INTRODUCTION

The Lushais are a group of people who occupy the Lushai Hills, Southern Manipur, Chin Hills in Burma, the Chittagong Hill Tracts and some portions of Tripura and Cachar Hills in Assam. They have a vast history, written and unwritten before and after their contact with the British especially since the 19th century onwards. Firstly known vaguely and differently by the colonial rulers as Kukis or Chins, they were thus, in the earlier periods of contact, occasionally and variedly referred to as Kukis, Chins or Lushais.\(^1\) However, these connotations were most certainly used to have meant one and the same group of people.

The Lushais, which term we will use here, are not a single tribe but a combination of various tribes, clans and sub-clans, who have settled in different hill tracts, though the tribes who occupy the Lushai Hills, now known as Mizoram are particularly referred to in our present study. The term Lushai comes from the word, *Lusie or Loosye or Luz*,\(^2\) meaning ten tribes,\(^3\) who were pushed up to the

\(^{1}\) C. A. Soppitt- *A Short Account of the Kuki-Lushai Tribes on the North-East Frontier*, 1893, Firma KLM for TRI, Aizawl, Reprint, 1976, p. 2.


\(^{3}\) S. S Chib- *Caste, Tribes and Culture of India*, Vol 8, North-Eastern India, Ess Ess
north from the south by the stronger and more warring tribes like the Pawis and Suktes. The Lushais in turn fought among themselves and the Duhlian and Sailo groups drove out their kindred tribes like the Thadous, Vaipheis, Paites, Hmars and others from the Lushai Hills, who first occupied the Land previously.\(^4\)

The Lushais are in general, a short but sturdy race of men with a finely built muscles and brown features. They possess a fair looking complexion, a prominent cheek bone, short and flat nose, small eyes and broad forehead. In short, they are average in height, measuring around 5’2” to 6’-- men usually measured a higher inches than women. They are kind and generous, handsome and attractive, helpful and considerate, when compare to the other people around them. They are sympathetic and quite hospitable for any stranger.

In the past, the Lushais were known variously according to the place they settle by the Colonial masters. 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 Hills they occupied came to be known as the Lushai Hills.\(^5\)

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\(^5\) L. Keivom, IFS (Retd.)—‘Towards Zo Unification’ in \textit{Prism of the Zo People}, Publication Board, 60th Zomi Nam Ni Celebration Committee, Lamka, 2008,
Robert Reid has written:⁶

“The people form a mingling of clans, speaking so far as i know, dialects of the same language, who are known to us by various names- Kookis, Lushais, Pois, Shendus, Chins, etc.”

Alexander Mackenzie also confusedly and frequently referred to the group of people as ‘Kookis or Lushais’ whenever he spoke about the Lushais.⁷ The same cases apply with the other British writers as well.

The word ‘Lushai’ can at best possibly mean ‘to shoot the head’ while ‘lu’ is head and ‘shai’ seems to mean ‘to shoot’, thus the complete interpretation comes ‘to shoot at the head.’⁸ Yet, the word ‘Lushai’ itself is also believed to be a corrupt form of the word ‘Lusei’ or ‘Lushei’ which denotes ‘long headed’- ‘lu’ means head and ‘sei’ or ‘shei’ means ‘long’⁹ However, throughout our course of study here, we

p. 192.


⁸ ‘This is, of course, a mistake, as the name of the clan is not Lushai, but Lushei…’, writes Shakespear- ‘Notes on the Lushais’ in Census of Assam, 1901, Vol I, Report, by B. C. Allen, Manas Publications, Delhi, Reprint, Nov., 1984, p. 150.

choose to rather use the word, ‘Lushai’, as given and used in their writings by many Colonial writers throughout the course of their administration so as to depict a clear picture of the British’s dealings and contact with the Lushais.\textsuperscript{10} Similarly, the Lushai Hills, now known as Mizoram would form our main geographical area of study without disregarding the hinterlands where the other Zos reside.

The Lushais form a distinct tribal group even before they permanently settle in the present hills where they now reside.\textsuperscript{11} Until recently, no one has known actually who these people are, but research and findings of scholars, writers, intellectuals, etc have shown to the world something about their history, culture and earlier settlements. Many historians, scholars and writers contended that the Lushai or any Kuki tribes are of Mongoloid stock of race, and belongs to the Tibeto-Burman group in racial classification.\textsuperscript{12} But this has been argued by some researchers as a misnomer or a fallacy. Their argument is that the tribes are a Semitic race of the Mediterranean type, who had scattered eastwards from the Mediterranean region.\textsuperscript{13} This assertion has not only been maintained by some

\begin{footnotes}
\item[10] Vumson- \textit{op. cit.}, p. 56-57.
\item[12] They are ‘believed to have started from North-West China and spread over Assam’
\item[13] Songtinlam- \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 20, 77-80.
\end{footnotes}
outside historians and scholars, but it has also been accepted by many Lushais (Mizos) or Kukis themselves.\textsuperscript{14}

