SOCIETY AND RELIGION IN MIZORAM: A STUDY OF REVIVAL MOVEMENT (1906-1937)

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C E R T I F I C A T E

This is to certify that the thesis entitled "SOCIETY AND RELIGION IN MIZORAM: A STUDY OF REVIVAL MOVEMENT (1906-1937) submitted by Miss Rohmingmawii in fulfillment of PhD degree of this University is an original research work and has not been submitted elsewhere for other degree. It is recommended that this thesis be placed before examiners for the award of degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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DECLARATION

I, Rohmingmawii, hereby declare that the thesis entitled, "SOCIETY AND RELIGION IN MIZORAM: A STUDY OF REVIVAL MOVEMENT (1906-1937)" is the record of work done by me, that the contents of this thesis did not form basis for the award of any previous degree to me or to the best of my knowledge to anybody else, and that the thesis has not been submitted by me for any research degree in other University or Institute.

This is being submitted to the Mizoram University for the award of Doctor of Philosophy in History.

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DEDICATION

To my beloved parents

Mr. Lengthanga

&

Mrs. Darthangi

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Certificate

Declaration

List of Figures iv

Acknowledgements ..... v-vii

Abbreviations iviii

INTRODUCTION 1-13

Chapter 1: UNDERSTANDING REVIVAL MOVEMENT 14

1.1 Historiography of Christianity in Mizoram 14-20

1.2 Approaches to Revival Movement 20-33

1.3 Debate on Mizo Revival 33-40

1.4 Understanding of Revival in Mizoram 41-44

Conclusion 44-46

Chapter 2: THE SETTING 47

2.1 Advent of the British 48

2.1.1 Earlier Encounter 48-50

2.1.2 Mizo Resistance 50-54

2.1.3 Establishment of British Rule in Mizoram 54-55

2.2 Changes under Colonial Administration in Mizoram 55-56

2.2.1 Devolution of Political Power 56

2.2.1.a. The Chiefs 56-59

2.2.1.b. Circle Admnistration 59-61

2.2.2 Permanency vis-a-vis Circumscription 61-62

2.2.3 Impressed Labour (*Kuli*) 62-67

2.2.4 Materialism 67-69

2.2.5 Exploration of Wider World 69-70

2.3 Advent of Christianity 70-73

2.3.1 Mission Works 73

2.3.1.a Education 73-83

2.3.1.b Medical Mission 84-86
2.3.1.c Proselytization 86-93
2.3.1.d Growth and Development of the Church 93-96
2.4 The Mizo Experience 96-102
Conclusion 102-103
Chapter 3: THE WAVES 104
3.1 Revival in Northeast India 105-107
3.2 Revival in Mizoram 107-110
3.2.1 The First Wave 110-117
3.2.2 The Second Wave 117-124
3.2.3 The Third Wave 124-131
3.2.4 The Fourth Wave 131-135
3.3 Features of the Revival 135
3.3.1 Indigenization 135-139
3.3.2 Ecstatic Phenomenon 139-140
3.3.3 Self-expression 140-142
3.3.4 Challenge to Established Authority 142-147
3.3.5 A Movement of the People 147-150
3.3.6 Statistical Growth of Christians 150-151
Conclusion 152
Chapter 4: RESPONSE TO REVIVAL 153
4.1 Non-Christians' Response 153-156
4.1.1 Persecution 156-164
4.1.2 *Puma Zai* 164-173
4.2 Christians' Response 173
4.2.1 The Official Church 173-175
4.2.1.a The European Missionaries 175-185
4.2.2.b Native Church Leaders 185-189
4.2.2 The Christian Masses 189-195

4.3 Government's Response 195-198
Conclusion 198-199
Chapter 5: THE CANVASS 200-202
5.1 Rereading Revival Movement 202-239
Conclusion 239-241
CONCLUSION 242-247
APPENDICES
APPENDIX A: Christian Population in Mizoram-I 248
APPENDIX B: Christian Population in Mizoram-II 249
APPENDIX C: List of Punitive Labourers of Kelkang Village (after 1937 stirring) 250-251
APPENDIX D: A Copy of Circle Interpreter's Report to Superintendent Regarding Kelkang Stirring 252
APPENDIX E: A Copy of Release Order to the Imprisoned Revivalists 253
Glossary 254-257
Bibliography 258-276

LIST OF FIGURES

Number *Page*

Figure 1: Revival Movement: First Wave 111

Figure 2: Revival Movement: Second Wave 120

Figure 3: Revival Movement: Third Wave 126

Figure 4: Revival Movement: Fourth Wave 132

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ABBREVIATIONS

AL	: Angus Library, Regent's Park College, Oxford.
ARR	: Aizawl Record Room
ASC	: Assembly Standing Committee
ATC	: Aizawl Theological College
BL	: British Library
BMS	: Baptist Missionary Society
C.C	: Chief Commissioner
CB	: Carton Box
CHAI	: Church History Association of India
CMA	: Calvinistic Methodist Archive
CUP	: Cambridge University Press
DSK	: *Documentary Souvenir of Kelkang Hlimpui Diamond Jubilee,* (Presbyterian Church, Kelkang, 1997)
F. No(s)	: File number
FMPCW	: Foreign Mission of Presbyterian Church of Wales
H/Poll	: Home Political
HMRCS	*:Harhna, Mizoram Revival Centenary Souvenir (1906-2006)*
ISPCK	: Indian Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge
MLVC	: *Mizo leh Vai Chanchinbu*
MSA	: Mizoram State Archive
NLW	: National Library of Wales
OUP	: Oxford University Press
TRI	: Tribal Research Institute
YLA	: Young Lushai Association

INTRODUCTION

'Revival' is a very broad term that covers a wide range of cultural as well as religious phenomena. The word *revival* is derived from two Latin words, *re* which means 'again' and *vivo* which means 'to live'; the literal meaning is 'to live again.'"[1] The Webster Dictionary defines 'revival' as restoration to life, consciousness, vigor, strength, etc.; an instance of something becoming popular, active, or important again, a new production of an old play or similar work, a showing of an old motion picture ; an awakening, in a church or community, of interest in and care for matters relating to personal religion, a reawakening of religious fervor, mainly by means of evangelistic meetings.[2] According to the Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (OALD), revival is "an improvement in the condition or strength of something"; "the process of something becoming or being made popular or fashionable again" like a religious revival; "a new production of a play that has not been performed for some time." It also defines "Revivalism" as "the process of creating interest in something again, especially religion"; the "practice of using ideas, designs, etc. from the past."[3] Other words to describe the revival movements, like the Great Awakening or Awakening are also used by scholars, especially in describing the religious revival in American history.[4]

The focus of this thesis is the revival that happened in the religious sphere. The revival under study took place in the first half of the twentieth century when the Christian Mission actively worked among the Mizos. It also happened to be the time when the colonial government ruled over Mizoram. Given is the fact that the Mizos were exposed to western and modern culture through their contact with these twin forces of Christianity

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[1]Webster's Online Dictionary: Rosetta Edition

[2]Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary

[3] *Oxford Advanced Learner's of Current English*, 7th edn, OUP, 2005.

[4]James Hastings (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. X (T&T Clark, Edinburg, 1980), p. 754-755.

and colonial rule, and they were made to adapt themselves into the circumstance which was brought by these contacts. In this thesis, therefore, the researcher tries to cover various socio-political as well as religious developments during the colonial period.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

In the early 20th century, revival movement was experienced in various parts of the world. The Mission fields in Northeast India also experienced the movement widely, and Mizoram was one of them. The revival movement is an important subject in the history of Christianity in Mizoram. Therefore, scholars who worked on Christianity often put the movement under their perspectives. However, there is always a scope for asking new questions though the past may be the same. [5] An attempt is made to open up a new rendition on the study of revival movement in this thesis.

