JOHN SHAKESPEAR IN THE LUSHAI HILLS (1888-1905)

THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN HISTORY

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DECLARATION

I, K. Lalzuimawia, hereby declare that the subject matter of the thesis is the record of work done by me, that the contents of this thesis did not form basis of the award of any previous degree to me or to do the best of my knowledge to anybody else, and that the thesis has not been submitted by me for any research degree in any other University/Institute.

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that that the thesis entitled "JOHN SHAKESPEAR IN THE LUSHAI HILLS (1888-1905)" submitted by Mr. K. Lalzuimawia in fulfillment of Ph.D Degree of this University is an original work and has not been submitted elsewhere for other degree. It is recommended that this thesis shall be placed before the examiners for the award of degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Dated: 26.9.2016 (Dr. LALNGURLIANA SAILO)

Supervisor

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

First and foremost, I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude and indebtedness to my Supervisor, Dr. Lalngurliana Sailo, Department of History & Ethnography, Mizoram University for his precious guidance, patience, encouragement, suggestions and unfailing interest at all stages of my research work. He is the one who gave me new inspirations and new insights shaping my outlook and ideas. In spite of his busy schedule, he always spared his valuable time for this thesis. Without his supervision and inspiration, this work would not be completed.

I am also grateful to all the faculty members and research scholars of the Department of History & Ethnography, Mizoram University for their motivation and advice.

I am thankful to the University Grants Commission for availing me a fellowship under Rajiv Gandhi National Fellowship for Scheduled Tribe (vide letter number F.14 – 707 (ST) / 2009 (SA – III) dated 8 December 2010), and the Indian Council of Social Science Research, Regional Office, Shillong for providing me grants to visit the National Archives of India and libraries of different Institutions and various other study centres at New Delhi.

My thankfulness also goes to the staffs of various institutions and study centres at New Delhi such as the National Archives of India, Centre for Contemporary Studies (Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, Teen Murti), Library of Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), and Central Secretariat Library.

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I also want to convey my appreciation for the assistance I received from the

staffs of Department of Art & Culture: Government of Mizoram, Mizoram State

Archives, Mizoram State Library, District Library: Aizawl, Central Library of

Mizoram University, Library of Aizawl Theological College, Synod Archives:

Aizawl, Library of Academy of Integrated Christian Studies (AICS): Aizawl and the

libraries of different colleges in Mizoram.

I also express my indebtedness and gratitude to my family, especially to my

beloved grand-father K.Lalnghaka, and to my parents K.Zatawna and Aichhingi, and

to my brothers and sisters for their constant support, prayer and inspiration throughout

the course of my research.

Above all, I thank God for all the blessings he showered upon me.

Date: 26.9.2016

(K.LALZUIMAWIA)

ABBREVIATIONS

A/AICS : Archives of Academy of Integrated

Christian Studies.

Agri. : Agriculture Department Proceedings

ASA : Assam State Archives, Guwahati

ASPFA : Assam Secretariat Proceedings,

Foreign-A

Aver. : Average

BPP : Bengal Political Proceedings

CB : Carton Box

Cpi. : Champhai

CSR : Centre for Rural Studies

Exbt. : Exhibit Files of Mizoram State Archives

FEAP : Foreign External A Proceeding

Fig. : Figure

Gen. : General Department Proceedings

HDP : Home Department Proceedings

HJM : Historical Journal Mizoram

I.F. Extl. : India, Foreign Department, External

(National Archives of India, New Delhi)

Ibid. : *Ibidem* . A Latin word meaning

"the same"

K.W.(s) : Keep With(s)

LBSNAA : Lal Bahadur Shastri National Academy

of Administration

MBSE : Mizoram Board of School Education

MHA : Mizo History Association

MSA : Mizoram State Archives, Aizawl

MT : Metric Tons

NAI : National Archives of India

NEHU : North Eastern Hill University, Shillong

NIAR : National Institute of Administrative

Research

op.cit. : opus citatum. A Latin word meaning

"the work cited"

Pol. : Political Department Proceedings

P.W.D. : Public Works Department

Rs. : Rupee(s)

RSAA : Archive of the Royal Society for Asian

Affairs

RSAA/SC : Specific Collections

RSAA/SC/S : Shakespear Family

RSAA/SC/S/JS : Shakespear, John, 1861-1942, Colonel

SAS : School of Advanced Studies, University

of London

SOAS : The School of Oriental and African

Studies

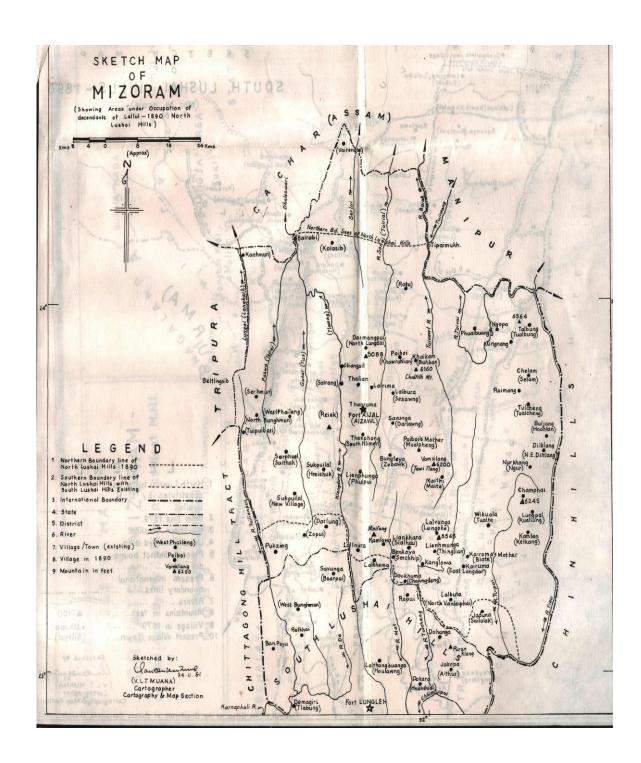
SCSSH : Society for Comparative Studies in

Society and History

TRI : Tribal Research Institute, Aizawl

WRC : Wet Rice Cultivation

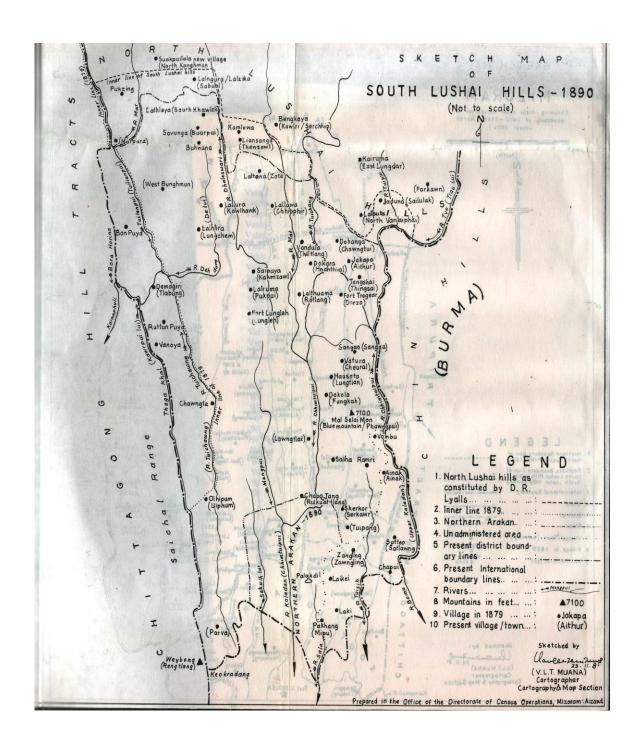
SKETCH MAP OF NORTH LUSHAI HILLS-1890



Prepared in the Office of the Directorate of Census Operations, Mizoram: Aizawl

Source: Lalrimawia, Mizoram: History and Cultural Identity

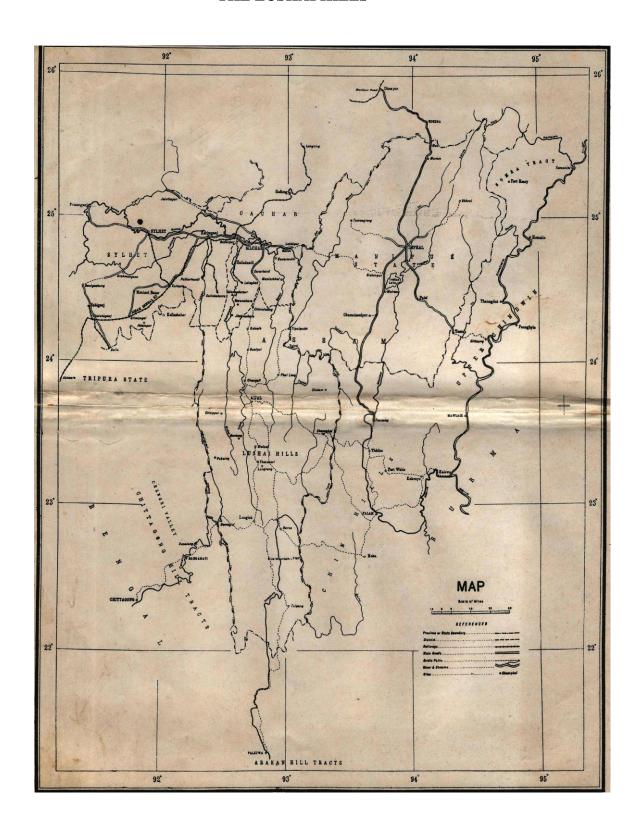
SKETCH MAP OF SOUTH LUSHAI HILLS-1890



Prepared in the Office of the Directorate of Census Operations, Mizoram: Aizawl

Source: Lalrimawia, Mizoram: History and Cultural Identity

THE LUSHAI HILLS



Source: A.G. McCall, Lushai Chrysalis

MODERN MAP OF MIZORAM



Source: Department of Tourism, Government of Mizoram

Dedicated to the

loving memory of my beloved brother

K. Vanlalhruaia (Mahruaia)

(6.9.1988 - 3.9.2016)

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CHAPTER- 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Geographical Information

The hilly region previously called the Lushai Hills (now known as Mizoram) lies in the southernmost fringe of North-East India, lying between 21°56' N - 24°31' N latitudes and 92°16' E – 93°26 E longitudes. It was bounded on the north by Syhlet and Cachar districts of Assam and the native State of Manipur state; on the east and south-east by the Chin Hills District of Burma; and on the west by the native State of Tippera and the Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh and on the south by the Arakan district of Burma.

The whole tract consists of mass hills averaging from 3,000 to 4,000 feet in height, running fairly regularly north and south. Their slopes are steep and are cut up by many deep and almost precipitous ravines. The western and southern portion of the hills are densely wooded, chiefly by bamboo and evergreen trees; towards the east and north, where the rainfall is not so heavy, the country is more open, and the oak and pine take the place of the thick jungle prevailing elsewhere.³

This region was the native land of the people who were Mongoloid stock in origin, whose language belongs to the Tibeto-Burman linguistic group. In the colonial and pre-colonial period, these people were known variously by the outsiders as the

¹ Rintluanga Pachuau, *Mizoram: A Study in Comprehensive Geography*, Northern Book Centre, New Delhi, 2009, p. 24.

² Intelligence Branch: Division of the Chief of the Staff, Army Headquarters, India, comp. *Frontier and Overseas Expeditions from India, Vol. IV, North and North-Eastern Frontier Tribes*, Government Monotype Press, Simla, 1907, p. 231.

³ Ibid., p. 231.

Kukis, Chins or Lushais. They had lived in numerous small villages scattered at long distances, which were governed by the chiefs, and were abstained from a sense of a nation state.

1.2 Understanding Lushai or Lusei

Due to lack of sources, the origins and early history of the Lushais remain obscure. It is now generally believed that they entered their present abode through the Chin Hills of Myanmar in the beginning if the early eighteenth century, and drove out the early inhabitants called the 'New Kukis.' ⁴ According to John Shakespear, the word 'Lushai' is a corrupt form of the word 'Lusei' which denotes 'long headed'- 'lu' means "head" and 'sei' means 'long'⁵, in allusion to the way in which the Thangur bind their hair in knots at the back. ⁶ Shakespear had a deep interest on the Lushais. Within one year of administering the South Lushai Hills, he was able to produce a new knowledge and rejected Captain Thomas Herbert Lewin's earlier etymology of 'Lu', a head, and 'Sha', to cut, which was supposed to denote the fondness of the people for cutting off heads. ⁷

In his endeavour to give a sense of oneness and unification among the 'Zo' people in different regions, L.Keivom claimed that the Lushais were known variously

⁴ Sangkima, Essays on the History of the Mizos, Spectrum Publications, Guwahati, 2004, p. 39.

⁵ J. Shakespear, *The Lushai-Kuki Clans*, (hereafter *Lushai-Kuki*), reprint, Tribal Research Institute, Department of Art & Culture, Government of Mizoram (hereafter TRI), Aizawl, 2008, p. 42.

⁶ I.F. Extl. A. January 1893, Nos. 48-49, *Report on the South Lushai Hills District for the Year 1891-92*, from W.B. Oldham, Esq., Commissioner of the Chittagong Division, to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, No. 1310L, dated Chittagong, the 14th July 1892, (NAI).

⁷ I.F. Extl. A. January 1893, Nos. 48-49, *Report on the South Lushai Hills District for the Year 1891-92*, from W.B. Oldham, Esq.,Commissioner of the Chittagong Division, to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, No. 1310L, dated Chittagong, the 14th July 1892, (NAI); Thomas Herbert Lewin was a British Frontier Officer, who served as the Superintendent of the Chittagong Hill Tracts from 1866-1873 (the designation of Superintendent was changed into Deputy Commissioner in 1867).

according to the place they settle by the British. In Manipur, Cachar Hills, Assam, Tripura and Bangladesh, they were called Kukis; in the Chin Hills of Burma, they were designated as Chins while those in the tracts between Tripura and the Chin Hills, towards the south of Manipur, the same people were known as the Lushais, and the land they occupied came to be known as the Lushai Hills.⁸ It is generally accepted that the name 'Lushai' and the 'Lushai Hills' were adopted by the British from 'Lusei' which was the dominant clan among many others inhabiting the region.⁹

The term Lushai includes a number of clans and families, who were the descendants of a chief named Thangura, who must have lived early in the eighteenth century. ¹⁰ The term *Duhlian* is also applied to these families, and the language spoken by them all is known as 'Lusei' or *Duhlian*. However, minor differences between the various clans and families came under the preponderating influence of the Lushais, and hence the Lushai language has come to be the language of the greater number of people inhabiting the Lushai Hills. ¹¹ From *Duhlian* or Lushai language sprang the 'Mizo' language, which is now the *lingua franca* and official language of Mizoram, then Lushai Hills.

1.3 Evolution of Lushai Hills District

The Lushais, who had earlier lived in physical isolation for a long time could not remain free from the powerful wave of colonialism. The expansion of British

⁸ L. Keivom, 'Towards Zo Unification' in *Prism of the Zo People*, Publication Board, Lamka, 2008, p. 56.

⁹ C. Nunthara, *Mizoram : Society and Polity*, Indus Publishing Company, New Delhi, 1996, p. 34; also see Art & Culture Department, Government of Mizoram, *Mizoram District Gazetteers*, (hereafter *Gazetteers*), Eastern Press and Publications, Guwahati, 1989, p.1.

¹⁰ J. Shakespear, *Lushai-Kuki*, pp. 2-3.

¹¹ John Shakespear & J. L. M, 'Note on Some Tribal and Family Names Employed in Speaking of the Inhabitants of the Lushai Hills' in *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. 30, Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 1900, p.68.

colonial empire in India after the East India Company's acquisition of control over Bengal in 1765 was soon followed by the annexation of Cachar in 1826, which eventually brought contact and relations between the colonialists and the Lushais. The subsequent years had been followed by the Lushais' resistance to colonial expansion towards their land in the form of raids, which were responded quickly by the colonialists by means of military invasions into the villages of the Lushais.

The result of all these developments was the annexation of the previously unexplored land of the Lushais within the British territory towards the close of the nineteenth century. The colonial authorities divided the newly acquired territory into two administrative units known as the South Lushai Hills District and the North Lushai Hills District, which were put under the British governments of Bengal and Assam respectively.

The British soon realized the necessity of consolidating the two districts into one administrative unit on both political and financial grounds. ¹² The amalgamation of the South and North Lushai Hills Districts, with a tract known as Rothangpuia's village in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, was effected on April 1, 1898. ¹³ It was named the Lushai Hills District and brought under the administration of the Government of Assam, with its headquarters at Aizawl. Major John Shakespear became the first Superintendent of the Lushai Hills District.

After the Independence of India on August 15, 1847, the colonial usage of 'Lushai' as a nomenclature to subsume all the tribes inhabiting the Lushai Hills was repeatedly criticized by the people who inhabited this territory, who preferred to be identified them as 'Mizo.' In its memorandum submitted to the Governor of Assam, the Mizo Union (the first political party in the Lushai Hills) strongly demanded that

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¹² Art & Culture Department, Government of Mizoram, *Gazetteers*, p.1.

¹³ Ibid., p.1.

'the name Lushai Hills be statutorily and officially renamed Mizoram.' The result was the passing of an Act called the Lushai Hills District (change of Name) Act in 1954 (18 of 1954) by the Indian Parliament that changes the name of the Lushai Hills District to Mizo District with effect from September 1, 1954 and continued to be one of the districts of Assam till January 1972. 15

As a result of the political upheaval and demand for greater autonomy, including recognition of customary laws, the Mizo District was uplifted to the status of Union Territory with the name of Mizoram, vide section 6 of the North Eastern Area (Reorganisation Act, 1971, (Act. No. 18 of 1971) on January 21, 1972. Thereafter, as a sequel to the signing of the historic Memorandum of Settlement between the Government of India and the Mizo National Front (a political party which rose into armed conflict with the Indian government in 1966, demanding political independence from the Indian Union) on June 30, 1986, the Constitution of India was amended Article 371G was incorporated with special reference to Mizoram. Accordingly, Mizoram was conferred statehood on February 20, 1987 to become the 23rd state of the Indian Union.

The present state of Mizoram, then Lushai Hills covers an area of 21,087 square kilometers, which constitutes 0.64 percent of the total area of India. The dimension of the state is 285 kilometers north to south and 115 kilometers east to west. Sandwiched between Bangladesh and Myanmar, its location is of strategic

¹⁴ CB 7, Edn.-98, Memorandum of the Mizo Union submitted to His Excellency, the Governor of Assam, Shillong, dated Aijal, the 21st March 1948, (MSA).

¹⁵ Art & Culture Department, Government of Mizoram, *Gazetteers*, p. 1; see also Prem Singh, Saroj Arora and L.C. Singhi, *Evaluating Revenue Administration and Land Records: Their Strengthening and Updating in Mizoram*, Centre for Rural Studies, NIAR, LBSNAA, Mussoorie (Uttarakhand), 2012, p. v.

¹⁶ Lalrimawia, *Mizoram- History and Cultural Identity (1890-1947)*, Spectrum Publications, Guwahati, 1995, p. 137.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 146; 'Mizoram', retrieved from http://knowindia.gov.in., accessed on January 2, 2015, n.p.

¹⁸ Prem Singh, Saroj Arora and L.C. Singhi, op.cit., p. v.

significance geographically and politically. It has a boundary of about 548 kilometers with Bangladesh and Myanmar. ¹⁹

It is presently divided into eight administrative districts such as Aizawl, Lunglei, Lawngtlai, Saiha, Serchhip, Champhai, Kolasib and Mamit with district headquarters bearing the same names respectively. Aizawl is the capital city of the state. The state is further divided into twenty-three Sub-Divisions and twenty-six Rural Development Blocks. According to 2011 census, there are twenty-three urban towns and 830 villages, out of which 704 are inhabited villages and 126 are uninhabited villages. It has a population of 10,97,206 with a density of fifty-two persons per square kilometers. The state has a high rate of literacy with 91.33 % of the total population being literate (2011 Census).

Apart from the eight districts, Mizoram constitutes three Autonomous District Councils namely, Lai Autonomous District Council, Mara Autonomous District Council, and Chakma Autonomous District Council. These Autonomous District Councils are constituted when Mizoram attained Union Territory on January 21, 1972 under Sixth Schedule paragraph 20 B.²³

Even though the terms such as 'Duhlian', 'Lushai' and 'Lushai Hills' have been discarded and replaced by an officially recognized nomenclature called 'Mizo' and "Mizoram", the words 'Lushai' and 'Lushai Hills' are consistently used in this thesis in order to better capture the reality of the past in which these words were the

²⁰ Director of Agriculture, comp. *Agriculture Statistical Abstract 2013-2014*, Directorate of Agriculture (Crop Husbandry), Mizoram, 2015, p. 1.

²³ Rintluanga Pachuau, op.cit., p.23.

¹⁹ Rintluanga Pachuau, op.cit., pp. 24-25.

²¹ Directorate of Economics and Statistics, *Statistical Handbook of Mizoram 2014*, Government of Mizoram, 2014, p. 1.

²² Ibid., p. 3.

officially recognized designations of the people and the territory which is now called Mizoram. The area coverage under this study is exclusively confined to the geographical boundary of the erstwhile Lushai Hills during the colonial rule.

1.4 Production of colonial knowledge on the Lushais

There has been a renewed interest among academics across disciplines in the nature of "colonial knowledge" - various forms and bodies of knowledge such as histories, ethnographic accounts, maps, geographical studies, travel journals, etc.- that was produced by European colonizers about their colonized subjects and their land, language, culture, and other resources.²⁴ This "knowledge production" was obviously an important part of the colonizers' attempt to achieve complete domination over their colonized subjects.²⁵

The production of colonial knowledge had an old story, particularly when considering the history of European colonialism in Asia, Africa and the Middle East in the nineteenth and tweentieth centuries. Colonial enterprises were in fact characterized not only by military conquest and imperial subjugation, superior armies and navies, military technology and bureaucratic skills. They were also the result of the ability on the part of the European conquerors to produce and systematize knowledge about the land and peoples they came to rule.²⁶

²⁴ C. Vijayasree, 'The Production of Colonial Knowledge and the Role of Native Intellectuals' in Ralph Crane et al. eds., *Empire Calling*, Foundation Books, Delhi, 2013, p. 148.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 148.

²⁶ Nelida Fuccaro, 'Knowledge at the Service of the British Empire: The Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, Oman and Central Arabia', in Inga Brandell, Maria Carlson & Onver Cetrez eds., Borders and the Changing Boundaries of Knowledge, Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, Istanbul, 2015, p. 17.

Michel Foucault had expressed his view that the production of knowledge is intrinsically interwoven with relations of power, a necessary pre-condition for the establishment of different forms of social, political and cultural control. Drawing on Foucault, the powerful critique of Orientalist scholarship by Edward Said has been extremely influential in the study of literary texts and colonial literature as cultural forms which were the unique expression of European domination, that is, a reflection of both political practice and a discourse on the "other".²⁷

In his seminal work entitled *Orientalism* (1978), Edward Said combined Michel Foucault's concept of power-knowledge and Antonio Gramsci's concept of hegemony to develop a new framework to study Orientalism. Foucault's argument that power and knowledge implicate each other was particularized by Said to 'colonial power' and 'colonial knowledge'. Thus, according to him, even Orientalism was not knowledge of the Orient produced by Englishmen sympathetic to the cultures of the East but it was knowledge meant to serve the power structures of colonialism.²⁸

A newly arisen debate over the nature of 'colonial knowledge' concerns two opposing evaluations of the role played by colonized subjects in the production of colonial knowledge.²⁹ 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. The colonizers then produced the new knowledge by imposing imported modes of knowing upon the raw data of local society. 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 colonizers and colonized, and an

²⁷ Ibid., p. 17.

²⁸ Anirudh Raghavan, 'British Orientalism in India: Nature and Impact on Indian Society (A Historiographical Survey)' in *Academia*, retrieved from http://www.academia.edu/ 2565126, accessed on January 10, 2014, n.p.

²⁹ Phillip B. Wagoner, 'Precolonial Intellectuals and the Production of Colonial Knowledge' in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 45, No.4, The School of Oriental and African Studies (hereafter SOAS), October 2003, p. 783.

attendant process of epistemic confrontation and adjustment between European and indigenous knowledge systems. The above discussed post-colonial theory on the nature of 'colonial knowledge' serves as a useful framework for analyzing some features of colonial rule and its discourse in the Lushai Hills.

The collaboration of the colonialists with the natives especially the traditional 'intelligentsia' was discernible in the production of colonial knowledge on the Lushais. In the initial period of British relations with the Lushais, it is noticeable that the Lushais used to frequent the frontier markets like Kassalong (known to the Lushais as Samatchhuah), Rangamati and Tlabung in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, Paletwa in Arakan Hills, Syhlet, Tipperah and Cachar to obtain essential goods such as salt, gongs, utensils and gun ammunitions. The role of those frontier markets in the production of colonial knowledge on the Lushais was discernible, especially in the markets on the Chittagong Hill Tracts like Kassalong *bazaar* due to the presence of Europeans officers like T. H. Lewin and Shaha, who actively involved themselves in the production of knowledge.

From the records of T.H.Lewin in 1872, it is clearly visible that the colonial officers had acquired knowledge on the Lushais from those who visited these *bazaars*. T.H.Lewin expressed that:

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 Sangbunga and his brother the terms on which alone peace could be concluded.³¹

³¹ T. H. Lewin, A Fly on the Wheel or How I Helped to Govern India, (hereafter A Fly on the Wheel) reprint, TRI, Aizawl, 2005, p. 284.

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³⁰ Dr. Lalngurliana Sailo, 'Some Reflection on the Mizo Economy (1870-1947)' in *Historical Journal Mizoram*, Volume- VII, MHA, November, 2006, p.60.

Another agent of the British in the Chittagong Hill Tracts named Brojo Nath Shaha also indicated that he had acquired knowledge on the Lushai language, their songs and music from the Lushais themselves. Being stationed at Rangamati as Civil Medical Officer, it can safely be assumed that he was acquainted with the Lushais who frequently visited the bazaars in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. In the preface to his book *Grammar of the Lushai Language* (1844), he testified that dialect and popular songs of the Lushais were gathered by himself from his 'close and frequent communication with the 'Zau' people', who visited the *bazaar* at Kassalong. ³²

Besides the participation of the native people in the knowledge production, a significant role had been played by some members of cognate tribes who took refuge in the British territory from the Lushais, as well as people who inhabited the regions adjacent to the Lushai Hills particularly the Bengalis. The information given by these people were usually patchy, vague and confusing since they did not have intimate knowledge about the life and culture of the Lushais.

The information obtained from these people could easily mislead the colonialists in the production of knowledge. The initial application of the name 'Kuki' to all the tribes inhabiting the Lushai and the Chin Hills was due to the simple designation by the Bengalis of all hill people who cultivated their land by *jhumming*. Bengali-speaking traders regularly visited these groups who were adept at buying, selling, and gifting the proceeds of markets and toll booths all along the hill from easternmost Syhlet outwards. It was the people of Tripura and Surma Valley who called the residents of the Lushai Hills as 'Kukis'. This had made Mr. R.H. Sneyd

³² Brojo Nath Shaha, Grammar of the Lushai Language: To which are Appended a Few Illustrations of the Zau of Lushai Popular Songs and Translations from Aesop's Fables, Bengal Secretariat Press, Calcutta, 1844, p. iii.

³³ G.A.Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol.III Part III, p.1, as cited in Sangkima, op.cit., p.15.

³⁴ Indrani Chatterjee, *Forgotten Friends: Monks, Marriages, and Memories of Northeast India*, (hereafter *Forgotten Friends*), Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2013, p. 240.

³⁵ Suhas Chatterjee, *Mizoram Under the British Rule*, (hereafter *Mizoram*), Mittal Publications, Delhi, 1985, p. 1.

Hutchinson continue to mistakenly apply the term Kuki to all the tribes residing in the Lushai and the Chin Hills which had been annexed to the British Indian empire.³⁶ Alexander Mackenzie also confusedly and frequently referred to the group of people as "Kookis or Lushais" whenever he spoke about the Lushais.³⁷ The same cases apply with the other British writers as well. It was only since 1871 that the term 'Kuki' came to disuse and replaced by the term 'Lushai' in the colonial record of the Lushai Hills.³⁸ As indicated at page 17 of the *Blue Book on Lushai Raids* of May 28, 1872, it is stated that Lushai was a name officially given to these tribes for the first time by Mr. Edgar.³⁹

Even the information provided by members of the various cognate tribes who took refuge in the British territory failed to capture the exact reality of the Lushai world. For instance, while narrating the account of the Lushais and their chiefs, these people employed their particular style of naming individuals which lacked indications for male and female gender identity at the end of the name which however are the universal rule of the Lushais. Therefore, in most of the early colonial writings, names such as Ruttonpuiy (Rothangpuia), Vonpilal (Vanpuilala), Vantonga (Vanthanga), Sukpilal (Suakpuila), Vonolel (Vanhnuailiana), Khalkom (Kalkhama) etc. (the names within the brackets are their correct names) were used against the usual Lushai practise, in which all men's names end in 'a,' and all women's in 'i.'

³⁶ R.H. Sneyed Hutchinson, *Eastern Bengal and Assam District Gazetteers- Chittagong Hill Tracts*, Pioneer Press, Allahabad, 1909, p. 45.

³⁷ Alexander Mackenzie, *The North East Frontier of India*, reprint, Mittal Publications, New Delhi, 2005, p.287.

³⁸ Suhas Chatterjee, *Mizoram*, p.1.

³⁹ I.F. Extl. A. January 1893, Nos. 48-49, *Report on the South Lushai Hills District for the Year 1891-92*, from W.B. Oldham, Esq.,Commissioner of the Chittagong Division, to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, No. 1310L, dated Chittagong, the 14th July 1892, (NAI).

⁴⁰ J. Shakespear, *Lushai-Kuki*, p. 112.

Not only the personal names, but the names of villages and places were known and written according to their own comprehension. Names of villages like Aijal (Aizawl), Lungleh (Lunglei), Phayrang (Phairuang), Klangklang (Thlantlang), Lungsin (Lungsen), Darjow (Darzo), Sungoo (Sangau) etc., and names of rivers and hills like Tyuo (Tiau river), Tipai (Tuivai river), Ohipoom/oiheepum (Uiphum), Saichul (Saichal), Sirthay (Sirte) etc. were very hard to be recognized by a Lushai and some places could not be identified even by the well-informed local people. This poses great difficulty in achieving a good understanding about the history of British colonial rule in the Lushai Hills, especially for those who did not have thorough knowledge on the Lushais, their language and land.

Till the end of the eighteenth century, the project of colonial knowledge production on Lushai Hills was not seriously undertaken as the region remained outside the influence of the colonial rule. Because of that, colonial knowledge on the Lushais was based principally on verbal sources. But, from the beginning of the nineteenth century, written records on the Lushais came out in prominence. However, such records refer more to the results of impressions of matters Lushai formed by others rather than to any particular course of development within Lushai itself as perceived by Lushai eyes. ⁴¹ Like so many colonial accounts, the colonial representation of the Lushais had been, therefore, to borrow the words of Lynette Russell, "depended on a polarization between savagery and civilization. This is a polarity that supports and nurtures the colonial enterprise."

⁴¹ A.G. McCall, *Lushai Chrysalis*, (hereafter *Chrysalis*), reprint, TRI, Aizawl, 1977, p.34.

⁴² Lynette Russell, 'Mere Trifles and Faint Representations: The Representations of Savage Life Offered by Eliza Frazer' in Ian J. McNiven, Lynette Russell and Kay Schaffer, eds. *Constructions of Colonialism: Perspectives on Eliza Frazer's Shipwreck*, Leicester University Press, London, 1998, p.52.

The British administrators-turned ethnographers and anthropologists treated the tribal people as 'isolates', 'warlike' and 'head-taking savages', ⁴³ so as to distinguish the Europeans as superior and indigenous cultures as inferior and weak. ⁴⁴ The colonial representation of the natives as uncivilized and savage tribes 'pleaded for the intervention of the colonial power to bring enlightenment and civilization. ⁴⁵ This ideological justification of colonialism has been remarked in a similar vein by Edward Said that:

Neither imperialism nor colonialism is a simple act of accumulation and acquisition. Both are supported and perhaps even impelled by impressive ideological formations that that include notions that certain territories and people require and beseech domination, as well as various forms of knowledge affiliated with domination: the vocabulary of classic nineteenth-century imperial culture is plentiful with such words and concepts as 'inferior' or 'subject people', 'subordinate peoples', 'dependency', 'expansion', and 'authority'. ⁴⁶

The colonial stereotype of the Lushais invoked images of head-hunting, tribal wars, nakedness, unhygienic and laziness, which were considered to be attributes of uncivilized society. Unfortunately, the colonial construct of those terms to polarize the two cultures - the aborigines in a stage of savagery on the one side, and the Europeans in a stage of civilization on the other - have been so strongly internalized by the Mizos, especially the church leaders and preachers in their attempt to eulogize what they claimed the 'blessings of British rule' and the 'enlightened works' done by the Christian missionaries.

⁴³ I.F, Extl A, Oct. 1888, Nos. 87 – 117, from J. Ware Edgar, Esq., C. S. I., Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, No. 2734P., Calcutta, dated the 17th December, 1888, (NAI).

⁴⁴ Lynette Russell, op.cit., p. 51.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p.52.

⁴⁶ Edward Said, *Orientalism*, Pantheon, New York, 1978, p. 123.

The primacy of the 'knowledge of language' as an important mechanism for colonial production of knowledge cannot be left out of consideration. Bernard S. Cohn had looked upon the years 1770 to 1775 as the formative period of during which the British successfully began the program of appropriating Indian languages to serve as a crucial component in their construction of the system of rule. ⁴⁷ He also viewed that the study of Indian languages involved the objectification and use of Indian languages as instruments of rule to understand better the 'peculiar' manners, customs, and prejudices of Indians, and to gather information necessary to conciliate and control the peoples of India. ⁴⁸

As knowledge of language was considered necessary for the colonial enterprise, the Aryan section at the Seventh International Congress of Orientalists, held at Vienna in 1866, passed a resolution recommending a systematic 'survey of the vernacular languages of India.'⁴⁹ The Government of India requested the Government of Bengal to invite Mr. (later Sir) George Abraham Grierson, C.I.E.,⁵⁰ to draw up a detailed scheme giving effect to this resolution, and appointed the Asiatic Society of Bengal to take charge of the operations.⁵¹ In fact, an important step for the proliferation of colonial knowledge production in India was marked by the foundation of the Asiatic Society of Bengal by Sir William Jones on January 15, 1784. This

⁴⁷ Bernard S. Cohn, 'Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India' in Oxford University Press India, *The Bernard Cohn Omnibus*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2004, pp. 20-21.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 46.

⁴⁹ General Dept., CB-4, G-41, from J.P. Hewett, Esq., C.I.E., Offg. Secy. to the Government of India, Home Department, to the Honorary Secretary to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. 233, dated Calcutta, the 26th February 1895, (MSA).

⁵⁰ 'Linguistic Survey of India,' in Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia, retrieved from https://en. wikipedia. org/...Linguistic, accessed on 20.1.2016, n.p.

[&]quot;Sir George Abraham Grierson (January 7, 1851 – March 9, 1941) was an Irish linguistic scholar and civil servant who conducted the Linguistic Survey of India (1898-1928), obtaining information on 364 languages and dialects."

⁵¹ General Dept., CB-4, G-41, from J.P. Hewett, Esq., C.I.E., Offg. Secy. to the Government of India, Home Department, to the Honorary Secretary to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. 233, dated Calcutta, the 26th February 1895, (MSA).

society attracted British administrators, scholars, missionaries and travelers to undertake tribal studies in different parts of India.⁵²

The object of the scheme, according to Grierson was the preparation of a sort of 'catalogue raisonne' of the languages of India, containing specimens of each. This would lend its evidence for the solution of the vexed question of the various nationalities to which the inhabitants of India belong. ⁵³ The collection of language specimens under this scheme was proposed to include not only British India, but also Independent States, especially Rajputana and Nepal. Burma was also included in the scope of the inquiries because of its linked-in with the Assam and Chittagong Hill Tracts. Grierson further opined that it was these Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal and Eastern India about which least was known and about which information was most wanted. ⁵⁴

The Society opined that this scheme of linguistic survey would be 'a work of the utmost importance and usefulness, not only for the advancement of linguistic science, but also for the increased efficiency of the administration'; and further recommended Dr. G.A. Grierson to be placed on special duty in charge of the operations. He was thus appointed as Superintendent of the great venture known as the Linguistic Survey of India by the Government of India, and for the next thirty years he was responsible for gathering a vast amount of data in nearly 8000 pages, edited by him as *The Linguistic Survey of India*, which had been published in nineteen (19) volumes. The grammatical sketch and language specimens of the Lushais, now called Mizos have been included in Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India* (Vol.III, Part III) in 1904.

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⁵² C. Nunthara, *Mizoram: Society and Polity*, Indus Publishing, New Delhi, 1996, p.9.

⁵³ General Dept., CB-4,G-41, *Note* by Mr. G.A. Grierson, dated 19th March 1891, (MSA).

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ General Dept., CB-4,G-41, No.K.-1225, dated Calcutta, the 4th September 1895, from C.R.Wilson, Esq., M.A., Honorary Secretary, Asiatic Society of Bengal, to the Officiating Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, (MSA).

The Survey was a triumph of organization and yielded an inexhaustible mine of information. In addition to vocabularies for most of the languages and dialects, skeletal grammars and brief texts were also included.⁵⁶ The launching of this huge project clearly indicated that knowledge of vernacular language has been given much importance by the colonial rulers as a form of knowledge production. In fact, knowledge of vernacular language was an essential requirement for promotion to higher ranks in the British Indian Civil Services, except on certain cases.⁵⁷

Grierson's survey on the Lushai language was based on the earlier works of T.H. Lewin (Superintendent of the Chittagong Hill Tracts), Brojo Nath Saha, a Bengali Assistant Surgeon, who worked as Civil Medical Officer in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, ⁵⁸ and the missionaries - John Herbert Lorrain and Fredrick William Savidge. T.H. Lewin had published *Progressive Colloquial Exercises in the Lushai Dialect of the 'Dzo' or Kuki Language with Vocabularies and Popular Tales (Notated)* in 1874, which was followed by Brojo Nath Shaha's work on the Lushai grammar called the *Grammar of the Lushai Language: To which are Appended a Few Illustrations of the Zau of Lushai Popular Songs and Translations from Aesop's Fables*, printed and published by the Bengal Secretariat Press, Calcutta in 1844.⁵⁹

Since T.H. Lewin was not long in the district, the system of transliteration he used was difficult even for Europeans to understand because he did not have good command over the Lushai language. At the same time, Brojo Nath Shaha's more

⁵⁶ Amaresh Datta, *Encyclopaedia of Indian Literature*, Volume 2, Sahitya Akademy, New Delhi, 1988, p.1500.

⁵⁷ For example, The Assam Departmental Examination Rules provided that in case of officers transferred to Assam in a higher grade were required to pass in Assamese language, the Chief Commissioner had the power of making exception. (Diary No. 24-P., from the Honourable H.J.S.Cotton, C.S.I., dated the 7th March 1896, [MSA]).

⁵⁸ K. Lalthansanga, *Mizoram Hmar Lama Mizoram Baptist Kohhran Chanchin: A Din Tan Dan leh Than Zel Dan 1982-2014*, SB Offset Printing Press, Aizawl, 2016, p. 20.

⁵⁹ Office of the Registrar General, India & International Center for Research on Bilingualism, *The Written Languages of the World: A Survey of the Degree and Modes of Use, Volume 2- India* by B.P. Mahapatra et al., (eds.), Laval University Press, Quebec, 1989, p. 1121.

elaborate work was only intended for Europeans. As such, the foremost complete and reliable system of transliteration came out in J.H. Lorrain and F.W. Savidge's "A Grammar and Dictionary of the Lushai Language (Duhlian Dialect). This work was published by the Government of Assam in 1898, which affirmed the existence of a close collaboration between the missionaries and colonialists in the production of knowledge.

As in the case of the colonization of the Persian Gulf, the despatch of surveys, production of official reports and diaries of the colonial officers helped to consolidate British economic and strategic interests while forging alliances with local rulers.'62 The production of knowledge had also been backed by the enterprising efforts of such people like Francis Buchanan (later known popularly as Francis Hamilton). He was born in 1763 in Edinburgh and trained as a doctor. His enthusiasm for botany, geology and geography was evident in his own journal of his trip to Rangoon, Pegu and Ava in 1795. He was then sent to survey the geological and mineral resources of Chittagong, Kumila (also known as Comila) and Naokhali in 1797-1798.⁶³ The information that he gathered during his travels in the area in 1798 was published under the title 'An Account of the Frontier between Ava and the Part of Bengal Adjacent to the Karnaphuli River' in The Edinburgh Journal of Science (Vol. 3, April-October, 1825).⁶⁴ When he arrived at the valley called Rumagniya, which extends north and south from the Karnaphuli, he found a cluster of huts inhabited by a certain tribe, known to the people of Calcutta as Muggs. These people were known to the Bengalis as Chakma or Sagma, or, in ridicule, Dubades, (two-languaged) because

⁶⁰ Grace R. Lewis, *The Lushai Hills: The Story of the Lushai Pioneer Mission*, Baptist Mission Society, London, 1907, p. 30.

⁶¹ Office of the Registrar General, India & International Center for Research on Bilingualism, op. cit., p. 1121.

⁶² Nelida Fuccaro, op.cit., p. 17.

⁶³ Indrani Chatterjee, *Forgotten Friends*, pp. 106-107.

⁶⁴ Francis Hamilton, 'An Account of the Frontier Between Ava and the Part of Bengal Adjacent to the Karnaphuli River (1825)' in *SOAS Bulletin of Burma Research*, Vol. 1, No. 2, Autumn 2003, University of London, 2003, p.11.

they have in general forgotten their original language. But the name they give to themselves was Saksah. 65 Buchanan was also able to expose that 'a considerable portion towards the region north of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, had been occupied by the 'Kunkis' called Lusai, who are quite independent of the Mugg chief. 66

The British colonial government had given keen interest to produce more knowledge on the Lushais especially after the series of raids committed by the latter during 1870-1871. 'Continual instructions were issued by the Lieutenant-Governor to the local officers, impressing on them the necessity of exerting themselves to obtain information of the movements and doings of the Hill tribes.'

In his report on the Lushai Expedition of 1871-1872, T.H.Lewin (who was employed as Political Officer of the Right Column in that Expedition), while stressing the necessity to establish permanent peace on the frontier, complained that the 'knowledge they possessed of the Lushais, of their language and customs was very imperfect, and that their knowledge of the paths and local difficulties before them were next to nothing.' 68

T.H. Lewin himself had acquired additional knowledge of the Lushai language during the military campaign of 1871-1872, and made use of his leisure time for preparing a hand-book of dialogues in the Lushai tongue, with a large vocabulary,

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⁶⁵ Francis Hamilton, op.cit., p.11.

⁶⁶ Ibid., p.11.

⁶⁷ S.C.Bayley, Note by the Secretary on Lushai Raids in 1870-'71, Exbt – 8, (MSA).

⁶⁸ Report of the Political officer with the Right Column of the Lushai Expedition, from Captain T.H.Lewin, Civil Officer, Right Column Lushai Expedition, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, - No. 22, dated Chittagong, the 26th March 1872, as cited in Alexander Mackenzie, op.cit., p.165 (Appendix III).

which was afterwards printed and published by the colonial government in 1874.⁶⁹ This book entitled *Progressive Colloquial Exercises in the Lushai Dialect of the 'Dzo' or Kuki Language with Vocabularies and Popular Tales (Notated)* was very useful for learning Lushai language not only for the colonial rulers, but also for the pioneer missionaries - F.W. Savidge and J.H. Lorrain,⁷⁰ who reduced the Lushai language into a written form in Roman Script in 1894.⁷¹ Apart from the vocabularies and popular tales of the Lushais, T.H. Lewin also incorporated the knowledge that he gained on the ethnographic accounts on the Lushais including their polity, society, customs and religion in this book.

The colonial government constantly urged frontier military and Political Officers to produce coherent information on the land and people of the Lushais. The result was the publication of the *Handbook of the Lushai Country*, under the order of the Quarter Master General in India in 1898. This book was compiled in the Intelligence Branch by captain O.A. Chambers, Royal Wickshire Regiment, Attaché, Kolkata. This book gives detail description of the Chittagong Hill Tracts and many portions of the Lushai Hills regarding the features of land, river systems, lakes, climate, vegetation, the inhabitants as well as an account on the Lushai raids and the expedition that followed in 1872.

In search of satisfaction for their greed and hunger to build larger colonial empire, the British were accustomed to despatch survey parties to explore the promising lands for colonial expansion. Those surveys were usually conducted to enhance geographical knowledge of the land, which would then enable them to formulate a suitable strategy for their colonial expansion. The object and importance of exploration had been clearly stated by Sir Samuel Barker, who said:

⁶⁹ T. H. Lewin, *A Fly on the Wheel*, p. 297; also see B.Lalthangliana, *History of Mizo Literature (Mizo Thu leh Hla)* (hereafter *Mizo Literature*), rev. en. RTM Press, Aizawl, 2004, p. 85.

⁷⁰ From the Rev. J. Herbert Lorrain, Missionary to the Lushais, to Colonel T.H. Lewin, dated 25th April, 1899, attached in T. H. Lewin, *A Fly on the Wheel*, p. 316.

⁷¹ B.Lalthangliana, *Mizo Literature*, p. 93.

The primary object of geographical exploration is the opening to general intercourse such portions of the earth as may become serviceable to the human race. The explorer is the precursor of the colonist....⁷²

It was the despatch of the Survey Parties to explore the land of the Lushais in 1888 that brought Shakespear in the Lushai Hills for the first time, in which he was employed to pick up all the information he could about the route between Tlabung and Burma. In January 1888, two Survey Parties — one under the command of Lieutenant J.F. Stewart and the other under the command of Lieutenant Baird were sent from Calcutta for reconnaissance work in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. The Survey Parties were employed in collecting military information and enlarging the existing maps of the British. It became the first organized survey to know more about the Lushai country, which was necessitated by the new political situation set in by the annexation of Upper Burma in 1886.

Apart from providing geographical knowledge, those surveys and enquiries 'marked the beginning of the collection of cultural and ethnographic data that later became a base for the formulation of colonial 'strategy' and policy. In doing so, the colonial state and its agencies both promoted and appropriated indigenous knowledge, which substantially contributed to the political task of manufacturing consent.'⁷⁴

Shakespear, as an agent of the colonial government, had given much effort to enhance his knowledge on the social, political and economic conditions of the people

⁷² As cited in T.H.Lewin, *The Hill Tracts of Chittagong and the Dwellers Therein*, (hereafter *The Hill Tracts of Chittagong*), reprint, TRI, Government of Mizoram, 2004, p. 162.

⁷³ I.F, Extl. A, March 1888, Nos. 322 – 339(No. 84 H.T.), from D.R. Lyall, Esq., Commissioner of the Chittagong Division, to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated Chittagong, the 11th February 1888, (NAI).

⁷⁴ K.N. Panikar, *Colonialism, Culture and Resistance*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2009, p.152.

he governed. This was reflected in his notes and diaries, which deals thoroughly and clearly with all matters of importance based on his direct observations. Mr. W.B. Oldham suggested that the last report of Shakespear on leaving the South Lushai Hills have to be carefully studied by his successor, as it either lies down, or refers to, the lines in all matters of chief importance on which the administration should proceed and progress, and desirable developments should be sought for. His diaries and reports formed an important source for colonial knowledge production, and became the basis of British policy in the Lushai Hills.

1.5 Review of Literature

It is rather astonishing that the various tasks undertaken by the British Officials whose remarkable works, in the words of Sir Alexander Mackenzie (writing of the officers in the hill districts of the North East India in the column of the *Pioneer* in 1872), "In many a jungle solitude, where fever lurks in every brake, and uncouth savage races dispute with wild beasts possession of the clearings, we can point to devoted men, little heard of by public, little noticed by their Government, who are spending and being spent for the sake of the people they control, and bringing by degrees, whole tribes to learn the rudiments of civilization and progress" has not drawn much attention of scholars from social scientists. As such, information on the topic of my study are found in scattered works of literature, produced by the colonial authors as well as by the scholars either in the form of books or articles, both in English and vernacular.

⁷⁵ Robert Reid, *The Lushai Hills*, reprint, TRI, Aizawl, Mizoram, 1978, p. 51.

⁷⁶ Benjamin Ralte, *Thomas Herbert Lewin in the Chittagong Frontier 1864-74*, A Thesis Submitted in fulfillment for the Degree of Doctor of Phislosophy in History to the Department of History, School of Social Sciences, North Eastern Hill University, Shillong, 2004, p. ii.

Though insufficient to give a comprehensive account on colonial Lushai Hills, the earlier works of colonial officials who served in this region, either as military or administrative officers, provided useful information to recapture the history of the Lushais and their encounter with the British during the period of colonial intervention. These accounts provided various sources regarding the history of colonial expansion in the region in which the roles of certain individuals in their dealings with the Lushais were also noticeable.

Among the pioneers of those colonial writers was T.H. Lewin, whose work "The Hill Tracts of Chittagong and the Dwellers There In" was published in 1869. This book provides an account on the tribes inhabiting the Chittagong Hill Tracts including their customs and habits. Through this work, he intended the colonial authorities to introduce civilization to these tribes. Interestingly, he recommended the colonial government to govern those hills not for themselves, but administer the country for the well-being and happiness of the people dwelling therein. He wanted to place over them an officer gifted with the power to rule; not a mere cog in the great wheel of government. This work is rather insignificant for recapturing the history of colonization of the Lushais.

An important work for the reconstruction of the history of colonial expansion in this region was Alexander Mackenzie's "The North-East Frontier of India". This book was originally published under the title "History of the Relations of the Government with the Hill Tribes of the North-East Frontier of Bengal" in 1884. Mackenzie discussed in detail the circumstances leading to the occupation of Assam by the British, which eventually brought the government in contact with the tribes inhabiting the North-east Frontier of Bengal. This book contains detailed accounts of the Anglo-Lushai encounters since the annexation of Cachar in 1826 by the British and the subsequent policies followed by the British till the second last decade of the nineteenth century. This work is a chronicle of events that were relevant from the

⁷⁷ T.H. Lewin, *The Hill Tracts of Chittagong*, p. 166.

point of view of the colonial administration of the time.⁷⁸ However, it provided useful sources for restructuring the history of colonization of the Lushai Hills.

Col. E.B. Elly's *Military Report on the Chin-Lushai Country* (1873) provided useful informations regarding the relations between the Lushais and the British from the earliest encounter between the two. But, this report covers only up to 1889 and hence, it is not sufficient for the reconstruction of the history of colonial rule in the Lushai Hills.

Bertram S. Carey and H.N. Tuck's *The Chin Hills: A History of the People, our dealings with them, their Customs and Manners, and a Gazetteer of their Country,* Volume I (Rangoon: 1896) deals with the history of the Chin Hills and their inhabitants on the basis of the information and experience which they gained during the first years of the occupation of that tract. This book contains little accounts on the early dealings of the British with the Lushai upto the Chin-Lushai Expedition of 1889-1890. As such, it only covers a very limited period in the history of British colonization of the Lushai Hills.

Robert Reid's "The Lushai Hills" gave detailed account on the period beyond the coverage of Alexander Mackenzie's work. This book was originally published in 1942 under the title "History of the Frontier Areas Bordering on Assam: From 1883-1941." "The Lushai Hills" is thus a work culled from the above mentioned original book and published by Tribal Research Institute, Government of Mizoram in 1978. Robert Reid's work is rather a collection and compilation of official sources, except for occasional references to books such as Sir Henry Cotton's "Indian and Home Memories," Sir James Johnstone's "My experiences in Manipur and the Naga Hills" and Mrs. Grimwood's "My Three Years in Manipur." He had prepared this book in his spare time as Governor of Assam from 1937 to 1942. His main objective was to update the earlier work of Sir Alexander Mackenzie called "History of the Relations"

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 $^{^{78}}$ B.K. Roy Burman, "Prefatory Introduction to the New Edition" in Alexander Mackenzie, op.cit., p.13.

of the Government with the Hill Tribes of the North-East Frontier of Bengal", which deals with the accounts on the frontier relations up to 1844 or in some instances earlier.

As the book mostly contains informative official documents, it is useful for reconstructing the history of relations between the Lushais and the British, especially from 1888 till the consolidation of the British rule in the then Lushai hills. Since this book covers the whole period of Shakespear's early encounter and regime as administrator in the Lushai Hills, it provides sketchy information for the reconstruction Shakespear's career in the Lushai hills. While focusing on the process of the consolidation of British rule in the Lushai Hills, lots of information on the career and works of John Shakespear in the Lushai Hills, both as military officer and civil administrator were incorporated. However, this book had been written and compiled from colonial perspective and was far from scholarly observation and interpretation.

Col. L.W. Shakespeare's "History of the Assam Rifles" (1929) gives an elaborate account on the history of the Assam Rifles and provides general information on the history of the British's dealings with the various tribes of Northeast region between 1824 and 1924. Only few account of John Shakespear's contributions for acquiring the Lushai territory into British colonial empire are incorporated in this work.

Another significant colonial author's work on the history of colonial expansion in the Lushai Hills was A.G. McCall's "Lushai Chrysalis" (1949). This book deals extensively with a detailed description on the land and its inhabitants including their customs and practices. It also gave detail analysis on how the Lushais were 'chrysalized' by the new elements of civilization brought by the colonial government. While giving an account on the British colonization of the Lushai Hills, little is known from this work regarding Shakespear's roles and contributions for the establishment of British rule in the Lushai Hills.

Since the late 1900s, there began a new interest among the scholars of North East India on the roles of individual in history, which resulted to the publication of certain books dealing with the roles and contributions of frontier officers in North East India. The first major work in this regard was produced by Nirode K. Barooah, whose work "David Scott in North East India (1802-1831): A Study in British Patternalism" which was published in 1970. This book deals with the account of David Scott's early background and his administrative career in the formative period of British rule in Assam. Being the first attempt at giving as far as possible, a full account of Scott's administrative career and his early background, much fresh materials and the hitherto unknown facts are incorporated in this book. A dominant feature of this work is, as the title signifies, a study on how British paternalism shaped David Scott's philosophy of government. The book deals extensively with the policies and administrative measures of David Scott and contends that the main springboard of his policy was paternalism.

Another work in this connection was "Alexander Mackenzie and Evolution of British Policy in the Hills of North East Frontier of India", edited by S.K.Barpujari which was published in 2003. However, this book provided only a brief sketch of Mackenzie's life and contribution towards North East India Frontier studies.

Another significant work has been carried out in this field by Benjamin Ralte, whose thesis entitled "Thomas Herbert Lewin in the Chittagong Frontier 1864-74" (Unpublished Ph. D thesis, NEHU) provided a detailed account of British relations with the frontier tribes known as the Lushais, who were living in the southern end of the Chittagong Hill Tracts. This work also gives a critical account of Lewin's policy towards the Lushais and his ideas on the management of the problems that the British faced with the hill tribes. His study covers a period from 1865, when Lewin was appointed to the Chittagong district and first came into contact with the people of the Lushai Hills to 1874 when he was posted out of the Hill Tracts.

The most recent major work to study the role of frontier officers in Northeastern India till today is a book entitled "Frontier Officers in Colonial Northeast India" (2009) by Suhas Chatterjee. This book is a multi-disciplinary work which aims at giving a glimpse of the renowned frontier personalities shaping the British policy acting in different capacities as civil and military officers under trying circumstances in a hostile climate to open up the north-east to the world. Among a large number of such officers, he had selected only four: Lieutenant Colonel F.J. Lister, Lieutenant Colonel T.H. Lewin, Sir John Edgar and R.B. McCabe, the name of John Shakespear was left out in this work.

The four works mentioned above are the only ventures to study the roles of in colonial North-East India. The post-independent period saw the emergence of a number of scholarly works on the Lushai Hills. H.K.Barpujari's work entitled "Problem of the Hill Tribes: North-East Frontier, 1873-1962" Volume III, published in 1981, contains some information for the study of the problems and policies of the British towards the Lushais up to the time of the amalgamation of the South and North Lushai Hills Districts. However, this work does not give a complete picture of colonial rule in the Lushai Hills.

Suhas Chatterjee's "Mizoram under the British Rule" (1985) gives a detailed study on the annexation and consolidation of British rule in the Lushai Hills. However, an in-depth analysis on the roles and achievements of Shakespear as military officer as well as administrator in the Lushai Hills had not been done in this work.

It was only from the 1990s that local authors and scholars began to publish the history of their own land in English language. In 1995, Lalrimawia published "Mizoram: History and Cultural Identity (1890-1947)" which gives a study on all important issues regarding the history of Mizoram from the early period till its elevation to status of statehood in 1897 within the Indian Union. However, it lacks a detailed analysis on either Shakespear's roles for the consolidation of British rule or his administrative measures.

C.Nunthara's *Mizoram: Society and Polity* (1996) presents the interplay of society and polity in the context of emerging ethnic identity consolidation in

Mizoram. He represents the process of the annexation of the Lushai Hills into the British Empire and gives a study on the impact of British rule in the modernization process. However, the roles of Shakespear in transforming the social and political set up of the Lushais were not analysed in detail in this book.

C. Lalthlengliana's *The Lushai Hills: Annexation, Resistance and Pacification* 1885-1898 (2007) focused on how the Lushai Hills was annexed by the British and incorporated into their Indian empire, especially the theme of resistance to the imposition of alien rule. But this work is insufficient to give a deeper understanding on the nature of colonial rule in the Lushai Hills.

A work by J. Zorema entitled *Indirect Rule in Mizoram:* 1890-1954 (2007) covers a study on the British administration in the Lushai Hills carried on through the traditional chiefs or *Lal* from the creation of the Lushai Hills District in 1898 to the end of chiefship in 1954. His study provided meager information on how Shakespear dealt with the Lushai people and how he formulated and carried out his administrative policies. However, deeper analysis is needed for better understanding of the nature and impact of Shakespear's administrative system.

While dealing with various aspects of Mizo history, no articles in the two books of Sangkima such as *Essays on the History of the Mizos* (a collection of articles published in 2004) and *A Modern History of Mizoram* (an edited book published in 2004) contain any attempt to analyse the roles, contributions and legacies of John Shakespear that shaped the history of Mizoram.

Recent scholarship by Indrani Chatterjee entitled *Forgotten Friends: Monks, Marriages, and Memoirs of Northeast India* (2013), traces the now-forgotten relationships between the distinct languages, faiths, monastic traditions, and communities of this region. It shows how war, changes in revenue regimes, and the growth of the plantation economies in the nineteenth century fragmented this landscape and strained these relationships. This book gives a new, wider and deeper

insight and outlook into the history of north-east India especially during the colonial period.

Another work by Joy L.K. Pachuau recent came out in 2014 with the title *Being Mizo: Identity and Belonging in Northeast India*. This book essentially examines the making of the Mizos and their identity, and portrays how the Mizos have subverted the very differentiating practices created by the significant other- the Indian State- and turned them into agencies of identity creation. While focusing on the issue of identity, it also gives some information on the relations between British colonial expansion and knowledge production, but not in detail.

Besides these, considerable number of works had come out in vernacular language. These included *Mizo Chanchin* by Rev. Liangkhaia (reprint:2002); the works of B. Lalthangliana such as *Mizo Lal Ropuite* (1989) (ed.), *History of Mizo Literature* (*Mizo Thu leh Hla*) (2004), *Mizo Chanchin :A Short Account & Easy reference of Mizo History* (2009), *Zawlkhawpui: A Din Kum 125-na* Pualin (2015), Dr. Lalthanliana's *Zalen Nana British Do (kum 1820-1894 Inkar Indo leh Inrun)* (2000); *Zoram Vartian: Chanchintha leh Thuziak Khawvar Tan Dan* (2008) by Lalhruaitluanga Ralte. These books provide only scattered information on how Shakespear dealt with the Lushai people and along with other important events during the period of Shakespear as colonial ruler. Moreover, these works usually lack a detailed and critical analysis on the nature of colonial rule in the Lushai Hills.

