

**MIZORAM – TRIPURA BOUNDARY
SINCE PRE – COLONIAL PERIOD**

A Dissertation

*submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirement
for the award of the Degree of Master of Philosophy*

Submitted by

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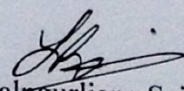
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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled '**Mizoram-Tripura Boundary Since Pre-Colonial Period**' submitted by Ms. Lallawmkimi Ralte in fulfilment of the requirement of Master of Philosophy embodies the results of her investigations carried out under my supervision, and that the same has not been submitted for the award of any degree in this or any other University or Institute of learning.

The candidate has been duly registered and has completed all formalities required of her as an M.Phil candidate.

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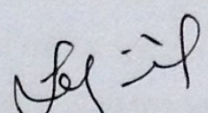
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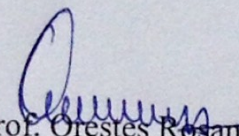
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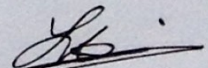
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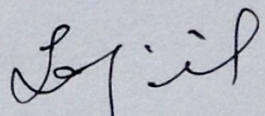

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Introduction: Introduction to the Topic

1. Introduction

The term ‘boundary’ or ‘border’ can be understood as a division or a separation between cultures, languages and political systems that create a distinction between places, individuals and groups.¹ All boundaries are created by humans and as such, derive their functions and importance from the people or systems they divide.² With time, the central idea of boundary has come to lie with the dividing line. However, up until the early modern period, boundaries were not considered to be of clear lines creating territories and political dominion. The *limes* of the Roman Empire, the demarcation between the “Roman civilization” and the “barbarian world”, consisted not of definite lines but nebulous contact zones where the conquered lands meet with the unconquered.³ However, by the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the concept of territorial states emerged and boundaries started to appear much more visible. Boundaries began to be considered and discussed in the context of various features of state ideology and the concept of boundaries gained importance. Topographical features (such as rivers and mountains) and manmade landmarks (fortresses etc.) began to gradually serve as boundaries.⁴ Also, geographers and their mapping technology allowed rulers to have a spatial view of their possessions and what was originally borderland or boundary regions progressively became boundaries or frontiers.⁵

¹ Maria Baramova, *Border Theories in Early Modern Europe*.

² Mark B. Salter, *Theory of the /: The Suture and Critical Border Studies*, p. 737.

³ Maria Baramova, *op.cit.*

⁴ *ibid.*

⁵ Emmanuel Brunet-Jailly, *The State of Borders and Borderlands Studies 2009: A Historical View and a View from the Journal of Borderlands Studies*, p. 1.

It was the nineteenth century that eventually saw the development of the geographical concept of boundary, envisaging boundaries as physical and visible lines of separation between political, social and economic spaces, often charged with nationalistic energy. There are different kinds of boundary concepts that formed and developed with the passage of time. Topography forms the main basis of the traditional concept of boundary, which is the particular domain of geography and law.⁶ Boundaries served the purpose of rulers who were keen to picture the line delimiting their territorial possessions, that is, to demarcate sovereign states.⁷ The drawing of border lines and the creation of borderlands are the result of the establishment of modern states all over the world, as the idea of exclusive and uncontested territorial state power that emerged in the nineteenth century allow for well-defined and fixed boundaries.⁸ However, political geographers Anssi Paasi and David Newman have argued that boundaries may be institutions but their very functions may be challenged. Studies on boundaries also focus on the culture of local borderland communities and how these may either enhance the effect of division when their culture, that is, their language, ethnicity, socio-economic status, and place of belonging, differ, or bridge an international boundary when they share the same culture. Other social scholars have identified the crucial role these communities play as organized polities within the larger institutional architecture of their state of belonging and have underlined the importance of local culture. The cultural influence of borderland communities, however, seems to depend on their political clout- understood as the local political activism and organizational capacity of borderland communities.⁹

⁶ *Border Concept*, Retrieved from: <http://borderpoetics.wikidot.com/border-concept>, Accessed on 4th March, 2014.

⁷ Emmanuel Brunet-Jailly, *op.cit.*, p. 3.

⁸ Michiel Baud and Willem Van Schendel, 'Toward a Comparative History of Borderlands' in *Journal of World History*, Vol. 8, No.2, pp. 216, 217.

⁹ Emmanuel Brunet-Jailly, *op.cit.*, pp. 5, 6.

The creation of a boundary or border sets a new outlook for power relations in the borderlands, based on a new way of defining social and territorial boundaries and new confrontations between social groups.¹⁰ Through boundary or border studies, with an interest in investigating what the lives of borderland people were like, we can see how the state has been able to sustain its historically dominant role as a negotiator of control, violence, order and organization for those whose identities were being transformed by world forces.¹¹ So, to have a better knowledge of the historical forces that produce new movements in borderlands, it is essential to understand the set of connections within border regions, which has often led to intense struggles for power between the two sides of a given boundary.¹² Boundary or border provides its people with a particular situation to develop their own national and cultural identities, as it is a space of dependence and disparity that expresses its people's struggle for their own political freedom and cultural identity.¹³ The presence and identification of boundary or border, which may be called 'territorial imperative' creates in the minds of the people on either side a feeling of the need for self-preservation, a defensive attitude in all living beings manifested in open hostility. It was such a manifestation, of the need for self-assertion in the Mizo society which eventually resulted in the so called encroachment by them beyond their own border as seen from the other tribes' perspectives.

This study focuses on the issue of the territorial reservation claimed by the Mizos and the Maharaja of Tripura respectively. Prior to the emergence and migration of the Mizos in the area occupied by them today, the Maharaja of Tripura claimed the entire

¹⁰ Michiel Baud and Willem Van Schendel, *op.cit.*, p. 220.

¹¹ Thomas M. Wilson and Hastings Donnan (ed.), *A Companion to Border Studies*, p. 5.

¹² Michiel Baud and Willem Van Schendel, *op.cit.*, p. 241.

¹³ Maria Duenas Vineusa, 'Border Studies: An Annotated List of Cultural and Academic Web Source' in *Revista Alicantina de Estudios Ingleses*, pp. 7, 8.

territory bordering the Kingdom of Burma and exercised a royal prerogative on the boundary issue, while the then Mizos were a migratory tribe, for whom all unoccupied land was open for them to inhabit and cultivate, allegedly encroached upon others' boundary by way of occupation, hunting and raids. Such difference in political aspirations was bound to have undesirable outcomes. Eventually, such differences in political ideologies were resolved by the creation of a political boundary with the intervention of the British Government in India.

2. Review of Literature

Towards a Comparative History of Borderland by Michiel Baud and Willem Van Schendel from the Journal of World History, Vol.8, deals with the idea of borderland and cross-border perspective by taking both sides of the border as part of the study by giving more importance to the historical effects of border than the political-legal aspects. The authors talk about the central factors like the social realities involved in the history of borderlands and suggest some new principle in the study of borderlands.

The State of Borders and Borderlands Studies 2009: A Historical View and a View from the Journal of Borderlands Studies by Emmanuel Brunet-Jailly refers to the history of ideas on borders, how borders are stuck in various systems of practice and how various early works of geographers and historians added to the creation of modern political order of the boundaries of sovereign and territorially demarcated states. The author also draws attention to the contemporary views on borders like how political

organization and culture manipulate a boundary, and that the role of the border depends on their activism and how it might be an important lens for a border theory.

The North-East Frontier of India by Alexander Mackenzie is a record of the colonial administration's view of the hill tribes of North East India during the nineteenth century. The book covers the tribal communities of this area, with reference to wider policy formulations like administrative, political and economic management policies of the then British Government which led to the transformation of their social system. The twentieth and twenty-first chapters of the book deal with the social and political history of Tripura and Mizoram, including how boundary was recognized during the colonial period.

Important Documents of Mizoram by C.Chawngkunga is a collection of official British Government documents related to present day Tripura, Manipur and Mizoram states. Amongst many, this book provides information on the history of border confrontations between Mizoram and Tripura, eventually leading to the intervention of the British Government during the nineteenth century.

The Lushais 1878-1889, published by Firma KLM Private Ltd. on behalf of the Tribal Research Institute, Government of Mizoram, is a collection of detailed reports of the British administration in Northeast India, relating to British policies concerning frontier defence and the different views about the line of outposts to be erected for defending their boundaries and the additional protection taken by the British Government. The book also explains the relations among the Mizos and with their neighbouring tribes, as well as their relations with the British Government.

The Foreign and Political Dept. Report 1874 on Eastern Boundary of Hill Tippera, published by Firma KLM Private Ltd. on behalf of the Tribal Research Institute, Government of Mizoram, documents the issues concerning the eastern boundary of Hill Tippera, such as the reports on the role played by the political agent in the survey operations of the frontier issues.

Lushai Chrysalis by Major A.G.McCall is a valuable and interesting account of the cultural identity of the Mizos, their religion, administration, legal system and local husbandry from a colonialist's perspective and experiences in dealing with the Mizo people at several stages of their development.

The Lushai Expedition 1871-1872 by R.G. Woodthorpe is an account of the expedition carried out by the British Government to make a clear demarcation of their territory in the face of the frequent raids carried out by the Mizos. As a result of outrages on British subjects, the author reveals how the British Government was forced to take steps for their protection through peaceful attitude, which they assumed to be more productive, towards the Mizos.

Tripura Mizo History by Zairemthanga is a detailed and interesting account of the history of some of the Mizo chiefs and the westward movement of the Mizo people. In this book, the author also talks about the history of migration and settlement of the Mizo people in Tripura. The author emphasizes on the Mizos' relations with the then Tripura Maharaja and their development in Tripura.

3. Objectives of the Study

The objectives of the study are:-

1. To trace the westward migration of the Mizos.
2. To study the Mizo understanding of boundary/border.
3. To examine the Mizo raids and the resultant impact on boundaries.
4. To study the Mizo settlement and their identity question in Tripura.

4. Methodology

This study is based on both primary and secondary sources. Primary sources include archival sources of government documents collected from the Mizoram State Archive. For secondary sources, books and records from the central libraries of Mizoram University and Tripura University, Mizoram State Library, Tripura Tribal Research Institute Library and Mizoram Tribal Research Institute were consulted. Personal interviews were conducted with knowledgeable persons. These persons hail from Mizoram as well as Tripura, and they provided valuable insights on the topic of the study. Journals and online sources were also consulted and employed. This research is a qualitative research.

5. Area of the Study

The area of the study covers Mizoram and Tripura, with special reference to the problem of the boundary issues between the two states. Mizoram was previously known as Lushai Hills under colonial rule and likewise, Tripura was also referred to as

Tipperah or Hill Tipperah. As such, in this present study, the terms Lushai Hills and Mizoram are used interchangeably to refer to the same geographical area.

6. Structure of the Study

The dissertation is divided into the following chapters:

Chapter 1: Westward Migration of the Mizos

The first chapter starts out with the meaning of migration, observing that migration may result from a variety of reasons and that the reasons which may instigate migration could be very different from the conditions that eventually cause migration to continue or perpetuate. The second part of the chapter establishes the historical background of the Mizos' migration and settlements before they reach their current habitat, Mizoram. The chapter also explores how the Mizos migrated into Mizoram in three batches and further explains how the first two batches migrated onwards to present day Tripura. The third section deals with the migration of the Lusei (one of the Mizo tribes) into Tripura.

Chapter 2: Mizo Understanding of Boundary/ Border

The first part of this chapter explains the meaning and purpose of boundary. The second part deals with the history of Mizo political boundary and emphasizes how the formation of the boundaries of Mizoram has close association with the early migration of the Mizo tribes. The last section examines how the Mizos considered the concept of boundary in the earlier periods and explains how their way of occupation, hunting and

raids at times led to the violation of others' boundaries, either consciously or unconsciously, voluntarily or involuntarily.

Chapter 3: Mizo Raids and its Consequences

The first section of this chapter establishes the meaning of raids. The second part explains the method of Mizo raids and the reasons why the Mizos conducted raids beyond their territory which led to their violation of other boundaries. The third section deals with the consequences of the Mizo raids in Tripura and how the then British administration decided to establish formal frontier defences, leading to the drawing of the eastern boundary of Tripura, which in turn gave rise to the need for settlement of boundary disputes that arose as a result of the claims made by the Maharaja of Tripura.

Chapter 4: Mizo Settlement in Jampui Hill, Tripura

The first part of this chapter is an introduction to Jampui Hill, including its location and origin of its name. The second part is an account of the Mizo settlement in Jampui Hill under Raja Bahadur Dokuma Sailo. The third part deals with the Mizo settlement in this area under Raja Hrangvunga. This chapter ends with an observation of the Jampui Hill inhabitants' sense of belonging and their attachment to the land they have occupied since the beginning of the twentieth century.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

The last chapter deals with the findings and observations that constitute the outcome of this research endeavor.

CHAPTER ONE

WESTWARD MIGRATION OF THE MIZOS

1.1 Introduction

Migration is the temporary or permanent shift of persons or groups of people from one geographical location to another.¹⁴ Theories of migration view migration as a process which is an integral part of broader social transformations, but which also has its own internal dynamics and which shapes social transformations in its own right.¹⁵

Migration may begin for a variety of reasons ranging from warfare, colonialism, conquest, occupation and labor recruitment, as well as factors such as shared culture, language and geographical proximity, all of which often played a crucial role in the initiation of migration processes.¹⁶ The reasons which influence migration to begin could be very different from the conditions that make migration continue or perpetuate.¹⁷ Migration shapes and re-shapes societies, making them more diverse and complex. Although it also builds a sharp division between those who accept the need for migration and welcome the economic and cultural contributions they make, and those who oppose them.¹⁸ Fundamental divisions within Migration Studies that need to be conceptually reconciled include the relations between internal and international movement, between the role of force and choice in migration, between the inception and perpetuation of migration, between societies and communities of origin and destination, between positive and negative effects of network and social capital, and between transnationalism and integration.¹⁹

¹⁴ Jessica Hagen-Zanker, *Why do people migrate? A review of the theoretical literature*, p. 4.

¹⁵ Nicholas Van Hear, 'Theories of Migration and Social Change?' in *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Vol. 36, No. 10, p. 1531.

¹⁶ Hein de Haas, 'The Internal Dynamics of Migration Processes: A Theoretical Inquiry' in *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Vol. 36, No. 10, p. 1589.

¹⁷ Jessica Hagen-Zanker, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

¹⁸ Russell King, *Theories and Typologies of Migration: An Overview and a Primer*, pp. 6, 7.

¹⁹ Nicholas Van Hear, *op. cit.*, p. 1532.

1.2 Historical Background of Mizo Migration

It is believed that the Mizos were among the Mongoloid racial stock, belonging to the Tibeto-Burman group based on the classification of Southeast Asian languages.²⁰ During the pre-colonial period, the Mizos were known as Kuki, Chin and Lushai and this has created an idea that the term Mizo is a recent occurrence. The term Kuki is said to be a Bengali word meaning “wild man”, which they used to describe all hill people in the northeastern part of India. Thus, based on this Bengali term, it is presumed that the British used the word Kuki to identify all the tribes inhabiting the Lushai Hills. Chin is another term by which the Mizos were known in Burma (present day Myanmar) and it refers to all hill tribes living in the bordering region between Burma and Assam. The word Lushai might have originated from a person called Luseia or the name of a place. According to J. Shakespear, the term Lushai appears to be an incorrect transcription of the word Lushei or Lusei by the British. The Lusei (or Lushei) is one of the foremost tribes who dominantly ruled the land of Mizoram. However, the term Lusei (or Lushei) refers to a particular group of clans, whereas the term Mizo does not refer to any particular tribe or clan, but to a comprehensive body of related tribes united by a common socio-cultural life and who inhabit the area of Mizoram.²¹ The word Mizo literally means ‘hill people’ and it may include all other sub-tribes of Chin, Lusei and Kuki groups in the states of Manipur, Tripura, Burma and Bangladesh who have subscribed to the Chhinlung story of Mizo origin, thereby giving them a sense of common ancestry and shared lineage.²² As the Kukis or Lusei are included within the

²⁰ Sangkima, *Essays on the History of the Mizos*, p. 34.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 15- 17.

²² Tribal Research Institute, *A Brief Account of Ranglong*, p. 1.

tribes of Mizo, here in the present study, both the terms are also used to refer to the Mizos as they refer to the same people who share ethnic and cultural identities.

The history of the Mizos has always been of resettlement before they reached their current habitat, Mizoram. At present, the study of the history of the Mizos is no more than a level of mere surmise, since our knowledge is very limited because of the absence of historical information.²³ The early history of the Mizos is virtually based on legends, traditions, customs and beliefs which create complexities in tracing the past advancement of the Mizos tribes. On the other hand, there are numerous folk songs, tales and fables that offer raw material for the study of their migration and early settlement in the regions.²⁴ Though the history of the Mizos can be assumed from the eighth century A.D, detailed pieces of information are known only from about the fourteenth century A.D. The origin of the Mizos is clouded in obscurity, so a definite conclusion cannot be specified as most of the Mizos considered their earliest home to be Chhinlung and that every branch of the Mizo tribes came out of this place.²⁵ There is a general idea among the Mizos that their ancestors emigrated from a place called Chhinlung, which some historians and anthropologists believe is located somewhere in southern China.²⁶

Many Mizo authors and historians believe and have suggested that Chhinlung was an outlet from the Great Wall of China, which provided a route through which the ancestors of the Mizos came out. At the same time, the history of Chhinlung has been expressed by different writers and scholars in varied forms to, giving a broader perspective of thinking not just limited to the notion of coming out from under a rock or

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

²⁴ S. N. Singh, *Mizoram, Historical, Geographical, Social, Economic, Political and Administrative*, p. 28.

²⁵ Lalrimawia, *Mizoram - History and Cultural Identity (1890-1947)*, pp. 11, 12.

²⁶ S. N. Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

under a wall. One of the first Mizo writers, Rev. Liangkhaia suggested that Chhinlung was a Chinese prince who could not get along well with his father and migrated to Awksatlang in Burma in 750 A.D.²⁷ Among the indigenous writers, Vanchhunga, in his book, *Lusei leh a Vela Hnam Dangte Chanchin*, has put forward that, based on the stories of the Chinese and the Burmese, which resemble one another, Chhinlung could have been the name of one of the sons of a Chinese emperor, who moved out from China and established his own kingdom at Aupataung in Burma, which the Mizo people relate as Awksatlang, and that after the death of emperor Chhinlung, his subjects migrated further, which could be one possible theory of the origin of the Mizos.²⁸ In the same manner, K. Zawla in his book, *Mizo Pi Pute leh An Thlahte Chanchin*, suggested that Chhinlung could have been the name of a Chinese prince and later his kingdom was named after him.²⁹

The earliest known habitat of the Mizo ancestors after they left Chhinlung was the valleys of Chindwin and Kabaw in Burma. During 800-850 A.D, the Mizo people migrated from the Chindwin valley to the Kabaw valley, known as Kawlphai by the Mizos.³⁰ Later on, from Kabaw valley, they moved west towards the direction of Khampat. In his book, *Mizo Pi Pute leh an Thlahte Chanchin*, K. Zawla claims that the ancestors of the Mizo people arrived at Khampat in 1000 A.D., and believes that they settled there for a number of centuries.³¹ However, they were forced to leave Khampat due to wars and conflicts beside natural calamities. The Mizos claimed Khampat in Burma to have been their oldest town.³² Meanwhile, Mizo oral history claims that a

²⁷ Rev. Liangkhaia, *Mizo Chanchin*, p. 1.

²⁸ Vanchhunga, *Lusei Leh A Vela Hnam Dangte Chanchin*, pp.2-4.

²⁹ K. Zawla, *Mizo Pi Pute leh an Thlahte Chanchin*, p. 6.

³⁰ B. Lalthangliana, *Mizo Chanchin (A Short Account & Easy Reference of MIZO HISTORY)*, p. 3.

³¹ K. Zawla, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

³² Lalrimawia, *op.cit.*, pp. 13, 14.

cruel king forced the people to construct a long wide channel running around his kingdom, and the people could give little time for cultivating their fields, and finally famine struck the region and the people decided to leave and migrated to the hills.³³ At this time, the Mizo people planted a banyan tree before they left Khampat and expressed their wish to come back when the branches of the banyan tree touch the earth. From Khampat, the Mizos came into the Chin Hills during the early fourteenth century A.D.³⁴

At this point of time, the Mizos have formed themselves into clans and established villages where they lived clanwise.³⁵ The Lusei clans stayed in Seipui and Khawkawk, the Ralte clans at Suaipui and Saihmun, and Chawngthu clans at Bochung. Many other clans like Kiangte, Hauhnar and others had their own places and began to have their own clan leaders by choosing the bravest man among them.³⁶ In this way, the Mizos scattered into a great number of groups and it was no longer possible nor viable to live in a compact area. Besides, the environment and the topography conditions of Chin Hills made it difficult to build a large settlement like Khampat. The outcome was that the Mizo villages were scattered hither and thither. For this reason, regular contact among them at all times became impossible.³⁷ Under such circumstances, each village, headed by a chief, gradually developed their own stories of how they came and lived at a particular place and almost forgot the existence of other groups. Naturally, each locality developed their own way of speaking, dressing and customs. As a result, extreme clannish ideas set in and unity among the Mizos soon became a thing of the

³³ Vumson, *Zo History*, p. 38.

³⁴ Lalrimawia, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

³⁵ Sangkima, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

³⁶ Rev. Liangkhaia, *op. cit.*, pp. 21, 22.

³⁷ Lalrimawia, *op. cit.*

past.³⁸ For the period between 1250- 1400 A.D, they resided in the region of Thantlang and Run river.³⁹ Later on, they headed out towards the area between Lentlang and Tiau river, arriving there around 1400- 1450 A.D. Here, they settled for more than two centuries, and much of their culture evolved during this time. However, with the passing of time, they crossed the Tiau river in search of new land and entered present day Mizoram.⁴⁰

It can be assumed that the Mizo migration from Chin Hills to Mizoram took place in three phases. The first batch of the Mizos crossed the Tiau river and settled in the area of present day Mizoram and were known as Kukis or Old Kukis. The Old Kukis were followed by the so called New Kukis, and the Lusei tribes followed them as the third batch in migration. The Old Kukis (Hrangkhawl, Darlong, Biate or Hmars with their offshoots) were driven out of Mizoram by the New Kukis (Thado, Jangshens with their offshoots). Afterwards, they were also driven out by the Lusei.⁴¹ It is assumed that the New Kukis followed the same route followed by the Old Kukis and the two groups may not be placed too far apart in the temporal space. Therefore, it can be said that they arrived in the area of present day Mizoram between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries A.D. The Lusei, who were the last batch of migrants to reach the area of Mizoram, did so around 1700 A.D. The Lusei consisted of many clans, with the Sailo clans being the most prominent among them.⁴²

As mentioned earlier, chieftainship was set up during their settlement in the Chin Hills. J. Shakespear wrote that Thangura, who lived during the early eighteenth century

³⁸ B. Lalthangliana, *History of Mizo In Burma*, p. 14.

³⁹ B. Lalthangliana, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

⁴⁰ *ibid.*, pp. 28- 31.

⁴¹ Lalrimawia, *op.cit.*, pp. 14, 15.

⁴² Sangkima, *op.cit.* p. 53.

at Tlangkhua, north of Falam in Chin Hills, was the forebearer of all the Lusei chiefs.⁴³ Meanwhile, regarding the origin of Mizo chieftainship, Rev Liangkhaia and K. Zawla put forward that the first ancestor of the Mizo chiefs was Sihsinga who had a son name Ralnaa, and Ralnaa's son was Chhuahlawma. Chhuahlawma was captured as a slave by the Lusei at Seipui. However, there in Seipui, a Chhakchhuak clan adopted him as a son and found him a wife who bore him a son, Zahmuaka. Later, Zahmuaka married Lawilero and had six sons- Zadenga, Paliana, Thangluaha, Thangura, Rivunga and Rokhuma. During this time, the Hnamte clan, at Khawrua and Tlangkhua, were without a chief and requested Zahmuaka to be their chief, but he refused it at first. But on the advice of his wife, he accepted it and came to be the predecessor of chieftainship among the Mizos.⁴⁴ The period during the reign of Zahmuaka is assumed to be around 1600- 1650 A.D. After his death, each of his sons set up their own villages before they crossed the Tiau river. With time, each of their names became the name of a Mizo clan or tribe.⁴⁵ Other tribes like Hualngo, Ralte, Ngente, Chuaungo and Chuauhang had their own chiefs. Chieftainship among these tribes continues to exist after the crossing of the Tiau river. Other smaller tribes did not have their own chiefs for a long time and began to join the larger tribes who were under regular chiefs.⁴⁶

Throughout the reign of the six brothers, the northern part of the region was occupied by the Sukte, Paihte and Thado clans who appeared to have been strongly set up under regular chiefs. On the other hand, the western part of the hills appeared to have been inhabited by smaller communities of blood relations who most likely clashed with one another often. Meanwhile, desire for better cultivable land and the aggressions

⁴³ Lt. Colonel J. Shakespear, *The Lushei Kuki Clans*, p. 2.

⁴⁴ Rev Liangkhaia, *op.cit.*, pp. 35, 36. Also, K. Zawla, *op.cit.*, pp 12- 14.

⁴⁵ B. Lalthangliana, *op.cit.*, p. 29.

⁴⁶ Rev Liangkhaia, *op.cit.*, p.32.s

of the eastern clans made it necessary for the descendants of Zahmuaka to set off westward.⁴⁷ Among them, a descendant of Thangura became the greatest ruling chief in the society. They became popular during the reign of his grandson, Sailoa, a good ruler whos died before crossing the Tiau river. It was the three sons of Sailoa- Chungnunga, Lianlula and Chenkuala, who were the chiefs when the last batch of the Lusei crossed the Tiau river during 1700 A.D and entered Mizoram.⁴⁸ Thus, from the above observations, it can be assumed that Zahmuaka lived during the fifteenth century A.D.

1.3 Pre-Colonial Migration of Old & New Kukis to Tripura

Tripura is situated in the northeastern part of India and it was known as *Rengram* (Land of Raja) by the Mizos. Earlier, the state of Tripura was known as Hill Tipperah [the term ‘Hill Tipperah’ was how the British Government of India referred to Tripura till 1920, when the present name of Tripura came to be officially used. Hence, the term ‘Tripura’ will be used throughout this study].⁴⁹ The history of Tripura is full of myths and legends. However, it can be established that it fought regularly with the Sultans of Bengal for the control of the Chittagong and Sylhet regions. During the middle of the sixteenth century A.D, it attained its zenith of high glory and power, its territories stretching from the Sundarbans in the west, Burma in the east and south, and Kamrup in the north at one point of time. Tripura was famous for its elephants, and these attracted the attention of the Mughal emperors and led to the Mughal invasion of Tripura. Defeated, the western plains of Tripura entered into the Mughal revenue roll. This led

⁴⁷ Lt. Colonel J. Shakespear, *op.cit.*, p. 3.

⁴⁸ B. Lalthangliana, *op.cit.*, pp. 30, 31.

⁴⁹ Sailiana Sailo, *Tripura Ram Chachin*, p. 1.

to the separation of the hills of Tripura from the plain areas of Tripura, as the Mughals showed no interest in the hills which did not yield any land revenue for them. Later on, the plain area was renamed as Chakla Roshnabad, Chakla meaning 'circle' and Roshnabad meaning 'the land of the light'.⁵⁰

Thus, the territory of Tripura was divided into two distinct parts. The hilly part in the east, usually known as the Hill Tipperah, was ruled by an independent Maharaja [a title given to the Raja of Tripura on 1st January, 1877 A.D. by Queen Victoria along with other native rulers in India. Hence, the title Maharaja is used to refer to the ruler of Tripura throughout this study]. Meanwhile, for the plains in the western region, known as Chakla Roshnabad, the same ruler of the Hill Tipperah was a mere zamindar under the Bengal nawabs.⁵¹ However in 1761 A.D., Krishna Manikya, the then Maharaja of Tripura, and the Bengal Nawab, Mir Qasim quarrelled over the payment of the revenue of Chakla Roshnabad. So, the Nawab requested the help of the British, and the British took this opportunity to enlarge their territory. After four years, in 1765 A.D., the British East India Company occupied Chakla Roshnabad, the plains of Tripura.⁵² By this time, Tripura, once a great kingdom, became an inconsequential region, not worth giving attention for the British administration. However, the British continued to practise the Mughal tradition of exacting revenue from the plains and left the hill part of Tripura as an independent region. The Maharaja of Tripura reigned as an independent ruler in the hills, while in the plains he was only as a mere zamindar under the British rule.⁵³

⁵⁰ Dipak Kumar Chaudhuri, *The Political Agents and the Native Raj*, pp. 2- 5.

⁵¹ *ibid.*, p. 5.

⁵² *ibid.*, pp. 11- 13.

⁵³ *ibid.*, p. 19.

It appeared that from the time of the Mughal rule till the British occupation of Tripura, the hill territory of Tripura and the estate or zamindari of the plains areas were always held by one or the same person, the independent Maharaja of the hill was invariably the zamindar of the plain, Chakla Roshnabad.⁵⁴ However, after being once recognized and invested by the British authorities, the Maharajas of Tripura remained free from all control, and their powers over life and death, over war and peace, were more absolute than those of the great feudatories of the Indian Empire.⁵⁵ At the same time, the rulers of Tripura had no treaty relations with the British, and never paid any tribute, except a token *nazarana*, on the occasions of succession to the throne.⁵⁶

In 1854 A.D., the British fixed the boundary between the hill part of Tripura known as Hill Tipperah and the British territory of Tripura, Chakla Rosnabad. After India attained independence, the area of Chakla Rosnabad was placed within the territory of Bangladesh. Thus, only Hill Tipperah consists of present Tripura.⁵⁷

As stated earlier, the Mizo people migrated from Chin Hills to Mizoram in three batches. While the exact period of their passage into Mizoram is not known, it has been established with certainty that the first two batches set out as far west as Tripura and Bangladesh. It is evident from historical accounts of Tripura that the Mizos, under the name Kuki, had already arrived in Tripura by late twelfth century A.D. This event was recorded in a plate inscription, which indicated that Kuki land was situated east of Langkaih (Longoi) river in 1195 A.D. The royal chronicle of Tripura, the *Rajmala* talks about the services rendered by the Kukis to the Tripura kings, and also reveals how the

⁵⁴ E.F. Sandys, *History of Tripura*, p. 47.

⁵⁵ *ibid.*, p. 18.

⁵⁶ *ibid.*, p. 2.

⁵⁷ Sailiana Sailo, *op.cit.*, pp. 2, 3.

Raj Kumar fell in love with a Kuki woman. Moreover, the annals of Tripura also mentioned that Raja Chachang or Roy Chachang, who was the military commander of Dhanya Manikya, occupied the throne of Tripura in 1490 A.D. During his reign, a quarrel arose over the ownership of a white elephant between him and the Kukis, who inhabited the deep forests of East Tripura and West Lushai Hills. Thus, it can be surmised that the Kukis entered Tripura from Upper Burma, transited all the way through Mizoram because of ethnic pressures before the coming of Palian and Zadeng ruling clans who had been pushed westward by the Sailo chiefs of the same ancestors.⁵⁸ Despite the lack of written records, we are informed through oral sources (folksong, folktales) that they migrated and settled in Tripura.

In *A Short Account of the Kuki-Lushai Tribes on the North-East Frontier*, C.A.Soppitt observed that during the middle of the sixteenth century, the Old Kukis like Hrangkhawl and Biate occupied present day Mizoram. At the same time, the New Kukis like Jangshen, who came behind the Old Kukis, settled in the hills not far away from them. The New Kukis started to oppress the Old Kukis and then eventually drove them out of the country, across Cachar and into the North Cachar Hills and Manipur, while a small body took shelter in the territory of Tripura. Immediately coming after the New Kukis, the Lusei were steadily extending their territory and in a short while, they became very strong and powerful among the tribes of the Mizos. Eventually, after many struggles, the New Kukis were also driven out by the Lusei and went after the same route of their conquered foes, the Old Kukis.⁵⁹ Some groups of the so-called Old Kukis and New Kukis arrived at Tripura but most of them migrated to North Cachar Hills.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ Sangkima, *op.cit.*, pp. 52, 53.

⁵⁹ C. A Soppitt, *A Short Account of the Kuki-Lushai Tribes on the North-East Frontier*, p. 7.

⁶⁰ Sangkima, *op.cit.*, pp. 38, 39.

