*The North-East Frontier of India* (1995) by Alexander Mackenzie is a voluminous account of the British encounter with the eastern frontier of India during the colonial period. This book gives a detailed history of the indigenous tribes of this area. In this work, we see various policies of the British in the transformation of the internal social relations within the tribal and non-tribal communities which constitute another conditioning factor of the history in the region. By going through the book, we may perceive that Mackenzie was a chronicler of events which were relevant from the point of view of colonial administration of the time. The book also contains a significant number of official administrative reports of the colonial government as well as government orders which were imposed upon the colonial people. Through his book, Mackenzie provides materials which no historians of all sorts interested in the region can afford to ignore. All the contents of the book are of great historic`al value.

*Wild Races of The Eastern Frontier of India* (1870) by Thomas Herbert Lewin is an anthropological account of the wild tribes of the eastern frontier of India in the nineteenth century. The book contains the description of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, inhabited by different tribes such as Khyoungtha, Tounghtha, Tipperah, Lushai and Lakher and their origins, traditional, religious and customary practices are specifically dealt with. In this book, Lewin gives the expression of his idea on the eastern frontier by suggesting that this particular area should not be governed for the sake of the colonizers, but should be administered for the well-being and happiness of the people dwelling therein. The affection and compassionate attitude of Lewin towards the tribal people were clearly expressed in the conclusion.

*Lushai Chrysalis* (1977) by AG McCall, contains the history of Mizoram from its genesis to its progress towards modern sense of civilization. The book gives a brief account of the encounter between British and the Mizos during the second half of the nineteenth century. The book also deals with the traditional practices and various customs of the Mizos. All the aspects of customary laws and practices, mode of living, religious status, ceremonies, etc., as well as the administrative set-up since the beginning of colonial rule are specifically highlighted. It is clearly evident that this book reflects the utilitarian view in the wishes and desires of the author himself so as to promote and ameliorate the conditions of the then backward Mizo society, by introducing and setting up a number of moral code and conduct through the power of colonial influence.

*The Lushai Expedition – 1871-72* (1980) by RG Woodthorpe is a narrative account of the first military expedition carried out by the British Government as a reaction against a series of ‘raids’ committed by the Mizos upon the British subjects who were living in the plain areas of the eastern frontier of India. In this narration, we find the historical account of the north-eastern frontier. Particularly, the Mizo tribes, who were living in the extreme south of the eastern frontier were mainly focused in this narrative work. Their physical features as well as complexion, muscular strength, intellectual aptitude, dress and costume, pattern of house construction, livestock, musical instrument and various types of domestic practices were described in good details. All these knowledge of the Mizos with their various aspects paved the way for the colonial government to strengthen their hold later in the Second Lushai Expedition.

*An Anthropologist among the Historians and Other Essays* (1987) by Bernard S. Cohn is a work of great anthropological study. In this book, the author particularly deals with the notions of anthropology, mentions the difference between historian, as a generalist and policy maker and anthropologist, as a technical expert in government program. By focusing on the later eighteenth and nineteenth century India, Cohn remarks the development of the rapid acquisition of knowledge of the classical languages of India by a few British officials. Cohn also reflects the significance of colonial knowledge by focusing on the period 1757-1785 in India during which the East India Company in Bengal had to develop an administrative system capable of maintaining law and order. The book is a handiwork of an accomplished anthropologist who devoted himself much in the empirical study and observation of the real situation of the colonial India. Thus, it is most likely that the book will serve the epistemological needs and requirements of a myriad of scholars in their academic work on anthropology.

*Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge, The British in India* (1996) by Bernard S. Cohn is a collection of essays divided into five chapters. This collection of essays demonstrates, elaborates and documents Cohn's sense of what anthropology of colonial knowledge should be. In the first essay, Cohn demonstrates how the general incompetence of the British in Indian languages that yielded to a concerted effort to produce a set of texts-grammars, dictionaries and teaching aids. In this respect, Cohn argues the conversion of grammar from an Indian form of knowledge into a European object. He further states that language should be mastered to issue commands and to collect information. The second essay is entitled *Law and the Colonial State in India*, which rehearses William Jones' attempt to recover an "ancient Indian constitution". Cohn argues in the obsessive attempts to reconstitute genuine Indian law, Indian legal traditions and principles were systematically refigured. He regards India as increasingly available for science through documentation project. The third essay, *The Transformation of Objects into Artifacts, Antiquities, and Art in Nineteenth-Century India* expresses the critical view of Cohn on European economic exploitation in India. He argues that only goods were not of the European interests, rather, India provided a whole host of wares that could symbolize and display an imperial archaeology with Britain at the helm. The last essay, *Cloth, Clothes and Colonialism: India in the*

*Nineteenth Century* stresses the significance of clothing in colonialism. He considers clothing as symbol or insignia for self-representation against the colonial rule.

*Orientalism* (1978) by Edward Said is about the western attitudes and conceptions towards the Middle Eastern, Asian and North African societies. In Said's analysis, the West considered these societies as static and undeveloped, thereby fabricating a view of Oriental culture that can be studied, depicted and reproduced. Implicit in this fabrication, writes Said is the idea that western society is developed, virtuous, normal rational, flexible and superior, while that of the orient is irrational, depraved, fallen, childlike and absolutely different. In this book, we also find the mention of certain features of cultural relationship that knowledge of the Orient in a sense creates the Orient, the Oriental and his world. The point is that the Oriental is contained and represented by dominating frameworks. It also assumed that the Orient and everything in it was in need of corrective study by the West. Thus, Orientalism is knowledge of the Orient that places things oriental in class, court or manual for scrutiny, study, judgement, discipline or governing.

*Colonial Situations – Essays on the Contextualization of Ethnographic Knowledge* (ed.) by George W. Stocking, Jr. (1991) is a collection of articles which tells about the relation of anthropology to colonialism. Several numbers of writings in this book testified that an awareness of its colonial context was by no means a completely new phenomenon in anthropology. It also focuses on the interaction of ethnographers with their subject peoples in their fieldwork. The relationship between ethnography and colonialism were depicted in different aspects.

*Knowledge and European Empire-Building in Asia* (2004), an article of New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies written by Tony Ballantyne stresses the significant role played by knowledge in the process of empire building by European in Asia. Ballantyne mentions various scholars like George Bearce, Eric Strokes, Bernard S. Cohn, Raymond Schwab and Donald Lach of whose writings mainly concerned with the study of European empire building in South-East Asia and its resultant effect. Apart from this, various essays on the issue of colonial-knowledge production during the period of British program of imperialism are dealt with. From these essays, he concluded that they all stress the pivotal role of knowledge production in European



empire projects. Furthermore, he hopes that the work on colonial knowledge in Asia will open new perspectives for the study of empire-building in Asia.

*Precolonial Intellectuals and the Production of Colonial Knowledge* (2003) by Phillip B. Wagoner deals with the production of knowledge during colonial period in India. The writer mentions certain eminent scholars like Edward Said, Ronald Inden, Bernard S. Cohn, etc. as 'post-colonialist' from whom we derived an insight that European colonial conquest depends upon the power of knowledge, while Eugene Irschick, CA Bayly, Thomas R. Trautmann, etc., as 'collaborationists' who hold the assumption that the indigenous intellectuals act as active partners in the production of colonial knowledge. He states that epigraphy holds a central position in the study of India's past by the colonizers during the colonial period. Ballantyne also gives a report of the collaborative efforts of Colin Mackenzie and his team who were investigating various aspects of both India's past and present by using literary and epigraphic sources. He demonstrates that Mackenzie's assistants contributed actively to the production of new epigraphic knowledge as a method for historical enquiry.

*The Lushai Hills - Annexation, Resistance and Pacification (1886-1898)* by C. Lalthlengliana is for the first time published in 2007. The book gives an account of the contacts between the present Mizoram with the British forces during the last decade of the nineteenth century. By going through the text, we become aware of the how the British gradually came to know the facets of the Mizos in various ways. The First Lushai Expedition of 1871-1872 led the British know the geographical features of Mizoram. After setting foot in the land of Mizoram, they subsequently came to know true nature of the Mizos in terms of social, traditional and cultural aspects. A strong resistance offered by the Mizo chiefs against the British made them realized how to impose their control and influence upon the civil and military affairs in the most effective manner which ultimately led to the annexation of the whole Mizoram in 1890.

*Mizoram - History and Cultural Identity (1890-1947)* by Lalrimawia, published in 1995 is a work which gives the history of Mizoram from its origins. The book mainly focuses on the greater part of the colonial period. In chapter 3 titled '*The Lushais and The English*', the author highlights early contacts between the English and the Mizos. How the British were urged to make their interference into the internal affairs of the

Mizo tribes, all of its factors were described in brief detail. Furthermore, the policy of the colonial government in order to bring the Mizo chiefs under their authority and their policy of annexation were as well mentioned. We also came to know that the Mizo chiefs were ultimately forced to acknowledge the existence of the colonial power and were compelled to give up their allegiance to their masters and began to cultivate friendship with the British. As a result of this, the British government laid down a firm and secure basis so as to develop their future relationships with the Mizos. In addition to this, it also tells us about the outcome of this subjugation of the Mizo chiefs that subsequently served as a demoralizing effect among the Mizos.

*Essays on the History of the Mizos (2004)* by Sangkima is a collection of a number of scholarly articles on the history of Mizoram. In the fifteenth chapter entitled 'History and Evolution of Education in Mizoram through the Ages', the study is divided into three stages in order to understand properly the history of education during the colonial period. The opening lines of this chapter state that education in Mizoram is said to have been dated from the year 1893 when the British established a school after the occupying of the hills in 1890. We are also informed of that though, the school was started by the British, the real foundation on education was laid by the Christian Missionaries who in their first attempt in the creation of Mizo alphabet faced a practical problem. But, the pioneering work of TH Lewin on Mizo language made it possible to a certain extent for the first two missionaries to produce the Mizo script. Soon after the Mizo alphabet was made, school was established for the first on 1<sup>st</sup> April, 1894. At this point, one thing remarkable and notable is the fact that education was not the main objective of the British administration. This is evident and ratified that school was continued only for seven years since its establishment. The main intent behind the situation is that in preference of Bengali to Mizo for the purpose of handling trade and official intercourse, the British government no longer felt the necessities for teaching in Mizo. This explicitly reveals the fact that the education introduced by the colonial government was chiefly meant for their own interests so as to consolidate and strengthen their rule in Mizoram.

*Zoram Vartian, Chanchintha leh Thuziak Khawvâr tan dân (2008)* by Lalhruaitluanga Râlte is an informative historical account of certain prominent pioneers who have paved the way for the light of Mizoram. The author brings out the most outstanding figures who were playing a great role in the enlightenment project of Mizoram. The

detailed biographical account of Mary Winchester, TH Lewin, Robert Arthington, Rev. William Williams, Rev. JH Lorrain and FW Savidge, GH Loch and other Mizos like Thangphunga, Suaka, Dokhama and Lalchhinga all are of great informative and a good sources of information for the study of Christianity in Mizoram. The book is worthy to be scrutinized in terms of precision, methodology and form of historical writing. Moreover, the contributions and the works of Christian missionaries in Mizoram signified the importance of acquiring indigenous knowledge in order to collaborate with the colonized people. The efforts of foreign agents in the field of education and religion clearly express the subsequent influence of colonial domination in a positive manner.

*Zofate Chanchin Tha Rawn Hlântute* (2013) by PL Lianzuala is a voluminous text in which the history of Mizoram since the advent of Christian missionaries under the impact of the Gospel is narrated. In this book, the author describes the role played by Christian missionaries during the colonial period in great details. Starting from the very onset, he gives the account of the development of the realm of the Gospel with particular reference to the visions of certain Mizos in respects of the coming of the Gospel. The book gives us a detailed account of how the Christian missionaries strived hard to have the knowledge of Mizo language even before they entered Mizoram. The way they produced the Mizo alphabet out of their own creativity is an interesting account. Then, soon after they had produced the Mizo alphabet, they began to impart to the Mizo people. Thereby, they gradually got themselves in producing a certain number of textbooks which served as a primer in their own established mission schools. By the new knowledge of the Mizo language, they undertook their mission work and ultimately brought all of the Mizos under the influence of their teachings.

*Important Documents of Mizoram* (1998) by C. Chawngkûnga contained an essential documents which could serve significantly as a primary source material for the study of the history of Mizoram during the colonial period given in chapter 3. Here in chapter 3, 25 points report on the history of the eastern Lushai Rising 1892 by RB Mc Cabe, the then Political Officer of the Lushai Hills is given in its original detail. The report is chiefly about the colonial expedition conducted in 1892. In the 24 points long report, Mc Cabe mentioned the Mizos as an unreasonable race, thereby, stating that their efforts in the expedition should also be directed to obtaining a thorough

control over them. The report also said about the knowledge about the method of warfare used by the Mizos. In the 24<sup>th</sup> point of the report, we are told that the only hope to enforce an unconditional surrender is by the destruction of their (the Mizos) supply lines and also by preventing them from jhuming which clearly revealed the fact that jhuming was the main livelihood of the Mizos by this period.

## **OBJECTIVES**

The objectives of the study are as follows: -

1. To identify the forms of colonial knowledge in Mizoram.
2. To examine the contributions of the Mizo people in colonial-knowledge production.
3. To investigate the impact of colonial-knowledge production in Mizo society.
4. To study the role of Christian Missionaries in the production of colonial knowledge.

## **AREA OF STUDY**

The present study covers the entire part of Mizoram which had been under the British rule during the colonial period.

## **METHODOLOGY**

The method for the study is qualitative as well as content analysis. Primary sources are obtained from official records available in the Mizoram State Archive, Aizawl; Baptist Archive, Serkawn, Lunglei; Synod Archive, Mission Veng, Aizawl; JM Lloyd Archive, Aizawl Theological College, Durtlang; AICS Archive, Tanhril, Aizawl. Secondary sources are consulted from Mizoram University Central Library, Mizoram State Library, Aizawl Theological College Library, etc.

## **CHAPTERIZATION**

### **Chapter 1 : Introduction**

This chapter introduces the approach, methods and objectives and it also deals with the background, aspects and themes of the proposed study.

### **Chapter 2 : Historical Background of Colonial Expedition**

This chapter focuses on the historical background of the British contact with the Mizos. It also presents the reason why they were determined to colonize the Mizo people and the account of their colonial expansion.

### **Chapter 3 : Colonial State and Knowledge-Production**

This chapter deals with various forms of knowledge about the colonial state of Mizoram with which the colonizers maintained and strengthened their administrative system. It also focuses on how the colonizers generate knowledge from the colonized subjects and its impact on colonizing Mizoram.

### **Chapter 4 : Christianity and the Production of Colonial Knowledge**

This chapter confines to the role played by Christian missionaries in the production of colonial knowledge. The ways by which they acquired knowledge and subsequently utilized for the convenience of their “civilizing mission” as well as its impact on the Mizo society is dealt.

### **Chapter 5 : Conclusion**

This chapter summarizes the whole study and highlights the major findings.

## CHAPTER 2

### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF COLONIAL EXPEDITION

By the middle of the sixteenth century, the first batch of the Mizos, by crossing Tiau river, settled in the area now known as Mizoram. When they came to this district, the term 'Kuki' was given to them by the Bengalees. According to Grierson, the word 'Kuki' was used to denote the various Mizo tribes who were successively driven from the Chin and Mizoram Hills into the surrounding country to the north and west. The Mizos were the last immigrants from Chin Hills into the present Mizoram. Mizoram was inhabited by a number of tribes and sub-tribes speaking different dialects of the same language.<sup>17</sup>

Prior to 1889, the interior of the tract of country known as the Chin-Lushai Hills was a *terra incognita*, consisting of parallel mountain ranges rising to heights of over 9,000 feet which embraces every variety of physical features and climate.<sup>18</sup> Mizoram is a mountainous region. It consists of seven long north-south traversing parallel ranges with intervening valleys which form a panoramic physiographic feature of 'tongue-shaped' area or 'hogsback' – the middle portion is high and tappers downwards in north-south direction.<sup>19</sup> Within this area, roughly 7,500 square miles, there are only a few villages ruled over by chiefs of other clans, and outside it, there are but few true Lusei villages. Though, there are villages of people very closely connected with the Luseis, on the southern borders of Sylhet, in Tipperah and in the North Cachar Hills, and there are a few in Chittagong Hill Tracts.<sup>20</sup>

The contact between the Mizos and the British subsequently began after the acquisition of Chittagong in 1760 by the East India Company. Not much was known about the Mizos even after many years of occupation of Cachar (1832), except that Cachar and Sylhet often faced their 'raids' on their border villages. Ever since the annexation of Cachar into the British dominion, the local authorities had to deal with the incursions of the Lushai tribes in the south.<sup>21</sup> The 'raids' soon began to increase in frequency and intensity by 1840's. According to the local report given by the

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<sup>17</sup> Zorema, J., *Indirect Rule in Mizoram 1890-1954*, p. 11.

<sup>18</sup> Reid, A.S., op. cit., p. 1.

<sup>19</sup> Das, H.P., *Geography of Assam*, p. 160.

<sup>20</sup> Shakespeare, J., *The Lushei Kuki Clans*, p. 1.

<sup>21</sup> Lalrimawia, *Mizoram – History and Cultural Identity (1890-1947)*, p. 35.

Superintendent of Police at Chittagong in 1854, there had been 19 ‘raids’ in which 107 persons had been slain, 15 wounded and many more 186 carried into slavery.<sup>22</sup>

### **THE FIRST RESISTANCE AGAINST THE BRITISH**

Whenever there was any hostility between the Mizo chiefs and the British subjects, the Mizo chiefs never had the idea of reporting their grievances to the government. They directly resorted to violent acts against the British subjects in the plains. The first recorded raid on the British territory by the Mizos occurred as early as 1826 in the month of September in which a party of Sylhet woodcutters were massacred by a Mizo chief Vuttaia in the hills above the Simla River, ten miles to the west of the Tlawng (Dullessuri).<sup>23</sup> A magistrate from Sylhet was detailed to investigate into this and after visiting some villages along the Longai River, he came to the conclusion that the incident was an act of retaliation by the Mizos on account of the refusal of a certain *zamindar* in Pertubgarh circle of Sylhet district, to present gifts to the visitors from the hills when they went to the plains.<sup>24</sup>

### **CAPTAIN BLACKWOOD’S EXPEDITION OF 1844**

From the year 1842, there had been repeated “raids” by the Mizos on the neighbouring villages in Cachar, Manipur and Sylhet District. The British from time to time extended their territories and gradually encroached on the territory which the Mizos considered as their hunting ground.<sup>25</sup> The next recorded account of raid was again committed on 10<sup>th</sup> April, 1844 when Lalrihua, father of Lalsutthlaha, refused to render help to the Manipuri chief, Ram Singh against his brother Tribowanjit Singh, an ally of the British with whom he had quarrelled over succession following the death of their father. Ram Singh cold-bloodedly killed Lalrihua. Lalsutthlaha, the son of Lalrihua, to honour his father and in preparation for his funeral, took 200 men and attacked the Bengali village of Kochabari in Pertubgurh on 16<sup>th</sup> April, 1844. He returned with six captives and twenty two heads needed to accompany the dead chief to his new world.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Carey, Bertram S., and HN Tuck, *The Chin Hills*, Vol. 1, p. 12.

<sup>23</sup> Mackenzie, Alexander, *The North-East Frontier of India*, p. 279.

<sup>24</sup> Lalthanliana, *Zalèn nana British Do*, p. 17.

<sup>25</sup> Lalremsiama, F., *Milu lâk leh vai rùn chanchin*, p. 67.

<sup>26</sup> Vumson, *Zo History*, p. 108.