The name, ‘Lushai’ is in fact, a wrong transliteration of the word, *Lusei*, which originated from the term ‘Luce’.\textsuperscript{15} It was first used officially by Edgar, the then Deputy Commissioner of Cachar in 1871-72.\textsuperscript{16} Since then, the term was commonly in used to connote the tribes inhabiting the tract immediately to the south of Cachar in place of ‘Kukis’.\textsuperscript{17} It was changed to ‘Mizo’ in 1954 when the Lushai Hills came to be called Mizo Hills and in 1972, Mizo Hills was again changed to Mizoram when it attained the status of a Union Territory.\textsuperscript{18}

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{15} Lalthangliana- *History of Mizo in Burma*, Zawlbuk Agencies, Aizawl, 1975, p. 70; Vumson- *op. cit.*, p.56.
\bibitem{17} A.S. Reid- *Chin-Lushai Land*, 1893, Reprint, Tribal Research Institute, Aizawl, 2008, p. 5.
\end{thebibliography}
In the past, the Lushais frequently fought and raided among themselves. Enmity always prevailed between the Western and the Eastern Lushais chiefs during the latter part of the 19th century. They attacked and deprecated one another even when they did not attack the frontier plains. The smaller villages were exhumed by the larger villages. Similarly, the weaker clans were attacked by the stronger ones. And powerful chiefs surmounted the petty chiefs while the superior tribes threatened and subjugated the inferior tribes. This had been the order of the days even before the tribes migrated to the ‘Lushai Hills’.

The Lushais were migratory by nature. They entered the Hills at three different waves of migration and accordingly, they were known by three different names. The first group were known as the ‘Old Kukis’ who were the first immigrants to the Lushai Hills and thereafter, to the Chittagong Hill Tracts and Manipur. The next group were designated as the ‘New Kukis’. The third and the last group were called the ‘Lushais’ who came to the present habitat between 1700 and 1730 by driving out the New Kukis. The whole groups came from Chin


21 A. W. Davis- Gazetteer of the North Lushai Hills, 1915, Matero Company, Delhi, Reprint, 1987, p. 3.

22 Ibid., p. 4.

23 Lalrimawia- ‘Pre-Historic and Historic Migration of the Mizos’ in Proceedings of
Hills, Burma accordingly. The Thadous were the last Kukis driven out by the Lushais from the Lushai Hills.

Several factors are responsible for the causes of this migration. One of the main reasons was internal feuds and fratricidal wars among the warring tribes. The other reason was insecurity from the Chinese while in China and from the Burmese later. After the Chin Hills settlement, the fear of the Karens and Shans as well as the constant pressure from the Pawis was another reason for crossing the Chin-Lushai border. Moreover, inadequate agriculture land and limited grazing space due to increasing population and pressure from cultivable land subsequently compelled them to find a suitable place to sustain their livelihood. Lives were at times miserable due to devastating famines while they were at Khampat in the Chin land. They were also by nature, nomadic and took to the adventure of moving from one place to another.

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The nomadic lives of the Lushais came to an end after the British administered them. Head hunting was soon abolished and the traditional hunting ground was limited to a certain portion. The Christian way of lives and modern amenities settled them to a permanent location. The growth of Churches, schools and dispensaries also induced them to find a stable settlement around the area. Constructions of road, telegraph lines and markets as well as administrative centres and cantonments within Aizawl, Lunglei, etc attracted everyone to find a suitable living around the region. These villages definitely grew into big towns. The Lushai people soon reaped the fruit of modern administration, religion and education.

A question may arise as to why I used the term, ‘Anglo’ and ‘Lushai’ in my thesis title instead of the modern or current terminology like ‘British’ and ‘Mizo.’ The use of the old term ‘Anglo’ has by now been discarded and may not be quite preferable in today’s context. Similarly, the word, ‘Lushai’ is the Colonial connotation and is not fit to designate the various tribes of the Hills as one single whole today. The people whom we meant to give the name have also discarded the very term way back in 1953. ‘Lushai’ rather speaks a single tribe in local perspective which is also true, and cannot be used as a generic term in modern parlance. The very term is also a disgusting one imposed upon by the outsiders and

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hence, the people who are spoken about do not prefer to use or accept it. The term used in its place by almost everyone now is ‘Mizo.’ The other name is ‘Zomi’ or ‘Zoumi’.

However, I don’t use either ‘British’ or ‘Mizo’ in most part or title of my present thesis due to the fact that I am dealing about the past history when those modern designations have not appeared and every bit of administration and occupation was carried out in the name of ‘Lushai’. The old names, ‘Anglo’ and ‘Lushai’ are thus more preferable and relevant for our study as we are actually studying about the people and the land under Colonial Government when the British administered them. Those were the names rather known and used commonly during those periods. Therefore, the used of the old names which have been wholly or partially irrelevant nowadays do not mean to harm the intension of both the parties under study but a mean to depict the clear picture with its originality. Though the already avoided terms may sound or look odd and undesirable when use or apply now, yet it is a historical study without any other motive behind.

Thus, the title of the thesis is Anglo-Lushai relations despite the fact that these two terms are no longer in use. But they were prevalent in the period covered by the course of this study as mentioned above.

