
Mizo Polity and Political Modernisation

Chitta Ranjan Nag

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This work covers two eras of politics and administration of the Mizos in Mizoram - one, the era of the Mizos' traditional politics and administration i.e., rule of village domains by Chiefs; and the other, the era of modernisation that took place during the British colonial rule in Mizoram.

Included in the first era are the descriptions of the traditional politics of Chieftainship and its related aspects, namely, institutions of *Zawlbuk* (Bachelors' Dormitory), *Bawi* (Slavery) etc. Following the Mizos' raids and attacks on the British frontiers, the British Government finally annexed Mizoram in the nineties of the 19th century and established the British Colonial politics and administration in Mizoram which continued till 1947 during which period occurred an erosion in the traditional politics of Chieftainship and a simultaneous rise of the rule of the people on democratic lines. The book particularly highlights this second era of political change which was a step towards political modernisation in Mizoram.

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(Pre-Colonial & Colonial Institutions)

Chitta Ranjan Nag



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Chapter 1

Mizo Polity & Political Modernisation

Mizo polity, a phenomenon of the Mizo society, can be traced from the time the Mizos' settlement in Burma was effected between the Run and the Tiau rivers some centuries ago¹. It is said the Mizos in Burma constantly struggled for power. Fight for gaining supremacy over others was their constant pursuit in days gone-by. This thirst for power and supremacy finally gave rise to the centralised politics of Chieftainship in the Mizo society. Initially, one who established himself above all in the art of warfare and bravery in a village or among a group of people living together declared himself a Chief and his words were obeyed. In this process, there took place a gradual increase in the number of Chiefs. The politics of Chieftainship thus originated in the Mizo society while the Mizos lived in Burma. Each Chief began to rule a village or a number of villages. In course of time, the policy of acquiring the right of Chiefship was changed from the existing practice of the attainment of supremacy in the art of warfare and bravery to heredity right—sons of a Chief possessed the right to become Chiefs. Later, for want of good land for *jhum* cultivation as also the pressure of the Chin and the Pawi people, the Mizos moved westward crossing the Tiau river and settled themselves in their present habitat,

Mizoram, sometime in the early part of the 18th century. And since then the Mizos have been living in the same region. The politics of Chieftainship based on hereditary right and the administration of Chiefs continued to be followed in their place of new settlement for quite a long time. But thereafter, their constant attacks and raids on the British frontiers finally resulted in the annexation of Mizo territory by the British and establishment of the British colonial rule in 1893. With the Mizos coming under the British colonial rule, an evolutionary change took place in their traditional politics of Chieftainship and the administration of Chiefs. Though the traditional politics of Chieftainship did not vanish altogether, it began to lose strength in the face of the British colonial politics and administration. And the last nail in the coffin of the traditional politics of Chieftainship was driven by the Mizos themselves with the establishment of a political organisation on democratic lines, the Mizo Union Party, the first regional political party in Mizoram which took birth in 1946. The present work gives a vivid picture of the traditional Mizo politics of Chieftainship and its related aspects as also the modernisation that took place by way of evolutionary process in the Mizo politics.

Mizoram

The Mizos' abode, now politically known as Mizoram, is situated in the eastern corner of the Indian Union and in the extreme south of the State of Assam bordering Bangladesh and Burma between 22.20° and 24.27° N, and 92.20° and 93.20° E. It covers an area of 21,090 square kilometres. More specifically, it is bounded on the north by the districts of Cachar, Hailakandi and Karimganj of the State of Assam as also the State of Manipur; on the south by the Arakan of Burma; on the south-east by the Chin Hills of Burma; and on the west by the Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh and the State of Tripura (India).

With the exception of a small portion lying in the plains, the entire Mizoram State is full of hill ranges running in north-south direction. The ridges of the hill ranges vary from about 3,000 feet

to 7,000 feet. The Blue Mountain, called by the Mizos as *Phawngpuii*, situated in the south Mizoram, is 7,100 feet high. The slope of the hill is very steep. The gorges are so narrow and deep that in many cases one can not see right to their bottom. The flat lands are mostly located in the eastern part of Mizoram, namely, the places like Champhai, a portion of Vanlaiphai. There are a few rivers in Mizoram that flow through narrow valleys, the most important of which are Dhaleswari, Sonai and Tuivawl in the northern part, Koladyne with its tributaries – Mat, Tiau, and Tuipui on the east, Karnaphuli and Tuilianpui in the western part of Mizoram. The soil of the hills is fertile. The Mizos dwell in the plains and mostly on the ridges of the hill ranges.