Most of the works on revival movement are produced by the ecclesiastical writers and there are hardly any so called 'revival history' written from a secular perspective. Most of these works are based on the sources of the church and the Mission, and it therefore suffered from problem of objectivity. Also these works are written mainly from the church's perspective. The contradiction within the church or the controversy that arose out of the revival movement is not adequately addressed and the attitude of the people is often sidetracked.

Though the revival movement was repeatedly experienced during the first half of the 20th century when the Mission work was actively in operation when the Mizos were put under colonial rule, there was hardly any attempt to connect the revival movement with the colonial milieu. As a result of these contacts, the Mizos were in a situation of what Chinua Achebe calls "things fall apart".[6] When their world fall apart, what could the

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[5] Christopher Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down* (Penguin Books, England, reprint 1978), p. 15.

[6] Chinua Achebe, *Things Fall Apart* (Anchor Books, New York, 1994).

Mizos do? Therefore, considering what the Mizos had to go through during that period, many questions thus arise:

* What are the impacts of the introduction of Christianity and western polity and culture on the society?
* How did the Mizos try to cope up with the new situation?
* Did the religious outbursts during the colonial period have any connection with the Mizos' struggle to adjust themselves into the new situation?
* What role did the revival play in the socio-cultural, political and economic development of the time?
* How did the church and the people respond to it?

Thus, beginning with an endeavour to understand the meaning of revival movement and a study on its representation by various scholars, an attempt is made to cast light on the peculiarity of Mizo revival.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

* To trace the origin and development of revival movement in Mizoram.
* To understand various responses to the revival movement.
* To examine the role of revival in the socio-cultural, political and economic development of the people.
* To understand the impact of the revival movement on the society.
* To reinforce the study of revival movement from historical perspective.

AREA OF STUDY

Since the revival movements affected mainly the Presbyterian and Baptist denominations, the development in these churches is emphasized. As such, the study is confined to the

southern and northern part of Mizoram where the Welsh Presbyterian Mission and Baptist Missionary Society operated respectively.

SOURCES

The present thesis depends on the following sources:

COLONIAL ACCOUNTS

This includes the documents of administrative reports, letters, diaries, correspondences and accounts of the administrators.

The official and non-official documents in the State Archives of Mizoram, Assam and Meghalaya, and the British Library, London provided good information regarding the colonial administration and their relationship with the Mizos as well as a reflection of the pre-colonial system. The ethnographical works of the Europeans, who came in contact with the Mizos (then known as Lushais) are also very useful sources. These sources helped in the understanding of the attitude of the colonizers towards the 'natives'.

The first published Mizo journal of the government, *Mizo leh Vai Chanchinbu* is an important source in reconstructing the history of the period under study. This journal contains uncensored reports from Mizo authors who contributed their writings randomly from their respective places in and outside Mizoram. Since most of the contemporary writings are strongly imbued with colonial influence, this journal forms the main source to understand the mindset of the people.

Some documents are collected, compiled and published in a book form, like C. Chawngkinga, *Important Document of Mizoram* (published by Art and Culture Department, Aizawl, 1998) and C. Lalchawimawia, *British Rule in Mizoram (Collection of Important Documents)* vol. 1 (published by author, 2010) which also formed an important source.

MISSIONARIES' REPORTS

The annual reports of the missionaries of the Welsh Presbyterian Mission and London Baptist Missionary Society who worked in the hills as well as the letters and diaries of the missionaries formed an important source. Since the revival movement is experienced in Christianity, these sources give important accounts to the origin and development of the movement in the hills. However, since most of these documents are authored by the missionaries themselves, it is a one-sided view. Nevertheless, details of the information about the revival are gathered from these sources. These records are found in Synod Archives, Aizawl, Aizawl Theological College Library and Archives, Durtlang, Calvinistic Methodist Archive, National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, Angus Library and Archives, Regent's Park College, Oxford.

The Missionary's journal, like the *Missionary Herald*, published by the Baptist Missionary Society, London and *The Links*, printed at the Loch Printing Press, Aijal (Aizawl) are also an important source material.

The accounts of the missionaries and the European visitors also formed an important source, like '*Set on a Hill : Light on the Lushai Hills After Forty Years Report of Women's Work'* published by Baptist Church of Mizoram, E.L. Mendus, *The Diary of a Jungle Missionary',* Liverpool, 1958.

CHURCH RECORDS

The Presbytery and Assembly Minutes of the Presbyterian and the Baptist churches also supplied information regarding the church's resolutions on the church's administration in Mizoram.

The church's journal, *Kristian Tlangau* (or *Krista Tlangau* as it was formerly known) is another important source. This journal gives reports about the development of

the revival movement in Mizoram. The attitude of the official church could also be detected from this source.

ORAL SOURCES AND TRADITIONS

Interviews of people from the villages that experienced the movement and of the children of the revival leader as well as former Mizo chiefs and some prominent citizens and church leaders contributed valuable information. Popular songs of the period also provide valuable sources for the history of the period.

ADDITIONAL SOURCES

This consisted of books (published and unpublished), articles, essays, unpublished seminar papers and copies of local documents, text books published by the Mission schools, hymn books. These documents are found in various libraries in India and abroad as well as in private libraries.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The colonial ethnographical accounts of the various tribes of Mizoram provide us some insight into the traditional and cultural practices and belief systems of the communities inhabiting this region. It includes works like N.E Parry, *A Monograph on Lushai Customs and Ceremonies (1928),* A.G. McCall, *The Lushai Chrysalis (1949),* T.H. Lewin, *A Fly on the Wheel(1977),* N.E. Parry, *The Lakhers (1932),* J Shakespear, *The Lushei-Kuki Clan,* Robert Reid, *The Lushai Hills (1979).* Furthermore, there are number of related works which appeared not only in published books in vernacular as well as in English but also in unpublished works and in Magazines and journals.

The primary sources which are formed by Diaries and Accounts of Missionaries and Government Officials in Lushai Hills are also available, some of them are in book form while many are unpublished. Among these earlier accounts, N.E. Parry's *A*

Monograph on Lushai Customs and Ceremonies (1928) provides an account of the customs and practices of traditional Mizo society. This work is valuable because it is the first record of 'Lushai' customary practices. It provides us a clear insight into traditional Mizo society. Parry's other book *The Lakhers(1932)* deals with the Lakhers, one of the Lushai tribes. The Lakhers were reached by missions different from those who worked in Lushai Hills. Therefore, it is easy to evaluate the mission works in both the areas by comparing one another, as has been done by Parry in the preface of his book. A.G. McCall's *Lushai Chrysalis* (*1949)* is another important work left by British official. He was critical of certain activities of the missionaries and also of revivals. The last revival was witnessed during his time (1931-1943) in Mizoram and there were excess of revivals, which reached the ears of the administrator, and McCall himself was concerned in it. Therefore, he mentioned this event in his book when analysing the first forty years of contact with the Mizos.

The Christian missionaries of both the Welsh Presbyterian Mission and the Baptist Missionary Society, who worked in Mizoram also left valuable accounts. John Hughes Morris' *The History of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists Foreign Mission to the End of the Year 1904(1910),* E.L. Mendus' *The Diary of a Jungle Missionary (1958),* J.M. Lloyd's *History of the Church in Mizoram(1991),* are some of the more important works. John Hughes Morris' *The History of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists Foreign Mission to the End of the Year 1904(1910)* mentions some incidents of the earlier contacts of the Welsh Missionaries with the Lushais. But, since it covers the work up to 1904 only, it could not give many detail accounts of the work of the missionaries. On the other hand, it gives clear accounts of the Mission's work in the hills-Khasi and Jaintia Hills; and the book is written from a missionary point of view. But it is appreciable because it gives correct description of places and events. E.L. Mendus' *The Diary of a Jungle Missionary (1958)* provides us with firsthand account on the revivals. He was one of the missionaries who witnessed the height of the revival movements in Mizoram. The accounts of other missionaries like *On Every High Hills* by J.M. Llyod, *History of the*

Church in Mizoram (Harvest in the Hills)(1991) by the same author etc. also provided first hand information on the works of the mission in Mizoram.