The thesis is divided into five broad chapters with an introduction at the beginning and a general conclusion at the end. The Chapters are—1. Anglo-Lushai Relations in Historical Perspective, 2. Penetration and Annexation of the Lushai

The first chapter deals with the initial contact of both the British and the Lushais. This contact has been summarised in a historical point of view starting from how the British penetrated the North East India and lastly to the Lushai Hills which eventually led to its occupation. It also highlights the real motive or reason of the British annexation of the North East including the Hills.

The second chapter exclusively deals with the entire nature of the British penetration and annexation of the Lushai Hills right from the first expedition in 1871. Beginning from the Lushai incursions of the foothills including the tea gardens, the Chapter gives a descriptive study of all the punitive expeditions of the British up to its annexation of the Hills in 1890 as a result of the Chin-Lushai Expedition, 1889-90 accomplished simultaneously both in the Chin Hills and the Lushai Hills. As the Lushais could not be quelled with such expeditions, the British had to waste their resources in calming them for five years more even after the occupation. The present Chapter also worked upon these risings, known as the Lushai Uprisings, 1890-95 under the Lushai chiefs and ends with the restoration of order and complete pacification of the Hills.

The third chapter deals with the beginning of modern administration and the British administrative policy in the Lushai Hills. It also analyses the political changes under the British after examining the traditional political set up of the Lushai tribes. It pointed out that the British indirectly administered the area through the existing local chiefs and did not really shouldered responsibility over
its administration but created many more chiefs in order to ease their duty. The newly created chiefs were not from the chief family lines but mostly taken from the newly emerging elites in the Colonial society. While assessing the various political developments under the British in the Lushai Hills, the study comes up to the Independence period including the various Colonial legislative acts like the inner line.

The fourth chapter elaborately examines the numerous changes brought about by the British colonial rule in the social, cultural and economic lives of the native people. The British introduced many social and economic changes while some of the changes were also effected by the locals themselves as a result of the influence of the Western society and culture. The participation of many Lushai youths in the First and Second World Wars at distant lands broadened their outlook and increased their appetite enough to initiate changes in their primitive society after they returned back home. The introduction of money in their daily lives radically transformed their economic standard for the first time. Cottage industry was established and trade and commerce boosted. The introduction of wet rice cultivation enhanced agriculture in the long run. All these social and economic alterations whether negative or positive are completely analysed in this chapter as far as possible.

The last chapter evaluates the contributions of Christianity in transforming the Lushai society and economy. It investigates the merits and demerits of the new religion in the Lushai tribal society by taking into account the local as well as non local perspectives. Dealing from the inception of the Christian missions till
evangelisation of the whole land, the given chapter analyses the growth rate of Christianity as a new faith and how it influence the affected people and their society till today. Christian missions brought modern education through the missionaries and with the support of the administration, produced an educated middle class in the Lushai society who could be conveniently employed as clerks, teachers and mission workers. Western education could be suitably employed as an instrument to expand the Colonial religion which became very successful that almost all the locals professed the new found faith by the time the British left the country. Such evidences were provided with facts, figures and data. The role of Christian religion in bringing revolutionary changes as well as the impact of formal education firstly introduced by the missionaries in the Lushai society and economy are identified and explored here. The impact of Christianity may obviously be the greatest and most imperative one looking into the permanent imprint it left upon the individual and society as well as on the economic lives of the common people.

As far as the study of the colonial period of Northeast Indian history is concerned, the British rule can be seen as a blessing in disguise. There was not a single industry in this part of the country. The British rule, therefore, had nothing to do with “deindustrialisation” and “drain of wealth” in the Lushai Hills as it applied in British Indian history.\(^30\) The Hills was not rich in commercial products except some records of tapping of rubber, ivory, bamboo and a few other forest products from the Hills. This tapping did not result merely due to British colonial

\(^{30}\) Prof. Lalrimawia, Retired Director of Education, Govt. of Mizoram, an interview, dated 04-09-12, McDonald Hill, Zarkawt, Aizawl.
exploitation but it rather was a normal trade that flourished between the plains and the Hills. Natural resources like minerals and crude oils were also absent in the Lushai Hills. Instead of deindustrialisation, the British administration brought some sort of industry in the region when McCall introduced cottage industries in 1936-37 and sold away their products to outside markets so as to promote the industry.\(^{31}\)

In the field of agriculture too, a renovation was made for the first time when Shakespear introduced the ‘Land Settlement’ during 1898-99.\(^{32}\) If not the apathy of the Lushai themselves at later years, the method of terraced rice cultivation introduced by Superintendent Hezlett in 1915 at Aijal (Aizawl) and Lungleh (Lunglei) would have gone with varying success.\(^{33}\) Still, the beginning had been made and successful measures were taken even after 1947 to exercise the practice in many areas like Champhai, Lunglei, Aizawl and Mat valleys to replace the traditional jhum cultivation.