Therefore, in spite of his immense contribution for the successful establishment of British colonial rule in the Lushai Hills (presently named Mizoram) as well as in shaping the history of Mizoram, there has been no specific work that deals with the works and achievements of John Shakespear in the Lushai Hills. Hence, this thesis explores and analyses his works and contributions for the successful establishment and consolidation of the British rule in the Lushai hills, both as military officer and administrator. It also gives a critical study on Shakespear's administrative measures, innovative practices and his role in the production of colonial knowledge on the Lushai Hills.

1.6 Structure of the Study

The thesis is divided into the following chapters:

Chapter- I: Introduction

The first chapter introduces various issues regarding the thesis and is divided into six sections. The first section contains a brief introduction to the geographical area called the Lushai Hills while the second section deals with an examination on the term 'Lushai'; the third section studies the evolution of the administrative unit known as the Lushai Hills District; and the fourth examines various issues regarding the production of colonial knowledge on the Lushais; the fifth section consists of a review of existing literatures on the history of colonial rule in the Lushai Hills; and the last section introduces the whole structure of the thesis.

Chapter- II: Colonial Expansion and the Lushais (1844-1888)

The second chapter gives an in-depth study on the resistance of the Lushais to British colonial expansion towards their territory and the counter-action and reprisals they received from the British military expeditions and is divided into seven sections. The first section deals with the extension of British colonial empire in the Northeastern Frontier of India; the second section analyses how the Lushais resisted to the expansion of colonial empire towards their country; the third section analyses the British's conciliatory policy toward the Lushais and its failure; the fourth section studies the frontier raids carried out by the Lushais during 1868-1871; the fifth section analyses the invasion of Lushai Hills by the British, which came to be known as the Lushai Expedition of 1871-1872; the sixth section gives an analysis on the British's 'scorched earth' policy; and the last section concludes the chapter.

Chapter- III: John Shakespear and the Subjugation of the South Lushai Hills

This chapter examines the role of John Shakespear in the subjugation of the South Lushai Hills under British colonial rule, and is separated into six sections. The first section portrays the lineage of Shakespear and reveals that he descended from a long line of personalities who had played crucial roles in the British colonial rule in

India and elsewhere mostly in their capacities as military officials; the second section focuses on his early contact with the Lushais; the third section examines the resurgence of the Anglo-Lushai encounters; the fourth section deals with the reprisal made by the British known as the Lushai Expedition of 1889; the fifth section analyses the last military invasion of the Lushai Hills by the British popularly known as the Chin-Lushai Expedition of 1889–1890, and its resultant establishment of the British rule in the Lushai Hills; the last section summarizes the findings in the chapter.

Chapter- IV: Ascendancy as Administrator

This chapter examines the circumstances under which Shakespear became the Superintendent of the South Lushai Hills District, and how he completed the pacification process of that area and is split into six sections. The first section examines D.R. Lyall's proposals for the administration of South Lushai Hills, a new territory which recently came under their control; the second section evaluates formation of the South Lushai Hills District and the ascendancy of Shakespear as superintendent of the new district; the third section analyses the role of this official for the pacification and consolidation of British rule in the South Lushai Hills; the fourth section investigates the importance of disarmament for pacification; the fifth section examines official endorsement to his achievements as administrator of the South Lushai Hills; the last section summarizes the findings in the chapter.

Chapter- V: Administrative Policies and Achievements

This chapter investigates the administrative measures of Shakespear as Superintendent of the amalgamated Lushai Hills District, and is separated into six sections. The first section analyses the proposals for the amalgamation of the South and North Lushai Hills districts; the second section examines his policy towards the chiefs; the third section analyses the bases of colonial economy in the Lushai Hills such as *corvee* and 'extraction' of tribute; the fourth section examines the various measures of land reforms introduced by him; the fifth section analyses the origin and impact of an administrative system introduced by him called the Circle System; the last section sums up the findings in the chapter.

Chapter- VI: Innovations and Legacies

This chapter critically evaluates the innovations and legacies of Shakespear in various fields which were not directly connected with actual administration, and is divided into four sections. The first section studies the legacies left behind by this official in the colonial administrative centre in the Lushai Hills at Aizawl; the second section analyses his initiatives and legacies in the construction of roads and Rest Houses to facilitate the administration of Lushai Hills; the third section examines the introduction of wet rice cultivation under his behest; the last section sums up the findings in the chapter.

Chapter- VII: John Shakespear and Knowledge Production

This chapter analyses the role of Shakespear in the production of colonial knowledge in the Lushai Hills and is organized into eight sections. The first section deals with the production of colonial knowledge in the Lushai Hills by means of the topographic surveys; the second section analyses the systematic production of colonial knowledge the form of census; the third section examines how a wide variety of knowledge that he acquired on the Lushais were documented, publicized and expressed in the form of texts, ranging from translation work, publication of magazine, seminal works and books; the fourth section explores his contribution for the production of colonial knowledge by the publication of Manuals and Gazetteers; the fifth section deals with his collaboration with some of the prominent colonial officials and the colonial agents of the oriental studies; the sixth analyses his collaboration with the native informants in the production of knowledge; the seventh section examines his collaboration with the Christian missionaries in the Lushai Hills; and the last section investigates the roles and functions of education in the production of colonial knowledge in the Lushai Hills.

Chapter- VIII: Conclusion

The last chapter summarizes the major findings of the research.

CHAPTER- 2: COLONIAL EXPANSION AND THE LUSHAIS

(1844-1888)

2.1 Colonial expansion in the North-East Frontier

'The North East Frontier' of Bengal was a term used sometimes to denote a boundary line, and sometimes more generally to describe a tract. In the latter sense, it embraced the whole of the hill ranges north, east, and south of the Assam Valley, as well as the western slopes of the great mountain system lying between Bengal and Burma, with its outlying spurs and ridges.⁷⁹

This frontier region comprised of two kinds of divisions - independent principalities and numerous small tribal villages. 'These areas such as Assam, Manipur and Tripura constituted independent principalities, while Naga, Lushai (Mizo), Garo Hills and the Northeastern Frontier Agency (now known as Arunachal Pradesh) were divided into numerous independent tribal villages.'

This region was free from European colonial expansion until the establishment of British rule in Bengal in the later part of the eighteenth century. In 1765, Shah Alam II, the titular head of the Mughal Empire granted the *Diwani*, or the right to collect revenue of Bihar, Bengal and Orissa to the English East India Company. Thus,

⁷⁹ Alexander Mackenzie, op.cit., p..

⁸⁰ B.C.Allen, *Assam District Gazetteers: Naga Hills and Manipur*, Volume IX, Part-II (hereafter *Assam District Gazetteers*), Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta, 1905, p.34.

the Company's control over was legalized and became the real master of Bengal.⁸¹ After becoming the sovereign of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, the protection of their territories in India became the concern of the East India Company's authorities.

In the meanwhile, after occupying Assam in 1816, the Burmese forces began to advance upon Cachar and threatened Jaintia, a bordering dependency of Bengal.⁸² To protect their territories from the threat of the Burmese, the British declared war against Burma on March 5, 1824, which marked the beginning of the First Anglo-Burmese War.⁸³

After a series of battles, the British troops had driven the Burmese from the valley of the Brahmaputra. On February 24, 1826, the Treaty of Yandaboo was concluded, which rendered the king of Burma, Ba-gyi-daw, renounced all claims upon the principality of Assam and its dependencies, and the contiguous petty states of Cachar and Jaintia, Manipur and their neighbourhood as well as Arrakan to the British.⁸⁴

After the annexation of Cachar, the region which had been *terra incognita* to the British, became opened for further exploration.⁸⁵ At the same time, the British authorities began to face fresh troubles from various tribes inhabiting the hilly regions adjacent to its boundary. Among these bothersome tribes were the Lushais, known to

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⁸¹ Bipan Chandra, *History of Modern India*, Orient Blackswan, Delhi, 2009, p. 71.

⁸² Alexander Mackenzie, op.cit., p. 4.

⁸³ Ibid. p. 4.

⁸⁴ Ibid., pp. 4-5; S.K. Chaube, *Hill Politics in Northeast India*, Orient Longman, Patna, 1999, p. 5.

⁸⁵ R.K Bijeta Sana, 'Exploration of Region in Colonial North-East India: Construction of Naga Hills' in *International Research Journal of Social Sciences*, Vol. 2 (2), International Science Congress Association, February 2013, p. 34.

the Bengalis by the name of 'Kookie,' 86 who had lived in the mountainous regions south of Cachar. The land inhabited by the Lushais also stretches on the south along the Chittagong Frontier, and some portions of the Chin Hills of Burma. The resistance of these tribes to colonialism and the counter-action by the British and its subsequent impact formed a new episode in the history of British colonialism in the North Eastern frontier of India.

2.2 Early encounter between the Lushais and the British

While the British were extending their sphere of influence towards the countries bordering the abode of the Lushais, the Lushais were also in a gradual process of extending their habitats and territories towards their neighbouring countries. After the Lushais began to make their entry to present Mizoram around the middle of the seventeenth century, they continued to move towards the west by shifting and establishing their settlements at different places which were found suitable for establishing settlements.⁸⁷ Moreover, the increase in the number of population and heirs to the chiefs necessitated the chiefs to expand their territory. The process of territorial expansion had been expedited by the custom of a chief's right to allot his son a tract of land and set him up with a village of his own after he got

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⁸⁶ T.H.Lewin, *The Hill Tracts of Chittagong*, p. 138.

⁸⁷ C. Nunthara, op.cit., p. 50.

married.⁸⁸ As such, the territorial mobility of the chiefs soon brought them into contact with the plain people who were under the influence of the imperial British.

The earliest knowledge of the Lushais by the British was recorded in 1777,⁸⁹ soon after the acquisition of Chittagong in 1760, when one of the chiefs of Chittagong Hill Tracts (the name of the chief is not mentioned) appealed to Warren Hastings, the Governor General of Bengal, for help against them.⁹⁰ Since then, the early accounts of the relations between the Lushais with that of the plain people had been usually marked by raids and reprisals. However, the subsequent raids in the frontier had occurred mostly in the Cachar border. These raids, as alleged by the British, were due to the weakness of the last Rajahs of Cachar, who failed to maintain efficient control over the Kukis to the eastward.⁹¹

Due to the failure of the Rajah to acknowledge the attitude of the hill tribes, bloodshed occurred in September 1826, when a party of Syhlet wood-cutters was massacred by the Kukies under a chief Buangtheuva⁹² upon the hills above the Simla river, 10 miles to the west of the Tlawng river. The frequency of Lushai raids was greatly intensified after the annexation of Cachar on August 14, 1832, which brought

⁸⁸ A. G. McCall, *Lushai Hills District Cover* (hereafter *District Cover*), reprint, TRI, Aizawl, 2008, p. 33.

⁹¹ Ibid., p.235; Alexander Mackenzie, op.cit., p.297.

⁸⁹ Intelligence Branch: Division of the Chief of the Staff, Army Headquarters, India, comp., op.cit., p.235.

⁹⁰ Ibid., p.235

⁹² Ibid., p.279.

the British in closer contact with the hill tribes. ⁹³ From this time onward, the plains of Cachar were subject to inroads from the tribes known to the British as Kookies or Lushais. ⁹⁴

The Lushais attracted serious attention in 1844 when a chief named Lalsutthlaha raided on the Manipuri village of Kochabari in Sylhet border, killing twenty people and taking away six captives. ⁹⁵The Indian Government called on the Raja of Tripura for his assistance in punishing Lalsutthlaha; but as the steps he took to accomplish their request were considered altogether inadequate and unsatisfactory, it was decided to send a military expedition to avenge the outrage. ⁹⁶ Hence, the Government of India sanctioned a military expedition on October 16, 1844 to punish Lalsutthlah. The Expedition consisted of four companies of the Syhlet Light Infantry, under Captain Blackwood. ⁹⁷ This expedition became the first in a series of military punitive expeditions sent to the Lushai Hills.

In this expedition, Captain Blackwood was successful in capturing Lalsutthlaha, who surrendered on a promise of pardon. ⁹⁸ He was then tried at Syhlet

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⁹³ Suhas Chatterjee, *Frontier Officers in Colonial Northeast India* (hereafter *Frontier Officers*), Akansha Publishing House, New Delhi, 2009, p. 180.

⁹⁴ Alexander Mackenzie, op.cit., p.279.

⁹⁵ Assam Secretariat, Foreign – A, Progs., August 1891, Nos. 30 – 38, *Political Report of the Northern Lushai Hills for 1890-91*, Excluded Areas Records, Exbt. 24 (unfiled), (MSA); also see E.B. Elly, *Military Report on the Chin-Lushai Country*, reprint, TRI, Aizawl, 1978, pp. 1-2.

⁹⁶ Intelligence Branch: Division of the Chief of the Staff, Army Headquarters, India, comp., op.cit., p.235.

⁹⁷ B. J. P., July 27, 1844. No. 28. Under Secretary, Government of Bengal to Sealy as cited in Suhas Chatterjee, op.cit., p. 17.

⁹⁸ E.B. Elly, op.cit., pp. 1-2.

and sentenced to transportation for life, his life having been spared on condition of his surrendering himself. He was imprisoned in the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, where he breathed his last on December 6, 1844.⁹⁹ The trial of Lalsutthlah was looked upon as breach of faith by the Lushais who interpreted the promise of pardoning his life as complete pardon. Because of this action on the part of the British, his son, Ngursailova (written by E.B. Elly as Mischoibon) was said to have sworn to take vengeance on the British.¹⁰⁰ Moreover, the Lushais were greatly aggravated and lost their trust in the British and their policies. In consequence of this, the British experienced difficulty in future expeditions in inducing the chiefs to come personally to tender their submission.¹⁰¹ As retribution, the districts of Syhlet and Cachar were repeatedly attacked by the Lushais and various measures were tried by the British to break off the raids, but seemed to be in vain.

In 1849, simultaneous raids were made in Syhlet, Tripura and Cachar by Ngura, a Lushai chief of Sentlang village, who killed several villagers and carried away a number of captives. The reason of this raid was that around 1849, Ngura intended to move his village from Sairum to Sentlang and sent some advance party to investigate the proper site for the village. The advance party was ambushed and killed by the Thahdos. In retaliation, Ngura invaded a Thahdo village and headquarters at Palsang, which located within the British territory.

⁹⁹ O. Rosanga, 'Economic Factors Leading to the Annexation of Mizoram by the British' in *Historical Journal Mizoram*, MHA, Volume II, Issue – II, July 2001, p. 23.

¹⁰⁰ E.B. Elly, op.cit., p. 2.

¹⁰¹ Intelligence Branch: Division of the Chief of the Staff, Army Headquarters, India, comp., op.cit., pp. 235 – 236.

¹⁰² Ibid., p.236. (written as Mulah by most of the colonial writers, Ngura was the son of Lallianvunga, whose village was at Sentlang, which located twenty miles north of Aizawl); E.B. Elly, op.cit., pp. 1-2.

The Thahdos were the functional supporters of British colonial economy, who, after being driven out from the Lushais from the hills, became Company's *ryots*, and made themselves useful for the British economy by 'cutting timber, bamboos, cane etc., which they used to bring to market.¹⁰³ The Deputy Commissioner of Cachar quickly responded to the appeal of those useful subjects to help them punish the Sailos, and sent Colonel Frederick Lister, Political Agent of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills and Commandant of the Syhlet Light Infantry, with a force of six (6) native officers and 229 men to exact retribution.¹⁰⁴

Colonel Lister marched from Cachar on January 4, 1850 and burnt down the village of Ngura. This event became the first application of a warfare known as 'scorched earth policy' by the British against the Lushais. ¹⁰⁵ Lister was successful in freeing 429 captives to affect their escape into Cachar. However, further than proving to the Lushais that the British could penetrate their jungles, little effect was produced on the tribe at large. ¹⁰⁶ Nevertheless, the Syhlet-Cachar frontier was for some time, quite free from external disturbances as a result of this expedition.

In 1860, the uncertainties and insecurity of the past in the South Lushai Hills culminated in a daring and fierce raid by Rothangpuia, a Thangluah chief, one of the harassed Chieftains who would much have preferred to have been taken over by the

¹⁰³ Alexander Mackenzie, op.cit., p.287.

 $^{^{104}}$ C. Nunthara, op.cit., pp. 51 - 52.

¹⁰⁵ 'Scorched earth policy' is a military strategy in which an army destroys everything in an area such as food, houses or equipments which could be useful to an enemy.

¹⁰⁶ CB-2, G – 18, from R.B. McCabe, Esq., Esq., I. C. S., Political officer, North Lushai Hills, to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam, Shillong, the 23rd July 1892, (MSA).

British Government.¹⁰⁷ This so called "Great Kookie invasion" of 1860 by Rothangpuia resulted in the murder of 186 British subjects.¹⁰⁸ Subsequently, in January 1861, the British sent a large body of military police under Captain Herbert Raban against Rothangpuia, who quickly tendered his submission and came into terms with the British, which marked his subsequent relationship with the British government.¹⁰⁹

Nothing further of any importance occurred till January 1862, when three villages near Adampur were burnt and plundered. There was some talk of sending an expedition, but the Government of India thought it inadvisable to adopt forceful measures, as it was feared that it would merely result in extensive raids by the Lushais on the tea-planters, who had now settled close to the border.¹¹⁰

2.3 British's conciliatory policy and its failure

Since the early period of their encounter with the Lushais, the British followed a variety of policies towards the Lushais. Initially, instead of occupying the Lushai Hills, it was decided to maintain a chain of outposts along the frontier, and to send one of the Cachar officers to make annual visits to the hills and use his influence in redressing inter-village disputes and in cultivating friendly relations with the leading

¹⁰⁸ Benjamin Ralte, op.cit., p. 18.

¹⁰⁷ A. G. McCall, *Chrysalis*, p. 43.

¹⁰⁹ A. G. McCall, *Chrysalis*, p. 43.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., p. 43.

chiefs. This may be described as more or less a policy of non-intervention, repudiating all desire of annexation, while at the same time attempting to thrust the thin edge of the British influence into the councils of the Lushais.¹¹¹

Accordingly, Captain Stewart, the Deputy Commissioner, began to negotiate with Suakpuilala for the delivery of the captives in his possession. ¹¹² In 1865, Captain Stewart also concluded a treaty with Vanpuilala, son of Ngura (against whom Lister organized expedition in 1850), who, in consideration of a small money payment, to restrain his people from committing raids and to refuse all countenance to other chiefs in any like attempt. ¹¹³ The negotiations with Suakpuilala, on the other hand, came to nothing as the chief failed to give up the captives demanded. An expedition was therefore recommended to compel their release. However, the rainy season set in before an expedition could start, and the operation was eventually abandoned.

Soon after this, Suakpuilala resumed negotiations by sending annual presents to the colonial authorities, and four captives were also released by the Lushais after considerable trouble. One of the difficulties alleged with regard to the returning of the captives was that they had contentedly settled down and married Lushais. The British soon found that the Lushai captives did not always hail with joy their release from

¹¹¹ Assam Secretariat, Foreign – A, Progs., August 1891, Nos. 30 – 38, *Political Report of the Northern Lushai Hills for 1890-91*, Excluded Areas Records, Exbt. 24 (unfiled), (MSA).

¹¹² Intelligence Branch: Division of the Chief of the Staff, Army Headquarters, India, comp., op.cit., pp. 236 – 237.

¹¹³ CB-2, G – 18, from R.B. McCabe, Esq., Esq., I. C. S., Political officer, North Lushai Hills, to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam, Shillong, the 23rd July 1892, (MSA).

captivity.¹¹⁴ This may have been due to the fact that some of these captives were acculturated into their captors' culture either through marriage or formalized adoption. T.H. Lewin reported that violence had never been offered to a female captive and many of them had become married, and became incorporated with the tribe, and hence, declined positively to be released.¹¹⁵ The kindly attitude of the Lushais towards their captives had been best explained by T.H. Lewin who stated:

The captives given up by the Southern Howlongs had to be brought forcibly into the camp, and clung to their Lushei friends, weeping piteously and entreating that they might not be made over to us. Among the number of those suppliants was the wife and grown up daughter of one of my interpreters, and he was much disturbed by such an inopportune exhibition of unnatural feeling, ascribing it to Kookie magic. Magic, it is true, but I imagine that it was the white magic of kindness and human sympathy. 116

The policy of conciliation, however, did not bring permanent peace in the frontier, and the British territories bordering the Lushai country again suffered a number of raids and plunder. The reason can be attributed to the gradual extension of tea garden towards the Lushai territory. After the East India Company lost their monopoly of trade in Chinese tea in 1833, they had shifted their attention towards the

¹¹⁴ Intelligence Branch: Division of the Chief of the Staff, Army Headquarters, India, comp., op.cit., p. 237.

¹¹⁵ 'Report of the Political officer with the Right Column of the Lushai Expedition,' from Captain T.H.Lewin, Civil Officer, Right Column Lushai Expedition, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, - No. 22, dated Chittagong, the 26th March 1872, as cited in Alexander Mackenzie, op.cit., p.469 (Appendix III).

¹¹⁶ Ibid., p. 469.

extension of tea gardens in North East India. 117 Tea industry developed in Assam, Bengal, South India and the hills of Himachal Pradesh during the mid-eighteenth century. From the time of Lord William Bentinck, the British government was keen to grow tea in Assam and the Assam Tea Company was established on February 14, 1839. 118 Being a foreign owned company, it enjoyed the government's full support, including grant of rent-free land, protection, development of rail and road systems and other means of communication such as postal and telegraphic services. In fact, the Assam Bengal Railway and the Chittagong ports were developed for the purpose of expediting tea shipments. The British tea planters were bringing more lands under tea cultivation to boost their capital investment.

By the turn of the nineteenth century, the tea industry prospered in Assam; some private owners sold their estates to the companies, which utilized the money in extending the area under plantation. The well known tea companies were the Empire of India Company with its headquarters at Barjuli and the Bishnat Company at Pratapgarh. In 1874, the land taken for tea was 6,26,000 acres of which about 1,00,000 acres were actually covered by tea plants, producing 19,000,000 lbs. of tea. By 1880, there were 2,07,600 acres of land under tea, producing a total of 40, 000,000 lbs. of tea annually. In 1900, the tea acreage rose to 5,25,000 employing 7,19,000 labourers, mostly from outside. 119

¹¹⁷ Rosanga, Dr. Orestes, 'The Empire of Tea and the Globalization of the North East: Mizoram' in *Historical Journal Mizoram*, Volume VII, November 2006, pp. 73 – 74.

¹¹⁸ H. A. Antrobus, *A History of Assam Company: 1839 – 1953*, T & A Constable, Edinburg, 1957, p.35 as cited in Dr. Orestes Rosanga, op.cit., p.76.

¹¹⁹ Jagdish Chandra Jha, *Aspects of Indentured Inland Emigration to North-East India:1859-1918*, Indus Publishing Company, New Delhi, 1996, p.20.

In upper Assam only, as much as 19,700 acres of land had been brought under tea cultivation in 1880. By 1904, there were 143 gardens with 70,591 acres under tea, producing more than 30,000,000 lbs. of manufactured tea and employing 199 Europeans and 1,00,849 labourers from various parts of the sub continent. 120

By increasing areas of land under tea cultivation towards the Lushai country, the tea planters had soon encroached upon the hunting grounds of the Lushais. The successive raids on the tea factories in during 1870-71 made it clear that the Lushais, like the Nagas in the north, looked upon the extension of the tea-gardens as encroachments upon tracts which they claimed as their own. ¹²¹

Among the Lushais, it was part of the social tradition and a great enjoyment for the young and energetic hunters to engage in collective big game hunting during their leisure time of cultivation. The records of T.H.Lewin and Shakespear also provide evidence that the Lushais were accustomed to make large hunting parties, which made lengthy expeditions into the uninhabited parts in search of elephants and wild mithun.

The hunting of elephants had been closely connected to the social, economic and cultural life of the Lushais. T.H. Lewin also said that the Lushais were great

¹²⁰ Ibid., p.20.

¹²¹ H.K. Barpujari, *Problems of the Hill Tribes: North-East Frontier*, 1873-1962, Volume III, (henceforth *Problems*, Vol. III), Spectrum Publications, Guwahati, 1981, p. 31.

¹²² Interview with Lalnghaka (94 years), Darzo, interviewed on 24th December, 2015.

¹²³ J. Shakespear, *Lushai-Kuki*, p. 34.

eaters of flesh, and since domestic animals were not plentiful among them, their supplies depended a good deal upon their success in chase. 124 The meat of elephants was especially valued because it was rare and very difficult to kill with their simple weapons. 125 Those who were in good possession of dried pieces of meat were highly regarded. Among the girls, it was also considered a symbol of prestige to wear earrings made of ivory known as 'saiha bengbeh' on certain occasions 126 and to use round discs of ivory instead of the natural bean called 'kawi', for playing a game called 'inkawibah'. 127

John Shakespear was once presented a large elephant tusk of 24 lbs. weight by Lalluaua and his two brothers- Saipuia and Lalthangvunga as a token of friendship and asked him never to part with it. 128 This also shows that the tusk of elephant was also considered to be a precious article. Ivory was also the most valuable of all articles sold by the Lushais in the frontier markets. The fact was that during the year 1891-1892, the Lushais got a huge return of Rs. 1,552 from sell of ivory against Rs. 35 and Rs.12 only from wax and rubber respectively at Tlabung *bazaar*. This kind of difference was also experienced in the two previous years. 129 Hence, the tradition of hunting the elephants was closely linked with the social, economic and cultural life of the Lushais.

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¹²⁴ T.H. Lewin, *The Hill Tracts of Chittagong*, p. 147.

¹²⁵ Interview with K. Zatawna (72 years), Darzo, interviewed on 24th December, 2015.

¹²⁶ Interview with Laihnuni (L), (92 years), Darzo, interviewed on 20th November, 2005.

¹²⁷ Interview with C.Zairema , (58 years), Bethlehem Vengthlang, Aizawl interviewed on 31st March, 2016.

¹²⁸ From Major Shakespear, Superintendent of South Lushai Hills to the Commissioner, Chittagong division, No. 1364 G, dated Lungleh, 11th February 1890, (MSA).

¹²⁹ CB 1, G-9, Administration Report of the South Lushai Hills for the Year 1891-'92, (MSA).

In fact, in all tribal societies, forests had deep connection with the life and culture of the people. It is from the forests that all forms of livelihood had been obtained. Since it resulted to depopulation of wild animals, the deforestation of land due to the extension of tea garden had been considered a threat for their big game hunting tradition. Hence, the extension of tea gardens by clearing the jungles was challenged by the Lushais with great resistance on economic, social and cultural grounds.

Moreover, the growth of tea cultivation and tea industry attracted a number of settlers in the form of labourers. However, as the local people were allergic to commercial agriculture as the African slaves were to agriculture after their emancipation in 1813 in the West Indies, the new settlers mainly consisted of Europeans and labourers from other parts of India. Hence, the proliferation of human settlement in the form of small villages and towns in and around tea plantations provided incentives for Lushai raids because war booty in the form of materials and human captives were easily available. In fact, as observed by Shakespear, the true Lushai method of war was to raid the enemy's villages and carry off as many captives and as much loot as possible. The result of all these developments in the frontier and the proclivity of the Lushai for raids rendered tea gardens the main targets of attack by the latter.

In all the colonial writings, the attacks made by the Lushais in the tea gardens had been recorded and attributed as a 'raid' or 'invasion' on the British territory. However, since many areas that they attacked were considered by the Lushais as theirs, their actions may be considered as resistance to colonial expansion. It was, in

¹³⁰ Ibid., p. 147; also see J. Shakespear, *Lushai-Kuki*, p. 55.

fact, the colonial forces who intruded and invaded the Lushais inside their own territory as a repercussion to armed resistance by the Lushais. It is a peculiar feature of colonialism that the indigenous people were compelled to rise in armed conflict with the colonial forces, who then retaliated by military invasion to occupy their land. Normally, the colonizers did not view themselves as invaders or expropriators, but as the necessary agents of change for the introduction of 'civilized' political and legal structures. In most of the cases of colonization in the Americas, Asia and Africa, colonial military strategy was genocidal and included the destruction of food supplies, resources and shelter so as to cripple them from resisting colonial expansion.

2.4 Lushai raids during 1868-1871

Towards the close of 1868, some villages in Manipur and Tripura were attacked, which was soon followed by an assault upon the tea-gardens of Loharbund and Monierkhal in January 1869. The attacks on the tea – gardens were attributed to Suakpuilala and Vanpuilala, and a large punitive expedition under General Nuthall was set on foot. However, the season in which the operation had been undertaken was too late to be effective and hence, the operations proved to be a failure. Conversely, the result of this expedition considerably diminished the prestige of the British in the eyes of the Lushais, and the policy of conciliation and concession, which was then

¹³¹ Warrior Publications, *Colonization and Decolonization: A manual for Indigenous Liberation in the* 21st Century, WordPress.com, February 10, 2011, retrieved from www.anti-politics.org., accessed on 12 March, 2013, p.2.

¹³² Kingsley Atterh Fletcher, (unpublished dissertation), *Perceptions of Contemporary Effects of Colonialism Among Educational Professionals in Ghana*, A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Education to the Graduate School of the University of Massachusetts Amherst, 2013, p.21.

¹³³ Warrior Publications, op.cit., p.2.

tried immediately after it, only made the Lushais to think that the British were powerless to injure them. 134

Between December 1869 and March 1870, Mr. Edgar, Deputy Commissioner of Cachar, and Major MacDonald visited Suakpuilala at his village. In this meeting, a new boundary between them was fixed, which after events soon proved to be an altogether futile piece of labour. This agreement also did not prevent the raids by the other Lushai chiefs. Even before Mr. Edgar's return to Cachar, a series of raids had begun which exceeded in magnitude and ferocity all that had gone before. 135

Following is a brief recapitulation of the various raids committed along the British frontier by the tribes that the British were accustomed to call Kukis or Lushais, during 1870-1871:-

The first raid which Lord Ulick Browne, Commissioner of the Chittagong, called 'the first raid of the season', occurred on December 31, 1870, at a little more than a day's distance from the Chima outpost, in the village of Gulungea, in the Sungoo sub-division of the Chittagong Hill Tracts. The raiders were about 200 strong, but the loss to the villages was not very great. This was attributed to the fact that the general population of the villages in that portion of the district had adopted the plan of regularly leaving their villages, with a good deal of their property, and sleeping in the jungles every night for some months during the principal raiding season. On this occasion five men were left in charge of the village, two whom were killed and one

¹³⁴ Intelligence Branch: Division of the Chief of the Staff, Army Headquarters, India, comp., op.cit., p.

 $^{^{135}}$ Ibid., pp. 237 - 238.

carried off. The village was burnt to the ground, and the paddy remaining in it plundered. The raiders were followed and encountered by a party of nine Gurkha constables, who acted very gallantly on the occasion; but being considerably outnumbered, were unable to cut off the raiders retreat, and themselves lost two of their number killed in the fight.¹³⁶

On the north, several raids occurred, towards the close of January 1871 in the Hailakandi sub-division of Cachar. On the morning of the January 23, the Kachari village of Ainerkhal was burned, and about twenty-five persons were killed and thirty-seven taken prisoners. On the same day, Alexandrapur Tea Estate was destroyed by another body of Lushais under Bengkhuaia, one of the most powerful Sailo chiefs, who ruled over Sailam, Kawlri and Thenzawl villages. In this outrage, Mr. Winchester, a planter living there was killed, and his little child of only six years, Mary Winchester was captured.

Shortly after, Katlichera, the adjoining garden was attacked by Lushais, who were apparently a part of the body who were at Alexandrapur. Messrs. Bagshawe and Cooke opposed them most gallantly and drove them away. Another party commenced to attack the lines, but was dispersed by Mr. Cooke and some coolies. The raiders, however, had killed five persons and wounded others, and were carrying off some women, whom they left on being threatened. Then, Mr. Cooke's party went over to

 $^{^{136}}$ CB-2, G - 18, from R.B. McCabe, Esq., Esq., I. C. S., Political officer, North Lushai Hills, to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam, Shillong, the 23^{rd} July 1892, (MSA).

Alexandrapur, recovered Mr. Winchester's body, and brought back some wounded coolies. 137

On January 24, 1871, a second attack was made on Katlicherra by some thirty Lushais, fifteen of whom were armed with guns. Messrs. Bagshawe and Cooke, assisted by some policemen who had arrived the previous night, and some armed servants, fired at and disabled two Lushais, on which the whole body retreated. On January 26, Lalburha, the grandson of Lalsavunga, attacked the tea garden of Monierkhal, shot one sepoy and wounded one sepoy and one policeman, and commenced an attack on the stockade and cooly lines.

Fortunately, Mr. Eglinton, the manager of the tea garden, had received warning of the raid and removed his labour force. He himself, with two other Europeans and a guard of thirty-seven soldiers and police, remained in the stockade until he was reinforced by forty men under Mr. Daly of the Cachar Police. The Lushais sustained the attacked for seventeen hours, but were finally driven off on the night of the January 28 with a loss of fifty-seven; the loss on the British side being six killed, six wounded, and one coolie missing. ¹⁴⁰ In recognition to his great gallantry in this action, Mr. Eglinton was awarded a large grant of land. ¹⁴¹

¹³⁷ S.C. Bayley, Note by the Secretary on Lushai Raids in 1870 – 71, Exbt. 8, (unfiled), (MSA).

¹³⁸ Ibid

¹³⁹ Bertram S. Carey and H.N. Tuck, *The Chin Hills: A History of the People, our dealings with them, their Customs and Manners, and a Gazetteer of their Country,* Volume I., The Superintendent, Government Printing, Burma, Rangoon, 1896, p.15; C. Nunthara, op.cit., p. 52.

¹⁴⁰ C. Nunthara, op.cit., p. 52.

¹⁴¹ A.G. McCall, *Chrysalis*, p.47.

Simultaneously with the attack on Monierkhal, a party of Lushais went on to the adjoining garden of Darmiakhal, which they plundered but did not burn. All the coolies working there were able to escape from the raiders.¹⁴²

Emboldened by their successes, the raiders penetrated as far as Nundigram on January 27, 1871, in which eleven persons were killed and three carried off. Here, on the following morning, the rear guard of the party of troops and police that had been sent to the relief of Monierkhal was attacked by the raiders. The guard consisted of eight sepoys, and a constable in charge of coolies carrying provisions. The sepoys made an admirable stand, and gave time for the constable and coolies to escape. Eventually, they were overpowered, and six of them were killed and wounded. About twenty-five Lushais lost their life in this encounter. 144

In the latter part of January 1871, a party of raiders made their first appearance in Tripura, burning village and killing and wounding the villagers. On 21 January, the villagers, who were working at about a day and a half's distance south of the Syhlet outposts, were fired on and dispersed, and a village named Pooyasbari was plundered and destroyed. On the next day, another village named Boongbari was burnt. On 2 March, a hundred men armed with guns and daos made their appearance on the

¹⁴² S.C. Bayley, Note by the Secretary on Lushai Raids in1870-71, Exbt. 8, (unfiled), (MSA).

¹⁴³ Bertram S. Carey and H.N. Tuck, op.cit., p.15.

¹⁴⁴ S.C. Bayley, Note by the Secretary on Lushai Raids in1870-71, Exbt. 8, (unfiled), (MSA).

Goomtee, about 40 miles east of Commillah. They had fired on a party of ten woodcutters, of whom three were missing. 145

In Syhlet, some villages near the Chargolla frontier post were attacked. On January 23, 1871, the Cacharipara was almost entirely burnt, more than twenty persons being killed and some young women carried off. On January 24, a raiding party of Lushais attacked a village opposite to the Chargolla outpost and killed two men. The guard immediately turned out and commenced firing at the raiders. After an hour, the raiders retired into the hills. ¹⁴⁶

In Manipur, the Political Agent reported on January 25 that an attack had been made on a village south – east of the valley, on the night of January 15. The village had been destroyed, forty persons decapitated, and about twenty carried off. He thought that the raid was commenced on account of the death of Vanhnuailiana.¹⁴⁷

Raid continued on in Jhalnacherra tea estate on February 23 by a party of about 120 Lushais who crossed the river from the west. A patrol of a head constable and four constables repulsed the raiders, but the Lushais had killed four and wounded three coolies.

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¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ Intelligence Branch: Division of the Chief of the Staff, Army Headquarters, India, comp., op.cit., p. 238.

¹⁴⁹ S.C. Bayley, Note by the Secretary on Lushai Raids in 1870 – 71, Exbt. 8, (unfiled), (MSA).

On February 27, 1871, a village near the Allynuggur outpost was attacked. Captain Robertson immediately sent out a party of sepoys, who were just in time to prevent the raiders escaping into the hills. In the skirmish which ensued, several of the raiders were wounded, but they were immediately carried off by their brethren. One raider was killed and the police succeeded in bringing the dead body, and two other corpses were found afterwards in the jungle. 150

These series of attacks were so fierce and persistent that the whole of southern part of Cachar was almost depopulated within a short time. The attack on Jhalnachera was the last fierce aggression in the Cachar District but similar outrages continued to occur in Manipur, Syhlet and Tripura until well on in March. Meanwhile, as already noted, some places of Tripura and Chittagong Hill Tracts also suffered raids from the Lushais. 151

From the above recapitulation, it became very clear that the Lushai raids had became more extensively organized, and of a far more determined character than any previous incursions of the kind, and the audacity of the raiders in many cases was quite new to the British experience. The manner in which they fought at Monierkhal had shown that they had fighting qualities not altogether to be despised, and that they had other tactics to depend on beyond those of night surprises and rapid flight. 152

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ Bertram S. Carey and H.N. Tuck, op.cit., p.15.

¹⁵² S.C. Bayley, Note by the Secretary on Lushai Raids in 1870-71, Exbt. 8, (unfiled), (MSA).

The raids also demonstrated that when plunder and heads could be easily obtained, the long standing feuds between different clans were forgotten, and a powerful combination was formed to carry out a series of carefully-concerted incursions into the plains. ¹⁵³ In fact, the urge to stand together against the perceived common enemy must have been strong enough that in the midst of inter-village feud these chiefs came together and fought a common war. However, their stand together in the battlefield did not seem to have any significance in the subsequent years in terms of unity among the Mizo chiefs. ¹⁵⁴

2.5 The Lushai Expedition of 1871-1872

While these events were transpiring in the Lushai Hills, the Indian Government was taking steps to punish the raiders and rescue the British subjects whom they had carried away into captivity. The identity of the tribes concerned in these several outrages was not clearly established for some time, but subsequent information left no doubt of the complicity of the Eastern Lushai chiefs such as Lalburha, Liankhama, Buangtheuva and Pawibawia, of the Sailo Chiefs, Savunga, and his sons Lalngura and Lalzika, and of the Southern chiefs such as Sangvunga,

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¹⁵³ CB-2, G − 18, from R.B. McCabe, Esq., Esq., I. C. S., Political officer, North Lushai Hills, to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam, Shillong, the 23rd July 1892, (MSA).

¹⁵⁴ Rohmingmawii, 'Bengkhuaia (1825- 1879)' in *Historical Journal Mizoram*, MHA, Volume – XI, November 2010, p. 38.

¹⁵⁵ Mary Winchester, Exbt. 5, (unfiled), (MSA).

Bengkhuaia and Seipuia. ¹⁵⁶ Therefore, the Governor General-in-Council decided that expedition should be sent into the Lushai Hills during the winter of 1871-1872. ¹⁵⁷

The British authorities now had to deal with the question of what measures should be adopted to punish the tribes concerned in those raids, to recover the British subjects who were held in captivity and to prevent a repetition of their incursions into the British territory for the future. The Government of India considered that the events of last season were sufficient enough as a pretext for despatching an armed expedition to punish the Lushais.

Regarding the departure of the British from their earlier policy of conciliation and of personal influence to a policy of retaliation and suppression, S. A. Bayley stated:

The policy which Sir C. Beadon laid down, which Sir William Grey urged on the Government of India, is the same as that now recommended unanimously by the local officers, that raids like those of last season should be met by condign punishment, in the shape of a military occupation of the raiders' villages during as long period as possible, the seizure of their crops and stored grain; the forced submission of their chiefs, and after that by steady endeavour of the

Hills, to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam, Shillong, the 23rd July 1892, (MSA).

¹⁵⁷ FEAP. July 1895, Nos. 122-145, as cited in J. Zorema, *Indirect Rule in Mizoram 1890-1954*, Mittal Publications, New Delhi, 2007, p.24.

Letter from A.W. Davis, Esq., I.C.S., Political Officer, North Lushai Hills to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam, No. 233, Fort Aijal, the 2^{nd} April 1894, (NAI). Those who were identified and classified as the Eastern Lushais were the villages ruled by the sons of Lianphunga and Vanhnuailiana; CB-2, G - 18, from R.B. McCabe, Esq., Esq., I. C. S., Political officer, North Lushai

frontier officers to influence them and promote trade; and finally by a system of frontier posts, combined with which a line of road running north and south from the Cachar frontier to that of Chittagong is universally recommended, and another running east and west along the Cachar frontier behind the posts is proposed, but is objected to by Mr. Edgar. ¹⁵⁸

The officers (Commissioner of Dacca, Commissioner of Chittagong, Major Graham, Mr. Edgar – Deputy Commissioner of Cachar, Captain T. H. Lewin and Major Macdonald), who had given their opinion regarding the necessity of an expedition were moreover unanimous, and were supported by the weightiest of all authority, viz. that of His Exellency the Commander-in-Chief in the opinion that such an expedition should consist of two columns, starting one from Cachar on the north, and the other from Chittagong on the south, that they should start as early as possible – effect a junction, occupy villages of chiefs known to be implicated, and open out a road of communication between the two frontiers, viz. the Cachar Frontier and the Chittagong Frontier.¹⁵⁹

All the authorities had agreed that the occupation should be gradual, systematic, and relentless; and the three means of punishment that were looked to were preventing reaping of the December crops, obtaining all the stored grain and live

¹⁵⁸ S.C. Bayley, Note by the Secretary on Lushai Raids in 1870 – 71, Exbt. 8, (unfiled), (MSA).

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¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

animals in the villages and preventing the preparation for next year's jhum cultivation. 160

Accordingly, the Government of India sanctioned a military expedition to punish the Lushais. It was arranged that two columns should operate simultaneously, one with its base in Cachar, entering the hill from the North, and the other, with its base in Chittagong, entering from the South. The expeditionary forces set out from their base on November 1, 1871. General Brownlow commanded the Right or Chittagong Column, with Captain Lewin, Suprintendent of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, as Civil Officer; and the Left or Cachar Column was under the command of General Bourchier, with Mr. Edgar, Deputy Commissioner of Cachar as Civil Officer. 161 In addition to these two columns, a separate contingent of Manipuris, supplied by the Raja of Manipur¹⁶² and accompanied by General Nuthall, the Political Agent of Manipur, made a demonstration across the southern border to co-operate with General Bourchier's portion of the expedition. 163

Thus, the expedition known as the 'Lushai Expedition of 1871-1872' was commenced, which was highly organized and more extensive than the previous ones. Each column of Indian soldiers consisted of one company of sappers and miners (for

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ Bertram S. Carey and H.N. Tuck, op.cit., p.15.

¹⁶² Intelligence Branch: Division of the Chief of the Staff, Army Headquarters, India, comp., op.cit., p.

¹⁶³ Bertram S. Carey and H.N. Tuck, op.cit., p.15.

clearing the road through the forest), half a mountain battery, and 1,500 Native Infantry, together with a full complement of European officers.¹⁶⁴

The entire political and military conduct of the expedition was placed in the hands of the Military Commanders, who were specially instructed that the object of the expedition was not one of pure retaliation, but that the surrender of the British Subjects held in captivity should be insisted on, and that every endeavour should be made to establish friendly relations with the Lushais and to convince them that they had nothing to gain and everything to lose by placing themselves in a hostile position towards the British Government.¹⁶⁵

The objective of the Left or Cachar Column was to punish the villages of Lalburha and Vanhnuailiana as well as those of Liankhama and Pawibawia, sons of Vanhnuailiana, who lived in the north and north-east portion of the hills, who had been mainly concerned in the raids of Monierkhal. The Chittagong Column was directed to punish the southern Lushai chiefs and rescue the British subjects held in captivity, including Mary Winchester, whom they had carried away into captivity. ¹⁶⁶

In the beginning of December 1871, the Cachar Column advanced from Silchar towards Tipaimukh following the route along the course of the Tuiruang (Barak) river. On December 9, 1871, the column reached Tipaimukh and began to

¹⁶⁵ Bertram S. Carey and H.N. Tuck, op.cit., p.16.

¹⁶⁴ Mary Winchester, 1872, Exbt. 5, (MSA).

¹⁶⁶ L. W. Shakespear, *History of the Assam Rifles*, reprint, Spectrum Publications, Guwahati, 1980, pp.67 – 68.

build store-houses, hospitals and stockades as preparatory to its advance in the Lushai country. On December 13, the advance began, and except some threatening demonstrations, no opposition was experienced till December 23.¹⁶⁷

On the latter date, the troops, while ascending the Senvawng range on which Khawlian, Vanpuilala's village lay, were received by a volley from a number of Lushais in ambush, causing the death of three and wounding of eight British soldiers. The village was at once taken with a rush, and was then destroyed and burnt. On the following days, several hostile villages in the neighbourhood were similarly dealt with. On December 26, the force evacuated Khawlian, and returned to camp in the valley below. A few days later, the Lushais there made complete submission. On December 30 and 31, peace offerings were accepted, and the year closed in comparative quiet. 168

Then, the force continued to advance in early January 1872 and towards the end of the month, they began to approach Pawibawia's village at Selam, one of the most powerful chiefs in that quarter ¹⁶⁹. On January 25, General Bourchier was warned by Pawibawia's representative that he would be attacked if he went on. ¹⁷⁰

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¹⁶⁷ Intelligence Branch: Division of the Chief of the Staff, Army Headquarters, India, comp., op.cit., p. 244.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 245.

¹⁶⁹ C. Lalthlengliana, 'Chief Pawibawia' in *Historical Journal Mizoram*, Volume XI, MHA, November 2010, p.3 "During the Lushai expedition of 1871-72, Pawibawia shifted his village at Selam, while Vanpuilala was at Khawlian and Lalburha at Champhai village. These leading chiefs attempted concerted resistance to the British advance into their country."

 $^{^{170}}$ A. G. McCall, *Chrysalsis*, pp. 48 – 49, "In early 1872 he (General Bourchier) pressed on into the country of the renowned Pawibawia Sailo Chief where he received an ultimatum to the effect that if they did not withdraw they would be assailed by the whole armed resistance of the Lushais who incidentally had been reinforced by men from Champhai to the East commanded by Lalbura Sailo. The

General Bourchier paid no regard to this, and the troops were accordingly attacked on all sides. The British troops, however, behaved with great coolness, and the Lushais were driven off with considerable loss. This attack proved that Pawibawia and Lalburha had joined their forces to oppose the advance of the British. Parties were sent out to burn Pawibawia's villages, and the artillery came into action for the first time, striking wonder and terror into the minds of the Lushais, and causing them to abandon their stockades in panic. Pawibawia now desired to come to terms with the General, but the latter replied that he would only treat in Selam, the most important village of the tribe. The column accordingly proceeded to occupy the Selam village, which was found deserted by Pawibawia and his followers. Nothing could persuade this chief to come in personally and tender his submission, nor was he ever captured. 171

Preparations were now made for the final stage of the operations, the capture of Lalburha's village, for which service 400 men and two guns were detailed. On February 12, the troops started off towards Champhai, the village of Lalburha, which was thus reached on February 17. On reaching the village, it was found deserted, and was then burnt to the ground. It appeared that the Suktes, old enemies of the Lushais, had taken advantage of the panic caused by the advance of the British column to make a fierce attack on Lalburha. The latter had succeeded in beating them off with loss, but their attack had created a diversion and prevented Lalburha from occupying a

General ignored the ultimatum and setting his guns into action, reduced all opposition, making terms of peace at Chelam from where he conceived the idea of moving on to attack the strong holds in the Champhai Section far to the East."

¹⁷¹ Intelligence Branch: Division of the Chief of the Staff, Army Headquarters, India, comp., op.cit., p.

stockade prepared across the route of the column, from which he intended to oppose the British advance. 172

On February 17, Lalburha's representatives came in to tender their submission. 173 Accordingly, peace was concluded at Chawnchhim at Champhai with the three terms such as - government agents should have free access to Lalburha's villages; the thirteen guns taken at Monierkhal and Nandigram should be surrendered; and a fine of two elephant tusks, one set of war gongs, one necklace, ten goats, ten pigs, fifty fowls, and twenty maunds of rice should be paid by Lalburha to the British. 174 The Cachar Column returned by the middle of March 1872 with all the terms fully satisfied. The three Lushai hostages were also recovered. 175

While these events were occurring, the Right or Chittagong Column was accomplishing its task with equal success. General Brownlow arrived in Chittagong on October 28, and at once began operations by establishing a depot at Kassalong, up to which point troops, stores, and provisions could easily be conveyed by means of the Khawthlangtuipui river. Above Kassalong, the river was found broken at intervals by rapids, but by dint of considerable labour these difficulties were overcome, and a

¹⁷² Ibid.p. 245.

¹⁷³ L. W. Shakespear, op.cit., p. 71.

¹⁷⁴ A. G. McCall, *Chrysalis*, p. 49; Intelligence Branch: Division of the Chief of the Staff, Army Headquarters, India, comp., op.cit., p. 239.

¹⁷⁵ A. G. McCall, *Chrysalis*, p. 49

boat service was established as far as Tlabung, which was converted into an advanced depot.176

From Tlabung, the force moved towards the village of Vanhnuaia Sailo, the first great Sailo chief in the Belkhai range. On December 14, the village was taken and established as a base for still wider operations. ¹⁷⁷ Parties were dispatched against the neighbouring villages, which were all destroyed along with immense quantities of grain. ¹⁷⁸ In January 1872, the British attacked the village of Savunga Sailo, where the Lushais had given great resistance. The village was then captured and destroyed on 21st January. Having had enough punishment, the Sailos submitted and brought some captives. 179

By the same time, Rothangpuia, the friend and ally of the British, was despatched to negotiate with a confederate of the Sailo chiefs, who were initially identified and categorized as Haulawngs by the British, for the release of Mary Winchester, who had been captured in the raid on Alexandrapur in 1871. Accordingly, Rothangpuia, accompanied by Mahomed Azim, Subedar of the Frontier Police and a small party of T.H. Lewin's men reached the Kawlri village where Rothangpuia was successful in persuading the chief Bengkhuaia that it would be wise of him to release Mary Winchester, and all other captives under his jurisdiction as

¹⁷⁶ Intelligence Branch: Division of the Chief of the Staff, Army Headquarters, India, comp., op.cit., p. 246.

¹⁷⁷ A. G. McCall, *Chrysalis*, p. 49.

¹⁷⁸ Intelligence Branch: Division of the Chief of the Staff, Army Headquarters, India, comp., op.cit., p.

¹⁷⁹ L. W. Shakespear, op.cit.,, p. 74.

quickly as possible. ¹⁸⁰ Negotiations were also carried on for some considerable time, and finally, on February 18, an oath of friendship was taken with the Haulawng chiefs, and on their returning all the captives, peace was proclaimed and presents were exchanged. ¹⁸¹

The results of the campaign of the Cachar Column were firstly, the complete subjection of sixty villages, of which twenty that resisted were attacked and destroyed; secondly, the personal submission of fifteen chiefs, and their solemn engagement on behalf of themselves and their tributaries for future good behavior; thirdly, the recovery of Mary Winchester, and the liberation of 150 British subjects who had from time to time been made captives; and the recovery of many looted guns; and lastly, the survey officers attached to the expedition were able to triangulate 3,000 square miles of the country, more than half of which was surveyed in detail. ¹⁸²

On February 28, the force began its return to its base at Tlabung, and by April 3, the last of the troops had arrived Calcutta. Hence, the operations of the 'Lushai Expedition of 1871-1872' lasted for about six months, during which time both Columns penetrated deep into the Lushai Hills with great success. The Lushai Expedition of 1871-1872 was mainly a form of punishment to those chiefs who were involved in the looting, plundering and raiding of the Cachar and the Chittagong

180 Ibid., p. 74; Mary Winchester-1872, Exbt., (unfiled), (MSA).

¹⁸¹ Intelligence Branch: Division of the Chief of the Staff, Army Headquarters, India, comp., op.cit., p. 246.

¹⁸² Ibid., p. 247.

Hills, and no attempt had been made to occupy the hill. ¹⁸³ A large number of Lushai chiefs submitted and promised lasting friendship and peace. The Lushai-Tipperah boundaries were re-demarcated and *bazaars* were started at Changsil and Tipaimukh. Much information was also gained about the Lushais and their country and the Expedition had brought peace at least for a whole decade. ¹⁸⁴

2.6 The British's scorched earth policy

For more than a decade after the 'Lushai Expedition of 1871-1872', there had been no serious trouble from the Lushais because they 'had in their mind the sad memory of the British Expedition.' This short-term quietude of the Lushais was due to the British's devastating retaliatory measure, which they called the 'lessons' taught by them, which was based on the 'scorched earth' policy. 186

A scorched earth policy is a military strategy that involves destroying anything that might be useful to the enemy while advancing through or withdrawing from an area. In the history of warfare, the practice of 'scorched earth', whereby the physical resources, which provided sustenance to opposing forces had been actively targeted and destroyed, is one of the oldest, and most consistent within military

C. I tuliului a, 1810., p. 32

¹⁸³ C. Nunthara, Ibid., p. 52.

¹⁸⁴ FEAP. July 1895, Nos. 122-145, as cited in J. Zorema, *op.cit.*, p.25.

¹⁸⁵ Suhas Chatterjee, *Mizoram*, p.96.

¹⁸⁶ Note on the Lushai Hills, its Inhabitants, and its Administration Since 1888, Exhibit 4 (unfiled), (MSA).

history pre-dating written records.¹⁸⁷ The first ever instance of this appears to have occurred in Mesopotamia, when the harvest of a besieged city was burnt.¹⁸⁸ This kind of 'scorched earth' policy is used in various warfares throughout human civilization, even till modern times.

During the period of colonialism, this method of warfare had been the outright strategy of the British for their colonial expansion, especially in dealing with the tribal people. In his 1896 treatise, *Small Wars- Their Principles and Practice*, Sir Charles Edward Callwell (1856-1928) wrote:

Where there is no king to conquer, no capital to seize, no organized army to overthrow...the objective is not easy to select. It is then that the regular troops are forced to resort to cattle lifting and village burning and that the war assumes an aspect which may shock the humanitarian. 189

During the Tirah Campaign (1897-1898) against the Afridi and Orakzai tribesmen in the North West Frontier of India, one of the participants named Arthur Neville Chamberlain (1869-1940), who later became the Prime Minister of Great Britain between 1937-1940, explained the British destructive policy:

¹⁸⁷ L Keeley, War Before Civilization, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1996, p. 75 & 107.

¹⁸⁸ Alexander Gillespie, A History of the Laws of War: Volume 3: The Customs and Laws of War with Regards to Arms Control, Hart Publishing, Oxford, 2011, p. 53.

¹⁸⁹ C. E. Callwell, *Small Wars- Their Principles and Practice*, (1896), University of Nebraska Press, USA, 1906, reprint, p. 40; Charles Edward Callwell was an Anglo-Irish officer of the British Army, who served in the artillery, as an intelligence officer and commander during the Second Boer War, and as Director of Operations and Intelligence during World War I (*'Charles Edward Callwell'* in Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia, retrieved from https://en.wikipedia.org., accessed on November 20, 2012.)

To carry destruction, if not desolation, into the homes of some hunhreds of families is the great drawback of border warfare; but with savage tribes to whom there is no right but might and no law to govern them in their intercourses with the rest of mankind, save that which appeals to their own interest, the only course as regards humanity as well as policy is to make all suffer, and thereby for their own interests, enlist the great majority on the side of peace and safety. ¹⁹⁰

These two statements clearly explain how the British resorted to and justified their brutal warfare for the expansion of their empire. The British continued to follow this scorched earth policy in many other places including the Lushai Hills. For instance, this kind of warfare was used by the British in the Tirah Campaign of 1897-1898 in India and against the Boers in Africa during the Boer Wars of 1899 to 1902.

In the 'Lushai Expedition of 1871-1872', not only was the British satisfied with the destruction of their crops and the seizure of all the stored grains and domesticated animals, but also obstruct them to take up cultivation for the next year. Their main attempt was to cripple the back-bone of their economy in its totality. The

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¹⁹⁰ Quoted in Alexander Gillespie, op.cit., p. 70; The Tirah Campaign was part of the North West Frontier Campaigns, which was directed against the Afridi and Orakzai tribesmen within the Presidency of Bengal between 10 June 1897- April 1898.

¹⁹¹ Ibid., p. 53; Colonel H.D. Hutchinson, *The Campaign in Tirah 1897-1898: An Account of the Expedition Against the Orakzais and Afridis*, Macmillan, London, 1898, p. 1.

destruction of the villages caused the inhabitants dispersed, ¹⁹² and wiped out their power to stand against the British.

Interestingly, no sources indicated the prevalence of this kind of brutal warfare among the Lushais. The folksong known as 'Zopui Zai (Lallula Zopui Zai)' indicated that sometimes people migrated to other villages and some villages were even deserted due to fear of their enemies. That folk song known as 'Zopui Zai (Lallula Zopui Zai) goes as:

Zopui e, kan khawtlang a sei tak a,

A laiah Liandanga tual leng e

Chhimtiang hmartiang sa ang tlan zo ve,

Zopuiah hnutiang ka dal na'ng e.

(English translation)

Oh Zopui, the village that stretches long,

In the midst Chief Liandanga does reign.

O'er south and north, my kinsmen have fled,

But I, alone on Zopui remain. 193

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¹⁹² Assam Secretariat, Foreign – A, Progs., August 1891, Nos. 30 – 38, *Political Report of the Northern Lushai Hills for 1890-91*, Excluded Areas Records, Exbt. 24 (unfiled), (MSA).

¹⁹³ Translation by self and Lalrinmawii Khiangte.

However, while indicating some incidents during tribal wars like the killing and cutting of heads and the capturing of certain persons for slave, this and other folksongs or folktales never indicate the indiscriminate burning of villages or grains and crops of their rivals.

The burning of villages and destruction of crops and grains had been unknown among the Lushai themselves. In the mid nineteenth century, around 1850-1856, there broke out a long feud between the chiefs of north and south Lushai Hills, who formed a separate confederacy on their respective sides. This had been known in the history of the Lushais as "Chhim leh Hmar Indo" (War between the South and North). An unfortunate event during this conflict was the famous 'Khawnglung Run' (the raid on Khawnglung village) in 1854, in which a confederate of the northern chiefs with the help of a Fanai chief Khawtindala and the Zahau pawis (a cognate tribe then lived in the Chin Hills of Burma), raided, slaughtered the people and captivated number of people, and burnt down the Khawnglung village which belonged to the southern confederacy. ¹⁹⁴ A similar event of this kind was the invasion of Khuangleng in 1871 by the Laitui villagers from the present Tiddim District of Myanmar (the inhabitants were a particular tribe called Suktes). ¹⁹⁵ We find that these two incidents at Khawnglung and Khuangleng saw the intervention of the tribes who lived outside the Lushai Hills.

¹⁹⁴ B. Lalthangliana, *Mizo Chanchin (A Short Account & Easy reference of Mizo History) (Mizo Chanchin)*, R.T.M. Press, Aizawl, 2009, p. 117.

¹⁹⁵ Vanglaini, November 26, 2015.

The British's 'scorched earth policy' was more barbaric and brutal than the warfare of the tribes whom they called 'savage', 'wild' and 'barbaric'. Some tribes like the Nagas were accustomed to the burning of their enemies' villages, but they also never destroy their crops. A Naga once complained to the British officer:

> You do not fight fair; we attack a village, burn it, take a few heads, and then make peace, each side returning to his agricultural operations. On the other hand, you go on through a whole season, ignoring the fact that unless crops are cultivated, men cannot live. 196

The British were trying to impress the Lushais with a notion of their strength and the utter futility of resistance; to destroy their crops, properties, and houses; and to hunt them down until they see that full submission was the only choice left to them. 197 It was expected that by this pressure, the chiefs would come in to surrender and then, the British would insist on having the captives surrendered, and made much use of them in getting the road cut as might be practicable. 198

ThaThis method of exercising military power by the British easily compelled a number of Lushai chiefs to submit themselves and to promise peace and friendship with the British. 199 Among the chiefs who surrendered to the British during the Expedition of 1871-1872 included such powerful chiefs like Vanpuilala of Khawlian,

¹⁹⁶ Assam Secretariat, Foreign – A, Progs., August 1891, Nos. 30 – 38, Political Report of the Northern Lushai Hills for 1890-91, Excluded Areas Records, Exbt. 24 (unfiled), (MSA).