Rev. Dr. C.L. Hminga's *The Life and Witness of the Churches in Mizoram(1987)* deals with how the whole Mizo tribe(s) became Christians in sixty years time and how the churches came into being, starting from the arrival of Christian Pioneer Missionaries. He tries to trace the growth of Churches in Mizoram through the ages, going in depth into the numerical, qualitative, and leadership growth, etc. in various periods. His study covers an extensive span of time. He also discussed the transformation in Mizo society with the adoption of Christianity, dealing not only spiritual but also physical as well as intellectual transformation. He discusses the contribution and the part played by Christianity in transforming the society while neglecting response from the natives. In this regard, he is different from other scholars like Frederick S. Downs and Mangkhosat Kipgen whose primary concern was the response of the people. His work can be assigned as a purely theologian's work.

Frederick S. Downs has produced a number of books on the study of Christianity in Northeast India. Among these, *Essays on Christianity in North East India (1994)* and *The History of Christianity in North East India vol. V (1992)* that deals with Christianity in North East India in the 19th and 20th centuries are more relevant to the subject, though others are also very helpful. He carried out a comprehensive study on the introduction and spread of Christianity in North East India as a whole. He discusses the political dimension in his *History of Christianity in North East India, vol. V,* to provide a broad framework for the discussion on 'ecclesiastical dimension' in the 19th century. Starting from the earliest known contacts of North East India with Christianity made by the Catholics as early as the 17th and 18th century, he examines the work of other missions in the region. He attributes revival for the rapid growth of Christianity in Mizoram and notes that the "significant aspect of the Mizo revivalism was its contribution to the indigenization of Christianity", and refer to the features of the revival which became a

contrivance of indigenization of Christianity. He also notices the tension that arose between the revivalists and the official leaders of the churches that seem to have resulted into the rising of various splinter groups that grew out of the revivals. Downs also discusses the interaction of Christianity and the resultant changes in Northeast India, in their life style, ideology and also in culture, emphasizing the areas where changes were felt the most, for instance, on the issue of intoxicants, slavery, dresses etc. This issue is discussed in his *Essays on Christianity in North East India* (1994) too, giving how the people responded to Christianity and how the latter affected their culture, giving special reference to the hill areas.

Lalsawma's work *Revivals – The Mizo Way(1994)* is a comprehensive book about the revivals. He discusses in detail about the revival and offers a detailed study of each stage of the revival. The book provides a valuable insight into the revival movement in Mizoram and the features of the revival in the early decades of the 20thcentury. But, as the title itself suggests, his discussion is mainly on the experience of the Mizos, and he also fails to give critical account of the movement.

Another theologian who took up the issue of revival is Mangkhosat Kipgen. In his book, *Christianity and Mizo Culture (1997),* Kipgen makes valuable study to understand not only Mizo Christianity, but also Mizo Culture. He discusses the whole traditional Zo (Mizo) culture extensively, giving a good deal of space for traditional religious practices. He also deals with the coming of the British and administrative and cultural changes as a result of this, and the growth of Christianity in Mizoram. The issue of revival is also discussed as an instrument of indigenization of Christianity by the Mizos, holding the view that it was the successful indigenization of Christianity which resulted into dynamic growth of churches in Mizoram, revival being its main instrument. Revival, its stages and features are exhaustively discussed here, and he has tried to build up a link between the traditional and Christian understanding of religion. He tries to enjoin many of the Mizo practices with Christian ethics, for e.g. *tlawmngaihna*. Being convinced that both the

parties had influence on each other, he tries to see the changes on both the missionaries and the traditional culture of the Mizo people, and chooses to study the way in which traditional *Zo* (Mizo) culture shaped Mizo Christianity, rather than the reverse. Since his main interest is to establish the indigenisation of Christianity by the Mizos, revivals being the mechanism, he does not give much effort to study other aspects of the revival.

Christian Mission and Colonialism (1998) by Lal Dena is a study of Missionary movement in India with special reference to Manipur and Lushai Hills (1894-1977). He sets up a broad framework for his study by taking into account extensive areas where Christianity had spread along with Colonialism, like in Africa and Asia, and analyses the possibilities of mutual relationship between Christianity and Colonialism. In this, he has categorized the missionaries into three groups, (a) Total collaborationists (b) Partial collaborationists and (c) Non-collaborationists. Through this category, he analyses the relationship of the missionaries with colonialism, which was sometimes found identical not only by the colonists but also by the scholars who undertook the study of Christian missions in these areas (colonies). But he arrives at the conclusion that "Christian missions and colonialism were two movements opposed to each other fundamentally" and their interconnection was also "more in the nature of highly temporary process which was solely determined by the principle of expediency."

As he study the work of Christian Mission in Northeast in general and Lushai Hills in particular (he coalesces Lushai Hills and Manipur Mission because the subject covers both the states of Mizoram, the then Lushai Hills and Manipur), he gives space for the study of the relationship between the Missions and Governments, in which he studies not only the works of the missions and government, like the controversy over *bawi* system but also internal problems of the church – inter-denominational conflicts. He examines the contradictions that arose on various issues between them. The revivals issue has also been given a passing remark in connection with the issue of conversion and remarks that "these sort of revival often provided a cheap, speedy mode of dramatic

conversion which often became a handy propagandistic display."[7] But he is not concerned about the way the Mizos expressed themselves through the revivals.

In analysing the contribution of Missionary works in India, he admits that the primary concern of the Missionaries was evangelization, and thus, education they provided was of a minimum standard of education, as a prerequisite for conversion, sufficient to read the Bible. And the leadership was provided always by the Missionaries, who continued to exercise paternalistic control over the development of Churches and the evangelistic works in particular. He notices the drawback that there was no 'genuine sharing of authority' in the church.

Another important work is provided by Lalsangkima Pachuau who treats revival as an important experience for the establishment of Mizo identity. In his book *Ethnic Identity and Christianity (1998)* he attributes Christianity as an important means for developing identity consciousness among the Mizos as he considers the church's encounter with Mizo culture as an attempt to build ethnic identity of the Mizo. In this context he has taken up an extensive study on the revival movements in relation to the formation of Mizo Christian identity. He studies the four waves of revival and sees it as acculturation of Christianity in Mizoram, due to its introduction of native hymns, traditional drums, and revival dance, etc. by the Mizos. He studies the intimate interaction between the new religion and the traditional culture, and mentions the changes brought by the former to the latter. He has given a critical account of the stance of the Mizo church to traditional practices, and says that after the first revival, "the church initiated drastic measures to suppress traditional customs and practices within the Christian Community" and the Church detached itself from, and in some cases discarded, a number of popular traditional practices but he did not go beyond expressing that "the church developed a negative attitude toward non-Christian or pre-Christian Mizo tradition and culture" which are considered to be "a revelation from the evil one."

[7] ibid., p.101.