As investigation for the cause of the raid was undertaken, the Government of India despatched a military expedition into the hills. This expedition was led by Captain George Blackwood of the Sylhet Light Infantry to punish the raiders. This punitive expedition is popularly known as ‘Blackwood Expedition’ which was despatched on 9<sup>th</sup> December, 1844. The primary object of this expedition was to punish Lalsutthlaha who committed a ‘raid’ in the Sylhet frontier. Lalsutthlaha was promised a pardon and surrendered, later, instead of negotiating, Blackwood arrested and tried him. The British found Lalsutthlaha guilty of raiding the Bengali village and deported him for life.<sup>27</sup> The punishment of Lalsutthlaha, in spite of the promise of a pardon made the Mizos lose their trust in the British. The attitude of the British against Lalsutthlaha was the first attempt made by the British against the Mizos. On the other hand, it could also be regarded as the first negotiation between the British and the Mizos.<sup>28</sup>

#### **COLONEL LISTER’S EXPEDITION OF 1850**

It was, however, only in 1847 that serious attention of the Government was first drawn to the Mizos. Colonel Mc Culloch, the Political Agent in Manipur drew attention to the increasing power of the Mizos, whose conflicts with other tribes living in Manipur had attracted his attention. According to Colonel Mc Culloch, a series of attacks were carried out by them in which 230 persons were captured or killed. He also noticed that among the presents, some of the persons dressed like the Burmese, armed with muskets before whom no other tribe could stand. Mc Culloch suggested that as the Mizos were known to belong to Hill Tipperah, they should be restrained through the Rajah from raiding the plains. The Rajah of Tripura denied all knowledge of the ‘raids’ and denied that they were his subjects.<sup>29</sup>

In November 1849, some ‘raids’ were made simultaneously in Sylhet, Tipperah and Cachar. The raid in the latter district was made by Lallianvunga’s son, Ngura.<sup>30</sup> In the same year, the Magistrate of Sylhet also reported a series of massacres by the Kukis in what was alleged to be within the British territory. Upwards of 150 persons were reported as having been killed and a large numbers of others carried away as captives.

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid., p. 109.

<sup>28</sup> Lalthangliana, B., *Mizo Chanchin*, p. 497.

<sup>29</sup> Mackenzie, Alexander, op. cit., p. 290.

<sup>30</sup> Woodthorpe, R.G., op. cit., p. 13.



Here, the Rajah of Tripura protested against any interference in the part of the Magistrate as the incidents had taken place in his jurisdiction. The Sylhet authorities insisted that the spot was within that district and a detachment of troops was sent out to protect its neighbourhood. As in the case of the southern limit of Cachar, there was confusion about the boundary between the British territory and the independent Tripura state. It was eventually determined by a professional surveyor that the place of the incident was outside the British territory.<sup>31</sup>

In the following year, the Magistrate of Sylhet reported a further series of “outrages within British territory”. About the same time, reports were also received from Cachar that the Mizos attacked Kuki villages within ten miles of Silchar, killed twenty-nine persons and took away forty captives. On this occasion, the Government resolved to take active measures. The Rajah of Tripura was called upon to deliver the guilty chiefs and their followers and to restore the captives, failing which the Government would march into his territory.<sup>32</sup> To punish these outrages, an expedition was organized and Colonel Lister was entrusted the Commandant of Sylhet Light Infantry.<sup>33</sup>

Scouts were sent out in the meantime to establish the identity of the culprits. While preparation for the expedition under Colonel Lister was going on and reports of first ‘raids’ and massacres in Sylhet were received. Without sending further entreaties to the Rajah of Tripura, Colonel Lister’s expedition started from Silchar on 4<sup>th</sup> January, 1850. After 10 days, marched inside the hills, Colonel Lister arrived on 14<sup>th</sup> January, in a village belonging to a chief called Ngúra, son of Lallianvunga, chief of Hmuifáng. This village called Sentláng consisted of nearly one thousand houses and was burnt by Colonel Lister’s troops on 16<sup>th</sup> January, 1850. Lister found that the Mizos were armed and well-trained and their instructors were all Burmese. Lister’s report opened the eyes of the authorities in Calutta as to the military strength of the Mizos.<sup>34</sup>

Realizing that retaliatory measures could never effectively check the Mizos from incursions, the Government did not accept all the recommendations of Colonel Lister. However, his plan of raising a Kuki levy was favourably received and steps were

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<sup>31</sup> Mackenzie, Alexander, op. cit., p. 291

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> Woodthorpe, R.G., op. cit., p. 13.

<sup>34</sup> Lalrimawia, op. cit., p. 35.

taken to raise a levy of 200 men, half of whom should be drawn from Kukis living within the British territory and the rest from Cacharis and other tribes loyal to the Government. Colonel Lister was also placed in charge of the affairs of Cachar and Sylhet districts, and he was further asked to enter into negotiations with the leading Mizo chiefs in order to establish friendly relations with them. On their part, some Mizo chiefs made overtures of peace sent envoys to Cachar. Assistant of Colonel Lister was also sought on more than one occasion by some chiefs in their fights against the neighbouring chiefs.<sup>35</sup> Such requests, however, were politely turned down; and up to the beginning of 1862, Sylhet and Cachar were tolerably free from disturbances. He marched from Silchar on 4<sup>th</sup> January 1850 and arrived at the village of Ngúra, Sentláng which was burnt and destroyed, and a certain number of British subjects were released.<sup>36</sup>

Accordingly, Captain Stewart, Deputy Commissioner of Cachar sent out a large number of interpreters to the leading chiefs Suakpuilala, Vanhnuailiana and others with the intension of earning the latter's goodwill. The mission was successful. Some of them even sent down muntries or agents while Vanhnuailiana, Suakpuilala and Vanpuilala personally came down to Silchar and met the Superintendent. In the south, TH Lewin, who was the then Deputy Commissioner of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, was the one who suggested not to govern these hills for themselves, but to administer the country for the well-being and happiness of the people dwelling therein.

Thus, since 1842, there had been repeated 'raids' by the Mizos on the neighbouring villages in Cachar, Manipur and Sylhet District. At the same time, the tea plantation in Cachar started in 1865 and within a short period, the southern part of Cachar bordering Mizoram was covered by tea plantation. The British took interest in its expansion on vast commercial line. This created a misunderstanding among the Mizos and they looked at these efforts as a step to encroach their hunting ground and eventually usurpation of their territory. The response of the inhabitants was in the form of frequent 'raids' and kidnapping.<sup>37</sup>

On 22<sup>nd</sup> January, 1862, a cluster of villages called Adampore were plundered and burnt. The affected villages were Ramdulal's Bari, Ram Mohon's Bari and

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<sup>35</sup> Mackenzie, Alexander, op. cit., p. 295.

<sup>36</sup> Lalremsiam, F., op. cit., p. 103.

<sup>37</sup> Singh, S.N., *Mizoram – Historical, Geographical, Social, Economic, Political and Administrative*, p. 34.

Chandraipara, all under Rajnuggar Police Station in Sylhet district. A large number of persons were carried off as captives or massacred. As usual, the Rajah of Tripura was enjoined to stop “these outrages” as they occurred in the neighbourhood of his territory. Apart from pursuit by a police force up to a point, no other measures were taken for some time to protect the British territory. Early in 1863, however, four women captives taken from Chandraipura escaped to Cachar and it was learnt from them that the attack at Adampore was led by four chiefs, namely Ngúrchuilova, Suakpuilala, Runvunga and Lalhuliana.<sup>38</sup>

Instead of sending a hostile expedition against them as recommended by the local authorities, the Government directed to open negotiations to endeavor the return of the captives. Accordingly, Captain Steward, the Deputy Commissioner of Cachar started negotiations. Taking advantage of food scarcity in the hills and by presenting rice to them, he persuaded some of the chiefs to send in their emissaries. It was then revealed that Ngúrchuilova had married the sister of Suakpuilala and Vanpuilala, chief of Sentláng which was burnt by Colonel Lister’s expedition in 1850. Captain Steward made an offer of friendship and a payment of Rs. 600/- per annum to each subject to payment annual nominal rent to the Government and the release of all the captives.

As in the case of the southern limit of the Cachar district, or the eastern boundary of the independent Tripura State, the boundary between the Chittagong Hill Tracts and Mizoram was undefined. In 1860, the uncertainties and insecurity of the past in the southern part of Mizoram culminated in a daring and fierce raid by Rothangpuia. It was this chief who had organised this raid near the Tripura state border which resulted in the murder of 186 British subjects.<sup>39</sup> Rothangpuia was the nearest Mizo chief to the Chittagong Hill Tracts. In 1861, Rothangpuia’s villagers clashed with some villagers within British India.

In spite of frequent contacts between the Mizos and the British officers, the Mizos did not stop their ‘raids’ on the plains. In 1862, the Mizos ransacked three villages in the plain areas. This incident is referred to as the ‘Adampur Massacre’. The most powerful chief Suakpuilala was reported to have ordered this attack. The Cachar and Sylhet districts of Assam were then a virtual paradise for the Mizo raiders. Besides

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<sup>38</sup> Mackenzie, Alexander, op. cit., p. 298.

<sup>39</sup> McCall, A.G., op. cit., p. 43.

these two districts, the Mizos had extended their activities to the adjoining Manipur area also where they attacked the Naga villages in the year 1868.<sup>40</sup>

### **GENERAL NUTHALL'S EXPEDITION OF 1869**

A number of 'raids' by Mizos inside British territory were reported. Amongst the targets of these attacks were included a Naga village in Manipur, a village near Adampore in Sylhet and some villages in Tripura. Some tea gardens in Cachar were threatened. At about the same time, a large of Manipuris under Kanhai Singh, a refugee from Manipur, assembled near Cachar to mount an attack on Manipur. It was suspected that there was some connection between his party and the Mizos, as members belonging to one group were reported to be seen with the other group in different movements. Suakpuilala and Vânpuilala were also suspected to be involved.<sup>41</sup>

By 1868, the affairs in the north could hardly have been in a worse state. The Mizos attacked the Nagas in the Manipur State, at the same time, Suakpuilala ejected Ranphunga, a chief from Tripura State territory and in 1869, the Loharbund Tea Estate was burned down and Monierkhal raided. The British Government of India viewed these fresh incidents very seriously. To meet this new situation, the Deputy Commissioner of Cachar lost no time in taking measures for the protection of other outlying gardens. An expedition was organized for the purpose of following up the marauders to their villages.<sup>42</sup>

Accordingly, two columns of troops were organized for the expedition. One column under General Nuthall was to move along the course of the Tlawng River with the objective of destroying Suakpuilala's villages. The other column was to proceed along the Tuirial (Sonai) River and its objective being to destroy Vanpuilala's villages along this valley. In addition, a third column consisting of a Police Force from Sylhet was to enter the hills to meet the Tlawng column in the interior. It was further arranged a fourth force furnished by the Rajah of Manipur would cooperate and participate in the expedition. The columns were ready to move by the beginning of January 1869.

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<sup>40</sup> Baveja, J.D., *The Land Where The Bamboo Flowers*, p. 5.

<sup>41</sup> Thanga, L.B., *The Mizos – A Study in Racial Personality*, p. 126.

<sup>42</sup> Mackenzie, Alexander, *op. cit.*, p. 301.

However, the actual start of the columns was delayed till March, 1869 as the unusual and torrential rain forced the party to withdraw.<sup>43</sup>

The Tlawng column was under the command of Brigadier General Nuthall of the North-Eastern Frontier, while the Sonai column was commanded by Major Stevenson. The deputy Commissioner of Cachar, Mr. JW Edgar was also detailed to join the Tuirial column. The Police force from Sylhet was under the charge of Messrs. Baker and Kemble, a Civil Service and civil Police Officer respectively.

The monsoon of that year was unusually early, the first spell of rain having arrived in March. The Tlawng column advanced along that river up to Pukwa-Mukh and its further progress was stopped by rain. The Tuirial column met many difficulties from its initial move upstream the river and could only reach Bazarghat with great difficulty. The Sylhet column started out from Koilasahar in Tripura State and reached one or two villages of Suakpuilala on the Tut (Gootur) river, a left bank affluent of Tlawng column in the interior of the Mizo country. The expedition did not thus achieve even a partial success. The offending villages could not be reached and the guilty remained unpunished. This was mainly due to the bad weather during the expedition and also because the suspected persons were proved to be innocent. Despite the unpromising position, Suakpuilala executed with Mr. Edgar, the only *sanad* which any Mizo Chief had ever negotiate with the British Government.<sup>44</sup>

## **THE LUSHAI EXPEDITION OF 1871-1872**

Towards the close of 1868, attacks were made on some Naga villages in Manipur and at the same time, the tea gardens in South Cachar were threatened.<sup>45</sup> The policy of the British Government from the very beginning had been one of the defences of borders and non-interference with the trans-border tribesmen. But, this policy had failed; no schemes and no efforts sufficed to keep the Lushais from raiding into the British territory. In spite of any attempt to restrain the raiders or check their ravages, the hill men still continued to plunder the British territory, enslave and take into captivity the people of the government territory.

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<sup>43</sup> McCall, A.G., op. cit., p. 46.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., p. 46.

<sup>45</sup> Woodthorpe, R.G., op. cit., p. 22.

However, in the very early of 1870's, there began to emerge a report on a series of attacks by the Mizos on the British territory. Early in 1871, unpardonable outrages of the Lushais were committed in several areas of Cachar and Sylhet.<sup>46</sup> Between 22<sup>nd</sup> and 24<sup>th</sup> January, 1871, a posse of Mizos made one daring raid on the village of Anierkhal in Hailakandi sub-division of Cachar, burnt and about 25 persons were killed and 37 taken captives. The 'raids' perpetrated were serious and widespread. At Alexandrapur, Dr. James Winchester was shot down on his own Tea Estate, became a victim to a surprise attack by the Mizo raiders.<sup>47</sup> The people at Alexandrapur were taken completely by surprise and they were unable to make any attempt to defend themselves. At the other gardens, they were not so successful, the occupants having time to arm themselves before the Mizos appeared. The raiding parties were repulsed with ease in each attack and forced to retire altogether.<sup>48</sup>

Subsequently, an adjoining tea garden at Katlichera was also attacked a few hours later. On the following day, i.e., 24<sup>th</sup> January, 1871, the tea garden at Katlicherra was again attacked, but, on this occasion, the Mizos were repulsed. On 27<sup>th</sup> January, 1871, a tea garden at Monierkhal was attacked. The fight lasted the whole of that day. On the next day, Mr. Daly, the District Superintendent of Police arrived with some reinforcements and they succeeded in driving away the Mizos on the night of 28<sup>th</sup> January, 1871. Almost simultaneously, the adjoining tea garden of Dharmiakhal was being attacked. Reinforcements of troops and police sent to the relief of tea estates were also ambushed resulting in the death of six sepoy while the Mizos themselves lost about twenty-five killed and several wounded.<sup>49</sup>

The reports from Sylhet, Tripura and Manipur borders were also disquieting. On 23<sup>rd</sup> January, a village named Cachabari in Sylhet was almost entirely burnt, killing more than twenty persons with some women taken as captives. The next day, another village near Chargolla in the vicinity of Cachar border was attacked and burnt; and on 28<sup>th</sup> February, a village near Alinagar was attacked. In Tripura, a party of Mizo warriors burnt a number of villages killing or wounding a number of villagers; and on 21<sup>st</sup> January, some people engaged in elephant catching were attacked. The nearby villages were then plundered. It was said that some of the warriors were seen as far

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<sup>46</sup> Carey, Bertram S. and HN Tuck, op. cit., p. 12.

<sup>47</sup> McCall, A.G., op. cit., p. 47.

<sup>48</sup> Woodthorpe, R.G., op. cit., p. 36.

<sup>49</sup> Ralte, Benjamin, 'Raids and Counter Military Offensives', in *Historical Journal Mizoram*, November 2014, p. 57.

west at Gumti River in Tripura, 40 miles east of Comilla. The attacks on Manipur were mostly confined to the hills surrounding the Imphal Valley and they took place towards the end of February 1871.

While these depredations were going on, instructions issued by the Government of India to their local officers directing how to deal with the situation and to collect as much information as possible. Reports about the identity of the 'raiders' were conflicting, and therefore confusing. As Mr. Edgar was in Suakpuilala's village while these outrages were going on in the plains, he was received and treated with warmth and friendship, the complicity of the Mizo tribes was difficult to believe. Furthermore, Mr. Edgar's return to his headquarter was affected without any opposition. It was, however, eventually believed that Vanhnuailiana's sons Lalkhama, Buangtheuva, Pawibawia and Lalburha in the east; Savunga, Lalpuithanga and Bengkhuaia in the west were responsible for these attacks on the British territory. This belief was further strengthened when a portion of the plunder from Alexandrapur factory was brought by the Mizos for sale in the Bazar near Chittagong. Rothangpuia was also reported to have seen Mary Winchester in one of Sangvunga's villages. In the east, the complicity of Vanhnuailiana's sons was further confirmed by captives who escaped into Manipur. The British authority realized that mere negotiation with the Mizo which was going on between the Mizos and the British territory would not serve the purpose, and the commercial interest of many British planters would suffer.<sup>50</sup>

After long deliberations, the Government of India, at the Calcutta Conference decided to take up the matter on a large scale and resolved to a larger punitive known as "The Lushai Expedition of 1871-1872" in Mizoram during the winter season to cover up the whole Mizo hills from Cachar on the North and Chittagong on the South.<sup>51</sup> The two columns viz., The Northern Column, also known as the 'Cachar Column' was under the command of Brigadier General G. Bouchier and the 'Chittagong Column' from the south was under the command of Brigadier General CH Brownlow. The strength of each column of the Expedition was fixed by the Commander-in-Chief at half a battery of Mountain Artillery, one company of Sappers and Miners<sup>52</sup> and three regiments of Native Infantry, representing a force of nearly two thousand men, with

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<sup>50</sup> Singh, S.N., op. cit., p. 36.

<sup>51</sup> Lewin, T.H., *A Fly On The Wheel Or How I helped To Govern India*, p. 258.

<sup>52</sup> Woodthorpe, R.G., op. cit., p. 41.

about an equal number of coolies and a certain number of elephants.<sup>53</sup> In the meantime, the Rajahs of Tripura and Manipur were asked to supply troops and keep them as stand-by in the event of any attack on their borders. In addition to this, Edgar and Lewin were attached to the Cachar and Chittagong column respectively to assist the military operations from the civil side.

Since the beginning, it was realized that the success of the expedition depended almost entirely on the transport arrangement. And the Government of India ordered that two coolie troops of 4,000 men each be raised. In over all, 2,764 men formed the Chittagong column thus making the total labour engaged in the expedition to 5,555 men. For the Cachar Column, another 178 elephants were commandeered to assist the porter corps.

## **THE CACHAR COLUMN**

The Cachar Column, also known as the 'Northern Column' started out on 15<sup>th</sup> December, 1871. The regiments selected for the Cachar side were the 22<sup>nd</sup>, 42<sup>nd</sup> and 44<sup>th</sup>, consisting mainly of Punjabis, Sikhs and Gurkhas.<sup>54</sup> This force consisted of half a battery of Artillery, a company of Sappers and 500 men, a coolie corps, together with 178 elephants and 1,200 coolies for commissariat purposes. Tipaimukh, the junction of the Tipai and Barak Rivers had been fixed upon as the starting place and advanced base of operations.<sup>55</sup>

From the ammunition recovered in this encounter, it was firmly established that these villages had taken part in the 'raids' on Monierkhal and Nundigram tea-estates in the previous year. On 23<sup>rd</sup> December, 1871, the party met its first serious opposition, running into an ambush on the commanding hill of Khawlian. However, the General boldly attacked, stormed the village in his stride and burned it to the ground.<sup>56</sup> After this, General Bouchier set out for Chawnehim, the village of Vanhnuailala's widow and dictated the terms according to which the submission of Lalburha and other villages would be accepted. After the terms were accepted and compiled with, the Cachar column attempted to meet the Chittagong Column inside

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<sup>53</sup> Ibid., p. 39.