¹⁹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁹⁸ S.C. Bayley, Note by the Secretary on Lushai Raids in 1870-1871, Exbt. 8 (unfiled), (MSA).

¹⁹⁹ FEAP. July 1895, Nos. 122-145, as cited in J. Zorema, op.cit., p.25

Pawibawia of Selam, Lalburha of Champhai, Vanhnuaia Sailo ruling in the Belkhai range, and a confederate of southern Sailo chiefs including Bengkhuaia.

The British's 'scorched earth' policy had caused so much sufferings on the Lushais that since the close of the Expedition of 1871–72, raids had ceased for a long time, except certain incidents that brewed up in some places. The Lushais' recourse to looting and plundering in the 1880s was ascribed by many scholars including Suhas Chatterjee to the breakdown of economy caused by a famine in the Lushai Hills. 200 This famine was caused by a natural phenomenon called "*Thingtam*," the first recorded of its kind in the Lushai Hills, which occurred in 1880. 201 This famine had completely crushed the economy of the country. The chiefs sold out their ivory, jewellery and other valuables for the sake of food; they exchanged their guns and other arms for food. Not only their crops, but all their means to raise money for purchasing food also exhausted. Not only was the *jhum* exhausted, but rubber, the most important medium of exchange, had died out due to aver tapping of the juice. 203

²⁰⁰ Suhas Chatterjee, *Mizoram*, p.96.

Tulda) is a certain species of bamboo which had been found in abundance in the Lushai Hills. The occurrence of "Thingtam" had been known in Mizoram only three times, which happened in the years 1880, 1930 and 1977. Bamboos usually have a life-cycle of around 40 to 80 years, varying among species. Normally, new bamboos grow up from bamboo shoots at the roots. At infrequent intervals for most species, they will start to blossom. After blossom, flowers produce fruit (called "bamboo rice" in parts of India and China). Following this, the bamboo forest dies out. Since a bamboo forest usually grows from a single bamboo, the death of bamboos occurs in a large area. This phenomenon is called "tam" in Mizo. Flowering of bamboo produces large quantities of seeds, typically suspended from the ends of the branches. The huge increase in bamboo seeds in the forests often causes a boom in rodent populations, leading to increases in disease and famine in nearby human populations; B.Lalthangliana, *Mizo Chanchin*, p.140.

²⁰² Suhas Chatterjee, *Mizoram*, p.96.

²⁰³ Ibid., p.96.

Scholars like Suhas Chatterjee and Lalrimawia claim that the utter destitution and acute economic depression suffered by the Lushais as a result of this famine formed the idea of plunder as the only means of survival for them. ²⁰⁴ However, other authors indicate that during famine, the Lushais turned to consume wild fruits and vegetables for their survival even though some of them resorted to the pillage of their neighbouring tribes within the British influence as exemplified by the looting and plundering of Sonai Bazaar by 'the men of chief Pawibawiha and his son Lalhruaia in 1884.'²⁰⁵

Once again, the long dormant spirit of raids had been revived, and on the Chittagong side there were signs that the lesson of 1871-1872 was being forgotten.²⁰⁶ In November 1883, a party of police was attacked near Tlabung by a party belonging to the kindred tribes called Fanai, known to the British as Muallianpuis, killing two sepoys and a servant.²⁰⁷ In February, 1886, a party of about twenty Lakhers (now called Maras) attacked six Chakmas and killed two of them.²⁰⁸ After this, the country remained quiet until the early part of 1888, when a small survey party, commanded by Lieutenant Stewart of the Leinster Regiment, was surprised and massacred by a head

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²⁰⁴ Lalrimawia, *Mizoram: History and Cultural Identity, (189-1947)*, Spectrum Publications, Guwahati, 1995, pp. 37-38; also see Suhas Chatterjee, *Mizoram*, p.96.

²⁰⁵ B.Lalthangliana, *Mizo Chanchin*, p.140; Lalngurliana Sailo, 'Frontier Markets and the Mizos' in *Historical Journal Mizoram*, Volume XV, MHA, November 2014, p.105.

²⁰⁶ Note on the Lushai Hills, its Inhabitants, and its Administration Since 1888, Exbt. 4 (unfiled), (MSA).

²⁰⁷ Intelligence Branch: Division of the Chief of the Staff, Army Headquarters, India, comp., op.cit., p. 239; Those who were known and written as *Mollienpui* or *Muallianpui* tribe in the colonial accounts were the *Fanai* clan, who initially established their chieftainship in the north-eastern part of Mizoram. Later on, they moved towards the south along the eastern ranges and scattered mainly in the south-eastern region of Mizoram.

²⁰⁸ Lalrimawia, op.cit., pp.38.

- hunting party of Pawis, who had ventured across the frontier. This had been followed by a number of raids in the frontier. The reprisals made by the British and its subsequent attempt to establish permanent rule in the Lushai Hills marked an important episode in the history of Anglo-Lushai relations.

1.7 Conclusion

The region known as the North-East Frontier of Bengal was free from European colonial expansion until the establishment of British rule in Bengal in 1765. After becoming the sovereign of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, the East India Company, the protection of their territories in India became the concern of the Company's authorities.

In the meanwhile, after occupying Assam in 1816, the Burmese forces began to advance upon Cachar and threatened Jaintia, a bordering dependency of Bengal. This resulted into hostility between the British and the Burmese. After a series of battles, the British emerged victorious and concluded the Treaty of Yandaboo on February 24, 1826 by which the principality of Assam and its dependencies, and the contiguous petty states of Cachar and Jaintia, Manipur and their neighbourhood as well as Arrakan were ceded to the British.

After the annexation of Cachar, the region which had earlier been *terra incognita* to the British became opened for further exploration. At the same time, the British authorities began to face fresh troubles from various tribes inhabiting the hilly

regions adjacent to its boundary. Among these tribes were the Lushais, known to the Bengalis by the name of Kookie, who had lived in the mountainous regions south of Cachar. The land inhabited by the Lushais also stretches on the south along the Chittagong Frontier, and some portions of the Chin Hills of Burma. The resistance of these tribes to colonialism and the counter-action by the British and its subsequent impact formed a new episode in the history of British colonialism in the North Eastern frontier of India.

Since the early part of the nineteenth century, the British gradually expanded its territory towards the Lushai Hills by bringing more lands under tea cultivation. The extensive extension of tea gardens in Cachar along the foothills which formed the natural territory for Lushais to conduct big-game hunting had enraged the Lushais, who then resorted to armed resistance by frequently raiding the villages within British protectorate. The main reason for Lushai resistance seems to be the deforestation of their hunting grounds for tea plantation within the land which they claimed as their own. Moreover, the hunting of animals had deep connection with the social and cultural practices of the Lushais. As such, the depopulation of wild animals through deforestation was seen as an intrusion into their social and cultural life.

Besides, the growth of tea industry attracted a number of settlers in and around the tea gardens to provide its huge labour requirement. Hence, the proliferation of human settlement in the form of small villages and towns in and around tea plantations provided incentives for Lushai raids because war booty in the form of materials and human captives were easily available. The result of all these

developments in the frontier and the proclivity of the Lushai for raids rendered tea gardens the main targets of attack by the latter.

In all the colonial writings, the attacks made by the Lushais in the tea gardens were recorded and attributed as a 'raid' or 'invasion' on the British territory. However, since many areas that they attacked were considered by the Lushais as theirs, their actions may be considered as resistance to colonial expansion. It was, in fact, the colonial forces who intruded and invaded the Lushais inside their own territory as a repercussion to armed resistance by the Lushais. It is a peculiar feature of colonialism that the indigenous people were compelled to rise in armed conflict with the colonial forces, who then retaliated by military invasion to occupy their land. In most of the cases of colonization in the Americas, Asia and Africa, colonial military strategy was genocidal and included the destruction of food supplies, resources and shelter so as to cripple them from resisting colonial expansion.

The British policy to mitigate Lushais' resistance to colonialism include reprisals by military expedition, in which many crops, food grains and villages of the Lushais had been destroyed, especially during the 'Lushai Expedition of 1871-1872'. The destruction caused by the British's 'scorched earth' policy was so devastating that the Lushais' resistance had been tranquillized for more than a decade.

Interestingly, no sources indicated the prevalence of this kind of brutal warfare among the Lushais, at least among themselves, prior to their contact with the British. The folksong known as 'Zopui Zai (Lallula Zopui Zai)' indicated that sometimes people migrated to other villages and some villages were even deserted due to fear of

their enemies. However, this and other folksongs or folktales never indicate the indiscriminate burning of villages or grains and crops of their rivals.

The British's 'scorched earth' policy had caused so much sufferings on the Lushais that since the close of the 'Lushai Expedition of 1871-1872,' raids had ceased for a long time, except certain incidents that cropped up in some places. The Lushais' recourse to looting and plundering in the 1880s was ascribed to the breakdown of economy caused by a famine that struck the Lushai Hills in 1880. Among other raids by the Lushais, an incident in which Lieutenant Stewart along with two British officers and one native soldier were murdered in the early part of 1888 was considered by the British as an insult to their power. Moreover, this incident was followed by a number of raids into the British territory adjacent to the Lushai Hills resulting in the killing and enslavement of a lot of British subjects.

The reprisals made by the British for the above mentioned incidents and her attempt to subjugate the Lushais and establish permanent rule in the Lushai Hills through military expeditions known as the 'Lushai Expedition of 1889' and the 'Chin-Lushai Expedition of 1889-1890' marked an important episode in the history of Anglo-Lushai relations. The services rendered by Shakespear for the subjugation of the South Lushai Hills during these military campaigns would be the focus of the next chapter.

CHAPTER – 3: JOHN SHAKESPEAR AND THE SUBJUGATION SOUTH LUSHAI HILLS

It is studied in the previous chapter that the Lushais ceased to carry out raids on the frontier for a long time since the close of the 'Lushai Expedition of 1871-1872.' However, the late nineteenth century witnessed certain incidents in which the Lushais revived their long dormant practice of raids and plunder due to various reasons. Meanwhile, consequent upon the political developments in India and Burma, the British colonial government was eager to establish its rule in the Lushai Hills. All these developments stimulated the colonial authority to despatch military expeditions against the Lushais with a view to establish permanent domination of their land. This chapter analyses the relations of the Lushais with the British since the 1880s till the establishment of British rule in the Lushai Hills and locates the role of John Shakespear for the subjugation of the South Lushai Hills.

3.1 Lineage of John Shakespear

John Shakespear, whom the Lushais had given a nickname *'Tarmita'* (Mr. Spectacles), belonged to Shakespear's Walk, known most popularly as Shadwell family of London. ²⁰⁹ He was born in West Bengal on September 1, 1861. ²¹⁰ He was

²⁰⁹ The Director of Art & Culture, *Gazetteers*, p. 47; Ursula Low, *Fifty years with John company : from the letters of Sir John Low of Clatto, Fife 1822 – 1858*, John Murray, London, 1936, p. 64.

²¹⁰ C. Hayavadana Rao, ed., *The Indian Biographical Dictionary (1915)*, Pillar, Madras, 1915, p. 391; also see David Arathoon, "re: Acheson Family and Campbell Family," (e-mail message to Darryl Lundy, 8 April 2005 – 14 July 2006) as cited in Darryl Lundy, *A Genealogical Survey of the Peerage of Britain as Well as the Royal Families of Europe*, retrieved from http://www.thepeerage.com., accessed on 28 May 2011.p.22494; also see the letter of J.Shakespear to Mr. Cotton, dated Fort Tregear, the 26th January 1896, (MSA) which wrote "......but I have just experienced rather a shock

the youngest among the ten children of Sir Richmond Campbell Shakespear and Marian Sophia Thompson. ²¹¹ He died at the age of eighty on February 10, 1942. ²¹²

The family background of John Shakespear must have been a stirring one, though only little is known about it. The Shakespear family is related to a number of other illustrious figures in English literary and military history in British India, including William Makepeace Thackeray (author of a famous novel *Vanity Fair*), General Sir John Low, and Colonel Sir Richmond Campbell Shakespear. In order to avoid confusion with William Shakespeare, the Shakespears of British India dropped the 'e' at the end of their name. There is, however, a distinct possibility that their earliest traceable ancestor John Shakespear of Shadwell could well be from the same stock as the great poet of Stratford. ²¹³ John Shakespear, the second son of the Alderman also left a memorandum declaring his belief that the family was derived from the poet's grandfather. However, no proof has been found of any such connection, though it is perfectly possible that it existed. ²¹⁴

The Shakespear family had been prosperous city folk for some generations. Originally they came from a family of rope- makers in Shadwell, east of the Tower of

by finding the age for the Staff College has just been reduced to 35, which advanced age I expect to reach in September next....."

²¹¹ Darryl Lundy, op.cit., p.22494; also see *Shakespear, John, 1861-1942, Colonel,* (RSAA/SC/S/JS), retrieved from http://discovery. nationalarchives.gov.uk., accessed on 23.3.2016.

²¹² 'Book review on Parratt, John, Lt. Col. John Shakespear's Collected Papers on Manipur' in *The Hindu*, Visakhapatnam, January 20, 2015; also see *Shakespear*, *John*, *1861-1942*, *Colonel*, (RSAA/SC/S/JS), retrieved from http://discovery. nationalarchives.gov.uk., accessed on 23.3.2016.

²¹³ Margaret.Makepeace, *Tales from the other Shakespears*, np., posted in *Untold Lives Blog*, The British Library Board, on 28.November, 201, retrieved from http://britishlibrary.typepad. co.uk., accessed on 7th September, 2015.

²¹⁴ Charlotte Carmichael Stopes, *Shakespeare's Family: Being a Record of the Ancestors and Descendants of William Shakespear, with some Accounts of the Ardens*, reprint, Library of Alexandria, U.S.A., 2013, p. 82.

London.²¹⁵ The first known ancestor was John Shakespear of Shadwell, born *circa* 1619. He was the great great- grandfather of John Shakespear, who is the subject of our present study.

With the enormous growth of shipping and trade to and from India through the London docks at the end of the seventeenth century the Shakespears soon found their sons going out to India as 'writers', or through military school at Addiscombe and into the Indian Army. Most of the families of Shakespear were born and raised in India, their children being sent to England for school and then returning to India, either in the civil service or the army. ²¹⁶

John, the second son of Alderman John Shakespear was born on May 6, 1749. He married Mary Davenport (born in 1757) on May 9, 1782. His wife, Mary Davenport was the daughter and heir of the Rev. William Davenport of Bredon, and her mother Martha Talbot belonged to the old family famed by Shakespeare the poet. The eldest of their sons, John Talbot Shakespear entered the Bengal Civil Service under the English East India Company. He was married and had four sons with Emily Thackeray, eldest daughter of William Makepeace Thackeray (b. June 20, 1749, d. March 11, 1813) and Amelia Richmond Webb.²¹⁷

John Talbot Shakespear's youngest son Richmond Campbell Shakespear, who was the father of Major John Shakespear, was born on May 11, 1812 at West Bengal, India.²¹⁸ He went to England with his brother, William Makepeace Thackeray, for his education. After he came back to India, he served his home country by enlisting in the

²¹⁵ Shakespear Family, (RSAA/SC/S), retrieved from http://discovery. nationalarchives.gov. uk., accessed on 23.3.2016.

²¹⁶ Ibid.

²¹⁷ Darryl Lundy, op.cit., p.22494

²¹⁸ Ibid., p.22494.

Imperial army and soon gained the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in the service of the 36th Native Infantry. He served the East India Company with distinction in India and because of his distinctive service in the Company, he was knighted in 1841.²¹⁹

Major John Shakespear was one of the descendants of the family which had significant footprints in the cololonial expansion of the British. In fact, the Shakespears had a long tradition of military and civil service in India and other places like Afghanistan, Burma, and Kuwait and Russia. 220 Being born in the family which had served in the East India Company's military service from his forefathers, John Shakespear also followed the same course of life. He was educated at Wellington College and Sandhurst, ²²¹ the high-class military institutions of the time.

After completing his military education, he was enlisted in the Company's military service at a very young age of 20 (twenty) in 1881. 222 He already became a Captain in the Leinster Regiment when he was first sent to the Lushai Hills in 1888. By 1895, when he was only thirty-four years, he was conferred the rank of a Major in his Regiment. On March 28, 1896, he was appointed to be an Assistant Commissioner of the 1st Grade in Assam, and joined the Indian Staff Corps in 1896. ²²³

While serving the East India Company as well as the Government of India, he had showed his capability in different capacities beginning with a successful military career and ultimately as a prominent administrator. He was appointed to the post of Superintendent of the South Lushai Hills at an early age of thirty only. He took the charge from April 16, 1891 and remained the Superintendent till 1897, when he was

²¹⁹ Ibid., p.22494.

²²⁰ Shakespear Family, (RSAA/SC/S), retrieved from http://discovery. nationalarchives.gov.uk., accessed on 23.3.2016; Diary of J. H. Lorraine, p. 139, (Archives of Aizawl Theological College).

²²¹ C.Hayavadana Rao, ed., op.cit., p. 391.

²²² Ibid., p. 391.

²²³ I.F. Extl. A, No. 21 of March 1896, From- H.J.S. Cotton, Esq., C.S.I., Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal to the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department., No. 693 - P., dated Calcutta, the 21st February 1896, (NAI); also see C.Hayavadana Rao (ed.), op.cit., p. 391; Home Department Proceedings (henceforth HDP), April 1896, J.P. Hewett, Secretary to the Government of India, Notification No. 253, dated Calcutta, the 28th March 1896, (NAI).

transferred to North Lushai Hills. He succeeded Mr. A Porteous as Political Officer in the North Lushai Hills in 1897 and held the office till April 1, 1898.

After the amalgamation of the North and South Lushai Hills into the Lushai Hills District on April 1, 1898, Shakespear was appointed to become the first Superintendent of the Lushai Hills District. In 1899, H.W.C. Cole acted for him when Shakepear went home on leave. Shakespear then joined the office again in 1900 and remained the Superintendent till 1903. From 1903 to 1904, L.O Clarke was appointed to act as Superintendent. Again, Shakespear was reinstated in 1904 and held the post till he was transferred to Manipur to serve his government in the capacity of Political Agent from 1905-1908 and 1909-1914.



Fig. 3.1 John Shakespear

3.2 Early contact with the Lushais

John Shakespear first came to the Lushai Hills in 1888 to accompany Lieutenant Baird in surveying the frontier on the south. After the annexation of Upper Burma on February 26, 1886, the British Government came into contact with the tribes of the Chin Hills lying west of the Chindwyn River and close neighbours of the Lushais. The annexation also gave the Government of India the responsibility of protecting the new subjects from the inroads of the hill tribes who had been in the habit of raiding the Burmese villages on the frontier, and carrying the inhabitants into captivity and slavery. ²²⁴ Therefore, for protection against their frequent depredations on Burmese villages and the enslaving of people captured, the British Government felt that a military force had to enter the Chin country, where much fighting took place, and Fort White was established as a permanent post. ²²⁵ The said annexation also outlived the utility of the Lushai country as a buffer country. It was now realized that sooner or later the annexation of the Lushai Hills was inevitable and that was also a military necessity. ²²⁶

Moreover, in spite of the long quietude of the Lushais since the expedition of 1871-1872, it was feared that stirred by what was going on amongst their neighbours to the east, they too might break out again. Therefore, in order to protect themselves from these possible disturbances, it was necessary to maintain permanent peace in the entire area from the Chindwyn River to the Chittagong border. The British now felt that the existing policy which had been established after the campaign of 1871-1872, which consisted of maintaining a chain of frontier posts, so as to ensure

²²⁴ Suhas Chatterjee, *Mizoram*, p. 99.

²²⁵ Col. L.W. Shakespear, op.cit, p. 82.

²²⁶ Suhas Chatterjee, *Mizoram*, p. 99.

²²⁷ I. F., External – A, Oct. 1888, Nos. 87 – 117, from D. R. Lyall, Esq., Commissioner of the Chittagong Division, to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, No. 916 H. T. – VI, dated Chittagong, the 12th December 1888. It is written: "I think the time has now come when it is necessary to review our whole policy in connection with the frontier tribes lying to east of this division and Hill Tipperah, south of Cachar and Manipore and west and north of Burma..... The present system may be held to have been established after the campaign of 1871-72, and consists, so far as this division is

efficient and constant patrolling, was not enough for ensuring peace in their territory and urged that the frontier policy should be altered to suit the changed state of affairs.²²⁸

Until the annexation of Upper Burma into their colonial empire, the British authorities had no intension to occupy the Lushai Hills because they considered that the Lushai Hills formed a real frontier having beyond them the territories of Upper Burma, and that the occupation of the Lushai Hills might bring them into immediate proximity to the tribes then imperfectly controlled by the Burmese Government. The policy of the British towards the Lushais during that period was the repression of incursions, the despatch of punitive expeditions, and the establishment of posts and garrisons to prevent the tribes of the hills from raiding against their subjects in the plains. ²²⁹

However, since Upper Burma was incorporated within the British empire, the Lushai county was surrounded on all sides by the settled districts, or by petty states under the immediate control of the British. The geographical position, thus, enabled the Lushais to commit outrages easily upon the British territory on all sides. ²³⁰ In this way, the annexation of Upper Burma in 1888 and the subsequent establishment of a

concerned, in a condon of posts which were intended to be connected by good roads and to be within easy distance of each other, so as to ensure efficient and constant patrolling.....The policy of a chain of frontier posts was the best possible in 1872 when Burma was an independent kingdom, but the annexation of Burma has entirely changed this situation, and I urge that our frontier policy should be altered to suit this changed of affair..."

²²⁸ Ibid.

²²⁹ Tribal Research Institute, comp., *Foreign Department Report on Chin Lushai Hills*, September, 1892, (hereafter *Foreign Department Report* -1892), TRI, Aizawl, 1980, p. 12.

²³⁰ I. F., External – A, Oct. 1888, Nos. 87 – 117, Government of India, Foreign Department, External, No. 4 of 1889, Fort William, the 8th January 1889, to the Right Hon'ble Viscount Cross, G. C. B., Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, (NAI). "The annexation of Upper Burma has, it must be remembered, materially altered our position in regard to this wild region, which is now surrounded by settled districts under our direct administration; and a merely punitive expedition, however appropriate it might have been in former days, when we had no ulterior object beyond the immediate punishment and prevention of outrages, would not, under present circumstances, appreciably advance the permanent pacification and domination of the hill country." The signatories of this official letter were Lansdowne, G. Chesney, A. R. Scoble, C. A. Elliott, P. P. Hutchins and D. M. Barbour.

permanent outpost called Fort White made it reasonable to annex the Lushai Hills as it became the only ungoverned territory between the Chittagong Hill Tracts and Upper Burma.²³¹

Many of the British officials thus recommended that their policy must be advanced towards the 'permanent pacification and domination of the hill country.' 232 J. Ware Edgar, the then Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, elaborated the expediency of the above proposed policy on both political and economic grounds that the adoption of such policy proved successful in many parts of India including the Garo, the Naga and the Cossyah (Khasi) Hills which brought peace into these hills and also significantly reduced the cost of maintaining frontier defense. Acknowledging the success of such frontier management, he supported the extension of the same towards the Lushai Hills.²³³

Convinced by such arguments like this, the Lieutenant-Governor thus advocated an alternative policy and recommended to undertake the permanent pacification of the whole tract by means of roads run through it, and to substitute the existing line of comparatively weak guards by strong military outposts. It was also proposed to eventually bring the whole tract under the control of a single officer stationed at a central dominant post.

The military authorities in Calcutta (now Kolkata), thus felt that for future protection from the raids of the Lushais and the neighbouring tribes; and also to reduce the cost of maintaining frontier outposts, it was necessary to maintain a line of

²³² I. F., External – A, Oct. 1888, Nos. 87 – 117, Government of India, Foreign Department, External, No. 4 of 1889, Fort William, the 8th January 1889, to the Right Hon'ble Viscount Cross, G. C. B., Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, (NAI).

²³¹ Joy L. K. Pachuau, *Being Mizo: Identity and Belonging in Northeast India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2014, pp. 92-93.

²³³ I. F., External – A, Oct. 1888, Nos. 87 – 117, From J. Ware Edgar, Esq., C. S. I., Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Government of India, foreign Department, No. 2734P., Calcutta, dated the 17th December, 1888, (NAI).

approach between India and Burma for quick communication and pacification. Not only from the political point of view, the opening of road through the Lushai Hills had great economic advantage. In the first place, it would save nearly 800 miles of the distance by telegraph between Mandalay and Calcutta. In addition to this important saving, such a road would be of enormous economical value to Upper Burma. 234 To this end, it was decided that winter reconnaissances, which at that time were carried out in every command both to train officers as well as to collect information, should be conducted in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. Mr. D. Lyall, I.G.S., Commissioner of the Chittagong Division, welcomed the suggestion, promising all assistance, and asking in return that the reconnaissance parties might be allowed to help the frontier authorities by improving the alignment of the patrol paths. ²³⁵

Accordingly, in January 1888, two Survey Parties – one under the command of Lieutenant J.F.Stewart, consisting of two Corporals of the 1st P.W.O Leinster Regiment with ten men of the Chittagong Frontier police as escort and the other under the command of Lieutenant Baird of the Derbyshire Regiment with one Corporal (Corporal McCormick) and a similar escort were sent from Calcutta for reconnaissance work in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. They were given instructions as to the work they were to perform and the way they were to do it. The first party left Rangamati to work along the Belisurri Range. The second party, after going up the Khawthlangtuipui (known to the British as Karnaphuli) to Tlabung (known to the British as Demagiri) was to work southwards along the Uiphum range until both parties met somewhere on the Rang Khyong river. ²³⁶

Thus, an organized exploration work had been commenced in 1888 for the production of colonial knowledge through topographical survey, in which Captain Shakespeare was appointed to take charge of the whole reconnaissance. He was sent with the two parties as far as Chittagong with orders to especially enquire into the

²³⁴Ibid.

²³⁵ Col. L.W. Shakespear, op.cit.,, p.83.

²³⁶ Ibid. p.83.

possibility of a party proceeding to Sangal Tlang (written in the colonial accounts as Sangal Klang) and to pick up all the information he could about the route between Tlabung and Burma. After the exploration scheme to Sangal Tlang fell through, Shakespear joined Baird's party to assist him in carrying out the reconnaissance.²³⁷

The Survey Parties were employed to collect military information and to enlarge the existing maps of the British. For these purposes, Lieutenant Stewart's party started from Rangamati on the January 16 and was working towards Saichal, where it was expected to meet the second party under Lieutenant Baird of the Derbyshire Regiment which was to work down from Tlabung.²³⁸

3.3 Resurgence of Anglo-Lushai encounters

The Survey Parties in the Chittagong Frontier were given such small escort of only ten Frontier Police to each because the British authorities did not see any danger of the Lushai's attack as no trouble had been experienced from them since the Expedition of 1871-1872. The frontier Police were, in fact, employed more to aid the parties in the work of jungle clearing, hut building and to control the coolies, than to guard them against attack.²³⁹

However, the British really failed to recognize the attitude of the Lushais. On February 3, 1888, just before dawn, the party led by Stewart, while working on the south on the Belisurri range, was attacked at a place only twenty-four miles south of

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²³⁷ I.F, Extl A., March 1888. Nos. 322 – 339, (K.W. No.2, Dated the 15th February 1888, From Colonel W.Gatacre to W.J. Cuningham, Esq. (NAI).

²³⁸ I.F, Extl A., March 1888. Nos. 322 – 339, (No. 84 H.T.) From D.R. Lyall. Esquire., Commissioner of the Chittagong Division, to The Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated Chittagong, the 11th February 1888, (MSA); I.F, Extl A., March 1888. Nos. 322 – 339, No. 449-P., From J.W.Edgar, Esq., C.S.I., Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Political Department, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, dated Calcutta, the 6th February 1888 (Confidential), (NAI).

²³⁹ Col. L.W. Shakespear, op.cit.,, p.83.

Rangamati, the headquarters of the Chittagong hill Tracts by a combined parties of Lushais such as Muallianpuis (Fanais) under the leadership of Zahuata (Chief of Vartek) and Pawis led by a chief named Hausata of Lungtian village and Dokulha (Chief of a village named Fungkah). ²⁴⁰

The outrage was entirely unprovoked, and it was afterwards transpired that the motive of the attack was not any grievance against the British Government, but the fulfillment of an obligation which Hausata was under, to obtain the head of two foreigners for Zahuata, his father-in-law.²⁴¹ The attack was basically a result of quarrel between Hausata and his wife named Ngundawngi. Hausata was married to Ngundawngi, daughter of a chief named Zahuata (an influential chief in the South Lushai Hills who ruled over Thlantlang village) with a view to maintain good relationship with that powerful chief. But their mutual relations grew strain when there was trouble in their marriage life. Hausata was deserted by his wife, who returned to her father's home. Besides getting back his wife, it was so important for Hausata to have a good relation with such a powerful chief in whose hands his future held a great extent. Therefore, in order to restore relationship with his father-in-law, Hausata had to comply with the former's demand of a white man's head.²⁴²

On his venture to obtain a white man's head, Hausata came across Lieutenant Stewart's camp, which was absolutely unguarded, except for a *sepoy* sentry over the arms. Since the Lushai land became quiet since the Expedition of 1871-1872, Mr. Stewart did not anticipate any danger from the attack of the Lushais, hence, he took

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²⁴⁰ Col. E.B. Elly, *Military Report on the Chin-Lushai Country*, reprint, TRI, Aizawl, 1978, p. 16; I.F, Extl A., March 1888. Nos. 322 – 339, No. 449-P., From J.W.Edgar, Esq., C.S.I., Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Political Department, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, dated Calcutta, the 6th February 1888 (Confidential), (NAI); I.F, Extl A., March 1888. Nos. 322 – 339, No.329. Telegram, dated the 11th February 1888., From Commissioner, Chittagong to Chief Secretary, Bengal, Calcutta, (NAI); Note on the Lushai Hills, its Inhabitants, and its Administration Since 1888, Exhibit 4 (unfiled), (MSA).

²⁴¹ Intelligence Branch: Division of the Chief of the Staff, Army Headquarters, India, op.cit., p. 239.

²⁴² Vanlalringa Bawitlung, 'Hausata – Founder of Chinzah Chieftainship in the Lai Autonomous District Council, Mizoram' in *Historical Journal Mizoram*, Volume – XII, MHA, November 2011, p. 154; also see B. Lalthangliana, ed. *Mizo Lal Ropuite*, Vol. II, Gilzom Offset, Aizawl, 1989. p. 105.

no precautions whatsoever for the safety of himself or his party. The raiding party considered this opportunity to attain their object too good to be lost. Their first volley from the jungle killed the sentry and the two British privates, who were Lieutenant Stewart's assistants, and wounded the other *sepoys* of the Military Police. Two *sepoys*, with Lieutenant Stewart himself, were the only ones able to get at their ammunition when the attack began. They defended themselves with great gallantry, killing several of the enemy, but at length Lieutenant Stewart was shot through the chest, and two *sepoys*, having exhausted their ammunition, then retired through the jungle, and managed to escape from the raiders²⁴⁴

In this incident, Lieutenant Stewart with two other officers- Corporal McCormick and Private Owens and a *sepoy* named Theka Ram Chhetri were killed and their heads were carried off.²⁴⁵ News of the disaster reached Mr.S.Walker, Assistant Superintendent of Police at Demagiri on the February 4, and he was off with as many of the Frontier Police as he could collect at the moment, and by 9 a.m. reached Baird's camp on the Uiphum range. ²⁴⁶ From there, Mr. S.Walker along with Captain Shakespear, Lieutenant Baird and fifty men started on flying expedition from their camp near Belaiauritong to try and cut raiders off but were recalled by the Commissioner. ²⁴⁷ As soon as the news reached Rangamati, Mr. Charles Stewart Murray with an escort, proceeded to the spot and buried the bodies. The camp was found to be thoroughly looted – heads, weapons, ammunition and personal belongings having been carried off. ²⁴⁸ A little later, on the February 15, a raid was perpetrated on

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²⁴³ Robert Reid, op.cit.,p. 2.

²⁴⁴ Intelligence Branch: Division of the Chief of the Staff, Army Headquarters, India, op.cit., p. 239.

²⁴⁵ I.F, Extl A., March 1888. Nos. 322–339, Telegram from Personal Assistant Commissioner, Chittagong to Chief Secretary, Bengal, Calcutta, No.325, dated the 9th February 1888, (NAI); I.F, Extl A., March 1888. Nos. 322 – 339, From D.R.Lyall, Esquire, Commissioner of the Chittagong Division to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, No.332, dated Chittagong, the 11th February 1888, (NAI).

²⁴⁶ Col. L.W. Shakespear, op.cit., p. 85.

²⁴⁷ I.F, Extl. A, March 1888, Nos. 322-339, From J.W.Edgar,Esq.,C.S.I., Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Political Department, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, No. 713-P.,dated Calcutta, the 22nd February 1888, (NAI).

the village of Roazo Prenkhyn Mro in the Chema Valley, in which six persons were killed, two wounded and twenty-three prisoners taken. This was also attributed to Shendus, a certain tribe inhabiting the southern area of the Lushai Hills.²⁴⁹

3.4 The 'Lushai Expedition of 1889'

In viewing these incidents, colonial officers like Mr. D.R. Lyall strongly advocated that an expedition should be sent in the ensuing cold weather to exact punishment on the "Shendus" or Pawis for the numerous outrages which they had committed since many years ago. ²⁵⁰ The Government of India, however, decided to postpone the idea of sending a punitive expedition until the following cold weather. When the time came, the despatch of an expedition was again postponed on account of the unsettled state of the Chindwin district, which, in the opinion of the Government, rendered it inexpedient to take any further action against the Eastern Lushais for the time being. Instead of the expedition, 250 men of the 9th Bengal Infantry were sent to strengthen the police outpost with a view to preventing further raids, but these half-measures did not have the expected result. ²⁵¹

While the question of sending a military operation was under the consideration of the Government, another raid had been committed by the Lushais in the south. On December 13, 1888, the Lushais led by three chiefs- Nikhama, Kairuma and

²⁴⁸ Col. L.W. Shakespear, op.cit., p. 85.

²⁴⁹ Robert Reid, op.cit., p. 2.

²⁵⁰ Ibid., 2; also see C. Nunthara, op.cit., p. 52. According to C.Nunthara, the Pawis and the Lakhers were collectively known as the 'Shendus' by British in the early period of colonization and which may also include a number of other sub-tribes inhabiting the southern area of Mizoram in those days, usually identify themselves as belonging to the Mizo community or tribe depending on the social context and rewards. In social as well as political spheres, the Pawis readily adapt themselves to the Mizo normative rules, while the Lakhers are less adaptive to the Mizo way of life. Mara is the name given to themselves by the Lakhers.

²⁵¹ Intelligence Branch: Division of the Chief of the Staff, Army Headquarters, India, op.cit., p. 240.

Lungliana made an attack of unusual ferocity on the village of Pakuma Rani, a Chakma chieftainess, which was only four miles from the British outpost at Demagiri (Demagiri is a name given to Tlabung by the colonialists. Hence, the name Tlabung will be consistently used hereafter). This resulted in the killing of the chieftainess with more than 20 of her people and carrying off fifteen persons. ²⁵²

The Government of India, thus, agreed that this fresh and atrocious outrage made it necessary that active measures should be immediately undertaken and formulated the purpose of the operations as follows:

Firstly, the most important objective of the expedition will be to prevent further raiding; secondly, the force will be directed to reach Seipuia's village, and to proceed as far eastwards as possible with a view to commence operations against the villages of Hausata and Zahuata; thirdly, to maintain good means of communication by road from Tlabung to the heart of the Lushai Hills; fourthly, to locate a dominant central position suitable for the establishment of permanent post; and lastly, to construct a line of telegraph between Chittagong and Rangamatti to Tlabung. ²⁵³

In the meantime, Rangamatti was startled by news of another extensive raid into the Upper Chengri Valley, forty-three miles from Rangamatti to the north-east.²⁵⁴ Regarding this raid, the Government of India received a communication that during January 8-10, 1889, a party of about six hundred warriors headed by the two chiefs Lianphunga and Zahrawka, sons of Suakpuilala, descended the Chengri river valley. The raiders burnt down twenty-four villages, killed 101 people and carried off ninety

²⁵³ Robert Reid, op.cit., pp. 9-10; Seipuia was known to the British as Sayipuya. By the time of this expedition, he ruled over Kawmzawl village.

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²⁵² Col. L.W. Shakespear, op.cit., p. 86.

²⁵⁴ Col. L.W. Shakespear, op.cit., p. 87.

one prisoners.²⁵⁵ Out of those ninety-one captives, more than sixty persons were kept by Lianphunga, of whom only seven were ransomed. The chief had demanded Rs. 700, but the persons who negotiated the release had only `185. This amount was paid and the balance of Rs. 515 was promised within a month. When the local authorities of Cachar demanded the release of the remaining captives, the two chiefs flatly refused to do so. Lianphunga even threatened to renew raids unless the ransom price due to him was paid within two months.²⁵⁶

Therefore, in response to the atrocities committed by the Lushais, the Governor General-in-Council at Shimla despatched a punitive expedition called the 'Lushai Expedition of 1889' with a base of operations at Tlabung to penetrate into the Lushai Hills in early January 1889. The operations were under the command of Colonel F.V.W.Tregear of the 9th Bengal Infantry with Mr. Lyall, the Commissioner of the Chittagong Division as Civil Political Officer and Messrs. G.A.S Bedford and C.S. Murray as Assistant Political Officers. In this expedition, Captain J. Shakespear was employed as Field Intelligence Officer as he had already been in this region as survey duty and had some knowledge of the people. In these operations, 1,150 men were engaged which consisted of 200 men of the 2nd Madras Pioneers, 250 men of the 22nd Gurkha Rifles, and 250 men of the 9th Bengal Infantry, who were already in the country; together with two mountain guns with wheel carriages.²⁵⁷

From the beginning, the operation was successful and faced little obstacle from the Lushais. Reconnaisances of the neighbouring country were carried out during January and February 1889 by Captain J. Shakespear. ²⁵⁸ Then, Mr. Murray and Captain Shakespear visited Seipuia's village on January 23, 1889 with a small guard

²⁵⁵ FEAP., October 1889, Nos. 27-66. John Ware Edgar, Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal to Henry Motimer Durand, Secretary to the Government of India, No. 19-PD dated 3 June 1889., as cited in J.Zorema, op.cit., p.3.

²⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 10.

²⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 32.

²⁵⁸ Col. L.W. Shakespear, *opcit.*, p. 87.

and four signalers to make necessary arrangements for further exploration towards Vandula's village. ²⁵⁹

When they reached Seipuia's village, they were received with civility. However, on the third day of their stay, Seipuia informed them his inability to provide rice for the party due to shortage of his crops. D.R Lyall opined that the excuse of Seipuia was true to some extent, but was convinced that the real reason of Seipuia's unwillingness to have open friendship with the British was due to his fear of provoking enmity with the Shendus, who were not reduced to complete state of submission. ²⁶⁰

Discontent with the attitude of Seipuia, the party of Mr. Murray returned to Tlabung with a view to organize extensive military campaign against the chief. Accordingly, a large expeditionary party of 100 troops, consisting of fifty men each from the Frontier Police and the 9th Native Infantry, was despatched against Seipuia on February 17, 1889.²⁶¹ The whole party was under the command of Captain Browne of the 3rd Gurkhas, who was accompanied by Mr. Murray as Assistant Political Officer, Captain Shakespear as Intelligence Officer, and Lieutenant Pollen and a party of the Survey Department. The expeditionary force was instructed to firstly visit to Seipuia's village and to induce him to declare his allegiance to the colonial authority²⁶²

The party reached the village on February 17, 1889 and the effect of the operation on Seipuia was excellent. He evidently knew that his conduct to Mr. Murray

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²⁵⁹ I.F, Extl A., October 1889, from D. R. Lyall. Esq., Commissioner of the Chittagong Division to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, No. 492HT-VI, dated Chittagong, the 5th May, 1889, Nos. 27-66, (NAI).

²⁶⁰ I.F, Extl A., June 1889, Nos. 118 – 121, (NAI).

²⁶¹ I.F, Extl A., October 1889, Nos. 27-66., from D. R. Lyall. Esq., Commissioner of the Chittagong Division to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, No. 492HT-VI, dated Chittagong, the 5th May 1889, (MSA).

²⁶² Ibid.

and Captain Shakespear had laid him open to suspicion, or even punishment and he was in great fear when he saw the troops. He was now convinced that they meant business and received them with a friendly attitude. He now agreed to give guides and do all he was asked to do, and to furnish guides and assistance. 263 Thus, the friendliness of the chief and his aged brother was confirmed.²⁶⁴

The party then separated. Mr. Murray and Walker with 50 men went on to Vandula's village, where, after some parley, he was well received. Here, he was told of Hausata's death and that Stewart's gun had been buried with him, and also that all heads had been sent to a Chin Chief named Paona, living far to the east. 265 While a party of Captain Brown moved towards Bualpui, Captain Shakespear made reconnaissance up to the Chhimtuipui river (known to the British as Koladyne River) with a view to formulate suitable strategy for attacking the village of Hausata. After obtaining lots of information, this party returned on March 10 and reported that the road as far as Chhimtuipui was fit for mules, and that Hausata's village was only one day's march beyond, on a fairly good road. They also reported that the Shendus evidently did not expect to be attacked.²⁶⁶

Meanwhile, work on the new road was progressing steadily, having to be laboriously cut through dense bamboo jungle in the lower ranges and thick forests in the higher ones. There was no opposition, but sickness took a heavy toll of the coolie corps and numbers of elephants were lost from disease or by falling down hill-sides and injuring themselves. Camps were formed at the Phairuang river and at Sailingret, where prolonged halts were made until the road was constructed a few miles ahead.²⁶⁷

²⁶³ Ibid.

²⁶⁴ Col. L.W. Shakespear, *opcit.*, p. 87.

²⁶⁵ I.F, Extl A., October 1889, Nos. 27-66., from D. R. Lyall. Esq., Commissioner of the Chittagong Division to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, No. 492HT-VI, dated Chittagong, the 5th May 1889, (NAI); Col. L.W. Shakespear, opcit., p. 87.

²⁶⁶ Intelligence Branch: Division of the Chief of the Staff, Army Headquarters, India, *op.cit.*, p. 247.

²⁶⁷ Col. L.W. Shakespear, opcit., pp. 87-88.

By mid-march of 1889, the construction work of a road from Tlabung to Lunglei, which became a useful means for colonial expansion in the Lushai Hills was completed. After reaching Lunglei, a stockade which came to be known as 'Fort Lunglei' was built, which was garrisoned by 212 men of the Frontier Police with one Officer.²⁶⁸

Regarding the completion of the road between Tlabung and Lunglei, Mr. Lyall reported:

A good hill road, practicable for elephants and mules, has been made from Demagiri to Lungleh, a hill 3,500 feet high in the neighbourhood of the village at present inhabited by Saipuya.²⁶⁹

On March 14, 1889, a flying column advanced from Fort Lunglei towards the villages of Hausata and Zahuata, which lay thirty odd miles to the south – east across Chhimtuipui river, to punish them for their share in the murder of Stewart. Cutting their way over the Bualpui range, they descended into the low hills between the Mat and Chhimtuipui rivers. On March 20, the party reach Hausata's village without opposition. On approaching the village, it was set on fire by the people, but two or three rounds from a mountain gun cleared out the inhabitants and the Column entered. Part of the place was blazing, but the chief's grave in the centre of it was pointed out and opened, when Stewart's gun was found under the body, thus proving his complicity in the outrage.²⁷⁰ After burning down both the villages of Hausata and father-in-law Zahuata, the force retuned to Lunglei on March 25 without any further action against the Lushais. ²⁷¹

²⁶⁸ I.F, Extl A., October 1889, Nos. 27-66., From John Edgar, K. C. I. E., C. S. I., Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, No. 19P – D., Darjeeling, dated the 3rd June, 1889, (NAI).

²⁷⁰ Col. L.W. Shakespear, opcit., p. 88.

²⁶⁹ Ibid.

²⁷¹. Intelligence Branch: Division of the Chief of the Staff, Army Headquarters, India, op.cit., p. 247.

On April 3, 1889, a *darbar* of chiefs was held at Lunglei by the Officer Commanding of the Expedition and Mr. Lyall.²⁷² The *darbar* was attended by the prominent Sailo chiefs such as Seipuia, Lalthangvunga, Lallunga, Sangliana (Vandula's son) and Lalruma. These chiefs were made to undertake an oath of loyalty to the British and to assist in any further operations in the hills.²⁷³ The chiefs furnished labour to help the British in the construction of the fort at Lunglei, and the people have brought in fowls, eggs, and other articles for sale at the fort.²⁷⁴

The Fanai chiefs had also promised to attend the *darbar*. However, they failed to do so on the plea of fearing the hostility of the Sailo chiefs, but they were unlikely to give trouble to the British.²⁷⁵ Even though the military expedition prevented the holding of the annual *darbar*, Captain Shakespear, the Assistant Political Officer, held a meeting of Fanai chiefs after a close of the year to ensure their loyalty to the British.²⁷⁶

Thus, the 'Lushai Expedition of 1889' had been brought to a successful termination. The results of this expedition were the punishment of the villages responsible for the murder of Lieutenant Stewart; the establishment of a fortified post at Lunglei within the Lushai country; and the connection of Lunglei and Tlabung by means of road and telegraph.²⁷⁷

²⁷² I.F, Extl A., October 1889, Nos. 27-66., from John Edgar, K. C. I. E., C. S. I., Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, No. 19P – D., Darjeeling, dated the 3rd June, 1889, (NAI).

²⁷³ Robert Reid, op. cit., p. 10.

²⁷⁴ I.F, Extl A., October 1889, Nos. 27-66., from John Edgar, K. C. I. E., C. S. I., Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, No. 19P – D., Darjeeling, dated the 3rd June, 1889, (NAI).

²⁷⁵ Ibid.

 $^{^{276}}$ CB - 1, G - 7, letter from the Commissioner of Chittagong, No. 855H.T. / VI - 12, dated the 15th July 1890. Forwarding the Report on the Administration of the Chittagong Hill Tracts Frontier for the year 1889 – 90, Darjeeling, the 29th September 1890, (MSA).

²⁷⁷ Intelligence Branch: Division of the Chief of the Staff, Army Headquarters, India, *op.cit.*, p. 247. "The fortifying of Lungleh was completed on the 15th of April, and it was then handed over to the Military Police, who furnished a garrison of two companies with one British Officer."

3.5 The 'Chin-Lushai Expedition of 1889–1890'

Since the 'Lushai Expedition of 1889' failed to subdue the Shendus, their attitude towards the colonial authority continued to cause discomfort in the minds of the local authorities. They had not made any sign of submission and there were constant rumours that they were preparing to take hostile measures against the British. In fact, two of their parties made inroads into the British territory during 1899 while the expedition was in progress. The British authorities thus held the view that:

The complicity of these tribes in some of the raids of previous years, the necessity of securing the release of the persons then taken prisoners by them and still held in captivity, and their general raiding propensities, render it imperative to adopt measures for exercising control over the villages inhabited by them. ²⁸⁰

Therefore, in order to maintain security in the Lushai Hills, the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal decided to despatch another expedition to ensure complete pacification and recognition of the British power. The policy hitherto followed i.e. merely sending punitive expeditions, was abandoned, and a policy of pacification through permanent occupation was adopted. Thus, the Government of India decided on September 11, 1889 for the operation of another expedition known as the 'Chin-Lushai Expedition of 1889–1890.' ²⁸¹

The expedition was well co-ordinated and was the largest expedition so far.

The whole expedition was despatched in three columns (Two main Columns and one

²⁷⁸ Ibid., p.247.

 $^{^{279}}$ CB - 1, G - 7, letter from the Commissioner of Chittagong, No. 855H.T. / VI - 12, dated the 15th July 1890. Forwarding the Report on the Administration of the Chittagong Hill Tracts Frontier for the year 1889 – 90, Darjeeling, the 29th September 1890, (MSA).

²⁸⁰ Ibid.

²⁸¹ Ibid.

tributary Column). The two main Columns were the 'Burma Column' under General William Penn Symonds, General Officer Commanding, Migyutin and the 'Chittagong Column' under the command of Colonel F.V.W Tregear.²⁸²

The Chittagong Column consisted of 3,400 men drawn from the 3rd Bengal Infantry, 22nd Gurkha Rifles, the 28th Bombay Infantry (Pioneers), and detachments of the 24th Gurkha Rifles, the9th Bengal Infantry, the Bengal Sappers and Miners and the Chittagong Frontier Police. From the 'Chittagong Column', a column about 800 strong, referred to as the 'Northern Column' was detached under Colonel G.J Skinner of the 3rd Bengal Infantry, accompanied by Mr.C.S.Murray as Political Officer. The general plan was that a 'Chittagong Column' should move via Lunglei to Hakha, meeting the 'Burma Column' coming from Gangaw via Yokwa (Hakha), a column from the Chittagong force known as the 'Northern Column', to go to the north to punish the raiders on the Chengri Valley and Pakuma Rani's village.²⁸³

The objectives of the expedition were: firstly, to punish, subjugate and make terms of submission to those who raided and committed depredations in British territory; secondly, to subjugate all the tribes in the hills, which was recently brought within the sphere of British influence; thirdly, to explore and open out the territory between Burma and Chittagong, which was partly known to the British; lastly, to establish semi-permanent posts in the regions visited in order to ensure complete pacification and recognition of British power in the Lushai Hills.²⁸⁴

As the operations were to be directed against both the raiding tribes of Chins on the Burma frontier and the Lushai Hills; and as the movements from east to west, and *vice versa*, were intimately connected, it was determined to launched a combined operation known as the 'Chin-Lushai Expedition', to distinguish it from other

²⁸² C.Lalthlengliana, *The Lushai Hills: Annexation, Resistance and Pacification 1886-1898*, Akansha Publishing House, New Delhi, 2007, p. 15.

²⁸³ Robert Reid, op.cit., p. 14.

²⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 14.

operations which had taken place in the past.²⁸⁵ The 'Chin-Lushai Expedition' of 1889–1890 became the most organized and largest among all the British expedition in the Lushai Hills. The three governments of Bengal, Burma and Assam participated in this expedition.

Previous to these operations, the policy of the Government since 1872 was to maintain a line of outposts connected by patrol paths; and, while cultivating friendly intercourse with the chiefs, and they were trying to abstain themselves from interference in the internal affairs of the Lushais. However, since the 'Chin-Lushai Expedition' of 1889–1890, it was now decided to put down raids once for all by proving the British power to occupy their country, and by establishing military posts in the strategic places of the Lushai Hills.²⁸⁶

In this expedition, Captain J. Shakespear was again attached as Field Intelligence Officer to the 'Chittagong Column'. The Government of Bengal further recommended that Captain Shakespear be appointed Assistant Political Officer so do duty with the Hakha Column in addition to his intelligence work. This latter appointment was considered necessary as the Commissioner of Chittagong represents that there should be some officer responsible for giving the Bengal Government and the local Civil Officers prompt intimation of all political matters connected with the advance on Hakha. Accordingly, the Government of India sanctioned the appointment of Captain Shakespear as Assistant Political Officer with the Chittagong Column as proposed by the Calcutta Government.

²⁸⁵ Intelligence Branch: Division of the Chief of the Staff, Army Headquarters, India, op.cit., p. 240.

²⁸⁶ op.cit., p. 241.

²⁸⁷ Robert Reid, op.cit., p. 15.

²⁸⁸ I.F., Extl. B, Reference Nos. 143 of January 1890; Military Department from Government of Bengal N- 4159-P, Dated 26 December 1889, (NAI).

²⁸⁹ I.F., Extl. B, Reference Nos. 143 of January 1890; No. 182 C l, Govt of India, Military Dept., Fort William to The Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated 7th January 1890, (NAI).

The Chittagong Column moved eastward along the Bualpui range towards the Darzo Range. On reaching the loop of Darzo Hill, it was found suitable for establishing a defensive post to quell the raids from Fanais and Pawis in the southern part of the Lushai Hills. The peak lays close on the border with Myanmar (then Chin Hills) with a considerable height of 5,700 feet and encircled by thick jungles at the top where there is an open grassy spur which offers a grand view over the undulating valleys and hills away to the Thau Peak in the Chin country (now within Myanmar). This hill also provided a suitable position for helio-communication with stockade post at Lunglei. Hence, owing to its strategic location, a strong defensive post for 200 rifles was started to construct in early March 1890 at Darzo Hill.

From Darzo, a flying column consisting of sixty men of 2nd Gurkhas and twenty-five men of the Chittagong Frontier Police under Captain L. M. Hall, 2nd Gurkhas, with whom went Captain J. Shakespear (now Assistant Political Officer to the force) and Lieut. Bythell, R. E., started off for Hakha in early March 1890 to link with the 'Burma Column' under General William Penn Symonds, and to assist in recovering the heads and loot carried off in the raid on Stewart's camp.²⁹⁰

A rapid and most arduous march with few coolies, the *sepoys* carrying their own loads in addition to arms, equipments, and ammunition, and Thau village in the Chin Hills was reached. Here they were joined by a small Column of the Burma force under Captain Rundall and Lieut. Stevenson, who then received the submission of a Pawi chief Paona. At Hmunlipi village, on a stern message being sent next day, the Chief duly sent in Stewart's head or what remained of it, together with two other heads and certain articles carried off by the raiders. Twalam and Thlantlang were also visited where, under show of force, the people promised submission and gave up all remaining loot. The heads of the British officers and *sepoy* which they recovered from the Pawi chiefs were buried at Hakha and consultations were held with General Penn

²⁹⁰ Col. L.W. Shakespear, op.cit., p. 92.

Symonds regarding the punishment of the Chiefs concerned in the outrage. After all these things had been settled, Captain Hall's party returned at Darzo.²⁹¹

The new defensive fort at Darzo Hill called the 'Fort Tregear' (named after Colonel F.V.W Tregear), which began to construct from mid-February was completed in the later part of April 1890. ²⁹² After the expedition, it was garrisoned by 200 men of 22nd Gurkha Battalion under Captain Hutchinson and Lieut. P. Boileau of that regiment, with whom also were Captain J. Shakespear as Political Officer and Captain Moir, I. M. S. Medical Officer. Thus, the responsibility of garrisoning the strategically important fort at Darzo was entrusted to John Shakespear and Captain Hutchinson.

Simultaneous with these movements in the south, a force composed of 400 men of the Surma Valley Battalion of Military Police under their Commandant, Mr. W. W. Daly, was despatched from Cachar with order to punish Lianphunga for the raid on the Chengri Valley; to punish Vuttaia's sons for the raid on Pakuma Rani's villages; and to establish a permanent post in the vicinity of Lianphunga's village, and to recover the all captives taken in the raids. The organization of this force was undertaken in close consultation between Bengal and Assam.²⁹³

Mr. Daly was accompanied by three British Officers such as Messrs. J. R. Carnac, and L. St. J. Brodrick of the Assam Police, and Mr. S. N. Walker of the Bengal Police, with Dr. Patridge and subsequently Surgeon Coleman of the 43rd Gurkha Rifles as Medical Officers. Mr. Daly left his base camp at Jhalnacherra in Cachar on the January 18, 1890, reached Changsil on the January 24 and joined hands with 'Northern Column' under Colonel Skinner on the February 11 at Aizawl. One of the most important objectives of the expedition i.e., to recover the Chengri Valley

²⁹¹ Ibid, pp. 92-93.

²⁹² Dr. Lalthanliana, *Zalen Nana British Do (kum 1820-1894 Inkar Indo leh Inrun)*, Mizoram Publication Board, 2000, pp. 172-173.

²⁹³ Robert Reid, op.cit., pp. 15-16.

captives 'was completely and expeditiously attained without bloodshed' by the party of Mr. Daly.²⁹⁴

On February 4, 1890, Mr. Daly reached the Aizawl range and built a stockade on a site which he described as 'a good one for a permanent post', and which eventually became the site of the headquarters of the Lushai Hills District. On February 8, Daly advanced on Lianphunga's village which was located at some 16 miles south of Aizawl, not far distant from the present-day village of Tachhip. Here, he had an interview with the chief but did not arrest him. Three days later, Colonel Skinner's Northern Column arrived, and Mr. Daly thenceforth came under his orders. In the meanwhile, Lianphunga fled before he was apprehended. The Eastern Lushai villages of Nikhama at Khawbel and Lungliana at Rullam were also destroyed by a flying column under Major Begbie for their complicity in the Chengri Valley.

3.5.1 Results of the Chin-Lushai Expedition of 1889–1890

The operations of the 'Chin-Lushai Expedition of 1889–1890' were completed in March 1890 and there was no worth mentioning opposition throughout the operations. The operations were brought to successful termination and seventy-five captives taken away by the Lushais in the Chengri Valley and Chima Valley raids were recovered by ransom or otherwise. Apart from the rescue of the Chengri Valley captives, the main work achieved was the establishment of posts and opening

²⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 16.

²⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 16.

²⁹⁶ Ibid. pp. 15-16.

²⁹⁷ CB-2, G – 18, (MSA).

 $^{^{298}}$ CB 2, G - 25, letter from the commissioner of Chittagong, No. 855H/T. VI – 12, dated the 15th July 1890, forwading the Report on the Administration of the Chittagong Hill Tracts Frontier for the year 1889 – 90, dated Darjeeling, the 29th September 1890, (MSA).

up of communications. Roads were constructed from Fort Tregear to Fort Lunglei, and from Fort Lunglei to Thau Tlang (known by the British as Tao gap), and the native track from Thau Tlang to Halkha was made possible for mules. ²⁹⁹ A flying column despatched from the Cachar Column under Mr. Daly established military posts at Aizawl and Changsil, while in the south, the Chittagong Column established the Fort Tregear at the Darzo Tlang (Darzo Hill) which was completed on May 4, 1890, and Fort Lunglei was also improved. In the South Lushai Hills, a number of posts were left along the line of communication with Tlabung besides the two posts at Darzo and Lunglei. ³⁰⁰

The results of the expedition were highlighted by the Adjutant-General in his report on this military campaign as follows:

The results which have attended the operations of the expedition must be regarded eminently satisfactory; for not only has communication between Bengal and Burma established, and the tribes which had previously given annoyance fittingly dealt with, but all the principal tribes inhabiting the country have been brought under subjugation, a large number of captives who had been in the hands of these tribes restored to their own homes, - and military posts at certain places for the preservation of order, and as evidence of British supremacy, established.³⁰¹

Thus, the 'Chin-Lushai Expedition of 1889–1890' resulted to the establishment of the British rule in the Lushai Hills. On the administrative side, the operations led to the creation of two administrative districts in Mizoram such as the North Lushai Hills with its headquarters at Aizawl and South Lushai Hills with its headquarters at Lunglei. The North Lushai Hills became part of the Chief

²⁹⁹ Intelligence Branch: Division of the Chief of the Staff, Army Headquarters, India, op.cit., p. 249.

³⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 249 "A site for a permanent post was selected on the Darjow range, which was completed on the 4th of May, and called Fort Tregear"

³⁰¹ Robert Reid, op.cit., pp.17-18.