In his examination of the missionaries and their application of contextualization, he mentions the 'indigenous principle' which promote the establishment of a strong self-supporting, self-governing and self-propagating indigenous Church as the aim of Christian Mission; and the pioneer missionaries displayed their awareness and approval of the 'indigenous principle'. However, he mentions that J.H. Lorrain, the missionary, in his works, omitted 'self-governing' from the list of the three selves. Though he notices the omission of self-governing here, he does not pursue it further whether it was omitted on purpose or it was accidental, and the possible reasons for it; though he later mentions that 'self-support and self-propagation became the early characteristic marks of the Christians in Mizoram while the churches eventually attained self-government at a later period.' He gives a thorough analysis of the cultural interaction of the Mizo's and the West, but since his main focus is to establish ethnic identity of the Mizos , he does not give much account of the British rule in Mizoram as such.

'*Christianity and Subaltern Culture'* (2006) by Vanlalchhuanawma is a comprehensive study on Christianity in Mizoram in general and revival movement in particular. This book is not only informative on the subject of development of Christianity but also throws valuable insights on the period of the first half of the 20th century. He fully developed the thesis of the indigenizing feature of revival movement and how the revival movement turned western Christianity introduced by the missionaries into an indigenized one. He also dealt with the controversy and schism within the church which was produced by the revival movement as has never been done in the previous works. However, his view is mainly church-centric, and his source is mainly made up of documents from the Mission and the church.

The works of prominent Mizo pastors, like Saiaithanga, *'Mizo Kohhran Chanchin'*, Liangkhaia, *Mizorama Harhna Thu'*, H.W. Carter and H.S. Luaia, Chhim Bial Kohhran Chanchin' who witnessed and participated in the revival give first hand information about the movement. Z.T.Sangkhuma also examines the revival movement in Mizoram. *Missionary-te Hnuhma and Mizoram Harhna Thlirletna*. The works of

Lalruali, *Zoram Hmarchhak Harhna Chanchin*, Chhawntluanga, *Kelkang Harhna, and J.V.Hluna, Khandaih Harhna* deals specifically with revival movement in these particular areas in detail. Lalruali focuses on development of revival in the north eastern part of Mizoram and Chhawntluanga mentions the happening at Kelkang, and J.V.Hluna's work is on Khandaih (now Phullen). These works are more or less narrative in nature, and it fails to critically analyse the movement apart from giving information about it.

James Dokhuma, *Zoram Tualto Kohhran Chanchin*, Vanlalchhuanga, *An Zirtirnate leh an Chanchin,* V.L. Zaikima, *Vanawia leh a Pawlte* and *Tlira leh a Inlarna* presents the unconventional side of history as it throws valuable insights into the origin and development of the sectarian groups which emerged during the revival movement.

From the available literary sources, the event of the revival movement could be fairly established as these materials provided detail information about it. However, majority of these works are imbued with the conventional view on the movement, and therefore, a more objective study would be of great help in the development of a holistic approach on the study revival phenomenon in Mizoram.

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CHAPTER 1: **UNDERSTANDING REVIVAL MOVEMENT**

In this chapter, an attempt is made to throw light on the historiographical and conceptual understanding pertaining to the study of revival movement. A brief historiographical survey on the development of the history of Christianity in the area over the years is taken up so as to facilitate a critical appreciation of the representation of Christianity in Northeast India in general and revival movement in Mizoram in particular; at the same time, an endeavour is made to grasp the understanding of revival by the Mizos who experienced it.

1.1 HISTORIOGRAPHY OF CHRISTIANITY IN MIZORAM

For a long time, the 'missionary approach', providing mission history, has largely been the dominating trend of church history writing in Northeast India.[1] The general missionary history of Christianity in India were not written from the perspective of or for the enlightenment of the Indian church, but to provide information to the home churches whose financial and moral support was very much needed in the fields.[2] These writings were mainly about the missionaries while the indigenous Christians were given little place as their opinion, their cultures, their work in furthering the Christian movement is either not mentioned at all, or given only a passing remark.[3] The absence of the philosophy of history and the methodological bias in use of sources, the denominational bias were other drawbacks noticed in the writings of Christianity in Northeast India.[4]

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[1]David R. Syiemlieh, 'North East India: Trends in Historical Writing, 1947-1997,' in J.P. Singh (*et al.*) *Trends in Social Sciences and Humanities in Northeast India* (Regency Publication, New Delhi, 1998), p. 42.

[2] Frederick S. Downs, *Essays on Christianity in North-East India (*Indus Publishing Company, New Delhi, 1994), p.14.

[3] ibid., p.16.

[4]Manorama Sharma discusses the religious bias in the history of Northeast India and says that even the major works produced are not free from these historiographical problems. See Manorama Sharma, *History and History Writing in North East India,* 2nd edn (Regency Publications, New Delhi, 2006), pp. 34-44.

The 'traditional mission-oriented perspective' has been questioned by some historians ever since Indian independence. These historians, writing from the Indian perspective, shift the 'starting point' from the western churches and the mission societies to Indian church, with the main focus on Indian church, not of mission work in India.[5] The Church History Association of India (CHAI) took up the question of the historiographical perspective from which the writing would be done and they produced "Guidelines". It proposed that socio-cultural, regional, national and ecumenical perspectives should be given emphasis in writing history of Christianity in India, and efforts were made to write from the new perspective, though the three main components in the history of the Christian movement in the Northeast- the political, the ecclesiastical and the socio-cultural were not yet fully integrated.[6] It is therefore, "intended to shift the focus of historical study of Christianity away from exclusively institutional history,"[7] thus, works on Christianity from new perspective appeared. Scholars like Frederick S. Downs, Lal Dena, Sajal Nag, etc. began to write analytical history about Christianity in Northeast India, taking into consideration wider issues beyond the church and its institution.[8]

The trend of writing on Christianity in Mizoram also did not differ much from the pattern of writings on Northeast India. The earliest ethnographical works on Mizos as well as earliest records on Christianity in the hills are the works of the Europeans. [9] The story of the mission has been provided by the European writers,

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[5] ibid., pp. 17-18.

[6] ibid., pp. 17-21.

[7] ibid., p. 41.

[8] See Frederick S. Downs, '*History of Christianity in North East India vol. V (Bangalore, The Church History Association of India, 1992)'* and *Essays*; Lal Dena, *Christian Mission and Colonialism* (Vendrame Institute, Shillong, 1988); Sajal Nag, *Pied Pipers in North East India* (Manohar, New Delhi, 2008).

[9]The ethnographical works includes T.H. Lewin, *The Hill Tracts of Chittagong and the Dwellers Therein (*TRI, Aizawl, reprint 2004*)* and *A Fly on the Wheel or How I Helped to Govern India (*TRI, Aizawl, reprint 1997)*;* J. Shakespeare, *The Lushei Kuki Clans* (TRI, Aizawl, reprint 2008); N.E. Parry, *The Lakhers* (TRI, Aizawl, reprint 1976) and *A Monograph on Lushai Customs and Ceremonies* (TRI, Aizawl, reprint 1976); A.G. McCall, *The Lushai Crysallis* (TRI, Aizawl, reprint 1977). The British officials who visited the hills for various purposes also left records about the Mizos who were then known as '*Lushais/Lushei'*, like 'T*he Handbook of the Lushai Country*'(1899) compiled under the order of the Quarter Master General in India by Captain O.A. Chambers; E.B. Elly, *Military Report on the Chin-Lushai Country* (TRI, Aizawl, reprint 1978).

missionaries as well as non-missionaries, like John Hughes Morris, Reginald A. Lorrain, E.L. Mendus, H.W. Carter, David Kyle, J.M. Llyod, E. Chapman and M. Clark, Dorothy Glover, M. Eleanor Bowser, and so on.[10] Most of these works were written from a Euro-centric view that sees "darkness" in the "primitive", "wild" and "savage" culture of the local people as they contrast it with the "civilized" and "superior" western culture. D.E. Jones, the Welsh Presbyterian missionary writes:

> "Deeper is the shadow of this country's sin than the dark hue of the surrounding mountain under an approaching storm. Brighter are our expectations and hopes than the coming of dawn of the Eastern sky, for we wait the coming for the Great Light of the world, who shall pour forth His Eternal Light upon these peoples who sit in darkness and in the valley of the shadow of death; we wait for the coming of Him who bringeth life to those who are perishing for want of the truth." [11]

Lorrain, the Baptist missionary in south Mizoram also sees the same thing:

> "In every home throughout both the northern and southern hills the Evil One held complete and undisputed sway. Darkness covered the land and gross darkness the people."[12]

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[10] See John Hughes Morris, *The Story of Our Foreign Mission: Presbyterian Church of Wales* (Synod Publication Board, Aizawl, reprint 1990); Reginald A. Lorrain, *Five Years in Unknown Jungle* ((TRI, Aizawl, reprint 1988); E.L. Mendus, *The Diary of a Jungle Missionary* (Foriegn Mission Office, Liverpool, 1956); H.W. Carter & H.S. Luaia, *Mizoram Baptist Kohhran Chanchin* (Baptist Assembly Press, Serkawn, 1945); David Kyles, *Lorrain of the Lushais: Romance and Realism on the North East India* (Stirling Tract Enterprise, London, 1944); J.M. Llyod, *On Every High Hill* (Synod Publication Board, Aizawl, reprint 1984) and '*History of the Church in Mizoram: Harvest in the Hills*" (Synod Publication Board, Aizawl, 1991); E. Chapman and M. Clark, *Mizo Miracle* (The Christian Literature Society, Madras, 1968); Dorothy Glover, *Set on a Hill*, (Gospel Centenary Committee, Baptist Church of Mizoram, Serkawn, 1993*)* (written after her visit of Lushai Hills in January 1928 with Miss Bowser); M. Eleanor Bowser, *Light on the Lushai Hills* (Gospel Centenary Committee, Baptist Church of Mizoram, Serkawn, 1993).

[11] *Reports of the Foreign Mission of the Presbyterian Church of Wales on Mizoram 1894-1957*, comp. K. Thanzauva (Synod Literature and Publication Board, Aizawl, 1997), p. 4, (hereafter cited as *Report of FMPCW*).

[12] *Reports by Missionaries of Baptist Missionary Society, 1901-1938*, comp. the Mizoram Gospel Centenary Committee (Baptist Church of Mizoram, Serkawn, 1993), p. 93, (hereafter cited as *Report by BMS*).

These works have formed the basic sources of most of the earlier works on Christianity in Mizoram. One important contribution of the missionaries' writings was the periodization of Mizo history in a linear way. The concept of time was now defined with the consciousness of what is called 'pre-Christianity' and 'Christianity' period. This periodization was based not only on the belief of the superiority of Christianity but also on recognition of the superiority of western culture. The 'pre-Christian' period was described as a 'dark age', an age full of ignorance and superstitions while the advent of Christianity was the beginning of a new era, the shedding of light to the hills that transformed the 'wild savage' into a 'civilized' man. The advent of Christianity is therefore seen as divine provision and the beginning of civilization in the hills is traced from the advent of Christianity and a superior western culture. This notion influenced not only the people's view of Christianity but it also determined their understanding and representation of their past as well as their traditional culture. This concept was very influential as apparent in the successive works and became one of the dominating principles in the works produced.[13]

Among the local scholars, the history of Christianity was the subject of interest of both ecumenical and secular fields. The first written Mizo history by the local writer was produced by Liangkhaia, a Presbyterian Pastor.[14] Until well after Indian independence, works on Christianity were mainly produced by the pastors who were trained directly under the missionaries, the first generation Christians. This includes Liangkhaia, Saiathanga, Chhuahkhama, H.S. Luaia and Zairema. They were followed by a group of second generation pastors, like C.L. Hminga, Z.T. Sangkhuma, Lalsawma, and academician like J.V. Hluna and Sangkima. In the works

[13]The linear periodization with the advent of Christianity as the beginning of civilization still persists. For example, a recent Mizo book about the time of advent of Christianity published in 2008 was titled '*Zoram Vartian'* or '*The Dawn for Zoram'.* The closing paragraph of the book says, "*Ti chuan, kum zabi sawm leh pakuana tawpah chuan Selkhuma leh Darphawkate lo hrilhlawk angin tuifinriat ral atangin mingo an lo kal a, eng a lo thleng tan a, Zoram vartianah kan lo ding ta a ni*." (p. 348) "Then, at the end of the 19th century, as prophesized by Selkhuma and Darphawka, the white men came from overseas, the light began to shine, and it was the dawn for Zoram." (free translation by researcher) See Lalhruaitluanga Ralte, *Zoram Vartian* (Synod Press, Aizawl, 2008).

[14]Liangkhaia, *Mizo Chanchin* (LTL Publications, Aizawl, reprint 2002).

of these writers, the 'missionary approach' is apparent, except in the later works of Z.T. Sangkhuma, a pastor, which lately became critical about this approach.[15]

Generally, the writings on Christianity in Mizoram begin with the arrival of missionaries and the work of the Mission and development of the church and its impact on the society, overlooking the European colonial connection and the colonial ideology that have direct influence on the spread of Christianity in Mizoram. Most of these works have treated Christianity as an isolated aspect and thus, the social, political or economic aspects in connection with the religious development did not come under consideration. The narrative flow has taken the best part of these works, lacking deeper investigation that resulted into generalisation.

The early writings on Christianity in Mizoram suffered from prejudices in approach as well as methodological problems due to the uncritical use of missionary sources, and it has been one of the most noticeable weaknesses of the writings on history of Christianity in Mizoram. Many of the new meaning and new interpretation to the various aspects of Mizo culture by the Missionaries from their perspective were accepted without question. For example, the missionaries claimed that the Mizos were ignorant of the concept of sin.[16] What the Missionaries considered as 'sin' was not regarded as sin by the Mizos, like taking of liquor, not observing Sunday, etc. Thus, based on the Western and Christian concept of sin, a new meaning and interpretations were given to many of the Mizo cultural practices. In order to get a 'native-centric' view, it is necessary to probe into the constructed concepts and examine it from the cultural context so as see things "from the actor's point of view" as against the 'Euro-centric' view. This aspect is seriously lacking in the writings on Christianity in Mizoram due to the uncritical and un-interrogated use of missionary sources and

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[15] See ibid.; Saiaithanga, *Mizo Kohhran Chanchin* (Mizo Theological Literature Committee, Aizawl, reprint 1993); H.W. Carter & H.S. Luaia, op.cit.; Zairema, *God's Miracle in Mizoram: A Glimpse of Christian Work among Head-Hunters* (Synod Press & Bookroom, Aizawl, 1978); C.L. Hminga, *The Life and Witness of the Churches in Mizoram* (The Literature Committee, Baptist Church of Mizoram, Aizawl, 1987); Z.T. Sangkhuma, *Harhna hi le* (published by Author, Aizawl, reprint 2006) and *Missionary-te Hnuhma* (Aizawl, 1995); J.V. Hluna, *Education and Missionaries in Mizoram* (Spectrum Publications, Guwahati, 1992); Sangkima, *Essays on the History of the Mizos* (Spectrum Publications, Guwahati, 2004).