Even in the social sphere, the colonial domination brought many remarkable transformations inspite of its demerits. The present Lushai society owes much to the British colonialism as well as Christianity which otherwise, will

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still remain in perpetual backwardness.\textsuperscript{34} Due to Christianity, ‘we are no more afraid of the dark.’\textsuperscript{35} The positive effect of the British rule is also evident in the political field. It brought political consciousness and nationalist feelings as manifested in political demands and secessionist movement after the British left the field.\textsuperscript{36} They had been well equipped with the techniques and methods of revolutionary movement up to the extent of acquiring necessary arms and training outside India.

Looking at the religious aspect, Christianity is regarded as the main factor which transformed the primitive lives of the Lushai into a modern society. There is a local trend that the ‘administrative rulers did not really want to develop us but the missionaries wanted to enlighten us.’\textsuperscript{37} Due to such tendency towards Christianity, “we are not mindful of such social and cultural changes and we do not regret the loss of past culture and traditions like festivals, Zawlbuk and others”.\textsuperscript{38} The

\textsuperscript{34} C. Chawngkunga, Ex-Minister & Author, an interview, dated the 26\textsuperscript{th} August, 2012, Dawrpui Vengthar, Aizawl.

\textsuperscript{35} Mrs. Zapari (60), w/o Dr. J. V. Hluna, an interview, dated 31\textsuperscript{st} August, 2012, Pachhunga University College, Aizawl.

\textsuperscript{36} The Mizo Union, formed in 1946 demanded various political concessions soon after Indian Independence. The birth of Mizo National Front (MNF) in 1961 under the leadership of Laldenga aired secessionist movement leading to insurgency.

\textsuperscript{37} Mrs. Zapari (60), an interview, dated 31-08-2012, as above.

\textsuperscript{38} Ibid.
economic position and status the Lushais are in today are considered as benefitted from Christianity as the religion effectively touched every facet of their lives.\textsuperscript{39} Likewise, education uplifted not only their society, but also ameliorated their economic condition.

The Colonial administration did not really want to develop the Lushai Land. They came to the Lushai Hills simply because they wanted land whatever unproductive it might be.\textsuperscript{40} The real motive of annexation was to construct a passage connecting Bengal and Assam with Burma or Chittagong.\textsuperscript{41} In order to materialise this, Aizawl-Lunglei road was constructed to facilitate a passage between Silchar and Burma. It was constructed by the public.\textsuperscript{42}

The British carried out partial administrative and development works throughout their stay in the Lushai District. Whatever they did was done half

\textsuperscript{39} This view is strong especially among devoted Christians and Church leaders.


\textsuperscript{41} Prof. Lalthlengliana, an interview, dated 05-09-2012, Maibawk, Aizawl. “After the annexation of Upper Burma of which the Chin Hills formed a part, the Government of India saw the need for a direct line of communication between and the newly acquired territories”, Lalthlengliana- \textit{The Lushai Hills}, New Delhi, 2007, p. 19.

\textsuperscript{42} J. V. Hluna, author and Head, Dept. of History, Pachhunga University College, Aizawl, an interview, dated 04-09-2012 at his residence, Sikulpuikawn, Aizawl.
heartedly. The British tried to realise the expenditure they incurred upon administrative tasks from the public in the form of taxes. Taxes were forcibly imposed upon at the rate of Rs. 2/- per household annually.\textsuperscript{43} It was a huge amount at that time which was in most cases, beyond the means of the Lushais. A portion of these taxes were also meant to fund the expenses of the British armed forces like the Assam Rifles stationed in the Lushai District.\textsuperscript{44}

The grievances of the Lushais were added with the imposition of forced labour. Every able soul was required to provide at least six days free labour in a year to the administration in the form of public work.\textsuperscript{45} Such labours were utilised in building and construction works to suffice the needs of the Colonial administrators. The Assam Rifle Ground was one such fine example. The A.R. Parade round in Aizawl was constructed through forced labour for fifteen days.\textsuperscript{46} Such kind of public work was locally called ‘\textit{nathlang}’.

\textsuperscript{43} The house tax was initially Re. 1 per household annually but was raised to Rs. 2 in North Lushai Hills in 1898. See AR. Letter No. 92, Foreign Progs. Dated Shillong, 13\textsuperscript{th} March 1897. From Officiating Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

\textsuperscript{44} Hluna, an interview, dated 31-08-2012 at his office chamber, Dept. of History, Pachhunga University College, Aizawl.

\textsuperscript{45} AR. Letter No. 1049P Calcutta 16\textsuperscript{th} March 1891. From Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal to Secretary, Government of India.

\textsuperscript{46} Hluna, interview on same date as above.
The only English officer who dearly loved the Lushai and really wished to develop them was Tom Herbert Lewin.\textsuperscript{47} He came in early contact with the Lushais and visited them also in 1871-72 to secure the release of Mary Winchester.\textsuperscript{48} He remained in the Hills till 1873 and married a Lushai lady.\textsuperscript{49} On his return, he took with him about 27 Lushais to Calcutta and presented a gun to each of them.\textsuperscript{50} However, the men were sent back home soon after Lewin departed for London and he himself was subsequently prevented from another visit to the Hills. As Lewin came to realise that the basic idea of his government was not to develop the tribes under their governed, he wrote, “A Fly on the Wheel, or How I Help to Govern India” but was not appreciated and ‘I am like flying on a Wheel’.\textsuperscript{51}

Lewin also gave a detailed description about the Lushais and their customs in his “The Hill Tracts of Chittagong and the Dwellers Therein”, published in 1869. It is perhaps the first book on the Lushais ever written which gives an

\textsuperscript{47} T. H. Lewin was nicknamed as ‘Thangliana’ by the Lushais.