The Tropic of Cancer runs through the State. It lies only about 50 kilometres south of Aizawl, the capital of Mizoram. As a result, the climate of Mizoram is tropical. As Mizoram consists of ranges of hills and each is separated from the other by narrow valleys and sinuous gorges, the climate is thus not similar in all the places at a particular time. Comparatively, the valleys are unhealthy and unpleasant. It is moist during rains. The higher ridges are fairly cool even in the tremendously hot season of the year. Winds and storms blow across the hills during the monsoons from the Bay of Bengal in April or early May. Rains generally start in May and end in October. Subject to the conditions of monsoons, rainfall in Mizoram varies from 70 to 170 inches a year. Temperature varies from 20.30°C to 29.80°C in summer and 11.80°C to 21.30°C in winter.²

Until the British annexed the Mizo territory in the late 19th century, the place was little known to the outside world. It is only since the occupation of the British that the Mizo territory earlier called the 'Lushai Hills' began to be known far and wide. However, the name of the land 'The Lushai Hills' did not last long as it could not bear the identity of all the allied ethnic groups of people inhabiting this land. Rather, it only reflected the identity of a particular clan named *Lushei* among all the clans of the same ethnic group. The British rule in Mizo territory and India ended in 1947 and the former formed part of the Indian Union. Then a desire for change of nomenclature as to the identity of the people and the land was voiced among the Mizos as vividly reflected in the Census

Operation of 1951. The Lushai Hills connoted the abode of a particular clan as the name was derived from the name of the *Lushei* clan, a clan of the Mizos most powerful during the period of Mizo-British conflicts and also during the British colonial rule in Mizoram. But there were, as there still are, many other clans of the same origin as the *Lushei* clan living in the same land. In the interest of equity and justice as also for extending due recognition to all the clans along with the *Lushei* clan, the word 'Mizo' had been chosen as a suitable substitute for the word in practice 'Lushai'. This move was also aimed at ensuring unity, equality and oneness amongst all the clans, prevent disintegration and cover more fully the identity of the people and the land. Thus the proposal for changing the name in regard to the identity of the people and the land was finally placed before the Parliament of India which at last changed the nomenclature from 'Lushai Hills' to 'Mizo Hills' along with the change in the racial identity from 'Lushai' to 'Mizo' by an Act called Lushai Hills District (change of name), 1954³ with effect from September 1, 1954. Since then, the land came to be known as the Mizo Hills District until it achieved its separation from the State of Assam on the January 21, 1972 and gained the status of the Union Territory of Mizoram. And now the land is politically and popularly known as MIZORAM meaning Mizoland, a full-fledged State in the Indian Union.

The Mizos

The term 'Mizo' is a collective name for the people inhabiting Mizoram who have close affinity in dialect, same origin and common way of life. Formerly, with the advent of the British rule in the geographical area now known as Mizoram in the late 19th century, the Mizos were identified as the 'Lushais'. But even during the British rule, the people, when speaking of themselves, used the word 'Mizo' to suggest the identity of their race. It is said, the word 'Mizo' was used as their racial identity from an unknown past long before the British annexed Mizo territory.

Etymologically, the word 'Mizo' means hillman. The word is derived from two Mizo words – *Mi* and *Zo*. *Mi* means man and *Zo*

means hill. Again, the term Lushai as used by the British bears an etymological significance. It stands for the word 'headcutter' in English, for the Mizo word *Lu* means head and *shai* means to cut.⁵ J. Shakespear, however, admitted that the term *Lushai* used to suggest the common identity of the people of this land was a misnomer, an erroneous transliteration of the word *Lushei* or *Lusei*. The word *Lushei* or *Lusei* originated from two Mizo words – *Lu* and *Shei* or *Sei* meaning head and long respectively. Thus, *Lushei* or *Lusei* signifies longhead. J. Shakespear and A.G. McCall, the British administrative officers posted at different times in the area during the British colonial rule who contributed a lot of literary works on the Mizos, both interpreted it as 'wisehead'⁶.