[16] *Report by BMS*, pp. 93-94.

concepts. As the missionaries' documents were mainly produced for a targeted audience, it "must be cast in terms of the interpretations to which persons of a particular denomination subject their experience, because that is what they profess to be description of",[17] and an indiscriminate use of it may result in distortion or incomplete representation of history. As Manorama Sharma has rightly pointed out:

> "The writings of missionaries or committed church men can be very good sources of information, but just as official papers of the Government cannot be accepted uncritically by a historian so also these church sources have to be critically viewed."[18]

Another trend seen in the writings on Christianity in Mizoram was the Mission church-centric representation. Since most of the earlier writings were taken up by the missionaries as well as the early educated Mizos, mostly the Pastors, it suffered from serious denominational biases. The established church was placed at the center and those who deviate from the established church were usually considered as of debased character, and the religious developments that took place outside the established church was looked with suspicion.

A new trend is emerging as the scholarship has developed and the focus has widened. Following the initiative of the Church History Association of India, the writings on Christian history in Mizoram too developed to cover wider areas and became more critical particularly in the use of sources. A group of scholars, of which Lal Dena, Mangkhosat Kipgen, Lalsangkima Pachuau, Vanlalchhuanawma are more prominent,[19] is critical in their approach and has risen beyond the narrative institutional history to contain the social and political issues. All except Lal Dena are ecumenical scholars. They began to consider the political as well as social aspects in

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[17] Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (Basic Books, Inc., New York, 1973), p.15.

[18] Manorama Sharma, op. cit., p. 43.

[19] See Lal Dena, op. cit.; Mangkhosat Kipgen, *Christianity and Mizo Culture* (Mizo Theological Conference, Aizawl, 1997); Lalsangkima Pachuau, *Ethnic Identity and Christianity* (Peter Lang, New York, 1998); Vanlalchhuanawma, *Christianity and Subaltern Culture* (ISPCK, Delhi, 2006).

relation to the development of Christianity against treating it as an isolated phenomenon.

In spite of the improved methodology, the Mission church-centric view continues to be dominant. It is true that "religious factor cannot be ignored in historical analysis, but the problem begins when the religious beliefs and commitments cloud the historian's vision of history."[20] Thus, it is necessary to settle the question of "how much a historian should also be theologian" and vice versa, which is one of the most serious issue in the contemporary trend of Christian history writing in Mizoram.

It is therefore, clear that in order to have an objective understanding, a study of the history of Christianity from a larger historical context in Mizoram needs to be more developed. Also, the philosophy of Christian history which was found to be missing in most of the Christian history writing in Northeast India[21] is yet to be developed.

1.2 APPROACHES TO REVIVAL MOVEMENT

The term 'revival' has been loosely applied to a wide range of phenomena, especially in the religious and cultural movements. The terms used to describe the revival and renewal activities are considered to be interpretative. The Encyclopeadia of Religion explains these terms:

> "The terms *accommodative, acculturative, adaptive, adjustive,* and *syncretic are largely interpretative,* indicating that revival and renewal activities took place in, and as a response to a situation in which two or more different sociocultural orders were in contact and were more or less in opposition or conflict, as for example, in the colonial situation. The terms *denunciatory, militant,* and *nativities* speak mainly to what seem to have been the main

[20]Manorama Sharma, op. cit., p. 36.
[21]ibid., pp. 37-38.

> emphases or characteristics of revival, as for instance, the vehement reactions to the dominant culture in the colonial process. The terms *dynamic, revitalization*, and *vitalistic* interpret revival activities as more positively creative rather than merely responsive. *Devotional* and *pious* are usually used to describe movements of renewal that occur squarely within an established religious tradition….the terms *enthusiastic* and *enthusiasm* refer specifically to movements within the Christian tradition during the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries."[22]

However, it may be noted that these terms cannot be singled out as an absolute description of a particular movement of a particular period or used as an exclusive description of a revival activity. At the same time, it shows that within the ambit of 'revival', all aspects such as described above come along. Therefore, 'revival' is a broad phenomenon which may cover cultural and religious activities.

In principle, the revival or renewal activities represent a general human propensity realizable in any culture, "enabling groups or communities to survive by creating more meaningful semantic environment, where as otherwise they might have perished."[23] Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism and even non-literate societies have instances of such activities. However, Christianity has the largest recorded instances of revival and renewal activities. [24]

In Christianity, revival meant a 'specific period of increased spiritual interest or renewal of the life of a church congregation or many churches, either regionally or globally.'[25] It is taken to mean a renewing of spirit when the church turned cold, religious life became dull and there was a "growing indifference and a general lowering of standards on all high and lack of seriousness in religion". Renewing of

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[22] Lindsay Jones (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Religion,* vol. 11, 2nd edn (Thomson Gale, USA, 2005), pp.7784-85.

[23] ibid., p. 7787.

[24] http://www.linkedin.com/skills/skill/Revivals accessed on 19.9.11

[25] Lalsawma, *Revival: The Mizo Way* (Published by author, Aizawl, 1994) p. 15.

spirits and rejuvenating the church's life resulted into the growth of church members.[26] During the revival, therefore, there was a sharp increase of interest in religion, a profound sense of conviction and redemption on the part of those affected, a jump in evangelical church membership, and the formation of new religious movements and denominations.[27] The *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* describes the revival like this:

> "There are times of flood-tide in the soul, which are accompanied with great happiness and leave a deep impression on the memory, and there are seasons in the life of the church when there are given from on high what the Scripture calls 'showers of blessing.' The psychology of the human spirit may have its own reckoning to render for such phenomena; but in the last resort they are to be traced to the Spirit of God, blowing where it listeth."[28]

To J. Edwin Orr, author of *Evangelical Awakenings in India in the Early 20th Century*, an Evangelical Awakening "revived saints, empowered witnesses, then converted sinners to God", a repetition of the phenomena of the Acts of the Apostles.[29] He says:

> "An Evangelical Awakening is a movement of the Holy Spirit in the Church of Christ bringing about a revival of New Testament Christianity…Such an awakening may arise in a distinctive way, but there seem to be features that are common to all awakenings and the pattern is a scriptural one."[30]

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[26] William G. McLoughlin, *Revivals, Awakenings, and Reform: An Essay on Religion and Social Change in America, 1607-1977* (The University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London, 1978), p. 3.

[27] www.confidentchristians.org accessed on 19.9.11.

[28] James Hastings, op. cit., p. 753.

[29] J. Edwin Orr, *Evangelical Awakenings in India in the Early 20th Century* (Masihi Sahitya Sanstha, Christian Literature Institute, New Delhi, 1970), p. 3.

[30] ibid., p.1.

Max Warren sees revival as "a renewing, a reformation of the church for action. It is a reaffirmation of theology, a resuscitation of worship, a reviving of conscience, and it is all these within the church and for the Church."[31]

According to Iain H. Murray, "A revival is, by its very nature, bound to be attended by emotional excitement. But the course of a revival, together with its purity and abiding fruit, is directly related to the manner in which such excitement is handled by its leaders. Once the idea gains acceptance that the degree of the Spirit's work is to be measured by the strength of emotion, or that physical effects of any kind are proofs of God's action, then what is rightly called fanaticism is bound to follow. For those who embrace such beliefs will suppose that any check on emotion or on physical phenomena is tantamount to opposing the Holy Spirit."[32]

Thomas Phillips, when he writes about the Welsh revival in the nineteenth century has no doubt that it is the work of God. To him, revival is repentance "from sin, faith in the only Saviour, peace with God, joy in the Holy Ghost, and newness of life." He says, "Who, that knows anything of true religion, will deny, that the revival in Ireland and in Wales, is the work of God!"[33]

To Martyn Llyod Jones, revival came as a gratification to the spiritual needs. He says:

> "…these glorious periods of revivals and reawakening have often followed periods of great drought, great deadness, apathy and lifelessness in the history of the church. In every case, as you find these great peaks, you will find the troughs."[34]

Apart from these authors who studied revival only in relation to the church, there are other groups who see the movement as a kind of syncretic movement. Eifion Evans

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[31] Max Warren, *Revival: An Enquiry* (SCM Press, London, 1954), p. 20.