B. Lalthangliana assumed the time period of the Kuki's migration in Tripura to be around 1450 - 1500 A.D.⁶¹

In the pre-colonial period, the Mizo tribes who settled in Tripura were divided into two groups- Kuki and Halam, of which the name Halam was given by the Maharaja of Tripura. Unlike the Kukis in Tripura, the Halam were without chief or ruler since olden times.⁶² In some writings, it is mentioned that the Kukis in Tripura were later known as Halam and that these people were known to the British as Old Kukis.⁶³ Ethnologically and linguistically, the Halams belong to the Kuki group, and they are also known as Mila Kukis or Ranglong.⁶⁴ They came in contact with the Maharaja of Tripura and accepted his suzerainty. Based on the oral history of some groups of Halam people, it is believed that they came from Khurpuitabum situated in the northern part of Manipur. In Halam language, the term 'Khur' means source, 'pui' is river and 'ta' stands for from. Hence, it can be inferred that their original home was perhaps near the source of a big river which, through the centuries, they have not forgotten.⁶⁵ The exact period of their migration into Tripura is not known, though it is believed that during the reign of Maharaja Omar Manikya (1584 - 1586 A.D) they were already settled in Tripura. It is assumed that they migrated into Tripura from Cachar, Mizoram and the Chittagong Hill Tracts.⁶⁶

The Halams occupied the northern areas of Tripura and are divided into 17 clans: (1) Kalai (2) Kulu (3) Korbong (4) Kaipeng (5) Kaireng (6) Chadai (7) Dub

⁶¹ B. Lalthangliana, *India, Burma leh Bangladesh-a Mizo Chanchin*, p. 204.

⁶² *ibid.*, pp. 104, 105.

⁶³ Tribal Research Institute, *The Tribes Of Mizoram A Dissertation*, pp. 1, 2.

⁶⁴ S.B.K. Dev Varman, *op.cit.*, p. 35 & p. 42

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ B. Lalthangliana, *op.cit.*, p. 105.

(8) Sakachep (9) Thangchep (10) Nabeen (11) Bongcher (12) Molsom or Morchhum (13) Murdhakang or Murasing (14) Hrangkhawl (15) Rukpini or Rupini (16) Langai and (17) Ranglong. Each of the clans either bears the name of the leader of the community or is so designated according to their profession.⁶⁷ They could be regarded as the first wave of the Mizo tribes who entered Tripura and became faithful subjects of the Maharaja of Tripura.⁶⁸ It is also said that the Ranglong and Hrangkhawl are identical. Rev. Liangkhaia, in his book *Mizo Chanchin*, included Hrangkhawl, Chawrai, and Sakachep among the branches of Mizo. According to C.A. Soppitt, the Kukis may be divided into four tribes – Hrangkhawl, Biate, Jasen and Thado. He further stated that Hrangkhawl co-tribe is Biate and that their offshoots are Sakachep and Ranglong.⁶⁹

Among the different clans of Halam, the Ranglong claimed that their ancestors came out from a cave called Khurpuitabum. They claim that the meaning of the word Khurpuitabum is exactly similar to the Lusei word Chhinlung. So, it can be assumed that Ranglong and other tribes of the Mizo have come from the same ancestral stock. The Ranglong claimed that their forefathers and other Mizo tribes lived separately but close to each other; the former lived in the west and the latter, in the east. It is said that when the Sailo clan became the ruling families among the Lusei, a Mizo tribe, the Ranglong clan which consists of a small minority, and having no chief of their own, had to move out of the domain of the Sailo chief. They moved westward and settled somewhere in the Champhai area. But the fear of attacks from other powerful clans still existed among them and so they moved further west towards Tuirial (Sonai) river. Eventually, they crossed the Tlawng (Dhaleswari) river and settled in the hill ranges of

⁶⁷ S.B.K Dev Varman, *The Tribes Of Tripura A Dissertation*, p. 35.

⁶⁸ Shri Ram Gopal Singh, *The Kukis Of Tripura-A Socio-Economic Survey*, p. 13.

⁶⁹ TRI, *A Brief Account of Ranglong*, p. 8.

Mamit, Hachhek and Jampui.⁷⁰ Also, based on their oral history, it is known that the Ranglongs had engaged themselves in a conflict with other tribes of the Mizo about 200 years ago and were defeated completely. So they fled and took shelter in the hill tracts of Chittagong and travelled through Cachar and entered Tripura.⁷¹ But due to the lack of written information, it is difficult to trace or understand the history of the Halam tribes. It is assumed that the cause of their migration into Tripura was the fear of more powerful tribes of the Mizo. But this alone cannot be taken as the sole reason for their migration. Perhaps, it could also be certain economic reasons that compelled them to migrate to Tripura.⁷²

The Darlongs were the second batch of the Mizo tribes who migrated to Tripura. According to Darlong folktales, they once lived somewhere in south west China and successive waves of migration compelled them to leave their original home before they came to settle in their present habitat. During their migration, the Darlongs lived in a village for six to seven years and moved again, either in search of better *jhum* lands or out of fear of more powerful tribes.⁷³ The Darlongs tell tales and sing songs about a lake with awe because they believe that certain spirits dwelled there. This can indicate that the Darlongs may have lived near a lake during their migration. But, perhaps due to the fear of other tribes, who often raided other communities, they moved westward and settled in the Champhai area of Mizoram. From Champhai, they moved north-west and came to settle at a village called Darlawng, which still exists as a small village on the side of the National Highway 54, about 20 km south-west of Aizawl on a straight line. Later on, they crossed the Tuirial (Sonai) river and settled in the area around Aizawl.

⁷⁰ *ibid.*, pp. 3- 5.

⁷¹ Dr. D. N. Goswami, *The Ranglongs of Tripura*, p. 4.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁷³ Lethuama Darlong, *The Darlongs Of Tripura*, p. 46.

Some historians claim that Tuirial (Sonai) river was given its name by the Darlongs. At this time, the Lusei tribes became powerful and fearing them, the Darlongs moved further north. Eventually, they came to a certain hill and settled there, and the hill came to be known as Darlong Tlang (hill), situated approximately 30 km north of Aizawl on a straight line. It is believed that from this hill, the Darlongs separated into groups – one group moved towards the north and entered Tripura from the north. The other group, lesser in number, moved towards the west and entered Tripura through the eastern side and they settled at the north district of Tripura, where they are still located.⁷⁴

1.4 Pre-Colonial Migration of the Lusei Tribes to Tripura

The following is a clan-wise account of the westward migration patterns of the various Lusei tribes into Tripura during pre-colonial times.

Palian Clan:

Among the six sons of Zahmuaka, the descendants of Paliana were the first to migrate westward in search of better land. Some of them even migrated and settled in the area of Tripura. Zairemthanga claims that the first known Mizo chief in Tripura was a Palian chief, Sibuta who settled at Sakhan Hill around 1720 A.D. with 2,500 houses and ruled over some of the north-eastern part of Tripura.⁷⁵ Furthermore, in the *North-East Frontier of Bengal*, Alexander Mackenzie mentioned how Sibuta, a chief subordinate to Tripura, declared himself independent and took away 25,000

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 25, 26.

⁷⁵ Zairemthanga, *Tripura Mizo History*, pp. 8- 10.

householders.⁷⁶ Sibuta defied the suzerainty of the Maharaja of Tripura and declared himself independent as the Maharaja of Tripura had no control over him. Many historians doubt that Sibuta belong to the Palian clan, though he was brought up in the house of a Palian chief who had no sons, but a daughter named Darlalpuui. Others claim that he was an offspring of a Palian chief and inherited the chieftainship.⁷⁷ J. Shakespear was suspicious whether he ever was really subject to Tripura as his memorial stone is situated on the Aizawl-Lunglei road in Mizoram.⁷⁸ However, Rev. Liangkhaia put forward that Sibuta migrated back to Mizoram at Tachhip and erected his own memorial stone (*Damlailung*) near Tachhip during 1794 A.D.⁷⁹

Meanwhile, Zairemthanga mentions an incident which proves that Sibuta ruled over some area of Tripura. When Sibuta became chief, he was so powerful and brutal that they called him Laltura. One of his cruelest acts during his reign was the torture and murder of his own sister Darlalpuui in a manner resembling the sacrificial killing of a mithun or a bull, performed during pre-colonial times among the Mizos on the occasion of *Khuangchawi* (a feast of merit). After this, Darlalpuui's mother felt so lonely without her daughter, she moved to Tualsen Hill, not far from Sakhan Hill. At Tualsen, she composed a memorial song and sang it whenever she felt lonely, looking at Sakhan Hill. Her song is given below:

'Sakhan Tlang lam ang ka en,
Ka tuai Darngovi Sial ang a tlukna;
Darlal, ka vapual, ka sechal,
Sibuta 'n Sial ang a chhun che maw?'

⁷⁶ Alexander Mackenzie, *The North-East Frontier*, p. 290.

⁷⁷ Lethuama Darlong, *The Darlongs of Tripura*, p. 36.

⁷⁸ Lt. Colonel J. Shakespear, *op.cit.*, p. 4.

⁷⁹ Rev Liangkhaia, *op.cit.*, p. 49.

The song may be translated as:

I cannot take my eyes off Sakhan,
There my fair Dari fell like a bull;
Darlal, my hornbill, my goyal,
Did Sibuta slay thee like bull?

It can be inferred from this song that Sibuta once ruled over the Sakhan Hill in Tripura. However, Sibuta migrated back to Mizoram but the exact period of how long Sibuta remained in Tripura is not known. His son Lalrihua remained in Tripura and ruled over some areas in the western part though the exact location is not known. Lalrihua died in Tripura during the years between 1840 and 1884 A.D.⁸⁰

Other descendants of Paliana also migrated and settled in Tripura. Lalchungnunga, son of Huliana, migrated in Tripura and settled in the bordering area of Tripura and Bangladesh. Throughout his reign, he had good relations with the Maharaja of Tripura and even made a treaty with the Maharaja by offering a sacrificial ceremony. Upon the request of Lalchungnunga, the Maharaja agreed to trade one of his elephants with five mithuns; and with this elephant, the chief organized a ceremony along with a public feast known as *Khuangchawi*, which made him quite popular during his time. However, much is not known about him. It is believed that he died in Muallungthu at Thaidawr Hill. After his death, his son, Lianlura moved to Sakhan Hill and from there, he built a village near the river Zanthum at Longtorai Hill and settled there. Lianlura died in this village and his memorial stone can be seen till today. His two sons Vantawia and Lalsuthlaha established their own villages around the Longtorai region.

⁸⁰ Zairemthanga, *op.cit.*, pp. 10- 15.

While much is not known about Vantawia, Lalsuthlaha was famous during his time and one of his villages was situated between Kanchancherra and Betcherra.⁸¹ However, he was sent to Hyderabad Jail on 4th December, 1844 A.D., held responsible for the massacre and raiding of Udaipur and into British territory.⁸² Lalzaseia, son of Lalsuthlaha, moved east and ruled at Zawngkhawtlang, where the present day Kumarghat Block Office is situated. Whether the descendants of the Palian tribe in Tripura intermingled with the other tribes near them is not known, as it became difficult to trace their history.

Rivung Clan:

Descendants of Rivunga, the fifth son of Zahmuaka, also entered Tripura from the east during 1820 A.D. under the chieftainship of Vanrochhunga. Vanrochhunga and his sons, Vanhnuaithanga and Thanglulpuia, ruled over some parts of the Longtorai region.⁸³ One of his sons, Vanhnuaithanga had a big village on the Longtorai Hill, between the Chengri and Kassalong rivers and died there around 1850 A.D. Soon after his death, the village was destroyed by Vuttaia, a Sailo chief, and the remainders of the Rivung clan fled to the hill areas of Tripura.⁸⁴ By 1910 A.D., Thanglulpuia's grandson Lalkunga was chief at Sakhan Hill. Three years later, he moved to Jampui Hill and built a new village called Sabual. But he did not stay long at Sabual, returning to Sakhan in 1916 A.D. where he died in 1926 A.D.⁸⁵

⁸¹ *ibid.*, pp. 19- 22.

⁸² Alexander Mackenzie, *op.cit.*, pp. 288, 289.

⁸³ Zairemthanga, *op.cit.*, p. 27.

⁸⁴ LT. Colonel J. Shakespear, *op.cit.*, p. 4.

⁸⁵ Zairemthanga, *op.cit.*, pp. 37- 39.

Rokhum and Zadeng Clans:

The descendants of Rokhuma and Zadenga, the other sons of Zahmuaka, had passed through Mizoram and some of them are said to be settling in the Tripura-Sylhet border. The Zadeng clan came after the Rokhum and moved westwards, and around 1830 A.D., they ruled over the villages situated near the banks of the Tlawng (Dhaleswari) river, which at the time was the boundary between Mizoram and Tripura.⁸⁶

Thangluah Clan:

Much is not known about the descendants of Thangluaha, the third son of Zahmuaka. It could be observed that when they migrated westward, they moved along the southern region and stayed at Thorang Hill. But they often fought with the Sailo clan which made them migrate to Thehle and Uiphum hills. Rothangpuia, son of Lalpuihluta, even migrated till Tlabung. Later, the descendants of Rothangpuia moved further and settled under the reign of a Maharaja, which could be assumed to be the Maharaja of Tripura.⁸⁷

Pachua Clan:

Like their other Lusei counterparts, the Pachuas, both Chuaungo and Chuauhang, entered Tripura from the north. But no record is available concerning the Chuauhang and their rule in Tripura.⁸⁸ However, it is known that Vanpuia, a Chuaungo chief, migrated to Tripura during 1780 A.D. and built his own village at the northern

⁸⁶ LT. Colonel J. Shakespear, *op.cit.*, p.3.

⁸⁷ Rev. Liangkhaia, *op.cit.*, p. 38.

⁸⁸ Letthuama Darlong, *op.cit.*, p. 41.

part of Jampui Hill. From there, he set up a new village called Belkum and settled there around 1822 A.D. This period was believed to be the peak of his glory. From Belkum, he moved further to the west and settled near Talan Golakpur and died there. After the death of Vanpuia, his people scattered away. Some joined and lived with the Palian tribes and some migrated back to Mizoram.⁸⁹ Suakdinga and Neihliana were the only descendants of Vanpuia who could be traced through historical accounts. Neihliana, the last chief among the Pachuauas, ruled in the plain areas of Kumarghat. He was conferred a Bahadur title in 1926 A.D. by the Maharaja of Tripura. He reigned till 1941 A.D. and died on 15th August, 1956 A.D. at Hmuntha, a Serhmun village.⁹⁰

The Sailo Clan:

As mentioned earlier, the Sailo chiefs, descendants of Thangura, the fourth son of Zahmuaka, were among the last batch of the Lusei to migrate into Mizoram. Though they were relatively late, the Sailo chiefs eventually exercised their supremacy, having defeated all their enemies through superior governance. They united all the clans within the area now called Mizoram.⁹¹ Prior to crossing the Tiau river, the clan had taken the name Thangur, after their ancestor Thangura. Once they crossed the Tiau river, the descendants of Thangura took the name of his grandson Sailoa, who was a great chief before they crossed the Tiau river. After crossing the Tiau river, the Sailos dispersed in several directions but reunited for fear of the Pawi raiders and formed the biggest village known in present times, called Selesih. However, living together at one place

⁸⁹ Zairemthanga, *op.cit.*, p.6.

⁹⁰ C. Chawngkunga, *Important Documents of Mizoram*, p. 27.

⁹¹ Lt. Colonel J. Shakespeare, *op.cit.*, p. 5.

proved to be problematic for the large Sailo clan. So they again spread out in the inner parts of Mizoram and established their rule in different areas.⁹²

Among the Sailo chiefs, Lallula Sailo, son of Rohnaa, the grandson of Sailoa, became famous and renowned during his time. His descendants were the first to enter Tripura with the permission of the Maharaja of Tripura. Lallula first set up his own village at Zopui during 1750 A.D. Soon they decided to move westward and in 1767 A.D., they moved to Vanlaiphai and from there, to Lungchhuan. In 1770 A.D., they shifted to Bawngchawm; in 1774 A.D. to Serchhip and later to Diarkhai; in 1782 A.D. to Samlukhai, and in 1785 A.D. to Darlung. Thence he shifted to Kanghmun and in 1800 A.D. to Hreichuk, and died there in 1807 A.D.⁹³ After his death, some of his sons shifted to the northern parts of Mizoram. One of his sons, Lalmanga Sailo (Mangpawrha) moved to the western part of Mizoram and his descendants came to be known as the Western Chiefs.⁹⁴

Lalmanga Sailo settled at Bedo and when his father died, he moved to Rulpuihlim. From there, he shifted to Reiek, where he died in 1812 A.D.⁹⁵ His son Suakpuilala succeeded him. From Reiek, Suakpuilala moved to Thingsulthliah and later on, to Tanhril.⁹⁶ Suakpuilala was the most famous chief among the Sailo chiefs as he was the first Sailo chief to make peace with the British Government in India. He had twelve sons and died in 1880 A.D. at Tanhril.⁹⁷ His youngest son Dokhuma Sailo was the first Mizo chief to migrate to Tripura by taking permission from the Maharaja of

⁹² Dr. Lalthanliana, *Mizo Chanchin(Kum 1900 Hma Lam)*, pp. 399, 400.

⁹³ K. Zawla, *op.cit.*, pp. 205- 216.

⁹⁴ Dr. Lalthanliana, *op.cit.*, p. 437.

⁹⁵ Rev Liangkhaia, *op.cit.*, pp. 55, 56.

⁹⁶ B. Lalthanliana, *op.cit.*, pp. 118, 119.

⁹⁷ Dr. Lalthanliana, *op.cit.*, pp. 446, 447.

Tripura. Sailianpuia succeeded his father, Suakpuilala, and ruled over his father's land. He settled in Reiek and later moved to Khawrihnim. However, when the Superintendent of Mizoram gave Khawrihnim and its surrounding area to Kalkhama Sailo, he shifted to Tuahzawl and died there. His son Hrangvunga Sailo followed his uncle Dokhuma Sailo and migrated to Tripura.⁹⁸ The Mizo migration into Jampui Hill, Tripura under the Sailo chiefs, along with their settlements, will be examined in Chapter Four.

During the pre-colonial period, the Mizo chiefs who settled in Tripura had peaceful co-existence with the Maharaja of Tripura. Some of them were even rewarded with an elephant from the Maharaja as an endorsement of the peaceful relations between them. However, though at peace under the Maharaja of Tripura, the Mizos, being migratory tribes, moved around in the region, east and west, in search of better land for cultivation and settlement. Some of the Mizos who entered Tripura travelled back to present day Mizoram but some tribes like Rokhum, Rivung, Palian and Sailo clans remained in Tripura.⁹⁹

From the administrative reports of Tripura, it can be surmised that the climatic conditions of Tripura could be an important factor responsible for the Mizos leaving Tripura during the pre-colonial period, as the hillmen found it difficult to adapt to the climate.¹⁰⁰ But due to lack of written sources to corroborate the oral sources, it is difficult to establish the exact time and the manner in which they branched out in

⁹⁸ Isaac Zoliana, 'Sailianpuia Sailo' in *Mizo Lalte Chanchin(TRI)*, pp. 195- 197.

⁹⁹ Zairemthanga, *op.cit.*, pp. 25, 26.

¹⁰⁰ Mahadev Chakravarti (*ed.*), *Administration Report of Tripura State Since 1902, Vol 1 to 2.*

different areas of Tripura. It will be an interesting historical investigation to explore the level of acculturations among these pre-colonial Mizo settlers of Tripura.

The migration of the Mizo tribes into Tripura during the pre-colonial period happened without any prior consultation between their chiefs and the Maharaja of Tripura. The Mizo chiefs acted on their own accord.¹⁰¹ However, the Mizo migration into Tripura during the early part of the twentieth century A.D. took place with the prior permission of the Maharaja of Tripura. The first volume of the administrative reports of Tripura mentions that people from the hills across the eastern boundary migrated in search of fresh *jhum* land and to obtain new settlements of waste lands in Tripura. The main reason for these movements could be the necessities of the *jhum* life and the abundance of cultivable land within the area of Tripura.¹⁰²

It is evident from the discussion in the preceding pages that the Mizos were migratory tribes up to the establishment of British colonial rule in the Lushai Hills (erstwhile Mizoram) and its surrounding territories. A recollection of their migration routes indicates that they have traversed vast geographical areas characterized by varying topographical conditions, all of which may have certain and specific bearings on their social and cultural practices. This long migration was put to a halt once they came in contact with the settled administrations under the British colonial rule.

¹⁰¹ Zairemthanga, *op.cit.*, p. 44.

¹⁰² Mahadev Chakravarti (*ed.*), *Administration Report of Tripura State Since 1902, Vol 1.*

CHAPTER TWO

Mizo Understanding of Boundary/ Border

2.1 Introduction:

“Boundaries are the inevitable product of advancing civilization; they are human inventions not necessarily supported by nature’s dispositions, and as such, they are only of solid value so long as they can be made strong enough and secure enough to prevent their violation and infringement.” “As the habitable world becomes increasingly populated, and its civilized nationalities and communities become concentrated with an ever-increasing population seeking not simply food but the means for a way of life in higher phases of social comfort and environment, boundaries become more and more important in the partitioning of its economically useful areas.”¹⁰³

Boundaries are contentious historical constructions that represent the foundation of the nation-state which divide the world into bounded units and create distinctions between social groups as well as between collective and individual identities. Accordingly, boundaries generate identities; but they are created by identities as well, by revealing their nature as creative spaces of social action.¹⁰⁴ Boundaries came into being as a result of social evolution, that is, the historical emergence of conditions of possibility. Boundaries are evolutionary achievements and they are the outcome of ‘territorial sovereignty’ which can be seen as the principle of the modern nation-state system. A constructed boundary is part of the way in which politics and law are organized, and boundaries are needed in order to ascertain where a sovereignty ends,

¹⁰³ Col. Sir Thomas H. Holdich, *Political Frontiers and Boundary Making*, pp. 1, 2.

¹⁰⁴ Chiara Brambilla, Borders: ‘Paradoxical Structures Between Essentialization and Creativity’ in *World Futures: The Journal of New Paradigm Research*, pp. 583, 584.

since without a clear and proper boundary, problems would arise for different social groups.¹⁰⁵

In the olden times, there are vast areas where men wander from valley to valley, or from the hills to the plains, from one direct point to another, with no thought of boundary limitations even when such limitations exist.¹⁰⁶ But, as stated before, the emergence of the notion of territorial states led to the appearance of more apparent boundaries by the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Boundaries began to be considered and discussed in the context of various features of state ideology and the concept of boundaries started to gain importance. Topographical features (such as rivers and mountains) and manmade landmarks (like walls and fortresses) began to gradually serve as boundaries.¹⁰⁷ Later, geographers and their mapping technology allowed rulers to have a spatial view of their possessions and what was originally borderland or boundary regions progressively became boundaries or frontiers.¹⁰⁸ Furthermore, by the nineteenth century, scholars have ultimately perceived the development of the geographical concept of boundary, envisaging boundaries as physical and visible lines of separation between political, social and economic spaces, often charged with nationalistic energy. This was shortly followed by different kinds of boundary concepts that formed and further developed with the passage of time.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁵ Joren Jacobs & Kristof Van Aische, 'Understandings Empirical Boundaries: A Systems-Theoretical Avenue in Border Studies' in *Geopolitics*, p. 190.

¹⁰⁶ Col. Sir Thomas H. Holdich, *op.cit.*, p. 4.

¹⁰⁷ Maria Baramova, *op.cit.*

¹⁰⁸ Emmanuel Brunet-Jailly, *op.cit.*, p.1

¹⁰⁹ *Border Concept*, Retrieved from: <http://borderpoetics.wikidot.com/border-concept>. Accessed on 4th March 2014.

2.2 History of Mizo Political Boundary

Accordingly, viewed in the light of the various concepts of boundary as well as the growth and development of ideas in boundary studies, it is clear that as far as Mizoram was concerned, its boundaries showed remarkable parallels to the natural physical features such as river courses and mountain ranges.¹¹⁰ The early evolution of the boundary of Mizoram had been based on generalizations due to the absence of adequate historical information. The formation of boundaries of Mizoram is closely associated with the early migration of the Mizo tribes.¹¹¹ As seen in the previous chapter, in pre-colonial days, the Mizos, being migratory tribes, moved from place to place, changing their habitation every five to ten years or so.¹¹² They moved to new places for better and suitable land for cultivation. Another reason for this migratory behavior was the feeling of insecurity- the fear of attack from enemies. Insecurity was the order of the day during the early history of Mizo life. The continuous fear of attack compelled them to move to safer and defensible locations in the interior lands. The higher ridges were normally sought, as they were easily defensible. The frequent inter-tribal disputes and pressure from powerful neighbours compelled them to migrate to safer places.¹¹³

As pointed out in the preceding chapter, the Mizos believed that the original home of their ancestors was Chhinlung which is believed to be located somewhere in the southern part of China.¹¹⁴ From Chhinlung, they moved out and before they came into the region of present day Mizoram, the earliest known habitat of the ancestors of

¹¹⁰ S. N. Singh, *op.cit.*, p. 91.

¹¹¹ *ibid.*, p. 92.

¹¹² Alexander Mackenzie, *op.cit.*, p. 293.

¹¹³ S. N. Singh, *op.cit.*

¹¹⁴ Sangkima, *op.cit.*, p. 47.

the Mizos was the Chindwin valley. And from here, they moved to the Kabaw valley.¹¹⁵ Later on, they moved to the area of Khampat and stayed there for several centuries, and the Mizos claimed Khampat in Burma to be their oldest town.¹¹⁶ During this time, a great famine struck the region and consequently, as they were under a cruel chief, they decided to leave the area.¹¹⁷ After leaving the Kabaw valley, the ancestors of the Mizos went up to the Chin Hills and formed themselves into various smaller groups because of the conditions of the hill tracts. When they had selected a place good enough for a village, they usually found it to be inadequate in area for all of them together, and so only a small group would settle there, and the remaining people had to go on looking for other suitable places. Thus, as a result of this fragmentation, the Mizo villages were widely scattered and communication between them became exceedingly difficult, and consequently, the unity among the Mizos gradually weakened.¹¹⁸ During this period, different clans situated themselves at different places without a chief, and fought each other for supremacy. Eventually the Lusei, by dint of their bravery and prowess in the art of warfare, established their supremacy by defeating all the other clans. Of these Lusei clans, the Sailo were the most powerful and almost all the famous Lusei chiefs belonged to the Sailo clan, who were the descendants of Sailova, the grandson of Thangura. All the Lusei chiefs claimed that they are the descendants of Zahmuaka. From him sprang six lines of chiefs: Zadeng, Palian, Thangluah, Thangur, Rivung and Rokhum. Thangura, Zahmuaka's fourth son had a grandson named Sailova who paved the way for the Sailos' greatness.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁵ B. Lalthangliana, *op.cit.*, p. 3.

¹¹⁶ K. Zawla, *op.cit.*, p. 8.

¹¹⁷ Lal Biak Thanga, *The Mizos, A Study in Racial Personality*, p. 3.

¹¹⁸ B. Lalthangliana, *op.cit.*, p. 14.

¹¹⁹ *Mizoram District Gazetteers*, pp. 22, 23.

In course of time, chieftainship among the Mizos became hereditary and the Mizos under their separate chiefs crossed the Tiau river and entered present day Mizoram.¹²⁰ However, they were constantly pursued by more powerful tribes from the east, and in order to better withstand their onslaught, a number of sub-tribes combined together to form one large village. They built a new village at Selesih, and legend says that Selesih was a very large settlement with more than 7,000 houses. But such a large village could not sustain itself for long. There was not enough drinking water, firewood for fuel, nor fields for cultivation and so, some of the sub-tribes migrated further west in search of new lands.¹²¹ Being economically hard pressed, the Mizo chiefs and their followers moved westward in search of better livelihood and suitable land for agriculture. Eventually, they spread over the area of present day Mizoram and became masters of the territory which was not properly recorded at that time.¹²²

However, due to inter-tribal rivalries, some of the Mizo tribes were subdued and incorporated and those who refused to be dominated fled from the territory of present day Mizoram, and took shelter in Cachar, Manipur and Tripura. Inter-tribal disputes among them could be one of the reasons for the large scale dispersion of the Mizos. Among the Mizos, the Sailo clan of the Lusei tribe became prominent and dominated almost the entire territory of present day Mizoram.¹²³ Gradually, the different tribes of Mizo spread over the entire mountainous terrain covering the eastern part of Tripura. At the same time, the boundary with their neighbouring tribes, the area the Mizos used to claim, was unclear as it did not follow any geographical parameter. During that time, the thought of making boundary demarcations had not occurred to the Mizos.

¹²⁰ *ibid.*

¹²¹ Lal Biak Thanga, *op.cit.*, p. 5.

¹²² S. N. Singh, *op.cit.*, p. 92.

¹²³ Suhas Chatterjee, *Mizoram Under The British Rule*, pp. 8, 7.

Consequently, the regions inhabited by the Mizos and other tribes were devoid of clearly defined boundaries, and the state of affairs was in a fluid situation. The Mizos believed that all unoccupied land was accessible to them, and for them boundaries were irrelevant.¹²⁴

The Mizos established their own settlements, characterized by villages under the administration of chiefs. Each of these settlements was represented by a distinct clan or sub-clan occupying specific areas. These areas were characterized by village or homestead lands, *jhum* lands and hunting grounds.¹²⁵ In the pre-colonial period, land disputes were very rare, owing to the large area available for cultivation in the vicinity of most of the settlements, and the scant population- one village having no reason to encroach upon the grounds of another. Later, when disputes did arise, the stronger clan held right of the land.¹²⁶ The reason for their disputes was mainly over the right of ownership to certain *jhum* lands which, at times, different parties would approach from different ends.¹²⁷ The Mizo village is always situated on top of a high hill and for defence in time of war, the village is fortified by a stockade of heavy timber logs. The time duration that a village stays in one place is determined by the facilities afforded for cultivation in the surrounding areas. When all the land within easy reach has been exhausted, the village is moved to a fresh site.¹²⁸

In the Mizo society, the chief enjoyed full power and authority over his village. All matters of internal village government were decided by the chief, assisted by his

¹²⁴ S. N. Singh, *op.cit.*, p. 93.

¹²⁵ *ibid.*, p. 88.

¹²⁶ C. A. Soppitt, *op.cit.*, p. 22.

¹²⁷ *The Lushais 1878- 1889, TRI*, p. 22.

¹²⁸ Capt. T. H. Lewin, *The Hill Tracts of Chittagong And The Dwellers Therein*, p. 144.

council of elders (*Upas*). All the land was held by the chief.¹²⁹ The chief was the guardian of his people, leader and defender in times of attack by the enemy and above all, giver of food in times of scarcity.¹³⁰ Land ownership was hereditary and when the chief died, his son inherited the land. In pre-colonial days, there were not many chiefs and each chief could hold very large tracts of land. The custom was for the chief to allot each of his sons a tract of land and set him up with a village of his own as soon as he got married. Only the youngest son remained with the father and succeeded to his father's village when his father died. By the time British rule was established in Mizoram and warfare became prohibited, the land had been so sub-divided, owing to this custom, that there was hardly any chief whose land was capable of further subdivision. Thus, for practical reasons, only one of a chief's sons can hope to succeed to a village land.¹³¹ Although each village had its own boundary, though never clearly defined and sometimes ambiguous, the Mizos were allowed to migrate to other villages without any restriction. However, a chief never goes to another chief's village to persuade or influence someone to migrate to his own village.¹³²

In the pre-colonial days, the mode of production was shifting cultivation, supplemented by hunting. Due to lack of plain areas in Mizoram, the Mizos practised shifting cultivation known as *jhumming*. After the year's harvest, they abandoned the land for a few years and chose another plot for cultivation. This method of shifting cultivation, which was the backbone of the Mizo economy, rendered them migratory tribes.¹³³ At the same time, hunting played a significant role in the subsistence economy

¹²⁹ N. E Parry, *A Monograph on Lushai Customs & Ceremonies*, pp. 1-3.

¹³⁰ Lal Biak Thanga, *op.cit.*, p. 9.

¹³¹ N. E Parry, *op.cit.*, p. 3.

¹³² *ibid.*, p. 16.

¹³³ Suhas Chatterjee, *op.cit.*, p. 3.

of the Mizos as they did not practise animal husbandry.¹³⁴ They would organise large hunting parties, and their favourite game was the wild elephant, which abounded throughout the hills.¹³⁵ Large hunting parties made lengthy expeditions into the uninhabited parts of the land in search of elephants and wild animals.¹³⁶ But scarcity of land and food often made the Mizo community economically hard pressed. The clash of economic interests resulted in frequent inter-tribal feuds. Thus, the social and economic life of the Mizos compelled them to shift from one place to another, which increased the need for more vacant land. Another noticeable feature of the Mizo economy was the system of raids. Raids were marked by speed and decisiveness, and their essential elements were sudden surprise attacks and withdrawal with the intention of capturing land and booty, as well as the procurement of slaves. The Lusei chiefs indulged in raiding their neighbouring territories in their lust for wealth which led to their encroachment into other territories.¹³⁷

Another reason for the prevalence of these raids was the need for procurement of human heads, which were required at the time of the funeral ceremonies of their deceased chiefs. A campaign for human heads usually happened soon after the death of a chief.¹³⁸ It was generally believed among the Mizos that, by placing the heads around the corpse of the chief, the spirits of the dead would keep company with the chief's spirit in its long last journey.¹³⁹ The custom of head hunting habitually led the Mizos to encroach into other territories without acknowledging the existence of boundaries.