\textsuperscript{49} ‘Lewin was the first Englishman to establish intimate relations with the hill tribes’ and ‘laid the foundations of British rule in the Lushai Hills’, N. E Parry- \textit{The Lakhers}, 1932, Firma KLM, Calcutta, Reprint, 1976, p. 8.

\textsuperscript{50} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 181.

\textsuperscript{51} As narrated by Hluna. See T. H. Lewin- \textit{A Fly on the Wheel, Or How I Help to Govern India}, London, 1869, Reprint, Firma KLM, Calcutta, 1977.
account not only of the Lushai tribes in the name of ‘Kookies’ but also the Chakmas, Mrungs, Pangkho, Shendoo, Khumi, etc living in the Hill tracts. His other book is Wild Races of South Eastern India, first published in 1870.

John Shakespear\footnote{He was fondly called ‘Tarmita’ due to his spectacle. He did a lot for the Lushais during his period of stay and perhaps became the most dearly love one by the Lushais after Lewin. His works are taken as the most voluminous study as far as the tribes are concerned.} is the person who has written about the Lushais elaborately. After briefly serving as Political Officer, he became the first Superintendent of the amalgamated Lushai Hills in 1899.\footnote{V. L. Siama- \textit{Mizo History}, 1953, Reprint, Lengchhawn Press, Aizawl, 2009, p. 67.} Having such an advantage, he acquired vast knowledge of the Lushai people. He vividly examined their culture, customs and religion which were traditionally practised till date and published his records in 1912 as, “\textit{The Lushei Kuki Clans}” in two volumes.\footnote{Detail see, J. Shakespear- \textit{The Lushei Kuki Clans}, 1912, Reprint, Tribal Research Institute, Aizawl, 2008.} All the customary rites and practices of the tribes were brilliantly stated in this work. He has been regarded by some scholars as ‘father of the Lushai history’ due to the fact that he produced such a scholastic work like a true historian.

Nevertheless, the work of Shakespear could neither be taken as perfect nor complete. There are vast areas which he did not deal with and this necessitated...
researchers and scholars to rely on some other works as well. For instance, he did not make a detail study of the traditional tribal polity right from the root of its origin. He also did not make any attempt to trace the original home or places of settlement before the tribes came to their present habitat. Interestingly, he did not deal on the detail account of the Colonial relations and administration of the Lushai people. Yet, his “Notes on the Lushai Hills, Its Inhabitants and Administration since 1885” and some others almost completely provide the needful details, though his main effort has always been about the anthropological or sociological description of the people.

Alexander Mackenzie\textsuperscript{55} is among the earliest officers who extensively deal with tribal raids and Colonial policies upon the eastern frontier tribes including the Lushais. In his work, “History of the Relations of the Government with the Hill Tribes of the North-East Frontier of Bengal” published as early as in 1884 and later on reproduced as “The North East Frontier of India”, describes the 'Lushai or Kookie tribes’ in a separate chapter. Briefly depicting about the tribes, he narrated a series of frontier raids in succession since 1844. He emphasised on punitive measures of the Government from Blackwood Expeditions to the Expedition of 1871-72. However, his narration lasted till 1884 and one has to

\textsuperscript{55} Alexander Mackenzie (1842-1902) was the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal. After joining the Civil Service in 1862, he became Under Secretary to the Government of Bengal in 1866. He helped to shape the Bengal Tenancy Act of 1885 and enlarged the powers of Bengal municipalities. He co-operated with Assam in the Lushai Expedition of 1895-96.
depend on other authorities beyond this history since he published his work within the year. The whole work is not exclusively about the relations of the British and Lushai but also with many other tribes. Nonetheless, it gives us valuable information on the subject to a great extent.

Another early Colonial writing on Anglo-Lushai relations is Robert Reid’s “History of the Frontier Areas Bordering on Assam, from 1883-1941”, published in 1942. This book contains three main chapters and the Lushai Hills is the third chapter, while the other two chapters being the Naga Hills and Manipur. But each chapter is an elaborate study of the Colonial administration and the chapter on the Lushai Hills is a detail emphasis of the British annexation, future policy and administration on the Lushai tribes. It therefore provides useful information for our reference.

A. S. Reid in his “Chin-Lushai land” published in 1893 wrote about a ‘description of the various expeditions into the Chin-Lushai Hills’ from the Lushai Expedition of 1871-72 to the final annexation of the Chin and Lushai country in 1890 after the final expedition of 1889-90. The whole work is dealing with detail information of the British punitive expeditions as a reprisal to tribal raids within their territory. It serves us valuable source in studying early Colonial history till the operations of 1890. Such other work on military expeditions and serves our purpose for the initial period of contacts is that of R.G. Woodthorpe’s The Lushai Expedition, 1871-1872, published as early as in 1873.