[32] Iain H. Murray, *Revival and Revivalism: The Making and Marring of American Evangelicalism 1750-1858* (The Banner of Truth Trust, Pennsylvania, 1994), pp.163-164.

[33] Thomas Phillips, *The Welsh Revival: Its Origin and Development* (The Banner of Truth Trust, Pennsylvania, 1989), p. 104.

[34] Martyn Llyod-Jones, *Revival* (Crossway Books, Illinois, 1987), p. 27.

sees the revival in Wales as a 'non-conformist movement' resulting in the elimination of social evils.[35] In studying the sects in America, Elmer T. Clark connects the revival with the economic forces, and sees it as a movement against the established institution of the church.[36]

The religious movements have attracted the attention of sociologists and anthropologists. According to Roland Robertson, a religious movement is "geared to effecting a specific series of alterations in the condition of the wider society or at least in the environment of the collectivity, while a religious organization exists to serve the needs and desires of members and clients. A movement is a dynamic collectivity, concerned with the mobilization of individuals and groups in the pursuit of, or the defence of, specific objectives."[37]

Various terms are being used to describe such movements, like millennial movement, cargo cult, messianic cult, nativistic, etc.[38] It was Anthony F. C. Wallace who first identifies the causal and processual similarities of these attempts by some members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture. Taking his stance from a functionalist approach, he calls the phenomenon a 'revitalization movement'.[39]

The functional thesis "uses as criteria for identifying and classifying a phenomenon the functions which that phenomenon performs; the functions which a system requires are stipulated and then observed social and cultural phenomena are classified and identified on the basis of the functions which they perform."[40] In other words, "the religious institutions of a society represent, and elicit acceptance of,

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[35] See Eifion Evans, *The Welsh Revival of 1904* (Evangelical Press of Wales, Wales, reprint, 1981).

[36] See Elmer Talmage Clark, *The Small Sects in America*, rev. (Abidington Press, New York, 1949).

[37] Roland Robertson, *The Sociological Interpretation of Religion* (Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1970), p.114.

[38] The *Encyclopedia of Religion* tries to classify the phenomena of revival based on the "overt purposes, main emphases or characteristics, historical period, and location". Lindsay Jones, op. cit., pp.7784-85.

[39] Anthony F. C. Wallace, 'Revitalization Movement', *American Anthropologis*t, vol. 58, no. 2, (April1956), pp. 264-281.

[40] ibid., pp. 38-41; Ivan Strenski, *Thinking About Religion: A Reader* (Blackwell Publishing, Oxford, 2006), pp. 135-54, 177-184; Austin Harrington, *Modern Social Theory: An Introduction* (OUP, New York, 2005), pp. 64-75, 87-103.

certain central values whose internalization by members of the society is necessary for the adequate integration of that society's various parts."[41] The role of religion is not "merely to support and inculcate values, but also to devise some means for resolving the conflicts, or at least for providing a vent for the relief of tensions which a society's structural contradictions generate."[42] The socio-cultural function of religion examines the creative interaction between the individual and the society, which is increasingly prominent in recent theories of religion.[43] The psychoanalytic theory influenced the study of relationship between religion and personality dynamics although many anthropologists have been rather critical of Freud's publications on religion.[44] Freud's discussion of the meaning of the Oedipus myth provides a good illustration of how religion can help to resolve value conflicts.[45] Since his study involves not only cultural but psychological issues as well, Wallace also borrowed much from the psychoanalytical theory.[46]

Anthropologist Anthony F.C. Wallace in his concept of revitalization movement sees religious revivals as part of the revitalization movement.[47] He believes that the object in the revitalization movement could be revival of traditional culture, or to import a foreign cultural system, or they can seek a never before seen

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[41] Anthony F.C. Wallace, *Religion: An Anthropological View* (Random House, New York, 1966), p. 25.

[42] ibid., pp. 24-25.

[43]Seth D. Kunin & Jonathan Miles-Watson (ed.) *Theories of Religion: A Reader* (Edinburg University Press, Edinburg, 2006), p. 19.

[44] ibid., pp. 13-14.

[45] Carl Jung sees myth as "suggesting the path of psychological maturation to people faced by the problems of growing up in society, which demands conformity," and Levi Strauss also regards "myth as depicting the course of resolution of value conflicts intrinsic to the social structure of each society- even stable societies." Thus, myths "permits the society to maintain the partial advantages of its own contradictory segments by relieving in a symbolic, ritualized, mythic system of behaviour the tensions it produces." Anthony F.C. Wallace, '*Religion: An Anthropological View'*, pp. 28-29.

[46] ibid., pp.27-28; The psychoanalytic theory influenced this study of relationship between religion and personality dynamics although many anthropologists have been rather critical of Freud's publications on religion. Freud's discussion of the meaning of the Oedipus myth provides a good illustration of how religion can help to resolve value conflicts.

[47] In revitalization movement, Wallace includes 'nativistic movements, reform movements, cargo cults, religious revivals, messianic movements, utopian community, sect formation, mass movement, social movement, revolution and charismatic movements'. Anthony F.C. Wallace, 'Revitalization Movement', p. 267.

utopia, and that goals could be achieved 'either through secular or religious means or start off as one type but then proceed with the means of the other', and the 'degree of nativism can vary from movement to movement as well as within a movement processually'.[48] He says that the revitalization movement is a 'phenomenon of culture change and it is a process', and is a "deliberate, organized, conscious effort by members of a society to create a more satisfying culture". [49] He believes that the role of culture is "to meet the physical and psychological needs of the society" and situates the revival movements in the cultural context, as part of a cultural movement to meet the psychological needs of the people. As a general type of events, the revitalization movement "occurs under two conditions: high stress for individual members of the society and disillusionment with a distorted cultural *Gestalt*" and he defines stress as "a condition in which some part or the whole of the social organism is threatened with more or less serious damage".[50] Wallace suggests that "the historical origin of a great proportion of religious phenomena has been in revitalization movement."[51] He formulates the processual structure of revitalization movements that "consists of five somewhat overlapping stages" – firstly, it is a steady state, secondly, a period of individual stress followed by a third stage, a period of cultural distortion, fourthly, a period of revitalization and lastly, a new steady state.

In a steady state, the culturally recognized techniques for satisfying need were operating efficiently and thus, the stress within the system varies within tolerable limits for majority of the population. When individual members of a population "experience increasingly severe stress as a result of the decreasing efficiency of certain stress-reduction techniques" over a number of years, it poses a threat of what he called "mazeway disintegration"[52], and "a point is reached at which some alternative way must be considered." This is the period of increased individual stress.

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[48] ibid., pp. 275-278;http://www.academia.edu/839547/Theory_of_Revitalization_Movement_by_Anthony_F.C._Wallace accessed on 16.06.12.

[49] Anthony F.C. Wallace, 'Revitalization Movement', p. 279.

[50] ibid., pp. 265-279.

[51] ibid., p. 279.

[52] "Mazeway" is nature, society, culture, personality and body image, as seen by one person, according to Wallace. ibid., p. 266.