¹³⁴ Shri Ram Gopal Singh, *op.cit.*, p. 19.

¹³⁵ Capt. T.H. Lewin, *op.cit.*, p. 147.

¹³⁶ L.t. Colonel J. Shakespear, *op.cit.*, p. 34.

¹³⁷ Suhas Chatterjee, *op.cit.*, p. 3.

¹³⁸ Sangkima, *op.cit.*, p. 65.

¹³⁹ Alexander Mackenzie, *op.cit.*, p. 288.

As seen from the social and economic lifestyles and patterns of migration, it becomes clear that the Mizos have been variously scattered across a vast region. But the gradual extension of British administration and the recognition of territories by the rulers of Manipur, Cachar and Tripura gave very little opportunity to the Mizos for the extension of their territory.¹⁴⁰

To trade with the Bengalis, the British established a base in the Bay of Bengal, in the form of a trading company called “The East India Company”. In 1760 A., Mir Kasim, the Nawab of Bengal, ceded Chittagong to Lord Clive of the East India Company. Soon, the British invaded and occupied the areas of Assam and Surma valleys. After this, in 1765 A.D., the districts of Cachar and Sylhet were also invaded by the British, who later on came in contact with the Mizos. After the appearance of the British, Manipur also became semi- independent under British rule.¹⁴¹ During this time, the boundaries of Tripura were clearly defined on the north, west and south where they merged with British territories. But the boundary on the eastern part of this princely state remained unsettled.¹⁴² The Maharaja of Tripura claimed that all the outlying hills bordering Tripura, which the Mizos had looked upon as their own, belonged to him.¹⁴³ Major Rennell’s map of Bengal published in 1781 A.D. described the eastern boundary of Tripura as touching the confines of the dominion of Ava.¹⁴⁴ But by that time, according to the report of Pemberton, the Mizos acknowledged no allegiance to the Maharaja of Tripura and the Maharaja had no absolute power over them.¹⁴⁵ The Mizos

¹⁴⁰ *ibid.*, p. 10.

¹⁴¹ Vumson, *op.cit.*, pp. 106, 107.

¹⁴² Alexander Mackenzie, *op.cit.*, p. 286.

¹⁴³ Vumson, *op.cit.*, p. 108.

¹⁴⁴ S. B. K. Dev Varman, *op.cit.*, p. 49.

¹⁴⁵ S. N. Singh, *op.cit.*, pp. 14, 15.

were virtually independent and believed that they could move about in the area wherever they liked as they had been doing for centuries.¹⁴⁶

After the British occupation of Cachar, Sylhet and the plains of Bengal, the Mizos who inhabited the bordering hill ranges began to encounter unpleasant contacts with the new administration.¹⁴⁷ The commercial activity of the British, in the form of tea plantations, which started in 1855 A.D. in Cachar, closely followed the British consolidation of the region.¹⁴⁸ The British took interest in the expansion of the territory of the tea plantation and within a short period, the southern part of Cachar bordering the hills of present day Mizoram was covered by tea plantations. This aroused suspicion and alarm among the Mizos, who saw the extension of the plantations as an encroachment upon the boundary of their traditional hunting grounds and which, in due course, might possibly lead to the loss of control over their land.¹⁴⁹ Besides, they also feared that the expansion might put pressure upon their *Jhum* cultivation, which could lead to their starvation.¹⁵⁰ Subsequently, the Mizo response to this expansion took the form of frequent raids and kidnapping.¹⁵¹

Seeing how the British extended the area of their tea gardens towards their territory, the Mizos made efforts to take up defensive measures. Some chiefs established guard villages on strategic points commanding the different routes to their villages. Contact between the Mizos and the people from the plains who were working with the British were disallowed. Wood- cutters from the plains were not allowed to do

¹⁴⁶ S. B. K. Dev Varman, *op.cit.*

¹⁴⁷ Vumson, *op.cit.*, p. 107.

¹⁴⁸ S. N. Singh, *op.cit.*, p. 89.

¹⁴⁹ *ibid.*, p. 6.

¹⁵⁰ Suhas Chatterjee, *op.cit.*, p. 192.

¹⁵¹ S. N. Singh, *op.cit.*, p. 34.

their business with the Mizo traders beyond a definite point fixed by the Mizos, and they were allowed to enter the land only by water. In course of time, the Mizos were successful in putting a barrier between themselves and the British.¹⁵²

For some years, the Mizos were at peace and they carried on their life undisturbed. But trade with the plain people was deteriorating because of the blockade of the contact between the Mizos and the plain people. At the same time, news of the extension of tea gardens was received by the Mizos as a threat to their safety, and as an encroachment upon their hunting grounds. So, they renewed their raids into the territory of the British, which they also claimed as their hunting grounds.¹⁵³ So long as the Mizos remained serene and unruffled within their natural surroundings and led independent lives, the British administrators were not bothered. However, the numerous raids and violence perpetrated on the British subjects in the southern plains of Cachar and Sylhet forced the British administrators to contemplate taking control of the situation.¹⁵⁴ This caused the British administrators to become conscious of the necessity of a well defined boundary line between their territory and the Mizo territory, for proper administration and security of their frontiers.¹⁵⁵

The Mizos, whose every village formed an independent unit, were never subjugated by the Maharajas of Manipur, Tripura and Chittagong. However the series of raids conducted by them on their neighbouring tribes and plain dwellers, who were British subjects, eventually led to the British intervention in the boundary issues.¹⁵⁶ In December, 1869 A.D., J.W. Edgar, the then Deputy Commissioner of Cachar, took a

¹⁵² *Mizoram District Gazetteers, op.cit.*, pp. 28, 29.

¹⁵³ *ibid.*

¹⁵⁴ S. N. Singh, *op.cit.*, p. 95.

¹⁵⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 95- 99.

¹⁵⁶ C. Chawngkunga, *Important Documents of Mizoram*, p. 310.

tour of the Lushai Hills (present day Mizoram) and met the famous Lusei chief, Suakpuilala and many other chiefs.¹⁵⁷ He managed to reach an agreement with the Mizo chiefs and a *Sunad* was signed on 14th January, 1871 in a village called Punchangkai, down Sonai Valley which is a landmark in the history of British rule in the Lushai Hills (See Appendix No. 1).¹⁵⁸

2.3 Mizo Understanding of Boundary

Most primitive lords of the American soil were those who claimed the right to wander freely across the face of it, unimpeded by conventional boundaries, seeking new hunting grounds and pasture lands whenever the old were abandoned, and fighting their way, if necessary, to secure possession.¹⁵⁹ Likewise, in the pre-colonial period, the Mizo chiefs and their followers moved across different areas in search of better livelihood and came to the area of present day Mizoram, establishing their dominion over it at a time when it was without proper boundary.¹⁶⁰

As stated before, during the pre-colonial period, the Mizos were politically independent and due to their mode of production (shifting cultivation, which required frequent relocations), they had dispersed in different areas, which may have led them to encroach into other territories in the absence of any properly defined boundary. The Mizos could not be blamed entirely for such alleged infringement or encroachment of territories claimed by other entities due to the fact that in the pre-colonial period, boundaries between the Mizos and their neighbouring entities were unclear and

¹⁵⁷ H. K. Barpujari (ed.), *The Comprehensive History of Assam*, Volume IV, p. 180.

¹⁵⁸ Suhas Chatterjee, *op.cit.*, p. 61.

¹⁵⁹ Col. Sir Thomas H. Holdich, *op.cit.*, p. 10.

¹⁶⁰ S. N. Singh, p. 92.

undefined. In those days, their geographical concept of boundary was limited to the extent of cultivable areas and hunting grounds demarcated by rivers and hill ranges. Accordingly, whenever they moved to new locations, they simply laid claim over all the surrounding unoccupied land within their reach.

In the pre-colonial period, it can be presumed that the Mizo chief's sense of boundary was not fixed and every chief divided his loosely defended area of control among his sons whenever they were strong enough to become independent chiefs. Moreover, the chiefs themselves fought one another as a result of disputes arising from encroachment of inter-village boundary. Selection of new swidden plots and claim for them was one of the reasons for dispute among the Mizo chiefs because shifting cultivation required fertile land. But during this time, the Mizo chiefs were not clear about their exact domain as they never took steps to make their territory clearly defined for administration.¹⁶¹ Mackenzie states that in the pre-colonial period even "the chiefs claim no property in the land or in the forests. Each claims the men of his tribe wherever they wander, or in whatever part of the country they may settle for the time to jhoom. Generally speaking the jhoomers of each clan confine themselves within certain rough limits, but there is no real local jurisdiction vesting in any of the chiefs. The forests outside the State Reserves are free to all."¹⁶²

As we have seen, the occupation of the Mizos was not limited to cultivation alone. Once the *jhoom* had been prepared for seeding and the *jhoom* hut constructed, the men folk considered themselves free to go hunting in search of meat. A number of able

¹⁶¹ B.B. Goswami, 'The Mizos in the Context of State Formation' in Surajit Sinha (ed.), *Tribal Politics and State Systems in the Pre-Colonial Eastern and North-Eastern India*, pp. 316, 317.

¹⁶² Alexander Mackenzie, *op.cit.*, p. 332.

bodied young men would form a hunting party in search of big game, especially elephant. Such hunting sprees could take more than a week. The distance or extent of the hunting ground was not limited by any established boundary, reflecting their sense of boundary, which became meaningful or operative only when there was a challenge or opposing claim made by other communities. Whenever a warlike tribe or neighbouring village went on the warpath and attacked another community, it was not regarded as encroachment of boundary. And if the defending community succeeded in pushing the enemy back, they would go as far as they thought the enemies were routed without any sense of crossing a boundary line.

Therefore, it may be asserted from the above discussion that the Mizos in the pre-colonial period had a sense of boundary amongst themselves and with other communities. Mizo understanding of boundary might have been guided by the physical presence or absence of a powerful entity capable of enforcing a boundary, supported by an effective show of force. But when no such enforcement was visible, they must have simply ignored any claim of territory made by any entity.

CHAPTER THREE

Mizo Raids and its Consequences

3.1 Introduction

A raid is a hostile or predatory incursion, foray or inroad made by a marauding party into enemy territory. Raiding is as old as history itself. Indeed, it may be argued that this is how warfare used to be conducted in primitive societies, including those based on shifting cultivation, with one group of primitive men raiding the territory of another in the hope of capturing land, men and booty. Raids are characterised by a sudden, vigorous descent or onslaught and a rapid attack in order to plunder or seize property, slaves and supplies.¹⁶³

3.2 Method of Mizo Raids

After the Mizos had settled in Mizoram, there were constant inter-village disputes and warfare among themselves. At the same time, they often carried out raids on their neighbouring villages in the western and northern territories. Because of these constant raids on surrounding territories, the British came to know of the Mizos as a very powerful, warlike set of people, and also well-armed and independent.¹⁶⁴ The Mizos regarded raids as war and the prestige and position of a chief was measured according to the number of successful raids he conducted. Scarcity of land and food caused the Mizos to raid enemy villages and carry off as many captives and as much loot as possible. Besides, the British extension of their tea gardens encroached upon the forests of the then Lushai Hills, which the Mizos viewed as an encroachment upon the

¹⁶³ Malabika Das Gupta, *Economics Impact of Raids On The Shifting Cultivators Of Tripura*, p. 1.

¹⁶⁴ *The Tribes of Mizoram A Dissertation, op.cit.*, pp.9, 10.

boundary of their traditional hunting ground. As a result, the Mizos resorted to raids and thereby came into direct conflict with the British.¹⁶⁵

Among the Mizos, the method of warfare was to raid the enemy village and carry off as many captives and as much as booty as possible. Surprising the enemy was the main tactic of the raiders¹⁶⁶. They never moved forward to attack their enemy openly and only came upon their foes about an hour before dawn. In order to make sure that their enemies were unaware of the planned attack, they would send forward spies. Should their intentions be discovered, they would abandon the attack at once, and retreat as they came.¹⁶⁷ Raids were often well-planned. When all the arrangements for the proposed raid were complete, rituals were conducted to ascertain whether the spirits were auspicious. Even at this ritual stage, a raid could be abandoned if the omen was bad. When the omen was good, final preparations were made. The most striking feature of a raid was the extraordinary distance covered by the raiders to reach the scene of their operations. After a raid was over, the marauders marched for two days without cooking a meal or sleeping, so as to reach as far as possible without being apprehended by pursuers from the village they had pillaged.¹⁶⁸

During the rainy season, raiding was virtually unknown, the people being fully engaged in their cultivations. During this time, they would spend a greater part of their time attending to the year's supplies, but as soon as the dry season set in, they would make a decision as to which direction they should go for raids.¹⁶⁹ The Mizos were unlikely to start any raiding expedition before they were finished with the reaping of

¹⁶⁵ Lalrimawia, *op.cit.*, pp. 4, 5.

¹⁶⁶ Malabika Das Gupta, *op.cit.*, p. 14.

¹⁶⁷ Capt. T. H. Lewin, *op.cit.*, p. 148.

¹⁶⁸ Malabika Das Gupta, *op.cit.*, pp. 14, 15.

¹⁶⁹ Reginald A. Lorrain, *Five Years In Unknown Jungles for God and Empire*, p. 118.

their *jhum* harvests, an activity that kept them occupied well into October. It was believed that, like all other hillmen, they dreaded the climate of the plains and did not commit raids in the rainy season.¹⁷⁰ But the main reason why the Mizos indulged in raids during the winter season was because it was their leisure time, as they were free from their *jhumming* work.¹⁷¹

Raids were conducted by a tribe or a clan or a village or even a handful of young men who set forth from their territory during the raiding season, out to perpetrate their atrocities. The raiding season lasted approximately from October to March, when the crops had been gathered and there was no work of great importance to be done in the fields. Slaves who were not armed with guns accompanied the raiding parties. They carried spears and ropes and their only work was to carry the bodies of the dead and the wounded, as well as the loads of plunder. The wounded men were always carried off at once in Mizo raids.¹⁷² The Mizos frequently indulged in raiding their neighbouring tribes for procurement of wealth and slaves. The Mizo custom of head hunting also forced them to raid other neighbouring tribes. But the main intention of the Mizo raids was not to get heads, but wealth and slaves. The killing and taking of heads were merely incidentals in the raid, not the cause of it.¹⁷³

3.3 Mizo Raids in Tripura

Tripura lies to the south of Sylhet and north of Chittagong, and the kingdom formerly included the plains as well as the hills on the eastern part of the state. In 1761

¹⁷⁰ *The Lushais 1878- 1889*, p. 17.

¹⁷¹ Lalrimawia, *op.cit.*, p. 8.

¹⁷² Judicial Proceedings, March 1871, No.221, cited in Malabika Das Gupta, *op.cit.*, pp. 15, 16.

¹⁷³ Lt. Colonel J. Shakespear., *op.cit.*, pp. 59, 60.

A.D., the East India Company annexed the revenue-paying parts of the plains area of Tripura, namely, Chakla Roshnabad and occupied it in 1765 A.D. But no cognizance was taken of the hill part of Tripura that fenced them. These hills turned into an independent Tripura governed by the Maharaja, and became present day Tripura.¹⁷⁴

Around 1785 A.D., the Maharaja of Tripura was victorious over the outer Kukis who made a savage inroad into his territory. In 1808 A.D., the Paihte (Poitoo) Kukis made a determined attack on Tripura from the side of Chittagong.¹⁷⁵ On the Sylhet frontier, in 1809 A.D., there was a clash between the land-owners of the plains and the Raja's people. The British Government of India had to step in to restore order in a most determined manner. Again in 1819 A.D., there were numerous conflicts between the people of Tripura and the outer Kukis, in which the British villages were also sacked and plundered. Thus, orders for laying down a definite and easily recognized boundary were finally given, which would enable the Government to fix upon the Maharaja the responsibility of keeping order in his own territories, and to prevent the passage of marauders to the defenseless plains. At the same time, an attempt was made to get information about and pacify the tribes taking part in the earlier attacks. So, in 1822 A.D., the boundary was laid down by Lieutenant Fisher. However, the Maharaja of Tripura, though it had been settled in communication with his own agents, was dissatisfied with it. Immediately after the declaration of the boundary, there was a murderous attack upon a party of cultivators going into the British territory to *jhum*. It was believed that the perpetrators of the outrage were the people of the Maharaja, but

¹⁷⁴ Bertram S. Carey & H. N. Tuck, *The Chin Hills, Volume I*, pp. 13, 14.

¹⁷⁵ Alexander Mackenzie, *op.cit.*, p. 274.

he put the blame on the independent Kukis and took no real pain to discover the marauders.¹⁷⁶

In 1824 A.D., a report submitted to the Secret Department of British India mentioned that Paihte (Poitoo) Kukis, numbering 50 to 60 thousand, occupied the whole of the eastern and some part of the northern hills. They were said to be the most turbulent and formidable of the tribes. During this time, the Maharaja of Tripura was anxious to establish a *thanna* at Thanghum, whose inhabitants were described by him as orderly and obedient. The British Government, while raising no objection to establishing a *thanna*, declined to associate British troops with his guards on that frontier. This clearly shows that the authority exercised over the Kukis by the Maharaja of Tripura was more nominal than real. For each instance where the road linking one post to another took long detours to pass through the plains, and not across the hills, the reason was always the fear of the Kukis.¹⁷⁷ It would appear that by this time, the Maharaja of Tripura had no effective control over the Kukis, who inhabited the eastern part of the hills. However, it was certain that he did lay claim to their homage and tribute, but it was uncertain whether he was able to pressurize them, those who did not choose voluntarily, to give such homage and tribute.¹⁷⁸

The Mizos, also known as Kukis in earlier times, consolidated themselves in the eastern part of the Tripura kingdom by 1810 A.D. and found the Bengalis easy targets for their raids. As the Bengalis had become British subjects, the British regarded the Mizos as intruders into their territory when the Mizo resumed their raids against the

¹⁷⁶ *ibid.*, p. 278.

¹⁷⁷ *ibid.*, p. 277.

¹⁷⁸ *ibid.*, p. 279.

Bengalis. Matters were made worse when the Maharaja of Tripura claimed that all the outlying hills bordering Tripura belonged to him, an open land which the Mizos had regarded as their own since about the eighteenth century. Their claim was reinforced by the fact that they received yearly payments from Tripura's frontier police for bringing their forest products down to the plains, and woodcutters from Tripura had to pay a fee for protection from the Mizos. Failure to observe this system easily led to bloodshed.¹⁷⁹

In September 1826, parties of Sylhet woodcutters were killed by the Mizos under their chief Buangtheuva, in the hills ten miles to the west of the Tlawng (Dhaleswari) river, which the Maharaja of Tripura once claimed to be within his territory. The cause of the outrage was that the annual payment of the protection fee was withheld by the Zamindars of Pertabgur.¹⁸⁰ It was believed that Lalrihua, a Paihte (Poitoo) chief was also associated with this massacre.¹⁸¹ This clearly showed the reaction of the Mizos if they failed to receive the yearly payments from the frontier police or the Zamindars.

Furthermore, every rebellious member of the Maharaja's family sought refuge with the tribes of the Mizo, who inhabited the eastern part of Tripura, and encouraged them to commit outrage. In July, 1836 A.D., Ram-kanoo Thakur, a relative of the Maharaja, headed a band numbering three or four hundred men consisting of Mizo and other tribes such as Mughs, Chakmas and Tripuri and attacked the homestead of Meroki Choudri, a substantial land-owner of Kundul, in Zillah Tripura. They killed fifteen persons and wounded many others, plundered the premises and burnt it to the ground. The leading perpetrators were well known as their band had got together in the

¹⁷⁹ Vumson, *op.cit.*, p. 108.

¹⁸⁰ Alexander Mackenzie, *op.cit.*, p. 279.

¹⁸¹ *ibid.*, p. 288.

Maharaja's territory. The Maharaja was fully able to give the most effective assistance to the British in their apprehension. At the same time, the Commissioner of Chittagong raised several important questions about the proper limits of the Maharaja's territory, and his right to levy certain dues within his zamindari. This matter also came before the British Government of India, and the Maharaja, to improve his position with the authorities, turned in Ram-kanoo Thakur, who had been residing quietly in a village of Tripura since the time of the outrage.¹⁸²

Again in May 1843 A.D., Bugwan Chunder Thakur, son of Shumboo Thakur, had intrigued against the Maharaja. He brought down a band of Kukis to the plains and burnt down the village of Burmatooa, in Thannah Chagalneya, Zillah Tripura. Though the Maharaja could not be held responsible for the acts of his enemies, it was certain that had his police been at all efficient, war parties of the hill tribes could not have passed through his territory, across the ghats ostensibly held by his posts without due notice having been given and some attempt being made to stop them. This view of matters was strongly pressed upon the Maharaja, but without much ultimate effect.¹⁸³

In the winter of 1843-1844 A.D., Lalrihua, who was also mentioned in connection to the massacre of the Sylhet woodcutters in 1826 A.D. died and left his son Lalsuktla to lead his tribe. It is said that Lalrihua was killed by a Manipuri chief Ram Singh, as he refused to help Ram Singh, due to his quarrel with his brother, Tribowanjit Singh over succession to the throne. In order to avenge his father's death and to collect some human heads to accompany the spirit of his deceased father to the next world, Lalsuktla

¹⁸² *ibid.*, p. 280.

¹⁸³ *ibid.*

raided the Manipuri villages at Kochabari on 16th April, 1844 A.D.¹⁸⁴ Mr. J. P. Wise, the Collector of Sylhet and Agent for Tripura State suspected complicity of the Maharaja of Tripura, because by that time the British thought that the tribes inhabiting the eastern part of Tripura were the subjects of the Maharaja of Tripura. So, an order was given to the Maharaja to secure force by force or negotiate the surrender of the offenders to the Government before 1st December, 1844 A.D. In spite of the Maharaja having done so, an expedition led by Captain Blackwood of the Sylhet Light Infantry, called 'Blackwood's Expedition' was dispatched to punish the raiders.¹⁸⁵ Lalsuktla was offered a guarantee that his life would be spared if he surrendered, which he took to mean a free pardon. Thus, on 4th December, 1844 A.D., Lalsuktla surrendered and confessed to the raid, but professed ignorance of the fact that it had been carried out on British subjects. However, this plea of ignorance was not admitted and he was eventually transported for life. Consequently, the Mizos looked upon the deportation of their chief as a breach of agreement, and this became one of the reasons for their continuous outrages against the British.¹⁸⁶

Since the Mizos often committed raids on their neighbouring tribes armed with muskets, some considered that no tribe could stand before them. By 1847 A.D., the increasing power of the Mizo tribes drew the attention of Colonel McCulloch, Political Agent in Manipur. As the Mizos were known to belong to Tripura, he urged that they be restrained from there. But when the Maharaja of Tripura was asked what he knew of them, he replied that he had heard of them, but knew nothing more about them as they were not his subjects.¹⁸⁷ In June the same year, the Magistrate of Sylhet reported a

¹⁸⁴ Lethuama Darlong, *op.cit.*, p. 37.

¹⁸⁵ Lal Biak Thanga, *op.cit.*, p. 109.

¹⁸⁶ R. G. Woodthorpe, *The Lushai Expedition 1871- 1872*, p. 12.

¹⁸⁷ Alexander Mackenzie, *op.cit.*, p. 290.

series of massacres by Kukis in what was alleged to be British territory. Around 150 persons were killed and the victims were the Kukis themselves. The case took on a most serious feature as the Maharaja of Tripura declared that the outrage took place within his authority, and protested against the interference of the Magistrate. However, the Sylhet authorities persisted that the spot was within the district boundary as laid down by Captain Fisher and a detachment of troops was sent out to protect the neighbourhood. At the same time, four local investigations of the boundary, one by the Magistrate of the district, proclaimed that the place of slaughter was within the British territory. But matters became more serious when large bodies of Kukis attacked the British troops. Colonel Lister was ordered to the spot with reinforcements and a professional surveyor. However, it was discovered that Fisher's boundary line lay far north from the place, and so the troops were withdrawn and nothing was said of the attack on them.¹⁸⁸

During the next cold season in November 1849 A.D., the Mizos again attacked the border of Sylhet and the southern frontier of Cachar. Mr. Verner, the Superintendent of Cachar, informed the Secretary, Government of Bengal, that the invaders were independent Lusei tribes residing in the hills far south of Cachar. The authorities at Fort William made enquiries about the raiders from the Maharaja of Tripura, and came to know that they were not his subjects. Verner also reported that the raiders lived beyond the limit of his power of apprehension.¹⁸⁹ Soon, it was found that the raids were conducted by Chief Ngura, the son of Chief Lallianvunga. Accordingly, to punish the raiders, an expedition was sent out by the Deputy Governor of Bengal, and command was entrusted to Lieutenant Colonel Lister, the Political Agent of Khasi

¹⁸⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 290, 291.

¹⁸⁹ Suhas Chatterjee, *op.cit.*, p. 28.

Hills and Commandant of the Sylhet Light Infantry. The Expedition started from Cachar on 4th January, 1850 A.D. and marched straight through the south, and on 14th January they arrived at the large village of Ngura, which Colonel Lister at once attacked and destroyed.¹⁹⁰

Colonel Lister considered that, in order to manage the outrages of the Mizos, a troop of about three thousand men would be needed, and that a road, along one of the ridges of hills that ran north to south, would have to be prepared in the country. At the same time, as a protective measure, the establishment of armed outposts of friendly Kukis along the frontier was advocated. He also suggested the formation of a Kuki levy, who will be employed as scout to keep watch over the Kukis in the southern jungles. So, from the Kuki levy, the information regarding the Mizos and the events which occurring on the other frontier would be easily known by the British. The British Government of Bengal accepted the recommendations of Colonel Lister and further opened up negotiations with the Mizo chiefs. In October 1850 A.D., Suakpuilala, the great chief of the Western Lusei, and four other Lusei chiefs sent deputies with friendly overtures to the Superintendent in Cachar.¹⁹¹ The main objective of this move was to secure British protection from the Pawi, even though such requests were turned down. However, the British authorities assured the Lusei that they would not be disturbed and would be treated as friends if they respected the boundary. Later in 1855 A.D., the question of disbanding the Kuki levy was raised but the local authorities strongly urged for its retention, as it was providing real service in checking and procuring information about the Mizos.¹⁹²

¹⁹⁰ R. G. Woodthorpe, *op.cit.*, pp. 12, 13.

¹⁹¹ *ibid.*, pp. 13- 16.

¹⁹² *Mizoram Districts Gazetteers, op.cit.*, p. 27.

Then, again in 1860 A.D., a brutal attack was made on the Maharaja's territory, in which several villages were destroyed before the raiders were driven back to the hills.¹⁹³ Earlier in December 1859 A.D., rumours had reached the local officers of Tripura District that the interior of Tripura was in a very disturbed state. Subsequently, the reports received in Chittagong, in early January 1860 A.D. confirmed the assembling of a body of 400 to 500 Kukis at the head of the river Fenny. Before any intimation of their purpose could reach the British authorities, the Kukis moved down the course of the Fenny river and on 31st January, 1860 A.D., they burst into the plains of Tripura at Chagulneyah, They burnt and plundered 15 villages, butchered 185 British subjects and carried off about 100 captives. Troops and police were sent to the spot as quickly as possible, but the Kukis remained only a day or two on the plains, and they had already retired to the hills by the same way they came.¹⁹⁴ The *Rajmahal* of Kailas Chandra Singha, reveals that one brave person, Guna Gazi, collected some guns and people and resisted the raiders. The hill men who had perpetrated the raids were reported to be the followers of Chief Rothangpuia, whose clan was known to live far up between the upper reaches of the Fenny and Karnaphuli (Khawthlang tuipui) rivers.¹⁹⁵

In January 1861 A.D., while Captain Raban marched against the village of Chief Rothangpuia, a large body of Kukis attacked the villages of Tripura near the police station of Udaipur from the south. The few constables posted there fled without offering any resistance to the raiders. They massacred and plundered the inhabitants and carried off many captives. After burning and destroying three populous villages and a prosperous mart, Chandrapore, situated about 24 miles east of Comilla, which owed

¹⁹³ Bertram S. Carey & H. N. Tuck, *op.cit.*, p. 14.

¹⁹⁴ Alexander Mackenzie, *op.cit.*, p. 342.

¹⁹⁵ C. Chawngkunga, *op.cit.*, p. 18.

its prosperity to the Bengali merchants residing there, the raiders retired eastwards. Between two to three hundred persons were involved in the attack and the loss of life was enormous. Not less than three hundred people were killed or captured, consisting mostly of Bengalis and Bengalicised Tipperahs. Also, there was wanton destruction of cattle.¹⁹⁶After this, there were minor and subsequent outrages on Seentadhur and Lallthugah Barees. The loss of property was considerable there but owing to the spirited resistance offered by the inhabitants of these two villages, few lives were lost. Either the same or another band of similar marauders threatened the villages of the friendly Kukis east of Shib Bazar and burnt Chintadhurbaree and Lletumbaree. While the able-bodied men were on the defensive at Hawan Bari, the fugitives under Sinthang Chowdry took shelter in the hills bordering British territory.¹⁹⁷

As a result, the Government of India ordered the deputation of a confidential officer to confer with the Maharaja of Tripura and to compel him to adopt proper measures of defence against the Kukis. In July, 1861 A.D., Captain Graham, the then Superintendent of Chittagong Hill tracts, undertook the duty and got the Maharaja to come down and meet the Commissioner at Commillah. He then undertook to establish five frontier posts of 20 men each, connected by road; a stockade of 150 men on the Fenny connected with the posts by road, and to entertain six drill instructors for the British army; lastly, to admit a topographical survey. The establishment of strongly fortified posts served to secure the frontier of the Hill Tracts for a short time. The Kukis continued to raid their neighbouring tribes even as the Maharaja of Tripura set up frontier posts for the defence of his territory as well as that of the British.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁶ Judicial Proceedings, February 1861, No. 122, cited in Malabika Das Gupta, *op.cit.*, p. 21.

¹⁹⁷ Judicial Proceedings, February 1861, Nos. 183 and 184, *ibid.*

¹⁹⁸ Alexander Mackenzie, *op.cit.*, p. 345.

In 1862 A.D., the Kuki raids were revived and they continued to occur in Tripura at intervals until the year 1870 A.D. It was reported in 1862 A.D. that Paihte Kukis in association with other Kukis, who were their relatives, formed different gangs and attacked sixteen villages within Tripura.¹⁹⁹ In the same year, three localities, Lungaibaree, Ramdulal's Bari and Rammohun Bari in Tripura and Chundraipara in Sylhet were attacked, but the Maharaja of Tripura had made no enquiry about the attack in his villages. From the evidence taken on the spot, it was assumed that the raiders were dependants of Chief Ngursailova, son of Lalsuktla who was captured by the British in 1844 A.D. At the same time, it was assured that Ngursailova was an actual subject of the Maharaja of Tripura and on good terms with him. So, in November 1862 A.D., the Government ordered a strong post of armed police to be established somewhere on the Sylhet Frontier. Simultaneously, they warned the Maharaja of Tripura that any outrage on villages situated in the neighbourhood of his territory could no longer be tolerated and recommended him to send in armed police in those places, in order to prevent future outrages. However, the Commissioner of Dacca was strongly of the opinion that the raiders were the Lusei, who were not the subjects of the Maharaja of Tripura.²⁰⁰

Later in 1863 A.D., four women who had been carried away from the Chundraipara raid in 1862 A.D. managed to flee to Cachar and were forwarded to Sylhet. They stated that the raid in 1862 A.D. had been led by Ngursailova, Suakpuilala, Hrangvunga and Lalhuliana. As stated before, the first was the son of Lalsuktla; the second was the Sailo chief who settled in the banks of the Tlawng (Dhaleswari) river and was virtually independent, the other two were related in some

¹⁹⁹ Judicial Proceedings, June 1862, No. 6, cited in *ibid.*, p. 22.

²⁰⁰ Alexander Mackenzie., *op.cit.*, pp. 297, 298.

way to Ngursailova.²⁰¹ The Sylhet authorities desired an expedition to be sent against the marauders, but it was feared that this might bring down the Mizos to the tea-gardens, which were rapidly spreading south. Before attempting force, Captain Stewart, the Deputy Commissioner of Cachar, desired to open up negotiations with Suakpuilala to persuade him to give up the captives in his possession. A new Maharaja, Birchandra Manikya, had in the meantime assumed the reins of government in Tripura, and to strengthen his position, he offered to do all in his power to seize Ngursailova and Suakpuilala. However, his offer was refused, as the negotiation with the latter seemed to promise fairly. In December, 1865 A.D. it was reported that Suakpuilala had not given up the captives. Since no satisfactory reason was given for the non-compliance with the terms of his agreement, an expedition was organized to compel the release of the captives.²⁰²

During the rainy season of 1866A.D., Captain Stewart was employed to inquire into the accessibility and position of Suakpuilala's villages. He calculated that no approach could be made from the Chittagong side and that at least four hundred men should be sent from Cachar. So the idea of an expedition was then abandoned. Before long, Suakpuilala opened negotiations again, by sending in the annual presents, but no captives. After much trouble, four captives were sent in. It was said that Ngursailova, through whom Suakpuilala obtained muskets from Tripura, prevented Suakpuilala from sending the other captives.²⁰³ Besides, many of the captives were said to be married to the Luseis, and some were sold to the Pawi. Somehow, friendly relations continued between the British and the Mizos.²⁰⁴

²⁰¹ *ibid.*, p. 298.