Commissionership of Assam, while the South Lushai Hills came under the Government of Bengal. However, it was not till September 6, 1895, that the North Lushai Hills which persisted since 1890 was regularized by the Proclamation No. 1689 – E of the Governor General in Council, and the South Lushai Hills, which had been occupied since 1891, was also formally included in the Lower Province of Bengal on the same date by a Proclamation No. 1697 – E of the Government of India. 302

Mr. D.R. Lyall, Commissioner of Chittagong, duly acknowledged the contribution of John Shakespear in this expedition where the latter was able to achieve a number of settlements with the Lushai chiefs, resulting in the establishment of peace along the eastern border of the Lushai Hills. He wrote of him:

He is bold without rashness and most temperate in his dealings with these tribes, and has been always able to act so as to secure the best results. I must regret that promotion in his own profession will cause the loss of his services to the Government of Bengal. 303

The excellent work done by Captain J.Shakespear during the South Lushai Hills Operation of 1890 – 1891 had also been noted in the official letter of Sir John Edgar, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Political Department, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, - (No. 1159 – P, dated Calcutta, 23rd March 1891) which writes:

The Lieutenant Governor fully concurs in Mr. Lyall's estimate of Captain Shakespear's ability and judgments, and trusts that the good work accomplished by him will receive acknowledgement at the hands of the Government of India.³⁰⁴

By 1890, Captain Shakespear was assigned to take charge of Lunglei and Darzo (Fort Tregear) posts in the South Lushai Hills with their lines of communication from Tlabung.

³⁰² C. Nunthara, op.cit., p. 56.

³⁰³ I.H, Public B, Ref. No. 203 – 204 of April 1891, (NAI).

³⁰⁴ Ibid.

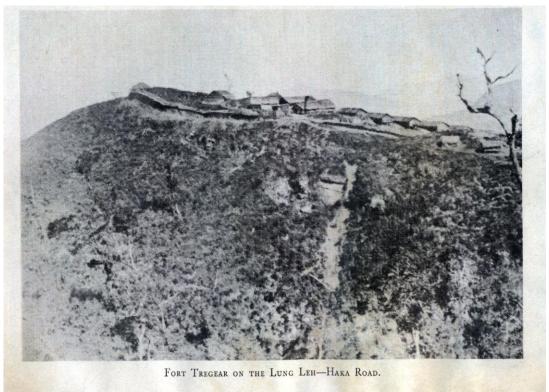


Fig. 3.2 Fort Tregear at Darzo Tlang

Source: Col. L.W.Shakespear, History of the Assam Rifles, p. 9.

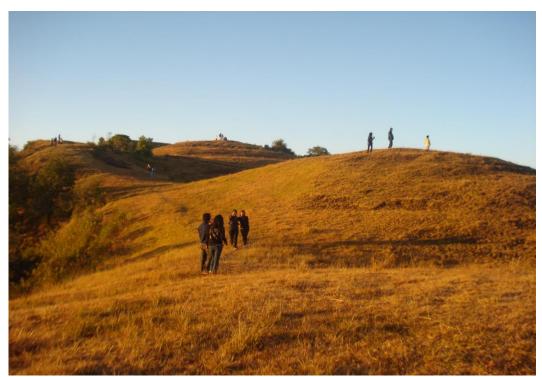


Fig. 3.3 Darzo *Tlang* (Hill of Darzo where the Fort Tregear had been established) as on December 26, 2012

Source: Author

3.6 Conclusion

From the discussions in this chapter, it is discernible that a decade of peaceful relations between the Lushais and the British since the Lushai Expedition of 1871-1872 was interrupted towards the end of the nineteenth century due to various reasons. The later part of the nineteenth century, especially after the annexation of Burma in 1886, was marked by new economic and political relations between colonial India and Burma. Many of the British officials now recommended that their policy must be advanced towards the 'permanent pacification and domination of the hill country' between India and Burma. Moreover, since the inhabitants of the Lushai Hills remained a source of anxiety for the British colonial government, the eventual subjugation of these tribes was an urgent task.

The British then tried to acquire more knowledge on the Lushais and their land in order to draw out an efficient strategy for further colonial expansion. Accordingly, the British government despatched two Survey Parties to collect military information and to enlarge the existing maps of the British. One of the Survey parties met an unfortunate incident in which three British officers and one native soldier lost their lives at the hands of a certain head-hunting party from the Lushai Hills.

This and other incidents along with the political developments of the time brought about new relation between the Lushais and the British, in which many colonial officials recommended the 'permanent pacification and domination of the hill country.' Thus, the new political relation between the two was characterized by the struggle of the British to colonize the Lushai Hills on the one hand and the struggle for survival from the wave of colonialism by the Lushais on the other hand. By taking the Lushais' resistance to colonialism as a prerequisite, the British turned to undertake military invasions into their country and launched two military invasions such as the 'Lushai Expedition' of 1889 and the 'Chin-Lushai Expedition of 1889-1890'. Besides their superiority in military power, the British had the advantage of better knowledge and information on the Lushais than the latter had on them through the efforts of

various individuals, such as John Shakespear, who served as an Intelligent Officer in these two expeditions.

The Lushais, who were less-organized and ill-equipped against a well-organized and technologically more advanced British military, could not stand against the catastrophes unleashed by the latter's 'scorched earth' policy. Hence, they were no longer in a position to resist the British colonial expansion and came under British colonial rule after the 'Chin-Lushai Expedition of 1889–1890'. The whole country was, thus, divided into two administrative districts- the North Lushai Hills with its headquarters at Aizawl and South Lushai Hills with its headquarters at Lunglei, under the Chief Commissionership of Assam and the Government of Bengal respectively, which were formally annexed within the British colonial empire by a Proclamation on September 6, 1895.

Even though British rule was established in the Lushai Hills, and new administrative system was introduced for its governance, the Lushais, who had never come under foreign domination, did not readily accept the colonial rule in the initial years. There were many chiefs in both the districts who continued to rise in armed resistance against the new colonial regime. It was in this critical situation of political instability that the service of individuals like John Shakespear was crucial for the colonial authority. Hence, the following chapter will deal with the contribution of Shakespear for the pacification and consolidation of British rule in the South Lushai Hills in his capacity as an administrator.

CHAPTER – 4: ASCENDANCY AS ADMINISTRATOR

The initial period of Shakespear's arrival into the South Lushai Hills was marked by military encounters and the establishment of British rule was in its rudimentary stage. After the situation was settled by a series of military expeditions, the authorities subsequently took measures to bring the newly conquered area under proper administration which resulted in South Lushai Hills being constituted as a new district under the Bengal government. However, even after British rule was established in the area, the Lushais kept on resisting the colonial rule which necessitated the immediate completion of pacification process. It was in this unstable situation of colonial expansion that John Shakespear emerged as an administrator in the newly created administrative area. His ascendancy as administrator marked an important stage for the pacification and consolidation of British rule in the South Lushai Hills District.

3.1 Proposals for South Lushai Hills Administration

The man who took the initiative of drawing up proposals and recommendations for the creation of the South Lushai Hills District was Mr. D. R. Lyall, I.G.S., Commissioner of the Chittagong Division. As early as January 12, 1890, he sent up proposals for the administration of the south Lushai Hills to the Bengal Government on the assumption that it was "the intention of the Government of India to completely dominate the country between the Chittagong Hill Tracts and Burma." The main features of his proposals for the creation and administration of the new district centered on governance through the chiefs and certain administrative establishments.

³⁰⁵ Robert Reid, op.cit., p. 36.

3.1.1 Governance through the Chiefs

Lyall advocate that 'the system of government through chiefs should be fully recognized' in order to ensure a stable and effective administration. At the same time, he acknowledged the necessity of inducing the chiefs to recognize the sovereignty of the British and hence, he drew up a set of orders for controlling the behaviour of the chiefs. In order to control the Lushai chiefs, he made five proposals such as:- firstly, since it was a major threat to peace, stability of administration and economic stability in the British territories adjacent to the Lushai Hills, he gave utmost importance to the prohibition of raids. Hence, he proposed that any chief who commit raids would be punished by destruction of his village and would be liable to death. 307

Secondly, absolute security of persons and property and free access into every village, not only for personnels of the colonial government serving in the South Lushai Hills, but also for people of different villages, should be insisted from the chiefs. The chiefs must be made to understand that a single frontier policeman, *dak*-runner, or a telegraph official must be as safe as the European Superintendent. If life was taken, it should be life for life, and if access was refused or a traveler robbed, severe fines should be imposed. Thirdly, each chief should be given the responsibility of making, maintaining and improving roads round his village. The Superintendent should be given power to fine a chief for failure to maintain roads and to compel him and his people to do the work by force. Fourthly, each chief should be made responsible for the collection and payment of the tax of his village. Lastly, there should be a meeting of the chiefs each year at the central post in which attendance should be made compulsory as evidence of their acknowledgment of sovereignty of the British, and fines should be taken from the absentees as punishment.³⁰⁸

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³⁰⁶ Ibiid., p. 36.

³⁰⁷ Ibid., pp. 36.

³⁰⁸ Ibid., pp. 36-37.

As he himself had claimed, Lyall's idea of convening regular meeting of the chiefs can be traced back to the policy of Captain T.H. Lewin, who in the 1870s convened annual *mela* or gathering of the chiefs in order to ensure friendly relations with the Lushai chiefs as well as to ascertain the popular feeling of the Lushais. Lyall was of the view that if such a *mela* was advisable in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, it would be absolutely necessary in the newly conquered South Lushai Hills.

3.1.2. Administrative establishment

Initially, Mr. Lyall visualized placing the whole Lushai Hills under Bengal which however was subsequently modified to a horizontal division of the country between Bengal and Assam. After consulting Sir Charles Elliott, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, proposals for the future administration of the district in their final form were submitted by Mr. D. R. Lyall on February 28, 1891. His proposals for administrative establishment of the South Lushai Hills were: firstly, to put the new district under the control of a Superintendent, who would be assisted by officers such as a Commandant of Police with 4 Assistants, a European Medical Officer, and a native District Engineer; secondly, Darzo (a village where the Fort Tregear located) was to be made the headquarters of the new district; thirdly, taxation was to be imposed, and the rates were based on rates proposed by Mr. McCabe in the light of his experience of the Naga Hills, i.e., at Re. 1 house-tax, 10 seers of rice per house at the rate of Rs. 2 per *maund*, and 6 days free labour a year, and labour above 6 days to be paid for. Assistants

³⁰⁹ T.H.Lewin was the Superintendent of the Chittagong Hill Tracts in the 1860s or 70s, who had an intimate knowledge of the hill people of Chittagong Hill Tracts and the adjacent South Lushai Hills.

³¹⁰ Robert Reid, op.cit., p. 38.

³¹¹ Ibid., p. 39.

³¹² Ibid., pp. 40.

 $^{^{313}}$ Ibid., pp. 40 - 41.

He also proposed three important duties of the Superintendent such asfirstly, the Superintendent would exercise control over all departments in correspondence with the Commissioner of Chittagong; secondly, he was expected to settle all disputes between chief and chief, village and village, and tribe and tribe, and to prevent all raids and public breaches of the peace. However, he was expected not to interfere in the internal administration of the chiefs unless he was called on to interfere by either the chief or the villagers, and then only on strong grounds being shown, and he will report all such cases to the Commissioner; thirdly, he will not interfere in the ordinary internal administration of the police, but as the head of the police, all correspondences from the office of the Commandant will pass through him. He would have the power to issue orders on the Commandant in all matters, and these orders must be necessarily carried out.³¹⁴

3.2 Formation of the South Lushai Hills District

The proposals of Lyall were forwarded to the Government of India on March 16, 1891. Regarding the boundaries, it was agreed that "the boundary on the north should follow on the whole the tribal division between the descendants of Lalula and their southern neighbours." ³¹⁵ It was also agreed to create the post of Superintendent, who was to be head of the district in control of all departments. Regarding the location of the headquarters, it was decided to post both the Superintendent and the Commandant of the Police at Lunglei, in order to shorten the route taken by supplies. The rate of tax proposed was approved; but Sir Charles Elliot, recommended that the payment of rice rather than cash should be encouraged. ³¹⁶

Accordingly, the new district called the South Lushai Hills District was constituted on April 1, 1891 and Mr. C.S Murray became the first Superintendent of

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³¹⁴ Ibid., p. 42.

³¹⁵ Bengal Secretariat, Pol., A April 1891, Nos. 1 – 13, , as cited in Ibid., p.42.

³¹⁶ Ibid., p 42.

the new district, who remained in office during April 1-16, 1891.³¹⁷ The post of the Assistant Political Officer for the new district was entrusted to Captain John Shakespear in consideration of the services rendered by him during the previous expeditions against the Lushais. The formation of the South Lushai Hills District became an important milestone in British colonial rule in the region.

Unfortunately, Mr. Murray was not able to hold his position as the Superintendent of the new district for long. Though he was recommended to continue his service, his indiscreet behaviour against Zakapa, a Fanai chief of Khawhri and the incident that followed it compelled the government to bring him back to his ordinary duties as Bengal Civil Police. A detailed study on the conflict between Murray and Zakapa is given in another section of this chapter.

Thus, J. Shakespear, was appointed to become the Superintendent of the South Lushai Hills as he was found to be the most competent person for the job because of his vast knowledge of the land and the people. Shakespear took over the charge on April 16, 1891 and remained in office till 1897, when he was transferred to the post of Political Officer of the North Lushai Hills District.

3.3 Pacification and consolidation: South Lushai Hills

Even though the British colonial rule was established and new administrative district was created, the Lushais continued to resist it and the pacification of the area could not be completed. Hence, Shakespear had to apply his tact and ability, either by

³¹⁸ Fanai clan were frequently recorded as Mollienpui or Muallianpui tribe in the colonial accounts. The Fanai established their chieftainship first in the North-eastern part of Mizoram. Later on, they moved towards the south along the eastern ranges and scattered mainly in the south-eastern region of Mizoram. Zakapa, known to the British as Jacopa was a Fanai chief of Khawhri, now a village within the sub-division of Hnahthial in Lunglei District. In the entire thesis, attempts are made to conform to emic categories and names of the Lushai Hills and therefore even Jacopa will be written as Zakapa and Moullianpui as Fanai.

³¹⁷ CB 1, G – 9, Shakespear's, Administrative Report of the South Lushai Hills for the year 1891-1892, (MSA).

persuasion or coercion, for the pacification of the land within his jurisdiction. His policies and achievements for the pacification and consolidation of colonial rule in the South Lushai Hills may be organized as follows:

3.3.1. Organization of *Darbars*

The British officials clearly recognized the effectiveness of holding a *darbar* or gathering of chiefs for keeping up friendly relations with the Lushai chiefs, which would facilitate the pacification process. Ever since Captain T.H. Lewin, then Deputy Commissioner of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, first came into friendly contact with the Lushais in 1867, the colonial frontier officers advocated the holding of annual *darbar* at different places. The first *darbar* was held at Kassalong, 18 miles above Rangamati, and after the expedition of 1871-'72, *darbars* were held at different places within the Lushai Hills. During that period, much stress was laid on holding *darbars* that an annual political grant of Rs. 7,500 was specified for arranging this ceremony. 320

However, no *darbar* was held since 1889 in the South Lushai Hills, until 1892 when Shakespear became the Superintendent of that district.³²¹ Thus, he revived the practice of holding annual *darbars* in order to cultivate friendly relations with the Lushai chiefs as well as to demonstrate his authority over them.³²² Soon after he assumed his office as Superintendent of the South Lushai Hills District, he organized a *darbar* of chiefs during January 1-4, 1892 at a spot about 2 miles from Lunglei,

³²¹ I.F, Extl A., October 1889., Nos. 27-66., From John Edgar, K. C. I. E., C. S. I., Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, No. 19P – D., Darjeeling, dated the 3rd June, 1889, (NAI).

³¹⁹ From W.B. Oldham, Esq., Commissioner of the Chittagong Division, to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, *Report on the South Lushai Hills District or the Year 1891-'92*, no. 1310L, dated Chittagong, the 14th July 1892, (NAI).

³²⁰ Ibid.

³²² Ibid.

which was attended by representatives from every 'tribe' in the south Lushai Hills. 323 In this *darbar*, he addressed them on the subject of the permanency of the British occupation and the punishment they would suffer if they carried on feuds with each other. 324

It may be relevant to point out the role of sport for social and cultural negotiation between the colonialists and the colonial people. In fact, the nature and role of sport in the colonization and acculturation process have attracted the interest of several historians in recent years.³²⁵ We know that the Lushais were very fond of sports and had varieties of indigenous games. Those who were proficient in indigenous games like wrestling and the throwing of weight were highly regarded among men-folk. Knowing their fondness of sports, Shakespear organized competitions in various items of sports at the *darbars* to entertain and win over the minds of the Lushais.

The first *darbar* that Shakespear organized was accompanied by competitions between the followers of the chiefs in sport items like wrestling and jumping. Shakespear also provided prizes for these competitions. Likewise, the second *darbar* on December 24, 1893 was also accompanied by competitions between the Lushais and sepoys in sport items like sack race and the tug of war. Shakespear certainly knew that entertainment through sports might win the gratitude of the

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³²³ CB 1, G-9, Administration Report of the South Lushai Hills District for the year 1891 – 92, (MSA); From W.B. Oldham, Esq., Commissioner of the Chittagong Division, to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, *Report on the South Lushai Hills District or the Year 1891-'92*, no. 1310L, dated Chittagong, the 14th July 1892, (NAI); Lunglei, written in the colonial accounts as 'Lungleh' is now the second largest town of Mizoram.

³²⁴ CB 1, G-9, Administration Report of the South Lushai Hills District for the year 1891-'92, (MSA).

³²⁵ Andre Odendall, *South Africa's Black Victorians: Sport, Race and Class in South Africa Before Union*, retrieved from http://sas-space.sas.ac.uk/4164, accessed on 12.1.2014, p. 13.

³²⁶ Diary of Captain J. Shakespear, the Superintendent of the South Lushai Hills for the week ending 2nd January 1892, (MSA).

³²⁷ Diary of Captain J.Shakespear D.S.O., Leinster Regiment, Superintendent of the South Lushai Hills, December, 1893, (MSA).

Lushais, and cultivate friendly relations, which would accelerate the process of pacification and consolidation of British colonial regime.

In this darbar, a grand feast was arranged by killing ten gyal (a specific species of cow), in which some kegs of rum were provided to the participants, and a firework was displayed to show the grandeur of British. It was also attempted to stimulate an idea about the benefits of collaborating with the colonial authority by imposing fines from disobedient chiefs and giving reward to the faithful ones. Shakespear recorded:

> I then explained that if we fined and punished the disobedient, we also rewarded the faithful, and presented Lalluova (Lalluauva) with a double-barreled gun and some ammunition for his good services. Jaduna's carbarie paid Rs. 90 towards the fine outstanding against him. 328

The second darbar organized by Shakespear, held from December 24-26, 1893 at Lunglei, was attended personally by thirty two chiefs and thirteen chiefs sent their carbaries (ministers) to represent them. All the chiefs in the South Lushai Hills either presented or were represented this time. 329 The darbars were also used for enforcing colonial justice in which 'complaints' and 'disputes as to boundaries' were investigated and settled. 330 The darbars in the context of South Lushai Hills were thus, colonial mechanism for acquiring knowledge about the problems, grievances and attitudes of the chiefs as well as to demonstrate the authority of the colonial government.

³²⁸ Diary of Captain J. Shakespear, D.S.O., Leinster Regiment, Superintendent of South Lushai Hills. Memo. by- W.B. Oldham, Esq., C.I.E., Commissioner of the Chittagong Division, forwarded to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, No. 4T., dated Camp Rangamati, the 4th January 1894,(MSA).

³²⁹ Ibid.

³³⁰ Diary of Captain J. Shakespear, D.S.O., Superintendent of South Lushai Hills, from 24th December 1894 to 7th January 1895, Memo. by- W.B. Oldham, Esq., C.I.E., Commissioner of the Chittagong Division, forwarded to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, No. 61L., dated Chittagong, the 12th January 1895, (MSA); Diary of Captain J. Shakespear, D.S.O., Leinster Regiment, Superintendent of South Lushai Hills, Memo. by- W.B. Oldham, Esq., C.I.E., Commissioner of the Chittagong Division, forwarded to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, No. 4T., dated Camp Rangamati, the 4th January 1894,(MSA).

In such *darbars*, the Lushai chiefs were entertained with the performances by 'a circus party and a juggler from Chittagong.' The splendor of the British was also demonstrated by the show of fireworks, which 'astonished the chiefs greatly.' The events in the *darbars* thus exhibited the splendor of the British in the eyes of the Lushais and became instrumental in the establishment of a notion of British superiority among the Lushais.

3.3.2. Campaigns against recalcitrant chiefs

The repression of Lushai resistance was essential for the consolidation of British rule because without quelling it, peace could not be restored and law and order could not be maintained to run the administration effectively. Therefore, the immediate task of Shakespear was to punish and subjugate the Lushai chiefs who resisted the British colonial expansion. Some of the tasks that he had taken up against the chiefs who continued to resist colonial rule are discussed as follows:

3.3.2.1 The subjugation of Zakapa

The British never came into contact with Zakapa until 1891 when C. S. Murray and his team happened to visit the former's village in February 1891. ³³³ After he assumed the office of the Superintendent of the South Lushai Hills, C.S.Murray toured the villages within his jurisdiction accompanied by a strong force to enforce the British authority. He was also accompanied by two interpreters, Dara and

Diary of Captain J. Shakespear, D.S.O., Superintendent of South Lushai Hills, from 24th December 1894 to 7th January 1895, Memo. by- W.B. Oldham, Esq., C.I.E., Commissioner of the Chittagong Division, forwarded to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, No. 61L., dated Chittagong, the 12th January 1895, (MSA).

³³² From W.B. Oldham, Esq., Commissioner of the Chittagong Division, to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, *Report on the South Lushai Hills District or the year 1891-'92*, no. 1310L, dated Chittagong, the 14th July 1892, (NAI).

³³³ Dr. J.V.Hluna, 'Zakapa (1839-1914)' in *Historical Journal Mizoram*, Volume – XI, MHA, November, 2010, p. 23.

Satinkharaa. Wherever he went, he demanded girls as well as domestic animals and local beers and the chiefs he visited supplied anything he demanded out of fear. 334

When Murray was on his way to Zakapa's village at Khawhri from a village named Bemtar, he sent his interpreter Dara in advance asking the Chief to arrange a beautiful girl for him during his stay in his village. Zakapa was greatly annoyed by the demand of Murray. But, instead of showing his anger violently, he sent all the girls and unmarried women to their *jhums* (paddy fields) to save them from Murray. He asked a Paite girl, Darzapi to be ready if she did not mind sleeping with Murray. However, the girl did not agree with the chief's overture and went away before the arrival of Murray. 335

After reaching Khawhri, C.S.Murray visited Zakapa's house and asked for a girl. Zakapa told him that the girl he had arranged for him escaped as he was afraid of him. Murray then asked the chief to find any girl for him but the chief and his elders could not find a single girl even after searching twice. 336 Murray then insolently asked for the wife of Zakapa. This behavior on the part of Murray gravely enraged Zakapa who quickly picked up his gun and cocked the trigger pointing at Murray's chest. Just before he press the trigger, one of his elders deflected his gun. 337 Murray then fled and rushed to the *zawlbuk* (bachelor's dormitory) where his forces had encamped. Murray warned Zakapa that he will be accused of rebelling against the British and his *chhekin* (granary) will be burnt. Zakapa, however responded that if his granary was burnt, he would kill Murray by himself.

Early in the next morning i.e. on February 10, 1891, Murray and some of his men moved towards the village granary. 338 On hearing this, Zakapa made a plan to

³³⁴ Ibid., p. 23.

³³⁵ Ibid., p.23.

³³⁶ Ibid., p. 24.

³³⁷ F.Lianchhinga, 'Darbilhi: Chieftainess of Muallianpui 1841-1901' in *Historical Journal Mizoram*, Volume – XI, MHA, November, 2010, p. 144.

³³⁸ Robert Reid, op.cit., p. 43.

ambush Murray on their way back. He led an ambush party and positioned himself between the granary and the village while another group surrounded the village *zawlbuk* under the leadership of Darpawnga³³⁹ (better known as Pawngvina, well-known for his ill-temper).

While the tension was very high, Pawngvina detected a signaler who was trying to send message to Fort Tregear at Darzo for reinforcement. So, he obstructed the signaler from giving out his signals. When the signaler despicably shouted to him, Pawngvina responded wrathfully and stabbed the signaler's stomach with his spear. Thus, a fierce fight took place between the two parties. The chief's warriors burnt the *zawlbuk* and all the soldiers fled away. At that same moment, Murray's team also burnt the granary. This hillock where the village granary was burnt came to be known as *Buhkangmual*. 341

After burning the granary, Murray's party returned towards the village. However, on their way, they were attacked by the ambush party of Zakapa. This incident led to the death of two sepoys and one (1) naik of the Frontier Police, two army signallers, and a private servant of one of the officers.³⁴²

Murray fortunately managed to escape and was chased by Zakapa. But before he captured Murray, he was persuaded by his elders to stop the chase and convinced him that Murray was defeated and was no longer in a position to withstand him. After being defeated and chased by Zakapa, C.S.Murray had been missing in the jungle without food for three days and could barely reach Lunglei. 343

³³⁹ Dr. J.V.Hluna, op.cit., p. 24.

³⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 25.

³⁴¹ Buhkangmual literally means 'the hillock where rice was burnt.' This site is located in the outskirt of present Khawhri village alongside the road to Cherhlun / Thingsai.

³⁴² Bengal Secretariat, A, April 1891; Nos. 1 – 38, File no. L/10, as cited in Robert Reid, op.cit., p. 43.

³⁴³ Dr. J.V.Hluna, op.cit., p. 25.



Fig. 4.1 The place where Mr. Murray burnt the granary of Zakapa's village (Khawhri)

Source: Author



Fig. 4.2. The place where Zakapa ambushed Murrays Party at Khawhri village Source: Author

Zakapa's resistance to Murray's misconduct offered opportunity for Shakespear to become an administrator in the South Lushai Hills. Regarding the misconduct of Murray during his service as Superintendent of the South Lushai Hills District, the Government of Bengal gave its judgement that "however successful he had been in subordinate posts, Mr. Murray was not fit to hold the important and almost independent position of Superintendent of the South Lushai District." It was further decided that:

Captain Shakespear has, in his capacity as Assistant Political Officer in these Hill Tracts, earned much distinction and evinced the possession of qualities which lead to a confident belief that he will do well in the position in which the Lieutenant-Governor proposes to place him.³⁴⁵

After he assumed the office of Superintendent of the South Lushai Hills replacing Mr. Murray, the first operation that Shakespear had to carry out was the punishment of Zakapa who had defeated his predecessor few months before. In 1891, he marched towards Khawhri but Zakapa had fled before he arrived and his village was burnt.³⁴⁶

Zakapa was chased by the party of Shakespear but they could not capture him easily. Zakapa disguised himself and remained hidden, and changed his place of stay from one village to another. After evading capture for a long time, Zakapa fell into Major Shakespear's hands on January 1, 1896 during the expedition against Kairuma.³⁴⁷

³⁴⁴ Bengal Secretariat, A, April 1891; Nos. 1 – 38, File No. L/10, as cited in Robert Reid, op.cit., p. 43.

³⁴⁵ Robert Reid, op.cit., p. 43.

³⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 44.

³⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 50; also see Major Shakespear's diaries from 20th to 26th December 1895, inclusive, forwarded in original to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, No.6L., dated Chittagong, the 3rd January 1896, Memo. From- W.B. Oldham, Esq., C.I.E., Commissioner of the Chittagong Division to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

Even though it was explicit that the reason of Zakapa's resistance was the demand of women by Murray, the faulty behavior of Murray was never mentioned in the official reports or correspondences of the colonial rulers. In fact, the colonial officials preserved their own official camaraderie and brotherhood by reporting to their superiors of Murray's attempt to exonerate himself where he had merely 'demanded coolies', which was refused by Zakapa. His fellow officer, Shakespear also recorded having received a note from Hutchinson that Murray had set off to burn Zakapa's granary because the chief refused to give him coolies, and that he had been attacked and had lost two men and all his baggage. This allowed senior colonial officials to attribute the civil resistance around them to a simple-minded individual ('Zakapa's rebellion') and the 'slothfulness of native males.'

In fact, in the colonial records, the inhuman act of Murray had been overlooked and the complaint went against Zakapa that 'he had looted, on February 1891, Mr.Murray of Rs. 2000 Government money and a quantity of stores and property, and in doing so, killed two signalers of the 3rd Gurkha Rifles and four of the British Frontier Policemen.' In this way, the British officials wisely justify their horrendous repression of the Lushais for the consolidation of colonialism.

Zakapa was thus, brought to Chittagong where his case was tried by the Chief Commissioner. On finding that Mr. Murray was guilty of the first offence, he put Zakapa in prison for three months only. 353 After his release, Zakapa was allowed

³⁵⁰ Ibid., p.295.

³⁴⁸ Dara's testimony as reproduced in Indrani Chatterjee, *Forgotten Friends*, p.299.

³⁴⁹ Ibid., p.301.

³⁵¹ Ibid., p.301.

³⁵² Major Shakespear's diaries from 20th to 26th December 1895, inclusive, forwarded in original to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, No.6L., dated Chittagong, the 3rd January 1896, Memo. From- W.B. Oldham, Esq., C.I.E., Commissioner of the Chittagong Division to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

³⁵³ Indrani Chatterjee, Forgotten Friends, p. 299.

to retain his chieftainship to become the chief of Sailulak and seven other villages with his sons since his old village, Khawhri was no longer there. He died on December 28, 1914 at the age of 75 and his body was buried at Hmuntlang, three kilometers away from Sailulak.³⁵⁴

3.3.2.2 Supression of Ropuiliani and Lalthuama

Even though the British established their paramountcy in the Lushai Hills, the maintenance of permanent peace and security was not an easy task at the initial period. There were still many chiefs who did not want to collaborate with the British, who relentlessly fomented their efforts to dislodge the British power. Among those were a well-known chieftainess called Ropuiliani, who ruled over Denlung village.³⁵⁵

She was the wife of Vandula- one of the bitter enemies of the British among the Lushai chiefs, against whom the Cachar Column was directed in 1871-'72.³⁵⁶ Her father Vanhnuailiana was also one of the Lushai chiefs who had stood against the British for a long time.

After the death of her husband Vandula in 1889, Ropuiliani became the chieftainess of Denlung village. The legacy of hostile relations between her family and the British gave Ropuiliani bitter feelings of enmity and distrust towards the colonial government. She consistently resisted various measures of the colonial government to exert British paramountcy in the Lushai Hills. She demonstrated her resistance to colonial authority by constantly opposing the making and maintenance

³⁵⁴ Dr. J.V.Hluna, op.cit., p. 28.

³⁵⁵ Denlung village locates in the south-eastern part of Lunglei District of Mizoram. It is now within jurisdiction of Hnahthial 'N' Village Council.

J.Shakespear, Superintendent of South Lushai Hills, 'Correspondences Regarding Lushai Chieftaineess Ropuiliani-1894', Memo No. 1032G, dated Lungleh, the 13th October, '1894, forwarded to the Commissioner, Chittagong Division with reference to his para. 2 of his Letter No. 1419L, D/2/9/'93, Exbt. 2 (unfiled), (MSA).

of roads within her village boundary, the colonial authorities' demand of tributary labour, and the establishment of British military stockade at her son Lalthuama's village.³⁵⁷

While the British had suspicious mind on the actions of Ropuiliani, the years 1891 and of 1892 were marked by fresh outbreaks across the hills, which can be attributed as resistance to the colonial political economy which focused on 'the extraction of labour and taxation. The British accused both Ropuiliani and her son Lathuama for furtively inciting the other chiefs to resist the colonial authority. ³⁵⁸

The relation between Ropuiliani and the colonial government was aggravated by the murder of an interpreter named Satinkharaa by the warriors of Ropuiliani. Satinkharaa was a mischievous person, who often misused his power as representative of the colonial authority for demanding sexual *corvee*. Fed up with his behavior, Ropuiliani incited her valiant warriors to murder Satinkharaa, who was thus killed by Hnawncheuva and Dokhama (not the chief Dokhama) in March 1892 at Dokhara's village. Satinkharaa and Dokhama (not the chief Dokhama) in March 1892 at Dokhara's village.

The colonial authorities now feared that the behavior of Ropuiliani might provoke concerted armed opposition to colonial rule in the Lushai Hills. Hence, in 1893, Captain J. Shakespear led a punitive expedition against Ropuiliani and her son Lalthuama, and arrested them on August 9, 1893. 361

³⁵⁹ Ibid. pp. 118-119.

³⁶⁰ CB 1, G-9, Administration Report of the South Lushai Hills for the Year 1891-'92, (MSA); (the date of this incident is given in the District Art & Culture Office, Lunglei District, opcit., pp. 118-119 as 14th March 1893, the murderers as Hnawncheuva and Pavunga). Dokhara was a grandson of chief Vandula, who inherited a small village given his father by Vandula.

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³⁵⁷ District Art & Culture Office, Lunglei District, Mizoram, *Monoliths and Landmarks of Southern* Elephant Industries, New Delhi, 2008, p.112.

³⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 112.

³⁶¹ Ibid., p. 112.

Even after she was captured and imprisoned at Lunglei, Ropuiliani did not want to compromise with the colonial government. Hence, in order to avert further trouble, Shakespear proposed the transfer of Ropuiliani and her son from the Lushai Hills to Rangamati. As instructed by the Government of Bengal, they were dealt with under Regulation III as state prisoners and deported to Rangamati, the headquarters of Chittagong Hill Tracts on April 8, 1894. But Ropuiliani could not survive the shock of the prison life and died within a year of her detention in the Chittagong Jail in the morning of January 3, 1895.

After the death of his mother, Lalthuama was released on April 1, 1896, and was allowed to retain his chieftainship at his village in Hlumte hills under strict vigilance of the Superintendent. According to the terms of his release laid down by Major John Shakespear, Lalthuama's village should not exceed 105 houses without the permission of the Superintendent; he was not allowed to claim to any of the village sites which formerly belonged to him that were given to others since he was arrested; and he was liable to be punished severely on failure of obeying the orders of the government.³⁶⁵

With the death of Ropuiliani, it became easier for the British to subdue other chiefs in the South Lushai Hills. Even her son, Lalthuama was reduced to a complete state of submission, and her clan and village never rose in armed resistance against the colonial government. Therefore, the suppression of Ropuiliani and her son by Shakespear prepared a good ground for the consolidation of British rule in the South Lushai Hills.

³⁶² Letter from W.B. Oldham, Commissioner, Chittagong to the Chief Secretary, Govt. of Bengal, No. 132. File 1/681. November 1893as cited in Suhas Chatterjee, *Mizoram*, p.122.

³⁶³ Robert Reid, op.cit., p. 49.

³⁶⁴ CB 9, G – 117, from the Superintendent of the Chittagong Jail to the Chief Secretary of the Govt. of Bengal, No. 62L, Dt. 12.1.'95, (MSA).

³⁶⁵ CB 2, Pol – 18, from Major J. Shakespear, Superintendent South Lushai Hills, to the Comissioner, Chittagong Division, No. 1539 G, dated Lungleh, 7th March 1896, (MSA).



 $Fig.\ 4.3\ The\ alleged\ grave\ of\ Ropuiliani\ at\ Denlung\ Village\ in\ Lunglei\ District.$

Souce: Author



Fig. 4.4 The pot inside the grave of Ropuiliani, which contains bone pieces of her husband, Vandula.

Source: Author

3.2.2.3 Subjugation of Kairuma

The British divided the Lushais into four main groups: the Western Lushais, the Eastern Lushais, the Haulongs and the Kairuma group. Those who were identified and classified as the Eastern Lushais were the villages ruled by the sons of Lianphunga and Vanhnuailiana; the Haulongs were the villages ruled by the sons of Bengkhuaia and Sangvunga; the Western Lushais were the villages ruled by the sons of Suakpuilala; and the Kairuma group consisted of the descendants of Vuta. The solution of Suakpuilala and Sangvunga; the Western Lushais were the villages ruled by the sons of Suakpuilala; and the Kairuma group consisted of the descendants of Vuta.

Of these, the last named were the strongest combination in the Lushai Hills and occupied the southern part of the eastern Lushai hills. The chiefs which formed the British's classification of Vuta group or Kairuma group were: 369

Name of Chief	Number of Houses	Remarks
Kairuma	455	Son of Vuta
Lungliana	170	Son of Vuta
Neihpuithangi	260	Widow of Vuta
Lalbuta	170	Grandson of Vuta
Zataia	310	Grandson of Vuta
Ralthianga	100	Grandson of Vuta
Total	1,465	

³⁶⁶ Intelligence Branch: Division of the Chief of the Staff, Army Headquarters, India, comp., op.cit., p.243.

Letter from A.W. Davis, Esq., I.C.S., Political Officer, North Lushai Hills to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam, No. 233, Fort Aijal, the 2nd April 1894, (NAI).

³⁶⁸ C. Lalthlengliana, 'Chief Kairuma' in *Historical Journal Mizoram*, Volume – X, MHA, November 2009, p. 46.

³⁶⁹ CB 4, G-37, From A. Porteous, Esq., I.C.S., Offg. Political Officer, North Lushai Hills to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam, dated Fort Aijal, No. 240, the 5th July 1895, (MSA).

One of the most formidable Lushai chiefs who was able to organize a concerted resistance against the British colonial rule was Kairuma, the fifth son of Vuttaia. The British first came into immediate contact with Vuta or Kairuma group during the Lushai Expedition of 1889 - 1890, when the combined forces of the two flying columns, one under Colonel G. J. Skinner (detached from the Chittagong Column) and the other under Mr. W. W. Daly (detached from the Cachar Column) destroyed the villages of Lungliana (son of Vuta) and his nephew in March 1890 as punishment for their involvement in the raid upon the village of Pakuma Rani in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. Teven though the British recognized the participation of Kairuma in the raid on Pakuma Rani's village, they did not have a time to organize operation against him during the Lushai Expedition of 1889 – 1890. This Expedition has been discussed in detail in Chapter III of this thesis.

Even after the establishment of British paramountcy in the Lushai Hills, Kairuma did not easily accept the colonial rule and he continued to make tax evasion and other forms of resistance against the British by forming a concert with the chiefs belonging to his clan. He expressed his antagonism towards the colonial rule by continued and deliberate refusal to obey orders issued by the Political Officer of the North Lushai Hills for the supply of *corvee* (forced labour), which as a rule was enforced throughout the rest of the North Lushai Hills.³⁷³

In 1892, there was a threatened fight between Kairuma and Dokhama over land dispute. The cause of land feud was a claim by Dokhama to certain lands held by Kairuma. In order to settle the dispute, Captain Shakespear, Superintendent of the South Lushai Hills requested Mr. R.B. McCabe, Political Officer of the North Lushai Hills District to visit Kairuma. Mr. McCabe and Shakespear met at Lailen, the new

³⁷⁰ C. Chawngkunga, *Geneological Tree of Mizo*, TRI, Aizawl, 1996, p. 27.

³⁷¹ CB 4, G-37, From A. Porteous, Esq., I.C.S., Offg. Political Officer, North Lushai Hills to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam, dated Fort Aijal, No. 240, the 5th July 1895, (MSA).

³⁷² Ibid.

³⁷³ Ibid.

village of Kairuma in February 1892. Then, a *darbar* was held which was attended by Kairuma, Lalbuta and Ralthianga and the threatened feud was settled by confirming the possession of the lands in dispute to Kairuma. McCabe eventually visited the villages of Neihpuithangi, Zataia and Lungliana, in which all of them received him with friendly attitude and the demand of house-tax at Re. 1 per house was realized in full from these villages, without any kind of resistance to the colonial authority. 374

After the establishment of the Serchhip outpost, Mr. A.W. Davis, who succeeded McCabe as Political Officer of the North Lushai Hills, toured through the territory of Kairuma group and met with Shakespear at Kairuma's village at Lailen in January 1893. On this occasion, the British saw an unfriendly reception from this group for the first time. Except that of the first two villages visited - villages of Ralthianga and Lalbuta, the other chiefs made themselves unavailable before Mr. Davis, who was instead received by their *Upas* (mantris/ elders). In all the cases, all the women and the livestock and goods were removed from the villages before the arrival of Mr. Davis' force. Supplies and coolies for moving the Political Officer's escort were furnished with some reluctance. This incident might be held to explain the unwillingness of the chiefs to come under the British rule. On this tour, Mr. Davis arrested the chief Lalbuta and confined him for two days on ground of delaying the furnishing of supplies. Mr. Davis also fined Zataia 100 mounds of rice for the same case. However, since Zataia did not pay the fine in full even after five months, he was informed in June 1893 to fine fifty guns as punishment for his repetition of defying the colonial authority.³⁷⁵

In January 1894, Mr. Davis and Captain Shakespear again met at Kairuma's village, and they were received just like that in 1893 – the chiefs did not want to meet them, but furnished food supplies and coolies for carriage to the next village. The two parties stayed for a fortnight at Zataia's village during which supplies for a force of 100 men was obtained from the villagers without payment. However, not even a

³⁷⁴ Ibid.

³⁷⁵ Ibid.

single gun was surrendered out of fifty guns imposed as fine in the previous year. Moreover, beyond carrying their allotted share of rice to supply Serchhip outpost, all the chiefs of Kairuma group did not want to comply with the demand of *coolies* by the colonial rulers. In retaliation, a guard of twenty-five men was posted at Kairuma's village for some weeks in April to enforce the order for furnishing coolies, which however failed to obtain the desired effect.³⁷⁶

Mr. Davis, thus intended to place guards of fifty sepoys each in both the villages of Kairuma and Zataia so as to coerce them to comply with all demands. In pursuance of that policy, Mr. Alexander Porteous, who then succeeded Mr. Davis as Officiating Political Officer of the North Lushai Hills, took an escort of 150 men to Lailen in January 1895 and met Captain Shakespear here, accompanied by a military detachment. Even on this occasion, the same tactics were pursued by all the chiefs of this group as in the two previous years. Supply of rice for Serchhip outpost and coolies for carriage from one village to the next had been readily given. However, orders for coolies for work in Aizawl or on the new Serchhip road then under construction were ignored. Moreover, all the chiefs persistently evaded meeting with the colonial authority.³⁷⁷

The dealing with Kairuma had been made more complicated by his attempt to shift his village at Selesih by abandoning Lailen. This had made Mr. A. Porteous to come to the conclusion that the plan of leaving a guard of fifty men to coerce Kairuma would be futile and risky. Shakespear and Porteous thought that they should have a better preparation and a larger force to push matters to extremities. They also opined that the wisest decision was to give Kairuma another chance of yielding, and if Kairuma continued his refusal to obey orders, measures should be taken to bring him to submission in the next cold season. ³⁷⁸

³⁷⁷ Ibid.

³⁷⁶ Ibid.

³⁷⁸ Ibid.

As a preliminary, a new fortified post was established at Selukawt, close to the village of Zataia with the object of having a base for the collection of supplies from Aizawl. Kairuma was then given fresh order to supply 100 coolies for work at Aizawl. This order was again ignored by Kairuma. Then, in the first week of April, 1895, Mr. Porteous sent him a notification that he was fined sixty (60) guns, and that if the fines were not given by the end of the rains, he must take the consequences.³⁷⁹

In view of the above history of the British relations with Kairuma, Mr. A. Porteous, in consultation with Captain Shakespear, proposed to the Chief Commissioner of Assam in July 1895 for an operation against Kairuma and his allies. Both Mr. Porteous and Shakespear suggested that military operations against Kairuma group was absolutely necessary for the final pacification of the Lushai Hills, and both of them were anxious to undertake operation during the winter of 1895-96. 380 It was proposed to take up the operations against Kairuma with the involvement of the three administrative areas such as the South Lushai Hills (under the Government of Bengal), the North Lushai Hills (under the Government of Assam), Falam in the Chin Hills (under the Government of Burma).

There were three main reasons for the necessity of organizing a combined operation against Kairuma:- first, the group of villages dominated by Kairuma were located on the tract between the North and South Lushai Hills. Kairuma's village was only sixty-two miles from Lunglei; ninety-four from Aizawl and about the same distance from Falam in the Chin Hills; second, the southern chiefs- Zakapa of Khawhri and his brother Zaduna of Khuangthing were not only at large but were reportedly under the influence of Kairuma; third, he was in a good relation with the chiefs of Falam by paying tribute to him, which gave the colonial authorities a belief that Kairuma had dreamt of receiving support from them against the British.³⁸¹

³⁷⁹ Ibid.

³⁸⁰ C. Lalthlengliana, op.cit., p. 50.

³⁸¹ J. Shakespear, Major, D.S.O., Supdt., South Lushai Hills, Summary of events in the South Lushai Hills on 23rd and 24th December 1895, Memo. by - Major J.Shakespear, D.S.O., Superintenden., South Lushai Hills, forwarded to the Commissioner of the Chittagong Division, No. 1122G., dated Lungleh,

In his letter to the Chief Commissioner of Assam, Mr. Porteous clearly stated the indispensability of sending operation against Kairuma:

> If our authority in these hills is to be respected, we cannot longer delay taking action against Kairuma. The effects of the leniency with which he has been treated, have been shown in the comparative difficulty with which I, this year enforced demands of labour from the Eastern Lushais, and further temporizing would, I believe, seriously unsettle our position, not only with regard to the Eastern Lushais, but in the eyes of every chief in the district.³⁸²

Thus, in December 1895, with the sanction of the Government of India, punitive expeditions were commenced against Kairuma and his dependent chiefs -Zaduna and Kaphleia, who had never been completely brought under the control of the British Government. These three chiefs were powerful and influential, and controlled thirteen (13) villages between the rivers Tiau and Tuipui. The expedition was dispatched in consultation with Porteous, the Political Officer and Loch, the Commandant of the Military Police, of the North Lushai Hills.³⁸³

The arrangements for the expedition were made by the Administration of Assam, and columns of Military Police from Burma and Bengal were sent as supports. 384 The expeditionary force of North Lushai Hills Military Police under Mr. Porteous left Aizawl Fort for the Selukawt outpost on December 16, 1895. The

the 29th December 1895, (MSA); also see C. Lalthlengliana, op.cit., p. 48; CB 4, G-37, No. 240, from A. Porteous, Esq., I.C.S., Offg. Political Officer, North Lushai Hills to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam, dated Fort Aijal, the 5th July 1895, (MSA).

³⁸² CB 4, G-37, No. 240, from A. Porteous, Esq., I.C.S., Offg. Political Officer, North Lushai Hills to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam, dated Fort Aijal, the 5th July 1895, (MSA).

³⁸³ FEAP, March 1896, Nos. 46-62, Report of the Operation against the Lushai Chief Kairuma and the village of his group by Porteous, Political Officer, North Lushai Hills to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam, (NAI).

From C.W.Bolton, Esq., Offg. Chief Secretary to the Govt. of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, No. 38P - D, dated Darjeeling, the 4th May 1896, (NAI).

³⁸⁵ C. Lalthlengliana, op.cit., p. 48.

Burma Column consisting of 100 Chin Military Police under Mr. Tuck and the Lunglei Column consisted of 113 rifles under Major Shakespear simultaneously started towards Kairuma's village on December 17, 1895. Shakespear reached Zaduna's village on the December 24. On December 22, the Aizawl Column left the Selukawt outpost, and the three columns met at Kairuma's village on December 25, 1895³⁸⁶. There was no resistance and necessary punishment was imposed without any trouble.

The expedition was carefully planned, and its objectives were thoroughly obtained.³⁸⁷ Though Kairuma did not rise in arm against the colonial authority, his resistance to colonial rule by defying the colonial rulers' demands of corvee was retaliated by the white masters with a complete destruction of his power. 'His village was burnt, his crops and stocks of rice were destroyed, and his livestocks were seized.'388 The same was the fate of his allies, who were completely dislodged and disarmed by the colonial authorities. This concerted action entirely disarmed the prevailing opposition to the colonial rule as reflected in the honouring of demands for guns and tributary labour. 389

Not only Kairuma and his clan were subjugated, but the Fanai chiefs such as Zaduna and his son Kaphleia, who formed a confederacy against the British with Kairuma were also successfully dealt with in this operation. Zaduna was captured on January 4, 1896. Zakapa, who remained hiding since his village had been burnt by Shakespear was also captured during this operation. Kairuma was also captured and

³⁸⁶ FEAP, March 1896, Nos. 46-62, Report of the Operation against the Lushai Chief Kairuma and the village of his group by Porteous, Political Officer, North Lushai Hills to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam, (NAI).

³⁸⁷ CB 2, G-24, from C.W.Bolton, Esq., Offg. Chief Secretary to the Govt. of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, No. 38P-D, dated Darjeeling, the 4th May 1896, (MSA).

³⁸⁸ K.Laldinpuii, op.cit., p. 44.

³⁸⁹ CB 2, G-24, from C.W.Bolton, Esq., Offg. Chief Secretary to the Govt. of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, No. 38P-D, dated Darjeeling, the 4th May 1896, (MSA).

was detained for six months at Aizawl. After his detention period was over, he was released and allowed to retain his chieftainship at Hmunte.³⁹⁰

This expedition was a successful maneuver which led to the end of the pacification process in the Lushai Hills.³⁹¹ The utter collapse of the Kairuma – Zaduna group had such a good effect on the rest of the inhabitants of the Hills that all thought of resisting the British authority was completely abandoned.³⁹² This expedition became Shakespear's last expedition in the south. Shakespear remarked that this expedition against Kairuma finished the long list of punitive operations in the Lushai Hills.³⁹³The same conviction is also voiced by Mr. A. Porteous in his report on May 6, 1896 in the following words:

With the close of the operations against Kairuma, it may, I think, be safely prophesized that the long series of Lushai expeditions has now ended. The immediate results of the expedition have been to completely break the power and prestige of Kairuma, and to dispel effectually the idea that any Lushai chief...... can safely ignore the orders of the Political Officer.³⁹⁴

Thus, by the end of 1895, the Lushais abandoned the idea of armed resistance to colonialism and the Lushai Hills was pacified, except minor sporadic outbreaks in isolated areas. It was seen from Major Shakespear's report on the administration of the South Lushai Hills for the year 1895-1896 that in all parts of the the Lushai Hills,

³⁹⁰ Tribal Research Institute, *Mizo Lal Ropuite*, Government of Mizoram, Aizawl, 1996, p. 230.

³⁹¹ CB-7, G-79, 'Note on the Lushai Hills, its Inhabitants, and its Administration since 1888,' (MSA).

³⁹² CB 2, Pol – 18, from Major J. Shakespear, Superintendent South Lushai Hills, to the Comissioner, Chittagong Division, No. 1539 G, dated Lungleh, 7th March 1896, (MSA).

³⁹³ CB-7, G-79, 'Note on the Lushai Hills, its Inhabitants, and its Administration since 1888,' (MSA).

³⁹⁴ K.W, External A, October 1896, Nos. 28 – 35, Report on the Administration of the South Lushai hills for 1895-'96, (NAI).

the chiefs had accepted the obligation to pay the yearly tribute and to comply with the demands for tributary labour which was a symbol of submission in the Lushai Hills. ³⁹⁵

Another significant achievement of Shakespear in this expedition was the capture of the two hostile chiefs–Lalchheuva and Vansanga, who kept up the spirit of hostility towards the colonial authority among the Lushais. In these operations, Captain Shakespear received valuable support from his loyal friend and interpreter, Darmaka Ralte (Dara)³⁹⁶, who was later on made a chief of Pukpui village.³⁹⁷

On September 6, 1895, a proclamation was made which formally annexed the South Lushai Hills to the British India dominion, and brought under the administration of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal. Under the same proclamation of the Governor General, North Lushai Hills came under the jurisdiction of the Chief Commissioner of Assam.³⁹⁸

Shakespear's achievements in consolidating the British rule in the South Lushai Hills was clearly acknowledged by Mr. W.B Oldham, the Commissioner of the Chittagong Division, who wrote to the Government of Bengal that Major Shakespear not only able to pacify the South Lushai Hills, but thoroughly examined and readied himself for the gradual application of the internal territorial system, which alone could be a permanent basis for its future administration. ³⁹⁹

³⁹⁵ CB 2, Pol – 18, from Major J. Shakespear, Superintendent South Lushai Hills, to the Comissioner, Chittagong Division, No. 1539 G, dated Lungleh, 7th March 1896, (MSA).

³⁹⁶ R. Lalrawna, comp., *Mizo Rohlu*, Gilzom Offset, 2011, p. 55.

³⁹⁷ Indrani Chatterjee, *Slaves, Souls and Subjects in a South Asian Borderland* (henceforth *Slaves, Souls, and Subjects*), retrieved from- http://w.w.w.yale.edu/ agrarianstudies/papers/ 02chatterjee.pdf. accessed on May 1 2009, n.p.

³⁹⁸ Suhas Chatterjee, *Mizoram*, p.122.

³⁹⁹ Letter No. 239 – L, dated the 20th March 1896 Mr.Oldham, the Commissioner of Chittagong Division to the Government of Bengal as cited in Sir Robert Reid, op. cit., p. 51.

3.4 Disarmament and pacification

As the Lushai Hills formally came under the British rule, the immediate problem faced by the local authorities was the problem of maintaining law and order in the country. As such, the programme of systematic disarmament was chalked out for both the North and South Lushai Hills for the proper enforcement of law and order. Since the Lushais had learnt the advantage of firearm over other weapons, they possessed a sizeable quantity of guns in their villages. ⁴⁰⁰

Major Shakespear had taken effective measures for the control of arms in the South Lushai Hills. When he became the Superintendent, he took measures for the control of arms by promulgating an order that no Lushai should possess a gun without a license. He licensed a certain number of guns in each village, regulating the number according to the record of the chief. During 1896, he adopted a rule for controlling guns whereby provision was made allowing the possession of one gun for fifteen (15) houses, with a maximum of twenty-five (25) guns for each village. The order that no Lushai should possess a gun without license was thus enforced, and 276 guns were licensed during the year 1896. Till May 1896, the total number of guns confiscated, including those taken from the villages of Zaduna and Dokulha was 187.

In spite of its importance for the pacification of the Lushais, the problem of disarmament in the North Lushai Hills did not assume so much importance like that of

⁴⁰⁰ Suhas Chatterjee, *Mizoram*, p.122.

⁴⁰¹ From C.W.Bolton, Esq., Offg. Chief Secretary to the Govt. of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, No. 38P - D, dated Darjeeling, the 4th May 1896, (NAI).

⁴⁰² CB 6, G- 70, from C.W.Bolton, Esq., C.S.I., Chief Secretary to the Govt. of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, No. 445P. - D, dated Darjeeling, the 20th September 1897, (MSA).

⁴⁰³ From C.W.Bolton, Esq., Offg. Chief Secretary to the Govt. of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, No. 38P - D, dated Darjeeling, the 4th May 1896, (NAI).

the South Lushai Hills District. 404 For the enforcement of this order, Shakespear adopted "rough coercive measures", and any defiance to his authority was severely dealt with. Many Lushai chiefs, already disorganized, readily agreed to surrender the unlicensed guns, except certain chiefs such as Kairuma and his allies who resisted the colonial authority until they were subjugated by means of military power of the British. 405

In this the task of pacification through disarmament, Shakespear discharged his duty satisfactorily for the British. In his administrative report for the year 1896–1897, he wrote that the Lushais in the Southern Hills completely abandoned all ideas of resistance and advocated that the 'rough coercive measures' of the past could be changed for gentle ones. 406

The process of disarmament continued well after the creation of the Lushai Hills District. A system of licensing guns under the Arms Act XI of 1878 was introduced by Shakespear in the Lushai Hills District in 1898, by which orders were issued that no Lushai may possess a gun without a license. He further directed that all guns were to be brought in to be marked. 407

By mid-1899, the total number of licensed guns in the district was 812, which was somewhat below the sanctioned scale of one gun to fifteen houses. The success of the disarmament process was summed up by John Shakespear in his administrative report of the Lushai Hills for the year 1898 - 1899:

There are now in Aijal Sub-division, 571 licensed guns, of which thirty two (32) are held by sepoys and other foreigners, leaving 539 in the

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⁴⁰⁴ Suhas Chatterjee, *Mizoram*, p. 124.

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid, p.123.

⁴⁰⁶ B.P.P. (A); May, 1896, Nos. 17-21; Report on the Administration of the South Lushai Hills for 1896 - 1897 as cited in Lalrimawia, op.cit., p. 43.

⁴⁰⁷ FEAP, September 1895; Nos. 76-79, from H.J.S. Cotton, Chief Secretary to the Government of Benal to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, 8th July 1895, (NAI).

hands of the Lushais. In the Lungleh Sub-division, there are 273 licensed guns. The total for the district was therefore 812 as against about 1040, which might be licensed at the scale sanctioned by the Chief Commissioner, viz. one (1) gun in fifteen (15) houses.⁴⁰⁸

The established policy in the Lushai Hills was to license guns with caution and moderation, imposing a maximum limit as far as possible, and to confiscate all unlicensed guns, to fine heavily the owners of such guns and liberally rewarding informers. This policy had stood the test of the time, and a systematic control had subsequently being exercised. No complete disarmament had ever been attempted, and the Chief Commissioner does not recommend any such measure. After the successful implementation of the Arms Act XI of 1878, Major Shakespear had entirely opposed extracting guns by sending punitive detachments to villages suspected of having some unlicensed firearms. According to him, the amount of misery inflected on innocent people by this method gave rise to a sense of insecurity and discontent, which was far more dangerous than the possession of few guns. Mr. Cotton also entirely agreed to this opinion of John Shakespear and punitive measures were replaced with a more liberal policy towards the Lushais.

Shakespear had 'displayed great energy and many soldier-like qualities, and his associates and subordinates were devoted to him.' His personal quality and dedication to his service enabled him to pacify the area of his administration within only five years of his service as Superintendent of the South Lushai Hills. On leaving the district to become a Political Officer of the North Lushai Hills District, he expressed his conviction that all ideas of resistance had been definitely abandoned throughout the district. The chiefs had generally accepted that tribute must be paid

⁴⁰⁸ CB 1, Pol-6, Shakespear's Administrative Report of the Lushai Hills for the Year 1899, (MSA).

⁴⁰⁹ I. F. External – A, October 1899, Nos. 35 – 41, from the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, No. 290/2205 For. P., Dated Shillong, the 12th June 1899, (NAI).

⁴¹⁰ From H.J.S. Cotton, Esq., C.S.I., Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, No. 601P-D, dated Darjeeling, the 3rd October 1892, (NAI).

and coolies must be supplied whether for transport or for building. Hence, he advocated that 'rough coercive measures' of the past could safely be changed for more gentle ones.⁴¹¹

3.5 Official endorsement to his achievements

The works and efforts of Shakespear in the South Lushai Hills were obviously acknowledged by the authorities of the British. Mr. W. B. Oldham, the Commissioner of the Chittagong Division who had worked with John Shakespear for several years, wrote on March 20, 1896:

Major Shakespear is making -over his charge not only wholly pacified, but thoroughly examined and accurately known and ready for the gradual application of the internal territorial system, which alone can be a permanent basis for its future administration. 412

Oldham also recognized that the last report of Shakespear worth to be carefully studied by his successor because it deals thoroughly and clearly with all matters of importance on which the administration should proceed and progress. The Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal also concurred that the South Lushai Hills had not only been pacified, but the British rule had been firmly established and the lines of future administration had been finally laid down due to the works of officers like W.B. Oldham, Major Shakespear, Messrs. Sneyd Hutchinson, Williamson and Drake-Brockman. 413

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⁴¹¹ Report on the Administration of the South Lushai Hills for 1895 – 96, (MSA).

⁴¹² Robert Reid, op.cit, p. 51.

⁴¹³ From C.W.Bolton, Esq., Offg. Chief Secretary to the Govt. of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, No. 38P - D, dated Darjeeling, the 4th May 1896, (NAI).

H. J. S. Cotton, the Chief Secretary of Bengal, also wrote to Shakespear on January 16, 1896:

You will have the satisfaction of leaving a thoroughly quiet country to your successor, and will know that however trying your work has been during the past five years, it has not been in vain.⁴¹⁴

Mr. R. H. Sneyd Hutchinson of the Indian Police succeeded Major Shakespear, who administered South Lushai Hills District until it was amalgamated with its northern counterpart. No significant event happened during the period of Hutchinson's superintendency.

3.5 Conclusion

The initial period of Shakespear's arrival into the South Lushai Hills was marked by military encounters and the establishment of British rule was in its infancy. As such the administration of this newly acquired territory was conducted on a temporary basis. Moreover, the situation in South Lushai Hills was still unstable from military point of view, requiring a series of operations. After a relative stable political situation was established the colonial authorities subsequently took measures to bring the Lushai Hills under proper administration.