<sup>54</sup> Reid, A.S., op. cit., p. 13.

<sup>55</sup> Mackenzie, Alexander, op. cit., p. 313.

<sup>56</sup> McCall, A.G., op. cit., p. 48.



Mizoram but without success. The column thus departed to Silchar on 10<sup>th</sup> March 1872.

### **THE CHITTAGONG COLUMN**

While the main object of the Cachar Column was to get at and punish the tribes who had raided on Monierkhal and East Cachar, the objective of the column operating from Chittagong under General Brownlow was to avenge the murder of Dr. Winchester and to effect recovery of her daughter Mary Winchester. The Chittagong Column was chiefly composed of Gurkha regiments. By December 1871, the village of Vanhnuailiana Sailo had been taken and established as a base for still wider operations.<sup>57</sup> The Chittagong Column was of the same strength as that of the Cachar Column. The troops selected for this column were the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> Gurkhas and the 27<sup>th</sup> Punjab Infantry with half a mountain battery and a company of Sappers and Miners – a force precisely the same in composition and character as that with General Bouchier. The great advantage possessed by the column as compared with the other column was that it had the sea or rather Calcutta as a tolerably convenient base, and that it had water carriage up to a point in the almost immediate vicinity of its active operations. In the process, the Chittagong Column was asked to deal with and secure the submission of the Sailo and Haulawng chiefs. The advantage of the Chittagong Column was that it managed to secure powerful help from Chief Rothangpuia, who was earlier befriended by TH Lewin. In the course of the expedition, Rothangpuia served as an active ally for the British.

The column made its base at Tlabung (Demagiri) on the Tuipuilian River where all the forces were assembled by the end of November 1871. On 19<sup>th</sup> December 1871, the troops marched into the Sailo country. Captain TH Lewin also busied himself endeavouring communication with the Mizos for the release of all captives, particularly Mary Winchester. He despatched two messengers to Bengkhuaia, the principal Northern Haulawng chief in whose hands Mary Winchester was, and he at once gave up the girl, reserving, however, all questions as to submission and his other captives.<sup>58</sup> As the troops advanced further into the interior of the hills, the Mizos

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<sup>57</sup> Ibid., p. 49.

<sup>58</sup> Mackenzie, Alexander, op. cit., p. 315.

retreated into the jungles, avoiding a fight with the troops as much as possible, but almost invariably burning their villages with the approach of the troops. By the beginning of January 1872, all the villages under the under the Sailo Chiefs, except Savunga's youngest son, Lalzika were subjugated. The column then directed its attention to the Haulawng chiefs and other villages.

As all attempts to establish contacts with them were unavailing, Rothangpuia and Subedar Mohammed Azim were sent out on a long detour by a route through the rear to gain access to chief Bengkhuaia and his brother. While awaiting the result of Rothangpui's mission, General Brownlow turned his attention to the last remaining village of Lalzika Sailo, who had as yet made no sign of submission. This village was captured and destroyed on 21<sup>st</sup> January, 1872. No resistance was offered, though the villages were fired by the inhabitants as they advanced. On 16<sup>th</sup> February, however, Sangvunga and Bengkhuaia, the great chiefs of the clan came into the camp and submitted, agreeing to give up their captives and to admit the troops to their villages. They also surrendered their personal weapons to TH Lewin.<sup>59</sup> Two days later, Lalburha, Zathawma and Lianrikhûma, other leading chiefs came in, and the same day, the first installment of the returned captives rewarded the exertions of the force and testified to the sincerity of the Lushais. In the meantime, Rothangpuia had affected the release of Mary Winchester from Bengkhuaia's village of Sailam, who, however, reserved all questions as to the submission of his other captives.

Conditions laid down for the surrender of the Haulawng chiefs were: -

1. Give up all the British subjects held as captives and account for all those captives appearing in the list in the possession of Captain Lewin.
2. Representatives and agents of the Government should have free and friendly access to their villages, both then and in future.
3. A solemn oath should be taken, to abstain from making any 'raids' upon the British territory in future.
4. If the Mizos complied with the above conditions, the expedition would be withdrawn.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Lewin, T.H., *A Fly On The Wheel*, op. cit., pp. 284-285.

<sup>60</sup> Verghese, Brigadier CG and RL Thanawna, *A History of the Mizos*, Volume I, p. 242.

The Chittagong Column remained in Mizoram till the middle of February. In their campaign, the Chittagong column compelled the powerful Mizo Haulawng chiefs Bengkhuaia, Savunga and others to tender their submission. Several Sailo chiefs representing the Sailo tribe also submitted on the same terms as the Haulawng under which the Sailos would allow free access to British agents to their villages, surrender the guns taken at Monierkhal and Nundigram, released the captives including the daughter of late Winchester and paid a large quantity of fines in kind. A line of strong outposts was established along the whole southern frontier of Cachar and Sylhet. The four months' campaign had reduced two powerful tribes and brought in 15 chiefs, rescued many captives and added to the maps in detail 3,000 sq. miles of hill country. But, they failed in their attempt to join the Cachar Column inside Mizoram. They returned to Chittagong, the last of the troops reaching that place on 24<sup>th</sup> February, 1872.<sup>61</sup>

As a result, the Mizos were forced to surrender and recognised the superior power of the British. The backbone of the Eastern Mizo Chief was broken. The western Mizos made friendship with the British and worked as the gateman in southern frontier.<sup>62</sup> By opening the whole country, the English laid down a firm and secure basis for their future relations with the Mizos. The power of the eastern chief and western chief was to a great extent, crippled and their traditional fighting prestige and standing was adversely affected. This served as demoralizing effect among the Mizos. Before long, a certain number of less important chiefs gave up their allegiance to their masters and began to cultivate friendship with the British. The expedition also brought about peace in the frontier areas.

For about a decade following the expedition of 1872, no serious trouble was given by the Mizos and the frontiers remained relatively quiet. After this expedition, the question of frontier defence was reconsidered. In 1874, the Maharaja of Hill Tipperah was called on to adopt measures with a view to strengthening the line of posts and to protect his own territory. Thus, a chain of outposts was established on the Cachar and Sylhet frontier through Tipperah down along the Chittagong Hill Tracts and linking with those in the Arakan Hills had been established after extensive surveys and consultations between the military and the civil authorities on the defense of the

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<sup>61</sup> Reid, A.S., op. cit. p. 37.

<sup>62</sup> Singh, S.N., op. cit., p. 36.

frontiers. The Frontier Officers were also encouraged to keep up frontier relations by means of bazaar and annual meetings with chiefs.<sup>63</sup>

The expedition of 1871-1872, as compared to the previous ones met with far greater success. The Mizos were undoubtedly impressed by the fact that their villages were no longer inaccessible. The Lushai-Tipperah boundaries were re-demarcated and bazaars were started at Changsil and Tipaimukh. Much information was also gained about the Mizos and their whole country and the Expedition had brought peace at least for a whole decade.<sup>64</sup> The most noteworthy achievement of the Expedition, according to the British officials, was that the Mizos having had a severe lesson did not disturb the peace of the frontier for some years.<sup>65</sup>

When the Third Burmese War (1885-1886) broke out, the British Government thought it necessary to take precautionary measures in order to forestall any possible disturbances which were likely to occur in Mizoram. Accordingly, three officers namely, Lt. Stewart, Baird and J. Shakespear were deputed to survey the frontiers in the south. In the course of work, Stewart and two other soldiers were killed by Hausâta, at a place twenty miles from Rangamati. This enraged the British and compelled them to take punitive action against the Mizos. Colonel Tregear and Captain J. Shakespear were in charge of the expedition. The column moved forward and burnt the village of Hausâta and a fort at Lunglei was established. Later, a section of the inhabitants reactivated their raids in the adjacent plain area. This led to another expedition known as Chin-Lushai expedition of 1889-1890 which was operated from Silchar to Chittagong.<sup>66</sup>

### **CHIN-LUSHAI EXPEDITION OF 1889-1890**

Edgar presumed that the frontier disturbances might be put to an end if the governments of the surrounding country unitedly applied the same methods of dealing with these tribes. The Mizo hills were now surrounded on the one side by the settled districts of Bengal Province on the other by the Chin Hills over which control was being established. The Governor General in Council accepted Bengal's proposal for

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<sup>63</sup> Tribal Research Institute, *The Lushais (1878-1889)*, pp. 6-7.

<sup>64</sup> Zorema, J., op. cit., p. 25.

<sup>65</sup> Chatterjee, Suhas, op. cit., p. 81.

<sup>66</sup> Singh, S.N., op. cit., p. 36.

an expedition and it moved into the hills. The purpose of the operations, it was made clear, would mainly be to open the communications between Demagiri to Seipuia's village further east and then to move further to avenge on Hausâta's village.<sup>67</sup> On the 13<sup>th</sup> December, 1888 occurred a raid in Pakuma Ram's village which was 4 miles away from Demagiri. Rani and 21 men were killed, 13 heads taken and 15 captives carried off. This raid introduced a new factor into the situation in that it was committed by men from a direction which had not been taken into consideration. A year later, it was ascertained that it had been carried out by the sons of the Mizo chief Vúta, who inhabited country round about the places known as Tachhîp and Phulpui.<sup>68</sup>

As a result of this expedition, the Government of India agreed that this fresh and atrocious outrage made it necessary that active measures should be immediately undertaken stating that the object of the expedition was essentially to prevent raiding. The primary objective of the force would be Seipuia's village and it would, as proposed by the Government of Bengal, proceed as far eastwards as may be possible with a view to operations permit. Communications would be maintained by means of a road to be made from Demagiri as the force advances and the Officer in Command would be instructed to select, if such can be found, a dominant central position suitable for the location of sufficient force and capable of being held throughout the coming rains and hot weather. A line of telegraph had also to be immediately constructed between Chittagong and Rangamatti to Demagiri.<sup>69</sup>

The season for military operations in these hills having already far advanced, the Government of India decided to postpone consideration of any military operation till the next winter. During the intervening period, however, further incidents were reported and the Government was thus forced to organize an expedition. For this project, General VW Tregear was selected to lead the expedition. The column which was ordered to concentrate at Demagiri was to be styled the "Lushai Expeditionary Force". Tregear was given a force of 1,250 men of all ranks. The policy hitherto obtaining of merely sending a punitive expedition, attacking and burning the villages and then retiring out of the country was abandoned. And instead, a policy of

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<sup>67</sup> Lalthlengliana, C., 'Mizo Raids and Counter Military Offensive', in *Mizo Narratives: accounts from Mizoram*, pp. 101-102.

<sup>68</sup> Reid, Robert, op. cit., p. 8.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., p. 10.

permanent occupation was decided upon. The three objects of the Expedition were defined as follows: -

1. To construct a road in the direction of the Shendu country.
2. To punish Hausâta and Zahuata for the murder of the late Lieutenant Stewart.
3. To establish an advanced post to be garrisoned during the season.<sup>70</sup>

In this expedition, Demagiri was made the base and the troops commenced to penetrate into the country in January 1889. The operations were under the command of Colonel FVG Tregear of the 9<sup>th</sup> Bengal Infantry with Mr. Lyall, the Commissioner as Civil Political Officer and Messrs. GAS Bedford and CS Murray as Assistant Political Officers. Captain J. Shakespear was employed as Intelligence Officer.<sup>71</sup> Captain Shakespear, with Mr. Murray, twelve men of the Frontier Police and a few signallers, visited the village of the Haulawng chief Seipua on the 28<sup>th</sup> January, returning to the headquarters on the 8<sup>th</sup> February.<sup>72</sup>

On the 3<sup>rd</sup> April, a durbar of chiefs was held. It was attended by the three great Haulawng chiefs, Seipua, Lalthangvunga, Lallunga, Vandula's son Sangliana and Laluma. These represented the whole of the southern Haulawng and they gave undertaking of loyalty. In an address, Mr. Lyall dwelt upon the events of the expedition and the causes which had led to it, pointing out the punishment which had been inflicted on the village of Hausâta for the complicity of the late chief in the raid upon Lt. Stewart's party. This meeting ended with the bestowal of rewards on those chiefs who helped the British.<sup>73</sup> By the 16<sup>th</sup> April, substantial punishment had been exacted, Fort Lunglei had been established, a road constructed and it was possible to withdraw, leaving a garrison of one British Officer and 212 men of the Frontier Police in occupation of Lunglei.

The Government of India decided that on the 11<sup>th</sup> September, 1889, operations should take place. The general plan was that a Chittagong Column should move via Lunglei to Haka, and a column from the former force to go north to punish the raiders on the Chengri Valley and Pakuma Rani.<sup>74</sup> In November 1889, a fresh expedition again under General Tregear was sent. The column under General Tregear was divided into

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<sup>70</sup> Reid, A.S., op. cit. p. 50

<sup>71</sup> Reid, Robert, op. cit., p. 10.

<sup>72</sup> Reid, A.S., op. cit., p. 51.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., p. 57.

<sup>74</sup> Reid, Robert, op. cit., p. 14.

two – one under General Tregear himself and the other under Colonel Skinner. Colonel Tregear marched with 3,400 men leaving Lungleh for Haka in December 1889. This was the first occasion on which through communication between Chittagong and Cachar had ever been established and the achievement gave great satisfaction at the time to the Governments interested. The columns under Colonel Skinner and Mr. Dally operated very successfully. The chiefs associated with the recent raids on the Chengri Valley were duly punished and a stronghold was established at Fort Aizawl.<sup>75</sup>

In this venture, Surma Valley Military Police from Silchar under Mr. Dally was to assist Tregear. From Chittagong side under Colonel Skinner, a detachment advanced in January 1890 for the North Lushai Hills and Lianphunga's village. Lianphunga could not withstand the attack and his village was destroyed on 9<sup>th</sup> February, 1890.<sup>76</sup> Lianphunga, although, promised to give himself up when Colonel Skinner's Column arrived, did not appear alarming at the approach of the column and took to flight.<sup>77</sup> What had remained of Lianphunga's village was burnt on 17<sup>th</sup> March and on the same day Colonel Skinner began his return journey.<sup>78</sup>

The column under Colonel Skinner proceeded along the course of the Dhaleswari river. About the middle of February, they reached a point on the river in the neighbourhood of Lianphunga's village. Abandoning the river course, they then climbed the hills till they reached a place near Sibuta lung about 18 miles from the present Aizawl. Here they joined hands with Mr. Dally's party from Cachar. They also received the submission of chief Lianphunga. Thereafter, a smaller force was sent out to punish the remaining chiefs, particularly, Lungliana and Nikhama. When this task was accomplished, Colonel Skinner undertook the selection of a site for the permanent post in the north Mizoram. The new site was christened 'Aizawl'. Work on the construction of this post was started at once and when completed and rationed, the column withdrew to Silchar leaving a garrison of 200 rifles of the Surma Valley Military Police Station, later to be named the First Assam Rifles.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> McCall, A.G., op. cit. p. 56.

<sup>76</sup> Chatterjee, Suhas, op. cit., p. 105.

<sup>77</sup> Reid, Robert, op. cit., p. 17.

<sup>78</sup> Reid, A.S., op. cit., p. 223.

<sup>79</sup> Thanga, L.B., op. cit. p. 155.

Thus, the foundation was laid for the future township and District Headquarter at Aizawl in March, 1890. It has been earlier seen that a reconnaissance party of General Tregear's expedition had built a stockade in mid-March 1889 at Lunglei and this eventually became the cornerstone for the future township and sub-divisional headquarter. It was also in 1890 that the policy of periodical visits to Mizoram with a view to establish friendly relationship was abandoned and the country was formally annexed by the British. The expedition was successful in punishing chiefs who were responsible for Chengri Valley raid. The military outposts were set up at Aizawl and Changsil. Fort Tregear was established and political officers were appointed at Aizawl and Lunglei with a view to controlling the Mizos.<sup>80</sup>

One unit of administration was established under the then Chief Commissioner of the province of Assam by constituting a separate district with the headquarters at the present Aizawl and Captain Browne was appointed as the first district officer. On 1<sup>st</sup> April, 1891, the southern portion of Mizoram was constituted as a separate district under the Chittagong Division of Bengal and placed under the charge of Captain J. Shakespear. Thus, all the principal tribes of the entire Mizoram were finally brought under control.

The Chin-Lushai Expedition of 1888-1889 became a landmark and a turning point in the history of Mizoram. Accordingly, a unit of administration was established under the province of Assam with headquarters at Aizawl. And the southern portion was created a separate district in 1890 with headquarters at Lunglei under Chittagong division of Bengal and was placed under a political officer. The officers were instructed not to interfere with the Mizos in their internal affairs. But, they were asked to keep watch on their movements and intention from outside so that immediate action could be taken in case of adverse situation.

Thus, the whole scene of British expedition ended in complete subjugation of the Mizos, one by one. The chiefs realized that it would be futile to fight against the British force which was superior in all respects. The British policy of retaliation (burning and destruction of villages) was recast. The chiefs agreed to pay royalty and accepted British domination. Finally, an amalgamation of two units of administration was made and the administration of the entire district was brought under the

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<sup>80</sup> Singh, S.N., op. cit., p. 37.



jurisdiction of the Assam Government. The Chin Hills Regulation Act of 1896 was imposed which put restriction on the movement of outsiders in Mizoram. This marked the beginning of stability in the area.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> Ibid., p. 38.

## CHAPTER 3

### COLONIAL STATE AND KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION

The emergence of a lively debate over the nature of colonial knowledge has been seen in recent years — those forms and bodies of knowledge that enabled European colonizers to achieve domination over the colonized subjects around the globe. Lying at the heart of the debate are two opposing evaluations of the role played by the colonized subjects in the production of colonial knowledge. One position holds that the role of the colonized was negligible — at most permitting some of them to serve as passive informants, providing raw information to the active European colonizers who produced the new knowledge by imposing imported modes of knowing upon the raw data of local society.<sup>82</sup>

In contrast, the other holds that indigenous intellectuals in reality contributed actively to the process and that colonial knowledge was thus produced through a complex form of collaboration between the colonizers and colonized, and an attendant process of epistemic confrontation and adjustment between European and indigenous knowledge systems. Although this debate has focused primarily on one colonial context — that of British India — it has important ramifications for the broader history of colonialism and is complemented by contributions relating to other areas of European colonialism.<sup>83</sup>

Towards the close of the nineteenth century, the colonial influence of the British domination commenced in Mizoram after the successful operation of The Chin-Lushai Expedition of 1889-90. From 1890-1947, the period of the British rule over the Mizos spanned for nearly sixty years. During this period, the colonizers produced a vast amount of ethnographic accounts on the Mizos and thereby, most of the earlier Mizo writers relied heavily on the writings of the colonizers. One of the Mizo writers, VL Siama stated that the way by which the Mizos, who were once some sort of ‘savage’, due to the administrative impact of the colonial rule and of Christianity emerged to have become ‘civilized’, is somehow remarkable.<sup>84</sup> With reference to this point, most of the Mizo writers failed to recognize that the colonial government, for

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<sup>82</sup> Wagoner, Phillip B., op. cit., p. 783.

<sup>83</sup> Cooper, Frederick and Ann Laura Stoler (eds.), *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, pp. 11-18.