Besides these etymological explanations, there are other interpretations put forward by two Mizo writers Lalmama and V.L. Siama. Lalmama's explanation is based on a testimonial evidence obtained from some Mizo soldiers who had been to Lisu land, a place situated in the upper Salween Canyon in south west China. According to these soldiers, the Lisu tribe understands the Ralte dialect, and in many ways this tribe resembles the Mizos. (Ralte is one of the clans of the Mizos.) Thus, Lalmama is of the opinion that the name 'Lushai' might have originated from Lisu.⁷ Again, V.L. Siama says that the name *Lusei* has come from two Burmese words – *Lu* and *Se* meaning 'tribe' and 'ten' respectively. So, the term 'Lusei' stands for the tenth tribe. He goes further to justify his interpretation from an old story which he claims is known both amongst the Burmese and the Mizos that once there lived ten tribes in the plains of Burma and the present Lushais (Mizos) were the tenth of the ten tribes who, as time went on, migrated westwards.⁸

However, whatever be the explanations and interpretations, after India's Independence and the formation of Mizoram as a State within the Indian Union, there has been a deep undercurrent of dissatisfaction and resentment regarding the issue of racial identity among the non-Lushei people of the same ethnic group. Their obvious dislike for the name 'Lushai' to suggest the racial identity of all the clans of the same stock became vivid in the Census Operation of 1951 when non-Lushei clans categorically expressed

their annoyance at the use of the word 'Lushai' to denote their racial identity, and offered two alternatives : either they be recognised as 'Mizo' or identified after the name of their respective clans. Finally, the movement for changing the name from 'Lushai' to 'Mizo' was aired in the Parliament of India and in consequence, the name 'Mizo' in place of 'Lushai' as the racial identity came into force with effect from the September 1, 1954 by Act No. 18 of 1954.⁹

In a critical estimation as to whether the name 'Mizo' or 'Lushai' or 'Lushei' is apt to denote the common or racial identity, it is clear from the foregoing account that the name 'Mizo' is best suited and most appropriate, for it includes all the people living in this hilly region, having close affinity in dialect, same origin and a common way of life. If the word 'Lushai' is used, taking into account its etymological meaning, then these people are assumed to have had the connotation of being 'ferocious'. But if one looks at the present mode of living and way of life of the Mizos in general, one just can not say that the Mizos are a ferocious race. Contextually, in the words of J.M. Lloyd, "No doubt this description of Lushais as a ferocious, lawless people was exaggerated."¹⁰ Moreover, in every society, at the initial stage, there prevails barbarism to some degree for want of amenities and civilizing factors. These people can be said to be comparatively of recent origin. History speaks of their arrival in the present habitat only in the 19th century and the Mizo-West contact i.e., the Mizos' contact with British administration on the one hand and the Mizos' contact with Christianity on the other in the late 19th century marked the beginning of an era of enlightenment for the Mizos. So, it is crystal clear that the Mizos during pre-British and early British rule lived at the elementary stage of social life when social intercourse and communications were conducted only orally. Therefore, if the word 'Lushai' is used taking into account its etymological meaning i.e. headcutter to denote the racial identity of the people, it is a gross error, as barbarism is more or less common in every primitive human society.¹¹

J. Shakespear is of the view that the word 'Lushai' is an incorrect transliteration of the word 'Lushei' after the name of the Lushei

clan, the then most powerful clan of the Mizos mostly from whom the British annexed this land after a strenuous struggle.¹² But from moral and democratic points of view, for the identity of a race of numerous clans, derivation of a word after the name of a particular clan is not proper. In other words, if the name of a tribe is derived after the name of a particular clan of that tribe, then it reflects a part of the whole, for in that case the tribe would simply mean that particular clan denying the existence of numerous other clans of that tribe.¹³

Again, the word 'Mizo', if taken liberally, includes all hill people living in Mizoram. But this is again improper, because there are other tribes living in Mizoram such as the Chakmas, the Nepalis etc who are not treated as Mizos as they have got no affinity with the Mizos in any respect. The word 'Mizo', therefore if it is used in a restricted sense so as to cover and include only those people who came together or in successive years to this hill having same origin and close affinity in dialect, culture, cult and way of life, then the name bears significance. It is, therefore, concluded that the word 'Mizo' is chosen in the restricted sense to mean the identity of the race of numerous clans.¹⁴

Given below is the clannish picture of the Mizo tribe:¹⁵

<i>Name of clans</i>	<i>Sub-clans of each clan</i>
1. Hmar	Lawit lang, Zote, Ngurte, Khawbung, Biate, Thiak, Pautu, Punte, Darn-gawn, Lungtan, Leiri, Benzang, Pakhuang, Hrangkhawl, Hmarlu-shei.
2. Lushei	Pachauau, Chuaunga, Chuauhang, Chhangte, Chawngte, Hauhna, Hrahsel, Tochwawng, Vanchhawng, Chhakchhuak, Zahmuaka fate, Thangur fate.
3. Ralte	Khelte, Siakeng, Lalhchhun, Kawlni.