The man who took the initiative of drawing up proposals and recommendations for the creation of South Lushai Hills as an administrative district was Mr. D. R. Lyall, I.G.S., Commissioner of the Chittagong Division. In January 12, 1890, he sent up proposals for the administration of the South Lushai Hills to the Bengal Government on the assumption that it was the intention of the Government of

⁴¹⁴ Robert Reid, op.cit., p. 52.

India to completely dominate the country between the Chittagong Hill Tracts and Burma.

Lyall endorsed Lewin's policy of 'non— interference' in the internal administration of the chiefs, and that the British should not interfere with the village administration of criminal, civil, and social matters, but to confine the administration to preserve the public peace, leaving internal matters to the chiefs.

The new district was constituted on April 1, 1891 with Mr. Murray as the first Superintendent, who held the charge of the South Lushai Hills from April 1-16. However, Mr. Murray did not hold the position for long. Though he was recommended to continue the his duty of Superintendent of the new district, his injudicious act against Zakapa, and the incident that followed compelled the government to bring him back to his ordinary duties in the Bengal Civil Police.

The departure of Murray led to the appointment of John Shakespear as Superintendent of the South Lushai Hills due to his extensive knowledge of the land and the people. Thus, the control of the South Lushai Hills was entrusted to Captain John Shakespear, who took over the charge from April 16, 1891 and remained in office till 1897, when he was transferred to North Lushai Hills.

His immediate task as Superintendent was to punish and subjugate the Lushai chiefs who were not ready to come under the colonial rule. He successfully subdued and captured hostile chiefs like Zakapa, Ropuiliani and Kairuma who steadfastly refused to co-operate with the colonial authorities in the South Lushai Hills. He also successfully dealt with Fanai chiefs such as Zaduna and his son Kaphleia, who were involved in a confederacy led by Kairuma, which stood against the colonial authority. He was also equally successful to coerce Lushai chiefs like Lalchheuva and Vansanga, who kept up the spirit of hostility among the Lushais. His successful

campaigns against these prominent chiefs withered away the idea of resistance against colonialism in the South Lushai Hills.

After the successful pacification of the South Lushai Hills by Shakespear in his capacity as the Superintendent of the district, it was formally annexed into British India on September 6, 1895 and included within the territory under the administration of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal. Under the same proclamation of the Governor General, North Lushai Hills also came under the jurisdiction of the Chief Commissioner of Assam.

Shakespear was not only responsible for bringing about the complete subjugation of the South Lushai Hills by suppressing the residual resistance led by certain chiefs, but thoroughly studied and readied himself for the gradual application of an internal territorial system, which alone could be a permanent basis for its future administration. It was his efficiency and experience in his early career as an administrator in the South Lushai Hills that earned him an appointment as the first Superintendent of the amalgamated Lushai Hills District. A detailed analysis on his policies and administrative measures will be the focus of the next chapter.

CHAPTER – 5: ADMINISTRATIVE POLICIES AND ACHIEVEMENTS

After subjugating the armed resistance of the Lushais, peace and tranquility was restored in the Lushai Hills. The British Government thus proceeded towards maintaining more efficient and less expensive administrative system in the Lushai Hills. For this purpose, the colonial authorities keenly felt the necessity of combining the South Lushai Hills District with its northern counterpart under a single authority. After a long series of discussions, the two districts were finally amalgamated into one administrative unit called the Lushai Hills District on April 1, 1898 and John Shakespear became the first Superintendent of the newly amalgamated district. During his superintendency, Shakespear introduced various administrative measures which left significant marks in the history of colonial rule in the Lushai Hills. The origins, nature and impacts of his policies and administrative measures will be examined in this chapter.

5.1. Amalgamation of the North and South Lushai Hills Districts

An important stage in the history of British colonization of the Lushai Hills was the amalgamation of the South and North Lushai Hills. The question of amalgamation had long been the subject of discussion way back from 1891. As early as 1891, some of the British administrators speculated the possibility and desirability of consolidating the two Lushai Hill Districts under one administration. Just after the creation of the South Lushai Hills District, the Finance and Commerce Department wrote to the Secretary of State for India on its view regarding the consolidation of the two administrative units which read:

F.S.Roberts, P.P.Hutchins, D.Barbour, A.E.Miller, H.Brackenbury and R.C.B.Pemberton).

⁴¹⁵ Letter No. 191 of 1891, Government of India, Finance and Commerce Department to the Secretary of State for India, Simla, the 14th July 1891, (NAI). (This letter was signed by Landsdowne,

It is probable that ultimately it may be found possible and desirable to consolidate under one administration the whole or the greater part of the territory in the occupation of the various tribes now separately controlled from Bengal, Burma and Assam. 416

The authorities of colonial Indian government immediately took constructive steps regarding this correspondence and a conference was held at Calcutta on January 29, 1892, at the instance of the Governor General of India, which was subsequently known as the first "Chin Lushai Conference." This conference was convened 'to discuss civil and military affairs connected with the control of the Lushai and Chin Hills' and was attended by the colonial officers such as Sir Charles Elliott (Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal), Lieutenant-General Sir J. C. Dormer (Commanderin-Chief, Madras), Sir Alexander Mackenzie (Chief Commissioner of Burma), Mr. W. E. Ward (Chief Commissioner of Assam), Sir Mortimer Durand (Foreign Secretary, Government of India), Major-General E. H. H. Collen (Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department) and Major-General Sir James Browne (Quartermaster-General).417

The Conference unanimously gave its decision that it was desirable to bring the whole tract of country known as the Chin-Lushai Hills under one administrative head as soon as possible. The conference agreed to place the new administrative division under the Chief Commissioner of Assam on the condition that- (i) complete transport and commissariat equipment for supplies from Chittagong to South Lushai, and from Cachar to North Lushai are provided; (ii) funds are granted for roads and telegraphs from Aizawl to Lunglei. 418

⁴¹⁶ Ibid.

⁴¹⁷ Bengal Secretariat, Political, A, April 1892, Nos. 55 – 60, File L/36, as cited in Robert Reid, op.cit., pp. 52-53.

⁴¹⁸ Ibid. pp. 53-54.

The recommendations of the conference were thus referred to the Governor-General in Council, which approved to transfer the South Lushai Hills District and the Northern Arakan Hill Tracts to Assam from the governments of Bengal and Burma respectively. It also approved to place the whole of the Lushai country under the Chief Commissioner of Assam. 419

In September 1896, the authorities of the colonial Government of India reviewed the state of affairs in the North and South Lushai Hills as well as in the Chin Hills districts, and found it greatly improved, and suggested to summon a conference of Superintendents of the aforesaid three tracts to discuss all matters of importance for the reduction of expenditure, colonial military and administrative establishments in these three districts. 420 Accordingly, The Second Chin Lushai Conference was convened between December 14-18, 1896 at Lunglei, which was attended by four (4) officers such as- Mr. A. Porteous, I.C.S. (Political Officer, Northern Lushai Hills), Mr. R. Sneyd Hutchinson (Bengal Police, Superintendent, South Lushai Hills), Mr. H. N. Tuck (Burma Commission, Political Officer of Chin Hills), and Captain G. H. Loch, I. C. S. (Commandant, North Lushai Military Police). 421

The delegates discussed and made recommendations on various matters relating to the administration of the three districts. Regarding the amalgamation of the North and South Lushai Hills Districts, all officers agreed that the transfer of the South Lushai Hills to Assam was eminently desirable on both political and financial grounds as it might affect an annual saving of two lakhs of rupees. 422

⁴¹⁹ Ibid., p. 54.

⁴²⁰ Ibid., p. 54.

⁴²¹ Foreign Department, from the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, No. 979 P., Dated and received on 25th March 1897, (NAI).

⁴²² Ibid.; also see Birendra Chandra Chakravorty, British Relations with the Hill Tribes of Assam since 1858, Firma L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcuttta, 1964, p. 78.

Mr. A. Porteous, Political Officer of North Lushai Hills District, in his letter to the Secretary to Chief Commissioner of Assam commented on the pre-eminence of the amalgamation of the Lushai Hills Districts on financial grounds:

As to the financial effects directly due to the transfer these will of course not be of anything like so great importance as the financial results due to reduction of rates for the carriage of rations, and to recasting of the at present unnecessarily extravagant scale of transport, commissariat, and Public Works Department, coolie establishment... The conference has put the figure at which the annual saving effected by amalgamation and reduction of establishments may be fixed, at approximately two (2) lakhs, this is not too high an estimate...and hoped 'a further saving'...⁴²³

Another pre-eminent issue pertaining to amalgamation was the problem of administration. In fact, the reports from the different political officers in the Chin-Lushai Hills consistently indicated that they had worked under considerable difficulties in consequence of the whole country not being under one administration. The Chin-Lushai files abound in instances of difficulties having been caused by the three Governments of Bengal, Assam and Burma having jurisdiction in those hills. The three Governments were often at variance as to the policy to be adopted towards certain tribes, and very often doubtful to which jurisdiction certain villages belong. Hence, it was necessary to bring the Chin-Lushai Hills under one government in order to maintain an effective administration.

After a careful consideration of various issues, the project for the amalgamation of the North and South Lushai Hills took final form in 1897 when the

⁴²³ Letter No.643, dated Fort Aijal, the 19th January 1897, from A. Porteous, Esq.. ICS, Political Officer, North Lushai Hills to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam, (MSA).

⁴²⁴ K.W. No. 3, 'Note on our dealings with savage tribes, and the necessity for having them under one rule' in Tribal Research Institute, comp., *Foreign Department Report on Chin Lushai Hills*, September, 1892 (hereafter *Foreign Department Report of 1892*), TRI, Aizawl, 1980, pp. 96-97.

Chief Commissioner submitted his proposals for the future administration of the Lushai Hills to the Government of India on July 17, 1897. ⁴²⁵ Initially, the transfer of the South Lushai Hills to Assam was intended to take place on the October 1, 1897, but this date was put back by six months. ⁴²⁶

The proposals put forward by the Chief Commissioner were accepted by the Government of India on January 27, 1898. Some of the important points of the proposals approved by the Government of India were:⁴²⁷

- (a) The first step must be the formal transfer of the South Lushai Hills from the Government of Bengal to the Administration of Assam. This will be effected by the issue of a Proclamation under section 3 of the Government of India Act, 1854 (17 and 18 Vict.,77). Neither the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal nor the Governor-General in Council sees any objection of the proposal to include Demagiri and the adjoining villages in the Lushai Hills.
- (b) The proposal that the officer in charge of the amalgamated area should be styled 'Superintendent of the Lushai Hills' is approved and accepted.

Accordingly, a Proclamation was made on April 1, 1898, which declared the amalgamation of the North and South Lushai Hills into one administrative unit known as the Lushai Hills District under the Chief Commissioner of Assam with effect from the date of the Proclamation. The tract known as Rothangpuia's villages, including Tlabung, in the Chittagong Hill Tracts was also included within the Lushai Hills District. Under the same proclamation Major John Shakespear C.I.E., D.S.O, was

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⁴²⁵ Assam Secretariat, Foreign, A, August 1897, Nos. 26 – 42, as cited in Robert Reid, op.cit., p. 55.

⁴²⁶ Robert Reid, op.cit., p. 55.

⁴²⁷ Ibid., pp. 58- 59.

appointed to be the first Superintendent of the Lushai Hills District. The headquarters of the new district was at Aizawl. 428

It was his knowledge and experiences about the Lushais in the South Lushai Hills, and his genius and unique ability which raised Shakespear up to an important position of Superintendent. Thus, 'the whole amalgamated area of the North and South Lushai Hills was placed under his control, whose tried ability and experience afforded an ample guarantee for the administration of the Lushai Hills.' 429

The Superintendent on behalf of the Government was empowered to interfere in the internal administration of the chiefs only when they went beyond their respective jurisdictions. At the same time, the Superintendent became the fountainhead of justice, who tried all cases relating to murder, rape, sedition and other serious offences.

The staffs of the new district consisted of one Superintendent and three Assistants. One of these officers was in charge of the Lunglei Sub-division. These officers had 2nd Class magisterial powers.⁴³² Previous to the amalgamation, the staff

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⁴²⁸ Ibid., p. 60.

⁴²⁹ General Dept., *Annual Administration Report on the North Lushai Hills for 1896-97*, No. 296J, from the Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam, to the secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, dated Shillong, the 29th July 1897, (MSA).

⁴³⁰ Information & Communication Technology, Planning & Programme Implementation Department, Government of Mizoram, *Land Revenue System in Mizoram*, p.1, retrieved from http://www.land revenue mizoram.gov.in., accessed on 5th August, 2009.

⁴³¹ Suhas Chatterjee, *Mizo Chiefs and the Chiefdom* (hereafter *Mizo Chiefs*), MD Publications, New Delhi, 1995, p. 32.

⁴³² Letter from Major John Shakespear, Superintendent, Lushai Hills, to the Provincial Superintendent, Gazetteer Revision, Assam, No. 904 G, dated Aijal, the 24th December 1902, (MSA).

of the two districts consisted of one Political Officer for the Northern hills, and one Superintendent and two Assistants, with a third in the cold weather, for the Southern hills. The staff of the combined districts was therefore far weaker for the same area previous to the change, thereby, reducing the cost of administration. 433

5.2 Policy towards the chiefs

After the pacification of the Lushai Hils, the British entered into a new phase of relations with the Lushais. As the fear of intense resistance had gone, the British now undertook to replace the previous policy of punishing the chiefs and organizing expensive military campaigns against the Lushais by a new policy of establishing a stable administrative system. A period for organized rule had now set in for the further consolidation of colonial rule in the Lushai Hills. John Shakespear took advantage of this situation to formulate certain rules for administration in the Lushai Hills District, which mainly focused on the policy of upholding the authority of the chiefs in the day to day administration of their respective villages.

After thoroughly examining the traditional Lushai system of governance as well as the extent and consequences of its modifications after the arrival of the British in the Lushai Hills, Shakespear advocated to follow a policy of abstention from the internal administration of the Lushai chiefs. In 1895, while administering the South Lushai Hills in the capacity of the Superintendent, he expressed his view that the Lushai system of paternal governance by their own chiefs was well suited to the circumstances in which they live, and that the British must be careful not to destroy it

Administration Report of the South Lushai Hills for the Year 1891 – '92, (MSA).

⁴³⁴ ASPFA, June 1897, From Major J. Shakespear, I.S.C., C.I.E., Offg. Political Officer, North Lushai Hills, to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam, No. 300, dated Aijal, the 13th July 1897, (Assam State Archives, Guwahati, hereafter ASA).

by weakening the power of the chiefs until they were ready to replace by something better. 435

For the policy towards the chiefs, Shakespear entirely agreed with the view of Mr. A.W. Davis, whose note to Mr. Alexander Porteous in July 1894 on his policy towards the chiefs reads as under:

I always held the chiefs of villages responsible for the behavior of their people, and upheld their authority to the best of my ability. I have repeatedly told them that this policy will be consistently followed, and that, as long as they behave themselves as they should, their orders will not be interfered with, even though the orders may appear to us at times a little high-handed, and not quite in accord with abstract ideas of justice. In this connection, it is well to remember that no chief can very greatly misuse his power or oppress his people. Were he to do so, his village, and with it his own importance, would quickly diminish, as the people would migrate to other villages. In upholding the authority of chiefs, I have, as a rule, declined to take up appeals against their orders in petty cases, as it only diminishes a man's authority to be brought into Aijal to answer some petty charge preferred against him by a discontented villager. ⁴³⁶

While considering the future policy towards the chiefs, Shakespear thought that the colonial rulers could opt from two courses- firstly, to allow the chiefs gradually to lose all their power and undertake the administration of justice in every village and hamlet, and the collection of revenue and impressments of labour by the

⁴³⁵ Copy of the Diary of Captain J. Shakespear, D.S.O., Superintendent, South Lushai Hills, Lungleh, from 23rd February to 1st March 1895, to the Commissioner of the Chittagong Division, No. 1512G, dated Lungleh, the 9th March 1895, (MSA).

⁴³⁶ ASPFA, June 1897, From Major J. Shakespear, I.S.C., C.I.E., Offg. Political Officer, North Lushai Hills, to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam, No. 300, dated Aijal, the 13th July 1897, (ASA).

British themselves; secondly, to maintain the existing rulers and instruct the authority to devote himself in educating, advising and if necessary, disciplining the chiefs to govern their jurisdiction well. 437

Shakespear saw no advantage for the colonial government with the first plan which would involve the introduction of various machinery of administration found in "regulation district". According to him, this would involve numerous difficulties such as huge expenditure caused by the increase in the number of staffs in almost every department; the absence of magisterial authority in remote villages would result in increase in the number of thefts and other petty offences; various difficulties pertaining to the recruitment of police force and the subordinate magistracy; and above all, the introduction of such new administrative system would be very unpopular since it would involve many changes in the Lushai customs. 438

On the other hand, he advocated the second option, which relied on the continuation of a system of administration which upheld the power and position of the chiefs in the administration of their own villages, which was working well in the Lushai Hills. He admitted that even though the existing system was in a damaging condition, but 'yet capable of being gradually improved.' Since the success of this system required only 'the tact and intelligence' of the successive colonial officers 'to gain the friendship of the chiefs and to guide them in the way they should go,' it would involve only little expense. 439 He further suggested that the government must strictly adhere to a single policy in governing the Lushai Hills so that all future administrators might work on the same plan, and that there might not be constant and vexatious changes of policy. 440

⁴³⁷ Ibid.

⁴³⁸ Ibid.

⁴³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁰ Ibid.

Shakespear strongly opposed the idea of undermining the power of the chiefs due to his conviction that colonial governance in the Lushai Hills would not be properly functioned without the active participation of the chiefs. He said:

We cannot get our revenue paid, nor our demands for labour complied with, except through the chiefs, and therefore, surely, it is wiser to maintain them and strengthen their hands, at the same time trying to educate them into using their power well. I do not think any middle course is possible...Thus we have got into the anomalous position of holding the chiefs responsible for the production of coolies and revenue, while at the same time do our best to lessen their power to comply with our demands.⁴⁴¹

Shakespear's view on upholding the power of the chiefs was entirely concurred with the view of Mr. H.J.S. Cotton, the then Chief Commissioner of Assam, who thus incorporated it into the draft rules for administration of the Lushai Hills under section 6 of Act XIV of 1874 (The Scheduled Districts Act). This policy was, thus, enshrined in the third proclamation by the Chief Commissioner of Assam on April 1, 1898. Accordingly, these rules for the administration of the Lushai Hills remained in force for a long time, with periodical modifications. One of the main principles of these rules was the internal control of villages by their own chiefs. This was one of the most important aspects of Shakespear's policy and, as he stated in the report for 1897-98, the last year in which the North Lushai Hills remained separate from the South, his aim was to interfere as little as possible between the chiefs and their people and to do all he could to impress upon the chiefs their responsibility for the maintenance of order in their villages. The chiefs are entirely concerned.

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⁴⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴⁴² ASPFA, July 1897, from E.A. Gait., the Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam, to the Offg. Political Officer, North Lushai Hills, No. 273J, dated Shillong, the 28th July 1897, (ASA).

⁴⁴³ Robert Reid, op.cit., p. 60.

The new rules for administration formulated by Shakespear, which were promulgated with the sanction of the Government of India had worked well for the colonial authority and it was claimed that there was 'general peace and prosperity' in the Lushai Hills. It was principally owing to his experience and knowledge of the Lushais that the affairs of the hills were so successfully administered. In a note which he recorded on March 22, 1905, on leaving the district, Shakespear said:

I am sure that the sound policy is to do all we can to make the best of the form of government we found existing... I am convinced that it is better to uphold the government of the chiefs and to govern through them, rather than to try to govern without them.⁴⁴⁵

However, this policy of non-interference was not an innovation of Shakespear. T.H.Lewin, who had long been with the Lushais in the Chittagong Hill Tracts as an administrator had already advocated this policy of 'non-interference' in the internal administration of the chiefs. He analysing Shakespear's proposals on the policy to be adopted towards the Lushai chiefs, it is evident that he had carefully studied the accounts of Lewin on the traditional administrative system of the Lushais and his subsequent policy on this issue. Lewin adopted a policy that the British should not interfere in the village administration regarding criminal, civil, and social matters, but confine their efforts for the preservation of public peace, leaving internal matters to the chiefs. He

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 $^{^{444}}$ I. F. External – A, October 1899, Nos. 35 – 41, from the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, No. 290/2205 For. P., dated Shillong, the 12^{th} June 1899, (NAI).

⁴⁴⁵ Robert Reid, op.cit., p. 60.

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid., pp. 38-39.

⁴⁴⁷ ASPFA, June 1897, from Major J. Shakespear, I.S.C., C.I.E., Offg. Political Officer, North Lushai Hills, to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam, No. 300, dated Aijal, the 13th July 1897, (ASA).

⁴⁴⁸ Robert Reid, op.cit., pp. 38-39.

Mr. D. R. Lyall, I.G.S., Commissioner of the Chittagong Division, the man who took the initiative of drawing up proposals and recommendations for the creation of the South Lushai Hills District continued to accept this policy of Lewin. 449 Likewise, as mentioned earlier, Shakespear also drew his idea from the policy of Mr. A.W. Davis (Political Officer of N.Lushai Hills from 1892-'94), who used to 'uphold the authority of the chiefs to the best of his ability. 450

Moreover, in the adjoining district, the Chin Hills Regulation of 1886 had already been enforced in the Chin Hills of Burma. This Regulation provided that Chin traditional chiefs would maintain their positions of authority under the indirect governance of the British. Later on, the Chin Hills Regulation (Regulation IV) passed on August 13, 1896, authorized the Superintendent of the Lushai Hills, subject to any general or special orders of the Local Government, to appoint and remove any headman or chief, and define the local limits of his jurisdiction. It was also laid down that the Superintendent shall be guided as far as practicable by local custom in making such decisions. Every headman or chief was also authorized to exercise general control over the subjects of his village according to local custom local, specifically within the limits of his jurisdiction. This Regulation was passed as a means to uphold the authority of the chiefs on the basis of the customs of the hill tribes, which was to be carried out under the general control of the Superintendent.

The system of governance so strongly advocated by J. Shakespear for the Lushai Hills and finally endorsed by Fort William was based on the principle of

⁴⁵⁰ ASPFA, June 1897, from Major J. Shakespear, I.S.C., C.I.E., Offg. Political Officer, North Lushai Hills, to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam, No. 300, dated Aijal, the 13th July 1897, (ASA).

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid., pp. 38-39.

⁴⁵¹ Chao-Tzang Yawnghwe and Lian H. Sakhawng, eds., *The Fourth Initial Draft of the Future Chinland Constitution*, United Nationalities League for Democracy (Liberated Areas), Thailand, 2003, pp. 23-26.

⁴⁵² The Chin Hills Regulation (Regulation IV) of 1896.

indirect rule which was a well established system of British colonial administration, not only in India, but also adopted in other parts of its colonial empire. It was during the colonial expansion in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that the Calcutta Government began to introduce this system of indirect rule in India. Indirect rule is generally seen as a form of colonial control in which colonizers delegated day-to-day governance to local power-holders. The main motive behind this system was delimiting the government's responsibilities in governing the people in order to reduce expenditure rather than preserving the customs and practices of the colonized people.

5.3 Bases of colonial economy

As the Lushai Hills came under the colonial rule, the colonial rulers had to take measures to support its economic requirements for the administration in the country. Since the Lushai Hills offered only little scope for extracting its economic resources, the colonial rulers resorted to obtain revenue in the form of 'corvée' and 'extraction' of tribute in kind or money.

As soon as the British formally annexed the Lushai Hills, revenue was extracted from the people in the form of rice or money and labour. In 1891, R.B. McCabe, the Political Officer of North Lushai Hills proposed to formally tax the Lushais. His proposals were to assess the Lushais at Rs. one (1) per house in addition to a maximum demand of ten *seers* of rice per house (to be paid for at rupees two per *maund*) and liability to be called on for free labour for six days per annum. 455

⁴⁵³ J. Zorema, op.cit., pp. 1-2.

⁴⁵⁴ Adnand Naseemullah and Paul Staniland, *Varieties of Indirect Rule:Explaining Governance Beyond Weberian Sovereignty*, np.nd., retrieved from http://sas-space.sas.ac.uk/4164, accessed on 21.2.2014.

⁴⁵⁵ External – A, Note on proposed taxation of Lushai Tribes by R.B. McCabe, Esq., C.S., Political Officer, North Lushai Hills, forwarded to D.R.Lyall, Esq., C.S.I., Commissioner of Chittagong, No. 19, dated Aijal, the 23rd January 1891, (NAI).

The main purpose for the colonial practice of 'extraction' of tribute in kind was to reduce and save the enormous cost of importing rice for rationing the outposts. It was hoped that if rice was collected and managed carefully, there would be no difficulty in providing their outposts locally. That would save them from the arduous task of importing rice which involved huge amount of money for purchase and transportation.

Initially, there was no uniformity regarding the obtainment of revenue in the South and North Lushai Hills Districts. But, even before the amalgamation of the two districts, the British, after realizing that the inhabitants of both the North and South Lushai Hills districts came from the same stock of race and migrated freely from one tract to another, the colonial authorities recognized the necessity of maintaining conformity between the two districts on the subject of what they called "Lushai tribute and labour", as well as in other matters. 456

Amongst other things, the subject of rules for regulating the rates of *corvée* i.e. tribute and impressed labour in the South Lushai Hills and that of forced labour in the Chin and Lushai Hills had drawn special attention in the Chin-Lushai Conference held at Lunglei in December 1896. The result was the issue of rules for '*corvée*' and 'extraction' of tribute that took effect from April 1, 1897.⁴⁵⁷

5.3.1 Extraction of tribute in kind or cash

For the sustenance of colonial economy, the colonial authorities resorted to the 'extraction of tribute in kind or cash' from their colonial subjects in the Lushai

⁴⁵⁶ No. 226P, From H.J.S. Cotton, Esq., C.S.I., Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Commissioner of the Chittagong Division, Dated Calcutta, the 18th January 1896,(MSA).

⁴⁵⁷ Foreign Dept., letter from the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, No. 979 P., dated and received the 25th March 1897, (NAI).

Hills. This kind of extraction was usually realized in kind in the form of a fixed amount of rice. However, tributary rice was commutable to money in certain cases such as shortage of rice due to failure of crops, or if high cost of transportation might be needed for bringing rice to the stations of colonial establishment. This extraction of tribute in kind or money was understood by the Lushais as as *'extortion'* and called the officials who insisted it as 'extortionist',458

In the South Lushai Hills, from 1897, this kind of tribute was extracted at the rate of twenty *seers* of cleaned rice, or one *maund* of unhusked rice per house. The Superintendent had the authority to decide which description of grain- husked or unhusked – had to be taken. When rice was not taken, the rate of commutation was fixed at Rs. 2 per house. The rate for carrying rice to the station of colonial rulers was fixed at four *annas* for twenty seers for each day's journey. In the North Lushai Hills, the extraction of tribute in rice was not considered necessary or desirable. But for the sake of uniformity as regards money payments, the house tax was raised from Rs. 1 to Rs. 2 per house, with effect from April 1, 1897.

The colonialists claimed that rice was assessed just as a token of submission and obedience. However, the main purpose for the exaction rice was, as mentioned earlier, to reduce and save the enormous cost of importing rice for rationing the outposts. This implied that the extortion of rice was purely for sustaining the colonial economy. It is evident that there were two main purposes for the extraction of revenue from the Lushais- firstly, it facilitated the colonial economy by supporting its expenditure on administrative establishments; secondly, it reminded and symbolized

⁴⁵⁸ K.W. No. 3, 'Note on our dealings with savage tribes, and the necessity for having them under one rule' in Tribal Research Institute, comp., *Foreign Department Report of 1892*, TRI, Aizawl, 1980, p. 96. (Mr. McCabe reports that the Lushais "do not see what they gain by paying tribute to some official in whom they do not recognize the representative of a great power, but only a small extortionist working in his own interest").

⁴⁵⁹ Foreign Dept., letter from the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, No. 979 P., dated and received the 25th March 1897, (NAI).

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid.

the overlord-ship of the colonial authority, which thereby, intensify colonial hegemony on the Lushais.

5.3.2 Corvée

The term 'corvée' is defined by Merriam Webster dictionary as "labour exacted in lieu of taxes by public authorities especially for highway construction or repair." The institution of corvée was practiced very early in ancient and feudal societies. It was a type of annual tax that is payable as labour to the monarch, vassal, overlord or lord of the manor. Corvée was used to complete royal projects, to maintain roads and other public facilities, and to provide labour to maintain the feudal estates. 462

The use of *corvée* or forced labour on public projects in Egypt probably dates back literally to the construction of the pyramids. The use of such labour may well have reached its greatest extent in the nineteenth century, when peasant labour was used to revolutionize the country's irrigation system and to dig the Suez Canal. ⁴⁶³ Imperial China had a system of conscripting labor from the public, equated to the western *corvée* by many historians. Qin Shi Huang, the first emperor, imposed it for public works like the Great Wall and his mausoleum. *Corvée*-style labor was also found in pre-modern Japan, France, America and various other places. ⁴⁶⁴

⁴⁶¹ 'Corvée' in *Merriam-Webster Dictionary*, retrieved from www.merriam-webster.com., accessed on January 2, 2014, n.p.

⁴⁶² 'Forced labor' in *New World Encyclopedia*, retrieved from www.newworldencyclopedia.org., accessed on 31st January, 2016, n.p.

⁴⁶³ Nathan J. Brown, 'Who Abolished Corvee Labour in Egypt and Why?' in *Past & Present*, No. 144, Past and Present Society, Oxford University Press, August 1994, p. 116.

⁴⁶⁴ 'Forced labor' in *New World Encyclopedia*, retrieved from www.newworldencyclopedia.org., accessed on 31st January, 2016, n.p.

This system was applied by the British in their colonies as a mean to sustain the colonial economy. The colonial practice of *corvée* in the Lushai Hills was sanctioned by the Bengal Regulation XI of 1806, which authorized the impressment of transport and supplies for public and private purposes. Private purposes implied the requirements of certain touring officers of government. The same Regulation had also been in force in other parts of Assam. However, in the plain districts of Assam, there was little or no forced labour, although the aforesaid Regulation legalized the impressments of transport and supplies for touring officers on payment. 466

The colonial rulers claimed that *corvée* or impressments was utilized only for transport of officers on tour and occasionally for urgent public works when no other labour was available. However, in the hill districts and frontier areas, such labour was resorted to as an administrative necessity and was purely used to sustain the colonial political and economic necessity of the time. The colonial rulers' justification for obtaining *corvée* was explicitly expressed in the words of Shakespear, who often said to the Lushais:

You forced us to occupy your hills, we had no wish to come up here but you would raid our villages, so we had to come, and so now you have got to bear as much of the cost of the occupation as possible, you cannot expect us to spend the money of the people of the plains on importing coolies to do the work, that you are too lazy to do except under compulsion. 467

Shakespear was subscribing to the colonial tradition of stereotyping the colonized and represented the Lushais as 'lazy fellows', who 'preferred to lie smoking

⁴⁶⁶ Extract from D.O.co. Immgn-331/7755 G.J, dated the 22nd October 1929, from the Chief Secretary to the Government of Assam, to the Deputy Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Industries and Labour, (MSA).

⁴⁶⁵ Copy of Letter no. F.187/2/30-Public, dated the 2nd February 1932, from the Joint Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Assam, (General and Judicial Department), (MSA).

⁴⁶⁷ CB 1, G-9, Administration Report of the South Lushai Hills for the Year 1898-1899, (MSA).

in the sun' than to engage in work or trade to earn money. 468 This colonial imaging and stereotyping of the lazy native legitimized the implementation of *corvee* as a means to teach the Lushais, who were 'too lazy to do except under compulsion.' 469

It was the colonial practice to administer the conquered lands by using their own resources. The indispensability of imposing *corvée* for sustaining the colonial economy was also clearly expressed in the note of R.B. McCabe, which read:

For some time to come it will be necessary to proceed as speedily as possible with the development of communications, and if all work has to be done with imported coolies, I foresee a future grave expenditure to Government and delay in pushing on with the construction of even ordinary patrol paths.⁴⁷⁰

It can be observed from the above remarks of R.B. McCabe that the obtainment of local labour supply in the form of *corvée* was very crucial for the British for sustaining their economy in the acquired territory of the Lushais. In order to ensure their paramountcy, maintain peace and tranquility and to continuously acquire knowledge pertaining to all important issues in the Lushai Hills, they had to make frequent expeditionary tours. For that purpose, it was necessary to construct roads and paths throughout the length and breadth of the Lushai Hills for easy communication. Hence, for constructing roads and buildings and other facilities, the British insisted on the governmentally sanctioned forms of *corvée* called 'labour taxes' from the Lushais in order to save their economy from hiring the highly expensive imported coolies.⁴⁷¹ They had, indeed, valued all human relationships

⁴⁶⁸ J. Shakespear, Lushai-Kuki, p.23.

⁴⁶⁹ CB 1, G-9, Administration Report of the South Lushai Hills for the Year 1898-1899, (MSA).

⁴⁷⁰ External – A, Note on proposed taxation of Lushai Tribes by R.B. McCabe, Esq., C.S., Political Officer, North Lushai Hills, forwarded to D.R.Lyall, Esq., C.S.I., Commissioner of Chittagong, No. 19, dated Aijal, the 23rd January 1891, (NAI).

⁴⁷¹ Indrani Chatterjee, *Forgotten Friends*, p. 307.

merely in terms of the market, of labour-worthiness and of the maximization of profit. 472

In the Lushai Hills, there were two major kinds of *corvée* or 'labour taxes' officially sanctioned by the British:

(a) Tributary labour: Tributary labour was the demand from every chief to supply ten days's labour from each house a year. 473 The rate of pay was equivalent to tribute or other Government dues. This liability was extracted when needed for road-making and for construction of buildings, and in all cases, the day's journey to the scene of work were counted as labour days.

Tributary labour in the Lushai Hills was almost identical with the *begar* system adopted in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. The rules for *begar* in the Chittagong Hill Tracts were:

- (i) In emergencies at the discretion of the British administrators,
- (ii) In lieu of other dues when there was default for those dues.
- (iii) The regular local *begar* of different kinds roads, carrying stores for touring parties, bringing in supplies, and so on. 474
- (b) Impressed labour: Impressed labour referred to local labour supplied to officers or escorts, or expeditionary bodies on tour or on the march, or on any emergency where labour may be required. From April 1, 1897, rules were laid down for application in both the north and south Lushai Hills. Accordingly, each house was liable to supply one *cooly* to work for ten days a year, exclusive of the days occupied in coming and going; this liability was enforced only when it was absolutely

⁴⁷² Ibid., p. 302.

⁴⁷³ Letter from the Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, Shillong, the 17th July 1897, (MSA).

⁴⁷⁴ General Dept., Report on the administration of the South Lushai Hills for 1894-95, from W.B.Oldham to H.J.S. Cotton, Dated Comilla, the 3rd August 1895, (MSA).

necessary in the opinion of the Political Officer; the rate of wage for such labour was fixed at eight annas a day, the days occupied in coming and going being paid for at half rates.475

Impressed labour was mostly demanded from the Lushais in order to provide the colonial requirements of labour for the construction of roads, station works, the movement of troops, survey parties, rationing military outposts, officers' party on tour and other miscellaneous works including the operation of census. 476 If we look at the purposes for which this kind of labour was imposed, we find that the corvée was also a viable method of economizing administration and supporting the colonial undertakings for the production of knowledge in the Lushai Hills.

Impressed labour was identical with the old Manipur lalup or the system started by Major Maxwell in July 1891 in Manipur. The *lalup* was a mode of coercion adopted in a tract of the boundaries, and jurisdiction of which were not yet known, and where the attempt still was to advance, control, and influence as far as possible. 477

5.3.2.1 Sexual Corvée

Apart from the officially recognized *corvée*, Indrani Chatterjee, in her recent work Forgotten Friends: Monks, Marriages and Memories of North-East India (2013), observed the existence of sexual *corvée* in the colonial Lushai Hills. Murray had savagely and irrationally misused his power to insist corvée for demanding sexual corvée from women in any of the villages he visited. Idrani Chatterjee held the view that Murray's system of demanding sexual corvée in a para-military system of sexual

⁴⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁶ CB 7, G-81, Notes for Administration Report of Lungleh Sub-Division for the Year 1900-1901, (MSA).

⁴⁷⁷ Report on the Administration of the South Lushai Hills for 1894-95, From W.B.Oldham to H.J.S. Cotton, dated Comilla, the 3rd August 1895, (MSA).

conscription spread across many hill-based cultivating groups in such a context. In 1897-1898, two of the military (British) policemen raped a 'Lushai' girl, and in a prehistory of postcolonial courts, the accused were acquitted because they could not be identified 'satisfactorily'. According to her, sexual *corvée*, in this context, remained a viable form of expropriation. 479

We also find that an interpreter named Satinkharaa also often misused his power as representative of the colonial authority for demanding sexual *corvée*. This led to his death at the hands of the Lushais. While making further enquiries into the issue of sexual *corvée*, I was informed by Mr. R. Lalrawna, a prominent author, about his memory of conversation with Mr. J. Lalduhawma (L), who resided at Kulikawn, who told him that a *rahsi* (Circle Interpreter, later promoted to the post of Lushai Clerk) named Lianbuka (L) of Thakthing Veng had once organized an event to memorialize the hundredth occasion of his slept with a girl by killing a *gayal* to feed his friends. He opined that Lianbuka would not be able to have a formal courtship with such numerous girls, and that could not happen without the help of any other agency. 481

. What can be observed is that not only the colonial officers, but also certain persons among the collaborators of the British also used their 'power as agent of the colonial rule' for demanding sexual *corvée*. It can safely be assumed that even if not

⁴⁷⁸ Administrative Report of North Lushai Hills, 1898, (MSA).

⁴⁷⁹ Indrani Chatterjee, *Forgotten Friends*, p. 307.

⁴⁸⁰ CB 1, G-9, Administration Report of the South Lushai Hills for the Year 1891-'92, (MSA); (the date of this incident is given in the District Art & Culture Office, Lunglei District, opcit., pp. 118-119 as 14th March 1893, the murderers as Hnawncheuva and Pavunga). Dokhara was a grandson of chief Vandula, who inherited a small village given his father by Vandula.

⁴⁸¹ Interview with R.Lalrawna, 76 years, Electric Veng, Aizawl, on 29th March, 2016. Mr. R. Lalrawna is a prominent citizen and author of *Khawnglung Run* (1977), a story based on the historic invasion of Khawnglung village during the period of enmity between the northern and southern chiefs of then Lushai Hills. This book is now in the syllabus of class X standard under MBSE.; Another interview with Chhuanliana BVT, (87 years), Bethlehem Vengthlang, Aizawl, on 31st March, 2016 confirms what has been narrated by the previous interviewee.

used for forceful sexual demand, the British officials and collaborators sometimes used their authority as a persuasive factor for obtaining sexual *corvée*. It is presumable that there would be other similar cases which were uncovered till now since such kinds of sexual engagements were usually not recorded in written literature.

All these systems of colonial exploitation met with great resistance from the Lushais. It must be remembered that the conflict between C.S.Murray and Zakapa was due to the continuous demand of sexual *corvée* by the former. But it was pathetic that Zakapa was such a victim of colonial injustice that his village had gone to ashes at the hands of Shakespear. 'Zakapa's compulsive resistance to the savage show off power by Murray was erroneously recorded by the British as an objection to give labour.'

The detrimental consequence of introducing *corvée* was clearly visible in the letter of W.B. Oldham written in 1895, which wrote:

I would say that the system referred to is not accepted by the people, and is not consonant with their customs, and that, so far from being economical and easy to work, it has, in the last four years, been the sole cause of our troubles and additional expenditure, and ... retard the objects we have in view, including extension of cultivation, the creation of labour supply, and pacification. 483

The revenue system of the British was considered by the Lushai chiefs as an intrusion into their sovereignty. It became a provocative factor for resistance against colonial rule throughout the Lushai Hills. Mr. McCabe also reported that one of the causes which led to the Lushai rising September 1890 and the death of Captain Browne was the question of revenue. Even though the *corvée* and extraction of tribute

⁴⁸² Indrani Chatterjee, *Forgotten Friends*, p. 301.

⁴⁸³ CB 8. G-98, W.B. Oldham, Esq., C.I.E., Commissioner of Chittagong to H.J.S.Cotton, Esq., C.S.I., Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Chittagong, the 24th July 1895, (MSA).

were only "nominal" from the view point of the colonialists, but it served to irritate the sentiments of the Lushais. They did not see what they gained by paying tribute to some official in whom they did not recognized the representative of a great power, but only a small extortionist working in his own interest. 484

Moreover, the Lushais were free mountaineers, "warlike and enterprising", they were fond of spending their idle time of *jhum* cultivation to engage in fishing, hunting, wild chasing and others in sprees. Their demeanor was discordant to the colonialists' attempt to 'make them to work' during their leisure times by obtaining their labour. The extraction of tribute and *corvée* was considered by the Lushais as an intrusion to their personal liberty. Hence, the colonial revenue system of *corvée* was one of the most hated measures adopted by the British in the Lushai Hills.

5.4 Land Reforms: Land Demarcation, Land Grant and Lease

After he had assumed his office as Superintendent of the Lushai Hills District, Shakespear directed his first administrative task towards land reforms. His land reforms consisted of three methods such as 'land demarcation', 'land grant' and 'land lease'.

5.4.1 Land Demarcation

The first and most important of his land reforms was the fixation of village boundaries known as of 'Land Demarcation' system in 1898. Although this 'land

⁴⁸⁴ K.W. No. 3, 'Note on our dealings with savage tribes, and the necessity for having them under one rule' in Tribal Research Institute, comp., *Foreign Department Report of 1892*, , p. 96.

⁴⁸⁵ Demi-official from – W.B. Oldham, Esq., C.I.E., Commissioner of the Chittagong Division, to H.J.S. Cotton, Esq., Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Dated Rangamati, the 31st August 1895,(MSA).

demarcation' system was officially introduced in 1898, Shakespear's idea of demarcating village boundaries can be traced back as early as 1894. On January 20, 1894, he demarcated the boundaries between the villages of Khawhri, Aithur and Keltan in the south eastern part of the South Lushai Hills. Notably, this became the first instance of 'land demarcation' in the Lushai Hills, which was done at the request of the chiefs to prevent them from dispute over land.

In 1895, he wrote in his diary regarding his objection to the formation of new villages on the ground that if it was allowed, the whole Lushai Hills would soon be dotted over with little hamlets, which would be ruled by the nominal chiefs of which the British have no authority. The break-up of villages into hamlets would further develop great difficulty in getting *corvée* and extortion (what he called 'tribute and labour'). Moreover, its resultant loss of the wholesome restraining influence of the powerful chiefs would create chaos in administration throughout the newly acquired land.⁴⁸⁷

His vision was acknowledged by the British Government and even before the birth of the amalgamation of the North and South Lushai Hills Districts, the British authorities advocated that the boundaries of lands to be occupied by chiefs should be determined. This idea was formally brought into practice by John Shakespear in the first year of his superintendency in 1898.

This practice of 'land demarcation' was usually known as 'Land Settlement.' However, in the context of colonial India, land settlement usually means the act of

⁴⁸⁷ Copy of the Diary of Captain J.Shakespear, D.S.O., Superintendent, South Lushai Hills, Lungleh, from 23rd February to 1st March 1895, to the Commissioner of the Chittagong Division, No. 1512G, dated Lungleh, the 9th March 1895, (MSA).

⁴⁸⁶ Diary of Captain J.Shakespear, D.S.O., Leinster Regiment, Superintendent, South Lushai Hills , from the 15th to the 21st January 1984, (MSA).

⁴⁸⁸ Proposals for the Administration of the Lushai Hills, from the Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, dated Shillong, the 17th July 1897, (MSA).

arranging the terms and incidence of the land tax in specific areas. Hence, the nature of Shakespear's land reforms was, in fact, differed from that of the 'settlement' systems in the plain areas like the Permanent Settlement of 1789 in Bengal, the Mahalwari Settlement in 1833 during the period of Lord William Bentick in the North-Western Provinces and the Ryotwari Settlement by Thomas Munro in 1820 in Bombay and Madras Presidencies.

Unlike these settlements in which the extraction of revenue through the agents of the British – viz., landlords or *ryots*- was the main objective, the system in the Lushai Hills was not initiated for the purpose of revenue collection. Even though the system here might have some indirect economic advantages, for example by reducing the cost of making and maintaining inter-village roads, it rather was undertaken with a view to stop the vexatious inter-village disputes and to ensure permanency of villages that will entrust conveniency in administration.

On the other hand, the term land reforms usually refer to redistribution of land from rich to poor. More broadly, it includes regulation of ownership, operation, leasing, sales and inheritance of land. The actual measures for land reforms were taken up in India only after Independence with the passing of acts like the Zamindari Abolition Act and the Land Ceiling Act by various states. By these acts, surplus lands were confiscated from *zamindars*, and upper limit for private land holdings of a family had been fixed. The most successful land reforms happened in states of Kerela and West Bengal (through Operation Barga).

⁴⁸⁹ 'Land Settlement' in *Merriam Webster Dictionary*, retrieved from www.merriam-webster. com/dictionary, accessed on 12.2.2012, n.p.

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⁴⁹⁰ 'Land Reforms' retrieved from http://www.clearias.com/land-reforms-in-india/, accessed on 10.2.2013, n.p.

⁴⁹¹ Ibid., n.p.

According to the provision of this 'land demarcation', each chief was granted a certain area within which he and his people were entitled to move about freely. ⁴⁹² In addition, he was given two or more adjacent village sites and well-defined natural boundaries in order to ascertain his jurisdiction where he would fear no encroachment. Considering the need to fix boundaries of the land of each chief, Shakespear gave them their own 'ramrilehkha' (boundary paper). ⁴⁹³ Under this practice, the chief continued to have great deal of control over the use and allocation of land and natural resources in their domains.

Shakespear's 'land demarcation' had many advantages - Firstly, as the lands had been divided among the chiefs who had the best claim to it along well-defined natural boundaries, it removed all causes of disputes between the chiefs over land. Secondly, as each chief had been given two or more contiguous village sites, they were made to feel that under the new administration they were enjoying the same setup they had before their subjugation. Thirdly, the curtailment of the Lushai practice of frequently changing their village sites enabled the authorities to maintain permanent inter-village roads. In addition, the chiefs found that it was their interest to carefully maintain their inter-village roads. ⁴⁹⁴ In this way, it greatly helped in the development of transport and communication.

Fourthly, as the lands were handed over to the chiefs permanently, the chiefs tried to get the most out of it and preserved even the forest. The restoration of the chiefs as agent of administration saved the Superintendent, and also the Police, from many unnecessary troubles and the burden of visiting different regions. Lastly, the

⁴⁹³ N.E. Parry, *A Monograph on the Lushai Custom and Ceremonies* (henceforth *Monograph*), reprint, TRI, Aizawl, 2009, p. 3.

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⁴⁹⁶ Suhas Chatterjee, *Mizoram*, p. 130.

⁴⁹² B.C.Chakravorty, op.cit., p. 80.

⁴⁹⁴ C.Lalthlengliana, op.cit., p.56.

⁴⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 56.

new system discouraged territorial mobility vis-à-vis the semi-nomadic character of the Lushais which virtually led to the establishment of permanent village sites. This in turn enabled the government to introduce a uniform system of administration, thereby leading the Lushais towards the process of modernization. However, its main drawback is that it caused a dent in the prestige of the traditional chiefs. It clearly affirmed the chiefs' position as mere agent of British administration.

5.4.2 Land grant

As the lands came under the monopoly and ownership of the British, Shakespear's superintendency also saw the emergence of a new feature of land reforms in which specific areas of lands were granted to certain beneficiaries. This system was never seen in the traditional system of the Lushais.

The beneficiaries of land grants can be categorized into two - the first category included those who were rewarded lands for their active contribution for the success of colonial administration and governance. They were the collaborators of the British and were styled chiefs or head-men. Since they were usually drawn from the traditional non-elite or non-ruling class called 'hnamchawm', they were called 'hnamchawm lal'. Thus, the land reform system led to the emergence of a new class -'hnamchawm lal' (commoner chiefs) or headman.

Some of the commoner chiefs are Darmaka Ralte, an Interpreter, who was made the chief of Pukpui village as a reward to the services rendered by him in subduing the southern Lushai chiefs and Suaka, the chief of Durtlang, who had earlier served the British as a Lushai Clerk. Durtlang, which is now one of the localities of Aizawl was initially set up for the settlement of the newly Christian converts.⁴⁹⁷

⁴⁹⁷ Remarks by Makthanga on Suaka, 'Aijal Chanchin' in *Mizo leh Vai Chanchinbu*, (Bu 10 na, October, 1934), , p. 152.

These 'hnamchawm lal' continued to act as agents of the colonial authority. However, the commoner chiefs never command the same respect as a hereditary chief, as in their case the essentials of the relationship between chief and people is lacking. There was an instance when Dara expulsed some of his villagers who refused to pay him a tribute of rice called "fathang", a paddy due paid by every household to the chief, which was a traditional privilege enjoyed by the Lushai chiefs. This indicated the unwillingness of the people to live under the rule of commoner chiefs.



Fig. 5.1 Darmaka Ralte, Shakespear's friend and interpreter, over 90 yrs. of age. He was one of the Commoner Chiefs who ruled over Pukpui village (Pukpui is now incorporated in the Lunglei town area)

Source: A.G.McCall, The Lushai Chrysalis, Plate VII

 $^{^{\}rm 498}$ N.E. Parry, *The Lakhers*, reprint, TRI, Aizawl, 2009, p.250.

The second category consisted of those who were were entrusted to initiate wet rice cultivation in certain areas of the Lushai Hills. They can be further classified into two groups- the first group were the 'chiefs' or 'head-men', who were appointed to look after the new settlements; and the second group were those who were given lands for the purpose of wet rice cultivation.

Land grants to the chiefs and head-men were, thus proliferated by the introduction of wet rice cultivation, especially at Champhai and North Vanlaiphai. In order to govern the new settlers in these areas, the British appointed 'chiefs' or 'head-men'. They were expected to make arrangement for cultivation within their jurisdiction, but they were not considered to be the owners of the lands of their village. They were entitled to receive 'fathang' from every cultivator at the rate of two baskets of dhan (rice) per annum from those who resided or cultivated within their village boundary ⁴⁹⁹ The grant of land in these new settlements was intended to ensure progress in wet rice cultivation; and to safeguard the British policy of upholding government by the chiefs in the newly settled areas.

A unique system of land grant was found in the areas of Champhai and North Vanlaiphai in which lands were granted to the cultivators for the purpose of wet rice cultivation. Some its unique features were:- first, the lands granted to the cultivator was his private property and the chief or head-man had no power to confiscate or annex his land, thereby introducing the idea of private ownership of land; second, the fields which had been made, purchased or acquired by the cultivator were his personal and heritable property and no one could deprive him of them; third, the cultivators who left his previous village and reside in another village were still at liberty to cultivate their original fields. Every cultivator could reside or break land where he liked provided that he had the permission of the chief or head-man concerned and that he paid 'fathang' at the rate of two baskets of dhan (rice) per annum to each chief within whose village he resided or within whose boundary he cultivated; fourth, if a cultivator failed in any year for sickness or other reasons to sow his field, his chief or

⁴⁹⁹ H.W.G.Cole, Superintendent of Lushai Hills, Wet Rice Cultivation at North Vanlaiphai and Champhai, Standing Order, No 1909, Government of Mizoram, Aizawl, (MSA).

head-man should arrange for someone else to cultivate the field paying one-fourth of the crops to the owner. If a field remained uncultivated for two years in succession, all rights of ownership, however, would cease.

4.4.3 Land lease

Shakespear's administrative reign also saw the emergence land lease in the Lushai Hills for the first time. The idea of allocating land to the lessees in the Lushai Hills originated to promote tea-seed trade. Hence, it can be characterized as market-based land reforms.

Since tea seeds could be sold at a good price, tea-seed trade formed an important base of colonial economy in the Lushai Hills. Even the two pioneer missionaries – F.W. Savidge and J.H. Lorrain were engaged in tea-seed trade. They had bought the tea seeds at Rs. 25 per mound, and hoped to sell for Rs. 60 per mound. The British feared that the tea-seed trade would be as totally extinct as the Indian rubber trade in the South Lushai Hills due to the indiscriminate hacking down of the trees. In order to regulate and promote tea-seed trade, Shakespear drawn up rules for the lease of land for tea-cultivation with the instructions of the Agriculture Department of the Government Assam in 1897. This became the first serious initiative ever undertaken for the promotion of tea-seed trade in the Lushai Hills. The first implication of this 'lease' system was directed to the various pieces of land in the N. Lungleng Hills on which tea-trees grown.

⁵⁰⁰ Diary of J.H. Lorrain, dated 6 September, 1895, Baptist Church of Mizoram Archives, Serkawn.

Letter from Major J.Shakespear, C.I.E., D.S.O., Officiating Political Officer, North Lushai Hills, to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Assam, dated Aijal, the 18th June 1897, (MSA).

⁵⁰² Ibid.

Under this system, the land was leased out to the highest bidder at an annual rent of Rs. 10 per square mile. Even though the lessee did not have ownership right of the land, his heirs, representatives, or assigns could hold the granted lands at the same rate during the period covered by his 'lease'. He was not allowed to cultivate cash crops other than tea, but was allowed to use some portion of his land for growing food-stuffs to support his family and his employees. He should pay a royalty on all tea-seed exported by him to the government and should not export any tea-seed except under a pass granted the Political officer. He should as far as possible, employ Lushais in the collection of the tea-seed, and he should be bounded by the orders of the Political Officer in his dealings with the Lushais. His lease should be liable to be cancelled by the Chief Commisioner if he failed to comply with any of the above conditions.

Mr. R.G. Sisson was chosen to reap the benefits of 'monopoly of the plucking and export of tea-seed" in the Lushai Hills for a period of ten years, i.e. 1897 to 1907 under this 'lease' system.

5.5 Circle Administration

Another important administrative measure introduced by J.Shakespear was a new system of 'Circle Administration' in 1901-1902. This system of administration became the first initiative to introduce modern system of administration in the Lushai Hills and ran properly till 1942.⁵⁰³ This system was adumbrated in the report for 1895-96, the last one which Shakespear recorded before he left the South Lushai Hills on transfer to the North.⁵⁰⁴

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⁵⁰³ Lawmsanga, (unpublished thesis), *A Critical Study on Christian Mission with Special Reference to the Presbyterian Church of Mizoram*, A Thesis Submitted to Impartial Fulfilment of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy to the Department of Theology and Religion, University of Birmingham, England, 2010.

⁵⁰⁴ Robert Reid, op.cit., p. 61.

Closely resembling to the Circle Administrative System was the *Lambu* system which was found in colonial Manipur. This system was introduced in Manipur in 1892 during the Superindency of Major Maxwell. For administrative convenience, Manipur was divided into 5 (five) divisions called *Lams* viz., the *Mao Lam* in the north of the state, the *Tangkhul Lam* in the north-east of the valley, the *Fannu Lam* in the south of the Tangkhul country, the *Moirang Lam* in the south west of the state and the *Kabui Lam* to the north of the *Moirang Lam*. ⁵⁰⁵

The *Lambus* enjoyed a position of trust and dignity. Their main functions were to act as interpreters to the Hill courts in Imphal and officers of the hill administration. As there was no police force for the hill areas, *Lambus* carried out the duties of police. They investigated all cases within their respective areas. They also acted as messengers of the state and carried out other government orders.

In the beginning, the *Lambus* were unpaid. As a result, they resorted to extortion from the tribal people by professing to exempt the villagers from cooliework, which was like a boon for the latter. It was an open secret on those days; the *Lambus* oppressed the innocent hill peoples in order to extract money from them. ⁵⁰⁶ Under the existing system, there was little or no scope for the development of personal relations between the rulers and the ruled.

The Circle Administration was also found in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. After the British took control of the Hill Tracts in 1860, the district was divided into three parts: (1) the southern division, subject to the Bohmong, a chief of Burmese extraction; (2) a central tract inhabited chiefly by the Chakma tribe, under the regency of their chief's widow, the Rani Kalindi, the heir, her grandson, being a

⁵⁰⁵ B.C. Allen, Assam District Gazetteers, p.120.

⁵⁰⁶ Dr. L. Gouragopal Singh, *Local Self -Government in Manipur* (1891-1981), Karan Manmohan Singh, Imphal, 1990, p. 45.

minor; and (3) the northern portion, with a sprinkling of immigrants from the Tipra district, who paid annual tribute to the British government through a Burmese chief known as the Mong Raja. ⁵⁰⁷

A series of administrative and legislative measures were later formulated and passed, culminating in Chittagong Hill Tracts Regulation, 1900 (Act 1 of 1900) popularly known as the Chittagong Hill Tracts Manual. One of the principal changes enforced by these regulations were the formal demarcation of the Chittagong Hill Tracts into three separate 'Circles', and the designation of the three traditional leaders as 'Chiefs'. Consequently, these leaders, who had enjoyed the status of 'heads' within their territories for centuries, required the recognition of the colonial authorities to rule the Chittagong Hill Tracts. ⁵⁰⁸ The three sub-divisions or "Circles" include: (i) The headquarters' sub-division (Rangamati); (ii) The Sungoo sub-division (Ruma); and the Cox's Bazar sub-division. ⁵⁰⁹ But the system in the Chittagong Hill Tracts was different from the system in the Lushai Hills and Manipur.

Thus, we find that prior to the introduction of Circle Administration in the Lushai Hills, there were some antecedents of this system in some places of the North Eastern Frontier of India. Even though there is no evidence to indicate that Shakespear had imitated the new system from the established practice, it is presumable that he had inspiration from the earlier administrative systems because of the fact that active correspondences existed among the British officials. Regular communication were carried out between the colonial officers in different places by means of postal services, telegraph and heliography.

⁵⁰⁷ T. H. Lewin, A Fly on the Wheel, p. 189.

⁵⁰⁸ Mohammad Tareq Hasan 'Government Policies and the Genesis of Dispossession, Inequality and Marginalization in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, Bangladesh' in *International Journal of Arts & Sciences*, 2014. p. 86, retrieved from www.universitypublications.net/ijas/0705/pdf/B4R375.pdf., accessed on 26.3.2016.

⁵⁰⁹ Captain O.A. Chambers, comp., *Handbook of the Lushai Country*, reprint, TRI, Aizawl, 2005, p.27.

Moreover, it is also evident that colonial administrators used to pay visit and tour to other places in order to study how administration had been carried out. An example may be seen from the joint tour of Shakespear and E.O. Fowler (Officiating Superintendent of the Chin Hills) at the Chin Hills District and the Lushai Hills District in 1902. This tour was carried out to obtain information and exchange ideas on various matters connected with the administration of the two districts. After studying the administration in the Chin Hills, Shakespear was convinced that the system of administration in that district had several advantages over that employed in the Lushai Hills and sought to introduce the same system in the Lushai Hills. ⁵¹⁰

The 'Circle Administration' was an important method of upholding indirect rule systematically. The main idea behind the introduction of this system, according to A.G. McCall was "to keep the administration in touch with the chiefs who spread over many hills with small villages, and for creating intelligence machinery." The Government of India's Proclamation of April 1, 1898 divided the whole district of the Lushai Hills into two sub-divisions – the North with its Headquarters at Aizawl, and the South with its Headquarters at Lunglei, which was under the charge of a Sub-Divisional Officer. According to the new system of 'Circle Administration', the two Sub-Divisions of the Lushai Hills District were divided into sixteen Circles – Aizawl Sub-Division is divided into eleven circles and Lunglei Sub-Division into five. This system had stood the test of forty years and was working well. However, between 1906 and 1907, there was an instance when the Interpreters abused their power for their own advantage. This resulted to a change in the Circle System by which Interpreters were made to reside at Aizawl and only went to their Circle once in three months. Standard Standard

⁵¹⁰ CB 8, G 97, E.O. Fowler, Offg. Superintendent, Chin Hills, Summary of events in the Chin Hills for the week ending the 15th March 1902, dated the 17th March 1902, Haka, (MSA).

⁵¹¹ A.G. McCall, *The Lushai Hills District Cover* (henceforth *District Cover*), reprint, TRI, Aizawl, 2008, p.37.