²⁰² R. G. Woodthorpe, *op.cit.*, pp. 19- 21.

²⁰³ *ibid.*, p. 22.

²⁰⁴ Vumson, *op.cit.*, p. 110.

In 1868-1869 A.D., villages in Tripura were raided by Suakpuilala, and Hrangvunga, a Lusei chief of Tripura, fled from him and took refuge in Sylhet.²⁰⁵ In October 1869 A.D., Bir Chandra, the then Jubraj (the crown prince) of Tripura, wrote to the Officiating Commissioner of the Chittagong Division: 'It is well known to you that Kuchaks made great outrage last year in the northern part of my rajgee'. In another letter to the Commissioner of the Chittagong Division, Bir Chandra wrote on January 1870 A.D.: 'Suakpuilala and some other Lusei tribes now and again lay inroads on my subjects and last year Suakpuilala and other Lusei tribes invaded my territory towards the Districts of Kylashur, oppressed the inhabitants severely and slew many of them'.²⁰⁶

In *Tripura Mizo History*, Zairemthanga also talks about the raid conducted by Suakpuilala against Hrangvunga, chief of Darlong, a Mizo tribe who migrated into Tripura earlier. According to Zairemthanga, Hrangvunga was the husband of Suakpuilala's sister Vanhnuaithangi. As they had no children, Vanhnuaithangi decided to return to her brother's village along with 70 families loyal to her. Suakpuilala took offence at what he regarded to be an insult to his sister and decided to punish Hrangvunga. He sent word to Hrangvunga that he might marry the younger sister Rohlupuii, but that he would demand a high bride price. Hrangvunga sent his emissary and after the marriage agreement was settled, Suakpuilala asked them to send as many people as possible to escort the bride. When the bride party struck camp in the jungle, before they reached the village of Suakpuilala, Suakpuilala's party attacked them, killing fifty of them and the rest fled with their chief all the way to their village. Suakpuilala chased them to their village. But when they entered the village they found

²⁰⁵ Alexander Mackenzie., *op.cit.*, p. 301.

²⁰⁶ Foreign Department, Political A, No. 222, July 1870, cited in Malabika Das Gupta, *op.cit.*, p. 22.

it totally deserted because all the people had fled towards Kailashar. On the way to Kailashar, they killed two plain people and carried off their heads. When they reached Kailashar, there was an exchange of fire with the Maharaja's soldiers. They turned back without any casualty.²⁰⁷ There is a disparity in the records of Zairemthanga and Alexander Mackenzie regarding the name of the brother-in-law of Suakpuilala. While Zairemthanga declares Hrangvunga to be the brother-in-law of Suakpuilala, Mackenzie mentions Ngursailova, who was held responsible for the raid of 1863 A.D. as the brother-in-law of Suakpuilala. It appears that the British officers confused the identity of Suakpuilala's brother-in-law.

During the same period, in November 1868 A.D., attacks were carried out on some Naga villages in Manipur, and in December, on a village near Adumpore in Sylhet. On 15th January, 1869 A.D., the Lushais burnt the tea garden of Loharbund in Cachar and then attacked Monierkhall. Since the Mizos conducted a series of raids in different areas, the Deputy Commissioner of Cachar lost no time in taking measures for the protection of other outlying gardens. Suakpuilala and Vanpuilala were supposed to be the chiefs implicated in the raids. So an expedition was organized for the purpose of following the marauders to their villages.²⁰⁸ The punitive expedition of 1869 A.D. consisted of three columns- the West Dhaleswari Column was headed by Colonel Nuthall; the Sylhet Column was headed by Mr. Kimbley and Mr. Baker who were to meet with the west column in Suakpuilala's village, and the East Cachar to Vanpuilala village was headed by J.W.Edgar.²⁰⁹ However, the expedition was unsuccessful as the country traversed was very imperfectly known. The wild nature of the country and the

²⁰⁷ Zairemthanga, *op.cit.*, pp. 16- 18.

²⁰⁸ Alexander Mackenzie, *op.cit.*, p. 301.

²⁰⁹ India, Foreign Department Political A, March 1869. No. 313, cited in Suhas Chatterjee, *op.cit.*, p. 57.

rains were responsible for the failure of the expedition. Besides, the expedition of 1869 A.D. was doomed from the very beginning. The authorities of Cachar wanted the expedition even against heavy odds, to which the Government of India agreed very reluctantly. The authorities of Fort William limited the operations to the particular season. It is obvious that a military operation like this, where there was no clear understanding between the local and central authorities, would end in failure. Moreover, lack of coordination, more so miscommunications, sealed the fate of the expedition.²¹⁰

As the expedition of 1869 A.D. failed in its principal objectives- the punishment of the tribes involved in the outrages of 1868 - 1869 A.D. and the rescue of the captives taken, it was suggested by the Lieutenant Governor to the Government of India that a fresh expedition should be carefully organized and sent into the Lusei country early in the cold weather of 1869-70 A.D. However, the Government of India objected to any renewal of active military operations against the Luseis. The plan which the Government of India wished to carry out was to place a well qualified officer to deal with the tribes and in the meantime, the frontier posts should be strengthened and patrols established. In a demi-official correspondence which passed between the Viceroy, Lord Mayo and Sir W. Grey in October, 1869 A.D. and which was afterwards brought on official record, Lord Mayo expressed the strongest objection to any more military expeditions against the Luseis. He suggested settling down protected communities of the tribe outside the Cachar border, arming them and utilising them to repel incursions from beyond. At the same time, Lord Mayo also advocated placing a

²¹⁰ *ibid.*, p. 59.

Political Agent in Tripura.²¹¹ The whole atmosphere of the British frontiers was surcharged with several explosions and it appeared that there was no hope of return to normalcy in the Anglo-Lusei relationship but a desperate bid was made by J.W. Edgar, the Deputy Commissioner of Cachar. Edgar made an extensive tour of the Lusei country in the cold season of 1870- 71 A.D. and submitted an elaborate report to the Government of Bengal. During his tour, Edgar was able to convince Suakpuilala of the utility of a well defined boundary of Southern Cachar and his dominion. So, an arrangement was made and a *Sunad* (see Appendix No.1) was signed on 14th January, 1871 A.D.²¹²

Before any of the arrangements suggested by Mr. Edgar could be carried out, and while he was actually at Suakpuilala's village discussing matters with him, in January 1871, the Luseis in concert with the Haulongs and the Sailos, tribes living close to the Chittagong frontier, conducted a series of raids. These raids were on a more extensive scale and of a far more determined character than any previous incursions of the kind.²¹³ In the latter part of January 1871 A.D., a party of Luseis made their appearance in Tripura, a four hours' journey south of Adampore, burning villages and killing and wounding the villagers. On 21st January, the *khedda* people who were engaged in catching elephants some distance south of the Sylhet outposts were fired upon and dispersed. A village named Pooyarbari was plundered and destroyed. The next day, another village, Boongbari, was burnt. The *khedda* people said that the assailants were

²¹¹ Alexander Mackenzie, *op.cit.*, p. 303.

²¹² Suhas Chatterjee, *op.cit.*, pp. 60, 61.

²¹³ Alexander Mackenzie, *op.cit.*, p. 305.

about 200 to 300 strong.²¹⁴ At the same time, a Kuki village somewhere east of Puldhar was also attacked.²¹⁵

In the same year, on 2nd March, a hundred men armed with guns and daos made their appearance on the Goomtee, about 40 miles east of Comillah.²¹⁶ This body of Kuki men fired upon ten men out wood-cutting, of whom three went missing.²¹⁷ Reang villages there were also reported to be cut up.²¹⁸ Around the same time, 500 Kukis were reported east of the Chagulniah Thannah in Tripura District, but they appeared to have done little damage to life. They only burnt and plundered the deserted homesteads of the Tripuris.²¹⁹ At another place on the Teotecah Reang's baree, located close to Udaipur, a raid was also committed. Some two or three villages in the vicinity of Shonamura were burnt down and some 12 persons' carcasses were found without heads.²²⁰ Some unknown tribe, reported to number about 500, appeared in Tripura about 12 miles east of Udaipur, a village on the river of Gumti, about 20 miles above Comillah. A similar body was reported by the police of Chagalnayah station to have made their appearance on the same date in the Tripura hills about 20 miles east of the station. Both parties were reported to be engaged in plundering and burning the villages of Tripura and later on, moved south.²²¹

While attacks were on different villages in Tripura, the raiders also carried out raids in Cachar, Sylhet and Manipur during the same period. Since the peace of the

²¹⁴ *ibid.*, p. 307.

²¹⁵ Judicial Proceedings, March 1871, No. 166, cited in Malabika Das Gupta, *op.cit.*, p. 22.

²¹⁶ Alexander Mackenzie, *op.cit.*, p. 307.

²¹⁷ Foreign Department, Political A, March 1871, Nos. 562 and 570, *ibid.*

²¹⁸ Judicial Proceedings, March 1871, Nos. 181-183, cited in Malabika Das Gupta, *op.cit.*, p. 23.

²¹⁹ Alexander Mackenzie, *op.cit.*, p. 23.

²²⁰ Judicial Proceedings, March 1871, No. 373, cited in Malabika Das Gupta, *op.cit.*, p. 23.

²²¹ Judicial Proceedings, March 1871, No. 375, *ibid.*, pp. 23, 24.

eastern frontier of Bengal was constantly disturbed by Mizo raids, the Bengal Government suspected that some of these raids were manipulated by the Maharaja of Tripura. Their suspicion gained ground, bolstered by the fact that the Maharaja, though claiming suzerainty over these tribes, shirked all responsibilities in respect to these raids, saying that he had no control over these tribes. As the Lusei-Kuki outrages took a serious turn during 1868-69 A.D., the Bengal Government sent a punitive expedition into the Lusei Hills. As the expedition failed, raids continued as before. The Bengal Government then made preparations to send another expedition into the Lusei country. But Lord Mayo, the Viceroy of India was against any further military expedition, and suggested establishing friendly relations with them. At the same time, in October, 1869 A.D. he advocated the idea of placing a Political Agent for Tripura.²²² So, A.W.B. Power was appointed as the first Political Agent in Tripura, who arrived at Agartala on 1st August 1871. The duties assigned to him were of two kinds: one, those related to the Maharaja's relations with the Lusei-Kuki tribes; and the other, in respect of the Maharaja's internal administration (See Appendix No. 2). However the appointment of the Political Agent in Tripura was purely the British policy of indirect rule.²²³

During the same period, in July 1871 A.D., the Governor- General in the Council of Government of India decided that a punitive expedition should be sent into the Lusei country during the cold weather of 1871-72 A.D. to punish the tribes involved in the last raid. The force was to consist of two columns, one starting from Chittagong, the other from Cachar; and a contingent force was to also be supplied by the Raja of Manipur.²²⁴ So, two columns were organized. The object was neither annexation nor

²²² Dipak Kumar Chaudhuri, *Reflections On The History Of Tripura*, pp. 30, 31.

²²³ *ibid.*, p. 55.

²²⁴ R. G. Woodthorpe, *op.cit.*, p. 37.

retaliation but to strengthen the previous policy of conciliation. The right or the Chittagong column was under the command of General Brownlow and Captain Lewin, Superintendent of the Chittagong Hill tracts, as Civil Officer. The left or Cachar column was under General Bouchier and Mr. Edgar as Civil Officer. The Cachar column, after reaching Champhai, subdued the tribes of Vanpuilala, Poiboi, Vanhnuailiana and dictated terms upon Vanhnuailiana's widow. The Chittagong column compelled the powerful Mizo Haulong chiefs Bengkhuaia, Savunga and others to tender their submission. Several Sailo chiefs representing the Sailo clan also submitted on the same terms as the Haulongs under which the Sailos would allow free access to British agents to their villages, surrender the guns taken at Monierkhal and Nugdigram, release the captives including the daughter of the late Mr. Winchester, and pay a large quantity of fines in kind.²²⁵ After 1871 A.D., Tripura was free from the scourge of Mizo raids, though from time to time it was negatively affected by rumours of impending Lusei raids. Lusei raids on British India that had a bearing on Tripura are briefly summed up in Appendix No. 3, so that the Lusei raids on Tripura are not seen in isolation and are seen in the proper perspective.²²⁶

Many factors were responsible for the raids conducted by the Mizo tribes in Tripura. The Maharaja's bid to control the Luseis could be one of the factors. However, the political influence of the Maharaja of Tripura dwindled considerably in the Lusei Hills at the beginning of the nineteenth century. But at this time, it appeared that the Maharaja did not exercise effective control over the Kukis of the east and the authority exerted by the Maharaja over the Kukis was more nominal than real. Though the Maharaja of Tripura laid claim to their homage and tribute, it is doubtful if he was

²²⁵ Lalrimawia, *op.cit.*, pp. 36, 37.

²²⁶ Malabika Das Gupta, *op.cit.*, pp. 99- 102.

strong enough to coerce the tribes of Mizo who did not choose to give these voluntarily. Moreover, the Tripura Maharajas used to carry on a desultory warfare with the various Mizo tribes living on the east of their state. The chronic irritation that existed between Tripura and the tribes of Mizos led to frequent depredations in Tripura by the Mizos. It was felt that if the Tripura Maharajas gave up their attacks on the Mizo tribes, the latter's raids into Tripura would not be so frequent.²²⁷

Then again, because of the peculiar rule of succession to the Tripura throne, almost every vacancy in the Tripura Raj produced disturbances and gave rise to Mizo raids. Discontented aspirants to the Tripura throne often took refuge among the Luseis and incited them to raid in Tripura. Problems relating to succession to the throne exposed the inhabitants of the hills to attacks from the Kukis who were called in as auxiliaries by one or the other of the contending parties to the throne.²²⁸ Moreover, some of the Maharaja's own subjects who were infuriated by the constant exactions of the Maharaja were believed to have invited the Kukis to ravage his territory.²²⁹ Furthermore, rivalry among the Lusei chiefs also led to raids. Suakpuilala invaded Tripura to capture Hrangvunga, the Darlong chief, who was a subject of the Maharaja of Tripura.²³⁰ At the time, the wealth of a Lusei chief was not calculated by his gold nor garments nor his flock and herd. But his real weight and influence were gauged by the number of men who lived under his shelter.²³¹ Since the strength of a chief was determined by the number of households he had under his control, a frequent cause of raids by the hill men was a grudge against their fellow clansmen who had abandoned their chiefs and taken refuge in Tripura. Sometimes, raids were simulated to attain the

²²⁷ Alexander Mackenzie 1999, pp. 276-279, cited in Malabika Das Gupta, *ibid.*, pp. 25, 26.

²²⁸ Hunter 1973, p. 460, cited in Malabika Das Gupta, *ibid.*, pp. 26, 27.

²²⁹ Hunter 1973, p. 469 and Mackenzie 1999, p. 343, cited in Malabika Das Gupta, *ibid.*, p. 28.

²³⁰ *ibid.*, p. 28.

²³¹ Foreign Department, Political A, January 1872, No. 299, cited in Malabika Das Gupta, *ibid.*, p. 28.

possession of the Kukis residing in Tripura and persuade them from their allegiance to the Maharaja (See Appendix No. 4).²³² The main reason why the Mizo tribes often conducted raids was to gain booty in the form of portable articles that could be found and taken away as fast as possible. Since the Lushai Hills were full of jungles, the only occupations that provided food to the people were *jhumming* and hunting, so the Luseis basically had a subsistence economy.²³³ Therefore, the Lusei economy was more or less dependent on raids because of shortage of food. Besides, due to famine, they had to conduct raids against their neighbours and live on the spoils of plunder. The western border with the Lusei country was more at risk to Lusei raids because the eastern part of the Lusei country suffered the least from famine, no doubt in part from natural causes and partly because being stronger and more warlike, the chiefs had stores of plunder to fall back on. On the western side, the chiefs and their people were poorer and the scarcity was more severe.²³⁴

Nevertheless, the Mizo raids cannot be wholly attributed to the primary motive of plunder.²³⁵ Other intentions for the raids were the procurement of slaves and head hunting.²³⁶ The main reason why the Mizos hunted for heads was to prove themselves as warriors. Also, the search for human heads usually happened soon after the death of a chief, as human heads were used in the ceremonies performed at the funeral of their chiefs.²³⁷

²³² *ibid.*, pp. 28, 29.

²³³ Chatterjee 1990, Vol.II p. 584, cited in Malabika Dad Gupta, *ibid.*, p. 29.

²³⁴ *ibid.*, p. 29.

²³⁵ Judicial Proceedings, March 1861, No. 115, cited in Malbika Das Gupta, *ibid.*, p. 29.

²³⁶ Judicial Proceedings, May 1861, No. 17, cited in Malabika Das Gupta, *ibid.*, pp. 29, 30.

²³⁷ Sangkima, *op.cit.*, p. 65.

3.4 Boundary Disputes and Settlement between Mizoram and Tripura

In light of the fact that indistinct or unknown boundaries in many cases were responsible for many frontier explosions and for administrative convenience as well, a well defined boundary line was crucial. So, the Governor General-in-Council ordered two survey parties for the Lushai Hills to accompany the two columns of the expedition forces of 1871-72 A.D.²³⁸ Major J. Macdonald went along with the right or Chittagong Column, pushing north from Chittagong, and Captain Badgley, in charge of the northern party, started from Cachar along with the left or Cachar Column.²³⁹ Accordingly, the parties topographically surveyed 6,500 square miles of new and difficult terrain. On the basis of this new survey, the parties recommended a new boundary. The Government of India accepted most of the recommendations which related to the eastern boundary of Tripura, the boundary between Cachar and Lushai Hills and the Chittagong Hill Tracts and the Lushai Hills.²⁴⁰ At the close of the expedition, when the line of policy to be adopted was laid down by the Government of India, it was decided that the responsibility for the defence of Tripura should rest with the Maharaja, who should also be called upon to cooperate effectually in the establishment of a defensive line in order to bar the door of access through his territory to the British districts.²⁴¹ Defence of the frontier was the primary consideration in drawing the boundary. Mr. Tanner, the Deputy Superintendent of Revenue Survey, urged to discard the former boundary as it had never had any existence except on paper.²⁴²

²³⁸ Suhas Chatterjee, *op.cit.*, pp. 78- 80.

²³⁹ Alexander Mackenzie, *op.cit.*, pp. 816, 817.

²⁴⁰ Lalrimawia, *op.cit.*, p. 64.

²⁴¹ *The Lushais 1878-1889*, *op.cit.*, p. 1.

²⁴² Suhas Chatterjee, *op.cit.*, p. 79.

The Report of Political officer, Mr. J.W. Edgar of the left Column of the Lushai Expedition, dated 3rd April, 1872 A.D. stated that an attempt was made to lay down the approximate western limit of Suakpuilala's territory. But it was difficult to mark the western limit of Suakpuilala's territory, as Suakpuilala said that he had no influence in the west of the range on which Chattarchura was situated. The country to the west of Suakpuilala's territory was nominally the subject of the Maharaja of Tripura, but the eastern boundary of the Raja's territory was very uncertain. Edgar considered that the best geographical boundary between Tripura and the Lushai Hills would be the continuation of the watershed that divides Sylhet from Cachar.²⁴³ So the Langkaih (Langai) river, between the Hachhek and Jampui ranges, to its source Betling Shib Peak, then across to the Dolajuri Peak and then by the recognised southern boundary to the Fenny was accepted as the boundary of Tripura.²⁴⁴ The boundary dispute between Lushai Hill, now Mizoram, and Tripura, originated with the notification issued by the Government of India in 1874 A.D, fixing the Langkaih (Langai) river as the eastern boundary of the State.²⁴⁵

In the pre-colonial period, the Maharaja of Tripura claimed the entire territory bordering the Kingdom of Burma. According to Major A.G. McCall, the Maharaja of Tripura once was the nephew of the King of Burma. However, their relation was so strained that the Maharaja was driven out of his state by the King of Burma. On their flight, the Maharaja's party carried a cock to crow and at a certain place, the cock did crow with unmistakable determination. So the Maharaja took it as a sign that there was a place where they might find it safe to halt. At that point, they constructed

²⁴³ E. F. Sandys, *op.cit.*, pp. 66, 67.

²⁴⁴ Suhas Chatterjee, *op.cit.*, p. 80.

²⁴⁵ Maharaj Kumar & Sahadev Bikram Kishore Dev Barman(ed.), *Tripura State Eastern Boundary Dispute.*, p. 5.

fortifications about a hundred yards in length, and in the course of which a lake was dug. This lake came to be known as Rengdil, which is now situated within the territory of present day Mizoram.²⁴⁶ From this account, the reason why the Maharaja of Tripura claimed the eastern boundary with Burma could be surmised. A well-known document furnishing evidence on this point is Major Rennell's map of Bengal, published in 1781 on the order of the Hon'ble Court of Directors which shows the eastern boundary of the state as touching the confines of the 'Dominions of Ava' i.e., Burma.²⁴⁷ Also, Alexander Mackenzie observes as follows: "In Pemberton's report we find that all the Lushai country east to Manipur was once considered to belong to Tipperah."²⁴⁸

In the Revenue Survey map of Cachar published in 1842 A.D., the country south of the boundary line of Cachar was mentioned as belonging to Tripura. Alexander Mackenzie also confirms this fact by indicating that:

"The southern extremity of the Suddashur hills was the south-east corner of Cachar. It would appear from this that the narrow hilly tract running down between Hill Tippera and of Manipur and represented in our most recent map as part of Cachar was in Pemberton's time considered to be part of Hill Tippera."²⁴⁹

After Sylhet had become a British district, the Survey Department assigned Lieutenant Fisher to define the boundaries of Sylhet in 1821 A.D. His duty also concerned the laying down of the northern boundary of Tripura, so far as it was co-

²⁴⁶ Major A.G. McCall, *Lushai Chrysalis*, p. 304.

²⁴⁷ Maharaj Kumar & Sahadev Bikram Kishore Dev Barman(ed.), *op.cit.*, p. 5.

²⁴⁸ *ibid.*

²⁴⁹ Alexander Mackenzie, p. 286, cited in Maharaj Kumar & Sahadev Bikram Kishore Barman(ed.), *ibid.*, pp. 5,6.

extensive with the southern boundary line of Sylhet. Lieutenant Fisher carried the common boundary line between Sylhet and Tripura only up to the Tlawng (Dhaleswari) river which was the eastern boundary of the Sylhet District in those days. Lieutenant Fisher's operations in regard to this portion of the boundary were carried on in the presence of the agents of Tripura, but his conclusions were disputed by the Durbar (Government) of Tripura (See Appendix No. 5&6). So, they were referred to the courts in British India, which ultimately decided that no British court had jurisdiction to decide issues between the two States. An arbitration was thereupon arranged in 1849 A.D. with Mr. Yule, a nominee of the Government, and Mr. Campbell, a nominee of Tripura, as arbitrators, and Mr. Coull, a planter of Mymensingh, as referee. Thus, the final decision of the boundary was delivered in 1851 A.D and it traced the common boundary between Sylhet and Tripura up to the Tlawng (Dhaleswari) river where the Cachar District commenced (See Appendix No. 7).²⁵⁰

Even so, as late as 1857 A.D, the report of the extent of the eastern boundary of Tripura in Thornton's Gazetteer, another authorized publication, compiled chiefly from government papers, is as below:

“Tippera (Independent) - An extensive tract of mountainous country, bounded on the north by the British districts of Sylhet and Cachar, on the east by the territory of Burmah, on the south by Burmah and Chittagong, and on the west by the British districts of Tippera. It is 130 miles in the length, from east to west, and 80 miles in breadth and contains an area of 7,632 square miles.”²⁵¹

²⁵⁰ *ibid.*, p. 6.

²⁵¹ Thornton's Gazetteer, 1857, p. 997, cited in Maharaj Kumar & Sahadev Bikram Kishore Barman (ed.), *ibid.*, p.6.

Later, a map of the acquisition of the British territories in Bengal and Burmese provinces, illustrative of the political relations of the British Government with the native states, published in 1862 A.D by Lieutenant-Colonel Thuillier, Surveyor General of India, clearly showed “Tippera Raj” as extending to the furthest eastern limit of Cachar.²⁵²

This was the condition of the eastern boundary of Tripura when the Mizos, who were a sturdy hill tribe from the east, came into prominence because of their routine of raiding neighbouring tribes, some of which were British subjects. The British Government of India sent a punitive expedition in the Lushai Hills and the Maharaja of Tripura was also asked to co-operate in the expedition. After the expedition, the Government of India decided that an inner line, for the purpose of defending the frontier, constituting the eastern boundary of Tripura should be defined and the Maharaja of Tripura was entrusted with the task of defending the line as his boundary.²⁵³

One of the Political Officers of the Lushai Expedition of 1871-72 A.D., Mr. J.W. Edgar, observed that the most excellent geographical boundary between Tripura and the Lushai Hills would be the continuation of the water-shed that divides Sylhet from Cachar.²⁵⁴ He proposed for the Chatterchoora ranges following the Hachhek Hill as far as practicable, and some other landmark west of the Gatur thence up to the Sorphuel peak. By that time, he thought that the line so laid down would correspond with the actual limits of the authority exercised by the Maharaja of Tripura.²⁵⁵ At the same time,

²⁵² *ibid.*, p. 6.

²⁵³ *ibid.*, pp. 6, 7.

²⁵⁴ Alexander Mackenzie, *op.cit.*, p. 461.

²⁵⁵ Maharaj Kumar & Sahadev Bikram Kishore Dev Barman, *op.cit.*, Exhibit B p. 13.

the Political Agent of Tripura, Mr. A.W.B Power mentioned the boundary of Tripura and by that time it was:

“The territory over which the Rajah has a *bona fide* nominal control is bounded on the east by a range of hill running southward from Chatter Choorra to Sorphueul peak, and from thence in a zig-zag line to Surdaing. On the east of this line, the *Lushai* land commences, and on the west there is much uninhabited and unexplored jungle.”²⁵⁶

From these reports, the two officers undoubtedly viewed that the best inner line for defensive purposes would be a prolongation of the water-shed between Sylhet and Cachar along Julnachera, Chatachoora, and Hachhek ranges up to the Sorphueul peak. The Lieutenant Governor of Bengal agreed to the line, which should be carried along the Julnachera and Hachhek ranges and thence to the Sorphueul (Betling Sib) peak, as proposed by Mr. Edgar and submitted accordingly to the Government of India for approval. Later on, seeing that the first proposed line was unsuitable for defensive purposes, it was given up by the Lieutenant Governor. He thought that a hill-top was very unsuitable as a line of demarcation and it would be easy to encroach upon by people for habitation or for *jhumming* purposes and his choice fell upon the Langkaih (Langai) river, a river rising about the Betling Sib Peak in the Jampui ranges and flowing northwards into the districts of Sylhet.²⁵⁷ Thus, again the Lieutenant Governor proposed the Langkaih (Langai) river as the boundary between the Lushai Hills and

²⁵⁶ Alexander Mackenzie, *op.cit.*, p. 473.

²⁵⁷ Maharaj Kumar & Sahadev Bikram Kishore Dev Barman, *op.cit.*, p. 7.

Tripura mainly because in these parts, in his opinion, a river would be a more suitable boundary.²⁵⁸

So the Langkaih (Langai) river was finally fixed as the eastern boundary of Tripura with the approval of the Government of India and a notification was issued to that effect on 23rd June, 1874 A.D (See Appendix No. 8). The fixing of the boundary between the Lusei Hill and Tripura was done with full consciousness, despite the fact that the territories of the eastern part of Tripura extended far beyond the east of the Langkaih (Langai) river, but without the knowledge of the Maharaja of Tripura. It should be noted that the Chatachoora was 13 miles, the Tlawng (Dhaleswari) river 14 miles and the Tipaimukh 48 miles, due east of the Langkaih (Langai) river, while the boundary of Burma was considerably further eastwards. According to Thornton's Gazetteer, published under Government authority in 1857 A.D, the area of Tripura used to be 7,632 square miles but after the boundary of her eastern part was fixed at the Langkaih (Langai) river, it was reduced to 4,116 square miles.²⁵⁹ And all this slicing of a vast area of Tripura was done by the British officials without the slightest consultation with the Maharaja of Tripura, whose territory was reduced on its Northeast frontier by about one-half to suit the administrative and political convenience of the British Government.²⁶⁰

Prior to the demarcation of the eastern boundary of Tripura, the defence of Tripura was already considered and it was decided that whatever line might be laid down as the eastern boundary of Tripura, the responsibility for the defence of Tripura

²⁵⁸ *ibid.*, Exhibit B, p. 15.

²⁵⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 7, 8.

²⁶⁰ E. F. Sandys, *op.cit.*, p. 69.

must rest with the Maharaja under the guidance and advice of the Political Agent. The Maharaja of Tripura was informed about the formation of the eastern boundary of his country through the Political Agent and with the request that the Maharaja should established some guard posts beyond the Langkaih (Langai) river.²⁶¹ The Maharaja of Tripura wrote to the Political Agent of Tripura, (See Appendix No. 9), that he understood the Langkaih (Langai) river between the Jampui and Hachhek ranges being fixed by the Government of India as the eastern boundary. But the Maharaja did not see what he had to do with the country beyond. The Political Agent of Tripura, Captain Lillington replied to the Maharaja of Tripura, which explained the objectives of the Government in clear and unmistakable terms (See Appendix No. 10).²⁶²

At first, the Maharaja of Tripura thought that the fixing of the Langkaih boundary was a means of annexing his territory by the British and he was very dissatisfied as could be seen from his letter to the Political Agent in reply to the request about the establishment of frontier posts, as seen from Appendix No. 9 of this study. But the Maharaja was reassured and he agreed to follow the advice of the Political Agent as to the establishment of the frontier posts (See Appendix No. 11).²⁶³ Since the line defining the eastern boundary of Tripura issued by the Government at that time meant ‘a temporary line which no British subject or a foreign resident could cross without a permit’, the use of this expression in connection with the definition of the Langkaih boundary implied that the line laid down was to be a temporary line of clear demarcation of the area, more or less accessible to the raiders from the eastern part.

²⁶¹ Alexander Mackenzie, *op.cit.*, pp. 479, 480.

²⁶² E. F. Sandys, *op.cit.*, p. 69.

²⁶³ Maharaj Kumar & Sahadev Bikram Kishore Dev Barman, *op.cit.*, *Exhibit B* pp. 16, 17.

Thus, it can be assumed that the fixing of the Langkaih line as the eastern boundary of Tripura did not involve annexation of territories at that time.²⁶⁴

Later in 1887 A.D., the assurances were corroborated in writing by the Assistant Political Agent of Tripura on the initiative of the Divisional Commissioner of Chittagong, who was the superior of the Political Agent at that time. In the letter to the Tripura Durbar, it was mentioned that the Langkaih was found expedient as the eastern boundary of Tripura for administrative and political convenience. At the same time, the Commissioner of the Division wished to be informed of the views of the Maharaja of Tripura about the eastern boundary of Tripura (See Appendix No. 12).²⁶⁵ In reply to the subject of the eastern boundary of Tripura, the Durbar submitted their first representation to the Political Agent. The letter gave a short history of the question of eastern boundary and ended by expressing the hope that “the Government will be graciously pleased to accept the Tlawng (Dhaleswari) river as the eastern boundary of this State and pass orders accordingly”²⁶⁶ (See Appendix No. 13).

The representation about the eastern boundary of Tripura by the Tipperah Durbar was considered at a conference held at Commillah, Bangladesh in 1890 and the question was fully discussed. However, things did not make any progress, and Rai Umakanta Das Bahadur, Minister of Tripura addressed a demi-official letter to the Political Agent on 20th September of the same year. In the letter, he mentioned how the eastern boundary line of Tripura was considered to be the Tlawng (Dhaleswari) river and that furthermore, Major Rennell’s map of Eastern Bengal showed the eastern

²⁶⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 9, 10.

²⁶⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 11, 12.

²⁶⁶ E. F. Sandys, *op.cit.*, p. 69.

boundary of Tripura to be extended to the confines of Burma. But due to the disturbances caused by the hill tribes from the east, especially the Mizos, the Langkaih river was adopted as the eastern boundary of Tripura, which the Maharaja of Tripura believed was injustice done to him for political considerations. Since, by that time, there no longer was fear of complications of any serious nature arising, he requested to re-open the question about the boundary and asked a favour on behalf of the Maharaja, as the Government of India might be graciously pleased to restore the territory beyond the Langkaih river to him²⁶⁷ (See Appendix No. 14).