4. Chawngthu Khuntil, Khunsut, Khunthlang, Haukawi, Vanchiau, Maluang, Chingruam, Thangchhung, Saithleng.
5. Khawlhiring Midang, Leidir, Pialtel, Lungen, Thlaute, Milai, Parte, Rawlchhim, Chhunthang.
6. Vangchhe Theiduh, Zapte, Dochhil.
7. Chawhte Lianhna, Chhuanhawih, Hawnzawng, Chamte, Halte, Thaumau, Tamva, Chawngdang, Chawngfiang, Chawnghawih.
8. Ngente Kawngte, Zuahtite, Duahtlang, Duahchhak, Lailo, Chawnghawih.
9. Rawite Zahte, Pialtu, Aite, Buite, Hmungte, Chhawrte, Chhehduah.
10. Khiangte Kumchhung, Khupchhung, Khupthlang, Mualvum, Khello, Chawngte.
11. Paihte Dapzar, Rangte, Vaiphei, Khupchawng, Hangzo, Tawnsing, Langel, Tungte, Tangpua, Dosel, Naulak, Tawmding, Sote, Tunglut, Tungdim, Mangsum, Lamzang.
12. Renthlei Lianhlun, Zachhing, Thangthawl, Tinkulh, Chhingthlang, Sawhnel, Thuandurh, Chhonghek.
13. Tlau Bualchhuak, Vantawl, Bawlchhim, Thlengngam.
14. Fanai-Pawi Lushei Thaai, Pakhup, Hniarthul, Hniarcheng, Torel, Zarep, Hrangtling, Suakling, Zakhm, Chhunchhir, Khintin, Nihliap, Airawm, Ruahngai.
15. Pawi Zahau, Hauhah, Hauchhum, Chhunthang, Thanhrang, Khalthang, Bawithang, Bawitlung, Khuangli, Sunthla, Thlantlang, Sailung, Chinzah, Zathang, Panchun, Khinboh, Aineh.

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| 16. Falam Pawi | Hlawnmual, Lalvawng, Chhawnchhek, Hlawncheu, Khawrua, Tlaichhun, Huha. |
| 17. Paihte Hnam
Tlangpui leh
Tawng Hrangte | Thado, Sukte, Thaute, Thiazang, Losau, Phaileng, Darbung, Dim, Dimlo, Vangteh, Zung, Phunnawm. |

There are as many as 17 clans of the Mizos with sub-clans as stated above. All these clans have their own dialects and customs. But the differences that occur in customs and dialects are very minor. One can easily understand the dialects of other clans.¹⁶ During the British regime, this little clannish difference among the different clans of the Mizos in customs and dialects had gradually disappeared. The Lusheis were the most powerful during the Mizo-British conflict. Their dialect known as *Duhlian* dialect in modified form by making it more close to the dialects of other clans was reduced to writing, and now this *Duhlian* dialect in modified form has become the *lingua franca* of Mizoram.¹⁷ Rev. F.J. Sandy is of the opinion that the Lushai (Mizo) language is akin to those of the Tibetan and the Burmese languages in vocabulary as also in construction of sentences.¹⁸ Rev. Liangkhaia, a Mizo historian, opines that the Mizos have much linguistic affinity with their eastern neighbour, such as, the Burmese, the Manipuris.¹⁹

Origin of the Mizos

For want of any authentic information or recorded history of the Mizos up to the beginning of the 19th century, it is difficult to identify the exact origin of the Mizos from where they migrated and finally settled down to their present habitat. However, attempts have been made on the basis of folklore and opinions of some writers to locate their origin.

There is a popular tale of the Mizos which says that the Mizos came from a mountain called Chhinlung situated in the Shan State