<sup>84</sup> Siama, V.L., *Mizo History*, p. 58.

its active and effective pursuit of well-administrative system, needed to depend heavily on the knowledge of the colonial state as a tool to subjugate the colonized subjects. Thus, as has been mentioned earlier, they relied heavily on the report and information provided by native informants, whose contributions were rarely acknowledged.

The main factor which brought the British Government in India into contact with the Mizos could be attributed to their resistance against the British commercial and territorial expansion of their territory towards Mizoram. In the process of their colonial administration, the British government began to introduce tea plantations on Sylhet and Cachar borders of the north-eastern frontier area. The prime reason for the resistance by the Mizos seemed to be deforestation of their hunting grounds for the purpose of tea plantation within the land that the Mizos claimed as their own. The economy of the Mizo people partly depended on hunting and in addition to that, their belief system required them to hunt for animals, which sanctioned them to *Pialral* transcending *Mitthi Khua*.<sup>85</sup>

From a very early period, the plains of Cachar in the eastern frontier were subject to inroads from the southern hill tribes known as “Kukis” or “Lushais”. Of late years, it had been discovered that these hill tribes were more or less intimately related to the “Haulawng” and “Sailo” which the British encountered on the frontier of Chittagong.<sup>86</sup> This implies that the British already had some knowledge about the Mizos in advance even before they occupied the land and their information about them was determined by their nature of contact with the Mizos. Thus, from the beginning, the relationship between the colonial government and the Mizos was unfavourable. As a result of this, majority of the accounts produced by the colonial agents and administrators about the Mizos mostly viewed and described all the various aspects of the Mizo society as inferior and subordinate to them.

For the purpose of administering the land that they were not familiar with, the colonial government gave first priority to accumulate and collect a substantial amount of knowledge concerning the colonial state. For the British administrators, their task was to maintain a record for the convenience of their administration. This is an essential task for the smooth functioning of their colonial administration and it

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<sup>85</sup> Zochungnunga, ‘Survey of the Pre-Colonial Mizo Society’, in *A Modern History of Mizoram*, pp. 56-57.

<sup>86</sup> Mackenzie, Alexander, op. cit., p. 287.

became necessary to be familiarized with the customs and traditions of the colonial subjects so that they could rule over them effectively. The Calcutta Conference was held in 1893 at which it was proposed that the North and South Lushai Hills should be amalgamated as one district, a proposal which materialized in 1898.<sup>87</sup>

Particularly, the government agents and administrative personnel involved themselves greatly in the task of generating colonial knowledge. Consequently, a vast amount of ethnographic and archival materials i.e., personal diaries, census report, photographs, cartography, folklore, customs, administrative reports, colonial accounts, etc. were produced through their contacts with the Mizos. After the Chin-Lushai Expedition of 1889-90, the colonization of Mizoram let the colonial agents to undertake an anthropological and ethnographic study based on their experiences and observations of the newly occupied territory as well as the inhabitants concerning their customs, traditions, cultures, society and religious life, etc.

## **TOPOGRAPHICAL SURVEY ON COLONIAL MIZORAM**

As mentioned above, the colonial government needed various forms of knowledge about the newly occupied area. One of the most important methods of colonial knowledge production was the topographic surveys, which was usually conducted to enhance geographical knowledge of the land, which would then enable the colonial authorities to formulate a suitable strategy for the colonial expansion, consolidation of the colonial rule and the formulation of suitable administrative system.<sup>88</sup> In the course of their military expedition into a new country, it was always necessary to have an accurate knowledge of the unknown land with all of its inhabitants. One of the main objectives of the British in the Lushai Expedition of 1871-72 was in fact, to explore and survey Mizoram for the purpose of trade and commerce. Subsequently, through the expedition, the British, for the first time, had the advantage of exploring Mizoram properly. In this expedition, 3,000 sq. miles of Mizoram had been surveyed, half in full detail.<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>87</sup> McCall, A.G., op. cit., p. 64.

<sup>88</sup> Lalzuimawia, K., *John Shakespeare in the Lushai Hills (1885-1905)*, Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, p. 212.

<sup>89</sup> McCall, A.G., op. cit., p. 50.

A survey party accompanied each column of the expeditionary force, and in the short season available for their operations, they topographically delineated 6,500 square miles of new and difficult country. The southern party under Major J. Macdonald, pushed north from Chittagong, and succeeded in completing a triangulation of 2,300 and topographic mapping of 1,700 square miles. Forty well-defined geographical points had been established. This topographical knowledge was of great importance in establishing defensive posts and in the formulation of future policy.<sup>90</sup>

The conditions under which they had to operate could hardly have been more difficult. Much of the country was dense jungle through which paths had to be hacked. In spite of this, much useful information had been acquired. The boundary between Mizoram and Tripura State was re-demarcated. Vague mountain ranges were being substituted by accurately surveyed water course, a boundary which in the main has survived to the present day;<sup>91</sup> thereby, the political agents and administrators of the government could freely pass through and access the land.

Very little was known about the disposition of the Mizos at that time. Some agents of the Topographical Survey Department of India were attached to the party under orders to accompany the Left Column. A survey party was formed which consisted of Captain Badgley; Lt. Leach, RE; Lt. R.G. Woodthorpe, Royal Engineers and three civil surveyors.<sup>92</sup> Orders had also been sent by the Government to the commanders of each column, to communicate daily through telegraph. Each column was directed to give the latitude and longitude of each camp, with any information likely to facilitate the junction of two columns.

With the close of the expedition of 1871-72, it became necessary to consider the future policy of government towards those tribes and the measures necessary for the permanent defence of Cachar and Chittagong. As regards policy, the Government of India adhered to the system of exercising political influence only without direct interference or control, coupled with the definition of a precise boundary line beyond which ordinary jurisdiction should on no account be maintained. In order to the ascertainment of the best line to adopt, it was decided to have a careful survey made of the country between Cachar and Chittagong along the eastern frontier of the Hill

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<sup>90</sup> Mackenzie, Alexander, op. cit., pp. 316-317.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid.

<sup>92</sup> Woodthorpe, R.G., op. cit., p. 53.

Tipperah. The eastern face of the Chittagong Hill Tracts was also to be carefully surveyed for the selection of a range suitable for the establishment of posts and opening of patrol paths.<sup>93</sup>

For the survey of the Tipperah frontier and the country between Cachar and Chittagong, Captain Badgley and Mr. Chennel of the Topographical Survey were deputed. They were assisted by Mr. Power, the Political Agent of Hill Tipperah. The party entered the hills from Sylhet and after an exploration of the Champhai and Hachhek ranges, Mr. Chennel was left to survey the interior of Hill Tipperah, while Captain Badgley and Mr. Power pushed across the hills to Sirte, where the Deputy Commissioner of the Chittagong Hill Tracts had established a depot of provisions in anticipation of their arrival. After a few days' rest, they again started north to Cachar district, passing by the villages of Chief Suakpuilala and they were the first party that had crossed the country between Cachar and Chittagong. In the course of their survey, the Mizos offered no resistance to their progress, though they were not by any means cordial.<sup>94</sup>

In accordance with the newly-made agreement, the General at once despatched a detachment of Gurkhas and an officer of the Survey Department to visit the village of Bengkhuaia and others in the neighbourhood. The Survey Officer took with him the necessary instruments to map the country that was to be divided.<sup>95</sup> The survey on the Chittagong side was conducted by Mr. Cooke, in company with Captain Lewin, the Deputy Commissioner. They explored thoroughly the Uiphum and Saichal ranges. From the results of these surveys, it was ascertained that the eastern part of Hill Tipperah was rather uninhabited and the Lieutenant-Governor proposed to maintain the present posts on the frontier of Cachar and Sylhet. The survey reports also showed that Suakpuilala, the leading western Mizo chief, had been moving his villages southward and nearer to Chittagong Hill Tracts, from where Mizoram was much more accessible than from Cachar side.<sup>96</sup>

Captain Lewin was able to establish the most amicable relations with the Sailos who were anxious to settle under the government protection. The Lieutenant Governor, in concurrence with the local officers, believed that by maintaining posts, the hoped to

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<sup>93</sup> Mackenzie, Alexander, op. cit., p. 362.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid., p. 363.

<sup>95</sup> Lewin, T.H., *A Fly On The Wheel*, op. cit., p. 285.

<sup>96</sup> Mackenzie, Alexander, op. cit., p. 363.

bring political influence upon the tribes of this country was attainable. The post was considered to dominate Suakpuilala and protected the Hill Tracts from further 'raids'. The survey discovered that the ranges to which the local officers proposed to advance the posts offered the only suitable sites for a proper line of defence. As regards the eastern boundary of Hill Tipperah, the Lieutenant-Governor proposed to prescribe a river rather than a mountain boundary. It was suggested that the Lungai River, running between the Champhai and Hachhek ranges should be taken as the boundary line up to its source at Behliangchhip (Betlingsib). The line would then run across the watershed to Dolujuri, and thence along the recognized Hill Tipperah border by Surduing to the Fenny. Finally, these proposals were accepted and the boundary was notified accordingly.<sup>97</sup>

#### **COLONIAL ACCOUNTS AS A FORM OF COLONIAL KNOWLEDGE**

The annexation and colonization of Mizoram by the close of the nineteenth century had certain effects on the Mizo people. Before the introduction of education, the Mizos were totally illiterate and had no written records of their own history that had its own customs, practices, cultures, etc. History and traditions were transmitted from generation to generation. Earlier accounts on the Mizos were the work of British administrators, political agents and Christian missionaries. The history of Mizoram had been written by colonial ethnographers based on their experiences.<sup>98</sup> Finally, after the subjugation of Mizoram in 1890, the colonial government was established and brought with it a number of colonial writers, anthropologists and ethnographers. The colonizers thus became more and more familiar with various aspects of the Mizos. This subsequently led them to produce a number of colonial accounts of the Mizo.

In the course of the military expedition, the colonizers became acquainted with the Mizos. RG Woodthorpe, who served as surveyor during the Expedition of 1871-1872 confined himself to a brief narrative on the Mizos since the annexation of Cachar<sup>99</sup>, and gave an account of the Mizos with respect to their manners and customs, characteristics, features and complexion and their traditional practices in his book

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<sup>97</sup> Ibid., pp. 363-365.

<sup>98</sup> Rosanga, Orestes, 'Mizo Culture as perceived by the Colonial Ethnographers: A Critical Study', in *Historical Journal Mizoram*, Vol. XIII, November 2012, p. 56.

<sup>99</sup> Woodthorpe, R.G., op. cit., pp. 6-7.

titled *The Lushai Expedition 1871-1872*. Apart from this, there were many accounts and textual publications on the Mizos produced by the colonizers. In the process of their publications, information was accumulated through reports given by some commanders who took part in the military expeditions.

In a campaign or expedition into a new country, matters regarding military operations, political negotiations and characteristics of the people were necessary to have an accurate knowledge of the undertaking.<sup>100</sup> Among the colonial government agents, Lt. Col. AS Reid, who was Medical Officer in Charge, 2<sup>nd</sup> Battalion 4<sup>th</sup> Gorkha Rifles, in his book *Chin-Lushai Land* gave a description of the various expeditions into the Chin-Lushai Hills and the final annexation of the country. The publication of this book involves the gathering of information and sources from various government officers. It was owing to the kindness of Col. WP Symons, CB of the South Wales Borderers; Col. VW Tregear, CB of the 9<sup>th</sup> Bengal Infantry and Col. GJ Skinner, DSO of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Bengal Infantry, who commanded the Chin Force placed the information in their possession at the disposal of AS Reid, and Mr GM Chesney, Editor of the Allahabad Pioneer provided him with important documents and files for former records of the Chin-Lushai Country. Owing to compilation of these personal records and observations on the colonial state with its inhabitants, etchings and photographs, AS Reid was able to bring out his voluminous work before the public. In his writings, AS Reid presents the Mizos as:

“...dusky tribes, numerous in dialect and designation as the villages in which they live, owning no central authority, possessing no written language, obeying but the verbal mandates of their chiefs, hospitable and affectionate in their homes, unsparing of age and sex while on the warpath, untutored as the remotest races in Central Africa...”<sup>101</sup>

Almost all the colonial ethnographers’ depictions of the Mizos reflected the colonizers’ observations on the Mizos that generally represented the Mizos as still in a backward condition. The uncivilized character of the Mizos occupied a conspicuous place in the writings of the colonizers. Being outsiders, the writers had many misunderstandings on the lives and practices of the traditional society and they also

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<sup>100</sup> Reid, A.S., Introduction to *Chin-Lushai Land*, p. vii.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid., p. 2.



misinterpreted words and characters. In some way, it seems that the colonial records had the intention of glorifying the works of the westerners among the Mizo tribes.<sup>102</sup>

After the amalgamation of the North and South Lushai Hills in 1896, Lt. Colonel J. Shakespear became the first Superintendent of the colonial state of Mizoram (1897-1905). A wide variety of knowledge that Shakespear acquired on the Mizos were documented, publicized, and expressed in the form of texts, ranging from translation works, publications of magazines and journals, seminal works and books.<sup>103</sup> The urgent task facing the Superintendent was consolidation of administration. And he was the one who won over the Mizos since the onset of the colonial period and proceeded southward to become the leading government administrator in the southern part of Mizoram. As he was the one who possessed a thorough knowledge in connection with the Mizos, the government therefore appointed him to be the first Superintendent. During his tenure, in 1898, a group of surveyor turned up and they undertook the task of surveying the geographical area of Mizoram. Owing to their survey, the first map of Mizoram came into being. He divided the areas amongst the different chiefs and settled the boundaries permanently.<sup>104</sup>

Apart from the administrative service, J. Shakespear was a man of great ability and considerable learning. He knew the country intimately as his standard book on the *Lushei-Kuki Clans* proved.<sup>105</sup> His monograph deals with the inhabitants of Mizoram as well as the other clans living in the neighbouring tracts. He called the inhabitants of these areas by a specified term such as Kuki, Naga, Chin, Shendu and many others. At the same time, these terms which had been applied to these tribes were not recognised by them. In the first part of his writings, Shakespear gave a description of the Lusei clans. He identified the Lusei in Mizoram and Kuki in Manipur belonged to the same group. He further mentioned about their general aspects, domestic life, laws and customs, religion, folk-lore, language, families and branches of Lusei clans. In this monograph, Lushei is used in a wider sense and says that the Lusei were sometimes spoken of as Duhlian and the general population of the hills was spoken of as Mizo.

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<sup>102</sup> Remruatkimi, C., 'A Critique on the Colonial Accounts of the Mizo', in *Historical Journal Mizoram*, Vol. XV, November 2014, p. 18.

<sup>103</sup> Lalzuiawia, K., op. cit., p. 218.

<sup>104</sup> Lalnithanga, P., *Emergence of Mizoram*, p. 9.

<sup>105</sup> Lloyd, J. Meirion, *History of the Church in Mizoram (Harvest in the Hills)*, p. 43.

The machinery for sustaining the Mizo society as well as community life can be known and understood by an examination and mastery of the system of their customs and traditional practices. It is well to remember that the customs and ceremonies of the Mizos had ruled for years, observed through countless generations and had been fashioned to meet the needs of the society. An assessment of their conception and vitality should provide some clue to the intellect of these people and the conception of their culture. In the years following the colonization of Mizoram, colonial ethnographers continued the collection of oral traditions. Since the British administrative system was based on centralized political system, they considered the Mizo customary law as disorder.

With respect to this, NE Parry, the Indian Civil Service, who was the Superintendent of Mizoram from 1925-1928 rendered a very important contribution to the Mizo people and the administration by compiling *A Monograph on Lushai Customs and Ceremonies*.<sup>106</sup> When he took the charge of the Superintendent of Lushai Hills, he compiled Mizo customary law that was eventually published in 1927. This publication records about the essential framework of Mizo customs and ceremonies providing a uniform system of administration in all of Mizoram. This consequently form a guide to an understanding of the fabric of the community life, obligations involved, pre-marital relationships, marriages, etc. for the colonizers in maintaining their colonial power. One thing that is so certain is that the Mizo customary laws were textualized to serve the colonial interest in some ways as a rule of law as well as ethnographic materials.

## **TH LEWIN AND KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION**

In the literary sphere of the Mizos, TH Lewin has been generally portrayed as the first person and the leading person who set the light of modern civilization and elevated their global outlook among the Mizos, and who set the pace for the pursuit of intellectual thinking and wisdom that the Mizos would have entered the stage of modernity. He was also the first white man to enter Mizoram and made peace with chief Bengkhuaia. TH Lewin dwelled among the Mizos during his tenure of service in the colonial period and became closely connected and familiarized with them. He

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<sup>106</sup> McCall, A.G., op. cit., p. 95.

concerned himself to acquire more knowledge on the hill people and paid a visit to various places from where he could receive any information available of the Mizos.<sup>107</sup>

In addition to this, colonial ethnographers like TH Lewin, after he was posted in Chittagong Hill Tract, determined to bring himself into contact with the Mizos in their remote settlement. He dwelled among them for a long period of time and within a short period of time, he became to know and understand their identity and cultures. Until the appointment of TH Lewin as Deputy Commissioner in the Hill Tracts, the British still had little knowledge on the details of the Mizos and their cultures. TH Lewin was appointed to confront the problem of how to come to terms with the Mizo chiefs who were constantly resisted against the British.<sup>108</sup>

In 1866, he was appointed to officiate as Superintendent in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. He then began to serve up to the present Mizoram. He was an ambitious, determined, dynamic and bold person that he received favorable acknowledgement from their masters. By the end of 1866, he was elevated to the post of Deputy Commissioner. During his service under the British Government, he was greatly involved in a number of diplomatic contacts with the Mizo chiefs. Soon, the Mizo chiefs became more and more acquainted and developed a sense of friendship with him and considered him as their close partisan. Furthermore, it could be apparently considered that there was no longer any sign of hostility or enmity between them due to their mutual relationship.

A detailed account of his service and career was described by Lewin himself in his book "*A Fly On The Wheel Or How I Helped To Govern India*" which was published in 1885. Apart from this, John Whitehead with "*Thangliana : Life of TH Lewin, Amongst Wild Tribes of India's North East Frontier*" (1992) also gives us an insightful career of TH Lewin. In this book, Whitehead gives an account of how Lewin, during his tenure of service in India fought for his military promotion and that he could come to Chittagong Hill Tracts and eventually came to a close in Burma.

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<sup>107</sup> Rálte, Lalhrúaitluanga, *Thangliana*, p. 40.

<sup>108</sup> Rálte, Lalhrúaitluanga, *Zoram Vårtian*, p. 102.

## TH LEWIN AS A WRITER

In the field of literature, Lewin made a deliberate attempt and painstaking effort to produce a number of literary works. He was the one who document numerous account in a written form. His records of history and politics in two broad ways and his contribution in the study of language and literature will always become notable and noteworthy among the entire Mizos. He became the first ever to be remembered as the one who undertake a systematic study of Mizo language and kept it in a written form.<sup>109</sup>

Lewin clearly understand the importance of generating knowledge and how crucial it is to understand the language of the colonized subjects so as to carry the administrative system over them effectively. Thereby, he agreed fully with the local proverb – “*No speech, no knowledge*”.<sup>110</sup> He devoted all his spare time to acquire the different languages and dialects spoken in his district, being strongly impressed with the idea that no true justice can be done through an interpreter and the only key to the thought and customs of the people lies through their language.