In the following year, 1891 A.D., the Durbar again moved the Political Agent on the same subject and pointed out that as peace had been established in the Lusei country, they believed that the time had come when the Durbar could, without objection, be allowed to take over the administration of the territory cut off by the provisional line (See Appendix No. 15). In reply to this, Mr. Oldham, the then Commissioner, wrote to say that hostilities had broken out afresh in the Tlawng (Dhaleswari) valley and that the affairs were worse than they had ever been. Even though the question about the eastern boundary of Tripura was open, he believed that the time was not yet quite opportune for the purposes of the final settlement of the case of the eastern boundary (See Appendix No. 16). So in September, 1891 A.D., Mr. R. T. Greer, Political Agent, wrote to the Darbar of Tripura that he had received a letter from the Commissioner, and forwarded an extract from Mr. Oldham's D. O. (Demi-official) regarding the decline of the representation made for the eastern boundary of Tripura (See Appendix No. 17). However, towards the end of the month, on 31st September, the Political Agent forwarded another extract from a fresh D. O from the Divisional

²⁶⁷ Maharaj Kumar & Sahadev Bikram Kishore Dev Barman, *op.cit.*, p. 12.

Commissioner enquiring “if Hill Tippera could peaceably cultivate up to the left bank of the Dhaleswari.” He also added that Mr. Oldham, the Divisional Commissioner, desired to have a reply within seven days and requested to have the Durbar answer in detail as soon as possible, and for which a copy may be sent to the Divisional Commissioner (See Appendix No. 18). These repeated enquiries of the Divisional Commissioner cannot but be without their proper significance. The attitude of the high official was quite apparent, and such an attitude could never have been possible had the Government definitely fixed the Langkaih as the eastern boundary of Tripura.²⁶⁸

Consequently, in reply to the demi-official correspondence between the Political Agent and the Divisional Commissioner enquiring whether the administration thought it could cultivate up to the left bank of the Tlawng (Dhaleswari) river, the Minister of Tripura in his demi-official letter, dated 11th October, 1891 A.D. (See Appendix No. 19), wrote all the details required and gave satisfactory reasons why the country beyond the Langkaih should be restored.²⁶⁹ The Durbar met all the points raised by the Commissioner and they even deputed an officer to hold a thorough local enquiry in the Tlawng (Dhaleswari) valley. No reply was, however, received and further representations from the Durbar followed, the last being addressed to the Political Agent on the 1st December, 1897 A.D. (See Appendix No. 20). It appears that the case went up to the Government of Assam thereafter, but that Government, without entering into merits, simply declined to re-open the question.²⁷⁰ By that time, it was not known whether these repeated representations about the question of the eastern boundary of Tripura were ever brought to the notice of the Government of India, but in all

²⁶⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 12, 13.

²⁶⁹ E. F. Sandys, *op.cit.*, p. 70.

²⁷⁰ *ibid.*, p. 13.

probability they were not. It would appear from the above that down to the year 1897 A.D., at any rate, the question was all along being discussed as quite an open one. At the same time, the proposal for the definition of the boundaries of the Lushai Districts did not come up before the Government of India till 1898 A.D. while the notification on the subject was issued as late as in 1900 A.D.²⁷¹

Again on 26th May, 1905 A.D., a fresh representation was addressed to the late Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam, but this representation was rejected and the decision of the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam could be seen from Appendix No. 21, expressing the reasons and the local Government's point of view on the eastern boundary dispute.²⁷² Later on, fresh representations about the eastern boundary of Tripura was sent to the Governor Council of the new Presidency of Bengal in February 1913 A.D., but with no enhanced results, as the Governor in Council was not prepared to reconsider the question (See Appendix No. 22). Such was the brief history of the dispute, and even as late as 1857 A.D., the area of Tripura appeared in authoritative documents to be 7,632 square miles. Earlier, it was believed that the eastern boundary first touched the confines of Burma and then Tlawng (Dhaleswari) river and finally it was located permanently at the Langkaih - 13 miles further to the west. So the area of Tripura appeared to be 4,086 square miles. All this reduction went on quietly and without the slightest reference with the Durbar of Tripura. As the entire stretch of the area beyond the Langkaih was more or less sparsely populated, where no permanent rights have, as it was believed, yet accrued, the circumstances that necessitated the fixing of the Langkaih line no longer existed. Therefore, the Durbar had submitted repeated representations on the subject, but its case had hitherto failed to

²⁷¹ *ibid.*, Exhibit B p. 19.

²⁷² *ibid.*, pp. 19, 20.

attract sympathetic consideration. But the Durbar of Tripura still hoped and trusted that their appeal to the Government of India would not remain in vain, and the Government would be “pleased to restore to it the tract up to the Dhaleswari (Tlawng) river and the Sorphuel peak, even if the restitution of the whole area cut off by the Langai (Langkaih) line be now considered impossible”.²⁷³

On 31st December, 1919 A.D., B. K. Manikya, the then Mahaaja of Tripura sent a letter to the Viceroy and Governor General of India. The letter was an appeal against the orders of the Government of Bengal defining the Langkaih river as the eastern boundary of Tripura, and it explained the full history of the case. He again requested the Government of India to accord a generous and sympathetic consideration and order a rectification of the boundary line.²⁷⁴ This was followed by another representation on the same subject on 21st September, 1922 A.D. to the Political Agent by the Minister of Tripura asking for an arbitration and request to forward his letter to the Government of Bengal.²⁷⁵ Shortly, on 8th October, 1922 A.D., a representation about the eastern boundary was submitted to the Government of India and conferences with the Governor of Assam refused the request of the Darbur of Tripura. As the matter was referred to the Government of India, they saw no sufficient reason for reconsidering their previous orders and even an alternative request for reference to arbitration was refused (See Appendix No. 23).²⁷⁶ As repeated representations to the Government of India from the Durbar of Tripura failed to elicit favourable response, the Durbar took the liberty of approaching the Tripura States Enquiry Committee with the request that the area cut off

²⁷³ *ibid.*, Exhibit B pp. 26, 27.

²⁷⁴ *ibid.*, Exhibit A pp. 1-11.

²⁷⁵ *ibid.*, Exhibit C pp. 1- 5.

²⁷⁶ *ibid.*, p. 14.

may be regarded as ‘ceded territory’ since no readjustment of territories was considered practicable.²⁷⁷

By the second decade of the twentieth century, the Mizos under the Sailo chief entered Tripura and settled in the Jampui Hills with the permission of the Maharaja of Tripura. One of the Sailo chiefs, Hrangvunga Sailo, resided at a village called Phuldungsei, where dispute also arose regarding the site of the village. On 7th May, 1922 A.D. the British Government, through A. C. Majumdar Esqr., Sadar Collector, Tripura State, sent a proposal to the Superintendent of the Lushai Hills regarding a new demarcation of the boundary between the Lushai Hills and Tripura during the next cold season, and requested him to send the name of the representative from the Lushai Hills for the survey party.²⁷⁸ Before a new boundary line was laid down, on 14th February, 1928 A.D., N. E. Parry, the then Superintendent of Lushai Hills, in his letter No. 3055 queried about the boundary between Tripura and Lushai Hills. He referred to the correspondence about Tripura boundary and stated how the western boundary of the Lushai Hills was defined in words-

“Starting from the point where Sylhet Boundary cuts the LANGAI river up the LANGAI river to its source on the hill station BETLINGSIB (3083) along the range Southwards to BETLING (2234), thence Southeastwards to the source of a tributary of TUILIANPUI river, down this tributary to the TUILIANPUI, down the TUILIANPUI to the point opposite to the source of HARINA

²⁷⁷ *ibid.*, p. 18.

²⁷⁸ General Department, May 1922, No. 452, A. C. Majumdar, Sardar Collector, Tripura State to the Superintendent of Lushai Hills, Fort Izal, Lushai Hills.

river, from this point Westwards in a straight line to the source of HARINA. Down the HARINA river to the KARNAPHULI river, up the KARNAPHULI river to the mouth of THEGA KHAL river, up the THEGA KHAL river to its source on the WAIBUNGTAUNG, along the watersheds of WAIBUNGTAUNG Southwards to the starting point at KEUKRADONG.”

From the defined boundary, he pointed out that dispute occurred between the points of Betlingsib (3083) along the range southwards to Betling (2234). He assumed that the intention of the Government when the boundary was laid down was undoubtedly that it should run up the Langai to its source on the top of the range, and then, as stated in the verbal definition of the boundary, along the range through Betlingsib to Betling and thence southeastwards to the source of the Tuilianpui river, as this boundary brought 63 houses of the Phuldungsei village at Jampui Hill within the Lushai district. So, Mr. Parry proposed that the verbal definition of the boundary needed an amendment as follows: “Starting from the point where the Sylhet boundary cuts the Langai River up the Langai River to its source at a point on the range 3 miles north of Betlingsib, thence along the range Southwards to Betlingsib (3083) thence continuing along the range Southwards to Betling (2234) thence etc.”. He believed that this was undoubtedly the best boundary, as it was clearly the boundary that was intended when the boundary was first laid down, but at that time they mistook the source of Langkaih as Betlingsib, while the source of the Langkaih was three miles from Betlingsib. Thus, he suggested that the boundary he proposed would not lead to any dispute, and if it was accepted, a stone would have to be erected in the presence of representatives of the Lushai Hills and of Tripura.

He further declared that if the boundary he proposed was followed, 63 houses of Phuldungsei Village which were clearly within the Lushai District would need to vacate their present site and either move into Tripura or Lushai Hills. He also suggested that the Tripura Durbar should be asked not to allow villages to be established on the boundary as it was bound to cause disputes if a village was situated on the boundary.²⁷⁹ Soon on 28th February, 1928, Mr. J. Hezlett considered that there was not a strong case for holding the Phuldungsei village within the Lushai Hills and the latest topographical map showed that the village was within the Tripura State. Then, according to the description of the boundary, the boundary line from the Langkaih river cuts the Jampui range at Betling Sib, which was a definite peak and the elevation of which (3083 ft.) was given in the boundary notification. He also said that it was quite true that the real source of the Langkaih River was 3 miles north of Betling Sib along the range of hills, and had no doubt that a mistake was made in describing the boundary as running up to the source of the Langkaih River at Betling Sib. Thus, he also recommended that a joint enquiry be held by officers deputed from the Lushai Hills and Tripura, to determine and demarcate the boundary in accordance with the existing notification.²⁸⁰

So the Government of Assam decided to carry out a fresh boundary survey of the Lushai Hills within the next six years so that any mapping errors could be corrected.²⁸¹ As a result, the boundary between Mizoram and Tripura was recast, vide Notification No.2107 AP dated 9th March, 1933 A.D (See Appendix No. 24). The boundary line

²⁷⁹ Political Department, February 1928, No. 3055, N. E. parry, Superintendent of Lushai Hills to the Commissioner, Surma Valley and Hill Division, Silchar.

²⁸⁰ Political Department, February 1928, J. Hezlett, Commissioner Surma Valley and Hill Division, to the Chief Secretary, Government of Assam.

²⁸¹ Political Department, May 1928, No. 1880, H. M. Prichard, Secretary to the Government of Assam, to the Commissioner, Surma Valley and Hill Division.

now starts from the trijunction of the Tripura, Assam (Karimganj) and Mizoram situated at the Langkaih river which originates from the Jampui Hill range and flows in northern direction. The boundary line follows the upstream of the Langkaih river and then its tributary, Sailutlui, to its source Betling Sib Peak (3083 ft.). The boundary line then proceeds in southerly direction reaching a hill called Betling Peak (2234 ft.) which is the trijunction point of Tripura, Mizoram (earlier Lushai Hills) and Bangladesh (earlier Chittagong Hill Tracts).²⁸²

From the above observation, it became clear that in the pre-colonial period, amongst the Mizo tribes, the method of warfare was to raid their neighbouring tribes. They indulged in raiding for the procurement of wealth and slaves and human heads. They travelled long distances to raid other tribes beyond their territory, and because of their constant raids they came in contact with the British Government. It is evident from the preceding discussion that the different Mizo tribes conducted repeated raids in Tripura which made the British Government of India realise the necessity of proper boundary for frontier defence. Therefore, to prevent the frequent raids by the Mizo tribes inside Tripura, the boundary between Mizoram and Tripura was finally created by the British Government through a long and disputed process.

²⁸² S. N. Singh, *op.cit.*, pp. 109- 111.

CHAPTER FOUR

Mizo Settlement in Jampui Hill, Tripura

4.1 Introduction to Jampui Hill

Jampui Hill is the natural boundary between Tripura and Mizoram and the main abode of the Mizos in Tripura. It is very noticeable among the six principal hill ranges of Tripura owing to its highest peak Betling Sib (3083 ft.). This home of the Mizos falls under the Dharmanagar subdivision (North Tripura) and stretches for 74 km. in length. Some other peaks like Khantlang (2236 ft.), Behliang Chhip (2216 ft.), Vanghmun (2342 ft.), Hmunpui (2064 ft.) and Bangsul (902 ft.) are situated at different places of the Jampui Hill, widely known for its charming landscape and bracing climate. The villages of the Mizo people in Jampui Hill are Tlaksih, Hmawngchuan, Hmunpui, Vanghmun, Behliangchhip, Bangla Zion, Tlangsang, Sabual, and Phuldungsei.²⁸³

Whence and when is the word *Jampui* derived, it is difficult to ascertain. Ranglawng oral tradition says: “*Darkhuang* (big gong) is called ‘Jamluang’ in our language; and one jamluang was hidden on this hill for which the hill came to bear the name ‘Jamluang hill’. Later on, speakers of Duhlian dialect made it ‘Jampui’.”²⁸⁴ There is another tradition which says: “It was told by Vungsakeia (Pu Vunga) that the early settlers of this hill suffered a terrible plague which scared them so much they left the place, and were full of dread even to speak about it, so that they regarded the hill as a place of great dismay.”²⁸⁵ The Kozais also have a story parallel to the Ranglongs, saying that “the name Jampui was given by their forefathers. A gong (*darkhuang*) was hidden on this hill, for which the hill later came to be known as ‘Jampui’ ”.²⁸⁶ Incidentally, one area near Vanghmun village in Jampui bears the name ‘*Darkhuang thuhrukna*’ (Place

²⁸³ Mahadev Chakraborty *et.al.*, *A Study on the Lushais of Jampui Hills in Tripura*, p. 1.

²⁸⁴ Interview with Biakthankima, MDC Jampui hill, also cited in Zairemthanga, p. 138.

²⁸⁵ *ibid.*

²⁸⁶ C. Lianzuala, *Kan Ram A Damlo*, p. 12.

of hiding darkhuang), which corroborates these oral traditions, since the present settlers have no knowledge of a hidden gong in that place.²⁸⁷

4.2 Settlement of Mizos in Jampui Hill under Raja Bahadur Dokhuma Sailo

As indicated in Chapter One, the Mizo people migrated to Mizoram in three batches. Though the exact period of their migration into Mizoram is not known, it is certain that the first two batches set out as far west as Tripura. The first Mizos known to have settled in Jampui Hill were the Pachuau clans. Among the Pachuau clans, it was claimed that Vanpuilala, a Chuaungo chief, migrated to Tripura during 1780 A.D and built his own village at the northern part of Jampui Hill. But he did not stay there for long, migrating to other areas in search of better land. It was believed that the first batch of the Mizos who settled in Jampui Hill moved away from the area by 1827 A.D. and the area was left vacant for many years. But by 1910 A.D., under a Sailo chief, Jampui Hill was again occupied by the Mizos.²⁸⁸

In the pre-colonial period, the Mizos migrated and settled in Tripura without any prior consultation between the Mizo chief and the Maharaja of Tripura. But by the beginning of the twentieth century, while the issue regarding the eastern boundary of Tripura created a great controversy and the area was quite uninhabited, the Mizos under a Sailo chief, Dokhuma Sailo, migrated to Tripura from the Lushai Hills with the permission of the Maharaja of Tripura. It is believed that they did so in search of better *jhum* land.

²⁸⁷ Interview with R.Thangvunga who hails from Vanghmun village.

²⁸⁸ Zairemthanga, *op.cit.*, p. 138.

This Sailo chief Dokhuma Sailo was born in 1873 A.D at Hreichuk. He was just a minor when his father, Suakpuilala, died in 1880 A.D. On his death bed, Suakpuilala left Dokhuma under the care of the latter's elder brother Sailianpuia and wished for him to remain there till the time he (Dokhuma) got married, by which time he should gather some subjects and build a new village of his own. In 1891 A.D., Sailianpuia died at Tuahzawl, when Dokhuma was about 10 years old. Before he died, he left word with Dokhuma that should he die, he should not quarrel with Hrangvunga, his son; and when they both marry, either one of them must build a new village. Being a mere boy, he should give careful attention to the advice of his elders without showing pride. But soon after Sailianpuia's death, his wife, Dochhungi, remarried, leaving behind his 3 year old son Hrangvunga and his infant daughter Laithangpuii.²⁸⁹

A number of chiefs approached the Superintendent vying for the land of Sailianpuia. But Dokhuma faithfully stood up for his brother and claimed the chieftainship for Hrangvunga. Accordingly, the Superintendent gave the chieftainship to Hrangvunga with Dokhuma as regent.²⁹⁰ By this time, Mizoram was under the administration of the British, and the Government gave out instructions for the succession of village lands after the chief died. Thus it became that the Superintendent decided on the issue of the succession of Sailianpuia's land as per prior instructions.²⁹¹ Later, from Tuahzawl they shifted to Chhippui and stayed there for three years. It was from this place that Dokhuma started to his rule. The evidence that he ruled at Chhippui may be drawn from the fact that the stream west of West Phaileng, a tributary of Teirei river, still bears the name 'Dokhuma *thlang tlak lui*' (River of Dokhuma's migration to

²⁸⁹ *ibid.*, p. 40.

²⁹⁰ *ibid.*, p. 41.

²⁹¹ *The Lushai Hills District Cover*, Tribal Research Institute, pp. 33, 34.

the west). From Chhippui, they moved to Serhmun at Hachhek Hill; and in 1902 A.D., he married Rothanghluti and had six children. But Rothanghluti did not live long and Dokhuma married Chemi and had one daughter with her, but they were soon divorced. Dokhuma married his third wife, Kapthuami, with whom he had six children. His fourth wife, Thangthuami did not bear him a child.²⁹²

In 1903 A.D., Dokhuma, along with two Darlong interpreters, Vankhuma and Darbawia, went to Tripura to consult the Maharaja, seeking permission to settle in his kingdom. At first, the Maharaja was not willing to grant their wish as the Mizos were the ones who often carried out raids, killing and capturing many of his people earlier. But in a short while, he accepted their request and recommended them to settle at Hmuntha instead of Jampui Hill. At Serhmun, Dokhuma ruled over 300 houses. By this time, Hrangvunga also got married and they both decided to move westward.

In February, 1904 A.D., Dokhuma Sailo with 100 households left Serhmun first and moved to Tripura. They entered Tripura through Thaidawr Hill and spent the night in the area of present day Sabual village. From Sabual, they moved west along one river which is called Thlangtlak river till now. From Thlangtlak river, they followed Rulpui river and spent the night at the place where it joins with Nelkang river. From there, they walked towards Laljuri and Pecharthol and the next day, they reached Hmuntha in Tripura.²⁹³ However, the location was not at all up to their expectations. The climate was hot and mosquito-infested. Besides, the natives were unfamiliar to them, consisting of Bengalis, Ranglawngs and Brus. They found it difficult to adjust their lifestyle to the place and the people there. Though the Maharaja tendered whatever help he could to

²⁹² Zairemthanga, *op.cit.*, pp. 41- 43.

²⁹³ *ibid.*, pp. 43- 45.

Dokhuma Sailo and his people, the rice they received were unsavoury, and they longed for their old village. Moreover, the Mizos were known by the neighbouring tribes to be warlike raiders who would come down from the eastern hills to plunder them. So they looked upon the new settlers with fear and distrust. But as Dokhuma Sailo and his people created no problem for them, they continued a peaceful co-existence.²⁹⁴

A year after they settled at Hmuntha, in 1905 A.D, there was an outbreak of cholera and they put the blame on the bad quality rice given by the Maharaja. Many died, and the year's harvest was poor. But Dokhuma Sailo had made good rapport with the Maharaja who rendered timely help, and the situation improved. The same year, the Maharaja gave the title 'Raja' to chief Dokhuma Sailo who thus became the first Mizo chief to earn the title. Another outbreak of cholera happened in 1906 A.D, but this time they had learnt how to deal with the situation, and did not suffer as badly as the first outbreak. Another calamity struck in 1908 A.D, in the form of a fire which razed ten houses before they could contain it. These misfortunes, however, did not lessen the Mizo zest for life. They carried on their life as usual, cultivating, hunting and celebrating wonted festivals such as *Khuangchawi*. Raja Dokhuma Sailo became famous and respected among the native tribes, earning credit for the Mizo tribe. Leaders of surrounding tribes looked upon him as an overlord, and paid tributes to him.²⁹⁵

But Mizos are hill-bound people and making settlement in the hot lowlands gave them untold sufferings. Hence, Raja Dokhuma Sailo and his people decided to leave Hmuntha. In 1910 A.D., he left Hmuntha and built a new village, Hmawngchuan, in

²⁹⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 45, 46.

²⁹⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 47-56.

Jampui Hill. In all, they numbered a hundred families and the new place, Hmawngchuan, was spoken of as settled earlier by their ancestors. No sooner than they settled there a severe famine occasioned by *Mautam* struck them. Rice had to be purchased from the plain people with money loaned from the Maharaja's coffer. The year 1912 A.D was a year of *Mautam blessing* with bounty harvests so that traditional festivals like *Sechhun khuangchawi* could be resumed in 1913A.D. However, at this time an epidemic of typhoid fever struck down twenty five people.²⁹⁶ At the time Raja Dokhuma Sailo and his subjects settled in Jampui Hill, they had not yet converted to Christianity. In 1914 A.D., Christian preachers from Kawrthah came to Hmawngchuan. They were, to name, Phawka, Zabiaka, Bawichhunga and Biaki, daughter of Chief Suaka of Durtlang. Raja Dokhuma Sailo was much displeased, and when they left, he reprimanded his subjects saying, "Should anyone become *Pathian thuawih* I will thrust live ember in their anuses and break the wood." None dared become Christian. At this time, they still retained their superstitious fear of *Khawhring*. At Hmawngchuan, Chawichhingi, wife of Saihlira, was regarded as having the *Khawhring* spirit, and Raja Dokhuma Sailo exiled her from his village. During this time, Hrangvunga Sailo, nephew of Raja Dokhuma Sailo, who had been converted, was ruling at Bunglemun in Mizoram. Being Christian, he had little regard for *Khawhring*, and to him Chawichhingi sought refuge with her family. They moved out in the dark night with heavy loads, and had to leave the heavy Mizo *puanpui* (quilt) in the jungle at a place later called 'Puanpui dahna mual' (Place of leaving puanpui) which is 2 km from Tlangsang village, Jampui Hill.²⁹⁷

²⁹⁶ *ibid.*, pp. 56,57.

²⁹⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 57,58.

From Hmawngchuan, Raja Dokhuma built another village called Behliangchhip in 1914 A.D., and shifted there in 1915 A.D. The spot first selected was Rawthlakawn which was abandoned for Thlangtlak mual which yielded more water sources than the former. The spot was mid-point of the hill in south-north direction, and thus made a permanent settlement, building other villages as extensions from Behliangchhip. But once settled there, a new epidemic of influenza broke out among them. A young man Zahnawka who visited Kailasahar came home with such high fever that he had to be carried home by friends, and on reaching home he died swiftly. The disease spread quickly, killing 82 people. Again in 1920 A.D, a smallpox epidemic broke out, but this time there was only one casualty.²⁹⁸

At Hmawngchuan, Dokhuma administered with seven *Khawnbawl Upa* (Elders), viz., 1) Hmingdawra, the Chief's *Sadawt* (Priest), 2) Pasena, 3) Darkunga, 4) Vunga, 5) Lala, 6) Thanglawka, 7) Chawngbaka.²⁹⁹ At Behliangchhip, some of them retained their eldership. The elders in Behliangchhip were, 1) Vunga, 2) Hmingdawra, the chief's *Sadawt*, 3) Lungpuia, *Tlah paw* (Priest), 4) Sata, 5) Hrangthawma, 6) Siama, 7) Pasena, 8) Dengdaia. The two *Pasaltha* were Pamuma and Chawnga.³⁰⁰

From Behliangchhip, a new village was established at Vanghmun in 1919 A.D.³⁰¹ Raja Dokhuma Sailo was a gentle and generous chief, and his subjects multiplied. His popularity with the Maharaja is imputed by many to an accidental excavation of fashioned gold like a bunch of bananas in a hole dug for a pillar, and which he surrendered to the Maharaja. This could be viewed as a prudent political move to

²⁹⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 59-61.

²⁹⁹ *ibid.*, p. 57.

³⁰⁰ *ibid.*, p.59.

³⁰¹ C. Lianzuala, *op.cit.*, p. 28.

establish good relations. A more judicious view is that Raja Dokhuma Sailo earned goodwill by his pacific administration in and around his jurisdictions. On October 24, 1922 A.D, at his garden party, the Maharaja conferred the title *Raja Bahadur* on Raja Dokhuma.³⁰² Concomitant to his new regal title, the Maharaja defined his administrative jurisdiction as follows: in the north the river Damcherra, in the east Langkaih river, in the south the Reserve (now Bangladesh), and in the west river Monu. He had now authority to levy taxes like *Fathang* and *Sachhiah* in this area.³⁰³ Later, Hmunpui village was established in 1923 A.D. And in the midst of this prosperity, Raja Bahadur Dokhuma Sailo passed away on the 8th February 1932 A.D, and his son Huaplina, who was also conferred the title *Raj Kumar* by the Maharaja in 1930 A.D., succeeded him. In 1935 A.D., Tlaksih village was established and in 1936 A.D. Hmawngchuan was rebuilt.³⁰⁴ In 1940 A.D., a new village called Bangla Zion was established and the villages- Hmawngchuan, Behliangchhip, Vanghmun, Hmunpui, Tlaksih along with Bangla Zion came to be known as Dokhuma's villages.³⁰⁵

4.3 Settlement of Mizo in Jampui Hill under Raja Hrangvunga Sailo

Another Sailo chief who entered Tripura with the permission of the Maharaja was Hrangvunga Sailo, nephew of Raja Bahadur Dokhuma Sailo. Hrangvunga was born in 1887 A.D and was only four years old when his father, Sailianpuia Sailo, died and his mother, Dochhungi, remarried. She took with her both Hrangvunga and his sister Lalthangpuii. But Hrangvunga was brought back to Tuahzawl on the request of his uncle, chief Khamliana Sailo, and was looked after by Vungi. As Hrangvunga was only

³⁰² Lethuama Darlong, *op.cit.*, pp. 39, 40.

³⁰³ Zairemthanga, *op.cit.*, p. 43.

³⁰⁴ C. Lianzuala, *op.cit.*, pp. 27, 28.

³⁰⁵ Rualchhinga, *op.cit.*, p. 89.

a minor, many chiefs tried to rule over the land of his father, which led to the intervention of the Superintendent of Mizoram, J Shakespear. As stated before, Dokhuma and the elders faithfully stood for Salianpuia's will and claimed the chieftainship for his son Hrangvunga. By that time, the only other person who could take over the chieftainship, Dokhuma Sailo, was not mature enough to rule. Therefore, the Superintendent issued an order that Hrangvunga would obtain the chieftainship at the age of fifteen, and the elders will look after the affairs of the village before Hrangvunga turned fifteen.³⁰⁶

Hrangvunga stayed with his uncle Dokhuma and was only a teenager while they settled at Chhippui. After they moved to Serhmun, in 1904 A.D, at the age of seventeen, he married Hmingliani, daughter of Tlira, Sesawng chief. In the same year, his uncle Dokhuma Sailo migrated to Tripura with 100 households and he stayed behind with the remaining 200 households and ruled over Serhmun. In 1905 A.D, he shifted his seat to Bunghmun and became a Christian in 1906 A.D. After he became a Christian, he forbade all the traditional Mizo religious rites and observances.³⁰⁷ In 1908 A.D., with the advice of Dr. Fraser, a medical missionary, he freed his household slaves and by 1909 A.D., freed all the slaves. He could be regarded as the first Mizo chief who emancipated all slaves in his village.³⁰⁸

It has been pointed out that Hrangvunga was the son of Dokhuma's elder brother Sailianpuia. Hrangvunga and Dokhuma planned to move to Jampui Hill and settle there. However, even after Dokhuma moved west, Hrangvunga remained in

³⁰⁶ Zairemthanga, *op.cit.*, pp. 62- 65.

³⁰⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 66- 67.

³⁰⁸ Rualchhinga, *Raja Hrangvunga Sailo*, pp. 10- 12.

Bunghmun. The reason was that the Superintendent of Mizoram, Mr. Kennedy, restrained him in goodwill. Being the first Mizo chief to convert to Christianity, he carried the favour of the missionaries and the Superintendent. And in 1912 A.D., along with one thousand subjects, of whom Christians comprised forty, moved to Jampui Hill, Tripura.³⁰⁹ In Tripura, he set up his new village Phuldungsei at southern Jampui Hill. Five years after he settled at Phuldungsei, the Mizoram Superintendent invited him to settle in Hachhek Hill, east of Jampui Hill. He sent some of his elders to investigate the spot, and they spent a week in what was called Pi Dari's place, after which they went home and reported to the chief their findings and how they could not locate sufficient spring for a village to survive. The chief then sent his inconvenience to move to Hachhek Hill to the Superintendent. As soon as the Superintendent learnt that Hrangvunga did not accept his proposal, he gave the place to another. The truth, however, was that Hrangvunga's elders had given false reports in their unwillingness to leave Jampui Hill.³¹⁰

As the number of the Christian community was quite insignificant in the one thousand strong population of Phuldungsei, and the chief himself being Christian, there seemed to be no conflict among them. A chapel was constructed at Phuldungsei in 1913 A.D. with the leadership of the following men:

- 1) Hrangvunga
- 2) Lianthlawta
- 3) Rengchhawna
- 4) Luna
- 5) Sumtina
- 6) Rochhunga
- 7) Thangchhingpuia
- 8) Tv Lenghleia
- 9) Tuka.³¹¹

³⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

³¹⁰ Zairemthanga, *op.cit.*, pp. 71, 72.

³¹¹ Rualchhinga, *op.cit.*, pp. 18, 19.

There were only two villages in Jampui Hill at this time, Phuldungsei and Behliangchhip. The earlier settlement at Hmawngchuan was deserted when Raja Dokhuma moved to Behliangchhip. The few Christians belonged to Phuldungsei village. And in spite of the negligible number of Christians, and though there seemed to be no open clash between them and the unconverted community, there existed some social incompatibilities between them. To resolve such inconveniences, chief Hrangvunga thought upon building a separate village for the Christians. He and the Christians discussed the proposal, and decided unanimously to build a new village. Hrangvunga also announced his intention to move to the new village.³¹²

To survey a suitable location, experienced and brave young men, besides trusted elders, were selected from the entire community. These men set out towards the north on their task in February 1914 A.D., after having a prayer meeting at the chief's house. They found a suitable location at the spot where Tlangsang village now stands and returned with satisfaction to Phuldungsei. They reported their findings in detail the very same evening they arrived, and the chief approved the location, and they deliberated upon the next move. It was decided that the name of the new village be 'Tlangsang' as it was located on a high hill top. In the autumn of 1914 A.D., they cleared the jungle by *hnatlang* (community work) and took just two days. Though it was meant for Christians, the entire village took part in the community work. The Christians were much elated to move to this new village with the Chief himself, and dedicated the place to God in prayer.³¹³

³¹² *ibid.*, pp. 20, 21.

³¹³ *ibid.*, pp. 21-23.

The Christians celebrated the Christmas of 1914 A.D. at Phuldungsei with zest as it was the last time they would spend Christmas there. Thus, in the beginning of January, 1915 A.D., around 158 souls moved to the new village Tlangsang headed by chief Hrangvunga himself. The beginning of Christian evangelism in Tripura may be said to have begun with the occupation of Tlangsang.³¹⁴ In the new Christian village, the chief prohibited the rearing of *sial* or *mithun* to prevent any person from performing the heathen rites of *khuangchawi*. He also disposed of all *sial* or *mithun* being reared at Phuldungsei to Paite traders. By 1919 A.D., all heathen practices were discontinued and even at Phuldungsei, the Christian way of life became a regular mode of social life. The chief Hrangvunga made sincere efforts to convert those who were not yet converted to Christianity. Christmas and other Christian events were celebrated in earnest zeal. Following the establishment of a Christian village, the NEIG (North East India General Mission) started by Mr. Watkin R. Roberts for Christians in Jampui Hill, established its headquarters from 1917 to 1932 A.D.³¹⁵

Since the time Hrangvunga and his subjects settled in Jampui Hill at Phuldungsei, the chapel they built was used for school on Sundays, after Sunday School services, with Lallinga as teacher. So literacy developed very early among the Mizos of Tripura. A Mission school was established by Chief Hrangvunga at Tlangsang in November 1916 A.D. which he later elevated to Middle English School under the NEIG Mission. The son of chief Hrangvunga, Saikhuma studied at this school and became the first Mizo in Tripura to attend High School. The first MA (Master of Arts) among Mizos, Khawtinkhuma was a product of this Middle English School. Besides their zeal for education, Hrangvunga and his subjects cultivated hard work. Chief Hrangvunga took

³¹⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 23-27.