Col. E. B. Elly, Assistant Quarter master General published his “Military Report on the Chin-Lushai Country” in 1893 from Simla, which highlights the
Colonial initial contacts with the frontier tribes and eventual military expeditions. It is a small volume but adds to the military history of the Colonial period and will still serve the purpose of future research in the years to come. One such other work on military history is that of L. W. Shakespeare’s “History of Assam Rifles” published in 1929 in London. It is about the efforts and contributions of the Assam Rifles under the Colonial Government to establish an Empire in the North East but provides a reliable historical work of the time with the accounts it provided about the military operations upon the savage tribes.

A.G. McCall, Superintendent of the Lushai District for many years (1931-1943), produced two informative works on the Lushais much to the benefit of present research studies. His first publication, “Lushai Chrysalis” in 1949 provides an ‘exhaustive coverage of the Mizo culture, history and about the establishment of the British Colonial rule’ in the Lushai Hills. His other work, “The Lushai Hills District Cover”, is a valuable official document prepared in 1938-39 and reprinted by the Tribal Research Institute, Department of Art and Culture, Government of Mizoram, Aizawl in 1972, 1980 and 2008. The book is ‘a detailed review of standing orders, rules and policies applicable to the administration of the Lushai Hills’.

Another Colonial officer who has written on Lushai customs and practices is N. E. Parry, Superintendent of the Lushai District, 1924-28. His valuable work, “A Monograph on Lushai Customs and Ceremonies” in 1928 is a ‘pamphlet attempting to record the customs by which Lushais are governed in their daily lives and according to which cases are decided by the chiefs and the courts’. When Parry
first arrived in the District, he found out that these customs were not recorded and therefore, it was extremely difficult to try cases to ascertain the correct custom. The local customs which he then put in a record were those in use by the people during that time and for this, he consulted a number of chiefs including Makhanga, Public Works Department clerk and Chhinga, personal chaprassi to the local Government.

The best reference book available in so far as Mission history of the Lushai Hills is concerned probably comes from the hands of J. Meirion Lloyd in his, “History of the Church in Mizoram (Harvest in the Hills)”, published in 1991 by the Synod Publication Board, Aizawl. John Meirion Lloyd himself was a Welsh missionary in the Lushai Hills at the end of the Second World War and remained there till 1964. He opened the first High School in the District and Aizawl Theological College was also his enterprise. He has first hand information not only about the Church and the mission but also administrative establishment as well as political developments of the region. This enables him to give a vivid detail account of the nature and growth of the Church especially in the North Lushai Hills which makes his work dependable and worthwhile as a source. He narrated the labours of the missionaries, their initial endeavours to evangelism and their contribution to the growth of Christianity till 1968 when the last missionaries had to leave the country due to political disturbance as a result of the Mizo National Front movement.

Many nationalist or Indian historians and scholars also wrote about the Lushai history which acts as valuable sources of information. One of the most
renowned authors in this field is Suhas Chatterjee who wrote “Mizoram Under the British Rule”, published in 1985 with a detail study of the British annexation and administration of the Lushai Hills. His other work, “Mizo Chiefs and the Chiefdom”56 in 1995 is not about Colonial study but provides useful material in studying the basic structure of the Lushai socio-polity formation through the chiefs. He has many contributions to his credit on the Lushais including a number of papers and articles.

N. Chatterji 57 is another author who wrote much on this line. Some of her works includes “The Mizo Chief and His Administration” in 1975 and “Zawlbuk as a Social Institution in the Mizo Society”, 1974. As a Senior Research Officer in the Tribal Research Institute, Government of Mizoram, she had the advantage to study and write about the local history with an easy access to necessary reference materials.

Animesh Ray also provides a detail study of the Lushais right from the beginning of the first contact with the British till the post-Colonial period in his “Mizoram- Dynamics of Change” published in 1982. His other work, “Mizoram” published by National Book Trust, India appears firstly in 1993. The book gives us


57 N. Chatterji- The Mizo Chief and His Administration, Tribal Research Institute, Aizawl, 1975; Zawlbuk as a Social Institution in the Mizo Society, TRI, Aizawl, 1974.
useful information on the Lushais though it does not contain a detail study of a particular topic but a mere description of the history.

H. K. Barpujari in his “Problems of the Hill Tribes, North-East Frontier” in three volumes deals with various North East tribes during the Colonial era including the Lushais. As the whole volumes are concern about the Colonial policies over the frontier tribes of North East India, they become nonetheless an important source of tribal history as far as Colonial rule is concern. His second and third volumes include chapters on the Lushais dealing with the Colonial force.58 His edited work, “The Comprehensive History of Assam, 1826-1919”, Vol IV, published by Publication Board Assam, 1992 also includes sections on the Lushai Expeditions.