of China.²⁰ The tale says that the Mizos began coming out of the earth through a hole at the top of the Chhinlung mountain. When many clans had come out through this hole, the Ralte clan started coming out with a great noise. Hearing the great noise others who had already come out put a huge stone over the hole which stopped further emergence after the Raltes²¹. Lalmama has offered another explanation that the Mizos had sprung from a Chinese prince named Chinglung who is said to have migrated into Burma long ago and settled down there at a place called Aupatuang with a large number of his followers. After his death, his followers scattered around. Lalmama believes that the ancestors of the Lushais (Mizos) might have been among the followers of Chinglung. And as time went on, the word 'Chinglung' has become 'Chhinlung' which, in the folk-lore, is treated as a mountain instead of a being, according to Lalmama.²² Rev. J.H. Lorrain remarks, "Their (Mizos) ancestral home would appear to have been somewhere in the neighbourhood of South East Tibet and Western China, whence, by slow degrees through the centuries, they have pressed southward and westward to their present habitat."²³ Again, it is an admitted fact that the Mizos, prior to their present occupation, lived in the Chin Hills of Burma.²⁴ And it is quite likely that the Mizos occupied the present land, Mizoram, sometimes in the 18th century being driven out by the Chins from the Chin Hills.²⁵

Such views put forward to determine the origin of the Mizos are neither identical nor is there any sufficient ground to disbelieve any of them in toto. It is, thus, a sufficient and reasonable guess that the ancestral home of Mizos was in China from where they migrated from place to place through the centuries and finally settled at their present habitat, Mizoram.

Physical & Mental Characteristics of the Mizos

In appearance the Mizos are mongoloid. They have similarities with the other Mongoloids such as the Nagas, the Manipuris etc. of the eastern tribes of India. Their legs are specially strongly developed but short in comparison with the other parts of the body.

The face is generally round or square. They have coarse black hair, and have high, broad and prominent cheek bones. Their eyes are small, nose short and flat with wide nostrils. They are comparatively short in stature but are a sturdy race of man with developed muscles.

As regards mental peculiarities, the Mizos are a hard working tribe having much patience. Male sex is slow in the expression of thought in comparison with female sex. They are intelligent in general. They are hospitable. In sickness and death of others, they render spontaneous service. They are fond of gregariousness. They prefer to do a thing in group rather than alone. Besides, the tribal mentality such as war-mindedness is prevalent in them. They are crafty, clever and men of determination. They are resourceful and brave in battle. The quest for power, big or small, is common to them.

Genesis of Chieftainship

It is a traditional belief of the Mizos that they had come to their present habitat from China, by way of migration through Burma over the centuries. They lived in the hill tracts of Burma bordering Mizoram between the Run and the Tiau rivers probably during the 15th century. There they scattered themselves at different places between the two rivers, and till then, they had no Chief to rule a particular clan or group. The social system, in fact, was egalitarian in nature. But the practice of physical fighting with each other for gaining supremacy was in vogue. Normally fight for gaining supremacy used to take place between the two strongest men of two clans or villages. The village or the clan of the man attaining victory in fighting would gain command over the losing village or clan. Later, probably in the beginning of the 16th century, the use of arrows and bows was introduced in their fights.²⁷ Life led by them in Burma between the Run and the Tiau rivers was an endless struggle for supremacy. In-clan and inter-clan fights for supremacy finally led to the establishment of the politics of Chieftainship sometimes in the 16th century when a Mizo named

Zahmuaka became Chief.²⁸ It is to be mentioned here that the Lusheis by their bravery and prowess in the art of warfare gained paramountcy by defeating all other clans. Of the Lusheis, the Sailo group was the most powerful and later, almost all the famous Lushei Chiefs were found to have come from the Sailo family. The Sailos claimed that they were descendents of Sailova, one of the grandsons of Thangura, the fourth son of Zahmuaka, the first Chief. Chieftainships in other clans residing in the region between the Run and the Tiau were also established by the strongest of each clan, though they were not as prominent as the Lusheis.

Tradition states that the egalitarian system began to decline simultaneously giving rise to the politics of Chieftainship which began to take place when Zahmuaka became Chief for the first time. Zahmuaka had six sons – Zadenga, Paliana, Thangluah, Thangura, Ribunga, and Rokuma from whom sprang six different clans.²⁹ Thangura, Zahmuaka's fourth son had a grandson named Sailova who was the progenitor of the present day Sailos.³⁰ The Sailos, in course of time, became most powerful. During the Mizo-British conflict the Sailos of the Lushai clan ruled almost the entire Mizoram from whom the British annexed Mizoram.

Reverting to the origin of Chieftainship, it is said that initially the strongest one in the art of warfare declared himself a Chief of his clan, i.e., the right of Chieftainship was acquired by might or force which is akin to the force theory of the origin of the state. But thereafter Chieftainship became hereditary – sons of a Chief became Chiefs. And this politics of Chieftainship was abolished in 1954 by an Act called the Assam Lushai Hills District (Acquisition of Chiefs' Rights) Act, 1954 in consequence of the movements of the Mizos themselves and in its place was established the rule of the people in a democratic set up.