³¹⁵ Zairemthanga, *op.cit.*, pp. 72, 73.

interest in horticulture, and imported seeds of rare fruits from distant places. He imported orange seeds in 1916 A.D. from Sylhet, which some say was brought from Shillong. He planted the seedling in 1917 A.D. and became the pioneer of orange farming in Jampui Hill. Soon after, the seeds of Hrangvunga's oranges were distributed throughout Jampui Hill, and thus orange farming became the main economic staple of the Jampui Mizos. In later years, the orange growers of Jampui became quite famous for being the largest exporters of orange in the region.³¹⁶

As a tributary chief ruling under the Maharaja, Hrangvunga followed the administrative system of the Maharaja by conferring titles upon his elders. In 1922 A.D., the Maharaja of Tripura had conferred the title of Raja on Hrangvunga.³¹⁷ While the Mizo people in Jampui enjoyed peace and prosperity, serious conflicts developed between chiefs and subjects during 1926 A.D. and 1928 A.D. The conflict arose when the annual tax of rice given to the chief called *fathang* was raised from 3 *tins* (1 tin equivalent 4.5 gallon) to 4 *tins*, and land revenue from Rs. 3/- to Rs. 4/-. And when an elephant was killed by hunters, one of the tusks was the chief's due. In protest, the subjects made demands on the chief, called '*Lal kar*'. The people's demand was that payment of *Fathang* and revenue remains unchanged, and when killing an elephant the chief be regarded as one among the hunting party. In Raja Bahadur Dokhuma's village, there was easy settlement between the chief and elders in favour of the people. Raja Hrangvunga also went to Phuldungsei to settle matters with the protesters on 17th March 1927 A.D. Raja Hrangvunga refused to settle matters in the people's favour knowing he had the support of half of his subjects. There was division among the people, and in 1929 A.D. seven families left Phuldungsei for Kawrtethawveng in

³¹⁶ *ibid.*, pp. 75, 76.

³¹⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 79, 80.

Hachhek Hill in Mizoram and became the original dwellers there. The situation in Phuldungsei worsened with people leaving the village in succession. In spite of this, Phuldungsei remained the largest village in Jampui Hill. But when his subjects continued to abandon him every now and then, Raja Hrangvunga relented and in 1931 A.D. accepted the people's terms.³¹⁸

When, about 1932 A.D., the British government in Lushai Hills proposed to demarcate boundaries between the Lushai Hills and Tripura, the Maharaja would not make any decision without consulting Raja Hrangvunga. As the proposed boundary was adjacent to Raja Hrangvunga's village, the survey party came to Raja Hrangvunga's village and drew the boundary line along the outskirts of Phuldungsei village. During Raja Hrangvunga's rule in Jampui Hill, his subjects suffered a number of calamities including the influenza which broke out in 1918 A.D. which took 50 lives. In 1920 A.D. when smallpox broke out in Raja Bahadur Dokhuma's village, two persons died of the plague in Raja Hrangvunga's village. There was cholera outbreak in the second half of 1938 A.D., after which, with better medical facilities, there had not occurred another outbreak of cholera. In 1930 A.D., fire broke out in Phuldungsei, razing half the village down; and in 1932 A.D., another fire broke out in Tlangsang and many houses were burned down.³¹⁹

In addition to Phuldungsei and Tlangsang, Raja Hrangvunga established Sabual village in 1918 A.D., and Vaisam in 1942 A.D. where he placed his sons as chiefs. One of his sons, Khawtinshawma Sailo was given the title *Raj Kumar* (which is the title given to a crown prince) by the Maharaja Bir Bikram Kishore Manikya in 1937. As

³¹⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 76-79.

³¹⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 79-84.

mentioned earlier, Raja Hrangvunga not only honoured hard work but used to do manual work himself in the field. As he was planting tea seedlings, he injured his eye which became severely infected, and after suffering for seven days, he succumbed to his illness on 27th May 1943 A.D. at 7.30 PM. His sons continued to take his place till 1950 A.D when the Government of India took over.³²⁰

In 1929 A.D., from Zopui village in Bangladesh, another Mizo chief Chawngbiala set up a new village, Jampui Khawthar (Jampui New Village) near Thaidawr Hill with the permission of the Superintendent of Rangamati. However, in 1934 A.D. the boundary between Mizoram, Tripura and Bangladesh was officially demarcated. Since the village area of Chawngbiala lies between the bordering area of Mizoram, Tripura and Bangladesh, it was within the area of Mizoram. So, in 1935 A.D., he moved back to the southern part and settled in Kawrthindeng, and after five years he moved back to Zopui and died there on 9th August 1949 A.D. Since Zopui village was within the territory of Bangladesh, after Indian independence, it faded away.³²¹

4.4 Identity of the Mizo

It can be assumed that in the olden days the Maharaja of Tripura enjoyed great prestige among the Mizos who called him *Rengpui*, which is also reflected in one of the Mizo folk-tale ‘Rimenhawihi.’³²² Also, the observation on the settlement of the Mizos in Jampui Hill, at the beginning of the twentieth century, clearly shows that the Mizos

³²⁰ *ibid.*, pp. 85-94.

³²¹ *ibid.*, pp. 112, 113.

³²² Lt. Colonel J. Shakespear, *op.cit.*, p. 97.

who settled there in Jampui Hill had good relations with the Maharaja of Tripura. Due to the peculiar geographical position and the inaccessibility of the area occupied by the Mizos, which was far from Agartala, the seat of Tripura authority, the Mizo chiefs were allowed to enjoy considerable measure of autonomy for a long time by the Tripura Durbar. Except for a loose allegiance to the Maharaja of Tripura and ‘Ghar-Chukti-Kar’ (Household Tax) levied on households, the Tripura Durbar could not derive any land revenue and forest revenue from the area occupied by the Mizos because of the difficult terrain. According to official estimates, the collection of ‘Ghar-Chukti-Kar’ realized through the Mizo chiefs and not directly by the State officials, had always been a token collection.³²³

Regarding ‘Ghar-Chukti-Kar’, an order of the then Chief Dewan, Rai P. K. Das Gupta Bahadur empowered the Mizo chiefs to realize Household Tax at Rs. 4/- per family, and to keep Re. 1/- out of that Rs. 4/- as their collection commission to keep up their own dignity. Over and above the commission from the Household Tax, the Mizo chiefs were allowed to collect traditional *Fathang* and *Sachhiah* within their jurisdiction.³²⁴ Although no document was found to show that the Tripura Durbar had ever approved of these realizations of *Sachhiah* by the Mizo chiefs, the Durbar had been acquiescing in that practice since a very long time past. Later, the then Chief Dewan of Tripura Rai P. K. Das Gupta Bahadur proposed the following for the settlement of land with the Mizos through their Chiefs:

“Land settled with Lushai people Chiefs for plough cultivation:

- 1) For the present any chief may have a perpetual lease, varying rent
at the rate of 4 anna per kani plus 10 days’ free service in a year

³²³ Mahadev Chakraborty *et.al.*, *op.cit.*, p. 17.

³²⁴ Revenue Department, dated 10th February, 1917 A.D. in Mahadev Chakraborty *et.al.* p. 18.

from each adult. Rent will be assessed from one year to year for the land brought under plough cultivation. Chief may select 10 (ten) drones of land suitable for plough cultivation immediately and may apply to the Divisional Officer, Kailashahar.

- 2) Of four annas of rent payable for each kani, one anna will go to Chief for collection and three annas will be payable to the State.
- 3) Perpetual settlement will be granted for more land, as soon as the ten drones now to be settled are brought under cultivation.
- 4) Similar land grants may be offered to all the other Lushai Chiefs and also Kuki Chiefs on the express condition of introducing plough cultivation among their people”

However, at that time, the attempt of the Chief Dewan to shift the attention of the Mizos from shifting cultivation to plough cultivation and to collect land revenue from the Mizo chiefs was not given serious attention, because ploughing cultivation could not be done on the hill slopes.³²⁵

The Mizo people who inhabited the area of Jampui Hill, in the beginning of the twentieth century, were still under the rule of their chiefs. The Mizo chiefs of Jampui Hill had close connections with the Maharaja of the land they occupied, and this resulted in their having considerable measure of freedom in their social and cultural life. By this time, there were many other tribes who settled in Tripura but it was only the Mizo chiefs who were granted the titles Raja Bahadur, Raja and Raj Kumar by the

³²⁵ Official Record No. 13107, Dt. 23rd February, 1920, *ibid*.

Maharaja of Tripura. This clearly shows that there was cordial relationship between the Tripura rulers and the Mizo chiefs of Tripura.³²⁶

It has been observed earlier that Mizos who settled in Tripura had no social and cultural distinction from the mainstream Mizos in Mizoram. While the first group of settlers under Raja Bahadur Dokhuma migrated to Tripura with their traditional religion which was animistic, the second group under Raja Hrangvunga came down with a small number of Christians amongst whom was the chief himself who was already an ordained Church elder. However, the basic socio-cultural life of Mizo is not solely dependent on the primitive religion, and the Mizo society had no significant change even after conversion to Christianity. Only the forms of festivals and worship underwent significant changes. The Maharaja did not interfere in the socio-cultural life of his Mizo subjects, either Christians or non-Christians.³²⁷

But the essential virtue of the Christian religion is to evangelize, to preach the gospel to people who have never heard of it. From ancient time, Tripura rulers had already adopted Hinduism as a state religion, and when it came to the knowledge of the Maharaja's government that the NEIG Mission was sending missionaries into Tripura among the Mizos of Jampui and in the plain area, and the Mizo Christians in Tripura were supporting the effort, the government responded quickly by reprimanding the Mizo chiefs and expressly prohibited the preaching of Christianity to the other tribes having their ethnic religions. But the Mizos who were already Christian were not

³²⁶ Rualchhinga, *op.cit.*, p. 140.

³²⁷ Interview with R. Thangvunga.

required to reject Christianity or to return to their old faith. Thus, the Mizos in Jampui Hill were given total freedom of religious and cultural practices.³²⁸

The Mizo chiefs were left to themselves, bound by no law of the state. The Mizo chiefs had their own independent court from which there could be no appeal, though in other parts of Tripura *Pahari Adalat* of Hill Courts were established by the Government of Tripura. The region occupied by the Mizos thus became a state within the State, and whenever there was any sign of resistance by the people, the Durbar came forward to protect the Chief.³²⁹ Though political boundaries separated the Mizo people in Jampui Hill from other Mizos in Mizoram, it can be asserted that there was no feeling of separation from the rest of the Mizo community at large. There was continuing communication and inter-marriage between the Mizos of Jampui Hill and those in the adjacent areas of Mizoram, obviously owing to the fact that there was hardly any geographical distance between Mizoram and Tripura. And the Mizos in Jampui Hill could regard their Jampui Hill as their '*Zotlang Ram Nuam*'.³³⁰

However, the Mizos, who had enjoyed political, social and cultural independence since the time they emerged as a distinct ethnic group, seem to find it difficult to identify themselves as an integral part of a larger political entity within a political administrative set up. Their sense of nationhood does not admit others who speak different languages or have different cultures. Wherever they live, as strangers or emigrants, they always feel nostalgic for the land and the people of which they have been an insoluble part for the past centuries. Even though the Mizos in Jampui Hill are

³²⁸ Rualchhinga, *op.cit.*, pp. 80-83.

³²⁹ Dipak Kumar Chaudhuri, *op.cit.*, p. 93.

³³⁰ Interview with C.Lianhmingthanga.

peace-loving people, they are not so at the expense of losing or sacrificing their ethnic identity. Wherever they are, whether as temporary or permanent residents, they always protect and sustain the core of their cultural identity despite co-existing with more dominant cultures from the plain.

It can be assumed that the Mizos in Jampui Hill have, no doubt, a deep sense of belonging in Tripura. However, they are culturally and linguistically differentiated from the rest of the population, but in Jampui Hill, they really do feel at home and live comfortably there as they can still preserve their ethnic culture and heritage; and assimilation with other people of the State is restricted to some extent. They also hold that they have a strong bond with Mizoram and its people, like a father and a son. Just as the Mizos in Mizoram desire and aspire for political unification of all ethnic Mizos under a single administration or in other words, political unification of Mizos, the Mizos of Jampui Hill, Tripura long for such reality even though it may be impractical as well as unrealistic.

CHAPTER FIVE

Conclusion

The early history of the Mizos is fragmented and could possibly be retrieved only through oral sources contained in legends, folksongs, tales and fables, due to the absence of written sources and archaeological evidences. According to some local historians, the history of the Mizos can be traced only from the eighth century A.D. This claim has somehow garnered corroborative evidences in the extant historical works of the neighbouring areas such as the Rajmala, a royal chronicle of the kingdom of Tripura. Mizo folk tradition tells us that their ancestors emerged from a cave called Chhinlung, which is believed to have been located somewhere in the south-western part of China. However, the study finds that there are also different opinions and conclusions regarding the nature, location as well as meaning of Chhinlung. Notwithstanding these differences, Chhinlung is instrumental in forging a sense of unity and oneness and it has become a very important marker of Mizo identity. Mizo folk tradition also relates that from Chhinlung, they moved to Chindwin and Kabaw valley in Burma, and from there, they again migrated to the area of Khampat and settled there for many centuries. Later, due to different reasons, such as natural calamities and war, they left Khampat and moved into Chin Hills in the early fourteenth century A.D. But we came to know that in the Chin Hills, because of the environment and the conditions of the hill ranges, they began to settle in different villages on clan basis and increasingly became insular which impinged upon their unity. Eventually they evolved their respective clan dialects and began to contest each other for power and resource control, triggering another wave of migration from the Chin Hills.

The oral sources inform us that from the Chin Hills, the Mizos migrated to Mizoram in three batches by crossing the Tiau river. The colonial ethnography also corroborated these migrations, where it denotes the first batch who entered Mizoram as

Kukis or Old Kukis and the second batch as New Kukis. The last batch that migrated to Mizoram was the Lusei clan, who arrived in Mizoram around 1700 A.D. The study also finds that the first two batches of the Mizos who migrated from the Chin Hills moved as far as Tripura and Bangladesh, but due to lack of precise historical information it is difficult to trace the correct time period of their movement and settlement and how they dispersed in Tripura and Bangladesh. The process was halted by the advent of the British in North East India and their subsequent establishment of political control over the princely states of Tripura and Manipur, the assumption of authority in Cachar, closely followed by the identification and recognition of “Inner Line” and demarcation of other boundary lines that prevented the unrestricted territorial mobility of the Mizo tribes. Yet, group territorial mobility within the so called ‘unadministered areas’ could not be controlled as they lay outside the British territory. Thus, the Mizos continued their semi-nomadic lifestyle inside Mizoram, which remained outside of the actual British administration till 1890. After British colonial rule was established in Mizoram (formerly called Lushai Hills) territorial mobility of the Mizos was discouraged by the fixation of clearly recognizable territory with definite boundary for each Mizo chief. Subsequently, Mizos began to adopt a relatively sedentary existence. However, the early decades of the twentieth century witnessed the migration of a large body of Mizos to Tripura who had obtained due permission from the Maharaja of Tripura.

It is evident from the study that in pre-colonial period, the Mizos often migrated before they arrived in the present day Mizoram due to the pressure from more powerful tribes and their agricultural practice-slash and burn cultivation-which rendered sedentary settlement next to impossible. As a result, the Mizo chiefs and their subjects moved westward and entered Mizoram and asserted their authority over it, which at that

time was not properly administered and claimed by any authority. But due to intra-as well as inter-tribal rivalries, some of the Mizo tribes were pushed out from Mizoram to Cachar, Manipur, Tripura and Bangladesh. Despite the departure of some of these tribes, the larger and more powerful tribes organized under the Sailo chiefs and continued to dominate Mizoram whose western extremity was gradually colliding with the territory of the princely state of Tripura. The study finds that in the pre-colonial period, Mizo understanding of boundary was vague and indistinct. In pre-colonial period boundaries of tribes were rarely demarcated and the power and authority of pre-colonial empires and kingdoms simply faded with distance from the centre. This holds true in the case of the Mizo tribes in relation to their neighbouring kingdoms of Tripura, Cachar and Manipur. It may be more appropriate to speak in terms of realm rather than political boundaries *per se* among the Mizos in the pre-colonial period when a particular Mizo chief was laying claim over a territory. They recognized the existence of different realms under different Mizo chiefs due to lack of political centralization and they were also aware of the territorial claims by the rulers from the adjacent plains but were uncertain about the exact extent of such realms. On many occasions, it is possible that such realms may have overlapped each other as well. There was little or no intention to properly delimit such claims over the realms by any Mizo chiefs, as it would result in the curtailment of their territorial mobility and eventual disappearance of the chance to expand their *de facto* control over larger territory. Therefore, the territory, which the Mizos tribes occupied, was devoid of any properly delineated boundary despite the claims from the ruler of Tripura that he held sovereignty over all this area up to the frontier of Burma. From the study it became clear that the Mizos, in the pre-colonial period, because of the need to have greater territorial mobility as a result of their mode of production-a subsistence economy called slash and burn

cultivation, coupled by raids for booty and war captives-were extending their territorial domination until they met with determined efforts to check their territorial advance. In the absence of such tangible effort and physical show of force to check their unrestrained territorial expansion, the Mizos continued to exert their territorial claims over a considerable area until that process was arrested by the arrival of the British in the region.

As noted above, it was their mode of production, which forced them to migrate to different territories where there would be least resistance to their presence. A very important aspect of the Mizo economy was raid. The Mizos indulged in raids within and among themselves as well as in cross-border raids, which was also considered as a matter of martial expression. The study also finds how the Mizos regarded raids as war and the prestige and position of a Mizo chief depended on the number of successful raids he conducted, which further confirms that the main reason why the Mizos indulged in raiding their neighbouring areas was to obtain wealth and slaves. Also, in the olden days, the custom of head hunting made the Mizos raid other neighbouring tribes to prove themselves as warriors.

The study shows that by the time of the British advent in Tripura, her boundaries were clearly defined on the north, west and south, while her eastern boundary was unresolved. Though the Maharaja of Tripura claimed that all the outlying hills on the eastern part of his kingdom till the frontier of Burma belonged to him, he was unable to support this claim in real terms as he had no *de facto* control over the Mizo tribes located in this area. Moreover, the British administrators were least bothered about the Mizos as long as they did not create problems for them. But the

perpetual attacks and raids in Tripura and on the British subjects in the southern plains of Cachar and Sylhet made the British administrators aware of the need to establish a well defined boundary line for proper administrations and security of their frontiers.

Consequently, in 1822 A.D. the Tlawng (Dhaleswari) river was laid down as the eastern boundary of Tripura and the British Government gave the duty of frontier defense to the Maharaja of Tripura within his territory. But the Maharaja of Tripura was disgruntled with this boundary, and right after the declaration of the boundary, there was a brutal attack within the British territory. Shortly, there were repeated raids conducted by the Mizos and the British Government of India again advised the Maharaja of Tripura to set up strong fortified posts for frontier defense. But the establishment of the frontier posts did not stop the Mizos from raiding in the territories of the Maharaja and the British. Thus, a punitive expedition was sent in 1869 A.D to punish the raiders which, however, failed to accomplish its task. Later on, J.W. Edgar, the Deputy Commissioner of Cachar was able to make an arrangement with some of the western chiefs of the Mizos. But this was soon followed by a series of raids conducted by the Mizo tribes. So, the British Government of India sent a punitive expedition into Mizoram during the winter of 1871-72 A.D. to punish the tribes involved in these raids. It is evident that the expeditionary forces of 1871-72 were accompanied by two survey parties for boundary demarcation because a well defined boundary line was found to be crucial for administrative convenience and the pursuit of establishing peace and tranquility in the frontier. These survey parties recommended new boundaries and most of these recommendations were accepted by the British Government of India which were related to the eastern boundary of Tripura, the boundary between Cachar and Lushai Hills and the Chittagong Hill Tracts and the Lushai Hills.

The present study found that it was difficult to lay down an exact boundary between the western territory of the Lushai Hills (erstwhile name of Mizoram) and the eastern boundary of Tripura, due to the fact that there was very little information about the territory between these two areas. Therefore, the Superintendent of Cachar, Mr. Edgar, considered that the best geographical boundary between Tripura and the Lushai Hills would be the continuation of the watershed that divides Sylhet from Cachar. Thus, the Langkaih river, between the Hachhek and Jampui ranges, to its source Betling Shib Peak, then across the Dolajuri Peak and then by the recognised southern boundary to the Fenny. The British authority approved this suggestion as the eastern boundary of Tripura. The Maharaja of Tripura was initially unhappy with the demarcation of the eastern boundary of Tripura and he viewed the whole exercise as a means of annexing his territory by the British. Initially, the British Government informed the Maharaja of Tripura that the demarcation of the eastern boundary of Tripura was only a temporary arrangement, essential for frontier defence in order to prevent the raiders from the eastern part of the country and did not involve the annexation of his territory. Meanwhile, the Mizo chiefs located in western Mizoram had made peace with the British Government and had nothing to say regarding their boundary with Tripura.

The present study reveals that the Maharaja strongly disagreed with the fixation of Tripura's eastern boundary, which was reflected in the form of repeated representations from the Durbar (government) of Tripura to the British authority to restore Tlawng river (Dhaleswari), as the eastern boundary of Tripura. But the British authority refused to reopen this boundary issue for reconsideration. As indicated before, the Tlawng (Dhaleswari) river was initially fixed as the eastern boundary of Tripura, but due to the disturbances caused by the Mizo tribes from the east, the Langkaih river

was finally fixed as the eastern boundary of Tripura, which the Maharaja of Tripura considered as an injustice done to him for the political and administrative convenience of the British Government.

The study also indicates that the repeated representations of the Maharaja of Tripura on the question of the eastern boundary of Tripura must have received little consideration from the Government of India because there was no legitimate information to confirm that the Maharaja of Tripura had enjoyed *de facto* control in the territory east of the Langkaih river. Meanwhile the topographical map for the definition of the boundaries of the Lushai hills did not come up before the British Government of India and the notification on the subject was issued as late as 1900 A.D. As repeated representations to the British Government of India from the Durbar (Government) of Tripura did not obtain favorable response, the Tripura Durbar looked upon the area cut off as 'ceded territory', as no readjustment was made to the eastern territory of Tripura.

During 1910 A.D., the Mizos under Sailo chiefs entered Tripura and settled in the Jampui Hill, located in the eastern extremity of Tripura, with the permission of the Maharaja of Tripura. However, a dispute arose between the British officials of Mizoram and Tripura over the site of a village for these Mizo immigrants to Tripura. Thus, the British Government of India ordered a new demarcation of the boundary between the Mizoram and Tripura. As a result the boundary between Mizoram and Tripura was recast. Accordingly, the boundary line between Mizoram and Tripura started from the tri-junction of the Tripura, Assam (Karimganj) and Mizoram borders, situated at the Langkaih river which originates from the Jampui Hill range and flows in northern direction. The boundary line follows the upstream of the Langkaih river and

then, its tributary, Sailut river to its source, Betling Sib Peak (3083 ft.). The boundary line then proceeds in southerly direction reaching a Hill called Betling Peak (2234 ft.) which is the tri-junction point of Tripura, Mizoram (earlier Lushai Hills) and Bangladesh (earlier Chittagong Hill Tracts).

The boundary thus concluded has not been reviewed nor changed even after Tripura became part of the Indian Union while the settlement of Mizo chiefs in Jampui Hill at the beginning of the twentieth century with the permission of the Maharaja of Tripura did not create any border issue. Through boundary studies, we come to know that the identities of some borderland people were transformed; though the Mizos who settled in Jampui Hill at the beginning of the twentieth century had been able to retain their culture and socio-economic pattern of life despite being dominated politically by people from the plains who embraced the Hindu culture. The present study reveals that the Mizos of Jampui Hill during the period of study were able to preserve their Mizo identity by maintaining a durable socio-cultural linkage with their fellow tribesmen in Mizoram through religion, language, marriage, daily cross-border interaction, etc.

It is also evident that the Mizos of Jampui Hill, during the period under study, had maintained cordial relationship with their neighbours as well as with the ruler of Tripura, as reflected in the grant of prestigious titles such as Raja Bahadur and Raja to the Mizo Chiefs Dokhuma and Hrangvunga, respectively, who had migrated to Jampui Hill. In fact, the Mizos of Jampui Hill enjoyed significant autonomy in their internal administration, mode of production, cultural and religious practices. It appears that they only paid political allegiance to the ruler of the land they have come to live in

permanently through the occasional payment of gift (*nazarana*) to the ruler of Tripura and a nominal poll tax.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

APPENDIX NO. 1

ASSAM – NO. XLIII – 1871

No. XLIII.

Translation of the Sunnud given to Suakpuilala – 1871.

The order of the illustrious Government.

Be it known to the *Lushai* Lal (Suakpuilala) and to at the other lalls, Muntrees, and people of *Lushai* villages between the Tepai and Tipperah Hills.

The illustrious Government has laid down the following line of division:-

From Chutturchoora to the mouth of Bhyrubbee Cherra, from the mouth of Bhyrubbee Cherra to Bhyrubbee Tillah, from Bhyrubbee Tillah to Kolosep Tillah, from Kolosep Tillah to Noongvai Hills, from Noongvai Hills to Koobe cherra Mookh, which falls to Sonai Nudee, and it has ordered that the country to the north of the said line shall be called Cachar and the Marthinlong or Northern *Lushai* lands on the other side of that line of division shall be called the *Lushai* Hills. The name Marthinlong or Northern *Lushai* includes those people who drink the water of the Taovai, Tipai Tuirel or Sonai Tinpar or Rukni, Sinlong or Dhaleswari, and Kloong Doong or Guttur.

The illustrious Government has further ordered that (Suakpuilala) and all other *Lushai* Lalls, Muntrees, and people shall not in any way injure or annoy any of the people of Sylhet or Cachar.

If any *Lushai* suffers any injury or annoyance at the hands of Cachar or Sylhet people, and wants to have his wrongs redressed, he must make a request to that affect to the Burra Sahib (Deputy Commissioner) of Cachar, who has been ordered by Government to do justice in such cases.

The Lalls and Muntrees of the *Lushai* shall be answerable for the safety of all merchants and wood-cutters who go to the *Lushai* Hills to trade or cut timber.

There are, as is known, various hill tribes known as Simthinlong drinking the water of the river flowing to the south. If they or the people dwelling in the side of the Tipai are about to attack or annoy any people of Cachar or Sylhet, and if Suakpuilala, etc., know of it and cannot prevent them from passing through their villages, then Suakpuilala, etc., must at once give information to the Burra Sahib (Deputy Commissioner) of Cachar.

If a dispute arise between Suakpuilala, etc., and the people of the Rajahs of Munnipoor to Tipperah, he or they may inform the Burra Sahib (Deputy Commissioner) of Cachar who will endeavour to get the matter enquired into.

When the Burra Sahib of Cahar or any Government Officer who may be deputed by him goes to visit the *Lushai* hills Suakpuilala should meet him in person or by Deputy at some place to be appointed from time to time within the hills.

If in any year no European Government Officer goes to the hills, then Suakpuilala, etc., shall send to the Burra Sahib (Deputy Commissioner) at Doodpate (Silchar) some respectable *Lushais*.ⁱ

[Source: C. Chawngkunga, *Important Documents of Mizoram*, pp. 288, 289.]

APPENDIX NO. 2

APPOINTMENT LETTER OF THE FIRST POLITICAL AGENT OF TRIPURA

No. 3125 dated Fort William, the 3rd July 1871

From : S. C. Bayley Esq., Secretary to the Government of Bengal in the Judicial Department.

To : A.W.B. Power Esq., C.S.

The appointment of a political agent in Hill Tipperah to reside at Agurtollah having been sanctioned by the Governor General in Council and approved of by the Secretary of State, I am directed to inform you that the Lieutenant Governor has selected you for the post.

2. It will be your first duty to acquaint yourself with the relations existing between the Rajah of Tipperah and the various tribes of Kookies, Lushais, and other hillmen living on the borders of the State. You should carefully distinguish between those who are the Rajah's subjects, that is those who have settled themselves within the recognised limits of his territory, pay him revenue, and those who are practically independent.
3. As regards the former, the Rajah's authority as a civil power is to be maintained, and he should be left free to deal with them as with any other classes of his acknowledged subjects. Your interference in respect to this class of persons should be solely based on political grounds arising out of their connections with outer tribes, and should be limited to cases of real urgency.
4. As regards, however, the Lushais or other independent Kookies, who do not acknowledge the Rajah as their Chief or sovereign, and who are repudiated by him, it will be your duty to see that the Rajah in no case undertakes aggressive or punitive measures against them, until he has satisfied you of the sufficiency of his grounds for so doing; and the Rajah will be positively prohibited from sending hostile expeditions to the Kookie hills except with your written permission, which except in cases of great urgency, should not be given without the previous sanction of the Government.
5. In the event of the Rajah claiming authority over any person who repudiates his claim, it will be your duty to examine the grounds on which the claim is based; and if it appears to you that the claim is well founded, and can be safely asserted, you should give your support to the Raja in asserting it; but he should not be permitted to encroach beyond the limits of the authority which he now exercises without the occurrence and sanction of the Bengal Government.
6. All disputes between the Raja and his subjects and Kookies and other independent tribes, you should endeavour to adjust by meditation, and for this purpose you should during the healthy season travel about the frontier, and

endeavour to open friendly communications with the hill chiefs, whether towards Cachar or Chittagong.

7. Your special attention should be directed to putting a stop to all traffic of arms through Hill Tipperah.
8. Hereafter it will be your duty to lay down a clearly defined frontier to Hill Tipperah to the east, such as will tend to prevent any accidental collision between the Rajah and the hill tribes.
9. As regards the internal Administration of the country, no definite instructions will be issued to you till you have made yourself acquainted with the revenue, civil and criminal administration at present in force and submitted a report on the subjects for the information of the Government. Besides this report, which should be forwarded as soon as you can collect the materials for its, you should also report, as soon as you can, the strength, quality, and disposition of the military force, and the police maintained by the Rajah, and as to their sufficiency for the preservation of internal order and the protection of the frontier from the inroads of the Kookies. Recent events show that the present system is deficient somewhere, and you should suggest any measures that may appear to you obviously and essentially necessary for improving the efficiency of the protective force, and for establishing a series of efficient outposts in the Kookies frontier, occupied by properly equipped and disciplined men.
10. Although you should not directly interfere in the administration of justice, you should keep a general watch over the action of the Hill Tipperah courts, and bring to the notice of the Government any acts of gross injustice, outrage or barbarity, which come to your knowledge. In accordance with such instructions as you may from time to time receive from the local Government, you should counsel the Rajah in regard to any reforms which suggest themselves as absolutely necessary. You should strictly watch over all cases in which British subjects are concerned, though, if the offence be committed in Hill Tipperah, and the offenders be also therein arrested, you should not directly interfere in the trial.
11. You will rank as a Deputy Commissioner of the 4th grade in the non-regulation provinces commission on a salary of Rs. 1000 per mensem and will be eligible for promotion in the higher grades of commission without being transferred from the appointment to which you are now posted. An establishment cost of Rs. 100 per mensem is also sanctioned for your office. You should report what staff you entertain, and how you have disposed of the amount.
12. In accordance with the orders of the Governor General in Council, you will correspond directly with the local Government, but you should keep the Commissioner of Chittagong informed of all important points to which your attention is directed.
13. The Lieutenant Governor desires that you will proceed to Agurtollah on the receipt of these orders, and take up duties assigned to you. The Rajah of Tipperah has undertaken to provide an escort or guard for your protection, and has also

promised to assist you in erecting a proper bungalow for yourself and your office, and to aid generally in establishing yourself and carrying out the objects of your appointment.

[Source: Dipak Kumar Chaudhuri, *The Political Agents and the Native Raj*, pp. 60–61.]

APPENDIX NO. 3

LUSHAI RAIDS IN BRITISH INDIA THAT HAD A BEARING ON TRIPURA

The Lushai raids on British India that had a bearing on Tripura are summarized here, so that the Lushai raids on Tripura are not seen in isolation and are seen in the proper perspective.

There is no dearth of information on Lushai raids on the Assam and Chittagong border of British India. This is mainly a summary of the material available in Mackenzie (1999) and

Carey and Tuck (1976) insofar as the information is relevant for an understanding of the Tripura situation.

Even prior to the advent of the British, the hill men were accustomed to making periodic forays in the plains of Assam. For many years, long before the British occupation of Assam in 1838, the inhabitants of the plains to the south of Assam had lived in dread of the Kukis who used to come down and attack villages, killing their inhabitants, taking their heads and plundering and burning their homes.

The first Kuki of Lushai raid mentioned as being committed in Assam was in 1826. From and that year, raids and outrages were of yearly occurrence in Assam. On one occasion, the Magistrate of Sylhet reported a series of massacres by Kukis in what was alleged to be British territory in which one hundred and fifty persons had been killed (Carey and Tuck 1976:14).