Another such notable historian is J. B. Bhattacharjee, author of “Cachar under the British Rule”.59 His edited book, “Studies in the History of North East India”, 1986 becomes one of our valuable source materials. His other work which provides us a good source is his booklet, “Trade and Colony, The British Colonisation of North East India”, published by North East India History Association in 2000. It critically analysed trade and economic policy and


penetration of the British in North East India. He is a pro-Marxist historian who lectures mainly on the Colonial economic exploitation of India and the North East.

S. Barkataki’s *Tribes of Assam*, 1969 and J. D. Baveja’s “*The Land where the Bamboo Flowers*”, 1970 too serve our main purpose of providing a concrete history of the Lushais as both of them are not the authors who merely write with interest, but have solid knowledge about the people whom they wrote about as they have been in the actual field. Chittaranjan Nag’s “*The Mizo Society in Transition*”, 1993 and “*Mizo Polity and Political Modernisation*”, 1998 are also reliable source of materials to us as they deal with the social and political changes under the British regime.

S. K. Bhuyan’s “*Anglo-Assamese Relations*” is perhaps, the first attempt made by a reputed historian from the North East with such a title to study on the Colonial history of the region. A parallel title has been adopted for our present thesis but without any intention to do the same. Bhuyan’s work is a developed form of his research thesis which has earned much repute. It has increased and encouraged further research work in the area leading to promoting North East studies. Lalrimawia’s Anglo-Lushai Relations, is a little piece of article once published in the Proceedings of North East India History Association (NEIHA) other than which there is no such research or non research work with the same title dealing with the Lushais.\(^{60}\) When this current title, Anglo-Lushai Relations, 1890-

\(^{60}\) There is a most recent work from Sonthang Haokip, entitled ‘*Anglo-Kuki Relations, 1777-1947*’, a Ph.D Thesis submitted to the Department of History, Manipur University, 2011.
1947 is chosen as our research thesis, it has been done so without any reserve or knowledge in mind of the existence of such a title like that of Lalrimawia’s brief paper how insignificant it might be. Even then, the present work is of not a mere historical narration of Colonial history but more critically about the various impacts of the British rule in different aspects with a comparative analysis of the socio-cultural and economic conditions before and after the British rule in the Lushai Hills.

Apart from the above mentioned non-local authors, there have been many local historians and scholars writing about their own history in the post-Independence period, more so in the recent time. One of the earliest works has been provided by B. Lalthangliana in his “History of the Mizo in Burma”, a published dissertation submitted to Arts and Science University, Mandalay, Burma for the degree of M.A. in 1975. Inspite of the topic, it is also relevant to us as it covers up the periods of migration and settlement into the Indian Territory from Burma. It has been widely used as a source of reference on the Lushai history. K. Zawla’s Mizo Pi Pute leh An Thlahte Chanchin⁶¹ (The Mizo Ancestors and The History of Their Offshoots), first published in 1964 with the support of Publication Board, Assam, has been another valuable historical source dealing mainly on the early history of the Lushai people.

“Mizo History” by V. L. Siama, first published in 1953 and reprinted several times and Rev. Liangkhaia’s Mizo Chanchin (History of the Mizos),

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⁶¹ K. Zawla- Mizo Pi Pute leh An Thlahte Chanchin, Published by Lalnipuui, Revised and Enlarged, 2011.
published by Mizo Academy of Letters, Aizawl in 1938 as well as that of Zatluanga under the same title in 1966, both of which also run several reprints, are general historical sources of reference till today. They emphasise mainly on the political and cultural history of the past till the end of the Colonial regime. R. Vanlawma’s “Ka Ram leh Kei (My Country and I),\(^{62}\) published in 1972 serves as a primary source to study the history of Independence period as well as the various political developments in the District right from the end of Colonial rule to formations of various political parties. It has become a rare piece of work which has run out of reprint. Vanlawma himself was actively involved in politics of his time as founder General Secretary\(^{63}\) of the Mizo Union and remained in politics throughout, thereby providing first hand information about events of those days.

More recent scholars like Dr. Sangkima in his “Mizos: Society and Social Change (1890-1947)\(^{1}\), 1992 provides us relevant sources of information on the Colonial period. The work, based on his doctorate thesis aims at a comprehensive study of the structure of the ‘Mizo Society’ before and during the British rule. It critically explains the changes it had undergone under the British and how the Lushais had responded to such changes.

J. V. Hluna has many works to his own credit much to our own advantages. His “Education and Missionaries in Mizoram\(^{1}\)”, published in 1992 is one of his


works dealing with the by-product of Christianity under the colonial rule. Another prolific author in this field is Lalrimawia, who have contributed a number of research papers and publications. His “Mizoram: History and Cultural Identity”, 1995 is a recent work dealing with the modern history and culture of the Lushais after the British rule. He included in his book a chapter on ‘Christian Church and Mizo Society’ which reflects the deep-rooted influence of the Church on the tribal society. Another such work has been published by Mangkhosat Kipgen entitled, “Christianity and Mizo Culture” in 1997 with as detail study of the foundation and growth of the Christian missions in the Lushai soil. “Christian Missions and Colonialism, 1894-1947” by Lal Dena, 1988 is another ‘attempt to examine and evaluate the missionary movement in Manipur and the Lushai Hills during the latter part of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century.’