Notable in his career was his leading effort in the sphere of literature rather than his contribution in the field of administration. Lewin mentioned in his book *A Fly On The Wheel* that at the time of the First Lushai Expedition of 1871-1872, on their campaign for the recovery of Mary Winchester, he maintained a number of diplomatic contacts with the Mizo chiefs Bengkhuaia and Sàngvunga.<sup>111</sup> During this time, he remarked that he could speak some Mizo language which is evident in his book *A Fly on the Wheel* –

“I was able to speak some Lushai myself, and the chief’s “karbaris” were acquainted with bazaar Bengali, so I had little difficulty in communicating to Sàngvunga and his brother the terms on which alone peace could be concluded.”<sup>112</sup>

He also made an in-depth study of the language of the people who live in the Chittagong Hill Tracts and in the nearby hilly region. In 1869, he produced a valuable

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<sup>109</sup> Kiangte, Laltluangliana, ‘Zofate Hmasâwnna Meichher Chhitsu Hmasa ber Thangliana, Lt. Col. T.H. Lewin (1839-1916)’, in *Mizo Robáwm*, p. 58.

<sup>110</sup> Lewin, T.H., *A Fly On The Wheel*, p. 189.

<sup>111</sup> Rálte, Lalhruaitluanga, *Zoram Vårtian*, op. cit., pp. 104-105.

<sup>112</sup> Lewin, T.H., *A Fly On The Wheel*, op. cit., p. 284.

book *The Hill Tracts of Chittagong and the Dwellers therein, with Comparative Vocabulary of the Hill Dialects*. And in 1870, he again published *Wild Races of South Eastern India*. In addition to these, another work of his *Hill Proverbs of the Inhabitants of the Chittagong Hill Tracts* was printed in 1873. Apart from these, two valuable books viz., *Progressive Colloquial Exercises in the Lushai Dialect of the Dzo of Kuki languages with Vocabularies and Popular Tales* (1874) and *A Fly in the Wheel* (1912) were also written by him. There were also many other significant writings which were published in newspaper.<sup>113</sup>

Some of the distinctive implications from his writings were as follows: -

1. He supposed that Mizo language must be best written down in Roman Script. He documented in a written form from his hearing. He was the first to pave the way for the creation of basic A-AW-B.
2. He comprehended the systematic usage of Mizo language. There were many which were later used exactly as he had written before.
3. He kept Mizo folktales in written form and also he was the first who put forth the record of oral composition in written form.
4. He was the leading person who pioneered written literature and also to become willingly the one who wrote the history of the other hill people.<sup>114</sup>

## **TH LEWIN AND HIS ETHNOGRAPHIC ACCOUNT ON MIZO**

By taking a closer look into his literary works and reading his texts, it is seemingly obvious that TH Lewin had undertaken an in-depth anthropological and ethnographical study and observation of the hill tribes over whom he was posted. So, alongside his role as a government agent and administrator as well, he greatly involved himself much in the generation of knowledge about the hill people. On arriving to Chittagong in 1864, he began to explore various parts of the hill tracts and met one tribe after another.

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<sup>113</sup> Kiangte, Lalthuagliana, 'Zofate Hmasâwnna Meichher Chhitsu Hmasa ber Thangliana', op. cit., p. 59.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid.

Lewin describes the Mizos as the independent tribes and named them as Kukis who were more properly to be called by their own generic title of Lushai. Furthermore, he added: –

“These Lushais were the standing problem which embarrassed all local administration; they continually raided into the Hill Tracts, attacking and plundering the inhabitants, burning the villages, slaying the men and carrying off the women and children into slavery. This had gone on for years, until the fear of these inroads had at last established a broad tract of depopulated and deserted country, lying like a zone between us and the Lushais, extending from north to south in a breadth of perhaps fifty miles”.<sup>115</sup>

At the time of the initial contact with the Mizos, he describes them as a powerful and independent people, who touch upon the borders of the Chittagong Hill Tracts. They extend in numberless borders. They cannot be considered as a nation, for they have no coherence of government or policy, but, with slight differences, they speak one language and follow the same customs. Lewin further states that their knowledge of the Mizo clan of course is confined to the tribes on our immediate frontier, with whom they have been brought into contact. Lewin classified the Mizo clan into three sub-clans, viz., Haulawng, Sailo and Rothangpuia’s clans. Their numbers were estimated as follow by Captain Graham in 1861: -

Haulawng	...	12,600
Sailo	...	10,800
Rothangpuia	...	2,580 <sup>116</sup>

As has already been mentioned, he spent much of his time within the company of the Mizos, he gradually began to familiarize more and more and with their intimate aspects of culture, society and various institutions. Interestingly, he illustrates the position of the Mizo chief once when he was on a visit to the village of one of the leading chiefs among the Mizos. At this instance, while he was standing and talking with the Chief on the path that ran through the village, a drunken man came stumbling along the way and when finding the Chief standing on the way, he seized the Chief by the neck and shoved him off the path asking why he stopped the road. Then, when

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<sup>115</sup> Ibid., p. 190.

<sup>116</sup> Lewin, T.H., *The Hill Tracts of Chittagong*, p. 138.

Lewin asked the Chief for an explanation of such disrespect being permitted, the Chief replied as follows: -

“On the war-path or in the council I am Chief, and my words are obeyed; behavior like that would be punished by death. Here, in the village, that drunkard is my fellow and equal”.<sup>117</sup>

From this instance, he acquired knowledge about the social institutions of the Mizos. Their traditional systems concerning the mode of administration could be witnessed from having come across with them in face to face contact. He also came to realize the existence of equality and the philanthropic function performed by the chief in the Mizo society. If indeed, colonial knowledge was formed through intellectual dialogue or conversation, one would expect to find the impress of indigenous conceptual categories and forms of thought on the final form and content of the resultant knowledge.<sup>118</sup> In fact, the Mizo chief was not an autocratic ruler. Thus, it can be said that though, the powers of the chief appeared limitless, yet, there were different kinds of checks on his power and he can be regarded as a chief who ruled on the willingness of his subjects.<sup>119</sup>

If we take up an investigative study on the *Colloquial Exercises* (1974), the merit of the handiwork of TH Lewin became increasingly distinguished. He possessed a thorough understanding of Mizo dialects. He translated a number of Mizo word into English plus certain folktales into English version. Of these, three folktales viz., Chemtâtrãwta, Lalruanga and Kûngawrhi were the most popular and most interesting ones among the early Mizo folktales. One passage from the story of Kûngawrhi is given below:

“Apá chú nopui aneihloh : klángrá hñang a-hlaia a-kúta hlíng atschúna, ahlíng chú nowté-a atchüñg-ta. Chutichúan nowté apieng-tá. Chutichúan nowté apieng-tá nú aneihloh a-hminga chuan Kúngori antí. Bú-tún mul khat tey an-ei-tíra, alien déo-déo-vey. Chútichúan kúm hnít kúm tím ani chuan núla atling-tá; ahmél ahtá dzit; chútichúan an-khúa rolhtár a-hniak a-fün-a arapú arépa : chutichúan Kúngori adám-loh-tá.

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<sup>117</sup> Ibid. p. 140.

<sup>118</sup> Wagoner, Phillip B., op. cit., p. 785.

<sup>119</sup> Rálte, Lalhmingliani, ‘Administration of The Mizo Chiefs in Pre-Colonial Period’, in *Mizo Narratives: accounts from Mizoram*, pp. 56-57.

Furthermore, in Exercise 12 of the Colloquial Exercises, he gives the following: -

Pakat, one; pa-hnít, two; pa-tum, three; pa-li, four; pa-ngá, five; parúk, six; pa-sari, seven; pa-riek, eight; pa-koa, nine; tschom, ten; ja, a hundred; tschang, a thousand; lei, to buy; pú-un, cloth; em, basket; savá, a bird; kél, a goat; íbtey, a bag.

- |                            |     |                                      |
|----------------------------|-----|--------------------------------------|
| 1. Koymaní úi abotá        | ... | Our dog is lost.                     |
| 2. Anú kél a-htá tey ey    | ... | Mother's dog is very fine.           |
| 3. Apá afá abotá           | ... | The father has lost his child.       |
| 4. Koymá kapá in ahráltá   | ... | My uncle has sold his house.         |
| 5. Múktía amá íbtey aneitá | ... | Moti has got his bag. <sup>120</sup> |

All the Mizo folktales were told to Lewin by Chamán, a boy of about 14, in the village of the Mizo chief, Rothangpuia. During the narration, they were surrounded by a circle of children who listened with great delight, though, they must have heard the tale often before.<sup>121</sup>

He translated a number of Mizo vocabulary into English along with their respective meaning. Likewise, he compiled more than 5,000 words and kept them in his writings. After becoming the Deputy Commissioner of the Chittagong Hill Tracts in 1866, whenever he found any spare time, he devoted himself in the study of the language of the Mizos. As his usual practice, he wrote the history of the clans with whom he was brought into contact and as well as the folktales he could. When the First Lushai Expedition of 1871-1872 had come to an end, he shifted his bungalow from Rangamati to Tlabung in the winter of 1872. By this time, he spent much of his leisure in the study of Mizo language and he produced "*Mizo Tawng Dictionary and Grammar*". Much of his literary works were of an immense help for the latter two Christian missionaries JH Lorrain and FW Savidge.

## CENSUS AND KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION

With the subjugation of the colonial state of Mizoram along with all the chiefs, the question of the future administration of the newly acquired tracts began to engage the

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<sup>120</sup> Lewin, T.H., *Progressive Colloquial Exercises in the Lushai Dialect of the Dzo or Kuki Language with Vocabulary and Popular Tales*, p. 12.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 72.



attention of the British Government of India. At the beginning of the colonial period, the colonial state of Mizoram was administered by dividing into two administrative units viz., North Lushai Hills and South Lushai Hills. In the north, Aizawl was made the centre of colonial administration and in the south, Lunglei also became the centre of the colonial administration. Through this administrative system, they maintained their own governance for 5 years. In 1901, Public Census was held which became the first census in Mizoram. By this time, the number of learned and educated people were very little and all enumerators in each village were summoned together both in Aizawl and Lunglei where they were given instructions and training for this particular tasks.<sup>122</sup> Colonial forms of knowledge like census enhanced the colonial system of administration and served the interests of the colonial state.<sup>123</sup> On this census, the fact they discovered on the colonial state of Mizoram is as follows:-

Villages	-	239
Houses	-	15,668
Population	-	82,434
Lushai	-	36,332
Pawi	-	15,038
Rálte	-	13,827
Hmàr	-	10,411
Paihte	-	2,870
Others	-	3,955
Animists	-	78,659
Hindu	-	3,373
Mohammedan	-	202
Buddhist	-	137
Kristian	-	45
Sikh	-	25 <sup>124</sup>

After this, Public Census were held at regular intervals after every ten years. Gradually, the colonial government consolidated its position and from time to time, new system of administration was introduced to extend and maintain their influence by establishing schools in several villages. From 1902, the colonial government began to issue a monthly magazine entitled “*Mizo leh Vai Chanchinbu*” which served as the primary means through which orders of the government and notifications were published.

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<sup>122</sup> Liangkhaia, op. cit., p. 154.

<sup>123</sup> Wagoner, Phillip B., op. cit., p. 784.

<sup>124</sup> Liangkhaia, op. cit., p. 154.

## THE COLLABORATION OF COLONIZERS AND COLONIZED SUBJECTS IN KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION

One of the more salient shifts in the study of colonial societies and indeed studies of the British Empire more generally in the last two decades has been a new analytical focus on knowledge and knowledge production.<sup>125</sup> Generally, colonial knowledge is largely produced in the colony, it is not of the colony. Colonial knowledge comes about with the raw data provided by the indigenous social and cultural forms of the colonized society. In other words, colonial knowledge is produced by the active agents of the colonizing society, operating upon the passive patients of the colonized.<sup>126</sup> The active role played by the colonized subjects in the production of colonial knowledge greatly helped the colonizers to maintain and enhance their influence upon the colonial state.

The Mizos had come into contact with the British when the British undertook the commercial and territorial expansion in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. The British government did not give much concern to them even after many years of their occupation of Cachar. The knowledge of the actions of a people in their past is essential to derive a full understanding of the minds of the people who were concerned. A series of bloody actions occurred in the territories of the British government, this eventually compelled the British Government in India to turn their attention towards these hill people. However, in order to stop them from their outrageous actions or to secure their true nature and identity, the foremost priority for the colonial government was the task of generating knowledge of these tribes. But, they directly could not have knowledge of these tribes, so, various attempts were made to acquire knowledge from the indigenous subjects.

In the process of the accumulation of colonial knowledge and in order to obtain strategic information which could provide significant tactics in order counter the atrocities and outrages committed against them, the colonial government resorted to the escaped captives who had been detained by these tribes. In November 1849, the Magistrate of Sylhet reported a further series of Kuki outrages on the Simla River and within British territory.<sup>127</sup> Even before this incident, on June 1844, the Thado Kukis

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<sup>125</sup> Stockwell, Sarah E. (ed.), *The British Empire: Themes and Perspectives*, pp. 177-198.

<sup>126</sup> Wagoner, Phillip B., op. cit., p. 784.

<sup>127</sup> Mackenzie, Alexander, op. cit., p. 291.

living under Manipur attacked a Kuki village in Cachar and they carried off eight heads. The people murdered were emigrants from the attacking tribes.<sup>128</sup> And in 1847, the Magistrate of Sylhet reported a series of massacres by Kukis in what was alleged to be British territory.<sup>129</sup> On the occasion of 1849, there was at the same time a report from Cachar that the Lusei Kukis, subjects of Lallianvunga had attacked a settled Kuki village in which 29 persons were killed and 42 persons were taken into captives. The Government resolved on this occasion to take active measures.<sup>130</sup>

In the extract of Colonel Lister's Report on the first colonial military expedition in 1850, the expeditionary force marched from Silchar and arrived at a village, Sentláng belonging to a chief called Ngúra. The report said that during the confusion caused by the destruction of his village, 429 captives made their escape from Ngura's village and succeeded in finding their way to Cachar.<sup>131</sup> From the testimonies of the slave informants, the colonizers therefore learnt that the fixed image of "savage" activities had been performed in Mizoram in which the innocent lives were forfeited or tortured.<sup>132</sup> A large number of people were taken into slavery by the Mizos in their expeditionary campaign, and at the same time, some of them managed to make their escape from their captivity.

Using the native people as a source of generating knowledge, the colonial government continued to use them as informants. The colonial accounts demonstrated that the site of knowledge emerged from escaped slave women and emphasized by giving more interests on the condition of slave women as it had a deep impact on the economic and political institution of Mizo chieftainship.<sup>133</sup> Persons captured in wars or 'raids' were indeed the personal property of their captors. As a rule, only children and marriageable girls were taken captives. They were so well-treated that they wished to return to their homes.<sup>134</sup>

The colonial knowledge on the savage nature of the Mizos was procured from a woman prisoner who had been captured by the Lusei "raiders", but, fortunately

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<sup>128</sup> Ibid., p. 290.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid.

<sup>130</sup> Ibid., p. 291.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid., pp. 292-293.

<sup>132</sup> Hmingthanuali, *Women in Mizo History: Changing Roles, Status and Participation from 18<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup> Century*, Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, p. 118.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid., p. 119.

<sup>134</sup> Sangkima, 'Bawi and Sal as an important economic factor in early Mizo society with special reference to the Chief', in *A Modern History of Mizoram*, p. 14.

redeemed later. Her report said about the incident when their village was attacked by some ten Kukis and how she was carried away into captivity. She also described how they were maltreated and brutalized by their captors; and the toil and harsh life she had undergone in the home of the captors. In her testimony, she also remarked that some female captives committed suicide by hanging.<sup>135</sup> Thus, from her report, the colonizers came to know and realize the attributes of the Mizos and even their ritual practices. From the utilitarian point of view on the Mizos, the colonizers began to concern themselves that various aspects of the Mizos needed to be transformed and colonized in order to make them follow the path of modern civilization.

On 13<sup>th</sup> December, 1888, the Chakma chieftainess Pakuma Rani's village, four miles off Demagiri became the victim of another raid. The chieftainess and twenty-one men were killed, thirteen heads were taken and fifteen persons were carried off as captives. The initial reports said that the raiders came from Suakpuilala's son Kalkhama's village, headed by Kalkhama himself. There was one opinion which suggested that the raid occurred on account of the chieftainess' pro-British antecedents. To identify the raiders, the Chittagong authorities sent a number of men to the hills to make an enquiry. Till two months after the 'raids', nothing certain was known of those involved or the village from which they came. Much less was known of their intentions. At this instance, one captured woman, who with her child managed to escape and return to her village provided useful information to the colonizers. Her name was Suaki, wife of Vana, who said that she was taken by Thata, *mantri* of Chief Lungliana, in whose house she remained.<sup>136</sup>

From her statement, it appeared that the actual leaders of the raid were Nikhama and Vanhnuna. Two other chiefs, Lungliana and Kairuma, the latter also from the same area, were also with them. She further added that there were sixteen prisoners of whom nine were in Lungliana's village and seven in Nikhama's village. One girl was sold by Lungliana for sixty rupees to some Pawis in the south. The women's account was confirmed by Hari Charan Sharma, political assistant to the Deputy Commissioner of Cachar. So, from the account given by this escaped woman, Suaki along with the report of Hari Charan Sharma, it came to be known that on the

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<sup>135</sup> McCall, A.G., op. cit., pp. 55-56.

<sup>136</sup> Lalthlengliana, C., *The Lushai Hills, Annexation, Resistance and Pacification (1886-1898)*, pp. 22-23.

authority of an old Mizo of Thanruma's *Punji*, named 'Singa Pa' that Pakuma Rani's village was raided by Vuta's sons Lungliana and Kairuma.<sup>137</sup>

In the process of the production of knowledge about the colonized people, there must be collaboration between the colonizers and the colonized. The production of knowledge without the support of the colonized people is seemingly impossible. From the accounts given by the colonized subjects to the colonizers made the colonizers aware of the various aspects of the colonized people. Through their contacts with the colonized subjects, colonial knowledge was produced by holding a conversation. In the writings of TH Lewin, some passage contains narrative accounts of the native informants about the Mizos. One account of the raid committed by the Mizos was sketched by a young man of the Pankho tribe to Lewin:

“When I was a quite a little boy, my father and mother lived in Ardung Roaja's village, and the Lushai battle came to us. It was one night when all the village had well drunken. Our village was on a spur of a lofty hill in the valley of the Sungu. The women used to go down an hour's journey every day to bring water in the bamboo tubes which we used for the purpose. The hill spur at the back of the village was defended by a double palisade...then up sprung the Lushai, about 200 men and gave a low guttural shout, hoarse and deep. All our villagers abandoned their houses and fled for their lives down a concealed path... the Lushai only got two of our people...then they plundered our village and went away.”<sup>138</sup>

Lewin further mentioned that he became acquainted with a young man, a Riang Tipperah, who lived in his house and was a former slave of Rothangpuia, a Mizo Chief. From this young man, he heard many accounts of the 'raids' made by his master, Rothangpuia. This man used to accompany the Chief as the bearer of his weapons. From him, Lewin came to know that the first raid made by Rothangpuia occurred in 1860 upon the Bengali inhabitants of Kundal in Tipperah. On this occasion, they fell upon the villagers at day-dawn, according to custom; and the Bengallee men, with one consent, ran away. The women, however, stood their ground

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<sup>137</sup> Ibid.