Notes and References

1. The exact period of the Mizos' settlement in Burma is not yet known. Scholars and writers offer different probable dates of the Mizos' settlement in Burma. J. Shakespear, the first British Superintendent of the Lushai Hills District (Mizoram) during 1898-1905 notes in

his book *The Lushai Kuki Clans* (page 23). "The Lushais (Mizos) have been nomadic ever since their ancestors, started on their western trek some 200 years ago." This statement indicates that the Mizos lived in Burma sometimes prior to the 18th century. A.G. McCall in his book *Lushai Chrysalis* (pp 35-36) mentioned about the Mizos' departure from Burma in the early part of the 18th century. Animesh Ray, an officer in Indian Administrative Service, the last Deputy Commissioner of the Mizo Hills District of Assam wrote in his book *Mizoram* (p.22); "During the 15th century they (Mizos) lived in the Hill Tracts of Burma. Their main villages were in the valley between the Run and the Tiau rivers." Sankima, a Mizo scholar in his recent work *Mizos – Society & Social Change* (p18) wrote: "The approximate date of their arrival at the Chin Hills may be put as the early 14th century A.D." V.L. Siam, a Mizo historian, in his book *Mizo History* (p16) opined that the Mizos came to their present land, Mizoram from Chin Hills of Burma probably in 1700 A.D. C.L. Hminga, a Mizo scholar in his unpublished thesis "Christianity and the Lushai People" (p 8) suggested: "Since all these dates are guess work based on oral tradition and available later data, it may be safe to take the average and suggest the middle of the 18th century for a most probable date." From all these I have reasons to put as the period of the Mizos' settlement in Burma 'some centuries ago'. It is, however, beyond all doubt that they lived in Burma in the Chin Hills between the Run and the Tiau rivers before their arrival at their present habitat, Mizoram. But in all probability they lived in Burma prior to the 18th century.

2. Barketaki, S., *Tribes of Assam*, p. 81
3. Government of India Act 18 of 1954
4. *Census of India, 1961, District Census Hand Book, Mizo District, Assam*, p. 5
5. Lewin, T.H., *A Fly on the Wheel*, p. 370
6. McCall, A.G., *Lushai Chrysalis*, p. XIII
Shakespear, J., *The Lushai Kuki Clans*, p. 19
7. Lalmama, *Mizo Titi*, p. 19
8. Siam, V.L., *Mizo History*, p. 7
9. *Census of India, Assam, District Census Hand Book, Mizo district*, p. 5
10. Lloyd, J.M., *On Every High Hill*, p. 68
11. Nag, C.R., *The Mizo Society in Transition*, p. 6
12. Shakespear, J., *The Lushai Kuki Clans*, p. XIII
13. Nag, C.R., *The Mizo Society in Transition*, p. 6

14. *Ibid* p. 7
15. Liangkhaia, *History of Lushai*, pp. 9-23
Zatluanga, *Mizo Chanchin*, pp. 3-8
16. Shakespear J, *The Result of the Census of India, 1901, Lushai Hills*, Chapter 1, p. 152
17. Shakespear, J., *The Lushai Kuki Clans*, p. 113
18. Sandy, F.J., *Lushai Grammar*, Introduction
19. Liangkhaia, *History of Lushai*, p. 4
20. *Census of India, 1961, Assam, District Census Hand Book, Mizo District*, p. 7
21. Lewin, T.H., *A Fly on the Wheel*, p. 364
22. Lalmama, *Mizo Titi*, p. 19f
23. Lorrain, J.H., *Dictionary of Lushai Language*, p. vii
24. Hminga, C.L., *Christianity & the Lushai People*, pp. 7-8
25. *ibid* p. 8
Siama, V.L., *Mizo History*, p. 16
McCall, A.G., *Lushai Chrysalis*, p. 35
Shakespear J, *The Lushai Kuki Clans*, pp. 2-8
26. Nag, C.R., *The Impact of Christianity on the life of the Mizos – A Study of their Social Philosophy*, p. 12
27. Ray, A., *Mizoram*, pp. 22-23
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28. Ray, A., *Mizoram*, p. 23
29. Thanga, L.B., *The Mizos*, p. 8
Ray, A., *Mizoram*, p. 23
30. Thanga, L.B., *The Mizos*, p. 9
Sangkima, *Mizos - Society & Social Change*, p. 35