⁵¹² Letter from Major John Shakespear, Superintendent, Lushai Hills, to the Provincial Superintendent, Gazetteer Revision, Assam, No. 904 G, dated Aijal, the 24th December 1902, (MSA).

⁵¹³ Robert Reid, op.cit., p. 62.

Circle Interpreters were appointed in each Circle to facilitate smooth relations between a chief and the officer in-charge of the circle i.e the Sub-Divisional Officer. Circle Interpreter had its headquarters at some central place. It was the Interpreter's responsibility to ensure that the Superintendent's orders were communicated to the chiefs and that all important matters were communicated to the chiefs. He was also responsible that all important matters were reported and orders carried out. Hence, the Circle Interpreters acted as channels of information between the Sub-Divisional Officers and the Chiefs and their people. Care was taken that their appointment did not impair the authority of the chiefs. His *chapprassie* will assist him and perform the Circle Interpreter's duties when the latter is incapacitated or absent.

In each village, there was a village writer who kept a house list from which the house tax was assessed. The village writer was to send in his vital statistics as soon as possible after the first of the month. The village writer acted only as an agent of the chief. It is discernible that under the new administrative system, the traditional advisory roles of the nobles and council of the chief were replaced by new roles undertaken mostly by the allies of colonial rule. The result was decline in the social prestige and importance of the traditional elite.

⁵¹⁴ Annual Administration Report of Lushai Hills for the Year 1902-1903, (unfiled, MSA).

⁵¹⁵ Letter from Major John Shakespear, Superintendent, Lushai Hills, to the Provincial Superintendent, Gazetteer Revision, Assam, No. 904 G, dated Aijal, the 24th December 1902, (MSA).

⁵¹⁶ General Dept., Letter from Major John Shakespear, Superintendent, Lushai Hills, to the Provincial Superintendent, Gazetteer Revision, Assam, No. 904 G, dated Aijal, the 24th December 1902, (MSA).

⁵¹⁷ Standing Orders for Circle Interpreters, (MSA).

⁵¹⁸ From Major John Shakespear, Superintendent, Lushai Hills, to the Provincial Superintendent, Gazetteer Revision, Assam, No. 904 G, dated Aijal, the 24th December 1902, (MSA).

⁵¹⁹ Standing Orders for Circle Interpreters, (MSA).

The chief was responsible for the internal administration of his village including adjudication of all disputes and petty cases among his people. The new administrative system provided a channel for easier and wider contacts between the Government and the chiefs as well as the people throughout the Lushai Hills. On the other hand, the traditional status of the chiefs as the supreme head of the village had gradually declined. The new administrative system curbed the authority of the chief by tightening its control over them through the new officials. The chief was no longer the upholder of justice, and now must act in accordance with the rules and orders of the government. Practically, the system of chieftainship was not stable and strong as it was in the pre-British days in Mizoram. ⁵²¹

The implementation of the Circle System was an important mechanism for the transformation of the social setup of the Lushais. Firstly, it necessitated the recruitment of local educated people in the service of government in the form of Circle Interpreter, Lushai Clerk etc. This led to the emergence of a new privileged class in the society within the ambit of British imperialism. Even though John Shakespear did not initiate the new system to impair the authority of the chiefs, the emergent privileged class, which may be called "new functionaries" in the new administrative system inevitably slackened the position the traditional ruling class. These "new functionaries" occupied an important position in "governing their own land and people in the name of an alien monarch and empire." Moreover, as the

⁵²⁰ From Major John Shakespear, Superintendent, Lushai Hills, to the Provincial Superintendent, Gazetteer Revision, Assam, No. 904 G, dated Aijal, the 24th December 1902, (MSA).

⁵²¹ 'Land Revenue System in Mizoram', Information & Communication Technology, Planning & Programme Implementation Department, Government of Mizoram, p.1, retrieved from http://www.land revenue mizoram.gov.in., accessed on 5th August, 2009.

⁵²² Meenakshi Sharma, "The Native Element in the Steel Frame" in Ralph Crane et al. eds., *Empire Calling*, Foundation Books, Delhi, 2013. pp. 133. "In deference to Indian demands for a greater share in the administration of the subcontinent, the white men who administered the British Empire in India were joined, during the last decades of the Raj, by a growing number of Indians. By the end of 1939 Indians numbered 540 out of a total of 1299 members of the Indian Civil Service, a figure that, with few subsequent appointments, would remain fairly static until independence (Noronha 61). These Indian members of the elite service occupied a strange position as the topmost functionaries governing their own land and people in the name of an alien monarch and empire. As the apex administrative

economy of the Lushais was gradually monetized, this newly emergent class automatically assumed privileged status in the society by dint of having access to the government treasury.

Secondly, this system provided a channel for easier and wider contacts between the Government and the chiefs as well as the people throughout the Lushai Hills. This concentration of contacts within the Lushai Hills, and the increased social interactions in a peaceful situation, according to Prof. C.Nunthara, gave rise to the growth of a wider form of organic solidarity⁵²³ which became the basis of the emergence of modern Mizoram.

Colonial rule always had a disruptive effect on the traditional social setup of the colonized people. If we look at the case of Africa, European system of administration was imposed over them since the 1880s and agents of imperialism such as missionaries, teachers, traders and farmers moved into the African territories, bringing the indigenous people into contact with alien European ideas and institutions. The missionaries, for example, set up schools and encouraged the people to forego their 'uncivilized' customs and instead to undergo a basic Western education and to learn Christian doctrine in combination with British cultural values. People were encouraged to wear European clothes, build square houses, give up polygamy, and so on. As a result, traditional relations and authorities were undermined and new forms of African consciousness and response emerged. These were conspicuously reflected in the emergence of a market- (rather than subsistence-) oriented peasantry and a new class of literate, missionary-educated "school" people. 524

service, the ICS managed complex cross-cultural relationships in the colonial space, based on radically unequal and racially based power relations."

⁵²³ C.Nunthara, op.cit., p.58.

⁵²⁴ Andre Odendall, 'South Africa's Black Victorians: Sport, Race and Class in South Africa Before Union' in Collected Seminar Papers on the Societies of Southern Africa in the 19th and 20th Centuries, Volume 15, SAS, Institute of Commonwealth Studies, University of London, 1990, p. 14.

Likewise, due to the changes brought about by British colonial rule, some of the Lushais developed into a new, distinct, self-conscious, elite class which began to grope for involvement in the new economic and social order and looked for a new tradition in line with British socio-economic and political values. The newly emerged petty bourgeoisie - teachers, clerks, interpreters etc. were eventually assimilated into the evolving Lushai society, which had been ushered-in by British colonialism. Growing in numbers, confidence and assertiveness, the newly emerging elite had developed into a distinct, well established stratum of Lushai society by the first half of the twentieth century. This could be seen in the process of political mobilization in the Lushai Hills District during the period of India's struggle for Independence, which culminated in the formation of Mizo Union, the first political party in Mizoram in 1946.

The formation of modern political organization opened wider social milieu in which people were responding to new opportunities, and paved the way for further socio-political development.

5.6 Conclusion

As the colonial subjugation of the entire Lushai Hills was completed, the Government felt the necessity of combining the South and North Lushai Hills Districts under one administration on both political and financial grounds. In fact, this question had long been under discussion since 1891. Therefore, a series of conferences on this matter had been convened among the three Governments of Bengal, Assam and Burma. These conferences, subsequently known as the First Chin–Lushai Conference (January 29, 1892 at Calcutta) and the Second Chin Lushai Conference (December 14-18, 1896 at Lunglei), approved the amalgamation after a careful consideration of various issues.

The headquarters of the amalgamated district was at Aizawl and Major John Shakespear was appointed to be the first Superintendent of the Lushai Hills District. It was his knowledge and experiences about the Lushais in the South Lushai Hills, and his genius and unique ability which landed him the position of Superintendent.

A new period for organized rule had now set in for the further consolidation of colonial rule in the Lushai Hills. John Shakespear took advantage of a sense of security of their rule to formulate systematic administration of the district. He acknowledged the efficiency of the traditional self-governing system of the Lushais and held a view not to interfere as far as possible in the internal administration of the chiefs, who were the traditional rulers among the Lushais.

However, this policy of non-interference was not an innovation of Shakespear. Previously, T.H.Lewin, who had long been with the Lushais in the Chittagong Frontier as an administrator, had advocated this policy of "non-interference" in the internal administration of the chiefs. Mr. D. R. Lyall, I.G.S., Commissioner of the Chittagong Division, the man who took the initiative of drawing up proposals and recommendations for the creation of the South Lushai Hills District even concurred with Lewin on this issue. Moreover, the system of governance advocated by J. Shakespear for the Lushai Hills was based on the well-established system of British colonial administration called 'indirect rule' which was adopted in various places.

As the Lushai Hills came under the colonial rule, the colonial rulers had to take measures to support the colonial administration's economic requirements. Since the Lushai Hills offered only little scope for extracting its economic resources, the colonial rulers resorted to obtain revenue in the form of 'corvée' and 'extraction' of tribute in kind or money, which form the bases of the colonial economy in the Lushai Hills, which, at the same time was a means to strengthen the colonial grip on them.

The rate of extraction in kind was fixed at twenty *seers* of cleaned rice, or one *maund* of unhusked rice per house. When rice was not taken, the rate of commutation was fixed at Rs. 2 per house. The colonialists claimed that rice had been assessed just as a token of submission and obedience. However, the main purpose for the extraction of tribute in rice was to reduce and save the enormous cost of importing rice for rationing the military outposts located in different places.

Another base of colonial economy was 'corvée' or extraction of labour in lieu of taxes. The colonial practice of corvée in the Lushai Hills was sanctioned by the Bengal Regulation XI of 1806, which authorized the impressment of transport and supplies for public and private purposes. Tributary labour and impressed labour formed the two kinds of corvée in the Lushai Hills.

Apart from the officially recognized *corvée*, another kind of *corvée* that may be labeled as 'sexual *corvée*' was identified in colonial Lushai Hills. This model is drawn by Indrani Chatterjee with an example on Murray's system of demanding girls for his sexual pleasure, and the raping of a 'Lushai' girl by two British policemen in 1897-1898. It is also apparent that a Lushai employee in the Superintendent's Office as Lushai Clerk, Lianbuka also used to sleep with many women who come to settle disputes and grievances on various issues. It is presumable that there might be similar cases which are uncovered till now because such kinds of sexual engagements were never recorded in written literature. All these systems of colonial exploitation became provocative factors for resistance against colonial rule throughout the Lushai Hills especially in the initial days of colonial rule.

After his superitendency, Shakespear directed his first administrative task towards land reforms. His land reforms deal with three issues such as 'land demarcation', 'land grant' and 'land lease'. The first and most important of his land reforms was the fixation of village boundaries known as 'Land Demarcation'. Though this measure was officially introduced in 1898, the first instance of Shakespear's land demarcation could be traced back to January 20, 1894, when he demarcated the

boundaries between the villages of Khawhri, Aithur and Keltan in the south eastern part of the South Lushai Hills. He also expressed in 1895 that he was opposed to the break-up of villages into hamlets because this would create great difficulty in administration and in getting *corvée* and extraction of tribute.

Though this initiative on land relation had been traditionally known as 'Land Settlement,' it may be more appropriate to be identified as 'land reforms' as it mainly dealt with the redistribution, regulation of ownership, leasing and inheritance of the land whereas land settlements in other parts of colonial India usually meant the act of arranging the terms and incidence of the land revenue in specific areas.

Amongst other things, the long lasting consequence of this new arrangement on land is that it discouraged territorial mobility vis-à-vis the semi-nomadic character of the Lushais which virtually led to sedentariness. This in turn enabled the government to introduce a uniform system of administration. However, the main drawback of this system was that it caused a dent in the prestige of the traditional chiefs and affirmed the chiefs' position as mere agent of British administration.

Shakespear's superintendency in the Lushai Hills also saw the emergence of a new feature of land reforms during which specific areas of lands were granted to certain beneficiaries. This system was never experienced in the traditional system of the Lushais. The beneficiaries of land grants can be categorized into two - the first category included those who were rewarded lands along with settlements for their active contribution for the success of colonial administration and governance. This practice led to the emergence of a new class - 'hnamchawm lal' (commoner chiefs) or headman. The second category consisted of those who were entrusted to initiate wet rice cultivation in certain level and well watered areas of the Lushai Hills. Those who were included in the second category can further be classified into two – firstly, the

'chiefs' or 'head-men', who were appointed to look after the new settlements that came into existence around the wet rice fields; and secondly, those individuals who were assigned lands specifically for wet rice cultivation.

Shakespear's administrative reign also saw the emergence land lease in the Lushai Hills for the first time. The idea of allocating land to the lessees in the Lushai Hills originated to promote tea-seed trade. Hence, it can be characterized as market-based land reforms. Under this, land was leased out to the highest bidder at an annual rent of Rs. 10 per square mile. Even though the lessee did not have ownership right of the land, his heirs, representatives, or assignees could hold the leased lands at the same rate during the period covered by his 'lease'. Mr. R.G. Sisson was chosen to reap the benefits of 'monopoly of the plucking and export of tea-seed' in the Lushai Hills for a period of ten years, i.e.1897 to 1907 under this 'lease' system.

J.Shakespear also introduced a significant administrative system called the 'Circle Administration' in 1901-1902, became the first initiative to introduce modern system of administration in the Lushai. However, it is observed that prior to the introduction of Circle Administration in the Lushai Hills in 1902, there were some antecedents of this system in some places of the North Eastern Frontier of India such as the *Lambu* system in Manipur in 1892 or another system of administration introduced by Major Maxwell in Manipur and a Circle System in the Chittagong Hill Tracts in 1900. Even though there is no evidence to indicate that Shakespear had imitated the new system from the established practice, it is presumable that he must have been inspired by these existing administrative systems prevailing in the neighbouring areas of the Lushai Hills because of the fact that active correspondences existed among the British officials in the region.

The implementation of the Circle System was an important mechanism for the transformation of the social and political set up of the Lushais towards a new perspective of modernization. Firstly, it necessitated the recruitment of local educated people in the service of government in the form of Circle Interpreter, Lushai Clerk etc. This led to the emergence of a new privileged class in the society within the ambit of British imperialism. These 'new functionaries' occupied an important position in "governing their own land and people in the name of an alien monarch and empire". Moreover, as the economy of the Lushais had been gradually monetized, this newly emergent class automatically assumed privileged status in the society by dint of having access to the government treasury.

Secondly, this system provided a channel for easier and wider contacts between the government and the chiefs as well as the people throughout the Lushai Hills. This concentration of contacts within the Lushai hills, and the increased social interactions in a peaceful situation, according to Prof. C.Nunthara, gave rise to the growth of a wider form of organic solidarity which became the basis of the emergence of modern Mizoram, previously called the Lushai Hills. Not only in the administrative fields, Shakespear also made remarkable innovations and legacies during his regime which will be analysed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER – 6: INNOVATIONS AND LEGACIES

Apart from his contributions and achievements in administration, the superintendency of Shakespear witnessed the introduction many new things which were noteworthy for even the common readers of history because his legacies remain materially visible till today in various parts of the region. However, we must be aware of the context and circumstances in which various innovations were introduced by this colonial administrator during he administered the Lushai Hills.

6.1 Shakespear's legacies in Aizawl

The city of Aizawl, which is now the State capital of Mizoram (then Lushai hills) was never used for permanent village settlement before the colonial period. Lalsavunga, one of the Sailo chiefs, seemed to establish a village in this place during the period about 1810-1821, but then migrated to another place. Later on, a chief named Thanruma (son of Suakpuilala, who was the first Lushai chief to sign a treaty with the British) settled a village in this place, but he also soon moved to Tanhril 1525 (Tanhril is now within the city of Aizawl. The campus of Mizoram University is also located within the boundary of Tanhril locality).

This city is named after a certain robust perennial herb called 'Aidu' (Scientific name: Amonum dealbatum), which were found in abundance in the swamp level ground between the present Raj Bhavan and Deputy Commissioner's office. 526 Although it was a favourite village site, it was unoccupied when Mr. Daly of the Assam Police, arrived there with 400 men of the Silchar Military Police battalion in

⁵²⁵ B. Lalthangliana, *Zawlkhawpui: A Din Kum 125-na Pualin*, (hereafter *Zawlkhawpui*), Gilzom Offset, Aizawl, 2015, p. 18.

⁵²⁶ Ibid., p. 18.

the spring of 1890. During the Chin-Lushai Expedition of 1889–1890, Mr. Daly was dispatched to co-operate with a column of troops called the Northern Column under Col. Skinner, which was struggling down the valley of the Tlawng river to punish Lianphunga for raiding the Chittagong Hill Tracts.⁵²⁷

It was on Mr. Daly's recommendation that Aizawl was chosen as the site of the fortified post which Colonel Skinner had been ordered to construct before he left the country. The site, like all old village sites, was fairly clear of jungle. Lt. Patric of the Bengal Sappers and Miners planned the post, which consisted of two stockades. The stockades and the buildings within them were constructed by Mr. Daly's men. ⁵²⁸

The smaller stockade was on the knoll on which the Officers' Mess and the Officer's Club now stand. In it were the quarters of the officers and a small guard. The other stockade was on the next knoll northwards, on which now stand several masonry barracks. In this stockade, there were a number of huts which accommodated 200 men of the Silchar Military Police, under the command of Lieut. H.G.Cole of the 2nd Gurkhas. This place is now occupied by the 24 Assam Rifles. ⁵²⁹

At that time boat, could not get higher along the Tlawng River than a place called Changsil where a post held by 100 men was established there to guard the store houses. Changsil had long been a *bazaar* and there were good Lushai paths from it to Aizawl and other Lushai villages and also Silchar. It was by this path that Mr. Daly's party came up to Aizawl in 1890 and it was along the line of this path that the first mule road was made by Mr. Sweet of the P.W.D.⁵³⁰

⁵²⁹ Ibid., n.p.

⁵²⁷ J.Shakespear, *The Making of Aizawl*, (hereafter *Aizawl*), n.p., retrieved from: http://aizawl.nic.in/makingofaijal.htm, accessed on 28 May 2011.

⁵²⁸ Ibid., n.p.

⁵³⁰ Ibid., n.p.

When Shakespear arrived Aizawl, he found the Military Police in Aizawl housed in good masonry barracks and the whole station a miracle of neatness, which was built by G.H. Loch, who not only was a good soldier but by inclination an engineer and house builder. Since the roof of the two of his barracks were blown off by a March storm, he planned to build stone houses to avert such kinds of disaster and set to work with his own men to build himself a house, at his own cost. After completing this building, he asked permission to build barracks etc. for the garrison of Aizawl. His house having passed by the P.W.D. as "good and fit for issue", Loch was told to submit an estimate for all the buildings he considered necessary. After his proposal was sanctioned he went ahead to construct other buildings and engaged a Khasi contractor Sahon Roy. He also employed many of his own men. ⁵³¹

When Shakespear arrived early in 1897, Loch had completed many buildings including the Assistant Commandant's bungalow, all the Police barracks and hospital; and the Quarterguard and office building were also under construction.⁵³²

6.1.1 Construction of Raj Niwas and other buildings

The Superintendent's House (now Raj Bhavan) was designed by Shakespear's wife. The first house was built and bamboo, which stood at the south end of the present building. The house was just completed when he went home on leave in 1899. To keep the cost down he had put on a roof bamboo shingles, which necessitated a plain roof with one slope from ridge to caves. This was not beautiful enough for Captain Cole who acted as Superintendent during the period of his leave. Captain Cole put in the three gables which are of great improvement, but the roof leaked so

⁵³¹ Ibid., n.p.

⁵³² Ibid., n.p.

wildly at the joints of gables and the main roof that after his return Shakespear had to put in an application for a corrugated iron roof and was wigged for his extravagance.

Cole also made the pleasant terrace along the front of the house and handsome retaining wall and picturesque flight of steps in the corner. Shakespear had made the lawn and garden south of the house and the lower vegetable garden to the north. The garden immediately to the north of the house was made by Porteous, who preceded him as Superintendent. The Oak Trees along the various roads were brought from Champhai, where Loch started a nursery. The fir below the Superintendent's house also came from Champhai. 533



Fig. 6.1 Raj Bhavan, Aizawl. (24.3.2016)

Source: Author

⁵³³ Ibid., n.p.



Fig. 6.2 The lawn south of Raj Bhavan

Source: Author



Fig. 6.3 The Fir and Oak Trees along the Roads

Source: Author

The quarters of the Medical and the Assistant Superintendent were also built under Shakespear's orders. Mr. Cotton (later Sir Henry), Chief Secretary of Bengal, authorized the Superintendent to take up the responsibility of a Superintending Engineer, which permitted the Superintendent to sanction up to Rs. 2,000/- for the implementation of developmental works. This enabled Shakespear and Loch to work together for the general good.⁵³⁴

When Shakespear went home on leave in 1899, Capt. Cole, who acted as Superintendent, did much work in Aizawl. As planned and proposed by Shakespear, the Superintendent's office and the club, which were initially built of jungle timber by McCabe, were removed and stone buildings were constructed in their place. The construction work of these buildings started by Mr. Cole were completed by Shakespear after he resumed his office as Superintendent of the Lushai Hills. ⁵³⁵

Since an efficient system of communication was necessary for the colonial government in obtaining and circulating all important information pertaining to the Lushai Hills. Shakespear had taken active measure to improve the postal and telegraph offices, which were vital centres of communication during the colonial rule in the Lushai Hills. Hence, he constructed a new combined office for post and telegraph at Aizawl, which was designed by Major G.H. Loch, a soldier-architect who had taken up various engineering works in the Lushai Hills. 536

The Civil Hospital at Aizawl was constructed by Shakespear during 1904-1905 at the same place where the Aizawl Civil Hospital now stands. ⁵³⁷ The buildings

⁵³⁵ Ibid., n.p.

⁵³⁴ Ibid., n.p.

⁵³⁶ Administration Report of the South Lushai Hills for the Year 1891-1892, (MSA).

⁵³⁷ Ibid.

constructed by him include the main building, outdoor dispensary, isolation ward and the godown. Since Initially, this hospital was established to serve the colonial requirement for treating the labourers who were mostly non-Lushais, the colonial authority soon felt that a new and larger hospital was necessary which would cater the needs of the growing population. A Bengali doctor was put in charge of this hospital. Shakespear's construction of the Aizawl Civil Hospital was a milestone in the history of medical and health services in the Lushai Hills.

Apart from providing health services, this hospital became an important centre for the proselytizing work of the Christian missionaries. J.H. Lorrain, a pioneer Christian missionary in the Lushai Hills himself said:

I made a practice of going to this Lushai hospital every Sunday afternoon to talk to the patients, and I found them ever most willing to listen to the message of salvation. Taibunga (Taibuanga) especially seemed to grasp the truth, and before long he became a trusting believer in the Lord Jesus.⁵⁴¹

Thus, it was in this hospital that Taibuanga, who had been hospitalized in this hospital due to chronic sores in his hip, became the first convert to Christianity from the Lushais. J.H.Lorrain said of Taibuanga's testimony that sometimes when his poor body threatened to dull his soul's vision, he had heard him said "Yes, I will trust in Jesus, even though I die." ⁵⁴²

⁵³⁸ B. Lalthangliana, Zawlkhawpui, p. 71.

⁵⁴⁰ Zothanpuii, 'Colonial Health Services in Mizoram: Introduction of Western Medicine, Esatablishment of Dispensaries and Hospitals' in *Historical Journal Mizoram*, MHA, Volume- XIV, November 2013.

⁵⁴¹ Quoted in Grace R. Lewis, op.cit., p. 37; P.L. Lianzuala, op.cit., p. 316. (The name of the first convert to Christianity from the Lushais was written by Grace R. Lewis as 'Taibunga,' but the name of the same person was written by Rev. Dr. P.L. Lianzuala as 'Taibunga.')

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⁵³⁹ Grace R. Lewis, op.cit., p. 37.

⁵⁴² Ibid., p.38.

Taibuanga's bright testimony had its influence upon the sick people around him, and one Lushai suffering from a disease called 'beri-beri', who had his bed on the floor close to Taibuanga, became himself a believer in the Jesus Christ. Thus, he became the first Lushai to make a Christian convert. Later on, Taibuanag had died due to his painful illness and was buried in a pauper's grave. Therefore, this Civil Hospital became an emblem of collaboration between the colonial government and the Christian missionaries.

One of the heritages left by Shakespear was the two mountain batteries or cannons which porch at the Assam Rifles Quarterguard. Shakespear opined that one of the guns, as could be surmised from the inscription there on, might have been used in the Battle of Waterloo. ⁵⁴⁴ These canons were frequently used by the British for the display of their grandeur in their military campaigns against the Lushais and were also in the *darbars*. ⁵⁴⁵ Thus, they are useful armaments for the pacification of the Lushai Hills.

Another symbol of colonial authority that Shakespear had built was the jail. However, the growth of population and the extension of settlements necessitated the removal of that jail since it located in the heart of the city. Hence, this jail was removed and a new jail is recently constructed at the locality of Armed Veng South. A shopping mall known as 'Millenium Centre' now stands in its site. ⁵⁴⁶

The construction of permanent buildings was encouraged and sanctioned by the colonial government as they were considered to be a symbol of authority and superiority to the colonized subjects, and served as a means for the intensification of colonial rule in the Lushai Hills. Major Cole's confidential unofficial note to the directors of the Welsh Presbyterian Mission in 1906 testified his argument that the

⁵⁴³ Grace R. Lewis, op.cit., p.38.

⁵⁴⁴ J.Shakespear, Aizawl, n.p.

⁵⁴⁵ Diary of Captain J. Shakespear, D.S.O., Superintendent of South Lushai Hills, from 24th December 1894 to 7th January 1895, Memo. by- W.B. Oldham, Esq., C.I.E., Commissioner of the Chittagong Division, forwarded to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, No. 61L., dated Chittagong, the 12th January 1895, (MSA).

⁵⁴⁶ Interview with Chhuanliana BVT, (87 years), Bethlehem Vengthlang, Aizawl, on 31st March, 2016.

Lushais were to be influenced by appearances since they judged Europeans by their surroundings rather than by their intrinsic merits. In fact, substantial buildings had political value for empire and rulers everywhere in history seek to express their power through buildings. These colonial monuments are now among the heritages of Mizoram which symbolize the long and strong period of British rule in the Lushai Hills.

In this way, Aizawl was started began to be used as a permanent site and became a centre of colonial rule. Since it had been made the centre of administration, Aizawl attracted people from different parts of the Lushai Hills as well as outside the country, who were looking for job opportunities provided by the new regime. It grew up to become the capital city of Mizoram State, comprising of 91 Local Councils (previously known as Village Council)(as in 2014), with a total population of 2,93,416.⁵⁴⁸



Fig. 6.4 The Two Canons at the Assam Rifles Quarterguad

Source: Author

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⁵⁴⁷ Indrani Chatterjee, *Forgotten Friends*, p. 319.

⁵⁴⁸ Directorate of Economics and Statistics, op.cit., pp 4 & 91.

6.2 Construction of roads and Rest Houses

The construction of roads and paths throughout the length and breadth of the country for easy communication was necessary for the British for the pacification and maintain peace and tranquility in the Lushai Hills. It was considered that improvement of roads facilitated the colonial rulers in preserving order, economizing the movement of troops, bringing the colonized people into more close contact with the sobering influence of 'civilization', and in teaching the colonized people the advantages of living a peaceful life. The roads thus served as useful instruments for the consolidation of colonial rule in the Lushai Hills.

With the help of G.H.Loch, John Shakespear constructed the roads between Aizawl and Champhai and Champhai and N.Vanlaiphai in 1898. These roads were cut out in a good surface condition with a width of 4.5 feet. Even the most difficult portion of roads between the post at N. Vanlaiphai and Varhva stream, had been cut out to full width by Satalsing Rai, Jemadar of the Detachment and his military Police party. The road between Champhai and North Vanlaiphai was officially called the 'Loch's Trace'. The total distance of Loch's Trace, from Champhai to N. Vanlaiphai was 57.5 miles. ⁵⁵⁰ In this task of constructing roads, J. Shakespear supplied the labour force and G.H.Loch took up the responsibility of providing sepoys to look after and guard the labourers. ⁵⁵¹

The present Silchar road leading out from the northern end of Aizawl was constructed shortly before Shakespear left the district. The new road saved two

⁵⁴⁹ 'Note by His Exellency the Commander-in-Chief, dated 28.9.1891' in Senior Research Officer, comp., op.cit., p. 47.

⁵⁵⁰ CB 13, G – 160, Tour Diary of Lt. Col. G. H. Loch, C.I.E.I.A., Offg. Superintendent, Lushai Hills for the month of January 1909, (MSA).

⁵⁵¹ Lalhruaitluanga Ralte, *Zoram Vartian: Chanchintha leh Thuziak Khawvar Tan Dan*, Fineprint, Aizawl, 2008, p. 324.

marches and also avoided the unhealthy Tlawng Valley.⁵⁵² B. Lalthangliana considered that this road had been constructed around 1905.⁵⁵³

Along these roads, Rest Houses were constructed to provide the basic needs of the officials on tour for inspection. These Rest Houses also served a great deal for administrative purpose as it provided a convenient place for the officials to settle cases and other important matters brought up by the Lushais. In this way, the Rest Houses formed an important centre for maintaining law and order in the country.

In his tour diary for the month of January 1909, G. H. Loch made remarks regarding the Rest Houses in the following words:

The Rest houses on this road (Champhai – N.Vanlaiphai Road) are 'katcha' but have all necessary furniture, but are rather cold and cheerless to stay in as being 'katcha', one cannot light a fire. There are three Rest Houses in between Champhai and Vanlaiphai at intervals of 15.5, 11 and 13.5 miles apart and the last march into Vanlaiphai is 16 miles... When the present houses require renewal, it would be more convenient if 4 (four) Rest Houses in place of 3 (three) could be made, the marches then being shorter would give one more time after arrival in camp to settle cases etc. which the Lushais bring up at the various halts. ⁵⁵⁴

⁵⁵² J. Shakespear, Aizawl, n.p.

⁵⁵³ B. Lalthangliana, Zawlkhawpui, op.cit., p. 24.

⁵⁵⁴ CB 13, G – 160. Tour Diary of Lt. Col. G. H. Loch, C.I.E.I.A., Offg. Superintendent, Lushai Hills for the month of January 1909, (MSA).

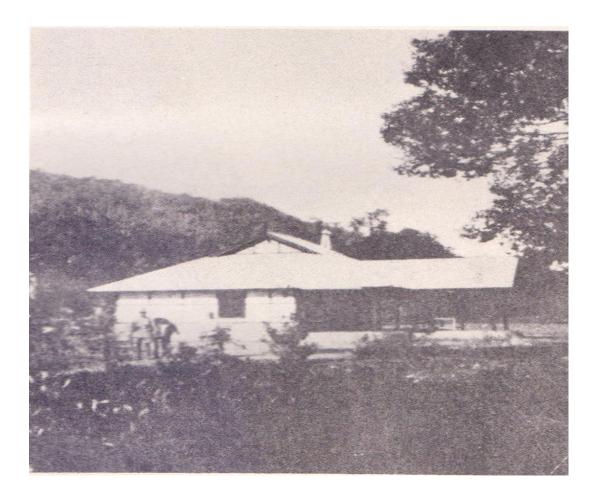


Fig. 6.5. Rest House at Neidawn Village in the Northern Lushai Hills Source: Col. L.W. Shakespear, *History of the Assam Rifles*

6.3 Introduction of Wet Rice Cultivation

Wet Rice Cultivation (hereafter, its short form WRC will be extensively used) was introduced for the first time in the Lushai Hills by Thomas Herbert Lewin, Superintendent of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, in 1872. In that year, he got permission from the government to advance £ 4,000 to the hill people, as loans for the purchase of ploughs and cattle. He hoped to enable the hill people to abandon the "*jhum* culture

and to settle down to own, and hold land, as permanent cultivators.⁵⁵⁵ His vision was "to change the face of the country and to permanently ameliorate the condition of the people.⁵⁵⁶ The introduction of settled cultivation in this region was left out by all writers of Mizo history, but it had a strong support from the inscription at the memorial stone of T.H.Lewin at Tlabung, which read:

....he studied and improved their agriculture and their laws and helped them in their difficulties... 557

Mr. P. Vanlalmawia, [grandson of Hranghrima (L), a Palian chief at Tiante] also told me in an interview that his forefathers had taken up WRC in the flat lands adjacent to Tlabung during the period of T.H. Lewin in which the Chakmas were employed as tenants in those paddy fields. These wet rice fields, which locate at some five miles south of Tlabung town continued till today. These fields are now mostly owned by the Chakmas, and locate within the boundary of a Chakma village called Tipperaghat. ⁵⁵⁸

It is probable that the introduction and continuation of WRC in the Tlabung region is usually not mentioned in the history of Mizoram because WRC in the three areas such as Champhai, N. Vanlaiphai and Thenzawl received colonial sanction and encouragement after the consolidation of British rule in the Lushai Hills. Besides, unlike Tlabung which was located in the remote area of South Lushai Hills, those three areas were constantly visited by colonial officers such as J. Shakespear, G.H. Loch and Alexander Porteous, who were active in producing and maintaining records concerning all matters of importance either officially or unofficially.

557 Major A.G. McCall, Chrysalis, p.45.

⁵⁵⁵ T.H. Lewin, A Fly on the Wheel, p.294.

⁵⁵⁶ Ibid., p.294.

⁵⁵⁸ Interview with P. Vanlalmawia (60 years), Tlabung, interviewed on 14th April, 2016.



Fig. 6.6. Wet Rice Fields at Tipperaghat near Tlabung (2015).

Source: Author



Fig. 6.7. The Memorial Monuments - Rothangpuia (Left) and T.H. Lewin (Right) at Tlabung.

Source: Author

Like T.H. Lewin, John Shakespear's innovative attitude was also perceptible in the field of agriculture. The colonial government was eager to see the political effect of showing the Lushais that the colonial rule in the hills was a 'source of real profit to them.' For that purpose, the colonial officers were encouraged and suggested 'to do what was possible towards the introduction of new staples of agriculture.' Consequently, when Shakespear visited N. Vanlaiphai in 1894, he was greatly attracted by the wide flat land lying uncultivated and visualized the possibility of establishing a station and introducing wet rice cultivation there. However, it was in Champhai that an improved method of wet rice cultivation was introduced by Shakespear in 1898.

He collected and introduced new and better varieties of rice from Manipur, Syhlet and Silchar and also started the cultivation of wheat, pulse and other crops.⁵⁶¹ Among these, the introduction of Manipuri rice was most successful, which continued till today, even though new developments in the field of agriculture brought new varieties of rice seeds. However, attempt to introduce wheat was not successful because the crop did not fit with the food habit as well as climate and soil of the Lushsi Hills.

He was keen to introduce plough cultivation in any suitable area purely occupied by the Hill people. Interestingly, his view for the introduction of WRC did not include such portions of the district adjoining the plains which would be easily populated by immigrants from the plains, but to the elevated valleys within the hills themselves. ⁵⁶² In 1897, when John Shakespear took charge of the North Lushai Hills

⁵⁵⁹ CB 4, G-47, from the Secretary to the Government of India, to the Chief Commissioner of Assam, No.1087E, dated Simla, the 13th May 1893, (MSA).

 $^{^{560}}$ Diary of Captain J.Shakespear, D.S.O., Leinster Regiment, Superintendent, South Lushai Hills, from the 15^{th} to the 21^{st} January 1984, (MSA).

⁵⁶¹ CB 6, G – 73, from Major John Shakespear, Superintendent, Lushai Hills, to the Provincial Superintendent, Gazetteer Revision, Assam, No. 904 G, dated Aijal, the 24th December 1902, (MSA).

⁵⁶² CB 5, Pol – 48, from Major J. Shakespear, C. I. E., D. S. O., I. A., Superintendent, Lushai Hills, to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam, No. 13G., dated Aijal, the 6th April 1904, (MSA).

District from Mr. Porteous, the question of what outposts the Military Police were to maintain being under discussion, both Major Shakespear and Major Loch agreed that the three *Phais* (valleys) – Champhai, Northern and Southern Vanlaiphais, should be made permanent outposts with a view to the introduction of plough cultivation in these places. ⁵⁶³

6.2.1. Wet Rice Cultivation (WRC) at Champhai

Champhai was an open plain at an elevation of 4, 800 feet, with an average rainfall of about 70 – 80 inches. ⁵⁶⁴ It lays on a few miles to the west of the Tiau River and ninety one miles from Aizawl. It was the site of Vanhnuailiana's village, which was the goal of the northern column of the Lushai Expedition of 1871-'72. ⁵⁶⁵ John Shakespear first visited Champhai in the cold weather of 1897-98, and was greatly impressed by the size of the plain and its suitability for plough cultivation.

In order to demonstrate to the Lushais the advantages of practicing WRC, he located ten Sontal coolies from his transport corps in the plain during the summer of 1898. Major Loch kindly lent him some bullocks from his transport, which Shakespear ultimately obtained outright in exchange for rice grown in the plain. 566 John Shakespear thus, introduced wet rice cultivation in the Lushai Hills by using improved methods of cultivation such as better means of irrigation and ploughing by bullocks, with imported fine varieties of rice and crops. 567

564 Ibid.

⁵⁶³ Ibib.

⁵⁶⁵ CB 6, G – 73, from Major John Shakespear, Superintendent, Lushai Hills, to the Provincial Superintendent, Gazetteer Revision, Assam, No. 904 G, dated Aijal, the 24th December 1902, (MSA).

⁵⁶⁶ CB 5, Pol. – 48, from Major J. Shakespear, C.I. E., D. S. O., I. A., Superintendent, Lushai Hills, to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam, No. 13G., dated Aijal, the 6th April 1904, (MSA).

⁵⁶⁷ CB 6, G – 73, from Major John Shakespear, Superintendent, Lushai Hills, to the Provincial Superintendent, Gazetteer Revision, Assam, No. 904 G, dated Aijal, the 24th December 1902, (MSA).

The renowned Mizo historian Rev. Liangkhaia, in his book *Mizo Chanchin* asserted that WRC at Champhai was first taken up by Granville Henry Loch with Sanga and Butpawla. However, the pioneer of WRC at Champhai, according to the record of G.H.Loch, was an ex-sepoy named Sugrim Bahadur Thapa who, by the order of John Shakespear, undertook to teach the Lushais how to grow wet rice. He was successful in introducing WRC and his original *khets* (rice fields) became a model for the Lushais. 570

The first year of the introduction of WRC was, of course, not very successful. This was due to the fact that the *coolies* had arrived late and were new to the place and had to prepare the fields and regulate the water channels; but still it was clearly shown that rice could be grown in the plain. The seeds were obtained by John Shakespear partly from the Naga Hills and partly from Manipur, and a very little from Silchar and Syhlet. Of these, the introduction of Manipuri rice was most successful. ⁵⁷¹

Shakespear recorded that Lalsanga, a Mizo, who had recently been in the plains, and in whose family there was a tradition that their forefathers had grown rice in Champhai, asked to be allowed to cultivate. This indicated that wet rice cultivation was not entirely new to the Lushais, and some Lushai people had already taken up this method of cultivation prior to its introduction by the British. Lalsanga was assisted with a couple of bullocks and example of the Sontals. The second season's results were very satisfactory, and Lalsanga gathered a few recruits. Among

⁵⁷¹ CB 5, Pol. – 48, from Major J. Shakespear, C. I. E., D. S. O., I. A., Superintendent, Lushai Hills, to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam, No. 13G., dated Aijal, the 6th April 1904, (MSA).

⁵⁶⁸ Rev. Liangkhaia, *Mizo Chanchin*, reprint, L.T.L. Publications, Aizawl, 2002, p. 153.

 $^{^{569}}$ CB 13, G – 160, Annual Administrative Report of the Lushai Hills for the year 1908 – 1909, (MSA).

⁵⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁷² Ibid.

other communities, a few Nepali sepoys were given pieces of land and were facilitated bullocks and seeds etc. 573

According to Shakespear, the Champhai plain consists of two portions and resembles a tadpole with rather a long tail considerably curved to the north – west. The main portion of the plain representing the head and body of the tadpole is about two and half miles by two. The tail is about three miles long, varying in width one mile to few yards. Besides these two main divisions, there are several valleys branching off. The soil was very fertile since the alluvial soil from the adjoining hills deposited in that valley. It was well watered by the sources of the Tuipui River, which runs through the plain, rising at its southern end and escaping at the north-east end through a gorge. 574 At the heads of the several valleys are marshes, whence flow tributaries of the Tuipui. Of the area above described, nearly all was suitable for plough cultivation, but only about one-fourth could be irrigated without trouble. On the remaining portion, crops which do not need irrigation were grown.

By 1904, thirty-seven households had taken up RWC at Champhai valley. By that year, the settlers sold 110 maunds of rice to the Commandant of the outpost, apart from reserving certain amount of rice for their own consumption. Till April 1904, only rice had been grown, but Shakespear soon introduced wheat, several kinds of *dhall* (pulse), and other crops. ⁵⁷⁵

At Champhai, the Manipuri rice yielded good production that it replaced the import of Belam rice from Kolkata.⁵⁷⁶ Thus, the products of grains from WRC

⁵⁷³ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁴ CB 6, G - 73, from Major John Shakespear, Superintendent, Lushai Hills, to the Provincial Superintendent, Gazetteer Revision, Assam, No. 904 G, dated Aijal, the 24th December 1902, (MSA)

⁵⁷⁵ CB 5, Pol. – 48, from Major J. Shakespear, C. I. E., D. S. O., I. A., Superintendent, Lushai Hills, to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam, No. 13G., dated Aijal, the 6th April 1904, (MSA).

⁵⁷⁶ CB 13, G – 160. Tour diary of Lt. Col. G. H. Loch, C.I.E.I.A., Offg. Superintendent, Lushai Hills for the month of January 1909, (MSA).

relieved the British from the arduous and costly task of importing rice to supply the rations required for the Military Police outpost there. This had been the vision of Shakespear.⁵⁷⁷

The area suitable for wet cultivation at Champhai had been split up and granted between as many as nine Chiefs and Head-men such as Singbir Jamedar, Vanhnuaikhuma, Lalsanga, Lalluia, Butpawla, Laitea, Sanga, Hlawnchina and Thangthiauva. The grant of land in this case was intended to ensure progress in wet rice cultivation; and to safeguard the British policy of upholding government by the chiefs in the newly settled areas.



Fig. 6.8: Wet Rice Fields at Champhai as on October 2014.

Source: Author

⁵⁷⁷ CB 5, Pol. – 48, from Major J. Shakespear, C.I. E., D. S. O., I. A., Superintendent, Lushai Hills, to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam, No. 13G., dated Aijal, the 6th April 1904, (MSA).

⁵⁷⁸ H.W.G.Cole, Superintendent of Lushai Hills, Wet Rice Cultivation at North Vanlaiphai and Champhai, Standing Order, No 1909, Government of Mizoram, Aizawl, (MSA).

6.2.2. Wet Rice Cultivation at N. Vanlaiphai and Tuisen Hnar

As mentioned earlier, when Shakespear marched through N. Vanlaiphai in January 16, 1894, he found that there were plenty of splendid sites for houses. He had described about the N. Vanlaiphai valley as:

> Small valleys, their sides covered with oak trees, run out of the main valley in all directions; none of these are not yet explored. The level of the main valley is about 4,000 feet above sea level, it is level, open and watered by the Tuiphai stream which rises at the northern end. There would not be the slightest difficulty in flooding the valley and terraces which could easily be cut on the sides, which slope very gradually, so that large quantities of rice could be grown. 579

Between January 22 and 24, 1895, the place was explored again by Shakespear with Mr. Williamson and other ten men, during which they managed to go over the greater part of it. They observed that the mouth of the valley is between the Purun Tlang and the Lurh Tlang. Between these hills lies a narrow gorge through which the water of Tuiphai stream, which rises at the head of the valley, escapes. The valley stretches away northwards, and is about four and half miles long. The hills to the west are open and undulating; those to the east are more precipitous. The centre of the valley is marshy, and the soil is very fertile for growing rice. The width of this level portion varies from 100 to 700 yards. On the east a large valley which starts from Langkhol (Lungkawlh), Kapchunga's old village, joins the main valley, and though not offering much facility for rice cultivation, the heights on either hand are admirably suited for cultivation of other crops and for grazing. On the west two small valleys, which are suitable for the cultivation of rice also located. Moreover, the hills all round the valley are covered with grass, and there are innumerable small ravines,

⁵⁷⁹ Diary of Captain J.Shakespear, D.S.O., Leinster Regiment, Superintendent, South Lushai Hills, from the 15th to the 21st January 1984, (MSA).

which are sutable for grazing grounds. Besides, the hill-slopes to the north-east of the valley offer fine building sites.⁵⁸⁰

The sepoys in the exploration party were very enthusiastic about the place, declaring that everything could be grown there. Again, on January 7, 1896, Shakespear visited the valley again with Mr. Porteous and Captain Loch to discuss the question of applying for sanction to place a post there with a view to attract settlers. They thoroughly explored those portions which had not been previously visited by Shakespear. Both Mr. Porteous and Captain Loch agreed with Shakespear that the place is admirably suited for a Gurkha settlement. ⁵⁸¹

The success of the settlers in Champhai after the introduction of wet rice cultivation in 1902 had produced the natural result, and by 1904, there were ten houses settled in N. Vanlaiphai and some twenty had settled to the Tuisen valley. However, neither of these communities made very great progress as compared to those in the Champhai valley. Nevertheless, they were contented with what they had done. ⁵⁸²

When G.H. Loch visited N. Vanlaiphai on January 1909, (when he took charge of the Lushai Hills as an officiating Superintendent) he saw that the introduction of wet rice cultivation was doing well though on a much smaller scale as was at Champhai. He also observed that the class of rice which gave best results was Manipuri rice, as in the case of Champhai. There were several new applications for

Diary of Captain J. Shakespear, D.S.O., Superintendent, South Lushai Hills, from 22nd to 31st January 1895, forwarded to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Memo. By- W.B. Oldham, Esq., C.I.E., Commissioner of the Chittagong Division, No. 5Ct., dated Camp Comilla, the 11th February 1895, (MSA).

⁵⁸¹ J.Shakespear, Major, D.S.O., Superintendent, South Lushai Hills, Summary of events in the South Lushai Hills District from 11th to 12th January 1896 inclusive, forwarded in original to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Memo. By - - W.B. Oldham, Esq., C.I.E., Commissioner of the Chittagong Division, No. 15Ct., dated Camp Comilla, the 25th January 1896, (MSA).

⁵⁸² CB 5, Pol. – 48, From Major J. Shakespear, C. I. E., D. S. O., I. A., Superintendent, Lushai Hills, to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam, No. 13G., dated Aijal, the 6th April 1904, (MSA).

land and Bila, the headman of the new Lushai village, had arranged to settle them all on his land. ⁵⁸³ The whole of the cultivation at North Vanlaiphai was thus put in the hands of Bila. ⁵⁸⁴



Fig. 6.9 Wet Rice Field at N. Vanlaiphai as on October 2013

Source: Author

 $^{^{583}}$ CB 13, G - 160. Tour diary of Lt. Col. G. H. Loch, C.I.E.I.A., Offg. Superintendent, Lushai Hills for the month of January 1909, (MSA).

⁵⁸⁴ H.W.G.Cole, Superintendent of Lushai Hills, Wet Rice Cultivation at North Vanlaiphai and Champhai, Standing Order, No 1909, Government of Mizoram, Aizawl (MSA).

John Shakespear was greatly impressed by the adaptability of the Lushais that a system of cultivation so opposed to their customs had been taken up so readily. In this way, he acquainted the Lushais with the modern technique of cultivation. Later on, the same method was also introduced at Thenzawl in 1901. Initially, the paddy crops were under government cultivation and it was the imported Santal coolies who first implanted the paddy at Thenzawl wet rice fields. Since the beginning, the introduction of wet rice cultivation yield good crops even though only a small portion of lands was brought under cultivation and grains were deposited in the Thenzawl government godown.

Initiatives were also taken to improve agriculture by introducing irrigation system. The irrigation channel in the Champhai valley traced by Col. Loch which was some 3 miles long was completed during 1908-1909. Canal irrigation facilities were thus, provided by drawing water through artificial channels from the river Khawchhaktuipui and its feeder streams. About 890 hectares of land were covered under this cultivation involving hundred families. The government had taken measures for the improvement of agriculture by helping the people with bullocks, money and giving instructions to the cultivators. In 1902, John Shakespear received Rs. 500 from the Director, Department of Land Records and Agriculture, which he

⁵⁸⁵ Annual Administration Report of Lushai Hills for the Year 1902-1903, (MSA); also see CB 3, Agri.31, letter from Sarada Kanta Rai, Road Moharir, Thenzawl, to the Superintendent, Lushai Hills, through the District engineer, Lushai Hills and The Sub-Overseer, Aijal-Lungleh (1st Section), Dated Thenzawl, the 26th February 1902, (MSA).

 $^{^{586}}$ CB 13, G - 160, Annual Administrative Report of the Lushai Hills for the year 1908 - 1909, (MSA).

⁵⁸⁷ C. Remruatkimi, (unpublished thesis), *Water Use Pattern, Water Harvesting and the Colonial Management of Water Resources in Mizoram,* Thesis submitted in Partial fulfillment of the Requirement for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History to the Department of History and Ethnography, School of Social Sciences, Mizoram University, Aizawl, 2014, p. 141.

⁵⁸⁸ CB 1, Agri.- 14, Extract from inspection remarks made by the Hon'ble Mr. J.C.Arbutchnott, Commissioner, Surma Valley & Hill Districts, (MSA).

spent for buying bullocks, the cost of which was to be recovered from the cultivators.⁵⁸⁹

For the success and extension of WRC, it was felt necessary to bring more lands under irrigation. However, the Lushai people were not willing to take the trouble of making their fields irrigated unless the permanency of tenure was assured. Therefore, in 1909, Major H.W.G. Cole, the then Suprintendent of the Lushai Hills issued an order declaring that the land under cultivation should be the property of the cultivator and that that the chief or Head-man should not have the power to confiscate or annex any individuals' land. Hence, the introduction of Wet Rice Cultivation led to the emergence of the institution of private ownership of land in the Lushai Hills, which was opposed to the traditional system of community ownership of land in which the chiefs were the proprietor of all lands within his jurisdiction.

The cultivators had the freedom to reside or break land wherever he likes for cultivation, but with the permission of the Chiefs or Head-men. However, every cultivator had to pay 'fathang,' a paddy due, at the rate of two baskets of dhan (rice) per annum to each chief within whose village he resided or within whose boundary he cultivated.⁵⁹¹

The introduction of wet rice cultivation attracted new settlers in the areas where WRC had been taken up leading to the establishment of many settlements. As the experiment of WRC proved successful at Champhai, Shakespear withdrew the Sontals after the harvest of 1901 in order to give scope for the Lushais. By 1902, the settlers at Champhai included seventy households of Lushais, fourteen households of

⁵⁸⁹ CB 5, Pol. – 48, From Major J. Shakespear, C.I. E., D. S. O., I. A., Superintendent, Lushai Hills, to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam, No. 13G., dated Aijal, the 6th April 1904, (MSA).

⁵⁹⁰ CB-1, Agri.-14, Rice Cultivation at North Vanlaiphai and Champhai, (MSA).

⁵⁹¹ General Dept., H.W.G.Cole, Superintendent of Lushai Hills, *Wet Rice Cultivation at North Vanlaiphai and Champhai, Standing Order*, No 1909, Government of Mizoram, Aizawl, (MSA).

Nepalis and one household of Bengali. Shakespear had merely assigned to each community a certain area of the plain, and he collected ordinary house-tax from them at Rs. 2 per house.⁵⁹²

By 1908-1909, two years of bumper crops from the wet rice cultivation in the Champhai and North Vanlaiphai valleys encouraged a large number of new Lushai settlers to take up WRC, especially at Champhai. Settlers to take up WRC, especially at Champhai. Settlers to take up cultivation became concentrated within within specified areas to take up cultivation, it became easy for the government to maintain law and order effectively. Administration in these new hamlets were carried out through the head-men appointed for each new settlement, thereby safeguarding the custom of government by the chiefs. Shakespear reported to the Chief Commissioner of Assam in 1904 that the increase in the number of Nepali and Lushai settlers in Champhai considerably strengthened the hands of Government and enabled the garrison of the district to be gradually reduced. Set The concentration of settlements in a specified area due to the introduction of WRC thus helped the government for easy and efficient administration.

The introduction and encouragement of wet rice cultivation was one of the manifestations of Shakespear's colonial economic policy. By undertaking wet rice cultivation, the British government easily saved its huge expenditure for the costly

⁵⁹² CB 5, Pol. – 48, From Major J. Shakespear, C. I. E., D. S. O., I. A., Superintendent, Lushai Hills, to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam, No. 13G., dated Aijal, the 6th April 1904, (MSA).

⁵⁹³ Ibid.

⁵⁹⁴ CB 5, Pol. – 48, From Major J. Shakespear, C. I. E., D. S. O., I. A., Superintendent, Lushai Hills, to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam, No. 13G., dated Aijal, the 6th April 1904, (MSA).

import of rice from other parts of India to support the local requirements of the British civil and military servants in the garrison around the place of the cultivated areas. ⁵⁹⁵

An in-depth examination on colonial North-East India indicates that despite the exploitative nature of colonial rule to economy, certain regions got some economic benefits during the British regime as some developmental works had to be undertaken by the administration to extract natural resources that could be profitably exploited. An instance may be seen in the Brahmaputra and Surma valleys (most spectacular being tea cultivation and its conversion into a profitable industry). There was improvement in surface communication with the laying out of railway lines; markets developed and some urban centers sprang up. 596 Likewise, Shakespear's project of colonial economy taken up through the wet rice cultivation brought great benefit to the country side of the Lushai Hills, which were mostly left economically unattended by the colonial administration

The introduction of a systematic method of wet rice cultivation was a successful one and has been continued till today with much improvement, using modern techniques of cultivation. Till the year 2013-2014, 16,170 hectares (Ha.) of land had been brought under wet rice cultivation (15,620 Ha. under *kharif* and 550

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⁵⁹⁵ CB 13, G – 160, In his 'Administration Report of the Lushai Hills for the year 1908 – 1909,'(MSA), G. H. Loch made remark regarding the wet rice cultivation at Champhai in the following words:: " The Manipuri rice did especially well and it is hoped that before very long, all the local requirements of the garrison may be available from this source and that it will no longer be necessary to import Balam rice from Calcutta as the Manipuri rice is practically as good."

⁽Lt. Col. G. H. Loch, C.I.E.I.A. was officiated as Superintendent from 1st July 1908 to 12th February 1909).

⁵⁹⁶ Harekrishna Deka, 'India's North-East: A Historical Perspective' in *Aspects of Historiography of North East India*, NEHU, retrieved from dspace.nehu.ac.in.in/jspui/handle/1/10299, accessed on 29.3.2016, n.p.

Ha. under rabi). The total production of rice from these areas during the year 2013-2014 is 33,323 Metric Tons (MT). (32,440 MT from kharif and 883 MT from rabi).⁵⁹⁷

Most of these areas under WRC are found at Champhai, Thenzawl, N. Vanlaiphai, except a few places on the Cachar border, and other small valleys in different places. The total area brought under WRC and the condition of paddy production these three Agriculture Circles during the year 2014-2015 are:

- Champhai Circle 2,200 Ha., producing 4,378.96 MT of paddy. ⁵⁹⁸ (i)
- N. Vanlaiphai Circle 270 Ha., producing 612 MT of paddy. 599 (ii)
- Thenzawl Circle 250 Ha., producing 560 MT of paddy. 600 (iii)

Among other areas of WRC, these three places continue to be important centers of agricultural activity, and are now the 'Rice Bowls' of Mizoram. Besides paddy, various kinds of pulses, maize, onion and bean are grown in these fields. These wet rice fields are the most important legacies of Shakespear in the Lushai Hills.

Consequent upon the introduction of WRC, these three settlements now developed as important towns, particularly Champhai became the headquarters of Champhai district and important trading centre between India and Burma. It is now the third largest town in Mizoram with a total population of 32,734.⁶⁰¹

⁵⁹⁸ Letter from R.K. Nithanga, District Agriculture Officer, Champhai District to the Research Officer, Directorate of Agriculture (Crop Husbandry), Aizawl, Mizoram, No. C. 11011/2/2013-14-DAO (Cpi), dated Champhai, the 16th October 2015.

⁶⁰⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁹⁷ Directorate of Economics and Statistics, op.cit., p. 6.

⁵⁹⁹ Letter from James Lalsiamliana, District Agriculture Officer, Serchhip District to the Research Officer, Directorate of Agriculture (Crop Husbandry), Aizawl, Mizoram, No. F. 13011/1/2015-DAO (SCH), dated Serchhip, the 19th February2016.

⁶⁰¹ Directorate of Economics and Statistics, op.cit., p. 4.



Fig. 6.10: Champhai grows up as an important town (2016).

Source: K. Zonunmawia, Electric Veng, Aizawl.

6.4 Conclusion

During his tenure as Superintendent of Lushai Hills District, Shakespear made numerous innovations not directly connected with actual administration, and many of his legacies remain materially intact till today. The heritages he left in Aizawl include the Superintendent's House (now Raj Bhavan), the two canons which are now placed in the Quarter Guard of the Assam Rifles. The construction of these permanent buildings was encouraged and sanctioned by the colonial government as they were considered to be a symbol of authority and superiority to the colonized subjects, and served as means for the intensification of colonial rule in the Lushai Hills. These heritages symbolize the long and powerful period of colonial rule in the Lushai Hills.

After the establishment of the centers of communication, military and administrative establishments, and other facilities like medical centres and *bazaars*, Aizawl became a centre of colonial rule. Since it had been made the centre of administrative and commercial activities, it attracted people from different parts of the Lushai Hills as well as outside the country, who were looking for job opportunities provided by the new regime. Since then, it grew up to become the capital city of Mizoram State, comprising of 91 Local Councils (as in 2014) with a total population of 2,93,416 persons.

Shakespear was also involved in the construction of new roads and the improvement of existing roads in the Lushai Hills. It was considered that improvement of roads facilitated the colonial rulers in preserving order, economizing the movement of troops, bringing the colonized people into more close contact with the sobering influence of 'civilization', and in teaching the colonized people the advantages of living a peaceful life. The Rest Houses, which were constructed along the roads, became important symbols of colonial rule and centres for dispensation of colonial justice in their respective surrounding areas. The roads and Rest Houses thus, served as instruments for the strengthening of colonial rule in the Lushai Hills.

Shakespear introduced to the Lushais improved methods of cultivation such as irrigation facilities and ploughing by bullocks, with imported fine varieties of rice and crops which left an enduring legacy in the field of agriculture. He introduced this improved method of WRC at Champhai in 1902, which was later on replicated at North Vanlaiphai, Tuisenhnar, Thenzawl and many other places.

The introduction of wet rice cultivation resulted in the arrival of new settlers in the areas where WRC was taken up, leading to the establishment of many settlements. The concentration of settlements in a specified area due to the introduction of WRC thus helped the government for easy and efficient administration.

The introduction and encouragement of wet rice cultivation was one of the manifestations of Shakespear's colonial economic policy. By undertaking wet rice cultivation, the British government easily saved its huge expenditure for the costly import of rice from other parts of India to support the local requirements of the British civil and military servants. It also enabled the garrison of the district to be gradually reduced, thereby saving the economy.

In the areas where WRC were introduced, lands were granted to the cultivators for agricultural use leading to the emergence of the institution of private ownership of land in the Lushai Hills, which was opposed to the traditional system of community ownership of land in which the chiefs were the proprietor of all lands within their jurisdictions.

WRC is continued to practise in many places of Mizoram (then Lushai Hills) till today with much improvement, using modern techniques of cultivation. Among other areas of WRC, these three places continued to act as important centers of agricultural activity, and are now the 'Rice Bowls' of Mizoram. Besides paddy, various kinds of pulses, maize, onion and bean are grown in these fields. In this way, Shakespear's project of colonial economy taken up through the wet rice cultivation brought great benefit to the Lushais. Consequent upon the introduction of WRC in Champhai, North Vanlaiphai and Thenzawl, these three settlements now developed as important towns, particularly Champhai became the headquarters of Champhai district and important trading centre between India and Burma.