<sup>138</sup> Lewin, T.H., *The Hill Tracts of Chittagong*, op. cit., pp. 148-149.

and abused their grim assailants vociferously for breaking into honest people's houses.<sup>139</sup>

Towards the end of the year 1867, the eastern frontier area became much disturbed. For the British government, it became necessary to resort to offensive as well as defensive measures in response to the chronic state of irritation which existed among the border tribes. It was also felt that the tribal people would only be convinced of the power of the colonizers by stringent reprisals. And at this instance, one of the Mizo chiefs named Rothangpuia of Thangluah clan and his subjects formed a staunch alliance with the colonizers. This alliance made it possible for the colonial government in gaining strategic information and private information they had given enabled the British to frustrate intended or attempted 'raids' in the frontier area.<sup>140</sup> Rothangpuia had attached himself to the British interests and had given information from time to time of 'raids' contemplated by his neighbours and each time, steps were taken immediately to defend the frontiers.<sup>141</sup>

Since 1860, Rothangpuia played a very significant role in providing knowledge about the colonized state and from him, they colonizers heard and learnt much about their language, customs and a curious tradition concerning their genesis. Furthermore, Lewin, with his account "*A Fly on the Wheel*" mentioned that while staying at Demagiri after the expedition, small parties of the Mizos frequently visited him during the rainy season and brought him a variety of presents. During this visit, Lewin held conversations with them and talked about a variety of stories and legends. By this way, Lewin was able to collect and came to know a number of folklores and tales which he put them down in a written form in some of his textual publications.<sup>142</sup>

In order to consolidate and carry on the administrative system effectively, it became necessary for the colonial government to have a thorough knowledge on the customs of the colonized subjects. In this respect, Edward Said, in "*Orientalism*" (1978) expresses that knowledge of subject races is what makes their management easy and profitable; knowledge gives power, more power requires more knowledge.<sup>143</sup> Thereby, various attempts had been made to record the customs by which the Mizos

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<sup>139</sup> Ibid.

<sup>140</sup> Lewin, T.H., *A Fly On The Wheel*, op. cit., p. 241.

<sup>141</sup> Zorema, J., 'Chief Rothangpuia Thangluah: A Faithful British Ally', in *Historical Journal Mizoram*, Vol. IX, November 2008, p. 85.

<sup>142</sup> Lewin, T.H., *A Fly On The Wheel*, op. cit., p. 308.

<sup>143</sup> Said, Edward W., op. cit., p. 36.

could be governed in their daily lives. For this particular purpose, when NE Parry became the Superintendent, he at first found it extremely difficult in trying cases to ascertain the correct custom according to which cases are decided by the chiefs and the courts. By this time, the customs had never been recorded and it was very difficult to get unbiased information. Therefore, in the hope that it will be of use to officers and chiefs engaged in the administration of justice in the district that a record book of the customs titled "*A Monograph On Lushai Customs & Ceremonies*" was compiled by NE Parry.<sup>144</sup> According to one estimate, there were about sixty independent Mizo chiefs by the time when the British took over Mizoram in 1890.<sup>145</sup>

On compiling the customs of the Mizos, NE Parry had consulted the Mizo chiefs of different clans. For instance, 7 from Vanhnuailiana's descendants; 8 from Vuta's descendants; 2 from Mánga's descendants; 9 from Rolùra's descendants; 1 from Lianlula's descendants; 3 from Laltuaka's descendants and many others from Lunglei Sub-Division.<sup>146</sup> These chiefs and others who had been consulted were all agreed that the customs described and the fines laid down for the breach thereof are those which are now generally in vogue and which are admitted to be fair and reasonable. In the process of the compilation of all these recorded customs, particularly, native agents such as Makthanga, Public Works Department clerk and Chhínga, Personal Chaprassi rendered a very important contribution a lot in giving great assistance to NE Parry in compiling the Mizo customary laws.<sup>147</sup>

As regards the process of colonization in Mizoram, the British Government tended to treat it precisely in the same way as the neighboring Naga, Khasi and Garo Hills. From the knowledge of the country gained from military operations, the government acquired much information and idea as to what kind of policies to be adopted in colonizing Mizoram. The Mizos themselves both in the north and south had also received a salutary lesson. In the North and South Lushai Hills, attempts had been made by the government to civilize the tribes and introduce some sort of settled government and administration of justice. After the final annexation of Mizoram in 1895, there were many changes in various spheres. As the colonial government increasingly came to know and realize the indigenous aspects of the colonized

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<sup>144</sup> Parry, N.E, Introduction to *A Monograph on Lushai Customs & Ceremonies*, p. i.

<sup>145</sup> Sàngkima, 'Chief Kalkhama And His Administration', in *Historical Journal Mizoram*, Vol. XI, November 2010, p. 92.

<sup>146</sup> Parry, N.E, op. cit., pp. ii-iv.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid., p. i.

subjects, they adopted their own form of administration and polity which they considered would suit the basic needs of the colonized people towards the course of development.

In administering the colonial state of Mizoram, the government increasingly discovered the facts about the various attributes of the colonial people. As they penetrated far into the minds and lives of the Mizos, they perceived some of the complexities of their situations. Therefore, the government rendered significant information towards the general rehabilitation of the colonized people whom they considered backward and uncivilized. The consolidation of colonial Mizoram and the rule of the British government gradually transformed the social political and economic aspects of the life of the Mizos.



## CHAPTER 4

### CHRISTIANITY AND THE PRODUCTION OF COLONIAL KNOWLEDGE

In the last decade of the twentieth century, Christianity made its appearance in Mizoram. In 1891, Rev. William Williams, a Presbyterian missionary had visited Mizoram without leaving any significant contribution. Again in 1894, JH Lorrain and FW Savidge, both under the 'Arthington Aborigines Mission' arrived at Aizawl on 11<sup>th</sup> January, 1894. Soon after they established themselves, the Christian missionaries began their mission by introducing education as a tool for their civilizing mission.

At different point of time, different group of missionaries entered Mizoram, Manipur, Tripura and Chin Hills. The London Baptist Missionary Society, The Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Foreign Mission (Presbyterian) and The Lakher Pioneer Mission of London were the earliest missionaries who took the work of evangelism in Mizoram. The principal core of Christian mission work has been evangelism, but, the process of evangelism has been always a big challenge. The production of knowledge on native cultural history was crucial for the Christian missionaries to adapt themselves in the new situation. Thus, the European Missionaries had produced enormous ethnographic materials on the Mizos.

### THE CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES AND LINGUISTIC KNOWLEDGE

The two pioneering missionaries, JH Lorrain and FW Savidge worked in Aizawl for almost four years, from January 1894 till the end of December 1897. These were fruitful years during which they did considerable work proving a solid foundation for the years to come.<sup>148</sup> One of the first tasks for the two missionaries was to learn the vernacular language of the Mizos. Prior to their entry in Mizoram, the two missionaries already had some of the Mizo language, and this greatly helped in the process of their educational mission.

For two years, the missionaries devoted themselves to mastering the language, wishing to ensure accuracy before they began to teach in 'Lusei' the words of truth and life. Lusei, belonging to the Tibeto-Burman group is monosyllabic, words of one

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<sup>148</sup> Lloyd, J. Meirion, op. cit., p. 28.

sound having wholly different meanings if the pitch or length of tone be varied in uttering them. Prior to this, “*Exercises in the Lushai Dialect*” had been published in 1874 by TH Lewin which was followed by Brojo Nath Saha’s “*Grammar of the Lushai language*,” which was intended for the Europeans.<sup>149</sup> JH Lorrain made use of the “*Grammar of the Lushai language*” for learning the Mizo language.

Historically, the traditional Mizo society was an oral society. Before the advent of the Christian missionaries, the Mizos had no written language. When the Christian missionaries arrived, they engaged themselves in the tasks of creating Mizo alphabet. They reduced the Mizo language into a written form. The knowledge of the Mizo language brought them into more close contact with the Mizos. When they began to speak fluently, the people looked upon them as members of their own community and they became friends. They spent two years in this way, ministering to the sick, advising the people, and, generally speaking, identifying themselves with their interests. In this way, they got to know their manners and customs. At the same time, they began to teach the young men and children to read and write, adopting Sir William Hunter’s system of transliteration which proved most intelligent pupils, and soon beginning to teach others. Thus, the new, strange and wonderful art of reading and writing spread over the whole of the northern part of Mizoram.<sup>150</sup>

From the above, it can be assumed that the Christian missionaries used their linguistic knowledge as a kind of instrument for generating colonial knowledge. Knowledge of the vernacular language was a prerequisite form of colonial knowledge. Furthermore, in consequence to this, the knowledge of the Mizo language paved the way for their evangelizing mission. Thus, the Christian missionaries transformed their colonial knowledge into power in the pursuit of their mission.

The motivation for the Christian missionaries to learn Mizo language had certain importance. As the missionaries reduced the language of the Mizos into a written form, they composed some sentences of Mizo. When staying at Silchar before entering Mizoram, JH Lorrain devoted much of his time in learning Mizo language. They even learn the formation of sentences in Mizo language. In this case, one Mizo sentence written by JH Lorrain was as follows:

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<sup>149</sup> Lewis, Grace R., *The Lushai Hills, The Story of the Lushai Pioneer Mission*, p. 30.

<sup>150</sup> Lewin, T.H., *A Fly On The Wheel*, op. cit., p. 316.

“Lekha ziakna tui leh lehkha ziakna thingrem sâp chaw eina a dah rawh u”

“Put the letter writing water and the letter writing box on the thing from which the Sahibs eat their rice.”<sup>151</sup>

The above sentence marks the superiority and grandeur of the British (sâp) which was demonstrated in the form of writing. On the other hand, it also reflects the inferior and subordinate status of the Mizos to the missionaries. Thereby, the Christian missionaries used their linguistic knowledge as a tool of command upon the colonized subjects so as to represent themselves as masters.

The studies and knowledge of Mizo language by the Christian missionaries involved the use of Mizo language as a source of understanding their manners, character, customs, etc. On coming more and more familiarized with various aspects of the Mizos, they began to compile and record their folktales, proverbial sayings, folklores, etc. in the form of text. Language was to be mastered to issue commands and to collect information as information was required in order to assess and collect taxes, maintain law and order, etc.<sup>152</sup> As a form of knowledge, the missionaries collected and documented a great variety of oral traditions of the Mizos and these were textualized in a variety of publication works.

## **CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES AND TEXTUAL PUBLICATION**

One of the more salient shifts in the study of colonial societies and indeed studies of the British Empire more generally, in the last two decades has been a newly analytical focus on knowledge and knowledge production. The missionaries, after learning the vernacular language, they turned towards the tasks of producing a number of textual publications. In consequence to this, the first book printed and produced in the Mizo language was a “*Child’s Primer*” published by the Assam Government in 1895.<sup>153</sup> This was followed by a number of other books. Through these books, the missionaries produced colonial knowledge in certain ways. The main intent of the missionaries was to represent the image of the Mizos through textual publications as well as

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<sup>151</sup> JH Lorrain Log Book, p. 36

<sup>152</sup> Dirks, Nicholas B., Foreword to *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge*, by Bernard S. Cohn, pp. viii-ix.

<sup>153</sup> Lloyd, J. Meirion., op. cit., p. 29.

documentations. In this way, they sought to maintain their colonial influence upon the colonized subjects.

Almost all the early account of the Mizos produced by the colonial writers portrayed the Mizos as some sort of savage tribes that needed to be civilized and reconstructed. In this respect, the Christian missionaries were no exception. They observed the Mizos as inferior race that should be civilized and evangelized from the utilitarian point of view. At the time of the arrival of JH Lorrain and FW Savidge, one of the most remarkable comments about the Mizos by JH Lorrain was that they were the most dirtiest tribe he had ever come across.<sup>154</sup> By representing the Mizos in this way, the missionaries sought to justify their mission as an “*evangelizing tool*” and at the same time, they also wanted to make themselves superior to the Mizos. The missionaries documented their observation on the Mizos as a form of colonial knowledge.

The missionaries included a number of teaching aids in their textual publications. The books they produced were used as a textbook in the school that usually contained some principles of moral education for a decent standard of living. For example, in “*Duhlian Zir Tirh Bu*” (1921), some moral teachings like – “*Keep your promise,*” “*Comfort the poor,*” “*Do not break the covenant,*”<sup>155</sup> etc. were included. This clearly revealed the utilitarian approach of the Christian missionaries that the colonial state of Mizoram be treated as an uncivilized state that had to be observed, studied and evangelized under the sphere of their influence.

The missionaries, making use of their reduction of Mizo language into a written form, as has already been mentioned, in some place of their textual publications, featured their superiority as an influential tool for the furtherance of their evangelizing mission. For instance, “*There are five great human race – black, red, brown, yellow, white. However, we all are one kind, the white being the wisest and supreme.*”<sup>156</sup> This kind of curriculum appeared in some places. In doing so, the missionaries tried to inculcate in the minds of the Mizos their own superiority and also attempted to impose the missionaries’ influence through their pedagogical methods. Thus, colonial

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<sup>154</sup> Lianzuala, *Zofate Chanchin Tha Rawn Hlântute*, p. 111.

<sup>155</sup> Jones, David E., *Duh-Lian Zir Tirh Bu: Lushai Primer (Duh-Lian Dialect)*, p. 17.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 32.

knowledge on the Mizo language paved the way for the Christian missionaries to magnify their sphere of influence through textual publications.

## **CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES : COLONIAL PERSPECTIVES ON THE MIZOS**

Even before the missionaries entered Mizoram, they already had information about the nature of the Mizos. They did not only know Mizo language, but, they also had some knowledge on the cultures and identity of the Mizos. The missionaries' representation of the natives usually took the form of such a derogatory term. In the minds of the missionaries, the Mizos appeared as savage, head-hunters, primitive, uncivilized, etc. Some missionaries' account often referred to the Mizos as the fiercest and most barbarous of all the hill tribes who were notorious for their head-hunting expeditions to the neighbouring plains. But, the objects of these 'raids' was to obtain human skull with which to adorn the graves of their ancestors, the belief prevailing that the spirits of the slains would become the slave of their ancestors in the spirit world.<sup>157</sup>

In earlier times, the Christian missionaries, Pastors and even early Mizo writers often regarded the Mizos as "*head-hunters.*" JH Lorrain wrote in his report on 1905 that –

“In those days, a ray of Gospel light had ever reached the wild head-hunting tribes in these jungle-covered mountains. Satan had held complete sway for ages and in seeking to appease him sacrifices, the Lushais had lost almost all knowledge of God.”<sup>158</sup>

Their idea is shared and accepted unquestionably for some period of time by the Mizos. However, recently, there arose a new trend of writings by contemporary Mizo writers like C. Chhuanváwra who hold the view that the Mizos are not just simply "*head-hunters,*" but the "*hunter of the enemy's head.*" As the erstwhile Mizo societies were in a constant threat of warfare, in the midst of this, the term "*head-hunter*" did not signify "*cannibalism*" or "*murderer,*" on the contrary, it was an expression of their regard for "*heroism*". Thus, the Mizos are not totally "*flesh-*

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<sup>157</sup> Morris, John Hughes, *The Story of our Foreign Mission (Presbyterian Church of Wales)*, p. 77.

<sup>158</sup> 'South Lushai 1905', in *The Annual Report of BMS on Mizoram 1901-1938*, p. 15.

eater” or “murderous tribe.”<sup>159</sup> In the early Mizo society, hunting was also the most favourite game of the Mizos. The society honoured the ‘*pasaltha*’, successful hunters. When the boy was born, they blessed him to be in order that he would attain the status of ‘*pasaltha*’.<sup>160</sup>

The missionaries generally considered the Mizos as morally and intellectually low and backward. In most of their writings, the Mizos always occupied an inferior race who will remain in the darkness of spiritual ignorance and also the tribes who worked unrighteousness.<sup>161</sup> JH Lorrain recorded his first impression of the Mizos in his log book as follows:

“I am sure to walk through a Lushai village if you were to see the pigs, fowls and youngsters all rolling 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 live a little less like beasts. And with all this dirt, the Lushais seem to be a fine race and capable of great improvement. We can see the differences between those who have come in contact with their conquerers and those who have not. The former class wash their faces and some even make themselves look very nice.”<sup>162</sup>

In this manner, accounts of the Mizos were documented by the missionaries. Some of the accounts were even sent home by the missionaries. They generally emphasized the backward conditions of the Mizos in terms of their social life who were lacked in far behind modern civilization. They used their documentations on the Mizos as a form of knowledge production and also as a illustrations of the nature of the Mizos. From the above quotation, it is clearly evident that the missionaries tried to justify themselves as a benefactor to the Mizos by portraying the Mizos as a tribe who were still living in a primitive form of society. And thus, they were to be civilized through the missionaries’ intervention. They even disseminated their knowledge of the Mizos as an instrument to impose their hegemony over the colonized subjects.

With respect to the above passage, the portrayal of the Mizos as living in such a way by mingling with their livestock could not be taken as an form of their life. In the traditional Mizo society, domestic animals were a part of their life and played a very

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<sup>159</sup> Chhuanváwra, C., ‘Mizote hi lu la hnam kan ni em?’, in *Seminar & Important Papers*, pp. 24-27.

<sup>160</sup> Thanmawia, R.L., *Mizo Values*, p. 13.

<sup>161</sup> ‘Baptist Mission Report 1901’, in *The Annual Report of BMS on Mizoram 1901-1938*, p. 1.

<sup>162</sup> JH Lorrain Log Book, p. 27.

important role in the social, economic and religious spheres. For instance, domestic fowls were used as a symbol of expressing favour and kindness by slaying them for a meal when entertaining a special guest. Apart from this, the cock's crow was used as a timepiece in the traditional Mizo society. It was also largely used in sacrificial purposes.<sup>163</sup> Likewise, pig was usually domesticated by all the Mizo families and it was the main source of oil in their food items. Furthermore, pig was used as a kind of fine in the decision making process by the chief in times of settling a dispute.<sup>164</sup>

## MISSIONARIES AND EDUCATION

One of the main agendas of the Christian missionaries in Mizoram was the introduction of education. After the creation of Mizo alphabet and the setting up of schools, the missionaries pursued their mission work along the lines of education. Schools were set up in different villages and there was a sign of progress in the field of education. Some of the Mizos had learned to read and write at the government schools. And the knowledge they had acquired had in some instances been handed on to their friends when they have returned to their villages. Moreover, many of the young men were anxious to improve their knowledge and were continually asking to be taught by the missionaries. School was opened by the missionaries with a view to train a few of the most forward scholars to be teachers and to act as school masters in different villages.<sup>165</sup>

Steps were taken by the missionaries so as to promote their educational mission. Examinations were held from time to time. Along the lines of education, the mission of Christian missionaries also involved dissemination of the Gospel. The efforts of the missionaries in the field of education produced a number of literate pupils. They not only could read and write their own language, but, some of them knew sufficient English to translate hymns and other books into their own tongue. In 1904, one of the earliest pupils eight years ago who learnt ABC first in the mission school translated one of the most popular hymns – “*Are you washed in the blood of the Lamb?*”. There was also a great eagerness for more knowledge and it was also easy to see that much

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<sup>163</sup> Lalthangliana, B., *Pi Pu Zùnléng*, p. 78.

<sup>164</sup> Rokhûma, C., ‘Role of Domestic Animals in the Mizo Economy’, in *Seminar & Important Papers*, pp. 164-166.

<sup>165</sup> Herbert Lorrain and FW Savidge, ‘Reports for 1903’, in *The Annual Report of BMS on Mizoram 1901-1938*, p. 8.

more intelligently, one educated boy can present the Gospel Message, and hold the attention of their listeners. There were also more pupils to whom the Gospel Message could be disseminated.<sup>166</sup>

The educational mission of the Christian missionaries became an instrument to evangelize the colonized subjects. The missionaries knew that opening up of more institutions could pave the way for the furtherance of their mission. They also realized that the indigenous agency greatly served for the production of colonial knowledge. They employed the native elites in different mission works. Lorrain and Savidge taught a few rather unwilling children from Thangphunga's village (Chaltlang). Parents were not in the least inclined to send their children to school, so the two young men tried to attract them by offering sweets. They began to hold services on Sunday and formed a small Sunday School. To the children who attended, they gave out pictures and as soon as a child had collected four of these, he would qualify for a slender string of beads or similar reward. Chawnga, who well recalled these lessons, became one of the first Mission teachers and remained in the Mission Veng Primary School till his retirement in 1946.<sup>167</sup>

In this way, the missionaries tried to win over the native people by starting Sunday School and at the same time, they did not undertake the mission work in their own, but with the help of the indigenous agency, they pursued a collaborative effort towards the tasks of evangelizing mission. Thus, the missionaries took Sunday School as a tool of their civilizing mission. At the same time, they employed the knowledge of the natives as a part of their mission.