In December 1844 Captain Blackwood, assisted by a Kuki Chief, Lalmi Sing, attacked Lalchokla, another Kuki chief, in reprisal for a raid committed on a Manipuri colony settled in Pertabghar in the British territory the preceding April to obtain heads to place on the tomb of his father who had died a short while ago. Lalchokla took twenty heads and six captives but his village was surrounded and he himself was transported.

Cachar had been taken possession by the British in 1830 and twenty years later a second expedition was rendered necessary on account of a raid, which had been committed by the Lushais in British India. The victims in this incident were a tribe of their own kinsmen, who settled within British India. Colonel Lister was sent out to exact retribution in 1850. He destroyed the village of a chief named Mullah, about 80 miles to the south of Cachar. Following the military operation, a powerful Chief, Suakpuilala, paid a friendly visit to the DC of Cachar and more amicable relations than had formally existed were established between the Lushais and the British. Peace reigned until 1862 when Sylhet was disturbed by raids. Three villages were attacked and burned and their inhabitants were either killed or carried into captivity. On this occasion, Suakpuilala was appealed to, and his friendship was strengthened by a small annual subsidy.

Around 1855, when tea gardens started being developed by the British in the southern part of the district of Cachar, the Lushais started raiding the tea gardens. Loharband and Monier Khel tea gardens were attacked by them in 1869. The usual

military demonstration followed but the troops retired with the object in view unattained because of a delay in the dispatch of the force, lateness of season and other causes. A policy of concession and conciliation was tried between 1869 and 1870. The Deputy Commissioner of Cachar, Mr. Edgar, accompanied by a small escort made strenuous efforts to conciliate and make friends with the Lushais. His good intentions and friendly attitude met with little success. 1870-71 saw a series of Lushai raids in British India. The outrages that followed exceeded in magnitude and ferocity all that had gone before. Raids almost simultaneous in date but emanating from different Kuki tribes were made on the Chittagong Hill Tracts, Sylhet and Cachar. Manipur was also attacked. The first raid occurred in the Chittagong Hill Tracts near the Chima outpost. Alexandrapore in Cachar was attacked. On the same day, Katlichera was also assaulted by the Lushais. The village of Ainakhal in western Cachar was attacked along with the tea garden in Monier Khal in Cachar. Nandigram was raided and Jalnacherra tea estate faced a Lushai onslaught. These outrages continued to occur in Sylhet and Tipperah till March 1871. The Government of India decided to launch the Lushai expedition in 1871-72. As a result of the expedition, Assam enjoyed comparative peace from Lushai raids.

Although Chittagong was ceded to the East India Company by the Mahomedans in 1760, no attempt was made to bring any part of the hills under the direct control of the British till 1859 when the Chittagong Hill Tracts District was created with a view to protect the Chittagong border from attacks by the hill tribes on the east. Since the days of Warren Hastings the Lushais had at long and uncertain intervals raided British Indian territories adjoining the Lushai land. The first record of their raids dated from 1777 when the Chief of Chittagong, a district which had been ceded to the British under Clive by Mir Kasim in 1760, applied for a detachment of sepoys to protect the inhabitants against the incursion of the Kukis as they were then called (Reid 1980:7). There were innumerable raids and outrages committed by the hill men in Chittagong from the beginning of the nineteenth century. Almost yearly from 1800 to 1872, records exist of raids by the Kukis who swooped down from their mountain fastness in the east and murdered, pillaged and burned. In 1860, the great Kuki invasion of the Tipperah District of British India occurred. The following year, a large police contingent marched into the hills to punish the Lushais who burnt their own villages and fled to the jungle.

Raids continued to occur and attempts to restrain the Kukis and prevent their raids through peaceful means were made until at last, in 1871-72 the Lushai expedition was mounted chiefly in response to the outrages committed by the Lushais in Cachar and Sylhet. The expedition was a success and the hopes of the British bringing peace and quiet to their eastern frontier were partly realized. For the next ten years, the Chittagong frontier was quiet and not a single raid occurred in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. In 1883 and then again, during the next five years outrages were again perpetrated in the Chittagong border and in 1888-89, a number of raids followed in the Chengri valley.

[Source: Malabika Das Gupta, *Economic Impact Of Raids On The Shifting Cultivators of Tripura*, pp. 99-102.]

APPENDIX NO. 4

ENGINEERING FALSE RAIDS TO DECOY FOLLOWERS

Among the Lushais when one chief became more powerful than any rivals, he used to move into a new area taking with him as many followers as possible. The majority of the clan generally went over to the village of the stronger chief. To obtain possession of the Kukis residing in Tripura and to decoy them from their allegiance to the Rajah had long been the objective of not one but many influential chiefs among the Lushais.

In 1872 it was reported (Foreign Department, Political A, January 1872, No. 299) that sometime ago a certain number of Kukis residing in the territory and under the protection of the Tipperah Raja threw off their allegiance to him and joined the tribe of Suakpuilala. Some of the members of the clan remained behind in Hill Tipperah and their brethren from the Lushai country sent constant messages to them to join the seceding body of their clan members under Suakpuilala. The Tripura Kukis however replied that they were closely watched by the Raja, and were unable to leave his territory unless a counter movement was made by the Lushais and their design masked. Hence, a raid was mounted. The return track of the raiders was followed by scouts from Tripura who stated that the raiders were accompanied by a large number of women. The scouts also reported that they saw the footprints of many children and dogs. This proved definitely that the raid was undertaken to cover the deportation of the Kukis who resided in Tipperah for although the raiders might carry off women as captives they would certainly not hamper themselves with many children and dogs did not usually form a part of a raiding party.

[Source: Malabika Das Gupta, *Economic Impact Of Raids On The Shifting Cultivators of Tripura*, pp. 103, 104.]

APPENDIX NO. 5

EXTRACT FROM THE REPORT OF LIEUTENANT FISHER ON THE BOUNDARIES OF SYLHET, DATED 18TH MAY 1822.

“Thus generally the tract in dispute is bounded on the north by the Kooseara river, on the south by the extensive jungles of Tippera, on the east by the independent State Cachar, and on the west by the Comilla district.”

“By a decision of Mr. Ewing, Magistrate of Sylhet, in 1820- 21, the whole of the valleys watered by the Simila and Sungan nallahs, together with the ranges called the Suddashur and Dewallia hills, were declared to be within the Company’s territory, and it was determined that the boundary commenced at Chattuchura *vide* plan Lat. 24° 17 ½’, Long. 92° 10’ E.) and extended in an irregular line to Haseenagar in Pargannah Pattarea.”

[Source: Maharaj Kumar & Sahadev Bikram Kishore Dev Barman, *Tripura State Eastern Boundary Dispute, Appendices to Exhibit B*, p. 1.]

APPENDIX NO. 6

Dated Fort William, the 6th June 1822.

From – The Acting Secretary to Government,

To – The Acting Magistrate of Sylhe

* * * * * *

* * * * * *

6. His Lordship in Council observes that the greater part of the frontier line is stated to have been laid down with the concurrence of the persons who attended on the part of the Raja, excepting in so far as a general pretension to all Hill and jungle was asserted though not substantiated or persisted in by them. Hence it is presumed, that the attestation of these people will have been affixed to the documents and despositions according to which the line was determined. It does not however appear on the sketch in the manner required under a literal construction of paragraph 8 of the instructions issued to the Magistrate of Sylhet on the 19th November 1819, but should the precaution above alluded to have been taken, the signature to the sketch is quite immaterial. It would be satisfactory to His Lordship in Council to be informed more particularly in what specific record the acknowledgment of the Raja's Agents to the adjustment finally determined upon will be forthcoming.

* * * * * *

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8. In the meantime His Lordship in Council is of opinion that the line of demarcation laid down by Lieutenant Fisher should be assumed and acted upon as forming the actual frontier of the two territories. You will be pleased therefore to make known to the Zamindar this resolution of Government.

9. Information will be sent to the Rajah of Tipperah, through the Magistrate of the Zillah, apprising him of the resolution of Government to adopt the line of frontier laid down by Lieutenant Fisher, in connection with his agent, as forming the actual limit of the sovereignty and possessions of the two States respectively except where positive proof may be adduced to error or incompleteness.

[Source: Maharaj Kumar & Sahadev Bikram Kishore Dev Barman, *Tripura State Eastern Boundary Dispute, Appendices to Exhibit B*, p. 1.]

APPENDIX NO. 7

MESSRS, YULE AND CAMPBELL

Arbitration Report, 1851

39. Here Lieutenant Fisher fixed as the boundary, continuing from the Pherua-Dharmanagar valley, a line running east from the source of the Thal Nadi, mentioned in the preceding case, to the Chattuchura hills and thence to the Dhaleswari, a stream running nearly due south to north, and whose eastern bank belongs to Cachar.

40. Throughout the disputed part of the boundary, then, the line is determined as follows (*vide* the annexed complete sketch), commencing from the east at the Dhaleswari it runs from the Chattuchura hills along the mountain in a westerly direction to the Patharia hills.

[Source: Maharaj Kumar & Sahadev Bikram Kishore Dev Barman, *Tripura State Eastern Boundary Dispute, Appendices to Exhibit B*, p. 2.]

APPENDIX NO. 8

NOTIFICATION. – *The 23rd June, 1874.*

The Hon'ble the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal is pleased to declare that the eastern boundary of Hill Tipperah shall be as follows :-

The eastern boundary of Hill Tipperah, from the triple junction on districts Sylhet and Chittagong, shall run south along the Langai river (flowing between the Jampui and the Haichak-Chattuchura range) to its source in the Betleing-Sib peak; and thence following the water-shed of the hills across the peak of Doljuree, as defined on the map of that part of the country by Captain Badgley, Officiating Deputy Superintendent of Survey; then by a straight line to the Surdaing peak and on by the boundary, as shown on the maps of Hill Tipperah and Chittagong by T. H. O'Donnel, Esq., Revenue Surveyor, to and along the Fenny river as far as the village of Ramghur.

(Sd.) RIVERS THOMPSON,
*Secretary to the Government of
Bengal.*

[Source: Maharaj Kumar & Sahadev Bikram Kishore Dev Barman, *Tripura State Eastern Boundary Dispute, Appendices to Exhibit B*, p. 3.]

APPENDIX NO. 9

No. 21, dated Agartala, the 9th February 1874.

From- BIR CHANDRA MANIKYA BAHADUR, Maharajah of Independent Tipperah,

To- The Political Agent of Hill Tipperah.

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your office memo. No. 32, dated the 3rd instant, with its enclosures, and in reply beg to say that the river Langai between the Jampui and Haichak ranges being fixed by the Government of India as the eastern boundary of my territory, and the Lushai country being east of the Haichak ranges, I do not know why I shall be required to establish a defensive line of posts on the verge of my own cultivation. The Lushais, if ever, come to any place beyond the river Langai, that is either to my territory or to the Sylhet or Chittagong side in British territory, they will, I need not say, have first to cross the British territory, namely, the Haichak ranges, etc. If, however, the Government of India thinks it necessary, I shall be prepared with a view to strengthen the Sylhet portion of the line to post one or two guards on the north-east frontier of my own territory.

I have, etc.,

(Sd.) BIR CHANDRA DEB

BARMAN,

Maharajah of Independent Tipperah.

APPENDIX NO. 10

No. 60, dated Agartala, the 3rd March 1874.

From – Captain E. G. LILLINGSTON, Officiating Political Agent of Hill Tipperah,

To – The Rajah of Hill Tipperah.

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your No. 21, dated 9th ultimo, and in reply to it beg to state as follows :-

2. Mr. Power informs me that he has already pointed out to you that you are in error in supposing that the country east of the boundary line marked by the Langai river has been taken up by Government.

3. I would again intimate to you that the Haichak range was excluded from your boundary, not that it might become Government territory, but that all complications, which would probably arise in case possession thereof were claimed by tribes inhabiting the Lushai country, might be avoided. It follows, therefore, that the argument advanced by you, *viz.*, that Lushais would have to pass through Government territory before they could reach your boundary on the Langai river, falls to the ground; and the fact that the Langai river and not the Haichak range has been fixed on as the boundary, in no way relieves you of the responsibility of preventing Lushais passing through your territory to raid in Sylhet or British Tipperah, and I need not remark that it is to your interest to protect your eastern frontier from attacks in that direction.

4. Mr. Power advises as follows :- “There are three points at which posts are required along the northern boundary of Hill Tipperah marching with Sylhet – one to protect the Pherua-Dharmanagar valley, the second the Koylashar valley, and the third the Kamalpur valley. These posts would correspond with and support those at Langai (and Patharia), Khambarghat (and Alleenagar), and Adampur respectively. There will be some difficulty in opening out communication between a post covering the Pherua-Dharmanagar valley and that on Chattuchura as the country between, *viz.*, the Langai valley, is uninhabited plain land covered with the densest jungle interspersed with swamps. Just at present cultivation is backward in the Pherua-Dharmanagar valley, and the post could keep up communication with the Langai or Patharia posts only, but as cultivation advances, the post might be placed on one of the northern points of the Jampui range from which signals can be seen at Chattuchura.”

5. “At Koylashar there is already a guard, but it is far too close to the cultivation. The Kookies in the vicinity would be only too glad to move southward and return to the sites of their former homes if this guard were placed in such a position as to afford them protection; they have, in fact, petitioned to this effect. The best place for it would, in my opinion, be on some convenient site near the junction of the Deo with the Manoo. This would remove the guard out of the frontier line, but there is the police guard at Khambarghat and the sepoy guard at Alleenagar, about four miles to the north, through

which direct communication along the frontier can be kept up, while the post near the Deo will give confidence to the Kookies who jhum in the hills, as well as to the Manipuris and Bengalis who are bringing the plains under cultivation. The establishment of a guard at Koylashar is the sole step which the Rajah has taken for the protection of his frontier; the number of men composing it varies from 20 to 30.”

6. At Kamalpur there is a thana (civil police station) and a frontier post was once there for a short time. The post now proposed should be well up the Dhalai river, as far beyond the plough *and jhum cultivation as possible*. The distance between the present thana and the Government polices stockade at Adampur is trifling and the path from the one to the other is through open country.

7. Mr. Power also advises for the protection of your own territory that a post should be established high up on the Goomti. He states “Eksari is a good place, and the stockade made in 1872 is still in existence though much dilapidated.”

8. Mr. Power also recommends that a force of 200 Gurkhas should be raised, their pay and allowance to be the same as the Sylhet frontier police. Of this force 50 men should be located in each of the posts in the frontier of Sylhet, and 50 would remain in reserve. The post on the Goomti might be left to the present police.

9. I would now invite you to reconsider the subject and request that you will be good enough to communicate to me what measures you would propose and any remarks you may wish to make. As Government are anxious to have the final report, I beg you will give this your early attention.

I have etc.,
(Sd.) E. G. LILLINGSTON,
Capt.,
Officiating Political Agent.

APPENDIX NO. 11

No. 30, dated Agartala, the 26th March, 1874.

From – BIR CHANDRA MANIKYA, Bahadur,
Maharajah of Independent Tipperah.

To – The Political Agent, Hill Tipperah.

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 60 of the 3rd instant, and to say that the river Langai between the Jampui and Haichak ranges being fixed by both the Governments, as the eastern boundary of my territory, there was no reason to believe that the country east of the boundary line was not excluded from it, and that I was held responsible by Government for anything done beyond the line of the boundary of my territory.

2. I have, however, no objection to the proposition made by Mr. Power as to the establishment of three different posts along the boundary of my territory marching with Sylhet. viz., first at or near Bangshal, second near the junction of the Deo with the Manoo, the third near Porotang hill in the places of Farooah, Koylashar, and Kamalpur, respectively.

3. The strength of the force for each post is proposed as follows:-

40 sepoy (Goorkha) with a certain number of head officers				
2 nd	35	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto
3 rd	30	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto
Reserve	30	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto

4. With reference to paragraph 7 of your letter under reply, I beg to say that-I shall be prepared to establish a post at Eksari as also advised by Mr. Power.

I have, etc.,
(Sd.) BIR CHANDRA DEB
BARMAN
Maharajah

APPENDIX NO. 12

From – Babu UMA KANTA DAS, Assistant Political Agent of Hill Tipperah,

To – Babu HAR CHARAN NANDI, Dewan in charge of H. H. the Maharaja's English Office.

Sir,

I have the honour to address you on the subject of the eastern boundary of this State.

2. From Mr. Yule's report, dated 14th January, 1851, it will be seen that formerly Dhaleswari river was understood to be the eastern boundary of the Maharaja's territory.

In that report there are in paragraph 39 the following lines :-

“Lieutenant Fisher fixed as the boundary (continuing from Pherua-Dharmanagar valley) a line running east from the source of the Thal Nadi, mentioned in the preceding case, to the Chattuchura hill and thence to the Dhaleswari, a stream running nearly due south to north whose eastern bank belongs to Cachar.”

And again in paragraph 48 the following :-

“Throughout the disputed part of the boundary there the line is determined as follows (*vide* the annexed complete sketch), commencing from the east at the Dhaleswari river it runs from the Chattuchura hill,” etc.

3. For administrative and political convenience, however it was subsequently found expedient to have the Langai as the eastern boundary of the State, and it was duly communicated to His Highness.

4. The Commissioner of the Division wishes to be informed of the views of the Maharajah on the subject above. I beg accordingly to ask that the matter may be laid before His Highness and his views reported at any early convenience.

I have, etc.,
(Sd.) U. K. Das,
Assistant Political Agent.

[Source: Maharaj Kumar & Sahadev Bikram Kishore Dev Barman, *Tripura State Eastern Boundary Dispute, Appendices to Exhibit B*, pp. 6, 7.]

APPENDIX NO. 13

No. 646, dated the 15th March 1887.

From – Babu B. C. BHATTACHARJI, in charge, Political Office,

To – The Officer in charge, Political Agency, Agartala.

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your No. 1066 dated the 7th January 1887 and subsequent correspondence with reference to the Commissioner of Chittagong's enquiry as to the views of His Highness the Maharajah Bahadur with regard to eastern boundary of his dominions.

2. In reply I am directed to state that the northern frontier of His Highness' territory was surveyed in 1821-22 Lieutenant Fisher and the boundary line as fixed by him was adopted by the British Government, as would appear from a letter addressed by the Acting Secretary to Government to the Acting Majistrate of Sylhet, dated Fort William, 6th June 1822.

3. From the above letter it clearly appear, that the Governor-General of India in council was highly satisfied with the boundary laid down by Lieutenant Fisher and fully approved of the same, paragraphs 8 and 9 of that letter emphatically declaring that "the line of demarcation laid down by Lieutenant Fisher should be assumed – and acted upon as forming the actual frontier of two territories," and that the same line should be adopted "as forming the actual limit of the sovereignty and possessions of the two States."

4. Then again in 1850-51 when Mr. G. Yule was employed to settle the disputed boundary about that part of the country and surveyed the eastern frontier of the Tipperah hills, he found, as was also indicated by his predecessor, Lieutenant Fisher, that the river Dhaleswari was the boundary of the Maharajah's territory, although it may not be out of place to mention here previous to Lieutenant Fisher's time, the boundary line ran still further to the east. In fact, there exists a small mountain stream, running north and south which once formed the boundary line between the Burmah territory Maharajah's dominions.

5. That the eastern frontier of Tipperah extended to the confines of Burmah would also appear from a reference to Major Rennell's map of Eastern Bengal, which clearly makes out that Tipperah adjoins Ava on the east, a small hill stream dividing the two countries which evidently formed the boundary line between them.

6. In consequence of the Lushai disturbance, the British Government thought it expedient for administrative and political convenience to declare the Langai to be the eastern boundary of this State.

7. The above declaration led the Maharajah to believe at the time the portion of the territory falling beyond the river Langai had been cut off from His Highness' dominions, and in fact there had been some communications made from the Maharajah's office upon that belief.

8. Soon after His Highness the Maharajah Bahadur was disabused of that false impression when Mr. A.W.B. Power, the then Political Agent explained to his Highness the object which the British Government had in making the declaration above alluded to, and assured the Maharajah that His Highness was in error to suppose that the country east of the boundary marked by the Langai river had been taken up by the British Government.

9. In 1874 the question of the eastern boundary of Hill Tipperah came up in connection with the frontier guard posts Captain E. G. Lillingston, the then Political Agent, in his No. 60, dated 3rd March 1874, wrote to the Maharajah as follows :-

“2. Mr. Power informs me that he has already pointed out to you that you are in error in supposing that the country east of the boundary line marked by the Langai river has been taken by the Government.”

“3. I would again intimate to you that the Haichak range was excluded from your boundary, not that it might become Government territory, but that all complications, which would probably arise in case possession thereof were claimed by tribes inhabiting the Lushai country, might be avoided.”

10. It would appear from the above that His Highness was repeatedly assured that the real boundary of his dominions to the east was not the river Langai, but the same, i.e., the eastern boundary of this territory could not be further west than the Dhaleswari river.

11. Now that the circumstances which rendered a deviation from the original line of boundary necessary are no longer in existence, I am desired to request that as arbiters of the destinies of Natives Princes, the Government will be graciously pleased to accept the river Dhaleswari as the eastern boundary of this State and pass orders accordingly.

I have, etc.,
(Sd.) B. C. BHATTACHARJI,
In charge, Political Office.

APPENDIX NO. 14

Demi-Official dated the 20th September 1890

Dear Sir,

On re-opening the question of the eastern boundary of the Tipperah State in 1887 at your requisition, the Administration pointed out in its letter of the 15th March of that year, to my address, of which a copy was eventually submitted to you, that the eastern boundary line of the State was fixed in 1822 on the basis of the survey map, prepared by Lieutenant Fisher, who it seems, had been deputed by Government for the purpose of making a survey of the line; that this line was adopted by the British Government as would appear from a letter addressed by the Acting Secretary to Government to the Acting Magistrate of Sylhet, dated Fort William, the 6th June 1822; that in 1850, when Mr. G. Yule was employed to settle the said boundary, he also, like his predecessor, Lieutenant Fisher, found the river Dhaleswari to be the eastern boundary of the Tipperah State; that the eastern boundary of the State extended to the confines of Burmah would appear from a reference to Major Rennell's map of Eastern Bengal, which clearly makes out that Tipperah adjoins Ava on the east, a small stream dividing the two countries; that in consequence of the Lushai disturbance, Langai being subsequently adopted as the eastern boundary for administrative and political convenience, it led the Maharajah to believe at the time that the portion of the territory falling beyond the river Langai had been cut off from His Highness' dominions; but that His Highness was disabused of that false impression by the then Political Agent, Mr. A.W.B. Power, on his explaining to His Highness that His Highness was in error to suppose that the country east of the boundary marked by the Langai river had been taken up by the British Government; that Captain E. G. Lillingston, Political Agent, also in 1874 wrote him to say that Haichhak was excluded from His Highness' boundary, not that it might become Government territory, but that all complications, which would probably arise in case possession thereof were claimed by tribes inhabiting the Lushai country, might be avoided. The Administration further added that from these facts it would appear that His Highness was repeatedly assured that the real eastern boundary of his dominions was not the Langai, but the Dhaleswari river. With these contentions the Administration, it seems, made its last representation in connection with the eastern boundary of the Tipperah State. In my personal interviews with His Highness the Maharajah in capacity as Assistant Political Agent, His Highness repeatedly complained to me of the injustice done to him by separating from his territory the extensive part of the country lying between Haichhak and Langai, on political considerations, and also in view to the repeated raids committed by the Lushais to this side of the country in the course of the last few years. I totally evaded to

attend to all that His Highness said, pointing out to me, regarding the said boundary line.

But recent events in the Lushai country, or the successes of the British arms in that country, having gone to show that there can be no more fear of complications of any serious nature arising in case the country in question be now restored to His Highness, I am constrained to re-open the question, and to ask the favour of your of your so interfering on behalf of His Highness the Maharajah as the India Government may be graciously pleased to restore the said country to him.

I am, yours, etc,
(Sd.) U. K. Das,
Minister.

[Source: Maharaj Kumar & Sahadev Bikram Kishore Dev Barman, *Tripura State Eastern Boundary Dispute, Appendices to Exhibit B*, pp. 8, 9.]

APPENDIX NO. 15

No. 406, dated Agartala, the 6th April 1891.

From – Babu UMA KANTA DAS, Rai Bahadur, Minister, Tipperah State.

To – The Political Agent of Hill Tipperah.

Sir,

I have the honour to invite your attention to the representation of this office No. 646, dated 15th March 1887, regarding the question of the eastern boundary of this State.

2. As peace has now been established in the Lushai country, and as it is said that the country or a considerable portion of it will be placed in charge of an officer of the Imperial Government it is now a suitable occasion for the question alluded to above being duly considered.

3. In connection with the matter, I beg to state that at one time the rulers of Tipperah exercised territorial jurisdiction in the east as far as the confines of Burmah; that in 1822 when the southern boundary of Sylhet was defined by Lieutenant Fisher, that officer found the eastern boundary of this State to be the river Dhaleswari, and that he disposed of all boundary questions accordingly. His report on the subject was approved of by the Supreme Government. On the subsequent enquiry that was made by Mr. Yule, the said river (Dhaleswari) was adopted as the eastern boundary of the Maharajah's territory.

4. With a view to prevent Lushai complications, the Government of Bengak in 1874 thought it expedient that this Administration should, for the time being, withhold exercising jurisdiction over tracts lying beyond the Langai. His Highness the Maharajah Bahadur was advised accordingly. In communicating the advice, the then Political Agent, Captain (now Lieutenant-Colonel) Lillingston gave to the Maharajah the assurance that Government had no intention of taking possession of His Highness' territory lying to the east of the Langai. His Highness believes that time has now come when there can be no objection to his exercising jurisdiction over the tracts in question as before.

5. The representation alluded to above gives all necessary particulars of the matter. If any further information be required, I shall endeavour to supply it.

I have, etc.,
(Sd.) U. K. DAS
Minister, Tipperah State.

[Source: Maharaj Kumar & Sahadev Bikram Kishore Dev Barman, *Tripura State Eastern Boundary Dispute, Appendices to Exhibit B*, pp. 9, 10.]

APPENDIX NO. 16

No. 1046 H. T. – IX -14, dated Chittagong, the 3rd August 1891.

From – W. B. OLDHAM, Esq., Officiating Commissioner of the Chittagong Division,

To – The Political Agent of Hill Tipperah.

Sir,

In reply to your No. 227 – XVI -25, dated 28th July 1891, I have the honour to request that you will inform the Minister that Captain Browne was murdered and Lieutenant Swinton killed by the Lushais near Changzil Bazar only last year. Fort Aijal has been occupied in force and has not yet been able to open communication up the Dhaleswari valley with Fort Lungleh in this Division which stands over the head-waters of the Dhaleswari. The Dhaleswari valley in fact has never been in so disturbed a state since 1871-72, and at this moment Lianphunga's tribe are reported to be preparing an attack on Aijal. It is necessary that the Minister should be made aware of these facts because he has taken the present opportunity for re-opening a question which is said to have been closed in 1874 owing to the disturbed state of the country, and his grounds are that peace has now been established in Lushai land.

I have, etc.,
(Sd.) W. B. OLDHAM,
Officiating Commissioner.

Memorandum No. 236 – XVI-25, dated Comilla, the 17th August 1891.

Copy forwarded to the Minister, Tipperah State, with reference to his letter No. 406, dated 6th April 1891.

(Sd.) RAJANI KUMAR DUTT,
*Deputy Magistrate,
for Political Agent.*

[Source: Maharaj Kumar & Sahadev Bikram Kishore Dev Barman, *Tripura State Eastern Boundary Dispute, Appendices to Exhibit B*, p. 10.]

APPENDIX NO. 17

Demi-Official dated Comilla, the 19th September 1891.

From – R. T. GREER, Esq.,

To – Babu UMA KANTA DAS, Rai Bahadur, Minister, Hill Tipperah.

Dear Sir,

With reference to the correspondence ending with your demi-official of the 11th instant, regarding the boundary of Hill Tipperah in the direction of the Dhaleswari, I beg to forward an extract from the Commissioner's demi-official of the 16th instant, on the subject, which Mr. Oldham desires me to communicate to you.

Yours faithfully,
(Sd.) R. T. GREER.

EXTRACT

“After ascertaining the present state of the Klong or Dhaleswari valley, I must decline to take up the representation made for Hill Tipperah regarding it till the Minister himself, or some one of equal trustworthiness and responsibility, has personally traversed it and ascertained the condition of its western side and the attitude of the people inhabiting it.”

[Source: Maharaj Kumar & Sahadev Bikram Kishore Dev Barman, *Tripura State Eastern Boundary Dispute, Appendices to Exhibit B*, p. 11.]

APPENDIX NO. 18

Dated Comilla, 31st September 1891.

From – R. T. GREER, Esq.,

To – Babu UMA KANTA DAS, Rai Bahadur, Minister, Hill Tipperah.

Dear Sir,

With reference to your official letter regarding the extension of the Hill Tipperah boundary line, I have received a demi-official this day from the Commissioner asking “if Hill Tipperah can peaceably cultivate up to the left bank of the Dhaleswari.”

Mr. Oldham desires to have a reply within seven days. Please let me have your answer as soon as possible, submitting it in sufficient detail and in such form that I may send copy to the Commissioner.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) R. T. GREER.

APPENDIX NO. 19

Demi-Official dated Agartala, the 11th October 1891.

From – Babu UMA KANTA DAS, Rai Bahadur, Minister, Tipperah State,

To – The Political Agent of Hill Tipperah.

Sir,

Referring to your demi-official letter of the 31st ultimo regarding the question of the eastern boundary of this territory, I beg to state that when peace is established in the country to the east of the Dhaleswari river, this Administration can reasonably hope to extend cultivation up to the left bank of that river without difficulty.

2. There is already a proposal for establishing a toll station on the Langai river for collecting dues on forest produce cut in this State and floated down that river. The proposal would ere this have been carried out, had it not been for the fact that the authorities of Sylhet object to give our men passage along that portion of the Langai which flows through the Langai Reserved Forests of that district. A representation on this subject was made to your office in the Durbar letter No. 286, dated 15th September 1886, to which a reply was received with your endorsement No. 3065 – 16-3, dated 2nd December of that year. I beg that the matter may be reconsidered.

3. The Langai valley is separated from the Juri valley of this State by the Jampui range of hills, which is the highest range in this territory and is almost impassable, hence is the request of this Administration for passage along the portion of the Langai stream in question.

4. Plough cultivation has already been extended in the Juri valley up to a few miles of the western edge of the Jampui range, and it will not be difficult to bring the arable lands in the Langai valley under cultivation, in due course, if passage to the valley can be found as requested.

5. Between the Langai valley and the Dhaleswari valley, lie the Haichhak and the Ainkung ranges of hills, which also like the Jampui are high ranges. Until the country is opened out our men should have to go to the Dhaleswari valley through the district of Cachar – a circumstance which cannot be easily avoided, and which, it is believed, will not be objected to by the authorities of Cachar. Indeed, our men, who will have to work

in the Langai and Dhaleswari valleys, will, for sometime, have to depend upon Sylhet and Cachar for supplies, etc.

6. The country up to the Dhaleswari was from time immemorial, prior to 1874, a part and parcel of this State. The cultivation mentioned in the opening paragraph of this letter will be arranged to be carried on both by means of plough and by juming. For the former will be engaged Bengalis, Cacharis, and Manipuris, and for the latter Tipperahs, Hallems, and Kukies.

7. The tribes enumerated in the concluding sentence of the preceding paragraph are subjects of His Highness, for whose house they have innate regard and love. In the event of the representation regarding the eastern boundary being viewed favourably, these tribes will be induced to gradually move towards the east and to cultivate jhums in suitable lands in the country watered by Langai and Dhaleswari. For, in consequence of the gradual extension of plough cultivation from the west to the east, and of forest produce, timber, bamboos, etc., on the low hills on the western side of His Highness' territory being largely cut and explored year after year, jhum lands on the side are becoming scarce. This is an additional reason why it has become necessary for the Durbar to ask to be allowed to exercise jurisdiction up to the Dhaleswari river in the east as before.

I beg to remain,

Yours most obediently,

(Sd.) U. K. DAS

Minister, Tipperah State.

[Source: Maharaj Kumar & Sahadev Bikram Kishore Dev Barman, *Tripura State Eastern Boundary Dispute, Appendices to Exhibit B*, pp. 11, 12.]

APPENDIX NO. 20

No. 140 – III-88, dated Agartala, the 1st December 1897.

From – Babu BANGA CHANDRA BHATTACHARJEE, B. A., Officer in charge,
Political Department, Agartala,

To – The Political Agent of Hill Tipperah.