Rev. Dr. C.L. Hminga doctoral dissertation in Theology entitled, “The Life and Witness of the Churches in Mizoram” submitted to the School of World Mission at Fuller Theological Seminary, Pasadena, U.S.A. is similarly a very good book on the background and beginning of Christianity with a detail study of its varied growth and factors of the growth of the new found religion on the Lushai soil. Not only about the Church history, has he also included in his study something about the impact of the new religion in the Lushai society through his extensive research which has been published in a book form in 1987. For his great effort, he has earned the Dean’s Award, School of World Mission in 1976 for the best Archival and Field Research.
“The Mizos- A Study in Racial Personality” by Lal Biak Thanga, 1978 has described about the advent of the British rule starting from the traditional social and political institutions of the Lushais prior to the Colonial administration. It has become one of our regular sources of reference. “Mizoram-Society and Polity” in 1996 by C. Nunthara\textsuperscript{64} is an additional source to us, though the author hails from sociological background and writes somehow on this aspect. Apart from these, the various “Proceedings of North East India History Association” remains a helpful tool and common source materials.

Ramchuani Sena Samuelson, married to an American published her “Love Mizoram” in 1985 depicting the socio-economic and cultural position of the Lushai Hills prior to West contact as well as the early Western influence and the missionaries till the birth of political parties and activities right up to the 1966 uprisings. Her work also helps us immensely in gathering information at the initial stage of our research study.

There are a number of archival materials available to me which are collected from various corners like National Archives of India; Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, both in New Delhi; Mizoram State Archives, Tribal Research Institute and Department of Arts and Culture, Government of Mizoram, all in Aizawl; Assam State Archives and Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies (DHAS), Guwahati; Assembly Library, Assam, Guwahati; Tribal Research

\textsuperscript{64} C. Nunthara- Mizoram- Society and Polity, Indus Publishing Company, New Delhi, 1996.
Institute library, Government of Manipur, Imphal and Manipur University Library, Canchipur among others.

Some other places where I made my visit were the Grace Bible College Library at Lamka; Churachandpur College and Lamka College libraries, Churachandpur; Aizawl College library and Hrangbana College library; Young Mizo Association (YMA) Library, Chandmari Branch, Aizawl; Synod Book Room and Baptist Book House, Aizawl; Presbyterian Central Library, Aizawl, Mizoram University Library and Mizoram State Library, Aizawl; State Central Library and NEHU library, Shillong; Indian Council of Social Sciences Research (ICSSR) Library, NEHU Campus, Shillong; Gauhati University library, Guwahati; JNU library, New Delhi, Indian Council of Historical Research (ICHR) Library, New Delhi and a number of private libraries including book stores as well as exhibitions and book fairs. Some materials have already been in my possession even before taking up the thesis and they always remain a fitting source material to me. Besides, there are a number of documents, papers and articles in addition which may not be extensively used here in considering their research value and standard.

Recent publications like J. Zorema’s “Indirect Rule in Mizoram, 1890-1954”\textsuperscript{65} which appears in 2007 and C. Lalthlengliana’s “The Lushai Hills, Annexation, Resistance and Pacification (1886-1898)”\textsuperscript{66} in 2007 are valuable


sources to this work. Both the works are based on Doctoral thesis submitted to the North Eastern Hill University (NEHU), Shillong. While Zorema work is ‘a critical study of the British administration in the Lushai Hills’ indirectly through the traditional chiefs from the ‘creation of the Lushai Hill District in 1898 to the end of chiefship in 1954’, that of Lalthlengliana’s is a ‘critical analysis of the nature and extent of Lushai resistance to the imposition of colonial rule.’

Colonial works are important sources of the history of the region for the period under review. But in using them, great care has been taken keeping in mind the administrators’ view of events to provide a holistic approach as far as possible. Whatever it is, the Lushais had been blessed with a number of colonial works to bestow a basis for present historical study. Thanks to the colonial writers who had taken up the interests and aptitude for producing and leaving to us such useful records, which are possible only since most of the administrators who came into the Lushai Hills are scholars, learners or sensitive to writing history and records. Such scholarly work like that of Shakespear’s “The Lushai-Kuki Clans” originally in two volumes is a rare master piece. Though some other works like that of Mackenzie’s “History of the Relations of the Government with the Hill Tribes of the North-East Frontier of Bengal” is all about a collection and record for the purpose of official reports to the Government of India, and provides the colonial or administrative view of events thus serving largely colonial purpose, it is nevertheless an inevitable valuable source of information serving our needs as well especially as it is done in a chronological manner.
Colonial works are very inadequate regarding the study on Christianity and its successes or impacts in the Lushai Hills. There are hardly original works in this field though there are a certain number in political and administrative areas like Political, Foreign and Home Departments Proceedings. If there is any document within the General or Home Department files related to Christian missions during the Colonial period, they are unavailable to us. Dearth of primary sources has always been our main problem and concern throughout the course of this research.