Rev. Edwin Rowlands was assigned teaching work along with other engagements. He produced a number of school textbooks. It is interesting to note that one of the Mizo folktales included in "*A Lai Bu*" is titled 'Samdala', the story of a very lazy man who does not work and used to become worries whenever any kinds of work opens up for him. The moral of this lesson is to become hard-working. One view that could be drawn is that the depiction of this lazy man might have been a depiction of a Mizo. Could it be possible that this particular folktale was chosen to show another quality of

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<sup>166</sup> Herbert Lorrain and FW Savidge, 'Baptist Missionary Reports 1904', in *The Annual Report of BMS on Mizoram 1901-1938*, pp. 12-13.

<sup>167</sup> Lloyd, J. Meirion., op. cit., p. 31.



a Mizo which was not highlighted so much?<sup>168</sup> The missionaries combined their colonial form of knowledge with colonial representation of the Mizos through education. From earlier periods, the Mizos were never spoken of as a 'lazy' or 'indolent'. They spent all times of the year in their jhum land and worked very hard daily to earn their livelihood. Thus, the missionaries might have imposed their command on the Mizos' own image as a way of evangelizing them by dismissing their real identity.

The educational work of the missionaries upon the native subjects evoked them to recognize the importance of education. After they received education, they wanted to impart the advantage of learning to others by stating their privileged position as compared to their ancestors. They campaigned and asked the parents to send their children to receive education at school by stating that it was the way to wisdom and knowledge.<sup>169</sup> They admired school education of the missionaries and instructed themselves to lead a life as the wish of the missionaries.<sup>170</sup>

### **MISSIONARIES' REPRESENTATION OF MIZO WOMEN**

The main agendas of the missionaries in Mizoram involved evangelical, educational and medical mission. Apart from the missionary, many accounts of the colonial writers often described the inferior status of women in Mizo society and their toilsome work in the family affairs. J. Shakespear described the position of the women in "*The Lushei-Kuki Clans*":

"A Lushai woman had to rise early, fill her basket with empty bamboo tubes and trudge off before daylight down to the spring... In the cold weather, the women settle themselves to some of the operations connected with cloth making, while the men prepare to pass a day of complete enjoyment, lying in the sun and smoking..."<sup>171</sup>

Presumably, as a result of this inferior position of the Mizo women which came to their notice, the missionaries drew their attention towards the amelioration of women

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<sup>168</sup> Laldinpuii, 'A Study of Primary School Textbooks in Twentieth Century Mizoram', in *Mizo Studies*, pp. 446-447.

<sup>169</sup> Chhunruma, 'Dàn thar dik chu', in *Mizo leh Vai Chanchinbu*, September 1903, p. 11.

<sup>170</sup> Pohrenga, 'Zirtirtu thu âwih rawh u', in *Mizo leh Vai Chanchinbu*, May 1907, pp. 88-89.

<sup>171</sup> Shakespear, J., *The Lushei Kuki Clans*, pp. 16-17

position from their inferior status. So, the missionaries focused their attention to the elevation of Mizo women and they adopted formal education as a method of civilizing them. In this respect, Rev. DE Jones campaigned for the promotion of education among the Mizo women:

“Special efforts have been directed towards increasing the attendance of girls at the village school, and it is gratifying to observe that their number has increased from forty-six to ninety-five. The people of Lushai have no ardent desire for their daughters to be educated. Here, woman is the drudge and the burden-carrier. Our Christians are a long way from recognizing in practical life the dignity that belongs to every human soul. And in consequence, there is strong tendency to keep the girls ignorant and degraded. In time, no doubt, as the people came to realize the essential dignity of human life according to Christ’s teaching, the girls in increasing numbers will avail themselves of the opportunities for education that have been brought within their reach.”<sup>172</sup>

From the above quotation, a conclusion can be drawn that the Christian missionaries came to realize the adverse conditions and hardships of Mizo women in their traditional society. So, they called for the introduction of education for the Mizo women by which they believed that they could be elevated from their inferior status. To elevate women from their condition of ‘drudgery’, the role of education for women was seen as pivotal, the ideal kind of education to be imparted being that of a specific evangelistic orientation.<sup>173</sup> From the viewpoint of the missionaries, Mizo women appeared to be recovered from their adverse situations. But, it was not so, there was also a sense of respect from men. On this point, one Mizo writer with his article titled ‘Mizo Dàn’ in “*Chanchin Bu*” September 1928 stated that men felt sorry and showed sympathetic feelings towards women, claiming that women were the ones who performed basic functions in domestic life and should be respect.<sup>174</sup>

From their knowledge on the position of colonized Mizo women and taking their degraded and adverse conditions as a purpose for the need to introduce women education, the missionaries at the same time, in their writings and records, they always made a mention of the despised situations under which Mizo women suffered.

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<sup>172</sup> ‘The Report of the Lushai Hills, 1916-17’, in K. Thanzauva: *Reports of the Foreign Mission of the Presbyterian Church of Wales on Mizoram, 1894-1957*, p. 61.

<sup>173</sup> Rálte, Lalnunpuii, ‘Women’s Education in Mizoram during the Colonial Period’, in *Mizo Narratives: accounts from Mizoram*, p. 243.

<sup>174</sup> Lalsikula, ‘Mizo Dàn’, in *Chanchin Bu*, September 1928, p. 216.

As they recognized the despiteful treatment upon Mizo women, their main method of evangelical mission was the emancipation and empowerment of Mizo women. In 1938, one Mizo writer stated in “*Mizo leh Vai Chanchinbu*” that,

“Women, keep learning and yearn for education. These days, educated women and women of well-to-do family are high above such hardships. As education is honourable and that it produces wealthy and prosperous people.”<sup>175</sup>

In the light of the above, the negative aspect of the life of Mizo women in the society is the main focus. In contrast, the position of the Mizo women was not in such a bad situation. Historically, the Mizo women also occupied a dominant position in certain areas in various ways. By tradition, women enjoyed considerable freedom in Mizo society. A woman named Pi Hmuaki was remembered as one of the earliest Mizo poets. Verses composed by her formed part of their precious oral tradition. Generally, however, men thought women to be inferior creations. It was the women who did the burdensome chores, carried the heaviest loads, rose earliest in the morning and if they had any opinions those were never regarded as important. Traditional saying gave popular expression to this attitude-

“A woman’s mind does not reach across the stream”. “Neither crabs nor do women have any religion”. “A fence can be changed; so can a wife.”<sup>176</sup>

Contrary to this, Major Cole, in his interview stated:

“The work is done almost entirely by the women. The men are very lazy. Single young men hardly ever do any work. There was once some excuse for arrangement. The men watch lest their enemies should come upon them unexpectedly, and the women worked in the fields.”<sup>177</sup> McCall added to this point – “A Lushai woman is always very hard-working, has much hard work to do, and has all too little time available for any profitable leisure...Women rise at dawn, while men sleep on, and coaxing up the fire, they start to husk the rice...”<sup>178</sup>

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<sup>175</sup> Zoválsuala, ‘Mizo Hmeichhiate’, in *Chanchin Bu*, June 1938, p. 94.

<sup>176</sup> Lloyd, J. Meirion, op. cit., p. 109.

<sup>177</sup> ‘An Interview with Major Cole, DSO’, in K. Thanzauva, K., Ibid., p. 35.

<sup>178</sup> McCall, A.G., op. cit., p. 172.

From the above, the contribution and importance of women in the early Mizo society expressed by the domestic role played by women in their daily life, both in the home and in jhum land. At the same time, most of the Mizo women possessed the good skill in crafts such as weaving, sewing, knitting, spinning, etc.

Consequently, the ability of Mizo women was used as source of producing colonial knowledge and their skill was employed as a mechanism in various institutions run by the missionaries. The colonizers also failed to recognize the gender role played by the Mizo women in terms of power.

Among the Mizo women, Ropuiliani, a female chief from the southern part of Mizoram offered resistance against the British. During the Lushai Expedition of 1871-72, Ropuiliani refused to admit defeat at the hands of the British forces in defense of her nation. She even denied all the demands of the British to pay tribute and surrender of guns.<sup>179</sup> In the colonial history of Mizoram, Ropuiliani emerged as a symbol of Mizo nationalism and she is often labelled as “*Queen of the South*”.

## MISSIONARIES AND FEMALE EDUCATION

On a global level, Christianity and colonialism accompanied each other. Education has always been in the hands of the Christian Mission right from the beginning because the literary period in our Mizo history begins with the coming of the pioneer missionaries who gave us the alphabets. All the primary and middle schools were taken care of by the Christian mission until the time when Mizoram became a District within Assam (1952) in the free India.<sup>180</sup> The beginning of Girls’ School in Mizoram dated from 1904. Mrs. Jones, the wife of Rev. DE Jones was the one who looked after the early girls’ school.<sup>181</sup>

In the southern mission field, as early as 1907, the girls’ boarding school was a in a new venture and showed every sign of success. Seven girls and their teacher, under the supervision of the senior evangelist and his wife, had come to school with the primary object of being able to read the scriptures for themselves. They also had a sewing class twice a week under Mr. Lorrain who found them quick and industrious.

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<sup>179</sup> Lalthangliana, B., *Mizo Chanchin (A Short Account of Mizo History)*, p. 194.

<sup>180</sup> Zaihmingthanga, *The History of Christianity in Mizoram (1944-1994)*, p. 16.

<sup>181</sup> Lalhmuaka, *Zoram Zirna Lam Chhinchhiaha (The Records of Zoram Education)*, p. 27.

Apart from this, they accordingly took their share of the work which had to be done on the compound such as cutting jungle, weeding the gardens, etc. They also husked and winnowed their own rice, cooked their food, draw their water and go to the forest to cut and bring in their own wood. In the evening, they spun cotton and sang hymns.<sup>182</sup>

In the meantime, female education had become a problem and could not make constant progress. Most of the girls were constantly busy in helping their hard-worked mother that they cannot possibly be spared to go to school. This was the chief reason why the number of boarders could not raise. Meanwhile, several women and girls living on or near the Mission Station had been coming to Mrs. Savidge for lessons in reading and sewing. Although, they have not always been able to attend regularly on account of their domestic duties and arduous field work, they made good progress. Some of them had succeeded in mastering the art of reading and had been rewarded by the gift of a bound volume of Scripture portions.<sup>183</sup> In this way, by introducing female education as a tool of evangelical and civilizing mission, the Christian missionaries disseminated knowledge to the native women by setting up various institutions where basic method of teachings were adopted that suited to the mission projects.

In the north, under the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Mission, the project of female education was also making its way. Rev. Edwin Rowlands wrote that during 1902, the school increased substantially in numbers, at the end of 1901, the number was forty-four and it rose to sixty-seven.<sup>184</sup> A Girls' School was established at the mission station in Aizawl and the number of pupils had doubled in course of a year and the first Mizo girl teacher was sent to the Girls' School in Shillong for training.<sup>185</sup> The Girls' School also developed along several lines in 1925. The lower class had been transformed into a Kindergarten. The children attended the school regularly. The missionaries put great emphasis and paid a great deal of attention on the teaching of weaving and sewing. Simultaneously, the girls' school showed a sign of development and the teachers conducted an experiment in community work in a class after school hours for girls and women who wanted to learn, to read and write and to sew. The

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<sup>182</sup> 'Arthington Mission to the Lushai Tribe (BMS), Report for 1907', in *The Annual Report of BMS on Mizoram 1901-1938*, p. 42.

<sup>183</sup> 'After Ten Years', in *The Annual Report of BMS on Mizoram 1901-1938*, pp. 105-106.

<sup>184</sup> 'The Report of the Lushai Hills, 1902-03', in Thanzauva, K., p. 17.

<sup>185</sup> 'The Report of the Lushai Hills, 1910-11', in Thanzauva, K., *Ibid.*, p. 43.

advent of Miss Katie Hughes was a great event and in many directions, especially in the teaching of singing, Sunday School work and medical work, her experience and training was of immense value.<sup>186</sup>

Further additions were made to the staff in Aizawl by the arrival of Miss Katie Hughes at the end of 1924. Katie Hughes rendered a valuable contribution in the progress of female education. During 1925-26, she was asked to take the charge of the Girl's school. Although, they were met with some difficulty in language, in spite of that, they were able to understand each other. The missionaries realized that Mizo women who were employed as teacher required a good deal of training. In consequence to this, three girls went in for the Middle English Exam and five for the Lower Primary and they all passed successfully. In the daily routine, one hour was spent for teaching Scripture every morning. Special privilege had been given to those who came from distant villages by providing them accommodation in a hostel.<sup>187</sup> Particularly, the Christian women missionaries, held the belief that the humiliating position of Mizo women could be eradicated by imposing western education upon them. The establishment of separate Girls' school was used so as to evangelize and to convince them that Christianity was an access to the higher level of their status.

As the colonial government passed authority on the educational mission into the hands of the Christian missionaries, they heavily depended on education as a kind of instrument for their evangelizing mission. Through the curriculum they prepared, they tried to inculcate Christianity in the minds of the Mizos. Miss Davies wrote that, "*We endeavor to give them as practical and education as possible, and teach them above all that Christianity is life. They long to hear the "good news" and we hope that by our work in the school, we are making it for many of them to accept Jesus Christ, and yield themselves to him and to His service.*"<sup>188</sup>

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<sup>186</sup> 'The Girls' School, Aijal', in K. Thanzauva, Ibid., p. 72.

<sup>187</sup> 'Aizawl Girls' School and Dispensary', in Thanzauva, K., Ibid., p. 76.

<sup>188</sup> 'Girls' School, Aijal', in Thanzauva, K., Ibid., p. 86.

## MEDICAL MISSION

Prior to the advent of Christian missionaries, the Mizos had their own indigenous form of medical science. There was a belief in the sense that there was more hope for those who helped themselves was manifest in the application of treatments combined with sacrifices and incantations, as advised by village “*puithiam*” or priest. In some cases, there was a distinct relationship between Mizo treatment and modern pharmacology as was evidenced by the use of jungle plants on wounds and sores, fever, stomach pains, rheumatism, diarrhoea, cholera and respiratory diseases were all recognized by the Mizos. Salt was also used externally on burns. Hot ginger, soda and water were used for colds and stomach relief.<sup>189</sup>

The Mizos had their own traditional belief system, whenever they were attacked with fever or other severe ailments, in order to prevent themselves from sickness and illness, they used to perform sacrifice. They had no knowledge of modern medical science. So, the traditional belief system of the Mizos was closely associated with their health. So, when the Christian missionaries arrived in Mizoram and witnessed the backward conditions of the Mizos in hygiene and sanitation, they drew their attention to the tasks of educational mission.

The medical mission took its full swing with the arrival Dr. Peter Fraser in 1908. There is a close link between evangelism and medical work. The two pioneering missionaries, JH Lorrain and FW Savidge, tried to win the confidence of the Mizos, and as a part of their evangelizing mission so as to impose their influential mission over them, they engaged themselves in the tasks of distributing medicines by opening dispensaries which drew many Mizos. The medicines they gave established mutual confidence and the Mizos were very sensitive to the kindness shown to them. The following was a common saying of those days:

*“Zosâp Vênga ka va lèn leh  
Zosâpin damdawi min pe.”*

I went to where the missionaries live,  
Good medicine is what they give.<sup>190</sup>

In course of time, dispensaries became a hub of medical mission. More and more people approached in times of sickness and ailments. Alongside medical work, the

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<sup>189</sup> McCall, A.G., op. cit., p. 178.

<sup>190</sup> Lloyd, J. Meirion, op. cit., p. 31.

missionaries incorporated their preaching as a tool of civilizing mission. In 1905, during the rainy season, there had been much sickness and as a result of that, the number of patients who had visited dispensaries rose to as many as 1,500 in 1905. For some reason, many people preferred to go to the dispensaries of the missionaries rather than to go to the dispensary provided by the government.<sup>191</sup> Thus, the setting up of dispensaries was of great importance as a means of winning the hearts of the Mizos in the process of their conversion to Christian. Year after year, the number of attendances at the dispensary had increased considerably. The people began to show signs of great faith in medicine. Some have attended from an economic motive, because it is less expensive to get cured by drugs than it is by offering a pig or a fowl as a sacrifice. Patients desiring medicine attend the morning service and immediately after getting medicines.<sup>192</sup>

Regarding health and sanitation, the missionaries paid a stupendous effort to improve the conditions of the Mizos. In order to exercise their colonial authority upon the colonized subjects and to make themselves known to the Mizos as far more advanced in hygiene and cleanliness, they campaigned for the better quality of health and sanitation. They created awareness on infant mortality rate by mentioning the conditions of other countries. They also campaigned for the cleanliness and maintenance of surroundings so as to prevent themselves from different illness. The missionaries gave instructions to Mizo women on how to look after their infants weekly by setting up certain rules and regulations. They laid emphasis on the improved health conditions of infants by making a “*day of bath*” which was meant for infants.<sup>193</sup>

The medical work was not concentrated in the hands of the missionaries. Among the natives, there were some intelligent persons who could collaborate with the missionaries in different areas of activities. Native subjects like Challiana and Chhuana were able to attend most of the patients. Chhuana had even passed very successfully the Government examination for compounders at the Dibrugarh Medical School. He

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<sup>191</sup> ‘Baptist Mission Report 1904’, in *The Annual Report of BMS on Mizoram 1901-1938*, p. 23.

<sup>192</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 35.

<sup>193</sup> Zaii, ‘Aizawl nausén bualna leh bükna chanchin’, in *Mizo leh Vai Chanchinbu*, March 1929, pp. 58-61.



was given the charge of maintaining the Government Hospital and dispensary at Lunglei for over two years.<sup>194</sup>

## MISSIONARIES AND NATIVES IN KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION

Under the mission program of the Christian missionaries, schools were set up in several villages. In these schools, the most advanced and intelligent native people were placed as schoolmasters. In the meantime, many of the boys were beginning to see the value of education. Some of the Mizo boys who had passed school examination soon made educated elites who could make much effort the dissemination of the message of Gospel. They imparted Gospel in companies and read aloud to interested listeners.<sup>195</sup> The role of the native educated elites was of immense value for the missionaries in the production of literature in Mizo language. Challiana and Chuautera were the helpers of FW Savidge in the translation work on “*The Story of the Bible*” by Charles Foster and John Bunyan’s “*Pilgrim’s Progress*”.<sup>196</sup>

The missionaries aimed at educating the Mizos so as to produce literate persons who could serve as active agents in their mission work. Among the native elites, Suaka and Thangphunga rendered a valuable contribution in the creation of Mizo alphabet and in the translation of Bible. In the midst of many difficulties, both of them made a concerted effort in the tasks of putting Mizo language into a written form. They were also active agents of the pioneer missionaries. Twenty days before they departed from Mizoram, JH Lorrain and FW Savidge wrote a note on Suaka which said that – “*As on grateful remembrance of his untiring assistance in their Lushai language and translation work.*”<sup>197</sup> Thus, the native elites were also a good source of colonial-knowledge production.