Sir,

In continuation of this office No. 126 – III-88, dated 3rd ultimo, I have the honour to state that the last dispute relates to the boundary to the east of the Langai. It is needless to state here that in olden times His Highness' dominions in that part of the country extended to the very confines of Burmah. In later years His Highness exercised jurisdiction up to the river Dhaleswari, and this was found to be so by Lieutenant Fisher in 1821-22, and by the arbitrators, Messrs, Yule and Campbell in 1850-51, *vide* paragraphs 39 and 48 of the report of the arbitrators, quoted in the Assistant Political Agent's letter No. 1066, dated 7th January 1887, copy enclosed. Subsequently, however, in 1874, during the Lushai complications, the Government of Bengal thought it expedient to notify in the Official Gazette that the river Langai was to be regarded as the boundary of His Highness' territory in that part of the country, *vide* notification dated 23rd June 1874, copy enclosed. This notification necessarily led to much misconception, which, however, was removed by the assurance given by Mr. Power and Captain E. G. Lillingston, the Political Agents, who explained to His Highness that the territory beyond the Langai was not meant to be permanently served from his dominions, but the above declaration was made only to avoid Lushai complications. Some time after, when the disturbances in the Lushai country subsided, and peace was, to a great extent, restored, a representation was made on behalf of the Durbar, requesting Government to declare the river Dhaleswari to be the boundary as before, *vide* this office No. 646, dated 15th March 1887. This request was repeated in Minister's letter No. 406, dated 6th April 1891, also copy enclosed. In reply the Commissioner informed the Durbar that the troubles still continued, *vide* his letter No. 1046-H. T. – IX-14, dated 3rd August 1891, copy forwarded by your office No. 236 – XVI-25, dated 17th idem. Subsequently the Political Agent, Mr. Greer, in a demi-official letter dated 31st September 1891, communicated to the Minister the Commissioner's enquiry as to whether the Durbar could peacefully extend cultivation up to the Dhaleswari. The Minister's reply was in the affirmative and was contained in his demi-official dated 11th

October 1891. Nothing has been heard on the subject since then. But as peace has now been completely restored, and the apprehensions which necessitated the order of 1874 are no longer in existence, the Durbar earnestly hopes that you will move the Government to order a restoration of the part of the country cut off from this State by the notification quoted above, and obtain sanction for a demarcation of the arbitrators' boundary up to the river Dhaleswari.

Copies of connected papers, as per list, are enclosed for convenience of your reference.

I have, etc.,
(Sd.) B. C. BHATTACHARJEE,
*Officer in charge, Political
Department.*

[Source: Maharaj Kumar & Sahadev Bikram Kishore Dev Barman, *Tripura State Eastern Boundary Dispute, Appendices to Exhibit B*, p. 13.]

APPENDIX NO. 21

No. 3940-J., dated Shillong, the 11th April 1906.

From – J. E. WEBSTER, Esq., I.C.S., Officiating Secretary to the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam, Judicial and General Department,

To – The Commissioner of Chittagong Division.

Sir,

I am directed to communicate the following observations upon Mr. Maude's letter No. 264-T., dated the 3rd August 1905, forwarding a communication received from the Hill Tipperah Durbar, in which it is urged that certain alterations should be made in the boundary between the State of Hill Tipperah and the Lushai Hills district.

2. It is represented that this boundary line should be thrown eastward, so as to add a strip of country to the State of Hill Tipperah. The northern extremity of the line would be moved from the Langai river to the Dhaleswari, a distance of about 13 miles in a straight line: the southern extremity of the line would be moved from the southern of the two peaks known as Betling to a peak on the Haichak range, a distance of about 7 miles. The effect of this change would be to make the Dhaleswari river, and its affluent, the Pakwa, the eastern boundary of the State instead of the Langai river as at present. It would include in the State the whole of the valley of the Langai, the Haichak range of hills, and part of the valley of the Dhaleswari. This area is now included in the Lushai Hills district.

3. The present boundary line was authoritatively laid down, with the sanction of the Supreme Government by a notification issued by the Bengal Government on the 23rd June 1874. It has since been confirmed by notification No. 121-P., of 1st May 1900, of the Bengal Government issued under the Chittagong Hill Tracts Regulation, 1900, which made the southern Betling peak the north-east corner of the Chittagong Hill district, and was adopted by the Government of India in their proposals for the definition of the boundaries of the Lushai Hills in 1898. It will thus be seen that the existing boundary is supported by very high authority.

4. It is urged that anciently the State of Hill Tipperah claimed an indefinite jurisdiction over a great part, if not indeed the whole, of the Lushai country. But it exercised no practical authority over this country, and was unable to prevent raiding on the part of the Lushai tribes that entailed the undertaking by the British Government of

difficult and costly military operations which ended in the annexation of the Lushai country and its formation into a British district.

5. In these circumstances, the Lieutenant-Governor regrets to be unable to consent to re-open a question which was definitely settled so many years ago. It is urged that about the time of the issue of the notification of 1874 the local officers, Mr. Power and Captain Lillingston, made statements which amounted to an admission that the line of 1874 was adopted temporarily only. But the Lieutenant-Governor does not think that their statements can be taken in this sense. These officers were concerned to show that the Hill Tipperah Durbar was responsible for guarding the Lushai frontier. They stated that the Haichak range had not been annexed by the British Government and was still independent territory. This was the case. It was not formally annexed until many years later. But this circumstance cannot be taken to show that the exclusion of the Haichak range from the jurisdiction of Hill Tipperah was other than final. Nor could opinions which were expressed by local officers have the effect of modifying a decision of Government.

6. I am to add that, in his letter No. 21 of the 9th February 1874, the late Maharajah Bir Chandra Manikya, Bahadur, acquiesced in the determination of the Langai river as the eastern boundary of the State. That the Maharajah did not consider the Langai to be merely a provisional boundary is further apparent from paragraph 8 of His Highness' letter No. 224, dated the 15th January 1882, to the Political Agent, in which he pointed out that the Langai river had been declared to be the eastern boundary of his State, and suggested the adoption of the same river as a natural boundary between Hill Tipperah and Sylhet.

The later correspondence of 1891 with Mr. Oldham, the Commissioner of Chittagong, was not laid before Government, and should it be possible to place any such construction on his words as that the boundary of 1874 was only provisional, this construction would in no way commit the Government to a revision.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.) J. E. WEBSTER,
*Officiating Secretary to the
Government of Eastern Bengal
and Assam.*

[Source: Maharaj Kumar & Sahadev Bikram Kishore Dev Barman, *Tripura State Eastern Boundary Dispute, Appendices to Exhibit B*, pp. 14, 15.]

APPENDIX NO. 22

No. 1391-P. D., dated Darjeeling, the 31st May 1913.

From – The Hon'ble Mr. J. G. CUMMING, C.I.E., I.C.S., Officiating Chief Secretary to
the Government of Bengal, Political Department.

To – The Commissioner of the Chittagong Division.

Sir,

I am directed to refer to your Memo. No. 2489 G. M-7 – XXI-15, dated the 21st April 1913, submitting a letter from the Minister of Hill Tipperah, in which the Durbar asks for a reconsideration of the orders passed regarding the eastern boundary of the State.

2. In reply, I am to say that the question was finally considered in 1906 by the late Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam and after a perusal of all the papers and of the arguments in the Minister's letter, the Governor in Council sees no reason to re-open it. I am to request that the Hill Tipperah Durbar may be informed accordingly through the Political Agent.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.) J. G. CUMMING,
*Officiating Chief Secretary to the
Government of Bengal.*

APPENDIX NO. 23

No. 1019 P-VI-5

From

J. D. V. Hodge, Esq., I.C.S.,
Political Agent, Tripura.

To

The Minister, Tripura.

Dated, Comilla, the 11th July,
1923.

Sir,

With reference to your letter No. 1385 P., dated the 8th October, 1922, regarding the representation of the Tripura Durbar for the removal of the Eastern Boundary of the State from the Langai to the Dhaleswari river, I am directed to say that the matter was referred to the Government of India and to communicate their decision for the information of the Durbar.

2. As the memorial does not disclose any new fact the Government of India regret that they see no sufficient reason for reconsidering their previous orders.

3. As regards the Durbar's request that the matter should be referred to a court of Arbitration, the Government of India have intimated that this is not a case for determination of which "Independent advice is desirable", and they, moreover, hold that matter which vitally concerns a number of persons who have been British Subjects for more than a quarter of a century should not be subjected to arbitration. They are accordingly unable to accede to the Durbar's request.

I have, etc.,
(Sd.) J. D. V. HODGE,
Political Agent.

[Source: Maharaj Kumar & Sahadev Bikram Kishore Dev Barman, *Tripura State Eastern Boundary Dispute, Exhibit C1*, p. 1.]

APPENDIX No. 24

**NOTIFICATION NO. 2107 AP DATED
9TH MARCH 1933**

The 9th March, 1933

No. 2106 A.P., dated the 28th August 1930, and in exercise of the powers conferred by section 2 of the Bengal Eastern Frontier Regulation 1873 (V of 1873), as extended to the previous sanction of the Governor General-in-Council, is pleased to prescribe the line describe below as the “Inner Line” of the Lushai Hills districts:

From the junction of the Ruanding with the Borak river, the Inner Line shall run up the midstream of the former to where it receives the Lungkulh Lui; where up the midstream of that stream to its source, and crossing the range in a westerly direction down the right bank of NORTH small feeder flowing in to the Teirangnek stream; thence down the midstream of the latter to its junction with the Sonai river, from this point the Inner Line shall run south-westwards up the midstream of the Sonai river as as its junction with the Suanglawn Lui; thence up the midstream of his Lui to its junction with the Bagh Khal or Tuishen Lui to its junction with a larger feeder that takes its rises near the deserted village of Saipum; thence up the midstream of this feeder to the summit of Bongkong range, and crossing that range down the midstream of the Teidu Lui to its junction with the Rukni river. Then a straight line running in a north-westerly direction from this junction to the Dhalai bridge, one furlong north of the 80th mile stone on the Aizawl-Dwardand road, this point is also the trijunction of the *Hailakandi* subdivision (district Cachar) with the Lushai Hills district Silchar; thence up the midstream of the Dhalai river to its source, where, crossing the watershed it strikes the headwaters of the Chhimluang Lui and down the midstream of this Lui to its junction with the Barun Chara to its junction with the Hunarluang Lui (Te); thence up the midstream of this Lui to its source in the Bhairabi range, thence crossing the Bhairabi range westwards to the source of the Bhairabi chara, thence down the midstream of the Bhairabi chara to its junction with the Dhaleswari or Tlang river; thence up the midstream of the Dhaleswari river to its junction with the Pakwa, river thence up the midstream of the Pakwa river. Thence upto the midstream of this tributary to its source; thence in a northerly direction along a range to Chatarchurra peak (2071); thence due west in a straight line to the tri-junction point of district Sylhet, Lenghai hills (Assam) and Tripura State (Bengal) situated on the Lenghai river about $\frac{3}{4}$ th of a mile south west of the confluence of the Medili cherra with that river (vide notification No. 3313R dated the 4th Oct. 28); thence in a southerly direction up the

midstream of the Langai river to its confluence with a small nameless tributary going west WEST about 21/4 miles North of Betling sib peak height 3,083; thence in a south western direction to Betling sib peak; thence in a southerly direction to Betling peak height 2, 234 which is the tri-junction of Districts Lushai hills (Assam), Tripura State and Chittagong Hill Tracts Districts (Bengal); thence in a south easterly direction for about a mile to a tributary of the Tuilianpui river; thence down the midstream of this tributary to its confluence with the Tuilianpui river; thence down the midstream of Tuilianpui river to a point about 21/4 miles South-East of its confluence with the Mar river which is the junction of the Aizawl Lunglei Sub-division boundary; thence westwards in a straight line to the source of the Harina river; thence down the mid-stream of the Harina river to its confluence with the Karnaphuli river, thence up the mid-stream of the Karnaphuli river to its confluence with the Thenga Khal; thence up the mid-tributaries about 43/4 miles South-East of height 3,096 and 5 1/2 miles South West of Waibung Tlaung, height 3,083; thence in a South-Easterly direction up the slope for about two miles to the Waibung Tlaung range; thence in westerly, southerly and easterly direction respectively along the range of waibung Tlaung peak height 3,083 thence in a southerly direction to Keokradong, which is the trijunction of Chittagong hill Tracts (Bengal), Lushai Hills (Assam) and Northern Arakan District (Burma); thence East SOUTH wardly to Mephurutong or Rengtlang; thence to the source of a small stream called Varaoglui or Mraik chaung to its junction with the Sekul (Kola) or Kalet stream (where a boundary stone has been placed); thence up the midstream of the Sekul (Kola) or Kalet stream to the mouth of the Khawtlang or Zyucha stream (where boundary stone has been placed); thence up the midstream of the Khawtlang or Zyucha to its source on the Samang or Kwiman range; thence southwards along the Samang or Kwiman range to the source of the Samak or Kwiman stream; where a boundary stone has been placed; thence down the midstream of the Samak or Kwiman stream to its junction with the Koladyne (Kaladan river to the mouth of the Khangza or Kwiman stream where a boundary sone has been placed), (the mouth of these two streams are opposite to another); thence up the midstream of the Khangza or Kwiman stream to its source in the Kaisi Tlang (where a boundary stone has been placed); thence South-wards to the source or the Rale or Shawelak stream to its junction with the Sulla river; thence up the mid-stream of the Sulla river to its junction with the Kaikheu or Khinkon stream (where a boundary stone has been placed); thence up the mid-stream of Kaikheu or Khinkon stream to its source on the Pathian or Pahtay Klang; thence Northward along the Pathian or Pahtay Klang to the source of the Para stream; thence down the mid-stream of the Para stream to its junction with the Mi (Tishi, Tuisi, or Wabling river); thence up the river to its junction with the Kheimu stream; thence Kheimu stream to its source on the Kahria or Kwahria (khasia) Klang; thence south, along the crest of the Kharia or (Kwahria) Klang to the source of the Rephuva; which is recorded to EAST Boinu (Kaladan) river; thence down the mid-stream of the Boinu (kaladan) river to its junction with the Tyao; thence up the mid-stream of the Tyao to its source on the Vike Tlang; thence down the mid-stream of the YTuimang to its junction with the Tuisa; down the mid-stream of the Tuisa to its

junction with the Tuivai river down the mid-stream of the Tuivai river to its junction with the Vangvun lui; thence up to the mid-stream of the vangvum lui to its source at a saddle known as Bonghot where a boundary pillar marked ML(I) has been erected; thence crossing the west side of the saddle to the source of the Toitui stream; down the Tuitui stream to its junction with the Tuivai river; down the Tuivai river to its junction with the Barak river; thence down the mid-stream of the Barak river to its junction with the Ruanding Lui which is the tri-junction of the Lushai hills, Cachar Districts and Manipur States.

W.A. Cosgreve
Chief Secretary to the Govt. of
Assam

[Source: (N.B.: Governor of Assam Notification No. PLA 393/70/Pt./1 dated 7th Sept. 1970) cited in S. N. Singh, *Mizoram Historical, Geographical, Social, Economic, Political and Administrative*, pp. 253-254.]

APPENDIX II

NAME OF THE CANDIDATE : LALLAWMKIMI RALTE

DEGREE : M.PHIL

DEPARTMENT : HISTORY & ETHNOGRAPHY

TITLE OF THE DISSERTATION : MIZORAM-TRIPURA
BOUNDARY SINCE
PRE- COLONIAL PERIOD

DATE OF ADMISSION : 6th AUGUST, 2013

DATES OF APPROVAL OF RESEARCH PROPOSAL : 1. Board of Studies-24th April, 2014
2. School Board- 16th May, 2014

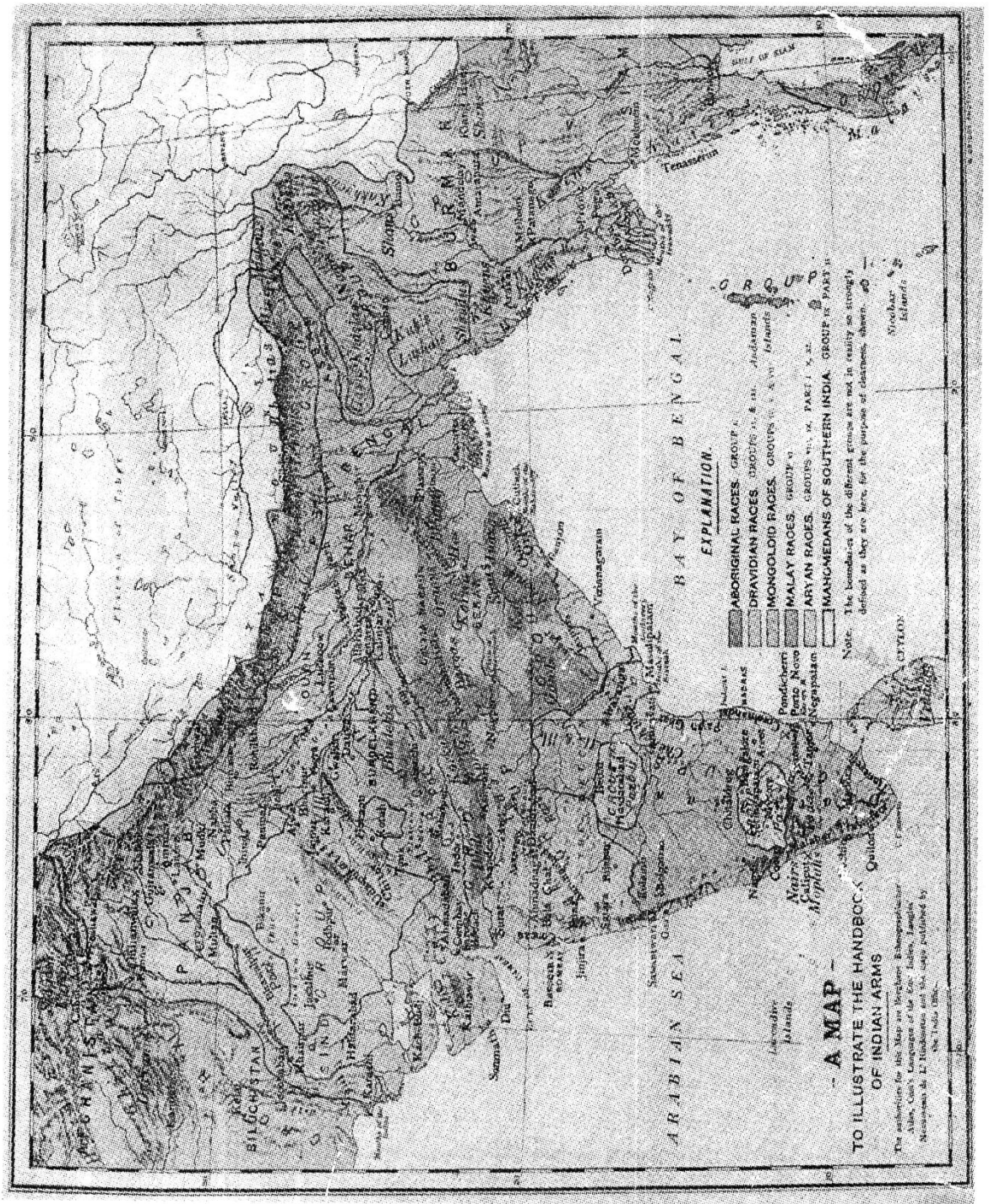
REGISTRATION NO. & DATE : MZU/M.Phil/171 of 16.05.2014

DATE OF SUBMISSION :

List of Maps

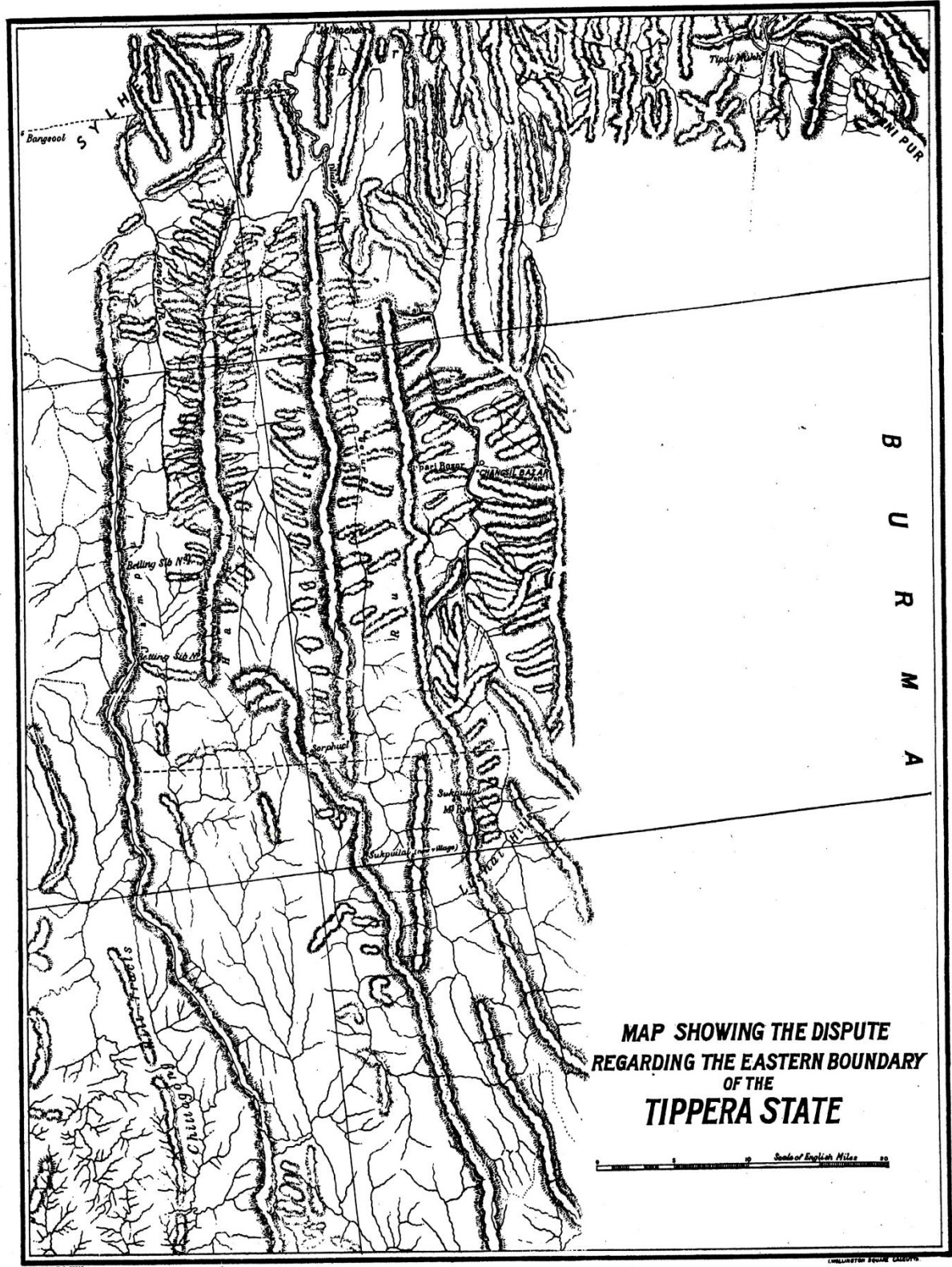
1. Fig. 1: British Map showing Ancient India
2. Fig. 2: Map showing the dispute regarding the eastern boundary of Tripura
3. Fig. 3: Map showing present day boundary of Tripura
4. Fig. 4: Map showing present day boundary of Mizora

Fig. 1: British Map showing Ancient India



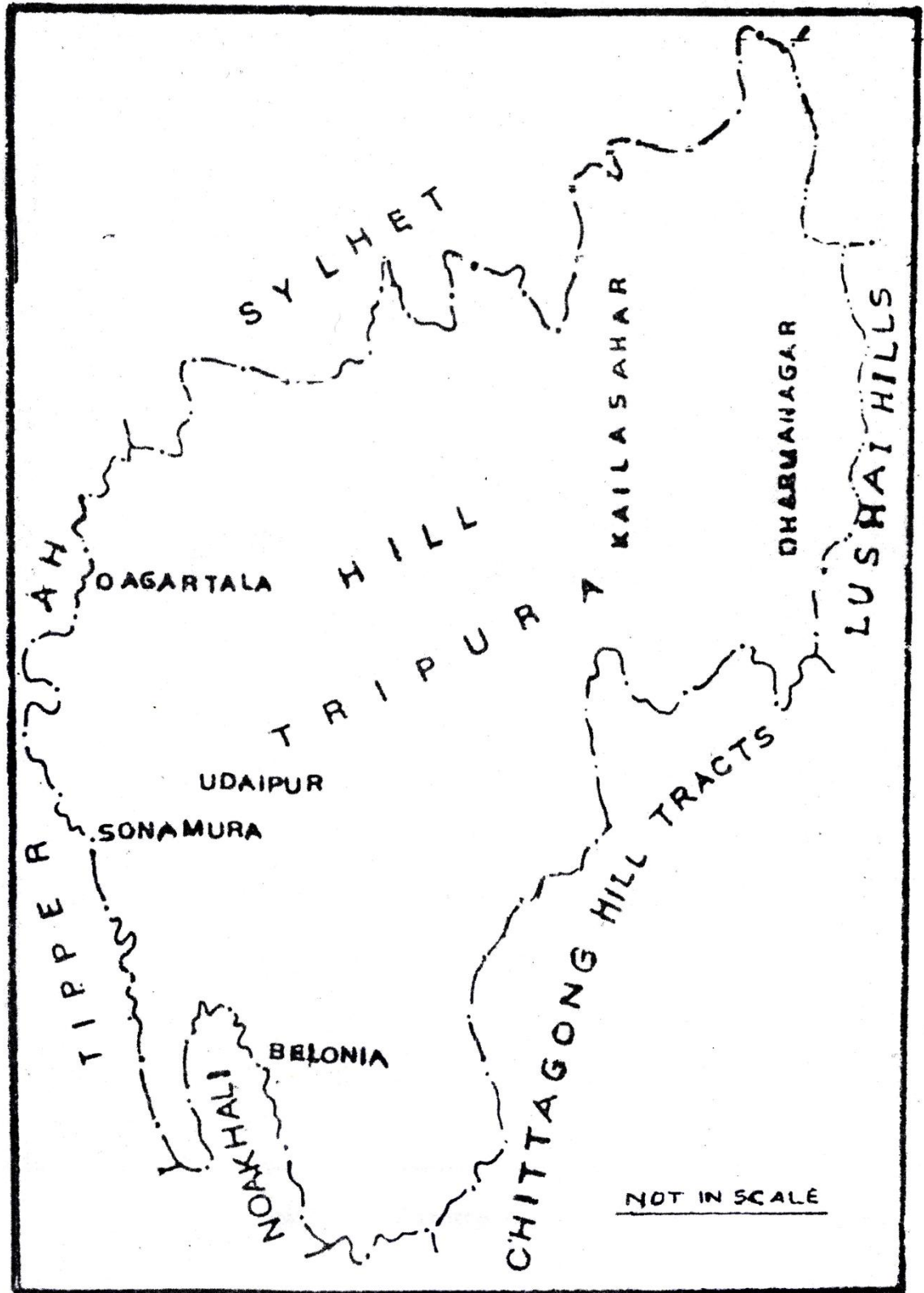
[Source: Maharaj Kumar & Sahadev Bikram Kishore Dev Barman (ed.), Tripura State Eastern Boundary Dispute]

Fig. 2: Map showing the dispute regarding the eastern boundary of Tripura



[Source: Maharaj Kumar & Sahadev Bikram Kishore Dev Barman (ed.), *Tripura State Eastern Boundary Dispute*]

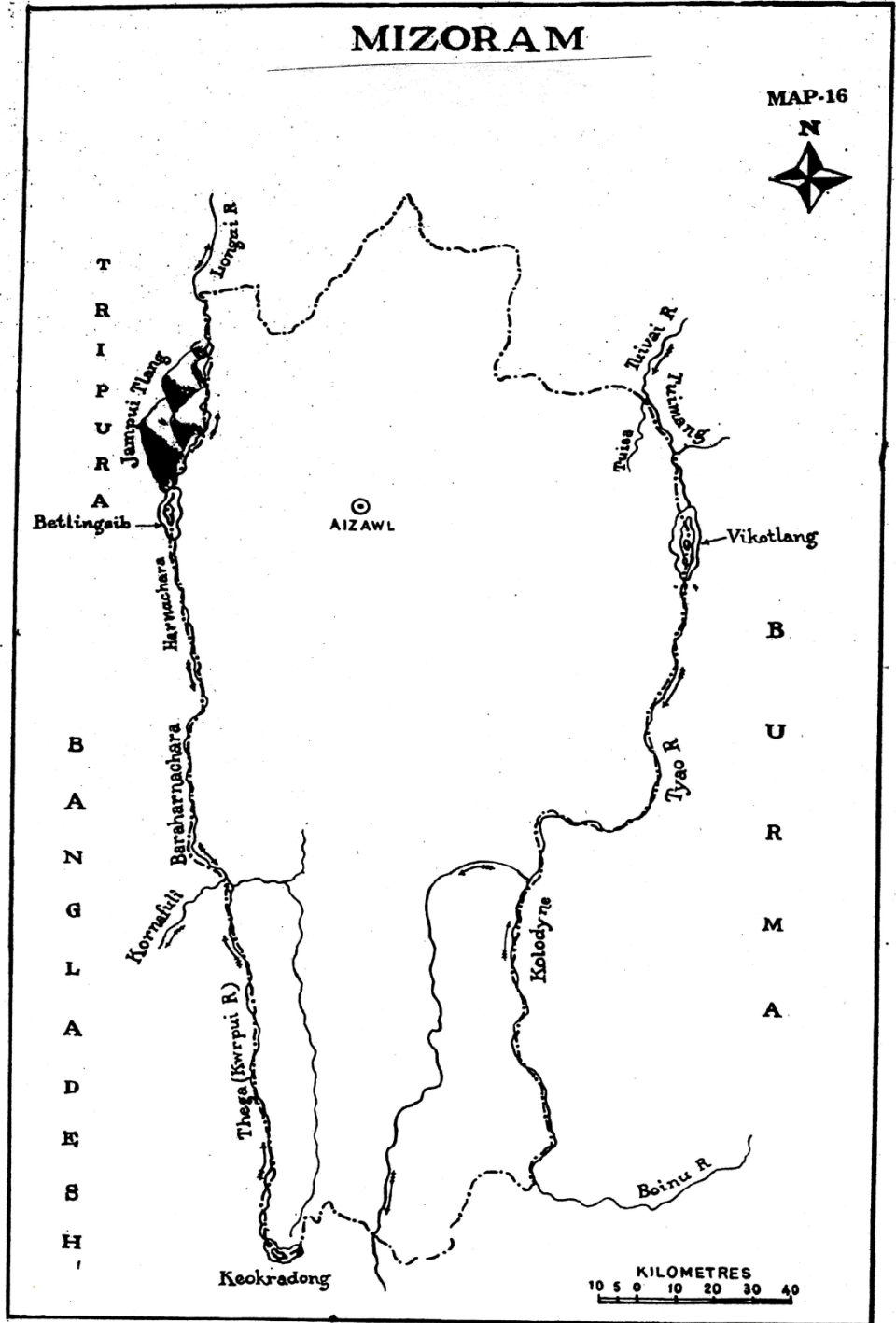
Fig. 3: Map showing present day boundary of Tripura



[Source: Maharaj Kumar & Sahadev Bikram Kishore Dev Barman(ed.), *Tripura State Eastern Boundary Dispute*]

Fig. 4 Map showing present day boundary of Mizoram

Mizoram



[Source: S. N. Singh, *Mizoram Historical, Geographical, Social, Economic, Political and Administrative*]

Select Glossary

<i>Chhinlung</i>	An origin myth embraced by the Mizo tribes in which they claimed that their ancestors emerged from a rock cave with a cover
<i>Damlailung</i>	Memorial stone erected for a living person
<i>Darkhuang</i>	A large gong
<i>Fathang</i>	A tax or tribute paid usually to a chief, consisting of one or more baskets of unhusked rice
<i>Hnatlang</i>	Public work or communal work in which everyone is expected to take part
<i>Jhum</i>	Shifting cultivation
<i>Khawhring</i>	The name of a malignant spirit which closely approximates to what, in English, is known as the 'evil-eye' that it may well be called by that name
<i>Khedda</i>	An enclosure for wild elephant trapping
<i>Khuangchawi</i>	The name of a public meritorious service of providing community feast and ceremonies by chiefs and other well-to-do village members
<i>Mautam</i>	The periodical flowering and fruit bearing of bamboos, which is followed by a plague of rats which devour the rice crops and cause famines
<i>Nazarana</i>	Presents made to superiors on special occasions, practised in all the Indian Princely States
<i>Pasaltha</i>	A brave or notable warrior or hunter
<i>Pathian Thuawih</i>	Mizo Christian convert
<i>Puanpui</i>	Mizo blanket or quilt
<i>Sachhiah</i>	The portion of an animal caught in a chase, given as a due by subjects to their chief – this is usually the shoulder meat
<i>Sadawt</i>	A private exorcist or priest, especially such as are employed by ruling chiefs
<i>Sechhun</i>	Ritual killing of mithun
<i>Sial</i>	Domesticated gayal or mithun

Abbreviations

D.O.

Demi – Official

NEIG

North-East India General Mission