Thus, during his regime in the Lushai Hills as Superintendent, Shakespear had undertaken various initiatives and innovations, and much of his legacies are materially visible till today in the Lushai Hills. Moreover, the initiatives that he had taken up in the production of colonial knowledge on the Lushais enormously facilitated the establishment of a durable colonial hegemony in the Lushai Hills. Therefore, his role for the production of colonial knowledge as well as its implications for the establishment and consolidation of British colonial rule in the Lushai Hills will be analysed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER – 7: JOHN SHAKESPEAR AND KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION

Throughout the period of his engagement as an agent of colonial rule in the Lushai Hills, John Shakespear actively participated in the production of colonial knowledge on the Lushais, which helped the colonial government to consolidate its rule in the Lushai Hills. His active involvement in the production of knowledge enabled himself to formulate and devise suitable administrative measures to govern the people he ruled in the name of the colonial government. This chapter contains an analysis of Shakespear's role in the production of colonial knowledge on the Lushais as well as its implications for colonial enterprise in the Lushai Hills.

7.1 Survey: Producing Lushai Hills on the Map

One of the most important methods of colonial knowledge production was the topographic surveys, which were 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 and consolidation of colonial rule and the formulation of suitable administrative system.

Intimate knowledge on topography provided 'information on the location of villages, roads, and natural resources'; and the making of maps facilitated 'troop movements'; the establishment of military outposts; selection of 'human settlements and commercial centres,' and the drawing of administrative divisions. 602

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⁶⁰² Alexander Mackenzie, op.cit., p. 316.

Thus, an attempt to develop systematic information was accompanied by 'topographic surveying, exploration and the drawing of accurate maps' which developed quickly during the British colonial expansion. ⁶⁰³ The first organized effort to acquire topographical knowledge on the Lushai Hills was made during the 'Lushai Expedition of 1871-1872'. The Survey Department of India sent survey parties to accompany the two columns (the Chittagong Column and the Cachar Column) of the expedition separately. 604

The survey party attached to the Chittagong Column was headed by Major J. MacDonald, an officer of the Survey Department to push north from Chittagong and map the land which thence was terra incognita to the British. 605 Captain T.H.Lewin, Civil Officer of the Chittagong Column gave comment on this survey on the South Lushai Hills:

> The Government Surveyor, on his part, moved with a guard of military police and a number of *coolies* to carry his baggage and heavy surveying implements...and he had succeeded in mapping a very considerable extent of hitherto unsurveyed country... 606

Alexander Mackenzie also told us that this survey operation in the South Lushai Hills succeeded in completing a triangulation of 2,300 and topographical mapping of 1,700 square miles connected with the eastern frontier series of the great trigonometrical survey. 607

⁶⁰³ Bernard Cohn, 'An Anthropologist among the Historians and other Essays' (hereafter 'An Anthropologist') in Oxford University Press India, op.cit., p. 231.

⁶⁰⁴ Alexander Mackenzie, op.cit., p. 316.

⁶⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 316.

⁶⁰⁶ T.H.Lewin, A Fly on the Wheel, p. 295.

⁶⁰⁷ Alexander Mackenzie, op.cit., pp. 316-317.

Another survey party, which was attached to the Cachar Column, was led by Captain Badgley. This party consisted of R.G. Woodthorpe, Lieutenant Leach, and three Civil Surveyors of the Topographical Survey Department, attended by a large establishment of instrument-carriers, and three sets of instruments. This party started exploration work from Cachar and accomplished the exploration work of about 600 square miles of triangulation, with nearly 200 linear miles of route survey and 4,800 square miles of triangulation.

However, since the two survey parties were unable to effect a junction, a topographical survey on the Lushai Hills was not completed by survey operations. According to Alexander Mackenzie:

There remains a blank in longitude between the two portions of the survey which overlap in latitude; and also another gap in latitude between the northern limits of the tract surveyed by the Chittagong party and the southern boundary surveyed by the Cachar party.⁶¹⁰

The inability of these two survey operations to completely cover the entire Lushai Hills left the task of completing the topographical mapping of the Lushai Hills would be taken up in the subsequent years. After the annexation of Upper Burma in 1886, the colonial authorities advocated permanent pacification and domination of the Lushai Hills in order to ensure political and economic security and stability of their empires in India and Burma. This new consideration accelerated the need to produce intimate knowledge on the topography of the Lushai Hills to formulate military strategy and the immediate mapping of the region for colonial expansion.

 $^{^{608}}$ R.G. Woodthorpe, The Lushai Expedition: 1871-1872, Hurst & Blackett, London, 1873, p.53.

⁶⁰⁹ Alexander Mackenzie, op.cit., p. 317.

⁶¹⁰ Ibid., p.317.

Accordingly, in January 1888, two Survey Parties – one under the command of Lieutenant J.F. Stewart and the other under the command of Lieutenant Baird were sent from Calcutta for reconnaissance work in the Chittagong Hill Tracts to collect military information and enlarge the existing maps of the British. However, a topographical survey on the Lushai Hills could not be completed once again due to the unfortunate incident faced by the Survey Party of Stewart, in which Stewart himself and three other British military personels were killed by a head-hunting party led by a Pawi chief named Hausata. Details of this incident were discussed in Chapter III of this thesis.

After the establishment of British rule in the Lushai Hills, the second Chin-Lushai Conference held at Lunglei in December 1896 resolved that a topographical survey of the Chin-Lushai Hills was to be carried out at an early date, and this matter had separately been considered in the Revenue and Agriculture Department. In pursuance of this resolution, the British officials made a survey of the area by despatching a number of survey parties throughout the Lushai Hills. The survey operations were carried out under the supervision of Captain Robertson, and John Shakespear, in his capacity as Superintendent of the Lushai Hills District, made all the necessary arrangements for this survey including supply of coolies. These survey parties were known as 'Tlangsamho' (literally 'clearers of hills') because they cleared the paths and points of the hills for their survey purpose.

⁶¹¹ I.F, Extl. A, March 1888, Nos. 322 – 339(No. 84 H.T.), from D.R. Lyall, Esq., Commissioner of the Chittagong Division, to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated Chittagong, the 11th February 1888, (NAI).

⁶¹² I.F, Extl A., March 1888. Nos. 322 – 339 (No.332. From D.R.Lyall, Esquire, Commissioner of the Chittagong Division to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal. Dated Chittagong, the 11th February 1888, (NAI).

⁶¹³ Foreign Department, letter from the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, No. 979 P., dated and received the 25th March 1897, (NAI).

⁶¹⁴ CB-1, G-9, Administration Report of the South Lushai Hills for the Year 1898-1899, (MSA).

⁶¹⁵ B. Lalthangliana, *Literature*, p. 82.

As a result of this extensive survey, the first complete map of Mizoram, which Shakespear had envisaged 'the greatest use in his settlement work' was prepared in 1898. The preparation of this complete map facilitated Shakespear to undertake and introduce his administrative measures like 'Land Demarcation' in 1898 and the 'Circle System' in 1902, which could not be implemented without thorough knowledge on the topography of the Lushai land. It is evident that cartographic knowledge on the Lushai Hills enabled Shakespear to enforce the above administrative measures with very little or no participation from the native Lushais.

Unlike other parts of India where cartographic knowledge was used for demarcating revenue and administrative districts, in the Lushai hills, it was employed to adjudicate contesting claims on land among the Lushai chiefs. After demarcating their lands, the Lushai chiefs were given various responsibilities to assist the colonial government in exchange for the mapping of their village boundary. After demarcating their boundary, the chiefs were given the responsibility of maintaining peace and security; making and improving roads within their jurisdiction; to provide assistance and hospitality to the touring government officials who were usually despatched to collect revenue in the form of house tax and *corvee*; and to obtain necessary information from different villages.⁶¹⁷ In this way, cartographic knowledge and the mapping of the Lushai Hills had enormously enabled the colonial government to consolidate their rule and run the administration effectively in the region.

7.2 The Operation of Census

One of the methods of systematic production of colonial knowledge was collection of information in the form of census. Bernard Cohn, a renowned

⁶¹⁶ CB-1, G-9, Administration Report of the South Lushai Hills for the Year 1898-1899, (MSA); Rev. Liangkhaia, op. cit., p. 153.

⁶¹⁷ J. Shakespear, 'Sappui Thu' reproduced in *Mizo leh Vai Chanchinbu*, Bu 10 na, October, 1934, p.150.

anthropologist and historian, opined that 'the history of the Indian census must be seen in the total context of the efforts of the British colonial government to collect systematic information about many aspects of Indian society and economy.'618

The first general census for the North Lushai Hills was held in 1891, which recorded a population of 43, 634 persons in an estimated area of 3,500 sq. miles with a density of 6 persons per sq. miles.⁶¹⁹ The complete census for the whole Lushai Hills District was undertaken for the first time in 1901, during the period of Shakespear's superintendency.⁶²⁰ Total population according to 1901 comprised of 82,434 persons living in 239 villages with a density of 11 per square mile. There were 761 literates and only 45 Christians among the tribesmen.⁶²¹ In this census, tribes in the Lushai Hills were categorized into six groups such as- the Lushais with a numerical strength of 44.5 per cent, Ralte 16.7 per cent, Hmar 12.6 per cent, Chakma 4.42 per cent, Paite 3.4 per cent, and Others 4.79 per cent (Pawi and Lakher presumably clubbed along with others under the category of 'Others').⁶²²

Shakespear had taken advantage of that first census to acquire and produce more knowledge on the Lushais, and attempted to get a complete list of the clan families and branches. However, his attempt was unsuccessful because the people themselves were ignorant of what clan or family they belonged to and the tendency to claim to be true Lushais. 623

⁶¹⁸ Bernard Cohn, 'An Anthropologist,' p. 231.

⁶¹⁹ D.C. Allon, Consus of India 1001, Vol. IV. Assem, Port I. Bonort, (horse

⁶¹⁹ B.C.Allen, *Census of India 1901*, Vol. IV, Assam, Part I, Report, (hereafter *Census of 1901*), reprint, Manas Publications, New Delhi, 1984, p.32.

⁶²⁰ B.C Allen et al. eds., *Gazetteer of Bengal and North East India*, reprint, Mittal Publications, New Delhi, 2005, p.460.

⁶²¹ B.C.Allen, Census of 1901, p. 52.

⁶²² Rintluanga Pachuau, op.cit., pp. 60-61.

⁶²³ J. Shakespear, *Lushais*, p. 41.

The operation of census in the Lushai Hills enhanced colonial knowledge by giving an in-sight into various aspects of the colonial subjects' customs and practices including their 'life, family, religion, language, literacy, caste, occupation, marriage, even of disease and infirmities.' The knowledge of this kind about the colonized people was utilized by the colonial rulers to formulate a better framework of governance to intensify the colonial rule. In the Lushai Hills, the revenue and impressed labour assessment of the villages, on which the colonial economy mostly relied, was also made on the basis of census house lists. 625

7.3 Knowledge in Print

A wide variety of knowledge that Shakespear acquired on the Lushais were documented, publicized and expressed in the form of texts, ranging from translation work, publication of magazine, seminal works and books. His pioneering and extensive efforts in the production of knowledge on the Lushais, both in vernacular and English, offered him an exceptional appreciation in the history of Lushai (Mizo) literature. His endeavors and achievements in the production of ethnographic knowledge on the Lushais manifested firstly in the form of booklets entitled *Mizo leh Vai Thawnthu (Mizos' and Foreigners' Tales)* in 1898.

Initiative was also taken by Shakespear for the acquisition and articulation of knowledge, which was thus textualized in the form of newspapers and periodical or magazine published by the colonial government. On his initiative, the first newspaper in Lushai language called *Mizo Chanchin Laisuih (The Highlander's News)* was brought out in 1898, which was written by a Lushai and circulated by the colonial government in the villages. It carried news of different villages of the Lushai Hills and conveyed the orders of government to the various chiefs, thus serving the colonial needs to exercise hegemony over the colonized people. 626

⁶²⁴ Bernard Cohn, 'An Anthropologist,' p. 231.

⁶²⁵ CB 7, G-81, Notes for Administration Report of Lungleh Sub-Division for the Year 1900-1901, (MSA).

⁶²⁶ From Rev. J. Herbert Lorrain, Missionary to the Lushais, to Colonel T.H. Lewin, dated 25th April, 1899, attached in T. H. Lewin, (1912), op.cit., p. 317.

On the initiative of John Shakespear, a periodical called '*Mizo leh Vai Chanchin Bu*' was published from 1902 to disseminate various government orders relating to the Lushai Hills and to acquaint the people with some world news. This was the first periodical ever published in the District in vernacular language, and the first issue came out in November, 1902. This periodical was initially entitled '*Mizo leh Vai Chanchin Lehkhabu*,' and was printed in Syhlet by the Printer Bharat Chandra Das. It contained government orders and notifications, variety of topics including the updated news (local, national and world), general knowledge, illuminating articles on health and enthralling stories, events and advertisements.

Besides being issued under the initiative of the colonial authority and printed in the government press, the editors and contributors were the by-products and agents of colonial rule; hence it is not surprising that it functioned as a means for disseminating colonial propaganda. In fact, its usefulness for circulating information to justify the colonial rule had been clearly foreseen by Shakespear. He himself contributed an article entitled *Sap-Pui Thu* (The Voice of the Superintendent)⁶²⁹ in the first issue which contained his arrangement for easy subscription of the newly published magazine, his attempt to convince the people that the orders of the Superintendent were always issued with proper intention, and to express his care and concern for the people under his governance.⁶³⁰

By analyzing their contents as well as the context in which these magazines and newspapers were published, it can be seen that they became useful instruments to strengthen mental and psychological control of the colonized subjects and to

⁶²⁷ The Director of Art & Culture, *Gazetteers*, p. 48; *Mizo leh Vai Chanchin Bu*, Bu 10 na, October, 1934, p. 148.

⁶²⁸ CB 21, G-263, from the Deputy Comissioner of Syhlet to the Suprintendent of the Lushai Hills, aijal, No. 1343G, dated Syhlet, the 17th December, 1902, (MSA).

⁶²⁹ Translation by author.

⁶³⁰ John Shakespear, 'Sap-Pui Thu' reproduced in *Mizo leh Vai Chanchin Bu*, Bu 10 na, October, 1934, p. 148.

continuously remind them of the superiority and grandeur of the colonizers. They served as symbols of political sovereignty and instrument of cohesion under colonial regime.

John Shakespear published a number of works regarding ethnographic and anthropologic accounts of the people with whom he lived to govern them. His work included 'Note on Some Tribal and Family Names Employed in Speaking of the Inhabitants of the Lushai Hills' communicated by Dr. G.A. Grierson, C.I.E., I.C.S., which was published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Volume LXVII, Issue II, 1898, 'Folk-Tales of the Lushais and Their Neighbours' in *Folklore* Volume 20, No. 4 (Dec. 30,1909), *The Lushei Kuki Clans* (1912) and 'Tangkhul Folk Tales and Notes on some Festivals of the Hill tribes South of Assam' in *FolkLore*, Volume 33 No. 3 (Sep. 30, 1922).

The tales he had collected from the people inhabiting the great mass of hills which separates the plains of Bengal from those of Burma⁶³¹ were published under the title *Folk-Tales of the Lushais and Their Neighbours*. This work consists of different tales from many other tribes besides the Lushais, but all are closely connected, and the same tale, in slightly different forms, is found in places very far apart.

His works on the folktales of the hill tribes might be looked as a part of colonial scholarship in its larger paradigm of the production of knowledge. During that period, the study of folklore of the colonized subjects had been considered as an important method of knowledge production throughout the colonial world. In fact, folklores played an important role to explain and understand the societies particularly of the northeastern region of India, which is inhabited by numerous tribal

⁶³¹ J. Shakespear, 'Folk-Tales of the Lushais and Their Neighbours' in *Folklore*, Volume 20, No. 4, Folklore Enterprises, U.K, December 30, 1909, (hereafter 'Folk-Tales'), p. 387.

communities, and where there was a dearth of written documents, archaeological and other evidences. 632

In the west, the collection of folklore had been inspired by the Grimm brothers, whose first collection of fairy tales appeared in 1812, which encouraged many scholars all over Europe began to record and publish oral literature. At first they concentrated exclusively on rural uneducated peasants and a few other groups, like the gypsies for example, which are relatively un-touched by modern ways. Their aim was to trace preserved archaic customs and beliefs to their remote origins in order to trace the mental history of mankind. 633

Within Europe, Britain accumulated the largest folklore collections, as materials were gathered in colonies across Asia and Africa. The Folklore Society of London, formed on 30 January 1878, was the oldest folklore society and was the platform of major late-nineteenth-and early twentieth century debates in folkloristics. In the last two decades of the nineteenth century, the Folklore Society was the battleground of British folklorists, where the cultural identity of many diverse peoples was to be decided. Those people were not represented by any of their own, but by British colonial administrators, military officers and missionaries. G35

Meeta Deka, 'Folklore and Northeast Indian History' In *Sociology Mind*, Vol.1, No.4,2011, p. 173. This article by Meeta Deka intends to highlight folklore as an alternative source for the writing of history, particularly of the northeastern region of India, which is inhabited by numerous tribal communities, and where there is a dearth of written documents, archaeological and other evidences. Folklore as a source is important to explain and under-stand societies in the context of preserving cultural diversity and protecting minority cultures, especially those of indigenous peoples and marginalized social groups. With the increased growth of several ethnic identity crises in the region in recent times, the roots for their respective indigenous history are often traced to folklore.

⁶³³ Ibid., pp. 173-174.

⁶³⁴ Sadhana Naithani, *In Quest of Indian Folktales: Pandit Ram Gharib Chaube and William Crooke*, Indiana University Press, USA, 2006, p.54.

⁶³⁵ Ibid., p.55.

By the 1880s there were two kinds of 'folklorists': those who worked for pleasure or because they gained such knowledge as part of their everyday experience, and who therefore did not claim scientific expertise in collection and aimed their works at lay readers; and those who organized their materials scientifically and aimed them at scholars. In the Victorian divide, to the first category belong the women and the missionaries, and to the second military and administrative officers. ⁶³⁶

Shakespear can be attributed to the second category, not only because he was military and administrative officer, but his collection of folklores targeted not the lay readers, but the scholars and academics. He presented his collection of folklores in the Folklore Society, a learned society, based in London. A highly acclaimed journal named *Folklore* published two of his papers on folklores of the northeast frontier people entitled *Folk-Tales of the Lushais and Their Neighbours* (1909) and *Tangkhul Folk Tales and Notes on some Festivals of the Hill Tribes South of Assam*, (1922). He also collected a number of folk tales of the Anals, the Kolhen and the Thodos, which along with *Folk-Tales of the Lushais and Their Neighbours*, were incorporated in his *Lushai Kuki Clans*.

In his presidential address to the Folklore Society in 1900, E.Sidney Hartland said forthrightly that British folklorists were in the service of the Empire:

We are helping to macadamize the world for the benefit of modern commerce...It will certainly destroy much that can never be replaced, much that is picturesque, much that is capable, rightly construed....To have missed an opportunity like the present of accumulating a large body of evidence within and beyond...our new possessions, will then be seen to have incurred a responsibility and a reproach which we are seeking to spare our country and our government.⁶³⁷

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⁶³⁶ Ibid., p.42.

⁶³⁷ Ibid., p.54.

Similar emotions are expressed by almost all colonial officers, who paid much effort in the production of knowledge. In fact, better knowledge of the populace and their mind had been needed especially after the Revolt of 1857 in which the British Crown had taken over the direct governance of India. 638

Shakespear's collection and study on the folktales of the hill tribes enabled him to acquire knowledge on the intricacies of their culture and world view, and provide rich body of knowledge about the subjects for future colonial administrators.

It is not astounding that Shakespear had shown much interest about the Lushais. During that period, there was great interest in the study of the people of India especially among the British Orientalists. In 1774 Sir William Jones started Asiatic Society of Bengal as its founder president, to study nature and man in India. This may be considered as the formation of interest in anthropology in India. Since then the British administrators, missionaries, travelers and anthropologists studied Indian tribes and published their accounts in the *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal* (1784), *Indian Antiquary* (1872), *Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society* (1915), and *Man in India* (1921). Accounts were also published in a series of districts Gazetteer, hand books and monograms on tribes. ⁶³⁹

The most significant publication of Shakespear on the Lushais was a monograph entitled *The Lushei Kuki Clans* in 1912, which became the first of its kind on the Lushais. This book was originally intended to deal only with the Lushais who inhabited the then Lushai Hills. However, when the author was transferred to Manipur in 1905, he had found so many clans akin to the Lushai tribes in the hill tracts. Therefore, he enlarged the scope of the monograph to include all clans of the Kuki race as well. ⁶⁴⁰

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⁶³⁸ Ibid., p.42.

⁶³⁹ Sukesh Dey, *Short Essay on the Growth of Indian Anthropology*, n.p. n.d., retrieved from http://www.preservearticles.com., accessed on 16.3.2016.

⁶⁴⁰ As this monograph contains valuable information about the history and culture of the Lushais, the Tribal Research Institute under Art & Culture Department, Mizoram, Aizawl took initiative to publish it for public sale. Accordingly, it was first published by the TRI in two separate books such as Part-I

In this book, Shakespear extensively produced his ethnographic accounts on the tribes inhabiting the hilly district which stretches, roughly, from Chittagong on the southwest to Manipur on the northeast. This book is based on the author's experiences, observations and interview of the people which were welded nicely by his knowledge and skilful technique of writing. The book deals in the regular way with domestic life, laws and customs, religion, folk-lore, and language of the Lushai and the non- Lushai clans, with an appendix on the families and branches of the Lushai. 641

Being published under the orders of the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam, this work must be seen in the context of larger colonial enterprise in which the production of knowledge assumed an important method to strengthen their power to govern the colonized subjects. After the Revolt of 1857, anthropology supplanted history as the principal colonial modality of knowledge and rule. Nicholas B. Dirks label the late nineteenth and early twentieth century colonial state in India as the ethnographic state. It was in this changing circumstance of British colonial strategy that Shakespear engaged as an agent of colonialism and produced a number of works on the accounts of people he ruled. It must be remembered, as Edward Said claimed, that the knowledge, whether of the language, customs or religions of the colonized, had been consistently put at the service of the colonial administration.

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and Part-II in 1975. The two books were entitled *The Lushei Clans* and *The Non-Lushei Clans* respectively. However, in the second reprint in 1988, the two books were sewn together in one book under the title *The Lushei Kuki Clans*.

⁶⁴¹ 'Review of *The Lushei Kuki Clans* by J. Shakespear' in op.cit., p. 287.

⁶⁴² Ibid. p.287.

⁶⁴³ Nicholas B. Dirks, 'The Ethnographic State' in Saurabh Dube, ed., *Postcolonial Passages: Contemporary History-writing on India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2004, p. 70.

⁶⁴⁴ Bart Moore Gilbert, *Postcolonial Theory: Contexts, Practices, Politics*, Verso, London, 1977, p. 38.

In analyzing the legacies of Shakespear in the textualization of his knowledge on the Lushais, we have to look at the relationship between colonialism and ethnography. In the post-colonial period, critical anthropologists evaluated the role played by the discipline in colonialism and established that there was ideological affinity between the two.⁶⁴⁵ It is discernible that the production of ethnographic knowledge played an integral part in the larger colonial discourse by reducing the vicissitudes and dissonance of resistance into determinate categories, without which the strategic calculations of colonial government would give unpredictable outcomes.⁶⁴⁶

It was his ethnographic knowledge that enabled Shakespear to formulate a suitable policy to avoid the resistance of the chiefs – restoring their authority as much as possible in internal administrative system in the Lushai Hills. The knowledge and textualization of the social and cultural practices of the people produced more strategy for colonial power to rule.

As discussed in the previous chapter, Shakespear's mind was not free from the colonial tradition of stereotyping the colonized and represented the Lushais as 'lazy fellows', who "preferred to lie smoking in the sun" than to engage in work or trade to earn money. The colonial creation of image of the lazy native was in fact, a universally applied myth to justify the colonization of a people. Thereby, this kind of imaging and stereotyping legitimized the implementation of *corvee* as a means to teach the Lushais who were "too lazy to do except under compulsion."

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Daniel P.S. Goh, 'States of Ethnography: Colonialism, Resistance, and Cultural Transcription in Malaya and the Philippines: 1890s–1930s' in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Society for Comparative Study of Society and History, Volume 49 (1), 2007, p. 111.

⁶⁴⁶ Ibid., p.113.

⁶⁴⁷ J. Shakespear, *Lushai-Kuki*, p.23.

⁶⁴⁸ Chris Kortright, *Colonization and Identity*, retrieved from https://theanarchistlibrary.org., accessed on 20 April, 2016, p. 7.

⁶⁴⁹ CB-1, G-9, Administration Report of the South Lushai Hills for the Year 1898-1899, (MSA).

While representing the impressive features of the customs and traditions of the Lushais, he also illustrated the superstitious, primitive, and ignorant nature of the people. He represented the Lushais as living in a savagery level of civilization, who were to be ruled and civilized. Like other colonial ethnographers, his representation of the Lushais was, to borrow the words of Lynette Russell, "depended on a polarization between savagery and civilization. This is a polarity that supports and nurtures the colonial enterprise" ⁶⁵⁰

7.4 The Manuals and Gazetteers

One of the significant instruments for the production of colonial knowledge was the publication of Manuals and Gazetteers.⁶⁵¹ The1860s in colonial India saw a sudden increase in the production and circulation of Gazetteers and Manuals that now included extensive reports on the manners and customs of the castes, tribes, and religions of the specific regions being studied.⁶⁵² According to Nicholas B. Dirks:

Most official ethnography, later reported in manuals and then in ethnological catalogues, when it did not come from early missionary accounts, was born in the administrative and policing concerns of late nineteenth century imperial rule, as the British struggled time after time with the problem of non-interference.⁶⁵³

For the smooth functioning of administration, Shakespear also envisaged the need of maintaining a manual on the rules and regulations which were enforced in the

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⁶⁵⁰ Lynette Russell, "Mere Trifles and Faint Representations: The Representations of Savage Life Offered by Eliza Frazer" in Ian J. McNiven, Lynette Russell and Kay Schaffer, eds. *Constructions of Colonialism: Perspectives on Eliza Frazer's Shipwreck*, Leicester University Press, London, 1998, p.52.

⁶⁵¹ S.B. Chaudhuri, *History of the Gazetteers of India*, Ministry of Education, Government of India, New Delhi, 1964, pp. 25-26, as cited in Bernard Cohn, 'An Anthropologist,' p. 231.

⁶⁵² Nicholas B. Dirks, op.cit., p. 77.

⁶⁵³ Ibid., p. 77.

Lushai Hills. Therefore, in 1898 prepared a manual of the original Rules and Standing Orders, which was thus, duly approved by the Government on April 1, 1898 and enforced thereafter. ⁶⁵⁴ This was replaced in the form of amendment to amplify those original rules and orders by McCall's *Lushai Hills District Cover* in 1938 which received official recognition on the 7th November of the same year. ⁶⁵⁵

In the preface to the *Assam District Gazetteers* Volume 10, Part 1-3 (*The Khasi and Jaintia Hills,The Garo Hills and the Lushai Hills*), the compiler B.C. Allen recorded his indebtedness to the respective officers in charge of these four districts 'for their kindness in examining the proofs' and in particular to John Shakespear, the Superintendent of Lushai Hill from 1898-1905 'for his courtesy in criticizing the accounts of the Lushai Hills.' Meanwhile, the author confessed that the work did not make extensive discussion on the tribes who inhabited these districts due to a realization that monographs on these tribes were prepared by the respective district officers who had acquired intimate knowledge on them. It is evident from the acknowledgement by B.C. Allen on *Assam District Gazetteers* Volume 10, Part 1-3 (*The Khasi and Jaintia Hills, The Garo Hills and the Lushai Hills*) that serious efforts were paid by colonial officials like John Shakespear in the production of knowledge on the people they governed and commit themselves to produce accurate information as far as possible. 656

7.5. Collaboration with Colonial Officials

In the production of knowledge, Shakespear had also been working in close association with some of the prominent colonial officials like Colonel T.H. Lewin

⁶⁵⁴ A.G. McCall, District Cover. p. 5.

⁶⁵⁵ Letter from L.L. Peters, Superintendent, Lushai Hills to the Sub-Divisional Officer, Lungleh, No. 7876G/1-8(a), dated Aizawl, the 17th September, 1948, attached in A.G. McCall, op,cit., n.p.

⁶⁵⁶ B.C. Allen, comp., *Assam District Gazetteers* Volume 10, Part 1-3 (*The Khasi and Jaintia Hills,The Garo Hills and the Lushai Hills*), reprint, Kessinger Publishing, Montana, USA, 2010, p.1.

(hereafter Lewin) and colonial agents of the oriental studies such as G. R Grierson and Thomas Callan Hodson.

Lewin was the pioneer of exploration and administration in what was then called the Southern Lushai Hills. Even though he had no direct administrative experience in the South Lushai Hills, which was then a frontier zone beyond the formal British administrative area, he made such an impression on the Lushai people that 40 years after he left them, they still fondly remembered him and complimented some of the friendly colonial officers by saying: "You are just like Thangliana" which was their way of saying Lewin. 657 It was from the accounts previously collected by Lewin that Shakespear had known much about the culture, custom and tradition of the Lushais. It is apparent that his work such as *Folk-Tales of the Lushais and Their Neighbours* contain the many accounts which had already been published by Lewin. However, having stayed in the Lushai Hills for about fifteen years, Shakespear was able to develop deeper knowledge on the Lushais than his predecessor which provided him the advantage to redefine and produce a more comprehensive account on them.

T.C. Hodson (1871–1953) was another administrator and colonial ethnographer with whom Shakespear had close link in his effort of knowledge production. Hodson was the first William Wyse Professor of Social Anthropology at the University of Cambridge. He was also a fellow of St. Catharine's College, and was notable for his writings on Indian anthropology and for coining the term "sociolinguistics". The earliest use of the term 'socio-liguistics' was in his brief 1939 article entitled "Socio-Linguistics in India". He had produced lot of work including the Thado Grammar (Eastern Bengal and Assam Secretariat Printing Office, 1905), The Meitheis (D. Nutt, 1908, reprinted by the Obscure Press, 2006. ISBN 1-84664-437-2), The Naga Tribes of Manipur, (Macmillan 1911), The Primitive Culture of India (lectures delivered in 1922 at the School of Oriental Studies, University of London

657 J. Shakespear, 'Folk-Tales,' p.387.

⁶⁵⁸ John Earl Joseph, *From Whitney to Chomsky: Essays in the History of American Linguistics*, John Benjamins Publishing, Philadelphia, 2002, p.108.

and *India Census Ethnography 1901-1931* (Manager of Publications, 1937, ISBN 81-85059-03-9).

T.C.Hodson, who was a member of the Folklore Society of Britain, had offered an observatory remark on Shakespear's paper entitled *Folk-Tales of the Lushais and Their Neighbours*, which he presented at the meeting of the Folklore Society in 1909. This affirmed their commendable partnership in the production of knowledge. While commenting on the affinity that he found between the folklores of the Lushais and that of other tribes in Manipur and parts of Assam, he remarked:

I cannot conclude without remarking how vividly this paper brings home to me the essential unity which underlies all the remarkable linguistic and ethnical variety of this part of Assam. The more I hear of Lushai folk and their ways and habits of thought, the more am I convinced that they differ from their neighbours the Nagas much less than we were brought up to believe. Differences there are, patent many of them to the eye, but there is fundamental unity, which we are apt to overlook or to under-estimate. 659

7.6. Collaboration with Lushai Informants

Until the reduction of the Lushai language into writing by the two pioneer Christian missionaries- James Herbert Lorrain and Frederick William Savidge in 1894, the Lushais had no written records of their own history. The main source of information about the Lushais, hence consisted mainly of oral sources from the native people, patchy information provided by some individuals in the adjacent region and direct observation by the colonizers. In spite of the absence of a written language, a class of 'traditional intelligentsia' played crucial role in the process of knowledge production. 660

⁶⁵⁹ J. Shakespear, 'Folk-Tales', p.420.

⁶⁶⁰ Merriam Webster dictionary defines 'intelligentsia' as 'a group of intelligent and well-educated people who guide the political, artistic, or social development of their society' or 'intellectuals who

From the early days of British contact with the Lushais till the annexation of their homeland, attempts were made on a consistent basis to obtain information on them. This resulted in the acquisition of vital information on the man power, the fighting abilities and kinship network of certain chiefs who had entertained resolute resistance against the British rule. It would not be possible for the colonial authority to gain these informations without the active collaboration of some individuals from amongst the Lushais who belonged to the 'traditional intelligentsia' owing to their vast knowledge and wisdom on their culture and traditional governance.

One of these Lushai collaborators were the *Upas* or the chiefs' councillors, who occasionally act as ambassadors of the chiefs in their dealing with the British. An instance for this had been the sending of representative spokespersons and arbitrators – 'a *mantry* and four Luchyes, deputed by the five principal chiefs of the tribe' – to Lister, the Superintendent of Cachar, bearing elephant tusks as 'tribute' to government, and seeking to have markets established closer to their villages. ⁶⁶¹

However, since the 'traditional intelligentsia' were unable to produce a written record of their own society, it was colonial writers who gave final interpretation on the information obtained in the process of their enquiries.

Apart from these 'traditional intelligentsia', there were certain individuals who collaborated with the British in the colonial production of knowledge on the Lushais and for that reason, they were recruited in the colonial establishment as interpreters. These collaborators provided vital information not only about the people and their

form an artistic, social or political vanguard or elite'. In the context of the Lushai Hills under the period of study, it is proposed to identify the traditional elites- chiefs, priests, *Upas* and *Val Upas* as 'traditional intelligentsia' because they formed a social class who played leadership role in shaping, preserving and disseminating traditional knowledge and practices from generation to generation.

⁶⁶¹ Indrani Chatterjee, *Forgotten Friends: Monks, Marriages and Memories of North-East India*, (hereafter *Forgotten Friends*), Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2013, p. 240.

culture, but also their socio-political structure including the relations of different chiefs and their attitude towards the British.

Notable among these collaborators were Satinkharaa and Darmaka Ralte. Shakespear's private correspondence with Dara suggests that his capturing of Zakapa, who rose against C.S.Murray, and his successful operations against Kairuma, (one of the most powerful Sailo chiefs who resisted the colonial government) who formed a concert of chiefs against the British, could not have been done without Dara's knowledge of the power structure in the area where this chief and his kin group were exerting their influence. 662

Another note signed by Shakespear explicitly praised Darathat he was largely responsible for the successful captures of Lalthuama, Vansanga, Zakapa and Zaduna (the chiefs who resisted the colonial rule) and in fact for all the successes which had attended Shakespear's efforts. Dara's knowledge of the kinship ties and power structure of the Lushai chiefs as a native of the land helped the colonial rulers to formulate strategies for quelling colonial resistance. His active role in the production of knowledge was instrumental for the pacification and consolidation of the British rule in the Lushai Hills.

In the preface of his monograph called the *Lushei Kuki Clans*, Shakespear gave his acknowledgement for the assistance he received from a number of native informants, notably Hrangzawra, a *chapprasie* at Aizawl and Pathong, an interpreter of Manipur. This acknowledgement of Shakespear affirmed his close collaboration with the native informants, who were employed in the services of the colonial establishment. Since he was stranger in the Lushai Hills, it is certain that he would not

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⁶⁶² K. Laldinpuii, 'Kairuma: Chief of Biate' in *Historical Journal Mizoram*, Volume – XII, MHA, November 2011, p. 39.

⁶⁶³ Indrani Chatterjee, Forgotten Friends, p. 305.

⁶⁶⁴ J. Shakespear, *Lushei Kuki*, p. preface.

be able to gain such deep knowledge on the Lushais- their social and cultural practices and their kinship and clan structure - without close collaboration with the natives. Thus, his close association with the native people enabled him to enrich his knowledge on the Lushais more than any other official in the Lushai Hills.

7.7 Collaboration with Christian Missionaries

We find that in the production of knowledge, there had been significant collaboration between the colonialists and the Christian missionaries, who had come into the Lushai Hills on the heels of the British conquest. A close relation and collaboration can be observed between the colonial government and the Christian missionaries. Evidence of this collaboration was apparent when Frederick William Savidge and John Herbert Lorrain, remembered by the Lushais as *Sap Upa* and *Pu Buanga* respectively who belonged to the Highgate Baptist Church in London, arrived in the Lushai Hills on 11 January, 1894 at Sairang and arrived in Aizawl on 13 January, 1894. They were undisputedly recognized by the Lushais as Pioneer Missionaries.

After entering the Lushai Hills at the heels of the colonialists, the Christian missionaries soon collaborated with the colonial government to achieve their common aim of the 'civilizing mission.' Since the colonial administrators needed to have a good command over the language of the natives for the production of knowledge, they had to collaborate with the pioneer missionaries, who had given their earnest effort to perfect themselves in Lushai language. After they began to speak fluently in Lushai, the people looked upon them as members of their own community, and became their fast friends. This close association and relation enabled the missionaries to steadfastly acquire knowledge on the manners and customs of the Lushais, which the colonial authorities eagerly anticipated for.⁶⁶⁷

666 Rohmingmawii, 'Christianity', p. 193.

⁶⁶⁵ A.G. McCall, *Chrysalys*, p. 197.

⁶⁶⁷ From Rev. J. Herbert Lorrain, Missionary to the Lushais, to Colonel T.H.Lewin, dated 25th April, 1899, reproduced in T.H.Lewin, *A Fly on the Wheel*, p. 316.



Fig. 7.1 F.W. Savidge (L) & J.H. Lorrain (R)

Source: Grace R. Lewis, The Lushai Hills: The Story of the Lushai Pioneer Mission

The colonialists and the missionaries kept on cooperating each other in the production of knowledge, and J.H. Lorrain and F.W. Savidge's work called "A Grammar and Dictionary of the Lushai Language (Duhlian Dialect) was thus published by the Government of Assam in 1898. The head of the Linguistic Survey of India, G. A. Grierson, commented on this book:

Standard Lushei is comparatively well known. Several Grammars have been written of it, the most important being that of the pioneer missionaries, Messrs. Lorrain and Savidge, which is accompanied by a very full Dictionary. ⁶⁶⁸

The Lushais soon looked upon the missionaries as their particular friends, and called them '*Mizo Sap*,' the Lushai *Sahibs*, or more often 'our *Sahibs*.' As such, the missionaries were able to win the trust and friendship of the Lushais and won over their loyalty to the Europeans- both the missionaries and the colonialists easily. It was clearly seen by the colonial rulers that the works of the missionaries materially assisted the government in the pacification of the Lushais. 670

Shakespear also actively supported and welcomed the works of the missionaries. He became the friend and collaborator of the missionaries. Remarkably, J.H. Lorrain's dairy contained some notes not only about him, but also his father, Richmond Campbell Shakespear as well. Their collaboration enabled Shakespear to have a remarkable legacy in Christian literature by supervising the translation of the Bible into Duhlian, a Lushai language. J.H. Lorrain's diary indicates that a

⁶⁶⁹ From Rev. J. Herbert Lorrain, Missionary to the Lushais, to Colonel T.H.Lewin, dated 25th April, 1899, reproduced in T.H.Lewin, *A Fly on the Wheel*, p.316.

⁶⁶⁸ Government of India, *Blue Book*, 1901, quoted in Grace R. Lewis, op.cit., p. 34.

⁶⁷⁰ Letter from Major Shakespear, CLE., D.S.O., Superintendent of the Lushai Hills to J.H.Lorrain, Hollycroft, Wellington Road, Bournemouth, 1899, reproduced in Grace R. Lewis, op.cit., p. 41.

⁶⁷¹ Diary of J.H. Lorrain, pp. 108 & 139., (Archives of Academy of Integrated Christian Studies, Shekina Hill, Aizawl; henceforth A/AICS).

⁶⁷² Indrani Chatterjee, Slaves, Souls and Subjects, n.p., n.d.

conference was held in 1904 at Aizawl, which was attended by the missionaries at Aizawl, John Shakespear, J.H. Lorrain and F.W. Savidge to settle certain points of Lushai orthography and nomenclature.⁶⁷³

Besides giving his recognition on the economic benefits brought by the works of the missionaries, Shakespear also openly encouraged the spread of Christianity in the Lushai Hills by issuing an order that the evangelists and preachers would be exempted from tributary labour if the missionaries report their names regularly.⁶⁷⁴ In this way, he exercised his authority as Superintendent to strengthen and intensify the proselytizing work of the Missionaries.

7.7 Knowledge and Education

Until the coming of the colonialists, the Lushais did not have an institutionalized system of education. However, traditional knowledge and values that formed and bound a solid society had been preserved and passed on by the traditional intelligentsia to younger generations. Before the introduction of European schooling system, like other tribal societies, the Lushais also have their own indigenous system of informal education. In this system, the *zawlbuk* served as an institution for edifying all forms of traditional knowledge and values. The zawlbuk also functioned as a training place for traditional dances and indigenous games like wrestling and other games. ⁶⁷⁵

^{- &#}x27;Duhlian' dialect is the most widely used dialect in the then Lushai Hills. It is a dialect from which the present Mizo language had sprung, which became the official language of Mizoram.

⁶⁷³ Diary of J.H. Lorrain, p. 131, (A/AICS).

⁶⁷⁴ CB 1, G-9, Administrative Report of the South Lushai Hills for the Year 1891-1892, (MSA); also see CB 2, Pol. 18, J.Shakespear, Superintendent of the Lushai Hills, *Standing Order No. 14 of 1904-1905*, (MSA).

⁶⁷⁵ Sangkima, op.cit., pp. 133.



Fig. 7.2 Zawlbuk

Source: J. Shakespear, 'Folk-Tales of the Lushais and Their Neighbours' in *Folklore*, Volume 20, No. 4, Plate XXII

The significance of this indigenous system of informal education through *zawlbuk* was obviously recognized by some of the missionaries like Rev. F.J.Rapper of the Baptist Mission Society and the colonial ruler like N.E.Parry, Superintendent of the Lushai Hills District. They took keen interest in the revival of *zawlbuk* institution when it began to die down in various villages, but unfortunately failed to revive it even by the order of the colonial government in 1926.⁶⁷⁶

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⁶⁷⁶ Ibid., pp. 134-135.

Informal education had also been carried out through various societal activities such as *pawnto*, collective food gathering and hunting, *in-lawm* (exchange of labour in jhum land), rituals and festivals to train both gender of their roles and responsibilities as member of the society. ⁶⁷⁷

Formal education was introduced in the Lushai Hill by James Herbert Lorrain and Frederick William Savidge, who, after reducing the Mizo language into a written form, opened the first school at Bawlhmun (where Presbyterian Church of Zarkawt, Aizawl stands today) on 2st April, 1894 with only two pupils- Thangphunga(later became chief of Chaltlang) and Suaka (later became chief of Durtlang). These two pupils were so intelligent that they were able to master the alphabets and words of one syllable in one week and before one month passed, they were able to read almost anything that the teachers wrote.⁶⁷⁸

The school opened by the pioneer missionaries was soon closed as they wanted to confine themselves on their translation work of the Bible and they were replaced by the Welsh Missionaries. Following the footprints of the pioneer missionaries, David Evan Jones, the first missionary of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Mission in the Lushai Hills, who arrived at Aizawl on August 31, 1897 to begin the missionary work, reopened the school on February 28, 1898.⁶⁷⁹

⁶⁷⁷ *Pawnto* is the traditional practice of Mizo (Lushai) children, both males and females, in which they had gathered at certain avenue of the village, especially under the moon light, to entertain themselves with various kinds of games and amusements.

⁶⁷⁸ Diary of J.H.Lorrain (First School in Lushailand), April, 1894, Archives of Aizawl Theological College.

⁶⁷⁹ John Hughes Morris, *The History of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists' Foreign Mission: To the End of the Year 1904*, Carnarvon, C.M. Book Room, Wales, 1910, p. 241; P.L. Lianzuala, *Zofate Chanchin Tha Rawn Hlantute*, Bhabani Offset, Guwahati, 2012, p. 190.

As school work began in earnest, the government and the missionaries actively worked together in the field of education. In his letter to T.H. Lewin, who had a real love for the Lushais, J.H.Lorrain said that 'the Government officers always stood by them in their effort to benefit the people, and Major Shakespear also opened a school for the Lushai people.' 680

On the initiative of Savidge and Lorrain, *Mizo Zirtir Bu (Lushai Primer or Child's Primer)*, which was the first book printed in Lushai language was published by the Assam Government in 1899.⁶⁸¹ This book was used as a text book in the schools. The colonial government in the Lushai Hills encouraged the work of missionaries by offering three months' hospitality to any man (chief or other) from a fresh village who came to Aizawl to learn, and when the missionaries wished more time for translation, a Bengali gentleman was sent for them to train as schoolmaster.⁶⁸²

Shakespear recognized the 'wisdom' of putting the education work into the hands of the missionaries and was able to convince Sir Bamfylde Fuller, the Chief Commissioner of Assam, who was initially doubtful on the advantage of entrusting education into their hands. Hence, after his visit to Aizawl in 1903, Fuller instructed Shakespear, to submit proposals for handing over the education of the district to the missionaries. The proposals were accepted and accordingly, the responsibility of spreading education and maintaining school administration was entrusted to the missionaries. Thus, as an indication of assigning the responsibility of improving education to the missionaries, the colonial government appointed Revd.

⁶⁸⁰ From Rev. J. Herbert Lorrain, Missionary to the Lushais, to Colonel T.H.Lewin, dated 25th April, 1899, reproduced in T.H.Lewin, *A Fly on the Wheel*, p.316.

⁶⁸¹ Office of the Registrar General, India & International Center for Research on Bilingualism, op.cit., p. 1121; CB-1, G-9, Administration Report of the South Lushai Hills for the Year 1898-1899, (MSA).

⁶⁸² Grace R. Lewis, op.cit., pp. 30-31.

⁶⁸³ Letter from John Shakespear to Mr. Mendus, dated 20th April, 1939, Redburn Street, Chelsea, S.W.3.

E.Rowlands of the Welsh Mission as Honorary Inspector of Government Schools in the Lushai Hills on 1st March 1903.⁶⁸⁴

After F.W. Savidge and J.H. Lorrain came back in the Lushai Hills under the sponsorship of the London Baptist Missionary Society, with a station at Lunglei, Shakespear realized the independent nature of the two Missions and proposed that the Welsh Mission with its centre at Aizawl and the London Baptist Missionary Society with its centre at Lunglei (Serkawn) had to be given the responsibility improving education in their respective sub-divisions. Thus, on his proposal, the Chief Commissioner of Assam appointed Revd. F.W. Savidge as Honorary Inspector of Schools in Lunglei Sub-division in 1904. Since then, all the schools previously started by the colonial government in the South Lushai Hills were brought under the direction of the Baptist Mission. In the meantime, Revd. E. Rowlands continued to act in the same capacity in respect of all schools situated in the Aizawl sub-division only.

In 1904, a modified course of studies for the award of Lower Primary Scholarships for the Lushai Hills had been taken up on the suggestion of Shakespear himself. During the same year, Upper Primary School was introduced and the course of studies was prepared by W. Booth, the Director of Public Instruction in consultation with the Shakespear.⁶⁸⁹

⁶⁸⁴ CB 1, Edn.-2, From the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam, to the Director of Public Instruction, Assam, No. 660 P.I.-8216G., dated Shillong, the 19th September 1904, (MSA).

⁶⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁸⁷ Grace R. Lewis, op.cit., p. 52.

⁶⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁸⁹ CB 1, Edn. 3, From W.Booth, Esquire, M.A., Sc.D., Director of Public Instruction, to the Secretary to the Hon'ble Chief Commissioner of Assam, No. 60, dated Shillong, the 22nd February, 1904, (MSA).

In order to encourage education and to provide financial aid to the worthy students, scholarships had been provided to certain students of Lower Primary and Upper Primary Schools subject to the usual conditions of good conduct and satisfactory progress. Initially, scholarships for Lower Primary schools were provided to students at Aizawl schools only, but it was later on extended for the students at Lunglei schools after the proposal of Shakespear in 1904. 691

Education was closely associated with Christianity. The growth of newly educated young men employed in the Mission as well as government services was a proof to the community what education could do for a person. Through education as well as their contact with the outside world, the Lushais worldview also underwent drastic change. As Christianity attempted to offer a comprehensive worldview, many of the traditional beliefs were considered merely superstitions.⁶⁹²

The colonial government did not completely withdraw itself from effort to educate the Lushais and provide financial aid to the missionaries for the development of education because of its dual benefits. Firstly, education was an important mechanism for accomplishing the British's civilizing mission; secondly, it was also a means to improve the colonial economy. Shakespear himself said that education was one of Government's good investments. ⁶⁹³ It was envisaged that education would facilitate the pacification, which would enable the colonial authority to reduce the number of military garrisons. ⁶⁹⁴

⁶⁹⁰ CB 1, Edn.-3, From W.Booth, Esquire, M.A., Sc.D., Director of Public Instruction, to the Superintendent, Lushai Hills, No. 835, dated Shillong, the 31st January, 1905, (MSA).

⁶⁹¹ CB 1, Edn. - 3, From Major J. Shakespear, C.I.E., D.S.O., I.A., Superintendent, Lushai Hills, to the Director of Public Instruction, Assam, No. 167G., dated Aijal, the 7th May, 1904, (MSA).

⁶⁹² Ibid, p. 9.

⁶⁹³ CB 1, G-9, Administrative Report of the South Lushai Hills for the Year 1891-1892, (MSA).

⁶⁹⁴ Ibid.

It was largely due to Shakespear's compassionate attitude that the Lushais had evinced a growing interest in education. While encouraging education of the masses, Shakespear gave priority to educate the sons of the chiefs. In most of the cases, his idea on education was guided by his desire to establish an efficient administrative system. Since the chiefs were the right hands of colonial administration in the Lushai Hills, it was necessary for the government to support and strengthen their authority as far as possible.

The introduction of education soon provided new scope for the Lushai commoners to attain better social status since they lived under the shelter of the two kinds of *sahibs*- the colonialists and the missionaries. Therefore, if the Lushai chiefs were not educated, they would soon lose their prestige in the eyes of their subjects, which would be a threat to the well established system of governance through the chiefs.

The education of the sons of the chiefs was an important undertaking in the Lushai Hills because chiefs were the closest collaborators of the colonial government in the Lushai Hills. Moreover, since governance in the Lushai Hills was based on the principle of indirect rule, the chiefs became the representatives of the colonial government in distant villages. Most importantly, they also became instrumental in the production of useful information on their respective villages which were deemed vital to the colonial authority. In fact, a school, intended principally for the village chiefs, was opened by the colonial government soon after its occupation of the Lushai Hills.

Hence, as an administrator, Shakespear thought it necessary that the government must direct its best effort to educate the sons of the chiefs, who would be

⁶⁹⁵ CB 1, Edn.-3, From the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam, to the Director of Public Instruction, Assam, No. 61 P.I.- 2005G., dated Shillong, the 1st March 1904. (MSA).

⁶⁹⁶ John Hughes Morris, *The History of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists' Foreign Mission: To the End of the Year 1904*, Carnarvon, C.M. Book Room ,Wales, 1910, p.242.

the rulers in near future. He also proposed that those chiefs' sons must be made to know some of the rules of good government and to understand and trust the government better. His education policy focused to ensure the allegiance of the chiefs to the colonial government.

The newly educated local elites collaborated with the colonial authorities in the production of knowledge, and some of them were rewarded by becoming the functional agents of colonial rule in the Lushai Hills. Suaka, who later served the colonial government as Lushai Clerk and appointed as headman of Durtlang village, actively participated in the production of colonial knowledge and in the propagation of colonial agenda. His contribution in production of knowledge was seen in the articles he contributed in the periodicals issued by the colonial government. ⁶⁹⁸ It is discernible from the contribution of Suaka that education played significant role in the production of colonial knowledge and the strengthening of colonial rule in the Lushai Hills.

7.8 Conclusion

The British colonial government's venture in the production of colonial knowledge on the Lushais which had started since the late eighteenth century was greatly intensified after Shakespear entered the scene, who actively involved himself in this enterprise of knowledge production. The long period of his regime as colonial administrator in the Lushai Hills witnessed the escalation and systematization of colonial knowledge production on the Lushais, which in turn enabled him to formulate and devise suitable administrative measures to successfully govern his colonial subjects.

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⁶⁹⁷ CB 1, Edn. -7, From Major J. Shakespear, C.I.E., D.S.O., I.A., Superintendent, Lushai Hills to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam, No. 1069G., dated Aijal, the 5th January, 1905, (MSA).

⁶⁹⁸ Suaka contributed two articles entitled 'Sakah Thu' (The Hunting of Animals) and 'Aizawl Chanchin' (The Story of Aizawl) in the first issue of Mizo leh Vai Chanchin Bu in November 1902

A systematic initiative for the production of colonial knowledge on the Lushais was taken up in the form of topographic surveys. These kind of surveys provided the colonial authorities necessary 'information on the location of villages, roads, and natural resources' which facilitated troop movements, selection of suitable sites for the establishment of military outposts, human settlements and commercial centres. Significantly, the topgrapic knowledge through the surveys also enabled the drawing of administrative divisions.

Since the 1870s, continual efforts were made by the colonial authorities to gather systematic information on the Lushais and their habitat by using 'topographic surveying, exploration and the drawing of accurate maps.' In consequence of the extensive cartographic surveys, the first complete map of the Lushai Hills was sketched in 1898. The complete mapping of the Lushai Hills facilitated Shakespear to undertake and introduce his administrative measures like 'Land Demarcation' in 1898 and the 'Circle System' in 1902.

The cartographic knowledge enabled Shakespear to adjudicate contesting claims on land among the Lushai chiefs. In exchange for the mapping of their village boundary, the Lushai chiefs were given various responsibilities including the maintenance of peace and security; the making and improvement of roads within their jurisdiction; and the offering of assistance to the touring government officials. In this way, cartographic knowledge and the mapping of the Lushai Hills enormously enabled the colonial government to consolidate their rule and run the administration effectively in the region.

Another method of systematic production of colonial knowledge initiated during the superintendency of Shakespear in the Lushai Hills was the collection of information in the form of census. The first general census for the North Lushai Hills was held in 1891, and the complete census for the whole Lushai Hills District was undertaken for the first time in 1901, during the period of Shakespear's superintendency. The operation of census enhanced colonial knowledge by giving an

in-sight into various aspects of the Lushais- their customs and practices including their 'life, family, religion, language, literacy, caste, occupation, marriage, even of disease and infirmities,' which enabled the colonial rulers to formulate better framework of governance to intensify the colonial rule.

Shakespear had taken active measures for the expression, documentation and publication of his vast knowledge on the Lushais in the form of texts through the publication of magazine, seminal works and books. His endeavours and achievements in the production of ethnographic knowledge on the Lushais firstly manifested in the form of a booklet entitled *Mizo leh Vai Thawnthu (Mizos' and Foreigners' Tales)* in 1898.

He had also undertaken dynamic initiatives for the acquisition and articulation of knowledge, which was thus textualized in the form of a newspaper called *Mizo Chanchin Laisuih (The Highlander's News)* and a periodical called '*Mizo leh Vai Chanchin Bu*', the first venture on their respective category in the Lushai Hills which were began to publish in 1898 and 1902 respectively. They became useful instruments to strengthen mental and psychological control of the colonized subjects and to continuously remind them of the superiority and grandeur of the colonizers, thus serving the colonial needs to exercise hegemony over the colonized people.

The ethnographic and anthropologic knowledge of Shakespear on the people with whom he lived to govern them were textualized in a variety of publication works. The most significant publication of Shakespear on the Lushais was a monograph entitled *The Lushei Kuki Clans*, which became the first of its kind on the Lushais. The knowledge and textualization of the social and cultural matrix of the people produced more strategy for colonial power to rule.

Shakespear also realized the vitality of manuals and gazetteers for the production of colonial knowledge. He actively involved himself in this venture and he prepared manual of the original Rules and Standing Orders which was enforced in the

Lushai Hills after duly approved by the Government on April 1, 1898. This manual became an antecedent to McCall's *Lushai Hills District Cover* which came out in the form of amendment to amplify those original rules and orders that received official recognition on November 7, 1938.

Even though he did not publish gazetteers by himself, he provided enthusiastic support and collaboration to other colonial officials in this undertaking. It is evident from the acknowledgement by B.C. Allen on *Assam District Gazetteers* Volume 10, Part 1-3 (*The Khasi and Jaintia Hills,The Garo Hills and the Lushai Hills*) that Shakespear's knowledge and information enabled him to produce accurate accounts on the Lushais.

In the production of knowledge on the colonized, Shakespear worked in close association with some of the prominent colonial officials like Colonel T.H. Lewin and colonial agents of the oriental studies such as G. R Grierson and Thomas Callan Hodson.

Shakespear was also able to obtain accurate knowledge and information on the Lushais due to his close collaboration with the natives, whose vast knowledge and wisdom on their land, kinship network, culture and traditional governance enabled him to obtain vital information on all aspects of the Lushais. Among these collaborators were the 'traditional intelligentsia' - chiefs, priests, *Upas* and *Val Upas*; and certain individuals who were recruited in the colonial establishment as interpreters.

Significant collaboration also existed between the colonialists and the Christian missionaries in the production of knowledge. It was clearly seen by the colonial rulers that the works of the missionaries materially assisted the government in the pacification of the Lushais. This view strengthened the collaboration between the two in the production of knowledge, and J.H. Lorrain and F.W. Savidge's work

entitled "A Grammar and Dictionary of the Lushai Language (Duhlian Dialect) was thus published by the Government of Assam in 1898.

The government and the missionaries actively worked together in the field of education as school work began in earnest. Shakespear recognized the 'wisdom' of putting the education work into the hands of the missionaries and convinced Sir Bamfylde Fuller, the Chief Commissioner of Assam to hand over the education of the district to the missionaries. Thus, from 1903, the responsibility of improving education was entrusted to the Welsh Mission and Baptist Missionary Society in Aizawl and Lunglei Sub-divisions respectively.

While encouraging education of the masses, Shakespear gave priority to educate the sons of the chiefs because they would be the rulers in near future. He urged that chiefs' sons must be educated so that they would understand some of the rules of good government and trust the government better.

The newly educated local elites collaborated with the colonial authorities in the production of knowledge, and some of them were rewarded by becoming the functional agents of colonial rule in the Lushai Hills. Suaka, who later served the colonial government as Lushai Clerk and appointed as headman of Durtlang village, actively participated in the production of colonial knowledge and in the propagation of colonial agenda. His contribution in the production of knowledge was clearly visible in the articles he contributed in the periodicals issued by the colonial government. It is discernible from the contribution of this person that education played significant role in the production of colonial knowledge and the strengthening of colonial rule in the Lushai Hills.

CHAPTER – 8: CONCLUSION

The region known as the North-East Frontier of Bengal was free from European colonial expansion until the establishment of British rule in Bengal in 1765. After becoming the sovereign of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, the protection of their territories in India became the concern of the English East India Company's authorities.

In the meanwhile, after occupying Assam in 1816, the Burmese forces began to advance upon Cachar and threatened Jaintia, a bordering dependency of Bengal. This resulted into hostility between the British and the Burmese. After a series of battles, the British emerged victorious and concluded the Treaty of Yandaboo on February 24, 1826 by which the principality of Assam and its dependencies, and the contiguous petty states of Cachar and Jaintia, Manipur and their neighbourhood as well as Arrakan were ceded to the British.

After the annexation of Cachar, the region which had earlier been *terra incognita* to the British became opened for further exploration. At the same time, the British authorities began to face fresh troubles from various tribes inhabiting the hilly regions adjacent to its boundary. Among these tribes were the Lushais, known to the Bengalis by the name of Kookie, who had lived in the mountainous regions south of Cachar. The land inhabited by the Lushais also stretches on the south along the Chittagong Frontier, and some portions of the Chin Hills of Burma. The resistance of these tribes to colonialism and the counter-action by the British and its subsequent

impact formed a new episode in the history of British colonialism in the North Eastern frontier of India.