The contribution of the native elites can be confined mainly within literary spheres. Among the native elites, Khamliana Sailo, chief of Lungléng was the forerunner who contributed a lot in the production of colonial knowledge. He was an active informant of the British officials, especially, when NE Parry was producing “*Monograph on*

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<sup>194</sup> ‘From Darkness to Noonday in Lushai Land, BMS Mission in the South Lushai Hills’, in *The Annual Report of BMS on Mizoram 1901-1938*, p. 174.

<sup>195</sup> ‘Baptist Mission Report 1904’, op. cit., p. 22.

<sup>196</sup> ‘Arthington Mission in the South Lushai Hills’, Assam, India, Report for 1908, in *The Annual Report of BMS on Mizoram 1901-1938*, p. 52.

<sup>197</sup> Lalthangliana, B., *Mizo Literature (Mizo Thu leh Hla)*, pp. 119-120.

*Lushai Customs and Ceremonies*”, he paid a stupendous effort providing support to him. Significantly, Khamliana wrote a letter to “*Kumpinu*” (*Queen of Great Britain*) in 1897 on the occasion of the sixtieth anniversary of her reign and this manuscript is still extant.<sup>198</sup> This letter is a very important document in the study of Mizo literature and a good source of knowledge production during the colonial period.

During the colonial period, the site of knowledge generally came from literary production like monograph, textual publication, newspapers, etc. Of these, a monthly magazine entitled “*Mizo leh Vai Chanchinbu*”, which had been in circulation from 1902-1940 published by the colonial administration became a good source for the production and dissemination of colonial knowledge. This magazine was important and beneficial for both the colonizers and the colonized subjects. Through this magazine, various orders and notifications of the government, narratives, notes on moral teachings and manners, world news, etc. were published. One of the most significance of “*Mizo leh Vai Chanchinbu*” was that various news and main events of the times were published and became one of the most important records on Mizoram.<sup>199</sup>

The Christian missionaries made use of “*Mizo leh Vai Chanchinbu*” to produce colonial knowledge in different ways. They used it as a site of representing the native subjects from the utilitarian point of view and also as a tool of their civilizing mission. Particularly, Rev. Edwin Rowlands wrote from time to time as a form of colonial knowledge about the continents of the world. To propagate Christianity as a civilizing mission, he stated in his article titled “‘Continents, Oceania and Australia’”, published in *Mizo leh Vai Chanchinbu*, December, 1903 that once in Australia, outlaws were sent, imprisoned and made to work, But, with the coming of the white men, the cruel practice stopped and ultimately became educated, Christians and followers of Christ.<sup>200</sup> By emphasizing the positive impact of Christianity and its constructive role in putting an end to the cruel behavior in other parts of the world, the missionaries tried to influence the minds of the Mizos.

The missionaries often wrote about various continents and the countries in it. As a note on general knowledge, they also described about different religions of the world

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<sup>198</sup> Kiangte, Lalthuangliana, *Thuhlaril, Literary Trends & History of Mizo Literature*, pp. 136-137.

<sup>199</sup> Lalthangliana, B., *Mizo Literature*, op. cit., p. 153.

<sup>200</sup> Zosâphthara, ‘Continents, Oceania and Australia’, in *Mizo leh Vai Chanchinbu*, December 1903, p. 6.

and its followers. In order to command the knowledge of the colonized subjects, they often portrayed the superiority of the western civilization. On September 1903, Rev. Edwin Rowlands wrote in “*Mi Zo leh Vai Chanchin Lekhabu*” that:

“Today, there are many Sâp (English) in Asia; servants of God, teachers, military commanders and traders. Some governments accept the rule of Iurawp (Europe) and its schools, and they employ Sâp; some among them also accept the word of God: it will be for their own good.”<sup>201</sup>

By presenting the image of other countries, the imposed upon the colonized people a new form of representing themselves. The driving force of this idea is the conversion of the colonized people into Christianity. In this way, the Christian missionaries brought a change on the epistemological idea of the indigenous subjects.

In the pursuit of evangelical mission, the missionaries often condemned and were disapproved of traditional practices of the Mizos. They instigated them to give up their cultural traditions. They laid down moral code of conduct so as follow the path of Christianity. For this purpose, they were speaking against their form of living. In their attempt to make them “civilized”, they expressed their wishes and desires by telling them to attend worship service and even to take path in communion. They asked them to abstain themselves from theft, dispute, sexual intercourse, etc. and to keep themselves as a staunch Christian.<sup>202</sup> The missionaries controlled the epistemological view of the Mizos in this way. In the actual sense, the traditional Mizo society followed a systematic moral code of conduct, especially, theft was unheard and they never locked their door. There was a good quality of humanities in the traditional life of the Mizos.

The establishment of schools along the lines of missionaries’ evangelical mission worked upon the minds of the Mizos. They were imbibed with the teachings and schooling of the Christian missionaries. The Mizos themselves exclaimed the significance of their knowledge on the real motive of the missionaries. The Mizos now began to think that their advancement and improvement were in the hands of the missionaries and put all their confidence on them. Zalawra, in his article on February 1908 in “*Mizo leh Vai Chanchinbu*” wrote that the introduction of schools by Christian missionaries was the key factor responsible for the civilization and

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<sup>201</sup> Zosâpthara, ‘Asia Khawmualpui’, in *Mizo leh Vai Chanchinbu*, September 1903, p. 8.

<sup>202</sup> Zosâphluia, ‘Sâphlui lehkha han thawn Sâp ram a’n’, in *Mizo leh Vai Chanchinbu*, February 1908, p. 25.

advancement of all the Mizos. Thus, the Mizos considered all the pedagogy of the missionaries as a means of their improvement towards modern civilization.<sup>203</sup> The Mizos reproduced themselves and in this way, colonial pedagogy of engaged itself with the colonial forms of knowledge.

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<sup>203</sup> Zalawra, 'Aizawl Skul Pui', in *Mizo leh Vai Chanchinbu*, February 1929, pp. 38-39.

## CHAPTER 5

### CONCLUSION

The present state of Mizoram had undergone colonial domination from the last decade of the nineteenth century till the first half of the twentieth century. Prior to this, a series of punitive expeditions was launched from around 1840's which continued till the close of the nineteenth century. The British Government in India extended its colonial domination and consequently, the entire part of Mizoram was finally annexed and colonized. In a simple sense, colonialism, on a global context, is not brought by power or force, even by military superiority and conquest, but also through the command of knowledge over the colonized subjects. After the consolidation of colonial rule in Mizoram, the colonial government concerned itself about the generation of knowledge on the colonial state. In order to achieve this, the production of colonial knowledge was undertaken through various means.

In this respect, a variety of eminent scholars hold the same opinion that colonialism was not just the result of superiority in military, political and economic sphere, but was also the result of the production of knowledge about the colonized subjects. One critical point that has emerged out of this is that knowledge enables the practice of colonialism by exercising colonial authority over the colonized subjects through the command and mastery of knowledge about the colonial state. By incorporating this theory on the context of colonial Mizoram, it is evident that the production of colonial knowledge was the key factor which was largely responsible for the colonization of Mizoram.

The paper takes up the investigative study on how the production of colonial knowledge influenced and shaped the process of history writing in Mizo. Before the advent of the British, the present state of Mizoram was unknown to those who were outside the region. The colonial writers just produced narrative accounts based on direct or first-hand information and then represented various social, economic, political and cultural aspects of the Mizos on the basis of pre-conceived notion. Therefore, this paper focuses on the various accounts of the colonial writers and examines the themes of their colonial writings.

In the light of the above context, one particular implication is that majority of the early Mizo writers, without any critical assessment, simply derived their sources and

references from the accounts of the colonial writers. However, the colonial writers were mostly officials and agents of the colonial government, and they just wrote based on their own conception without any critical analysis. Therefore, this paper takes up an in-depth content analysis on the colonial accounts. As a consequence of this, the process of colonial-knowledge production manifested itself in the form of literatures, textual publications, ethnographic accounts, survey reports, census reports, etc., and thereby, the production of colonial knowledge represented a form of *'epistemological violence'* which was imposed upon the colonized subjects by the colonizers. Intellectually and culturally, colonial-knowledge production brought about ambivalent perception in the minds of the Mizos. The colonial accounts might have misrepresented and misinterpreted the image of the Mizos and thus they could not be considered reliable and genuine, and also had a great impact on the historiography of the Mizos.

Prior to the colonization of Mizoram by the British, the British government had already acquired some information about the Mizos. At that time, around the middle of the nineteenth century, the Mizos had committed a number of serious acts upon the plain people who were inhabiting the British territories. They had already been one of the main concerns that drew the attention of the British. Owing to their acts, the British government sought to obtain information about the details of the Mizos in order to find out the most effective measures to stop them from further acts.

The way and manner in which the Mizos acted against the British compelled the British to take retaliatory measures and as a result of that, the British carried out military expeditions and finally brought them under their control. Thereafter, the British colonial government, from their anthropological and ethnographic studies, engaged themselves in the creation and production of the identity of the Mizos and thus played the role of reproducing the Mizos.

Before the advent of the British, there were no written records on the history of the Mizos as the traditional Mizo society was based on oral system. Thus, the colonizers soon created the Mizo alphabet and as a result of that, many of the oral traditions were put down in a written form. Alongwith the coming of the British, many of the colonial writers, under the order of the colonial authorities, produced a substantial amount of enormous ethnographic literatures. They collected a large number of folklores and

oral traditions which were textualized and became a valuable source for understanding the culture of the Mizos. In this way, the colonizers extensively made use of oral traditions as a tool for the production of colonial knowledge and it was greatly helpful for the furtherance of the colonial regime.

Making use of the knowledge they gathered from the colonized subjects, they were able to form an insightful idea on the people they ruled and also developed an effective procedure for the further maintenance and consolidation of colonial power. In this manner, the objectification and command of languages became a very useful instrument to have a better understanding on the peculiar manners and prejudices of the Mizos, and also to conciliate and control the colonized subjects.

For instance, TH Lewin, through his contacts with the Mizos and his anthropological and ethnographic studies, textualized his ethnographic fieldwork and oral traditions, reconstructed the image and various attributes of the Mizos which were reflected in many parts of his writings. Thus, as far as colonialism is concerned, it is not just about the colonizers, it rather has much implications with the colonized subjects. In addition to this, there were also a great variety of colonial accounts produced by colonial government officials in textual forms.

In some of their writings, the Mizos were generally portrayed as inferior, backward, savage, raiders, etc., and thus put forward their utilitarian ideas that the Mizos should be governed so as to lead them towards the path of modern civilization. At the same time, most of the colonial accounts reproduced the identity and image of the Mizos and subsequently, the cultural and traditional practices of the Mizos were condemned and discarded. Therefore, the colonial accounts imposed a strong influence upon the minds of the Mizos in relation to their ethnicity, identity, culture, etc.

In order to carry out the colonial rule effectively, one of the foremost tasks for the colonizers was to have a thorough knowledge on the culture, history, attitude, customs, ceremonies, socio-economic conditions, etc. of the colonized subjects. The British colonial rule not only brought and introduced a new system of administration and polity, but also brought in a number of anthropologists, ethnographers, linguists, writers, etc. Through their contacts with the Mizos, the colonizers themselves produced a vast amount of colonial accounts from their observations, the production of colonial knowledge could not be fully achieved without the intervention or support

of the native informants or indigenous agency. In the light of this context, colonial knowledge was produced through a form of collaboration between the colonizers and the colonized subjects.

After the British colonial government had heard about a number of serious acts committed by the Mizos, from time to time, knowledge-production on the Mizos became prerequisite in order to devise strategies on how to deal with them. The site of colonial knowledge also came from the colonized subjects. Colonial-knowledge production largely depends on the information and report provided by the native informants. At the time of the military expedition, colonial knowledge was mainly derived from escaped captives who were recovered from the hands of Mizo chiefs. These escaped captives became active agents of the government in giving information about the perpetrators who were involved in a series of 'raids' committed in the British territories. From their accounts, the colonial government could identify the culprits and also came to know the about the existence of slavery in the Mizo society.

As already mentioned above, the agency of the colonized subjects was of immense help for the colonizers. Not only in literary production, but, also in the process of their colonial expansion and the consolidation of their rule, the indigenous agency was largely appropriated. The knowledge they gained from the native informants helped them in producing a number of texts about the history of the colonial people. Subsequently, there were a good number of textual publications produced by the colonial writers. Through their contacts with the natives, the colonial writers reproduced the image and identity and got them documented in their accounts, thereby colonial accounts had become a site of colonial knowledge. Almost all the colonial accounts might have been a depiction of the Mizos from '*Euro-centric point of view*'. In their accounts, the colonizers generally portrayed the Mizos as inferior race, raiders, savage tribes, marauders, aggressive, primitive, etc. that had to be civilized through colonial domination. In this context, the colonizers employed utilitarian form of representation as a tool for their 'civilizing mission'.

Along the lines of maintaining the governance of newly acquired territories, the colonizers engaged themselves in studying and exploring the newly conquered territories. The colonial government began the exploration and topographical survey of the newly occupied territory by forming a survey party under the supervision of the



officials and agents. One of the main objects of this topographical survey was that by acquiring an accurate knowledge on the country – its boundaries, scenery, mountain ranges, etc. in terms of its physical features, facilitated the colonial government to bring political influence upon the colonized people in the course of their territorial domination by dividing areas amongst the different chiefs and settled the boundaries permanently.

Some of the colonial government officials, based on their anthropological and ethnographic knowledge documented various aspects of the Mizos in terms of customs, ceremonies, religious rites, ritual practices, etc. For instance, NE Parry produced his “Monograph on Lushai Customs and Ceremonies” in 1905, which was regarded as a valuable contribution to the Mizos for better administrative systems. This kind of reproduction took the form of control over the knowledge of the colonized state. When viewed from one angle, it signified that the colonizers simply considered the colonized state as static that had to be reproduced through hegemonic influence. Moreover, culturally and intellectually, they considered Mizoram as a state that needed to be civilized and also as a result of that, the colonizers even though themselves as outsiders having a special role to play inside.

Apart from the colonial administrators and officials, the role of Christian missionaries in the production of colonial knowledge was significantly an important tool of evangelizing mission. The Christian missionaries, on their part, contributed a lot in the introduction of educational mission in Mizoram. The practice of colonialism had a deep connection with the evangelizing mission of Christian missionaries in the context of Mizoram. At the same time, there was also a collaborative effort in the process of knowledge-production between the missionaries and indigenous educated elite group.

As the colonial government handed the authority over educational project into the hands of the missionaries, so, along with the running of educational institutions, the missionaries also began to involve themselves in the tasks of the production and dissemination of knowledge which was revealed in the form of mission records and log book. They represented the image of the Mizos which was reflected and featured in many of their writings, school curriculum and in other areas of their mission. Their mission not only confined to evangelism, but also enlarged in setting up of medical

centres, dispensaries, hospitals, etc. which became a tool for the pursuit of their evangelical mission.

The Christian missionaries introduced modern education by opening schools in different villages. They produced a number of books which was used as a means of conveying the ideological teachings of Christianity. By taking a close observation on contents of the books prepared by the missionaries, for example, the “Lushai Primer”, it was obvious that the Christian missionaries endeavoured to reform the minds and moral conduct of the Mizos by compiling proverbial phrases, incentive sayings, ethical teachings, etc. A number of Biblical verses clearly revealed that the teaching of Christianity was the main intent of the educational mission. As a result of the role played by Christian missionaries, the traditional songs were replaced by the Gospel songs composed by the Christian missionaries.

The position of Mizo women in the eyes of the Christian missionaries took the form of utilitarian view. The Christian missionaries focused their attention on the inferior position of women in the traditional Mizo society which was fraught with toil and domestic chores and that the emancipation of women became one of their agendas. The missionaries’ pre-conceived notion on Mizo women was manifested on the establishment of separate girls’ school in which women were given instructions in weaving, knitting, gardening, etc. The setting up of institution for girls was used as a tool for the success of their “evangelical mission.” Thus, the missionaries’ knowledge on Mizo women which was derived from western conception was deeply implicated in the way they represented themselves as “saviour of Mizo women.”

The evangelizing mission carried out by the Christian missionaries brought about tremendous changes in the cultural aspects of the Mizos during the colonial period. The Christian missionaries discarded the religious beliefs of the Mizos and sought to convert them into Christians through their mission. The Christian missionaries exerted their superiority not by force, but through knowledge. As they had heard about Mizos before they entered Mizoram, various aspects of the Mizos that came to their notice from different informants gave them an insight on how to deal with them in the pursuit of their mission. The lessons they imparted to the Mizos consisted of a number of biblical and moral teachings.

Knowledge itself has profound connection with the operations of power. From the accounts of the colonial writers, it was obvious that the colonizers simply represented the Mizos from 'Euro-centric' point of view. The British saw the Mizo people as primitive and uncivilized. They shared a similar view that these hill people should be governed and reconstructed. According to the colonizers, it was only through colonial rule that law and order, socio-economic development and modernization should be initiated. Such ideological perception was therefore required in order to impose colonial rule upon the colonized people. Knowledge about the colonized subjects was a significant part in the process of maintaining power over the colonized subjects.

Thus, the colonial state of Mizoram was put under the control and influence of the colonial government through knowledge production. The colonial government produced knowledge in the colony; but, not of the colony; and if the relationship between colonial knowledge and conquest was that knowledge enabled conquest, it became necessary for the colonizers to produce as much knowledge as possible for the further consolidation of colonial power. In the context of Mizoram, the colonizers applied various forms of knowledge production through census, topographical survey, anthropological and ethnological inquiry, etc

For the British, all the non-western societies were irrational and inferior who were in need of corrective study. There is a clear cut division between the 'East' and the 'West' such that the west is powerful and articulate where Asia is defeated and distant. Focusing on this point, the British Government in India saw the Mizos as an oriental race that needed to be subjugated, studied and represented. The existence of a large number of colonial texts which were produced by the colonial writers revealed that the colonial state of Mizoram was taken by the British as an ethnographic state that was represented from their own ideological perspectives. This led to the metamorphosis of Mizo culture into the realms of the western culture. The ideological influence of the colonial rule still has an impact upon the Mizos in terms of our value systems and mode of living. The British imposed western ideologies, institutions and technologies to the Mizos in contrast to their cultural tradition.

From the above, a conclusion that can be drawn is that the knowledge about the colonized subjects is the most direct way to colonialism. In addition to this, colonial Mizoram could also be placed under the context of 'Orientalism' or 'Western

*conception of the Orient* put forward by Edward Said. In the light of *'Orientalism'*, Mizoram, which had undergone European colonialism was regarded as a colony opposite to the west. Thus, the legacy of colonial ethnography is still felt in the mainstream Mizo society till today. The colonial writers insitutionalized various aspects of the Mizos from their knowledge-based observation. The colonial forms of knowledge were simply internalized by the colonized people. Through their ethnographic studies and observations, the colonizers produced a good number of ethnographic and anthropological books which were used as a primary source for the study of Mizo history.

The British colonizers exercised their colonial power by means of literary production, institutional changes, education, etc. To the British, the Mizos, being inferior race, had to be reformed intellectually and morally. Their main theme of mission was that of educating them. The production of educated natives was an effective mode for the colonial domination. With the support of the educated elites, the power of colonialism was perpetuated and became stable. The contribution of the native intellectuals helped the colonizers in instituting a new system of orders and norms by making use of the intellectual knowledge of the colonized subjects.

Thus, colonial-knowledge production in Mizoram left a profound impact in different areas of life. Many of the traditional norms and practices were eliminated and discarded. This sometimes gives rise to a number of controversial issues as to whether the colonial legacy should be considered intellectually and morally right. Colonial knowledge shaped the minds of the Mizos and the outcome of knowledge production was ideologically institutionalized. The colonial conception of the Mizos gradually became the Mizos' own way of representing themselves.

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