Since the early part of the nineteenth century, the British gradually expanded its territory towards the Lushai Hills. The extensive extension of tea gardens in Cachar along the foothills which formed the natural territory for Lushais to conduct big-game hunting had enraged the Lushais, who then resorted to armed resistance by frequently raiding the villages within British protectorate. The main reason for Lushai resistance seems to be the deforestation of their hunting grounds for tea plantation within the land which they claimed as their own. Moreover, the hunting of animals had deep connection with the social and cultural practices of the Lushais. As such, the depopulation of wild animals through deforestation was seen as an intrusion into their social and cultural life.

Besides, the growth of tea industry attracted a number of settlers in and around the tea gardens to provide its huge labour requirement. Hence, the proliferation of human settlement in the form of small villages and towns in and around tea plantations provided incentives for Lushai raids because war booty in the form of materials and human captives were easily available. The result of all these developments in the frontier and the proclivity of the Lushai for raids rendered tea gardens the main targets of attack by the latter.

In all the colonial writings, the attacks made by the Lushais in the tea gardens were recorded and attributed as 'raid' or 'invasion' on the British territory. However, since many areas they attacked were considered by the Lushais as theirs, their actions

might be considered as resistance to colonial expansion. It was, in fact, the colonial forces who intruded and invaded the Lushais inside their own territory as a repercussion to armed resistance by the Lushais. It is a peculiar feature of colonialism that the indigenous people were compelled to rise in armed conflict with the colonial forces, who then retaliated by military invasion to occupy their land. In most of the cases of colonization in the Americas, Asia and Africa, colonial military strategy was genocidal and included the destruction of food supplies, resources and shelter so as to cripple them from resisting colonial expansion.

The British policy to mitigate Lushais' resistance to colonialism include reprisals by military expedition, in which many crops, food grains and villages of the Lushais had been destroyed, especially during the 'Lushai Expedition of 1871-1872'. The destruction caused by the British's 'scorched earth' policy was so devastating that the Lushais' resistance had been tranquillized for more than a decade.

Interestingly, it can safely be assumed that the Lushais never use this kind of brutal warfare, at least among themselves. The folksong known as 'Zopui Zai (Lallula Zopui Zai)' indicated that sometimes people migrated to other villages and some villages were even deserted due to fear of their enemies. However, none of the folksongs or folktales of the Lushais indicated the indiscriminate burning of villages or grains and crops of their rivals.

The British's 'scorched earth' policy had caused so much sufferings on the Lushais that since the close of the Expedition of 1871-1872, raids had ceased for a long time, except certain incidents that cropped up in some places. However, about a

decade of peaceful relations between the Lushais and the British since the Lushai Expedition of 1871-1872 was interrupted towards the end of the nineteenth century due to various reasons. The reason of Lushais' recourse to looting and plundering in the 1880s was ascribed to the breakdown of economy due to a famine caused by a natural phenomenon called Thingtam that struck the Lushai Hills in 1880.

Thus, the later part of the nineteenth century, especially after the annexation of Burma in 1886, was marked by new economic and political relations between colonial India and Burma. Many of the British officials now recommended that their policy must be advanced towards the 'permanent pacification and domination of the hill country' between India and Burma. Since the Lushai Hills continued to be a source of anxiety for the British colonial government, the eventual subjugation of her residents was considered an urgent task.

Hence, in order to draw out an efficient strategy for further colonial expansion, the British tried to obtain more knowledge on the Lushais and their land. Accordingly, the British colonial government despatched two Survey Parties to collect military information and to enlarge the existing maps of the British. One of the Survey parties met an unfortunate incident in which Lieutenant Stewart along with two British officers and one native soldier lost their lives at the hands of a certain head-hunting party from the Lushai Hills. This incident was followed by a number of raids into the British territory adjacent to the Lushai Hills resulting in the killing and enslavement of a lot of British subjects. The colonial authorities considered these incidents as an insult to their power.

The resurgence of Lushai raids along with the political developments of the time brought about new relation between the Lushais and the British, in which many colonial officials recommended the 'permanent pacification and domination of the hill country.' Thus, the new political relation between the two was characterized by the struggle of the British to colonize the Lushai Hills on the one hand and the struggle

for survival from the wave of colonialism by the Lushais on the other hand. By taking the Lushais' resistance to colonialism as a prerequisite, the British turned to undertake military invasions into their country and launched two military invasions such as the 'Lushai Expedition' of 1889 and the "Chin-Lushai Expedition" of 1889-1890. Besides their superiority in military power, the British had the advantage of better knowledge and information on the Lushais than the latter had on them through the efforts of various individuals, such as John Shakespear, who served as Intelligence Officer in these two expeditions, with an additional responsibility of Assistant Political Officer with the Chittagong Column in the latter expedition.

The Lushais, who were less-organized and ill-equipped against a well-organized and technologically more advanced British military, could not stand against the catastrophes unleashed by the latter's 'scorched earth' policy. Hence, they were no longer in a position to resist the British colonial expansion and were thus forced to come under British colonial rule after the "Chin-Lushai Expedition" of 1889–1890. The whole country was, thus, divided into two administrative districts- the North Lushai Hills with its headquarters at Aizawl and South Lushai Hills with its headquarters at Lunglei, under the Chief Commissionership of Assam and the Government of Bengal respectively.

Even though British rule was established in the Lushai Hills, and new administrative system was introduced for its governance, the Lushais, who had never come under foreign domination, did not readily accept the colonial rule in the initial years. There were many chiefs in both the districts who continued to rise in armed resistance against the new colonial regime. It was in this critical situation of political instability that the service of individuals like John Shakespear was crucial for the colonial authority.

The initial period of Shakespear's arrival into the South Lushai Hills was marked by military encounters and the establishment of British rule was in its infancy. As such the administration of this newly acquired territory was conducted on a

temporary basis. Moreover, the situation in South Lushai Hills was still unstable from military point of view, requiring a series of operations. After a relative stable political situation was established the colonial authorities subsequently took measures to bring the Lushai Hills under proper administration.

The man who took the initiative of drawing up proposals and recommendations for the creation of South Lushai Hills as an administrative district was Mr. D. R. Lyall, I.G.S., Commissioner of the Chittagong Division. In January 12, 1890, he sent up proposals for the administration of the South Lushai Hills to the Bengal Government on the assumption that it was the intention of the Government of India to completely dominate the country between the Chittagong Hill Tracts and Burma.

Lyall endorsed Lewin's policy of 'non- interference' in the internal administration of the chiefs, and that the British should not interfere with the village administration of criminal, civil, and social matters, but to confine the administration to preserve the public peace, leaving internal matters to the chiefs.

The new district was constituted on April 1, 1891 with Mr. Murray as the first Superintendent, who held the charge of the South Lushai Hills from April 1-16. However, Mr. Murray did not hold the position for long. Though he was recommended to continue his superintendency, his injudicious act against Zakapa, and the incident that followed compelled the government to bring him back to his ordinary duties as Bengal Civil Police.

The departure of Murray led to the appointment of John Shakespear as Superintendent of the South Lushai Hills due to his extensive knowledge of the land and the people. Thus, the control of the South Lushai Hills was entrusted to Shakespear, who took over the charge from April 16, 1891 and remained in office till 1897, when he was transferred to North Lushai Hills.

The immediate task of Shakespear as Superintendent of the South Lushai Hills was to punish and subjugate the Lushai chiefs who were not ready to come under the colonial rule. He successfully subdued and captured hostile chiefs like Zakapa, Ropuiliani and Kairuma who steadfastly refused to co-operate with the colonial authorities in the South Lushai Hills. He also successfully dealt with Fanai chiefs such as Zaduna and his son Kaphleia, who were involved in a confederacy led by Kairuma, which stood against the colonial authority. He was also equally successful to coerce Lushai chiefs like Lalchheuva and Vansanga, who kept up the spirit of hostility among the Lushais. His successful campaigns against these prominent chiefs withered away the idea of resistance against colonialism in the South Lushai Hills.

After the successful pacification of the South Lushai Hills by Shakespear in his capacity as the Superintendent of the district, it was formally annexed to British Indian empire on September 6, 1895 and included within the territory under the administration of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal. Under the same proclamation of the Governor General, North Lushai Hills also came under the jurisdiction of the Chief Commissioner of Assam.

Shakespear was not only responsible for bringing about the complete subjugation of the South Lushai Hills by suppressing the residual resistance led by certain chiefs, but thoroughly studied and readied himself for the gradual application of an internal territorial system, which alone could be a permanent basis for its future administration.

As the colonial subjugation of the entire Lushai Hills was completed, the Government felt the necessity of combining the South and North Lushai Hills Districts under one administration on both political and financial grounds. In fact, this question had long been under discussion since 1891. Therefore, a series of

conferences on this matter had been convened among the three Governments of Bengal, Assam and Burma. These conferences, subsequently known as the First Chin–Lushai Conference (January 29, 1892 at Calcutta) and the Second Chin Lushai Conference (December 14-18, 1896 at Lunglei), approved the amalgamation after a careful consideration of various issues.

The headquarters of the amalgamated district was at Aizawl and Major John Shakespear was appointed to be the first Superintendent of the Lushai Hills District. It was his knowledge and experiences about the Lushais in the South Lushai Hills, and his genius and unique ability which landed him the position of Superintendent.

A new period for organized rule had now set in for the further consolidation of colonial rule in the Lushai Hills. John Shakespear took advantage of a sense of security of their rule to formulate systematic administration of the district. He acknowledged the efficiency of the traditional self-governing system of the Lushais and held a view not to interfere as far as possible in the internal administration of the chiefs, who were the traditional rulers among the Lushais.

However, this policy of non-interference was not an innovation of Shakespear. Previously, T.H.Lewin, who had long been with the Lushais in the Chittagong Frontier as an administrator, had advocated this policy of "non-interference" in the internal administration of the chiefs. Mr. D. R. Lyall, I.G.S., Commissioner of the Chittagong Division, the man who took the initiative of drawing up proposals and recommendations for the creation of the South Lushai Hills District even concurred with Lewin on this issue. Moreover, the system of governance advocated by J. Shakespear for the Lushai Hills was based on the well-established system of British colonial administration called 'indirect rule' which was adopted in various places.

As the Lushai Hills came under the colonial rule, the colonial rulers had to take measures to support the colonial administration's economic requirements. Since the Lushai Hills offered only little scope for extracting its economic resources, the colonial rulers resorted to obtain revenue in the form of 'corvée' and 'extraction' of tribute in kind or money, which form the bases of the colonial economy in the Lushai Hills, which, at the same time was a means to strengthen the colonial grip on them.

The rate of extraction in kind was fixed at twenty *seers* of cleaned rice, or one *maund* of unhusked rice per house. When rice was not taken, the rate of commutation was fixed at Rs. 2 per house. The colonialists claimed that rice was assessed just as a token of submission and obedience. However, the main purpose of the extraction of tribute in rice was to reduce and save the enormous cost of importing rice for rationing the military outposts located in different places.

Another base of colonial economy was 'corvée' or extraction of labour in lieu of taxes. The colonial practice of corvée in the Lushai Hills was sanctioned by the Bengal Regulation XI of 1806, which authorized the impressment of transport and supplies for public and private purposes. Tibutary labour and impressed labour formed the two kinds of corvée in the Lushai Hills.

Apart from the officially recognized *corvée*, what may be called sexual *corvée* did exist in the colonial period. This model had been drawn by Indrani Chatterjee with an example on Murray's system of demanding girls for his sexual pleasure, and the raping of a 'Lushai' girl by two British policemen in 1897-1898. It is also apparent that a Lushai employee in the Superintendent's Office as Lushai Clerk, Lianbuka also used to sleep with many women who come to settle disputes and grievances on various issues. It is presumable that there might be similar cases which are uncovered till now because such kinds of sexual engagements were never recorded in written literature. All these systems of colonial exploitation became provocative factor for resistance against colonial rule throughout the Lushai Hills especially in the initial period of colonial rule.

Shakespear directed his first administrative task towards land reforms. His land reforms deal with three issues such as 'land demarcation', 'land grant' and 'land lease'. The first and most important of his land reforms was the fixation of village boundaries known as 'Land Demarcation'. Though this measure was officially introduced in 1898, the first instance of Shakespear's land demarcation could be traced back to January 20, 1894, when he demarcated the boundaries between the villages of Khawhri, Aithur and Keltan in the south eastern part of the South Lushai Hills. He also expressed in 1895 that he was opposed to the break-up of villages into hamlets because this would create great difficulty in administration and in getting *corvée* and extraction of tribute.

Though this initiative on land relation had been traditionally known as 'Land Settlement,' it may be more appropriate to be identified as 'land reforms' as it mainly dealt with the redistribution, regulation of ownership, leasing and inheritance of the land whereas land settlements in other parts of colonial India usually meant the act of arranging the terms and incidence of the land revenue in specific areas.

Amongst other things, the long lasting consequence of this new arrangement on land is that it discouraged territorial mobility vis-à-vis the semi-nomadic character of the Lushais which virtually led to sedentariness. This in turn enabled the government to introduce a uniform system of administration. However, the main drawback of this system was that it caused a dent in the prestige of the traditional chiefs and affirmed the chiefs' position as mere agent of British administration.

Shakespear's superintendency in the Lushai Hills also saw the emergence of a new feature of land reforms during which specific areas of lands were granted to certain beneficiaries. This system was never experienced in the traditional system of the Lushais. The beneficiaries of land grants can be categorized into two - the first category included those who were rewarded lands along with settlements for their active contribution for the success of colonial administration and governance. This practice led to the emergence of a new class - 'hnamchawm lal' (commoner chiefs) or headman. The second category consisted of those who were entrusted to initiate wet

rice cultivation in certain level and well watered areas of the Lushai Hills. Those who were included in the second category can further be classified into two – firstly, the 'chiefs' or 'head-men', who were appointed to look after the new settlements that came into existence around the wet rice fields; and secondly, those individuals who were assigned lands specifically for wet rice cultivation.

Shakespear's administrative reign also saw the emergence land lease in the Lushai Hills for the first time. The idea of allocating land to the lessees in the Lushai Hills originated to promote tea-seed trade. Hence, it can be characterized as market-based land reforms. Under this, land was leased out to the highest bidder at an annual rent of Rs. 10 per square mile. Even though the lessee did not have ownership right of the land, his heirs, representatives, or assignees could hold the leased lands at the same rate during the period covered by his 'lease'. Mr. R.G. Sisson was chosen to reap the benefits of 'monopoly of the plucking and export of tea-seed' in the Lushai Hills for a period of ten years, i.e.1897 to 1907 under this 'lease' system.

J.Shakespear also introduced a significant administrative system called the 'Circle Administration' in 1901-1902, became the first initiative to introduce modern system of administration in the Lushai. However, it is observed that prior to the introduction of Circle Administration in the Lushai Hills in 1902, there were some antecedents of this system in some places of the North Eastern Frontier of India such as the *Lambu* system in Manipur in 1892 or another system of administration introduced by Major Maxwell in Manipur and a Circle System in the Chittagong Hill Tracts in 1900. Even though there is no evidence to indicate that Shakespear had imitated the new system from the established practice, it is presumable that he must have been inspired by these existing administrative systems prevailing in the neighbouring areas of the Lushai Hills because of the fact that active correspondences existed among the British officials in the region.

The implementation of the Circle System was an important mechanism for the transformation of the social and political set up of the Lushais towards a new perspective of modernization. Firstly, it necessitated the recruitment of local educated

people in the service of government in the form of Circle Interpreter, Lushai Clerk etc. This led to the emergence of a new privileged class in the society within the ambit of British imperialism. These 'new functionaries' occupied an important position in "governing their own land and people in the name of an alien monarch and empire". Moreover, as the economy of the Lushais had been gradually monetized, this newly emergent class automatically assumed privileged status in the society by dint of having access to the government treasury.

Secondly, this system provided a channel for easier and wider contacts between the government and the chiefs as well as the people throughout the Lushai Hills. This concentration of contacts within the Lushai Hills, and the increased social interactions in a peaceful situation, according to Prof. C.Nunthara, gave rise to the growth of a wider form of organic solidarity which became the basis of the emergence of modern Mizoram, previously called the Lushai Hills.

During his tenure as Superintendent of Lushai Hills District, Shakespear made numerous innovations not directly connected with actual administration, and many of his legacies remain materially intact till today. The heritages he left in Aizawl include the Superintendent's House (now Raj Bhavan), the two canons which are now placed in the Quarter Guard of the Assam Rifles. The construction of these permanent buildings was encouraged and sanctioned by the colonial government as they were considered to be a symbol of authority and superiority to the colonized subjects, and served as means for the intensification of colonial rule in the Lushai Hills. These heritages symbolized the long and powerful period of colonial rule in the Lushai Hills.

After the establishment of the centers of communication, military and administrative establishments, and other facilities like medical centres and *bazaars*, Aizawl became a centre of colonial rule. Since it had been made the centre of administrative and commercial activities, it attracted people from different parts of the Lushai Hills as well as outside the country, who were looking for job opportunities

provided by the new regime. Since then, it grew up to become the capital city of Mizoram State, which now comprises of 91 Local Councils (as in 2014) with a total population of 2,93,416 persons.

Shakespear was also involved in the construction of new roads and the improvement of existing roads in the Lushai Hills. It was considered that improvement of roads facilitated the colonial rulers in preserving order, economizing the movement of troops, bringing the colonized people into more close contact with the sobering influence of 'civilization', and in teaching the colonized people the advantages of living a peaceful life. The Rest Houses, which were constructed along the roads, became important symbols of colonial rule and centres for dispensation of colonial justice in their respective surrounding areas. The roads and Rest Houses thus, served as instruments for the strengthening of colonial rule in the Lushai Hills.

Shakespear introduced to the Lushais improved methods of cultivation such as irrigation facilities and ploughing by bullocks, with imported fine varieties of rice and crops which left an enduring legacy in the field of agriculture. He introduced this improved method of WRC at Champhai in 1902, which was later on replicated at North Vanlaiphai, Tuisenhnar, Thenzawl and many other places.

The introduction of wet rice cultivation resulted in the arrival of new settlers in the areas where WRC was taken up, leading to the establishment of many settlements. The concentration of settlements in a specified area due to the introduction of WRC thus helped the government for easy and efficient administration.

The introduction and encouragement of wet rice cultivation was one of the manifestations of Shakespear's colonial economic policy. By undertaking wet rice

cultivation, the British government easily saved its huge expenditure for the costly import of rice from other parts of India to support the local requirements of the British civil and military servants. It also enabled the garrison of the district to be gradually reduced, thereby saving the economy.

In the areas where WRC were introduced, lands were granted to the cultivators for agricultural use leading to the emergence of the institution of private ownership of land in the Lushai Hills, which was opposed to the traditional system of community ownership of land in which the chiefs were the proprietor of all lands within their jurisdictions.

Till today, WRC is continued in many places of Mizoram (then Lushai Hills) with much improvement, using modern techniques of cultivation. Among other areas of WRC, these three places continue to be important centers of agricultural activity, and are now the 'Rice Bowls' of Mizoram. Besides paddy, various kinds of pulses, maize, onion and bean are grown in these fields. In this way, Shakespear's project of colonial economy taken up through the wet rice cultivation brought great benefit to the Lushais. Consequent upon the introduction of WRC in Champhai, North Vanlaiphai and Thenzawl, these three settlements now developed as important towns, particularly Champhai became the headquarters of Champhai district and important trading centre between India and Burma.

Apart from his legacies which are materially visible till today, the initiatives that he had taken up in the production of colonial knowledge on the Lushais enormously facilitated the establishment of a durable colonial hegemony in the Lushai Hills. The British colonial government's venture in the production of colonial knowledge on the Lushais, which had started since the late eighteenth century was greatly intensified after Shakespear entered the scene, who actively involved himself in this enterprise of knowledge production. The long period of his regime as colonial administrator in the Lushai Hills witnessed the escalation and systematization of colonial knowledge production on the Lushais, which in turn enabled him to

formulate and devise suitable administrative measures to successfully govern his colonial subjects.

A systematic initiative for the production of colonial knowledge on the Lushais was taken up in the form of topographic surveys, which provided the colonial authorities necessary 'information on the location of villages, roads, and natural resources'; and facilitated troop movements, selection of suitable sites for the establishment of military outposts, human settlements and commercial centres; and enabled the drawing of administrative divisions.

Since the 1870s, continual efforts were made by the colonial authorities to gather systematic information on the Lushais and their habitat by using 'topographic surveying, exploration and the drawing of accurate maps.' In consequence of the extensive cartographic surveys, the first complete map of the Lushai Hills was sketched in 1898. The complete mapping of the Lushai Hills facilitated Shakespear to undertake and introduce his administrative measures like 'Land Demarcation' in 1898 and the 'Circle System' in 1902.

This cartographic knowledge enabled Shakespear to adjudicate contesting claims on land among the Lushai chiefs. In exchange for the mapping of their village boundary, the Lushai chiefs were given various responsibilities including the maintenance of peace and security; the making and improvement of roads within their jurisdiction; and the offering of assistance to the touring government officials. In this way, cartographic knowledge and the mapping of the Lushai Hills enormously enabled the colonial government to consolidate their rule and run the administration effectively in the region.

Another method of systematic production of colonial knowledge initiated during the superintendency of Shakespear in the Lushai Hills was the collection of information in the form of census. The first general census for the North Lushai Hills

was held in 1891, and the complete census for the whole Lushai Hills District was undertaken for the first time in 1901, during the period of Shakespear's superintendency. The operation of census enhanced colonial knowledge by giving an in-sight into various aspects of the Lushais- their customs and practices including their 'life, family, religion, language, literacy, caste, occupation, marriage, even of disease and infirmities,' which enabled the colonial rulers to formulate better framework of governance to intensify the colonial rule.

Shakespear had taken active measures for the expression, documentation and publication of his vast knowledge on the Lushais in the form of texts through the publication of magazine, seminal works and books. His endeavors and achievements in the production of ethnographic knowledge on the Lushais firstly manifested in the form of a booklet entitled *Mizo leh Vai Thawnthu (Mizos' and Foreigners' Tales)* in 1898.

He had also undertaken dynamic initiatives for acquisition and articulation of knowledge, which was thus textualized in the form of a newspaper called *Mizo Chanchin Laisuih (The Highlander's News)* and a periodical called '*Mizo leh Vai Chanchin Bu*', the first venture on their respective category in the Lushai Hills which were first published in 1898 and 1902 respectively. They became useful instruments to strengthen mental and psychological control of the colonized subjects and to continuously remind them of the superiority and grandeur of the colonizers, thus serving the colonial needs to exercise hegemony over the colonized people.

The ethnographic and anthropologic knowledge of Shakespear on the people with whom he lived to govern them were textualized in a variety of publication works. The most significant publication of Shakespear on the Lushais was a monograph entitled *The Lushei Kuki Clans*, which became the first of its kind on the Lushais. The knowledge and textualization of the social and cultural matrix of the people produced more strategy for colonial power to rule.

Shakespear also realized the vitality of manuals and gazetteers for the production of colonial knowledge. He actively involved himself in this venture and he prepared manual of the original Rules and Standing Orders which was enforced in the Lushai Hills after duly approved by the Government on April 1, 1898. This manual became an antecedent to McCall's *Lushai Hills District Cover* which came out in the form of amendment to amplify those original rules and orders that received official recognition on November 7, 1938.

Even though he did not publish gazetteers by himself, he provided enthusiastic support and collaboration to other colonial officials in this undertaking. It is evident from the acknowledgement by B.C. Allen on *Assam District Gazetteers* Volume 10, Part 1-3 (*The Khasi and Jaintia Hills,The Garo Hills and the Lushai Hills*) that Shakespear's knowledge and information enabled him to produce accurate accounts on the Lushais.

In the production of knowledge on the colonized, Shakespear worked in close association with some of the prominent colonial officials like Colonel T.H. Lewin and colonial agents of the oriental studies such as G. R Grierson and Thomas Callan Hodson.

Shakespear was also able to obtain accurate knowledge and information on the Lushais due to his close collaboration with the natives, whose vast knowledge and wisdom on their land, kinship network, culture and traditional governance enabled him to obtain vital information on all aspects of the Lushais. Among these collaborators were the 'traditional intelligentsia' - chiefs, priests, *Upas* and *Val Upas*; and certain individuals who were recruited in the colonial establishment as interpreters.

Significant collaboration also existed between the colonialists and the Christian missionaries in the production of knowledge. It was clearly seen by the

colonial rulers that the works of the missionaries materially assisted the government in the pacification of the Lushais. This view strengthened the collaboration between the two in the production of knowledge, and J.H. Lorrain and F.W. Savidge's work called "A Grammar and Dictionary of the Lushai Language (Duhlian Dialect) was thus published by the Government of Assam in 1898.

The government and the missionaries actively worked together in the field of education as school work began in earnest. Shakespear recognized the 'wisdom' of putting the education work into the hands of the missionaries and convinced Sir Bamfylde Fuller, the Chief Commissioner of Assam to hand over the education of the district to the missionaries. Thus, from 1903, the responsibility of improving education was entrusted to the Welsh Mission and Baptist Missionary Society in Aizawl and Lunglei Sub-divisions respectively.

While encouraging education of the masses, Shakespear gave priority to educate the sons of the chiefs because they would be the rulers in near future. He urged that chiefs' sons must be educated so that they would understand some of 'the rules of good government and trust the government better.'

The newly educated local elites collaborated with the colonial authorities in the production of knowledge, and some of them were rewarded by becoming the functional agents of colonial rule in the Lushai Hills. Suaka, who later served the colonial government as Lushai Clerk and appointed as headman of Durtlang village, actively participated in the production of colonial knowledge and in the propagation of colonial agenda. His contribution in production of knowledge was seen in the articles he contributed in the periodicals issued by the colonial government. It is discernible from the contribution of this person that education played significant role in the production of colonial knowledge and the strengthening of colonial rule in the Lushai Hills.

The above summary and findings of this research show the immense contributions of Shakespear for the pacification and consolidation of British rule in the Lushai Hills. It was the knowledge that he acquired through various means and agencies that helped him to govern the Lushais effectively. The achievements he made, the innovations he introduced and the legacies he left during his stay in the Lushai Hills had been duly acknowledged by the colonial authorities and have exercised a lasting impact on the history of British colonization of the Lushai Hills. It is due to this reason that Indrani Chatterjee labeled him the 'model of all officials' in the Lushai Hills.

In 1905, John Shakespear left Lushai Hills for Manipur after serving for five years as Superintendent of the South Lushai Hills, for a year as Political Officer of the North Lushai Hills and for eight years as Superintendent of the Lushai Hills District. Altogether he spent about fourteen years in the Lushai Hills during which he left significant marks in the history of the Lushais He was a successful agent of colonialism whose allegiance and dedication to his country and the people whom he served earned him a momentous position in the history of colonial rule in the North East Frontier of India.

APPENDIX-I

Shakespear's wife and the Lushais

Mompunga's village, Kanghmun, 2nd November 19895: "We started at 7 A.M., and reached this place at 3:2 p.m.... we were met outside the village by Mompunga and his wife, and Rognola. They expressed great delight at my wife having come to see them, and insisted on her drinking some rice beer. Mr. Porteous and captain Loch had already arrived."

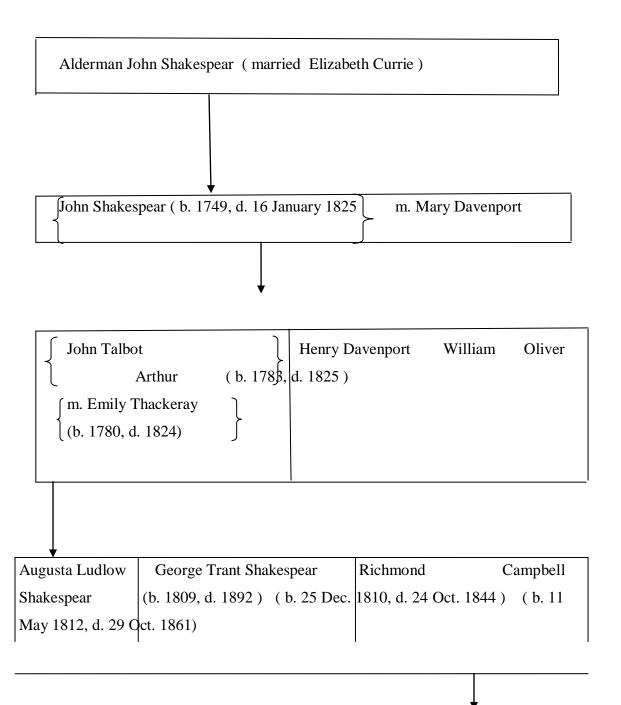
Mompunga's village, 2rd November: "In the evening, we visited the Chief, and were treated to a *nautch* and much rice beer. The family pig took a great fancy to my wife, and would insist on rubbing her nose with his nose! Being Irish, she did not resent these familiarities!"

5th November: "It rained hard most of the day. We got out for a little in the evening, being followed by an immense crowd anxious to see the "Rani," as they called my wife. Everyone seems much impressed by my wife having come out here. Mompunga's wife said to me "now we know that you are really our friend, for you have brought your wife to our village" and Lalluova, when talking about Kairuma, said "he thinks you want to capture him, and won't come near you, but if your wife went there, as she has come here, he would know that you did not mean to hurt him."

Source: J.Shakespear, Major, D.S.O., Superintendent, South Lushai Hills, *Summary of events in the South Lushai Hills District from 31st October to 24th November 1895 inclusive,* dated Lungleh, the 26th November 1895, submitted in to the Commissioner of the Chittagong Division, No.972G

APPENDIX-II

Family Tree of John Shakespeare



Children of

Richmond Campbell Shakespear and Marian Sophia Thompson

Richard Shakespear (b. unknown d. 12 Aug. 1865) Richmond Shakespear (b. 5 Dec. 1844, d. 12 Aug. 1865) Selina Caroline Shakespear (b. 3 Nov. 1845, d. 18 Nov. 1919) Talbot Powney Shakespear (b. 29 Jan. 1847, d. 1896) Edith Shakespear (b. 18 Mar. 1849) Minna Shakespear (b. 20 Jan. 1851) Sophia Shakespear Annie Shakespear (b. 10 Jan. 1853, d. 22 Jul. 1898) Emily Shakespear (b. 1856) (b. 1 Sep. 1861, d. 10 Feb. 1942) John Shakespear

APPENDIX-III

List of British Officers in the Lushai Hills

Following is a list of British officers who served in the Lushai Hills in the capacity of Political Officer and Superintendent 1890-1942:

LIST OF POLITICAL OFFICERS, NORTH LUSHAI HILLS

1890	Captain H. R. Browne (he was killed on 6 th September 1890)
1890-1892	Mr. R. B. McCabe, I.C.S.
1892-1894	Mr. A. W. Davis, I.C.S.
1894-1897	Mr. A. Porteous, I.C.S.
1897-1898	Major J. Shakespear, C.I.E., D.S.O.

SUPERINTENDENTS, SOUTH LUSHAI HILLS

1891-1896	Captain (later Colonel) J. Shakeapear., (Leinster Regiment).		
1896-1898	Mr. R. H. Sneyd Hutchinson, I.P.		

SUPERINTENDENTS, THE LUSHAI HILLS DISTRICT

1898-1899	Major J. Shakespear.
1899-1900	Captain H. W. G. Cole, L.A.

1900-1903	Major J. Shakespear.	
1903-1904	Mr. L. O. Clarke, I.C.S. and Major J. Shakespear.	
1904-1905	Major J. Shakespear.	
1905-1906	Mr. J. G. Arbuthnott, I.C.S.	
	Major Loch. For short periods.	
	Major H. W. G. Cole.	
1906 - 1911	Major H. W. G. Cole.	
1911 - 1912	Major W. Kennedy.	
1912-1913	Major Loch.	
	Mr. F. C. Henniker, I.C.S. For short periods.	
	and	
	Mr. J. Hezlett, I.C.S.	
	Mr. J. Hezlett, I.C.S.	
1913-1917	Mr. J. Hezlett, I.C.S. Mr. J. Hezlett, I.C.S.	
1913-1917 1917-1919		
	Mr. J. Hezlett, I.C.S.	
1917-1919	Mr. J. Hezlett, I.C.S. Mr. H. A. C. Colquhoun, I.C.S.	
1917-1919 1919-1921	Mr. J. Hezlett, I.C.S. Mr. H. A. C. Colquhoun, I.C.S. Mr. W. L. Scott, I.C.S.	
1917-1919 1919-1921 1921-1922	Mr. J. Hezlett, I.C.S. Mr. H. A. C. Colquhoun, I.C.S. Mr. W. L. Scott, I.C.S. Mr. S. N. Mackenzie, I.C.S.	
1917-1919 1919-1921 1921-1922 1922-1923	Mr. J. Hezlett, I.C.S. Mr. H. A. C. Colquhoun, I.C.S. Mr. W. L. Scott, I.C.S. Mr. S. N. Mackenzie, I.C.S. Mr. W. L. Scott, I.C.S.	
1917-1919 1919-1921 1921-1922 1922-1923 1923-1924	Mr. J. Hezlett, I.C.S. Mr. H. A. C. Colquhoun, I.C.S. Mr. W. L. Scott, I.C.S. Mr. S. N. Mackenzie, I.C.S. Mr. W. L. Scott, I.C.S. Mr. W. L. Scott, I.C.S.	
1917-1919 1919-1921 1921-1922 1922-1923 1923-1924 1924-1928	Mr. J. Hezlett, I.C.S. Mr. H. A. C. Colquhoun, I.C.S. Mr. W. L. Scott, I.C.S. Mr. S. N. Mackenzie, I.C.S. Mr. W. L. Scott, I.C.S. Mr. W. L. Scott, I.C.S. Mr. S. N. Mackenzie, I.C.S. Mr. S. N. Mackenzie, I.C.S.	

Source: Robert Reid, reprint, *The Lushai Hills*, Tribal Research Institute, Aizawl, Mizoram, 1978, pp. 67-68.

APPENDIX-IV

List of British Officers in Manipur

Following is a list of British Officers Who Served As Political Agents in Manipur:

Sl. No	. Tenure.	Names of Officers.
1.	1835-44	Capt. Gordon
2.	1844-62	Major W. McCulloch
3.	1862-63	Dr. Dillon
4.	1863-67	Major W. McCulloch
5.	1867-75	Dr. R. Brown, F.R.C.S.E.
6.	1875-77	G.H.Damant
7.	1877-86	Sir James Johnstone
8.	1886 (for six weeks)	Major Trotter
9.	1888-91	Mr.St.C.Grimwood
10.	April 27-Nov. 30,1891	Major H.St. P.Maxwell
11.	Dec. 1,1891 to 1892-93	Lt. Col. H. StP. Maxwell
12.	1893-95	A. Porteous Esq., I.C.S.
13.	1895-96	Lt.Col.H. StP. Maxwell, I.C.S.,C.S.I.
14.	1896-98	Capt.H.W.G.Cole
15.	1898-99	A. Porteous Esq., I.C.S
16.	1899-1902	Lt.Col. H. StP. Maxwell,I.C.S.,C.S.I.
17.	1902-04	Major Alber E Woods, Indian Army (Offg)
18.	1904-05	Lt. Col.H.StP. Maxwell, I.C.S.,C.S.I.
19.	1905-08	Col J.Shakespeare, C.I.E., D.S.O., I.A.
20.	1908-09	A.W.Davies, Esq., I.C.S.(Offg.)
21.	1909-14	Col.J.Shakespeare, C.I.E., D.S.O., I.A.
22.	1914-17	Lt.Co. H.W.G.Cole, C.S.I.,I.A.
23.	1917-18	J.C.Higgins, Esq., I.C.S.
24.	1918-20	W.A.Crosgrave, Esq., I.C.S., B.A.

25.	1920-22	L.O.Clarke, Esq., I.C.S.
26.	1922	C.Gimson, Esq., (Offg.)
27.	1922-24	L.O.Clarke, Esq., I.C.S
28.	1924-28	J.C.Higgins, Esq., C.I.E.,I.C.S.
29.	March 12-Nov. 29,1928	C.G.Crawford, Esq., I.C.S.(Offg.)
30.	1928-33	J.C.Higgins, Esq., C.I.E.,I.C.S.
31.	1933-46	C.Gimson, Esq., I.C.S.
32.	1946-47	G.P.Stewart, Esq., I.C.S.
33.	1947 (till 15th August)	J.F.Pearson

Source: Kulachandra B. Sharma, *British Officers who Served as Political Agent in Manipur*, retrieved from http://books.epao.net., accessed on May 28, 2011.

APPENDIX V

Arrangements regarding the boundaries of Khawhri, Aithur and Keltan on 20^{th} January, 1894

"I made the following arrangements regarding the boundaries of Kohree, Aitur, Keltan. Kohree is Jacopa's old village site, and aitur is the village shown as Dotona's. A small spur running westward fom the saddle between the Kohree and Aitur hills is called saihabun. This was formerly Kohree land, but Mr. Murray after burning Jacopa's told the people of Aitur to joom there, and I have subsequently confirmed the transfer.

The boundary between Kohree and Doponga's village of Keltan is the Nar-ri stream, the southern slope of the spur between the two sources of that stream being Kohree land, and the northern slope being Keltan."

Source: Diary of Captain J.Shakespear, D.S.O., Leinster Regiment, Superintendent, South Lushai Hills, from the 15th to the 21st January 1984.

APPENDIX VI

Pre-eminence of the amalgamation of the Lushai Hills Districts

Mr. A.Porteous, Political Officer of North Lushai Hills District, in his letter to the Secretary to Chief Commissioner of Assam commented on the pre-eminence of the amalgamation of the Lushai Hills Districts on financial grounds:

"As to the financial effects directly due to the transfer these will of course not be of anything like so great importance as the financial results due to reduction of rates for the carriage of rations, and to recasting of the at present unnecessarily extravagant scale of transport, commissariat, and Public Works Department, coolie establishment. These latter results can be obtained at once, or at least, in the course of next financial year, by reducing the overgrown coolie corps, the feeding of which does so much to increase the expenditure, and by trusting in the case of Public Works more to Lushai labour, or to Santal labour fed on Lushai rice, which seems more easily procurable than is the case near Aijal. The conference has put the figure at which the annual saving effected by amalgamation and reduction of establishments may be fixed, at approximately 2 lakhs, this is not too high an estimate, when it is considered that each individual ration transported to Lunglei cost about rupees 250 for carriage alone, for the year, and that it is proposed to reduce the police force by 174, and the number of the followers by 200 souls, while a revised contract for rations transport, whether separately made or included in a contract for supply and delivery at the godown in Lunglei, must, one would hope result in a further saving, on the balance of the rations delivered (Say 45000 mounds, accounting to at least rs.8 per mound besides)"

Source: No.643, dated Fort Aijal, the 19th January 1897, From A. Porteous, Esq.. ICS, Political Officer, North Lushai Hills to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam.

APPENDIX VII

Colonial economy and Resistance of the Lushais

The detrimental consequences of the colonial system of squeezing the wherewithal of the Mizos, especially through corvee, had been clearly manifested in the letter of W.B. Oldham written in 1895, which wrote:

"I would say that the system referred to is not accepted by the people, and is not consonant with their customs, and that, so far from being economical and easy to work, it has, in the last four years, been the sole cause of our troubles and additional expenditure, and is going to be so again.......The system is that of calling in labourers to work at Lungleh or Aijal or Tregear, in some cases from villages 8 0r 9 days' journey off. So far from this system being accepted by the people, it was the sole cause of our troubles in 1892 as it is of those impending. Kairuma, Kaplaihya (Kaphleia), and Jaduna (Zaduna) are perfectly willing to carry on our things for us, to bring us in supplies, and to make roads and clear jungle in or near their respective areas. They have stuck at sending in men to Lungleh and Aijal, as Vansanga, Daokham, &c., did in 1892...No matter how carefully it is managed, it is flagrantly and exasperatingly unequal, and to make it part ofour settled and regular system in peaceful conditions would, more than anything else, retard the objects we have in view, including extension of cultivation, the creation of labour supply, and pacification."

Source: W.B. Oldham, Esq., C.I.E., Commissioner of Chittagong to H.J.S.Cotton, Esq., C.S.I., Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Chittagong, the 24th July 1895.

APPENDIX-VIII

Extract of the 'rules for the regulation of the procedure of officers appointed to administer the Lushai Hills'

No. P. – In exercise of the powers conferred by section 6 of Act XIV of 1874 (The Scheduled Districts Acts), the Chief Commissioner has been pleased to prescribe the following rules for the regulation of the procedure of officers appointed to administer the Lushai Hills:

I - GENERAL

- 1. The administration of the district known as the Lushai Hills is vested in the Chief Commissioner of assam and in the Supeintendent of the lushai Hills and his Assistants and in the chiefs and headmen of villages.
- 2. The chiefs and headmen of villages are held responsible for the behavior of their people, and the Superintendent and his Assistants will uphold the authority of the chiefs to the best of their ability. All litigation should be discouraged, and appeals should not be admitted against the orders of the chiefs in petty cases.
- 3. It shall be the duty of the chiefs and headmen of villages to report to the Superintendent or his Assistants all heinous crimes, violent deaths and serious accidents occurring within their jurisdiction, and all the inhabitants of the Lushai Hills are bound to give aid when required to do so, for the maintenance of order or the apprehension of offenders.
- 4. Subject to the general control of the Chief Commissioner, and due regard being had to Lushai custom and the hereditary rights of existing families of

chiefs, the Superintendent shall have authority to regulate the succession to villages of deceased chiefs, to appoint guardians to minor chiefs, to authorize the partition of existing, and the formation of new villages, and to appoint chiefs or headmen to, and fix the number of houses in such villages. The Superintendent is also empowered to determine the boundaries of lands to be occupied by chiefs and to settle disputes between them regarding such lands. The Superintendent shall have authority to punish chiefs and headmen and, subject to confirmation by the Chief Commissioner, to depose them for misconduct. The formation of new villages, without the previous sanction of the Superintendent, is forbidden.

Source: *Proposals for the Administration of the Lushai Hills*, from the Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, dated Shillong, the 17th July 1897.

APPENDIX-IX

Shakespear's refusal to the appeal of land by Shemuna's sons

Shakespear wrote in his diary: "Shemuna has left his village (Cheural) and now lives in Salen, a Haka village. His sons remain here. They are in great straits for joom land, and appealed to me to give them land. I reminded them that five years ago, I told their father he could move to Mamte where Dopura now is, but that he had never made any attempt to do so. They admitted the fact, and said they had been afraid to move, for fear we should go away, and then theywould be attacked by other more powerful people.

I now told them they might move across the Kolodyne into the neighbourhood of Hyhmunga's hamlet. They then suggested that one brother should move there, and the other remain here. This I utterly refused to listen to: if we allow such things we should soon have the whole country dotted over with little hamlets, the nominal chiefs of which we have no authority, and not only should we have great difficulty in getting tribute and labour, but wholesome restraining influence of the powerful chiefs being lost, everyone would do what was good in his own eyes, and chaos would result."

Source: MSA, Copy of the Diary of Captain J.Shakespear, D.S.O., Superintendent, South Lushai Hills, Lungleh, from 23rd February to 1st March 1895, to the Commissioner of the Chittagong Division, No. 1512G, dated Lungleh, the 9th March 1895.

APPENDIX-X

Terms and Conditions on the lease of land to Mr. R.G. Sisson regarding his 'monopoly of the plucking and export of tea-seed" in the Lushai Hills

- 1. That he, his heirs, representatives, or assigns would hold the granted lands at an annual rent of Rs. 10 per square mile.
- 2. That he, etc., should only use the lands for the purpose of growing tea-seed. (The cultivation by him or his employees, of a portion of the land for the purpose of growing food-stuffs for his own and their use, and not for sale, should not be considered an infringement of this article).
- 3. That on all tea-seed exported by him, etc., from the North Lushai Hills, he should pay a royalty as follows
 - (a) For the first three years, *viz.*, until the year 1900, Rs. 5 per *maund* of clean seed
 - (b) For the next three years, *viz.*, until the year 1903, Rs. 7-8-0 a *maund* of clean seed.
 - (c) For the next four years, *viz.*, until the year 1907, Rs. 10 per maund of clean seed.

After which period the rate of royalty would be fixed anew if Government decides to extend the period of lease.

4. That he, etc., should not export any tea-seed from the North Lushai Hills except under a pass to be granted to him by the Political officer. Each consignment of seed would be compared with the pass at Sairang, prior to

dispatch, by such officer as the Political Officer should appoint. No pass would be issued till the royalty due on the seed covered by the pass was paid.

- 5. That he, etc., should as far as possible employ Lushais in the collection of the tea-seed, and that he should in his dealings with the Lushais be bound by the orders of the Political Officer.
- 6. That his lease should be liable to be cancelled by the Chief Commissioner, should he, etc., fail to comply with any of the above conditions.
- 7. That, he, etc., had entire control over the collection of tea-seed within the boundaries of his lease and that he, etc., should be allowed, within those boundaries, to clear jungle from round existing trees, to plant out young trees, and to carry out such other operations as were necessary to increase the yield of seed.
- 8. That he, etc., should be allowed to give up his lease at any time in giving six months' notice at the termination of collecting season.

Source: General Dept., Letter from Major J.Shakespear, C.I.E.,D.S.O., Officiating Political Officer, North Lushai Hills, to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Assam, dated Aijal, the 18th June 1897 (MSA).

APPENDIX-XI

The Duties of the Circle Interpreters

- 1. (a) The checking of the Village Writers' house lists for the assessment of house tax.
 - (b) The collection of vital statistics and of wild animals' statistics.
 - (c) The prompt personal disposal by himself or his Chapprasis of all orders received from Headquarters.
 - (d) The assistance of chiefs in all matters and especially with regard to rubber and other special cultivation.
 - (e) The proper maintenance of inter-village communications excepting Government roads in his charge.
- 2. (a) He should never interfere with the authority of the chiefs without orders.
 - (b) He should never take up cases between Lushais on his own initiative or take any action regarding them without orders.
 - (c) If Lushai came to him to complain, they should be sent either to their chief or in the case of the parties being different villages, to the nearest officer. The only Lushai cases which he should report on were those: when persons were killed or seriously injured, cases of rape and unusual offences.
 - (d) He should report all cases of any description in which foreigners may concerned. Cases of persons killed or seriously injured by any one or serious cases in which foreigners are concerned should at once be reported by special messenger. Other cases can be reported in the diaries.

- (e) In cases of murder or attempted murder, the Circle Interpreter's duty was to arrest the accused and send him at once to Aizawl.
- .3. (a) He will enter every official letter or order received by him in the list in his Circle book and show how each paper was disposed of and when in the columns given for the purpose.
- (b) In cases of urgency, he may procure coolies for Government officers without *parwanas* but should at once report having done so and details.
- (c) His duties as regards guns are confined to the reporting and seizure of unlicensed guns.
- 4. On the 1st October each year, he will visit every village in his Circle and check the village writers' house list.
- 5. In the month of November, he will check the house list of an adjoining Circle as directed from Headquarters while his own Circle is similarly checked by a neighbouring Circle Interpreter. In the month of December on a date to be communicated by the Superintendent or Sub Divisional Officer, he will bring all his village writers and their books to Sub Divisional Headquarters for the purposes of writing up the final assessment lists and their being totaled in office.
- 6. Once in every three months, he will himself personally visit every village and check the vital statistic returns submitted by the village writers.
- 7. He will forward his monthly diary and the vital statistics of each month before the 15th of the following month to the Headquarters according to the instructions given on the first page of his diary book.

- 8. He will see that all inter village roads in his Circle are kept open and in good condition and free from jungle. He will also see that all unfordable streams on such roads are properly bridged. These matters should be noted in his diaries and if necessary orders will be issued on them to the chief concerned.
 - 9. He will accompany the Superintendent or Sub Divisional Officer when touring in his Circle unless otherwise ordered.
 - 10. If he has a hamlet, he will allow no one to either join or leave the hamlet without the written permission of an officer.
 - 11. He will ordinarily not remain more than two years in a Circle.
 - 12. He should endeavour to encourage habits of cleanliness among the Lushais.
 - 13. He should assist Chiefs in every way in improving their methods of cultivation, and intimate at once requirements for seed and stock. He should give every assistance to chief wishing to grow rubber.
- 14. It is the duty of every Circle Interpreter, Chupprassie or Village Writer to at once report if it comes to their knowledge that any bribe or money gift has been paid to any Government servant whether Lushai or otherwise, and if they fail to report such cases they will be held to be equally guilty with the persons either giving or accepting the bribe.

Source: General Dept., Standing Orders for Circle Interpreters (MSA).

APPENDIX-XII

Letter from Major Shakespear, CLE., D.S.O., Superintendent of the Lushai Hills to Lorrain. (written in the spring of 1899, when he was on furlough in England)

Hollycroft,
Wellington Road,
Bournemouth.

" My Dear Lorrain,—

Many thanks for your long letter and for the pamphlet. I enclose a promise of a subscription. I am writing to Mr. Cotton (Chief Commissioner of Assam) regarding you and your proposed work. I hope you will have no trouble. I have in my annual reports on the Lushai Hills recorded my opinion of the valuable work done by you both, which I consider has materially assisted in the pacification of the Lushais.

The common-sense which was so conspicuous in all your dealings with the Lushais, and which made your influence over them so great, will, I am sure, enable you to gain an influence over the Abors and other tribes of the N.E. Frontier, which will be of great assistance to Government. If a fuller expression of the value of your work in Lushai land will be of any use, I shall be most happy to write a note on the subject for publication, or you can show this letter to anyone interested in your work."

Yours very sincerely, John Shakespear

Source: Grace R. Lewis, *The Lushai Hills: The Story of the Lushai Pioneer Mission*, p. 41

APPENDIX-XIII

John Shakespear's Kindness

(As told by J.H. Lorrain)

Zakhama tells how when the fighting was going on in older days when we lived at Kassalong and the British took Chhipphir village. Captain Shakespear found some poor cripples and old folks left behind by the retreating villagers. He had them placed on a house platform and guarded by a sentry so that none of the sepoys should molest them and also commanded that food should be given to them. Zakhama also tells how he and other boys would run to welcome Capt. Shakespear and how he would crack his knuckles to amuse them, or bare his white arms for their pleasure.

Source: Diary of J.H. Lorrain, (BCM Archives), p. 108.

APPENDIX-XIV

Letter from John Shakespear to Mr. Mendus

1. REDBURN STREET
TEL. FLAXMAN 8021
CHELSEA, S.W.3
20th April 1939

Dear Mr Mendus,

Your long letter of 4th has given me much pleasure. Yes, i know my Lushai nickname, very well. I am lucky, for some of us got worse one's. One captain was always called "Sahib Rawnga", later he brought out a Lushai vocabulary in which Rawnga was said to mean "Of a pleasing kindly disposition." Another was called "Sakei Sahib", he said because he wore a striped blazer, but i doubt it. Dear old Porteous, the most well meaning and consciontious of Superintendents, but prone to gusts of fierce wrath with wrong doeers, was always known as "Taoura". Then there was "Biang-Shera," Plowden, and "Then-tiaova," Colonel Loch, who was always smiling & many others Oh, Dundar, was "Sahib Shaaga" and a Bengali overseer, who insisted on being called Sahib not Babu, was named "Sahib Hanga." I don't think he liked it.

Vai-Hal. I wonder which of the village we burnt has kept that name, probably it was one of the hamlets to which our foes retired and had no regular name. That was a bad time & the worst of it was that the row was none of my raising. It started up

north in the Aijal neighbourhood when it spread in to the South Lushai Hills. I think had the northern row not started i could have got all I wanted without a fight, but i don't know. There were some Chief's who could not bring themselves to obey orders. The rows were always about supplying coolies. My contention was that Government would never have occupied the Hills, had the Lushais not so continually raided into British territory. Every expedient was tried without success before the occupation took place. Therefore the Lushais ought to , as far as possible, share in the cost of our occupation but supplying labour and tribute rice. It did not seem to me fair tha tall the cost should be paid by the tax-payers of British India. The Lushais seemed to think that the "Sarkar had an inexhaustible supply of rupees and could not at first understand that the only rupees the government had come from their subjects.

I cannot spot my companion with the hooked nose. I'd like to meet those two old chaps who ran off with the *zu*-pot. The Lushais never before malice. One evening sitting in Liankhara's house chatting with him and his *Upas*, I reminded him that it was that very day the year before that I had burnt his village they all laughed and he said. "Yes, we were fighting then, now we are drinking. This is better".

I am not quite sure whether insisting on a convert giving up zu, is really good for the Lushais. It seems to me that you would be making better men of them if you taught them that drunkness was unchristian and therefore they must not get drunk, but learn to drink in moderation. You'd be making stronger characters than under your present plan. The great advantage I see in your plan is that it is a great test of a convert's sincerity & that perhaps outweighs every other consideration. The Lushais, were never a race of drunkards, they like a carouse on occassions but I cannot remember many real drunkards. Zu is a very good sound drink and contains much food. One old chief for the last two years of a very long life took little else. There was never much crime among the Lushais, in fact barring their habit of occassionally going on the raid, they lived model lives. But on the raid they were capable of terrible acts of cruelty.

I wonder whether you realize how much you in the North Lushai Hills owe to Savidge and Lorrain. They came up on the understanding that they would get no help from Government and they had a very hard time at first. Sahib's who could issue no

orders, who could only ask people to help them, were not understood & if they had not been patient lovable men they would not have made good; but that , in the end, the mission gained by not being a government show, there can be no doubt, it would never have taken on with the people if it had been a department of the Government.

Savidge and Lorraine ploughed and sowed and you folk reaped. Jones and Rowlands were friends of ours and goodmen, but I don't think they would have succeeded if the ground had not been so well prepared by their predecessors. Mrs Jones we knew in Sylhet before she married. Rowlands got typhoid & we had him in our house for a long time. I'll tell you a funny tale about his illness. The doctor ordered him Champagne, Rowlands was then hardly in his senses. Jones demured a bit but gave way on the doctor telling him that R's life depends on it. So my wife gave R his first glass. After a sip he said "What's that?" "An effervescing draught, which the doctor has ordered you." Said my wife. "It is rather nice." Said R. And got to look forward to it. When he was quite clear in his head Jones said he would no longer give him the Champagne unless we told him what it was. The doctor said he ought to have it for a bit longer. So my wife told R what he'd been having & that the doctor said it was really necessary. R. said all right as long as the doctor says I need it. I want to get well. The only point on which he insisted was that he should have a certificate signed by the Doctor and my wife, that he had no more than was absolutely necessary. This he needed for his Temperance Insurance Company. Oh, there was one great joke, we all took turns in sitting with R and giving him his medicine so. There was a table just outside the door on which the bottles stood. One night while Jones was on duty ½ a bottle of Champagne disappeared. Some servant had sampled it, but you can imagine what a lot of chaff poor Jones got.

Jones took the Lushai Labour Corps over to France. It was a great disappointment to me that i never met them over there I ran into Chinamen and Negroes (I was sharing a trench with one of the latter, while the Germans shelled us. The old Darky said "The German's are --- scoundrels we should blow them all to -- ".) but I never met the Lushais.

Lorraine's great Lushai dictionary is at least completed and the typescript is on its way to Calcutta to be printed., between 1600 & 1700 pages.

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Perhaps I can justly claim a little share in the spread of Christianity for Sir

Bampfylde Fuller, was very doubtful about the wisdom of putting the education in to

the hands of the Mission and what I said just turned the scale, I think, & I think you'll

admit that having the schools has helped you to a considerable extent. Another good

turn I did to religion was getting the Lungleh Missionaries and their wives over to

Aijal for a week or ten days. I found that the Lushais were starting stories of the

Lungleh and Aijal Missionaries being of different religions and trying to play one off

against the other. After the Lungleh Missionaries visit during they and the Aijal

Missionaries held joint services all such talk stopped.

Well I have yarned, have I not. It is over 50 years since I first entered the

Lushai Hills and 34 since i left them but i have not forgotten them or their inhabitants.

Has it ever struck you what a suitable name for a missionary yours is?

Are you all well and the best of luck to you and your work.

Yours very sincerely

John Shakespear

GLOSSARY

anna : a former monetary unit of India and Pakistan, equal to

one sixth of a rupee.

bazaar : trade marts established in certain places

Beriberi : a cluster of symptoms caused by a vitamin B1

(thiamine) deficiency

chapprasie : a colonial government servants of subordinate ranks,

identifiable as peons

coolie : labour force

darbar/darbar : a meeting of the Lushai chiefs organized by the colonial

officials

Dhaleswari : Tlawng river

Duhlian : 'Duhlian' dialect is the most widely used dialect in the

then Lushai Hills. It is a dialect from which the present Mizo language had sprung, which became the official

language of Mizoram

dobashi : a colonial government servants of subordinate ranks,

who were usually employed to collect taxes and obtain

information

Dzo : a misnomer of 'Zo' by T.H. Lewin, which is frequently

used by the cognate tribes of the Lushais for their

nomenclature

Fanai : a particular clan who established their chieftainship in

the eastern and southern parts of the Lushai Hills

gable : a gable is the triangular portion of a wall defined by the

sloping edges of the roof and a horizontal line between

the eave line

guyal : a species of cow peculiar to the hills

Haulawngs : a cognate branch of the Sailos who established their

chieftainship in the boundary of then north and south

Lushai Hills

inkawibah : a traditional game of Mizo girls

intelligentsia : a 'group of intelligent and well-educated people who

guide the political, artistic, or social development of their society' or 'an intellectuals who form an artistic,

,

social or political vanguard or elite'

jhoom : shifting cultivation practiced in the hills

Kalkom : Kalkhama

karbari : a minister (literally "men of business")

kawi : a large flat been used for playing traditional game of

Lushai/Mizo girls called 'inkawibah'

khawchhiar : a village writer

Khawthlangtuipui : known to the British as Kornaphuli, it is the confluence

of Chhimtuipui river

Koladyne : Chhimtuipui river

Lakher(s) : a particular clan in the South Lushai Hills, now known

as Maras

Lushais (Luseis) : a generic term to denote all tribes of the Lushai hills

mantri : same as karbari

mela : a fair

Mollienpui /

Muallianpui : a cognate branch of the Fanai clan, who ruled in the

southern part of the Lushai Hills

maund : an Anglicized name for a traditional unit of mass used

in British India, and also in Afghanistan, Persia and Arabia. In British India, the maund was first standardized in the Bengal Presidency in 1833, where it

was set equal to 100 Troy pounds (82.28 lbs. aver.)

Mullah : Ngura, the son of Lallianvunga, whose village was at

Sentlang

parwana : royal letter of authority

Pawi(s) : a particular clan in the South Lushai Hills, now known

as Lais

Poiboi : Pawibawia

Ramri Lehkha : boundary paper

rani : queen or mistress of a chief

rawthing: a certain species of bamboo which is found in

abundance in the Lushai Hills

Rupee : the currency unit for India, equal to 100 paise

Ruttonpuiya : Rothangpuia

sap : white people

Saichul : Saichal

saiha bengbeh : a specific ear-ring made of a round disc of ivory

sanad/sunnad : a grant of recognition from the imperial authority to the

native ruler

Sailo : a particular clan whose chieftainship dominated the

Lushai Hills

Sayipuya : Seipuia, chief of Kawmzawl

Sangoo : Sangau

seer : a seer is a traditional weight unit in India and South

Asia.The *seer* equals 1/40 maund, and varied considerably from one area to another. The official size

in British India was 2.057 lbs. or 0.931 kilogram

sepoys : soldiers

Shendus : the Pawis and the Lakhers were collectively known as

the 'Shendus' by British in the early period of

colonization

Sonai : Tuirial river

terra incognita : a Latin word meaning 'unknown land'. It is a term used

in cartography for regions that have not been mapped or

documented

thingtam : Thingtam literally means 'the withering of Rawthing'

subsequently after producing seeds

Tlabung : known to the British as Demagiri. It is now an

important town by the River Khawthlangtuipui at the

South-western part of Mizoram.

Tlawng : known to the British as Dhaleshwari. It is the longest

river in Mizoram, with a length of 102 kms (approx.)

inside the state

upa(s): the chief's councilors

 $val\ upa(s)$: the leader of the youth, who was able to exert influence

by dint of his knowledge, experiences and advancement

in years

vai : people from mainland India or non-Mizo

Zau : a misnomer of 'Zo' by Brojo Nath Shaha

Zawlbuk : young men's dormitory

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