Wallace says that the "prolonged experience of stress, produced by failure of need satisfaction techniques and by anxiety over the prospect of changing behavior patterns" resulted into a period of cultural distortion. This was followed by a period of revitalization necessitated by the process of deterioration that set in, which, if not checked, can lead to the "death of the society."[53] He says:

> "Finally, as the inadequacy of existing ways of acting to reduce stress becomes more and more evident, and as the internal incongruities of the mazeway are perceived, symptoms of anxiety over the loss of a meaningful way of life also become evident: disillusionment with the mazeway, and apathy toward problem of adaptation, set in."[54]

Here Wallace proposes a series of functional stages whereby the revitalization movements that are often religious in character, is carried out. He notices that the religious revitalization movements are inaugurated, with a few exceptions, when a charismatic leader emerges from the masses, sharing a revelation and preaching a message of hope that promise improved lives for its followers. The group of "converts" developed around the prophet, and in some cases, the doctrine becomes institutionalized that would be continuously modified as per the need of the subjects, and new cultural and social formations are established as the personal deterioration symptoms of individuals are reduced. If the transformed culture is effective in reducing stress-generating situations, "it becomes established as normal in various economic, social, and political institutions and customs." This forms the last stage of the revitalization, the "New Steady State".

> "Once cultural transformation has been accomplished and the new cultural system has proved itself viable, and once the movement organization has solved its problems of routinization, a new steady state may be said to exist. The culture of this state will probably be

[53] ibid., pp. 269-270.
[54] ibid., p. 270.

> different in pattern, organization or *Gestalt*, as well as in traits, from the earlier steady state; it will be different from that of the period of cultural distortion."[55]

Thus, Wallace sees revitalization movement in a society which is disturbed by external or internal force, and it is the society's endeavour to adapt themselves into the new situation and restore order that suits their mental state, either through religious means or otherwise. Though it can be criticised "for continuing the long anthropological tradition of promoting and overemphasizing notions of indigenous distress", the revitalization model is still effective in describing the widespread and enduring element of human behaviour, and has successfully analysed the recurring patterns of human behaviour among diverse peoples in various times and places.[56]

Ralph Linton also studies a movement of this kind in his study of a society in close contact with other culture, and he calls it "Nativistic Movement".[57] He believes that "all societies seek to perpetuate their own cultures," and in normal circumstances, "they usually do this unconsciously and as a part of the normal processes of individual training and socialization," but when "a society becomes conscious that there are cultures other than its own and that the existence of its own is threatened", then nativistic movements occurred as an attempt to make conscious effort to sustain the 'old' culture.[58]

Revivalism was an instrument in Ralph Linton's 'nativistic movements'. He defines 'nativistic movements' as any "conscious organized attempt on the part of a society's members to revive or perpetuate selected aspects of its culture,"[59] and says that "nativistic movements concern themselves with particular elements of culture, never with cultures as wholes."[60] In this revivalism, "certain current or remembered

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[55] ibid., pp. 268-275.

[56] Matthew Liebmann, 'The Innovative Materiality of Revitalization Movements: Lessons from the Pueblo Revolt of 1680', *American Anthropologist,* vol. 110, no. 3 (September 2008).

[57] See Ralph Linton, 'Nativistic Movements', in *American Anthropologist* N.S., 45, 1943, pp. 230-240 .

[58] ibid., p. 230.

[59] ibid., p. 230.

[60] ibid.

elements of culture are selected for emphasis and given symbolic value. The more distinctive such elements are with respect to other cultures with which the society is in contact, the greater their potential value as symbols of the society's unique character."[61]

Linton distinguishes the forms of nativism as 'revivalistic nativism' and 'perpetuative nativism', though he says that these two forms are not completely exclusive,[62] which he further distinguishes into 'magical nativism' and 'rational nativism'[63] but "it must be emphasized that the four forms of nativistic movement just discussed are not absolutes."[64]All forms of nativism are the product of a society in times of stress or frustration and "are primarily attempts to compensate for the frustrations of the society's members."[65] The 'magical nativistic movements' are comparable in many respects to the messianic movements and "always lean heavily on the supernatural and usually embody apocalyptic and millennial aspects", and the cultural elements were "not revived for their own sake or in anticipation of practical advantages from the elements themselves" but it is "part of a magical formula designed to modify the society's environment in ways which will be favourable to it."[66] 'Rational revivalistic nativistic' movements on the other hand, tried to revive elements which "become symbols of a period when the society was free or, in retrospect, happy or great," the usage of which is "not magical but psychological. By keeping the past in mind, such elements help to reestablish and maintain their self-respect of the group's members in the face of adverse condition."[67] Likewise, 'rational perpetuative nativistic' movements also find their main function in the maintenance of social solidarity. In both types of 'rational revivalistic' or 'perpetuative nativistic'

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[61] ibid., p. 231.

[62] ibid.

[63] ibid., p. 232. He says that though "any sort of nativistic movement can be regarded as genuinely rational, since all such movements are, to some extent, unrealistic, but at least the movements of the latter [rational nativism] order appear rational by contrast with those of the former."

[64] ibid., p. 233. According to Linton, "Purely revivalistic or perpetuative, magical or rational movements form a very small minority of the observed cases,"

[65] ibid., pp. 232-233.

[66] ibid., p. 232.

[67] ibid., p. 233.

movement, "the culture elements selected for symbolic use are chosen realistically and with regard to the possibility of perpetuating them under current conditions."[68]

Linton believes that for studying phenomena as nativistic movement, it is important to understand the various contact situations in which it may arise. He says:

> "Although the immediate causes of nativistic movements are highly variable, most of them have as a common denominator a situation of inequality between the societies in contact. Such inequality may derive either from the attitudes of the societies involved or from actual situations of dominance and submission."[69]

Though nativistic movement may arise in dominant group as well, most of the nativistic movement comes from a dominated group in a situation of the contact of the Europeans with native peoples.[70]A dominated group that considers itself superior is likely to develop patterns of 'rational nativism' with a semi-magical quality that may later fully develop into 'magical-revivalist nativism' to cope up with the frustrations involved by loss of dominance, with a belief that if the group will only stand firm and maintain its individuality it will once again become dominant. A dominated group that considers itself inferior is likely to develop nativism of the 'revivalist-magical' type if it is subjected to sufficient hardships. In the case when the hardships arising from subjection are not extreme, the movement was a response to frustration rather than hardship. The nativistic response to the frustration in their desire for equality resulted into the inferiors developing their own nativistic movement of a "revivalistic-rational" type, according to Linton. In that movement, Linton says:

> "The cultural elements selected for emphasis will tend to be drawn from the past rather than the present, since the attitudes of the superior group toward the current culture will have done much to devaluate it. In general, symbolic values will be attached, by

[68] ibid.
[69] ibid., p. 234.
[70] ibid., p. 236.

> preference, to culture elements which were already on the wane at the time of the first contact with the superior group, thus embodying in the movement a denial that the culture of the other group ever was considered superior."[71]

Therefore, rational "nativistic movements can readily be converted into mechanism for aggression" because these movements "are a response to frustration rather than hardship and would not arise if the higher group were willing to assimilate the lower one."[72] For Linton, therefore, revival movement, magical or rational, can happen in a society which are in contact with other cultures for a long time, and are frequently seen in societies that came in contact with European culture. He maintains that the two factors that often caused trouble in these contact situations are exploitation and frustration. In such situation, he says that 'rational nativistic' movements are the best mechanism which has so far been developed to restore confidence among the groups whose members suffer from feelings of inferiority.[73]

Both Anthony F.C. Wallace and Ralph Linton discuss a movement within a society in contact with culture other than theirs and the dominated culture's attempt to persist in the presence of a stronger culture. These models may also be useful in understanding a religious movement such as the revival movement during the colonial period in Mizoram.

William G. McLoughlin also tries to understand the revival movement in America based on the revitalization model of Wallace. He proposed to get rid of 'the old Protestant definition of revivalism and awakenings and think more sociologically and anthropologically about religion'.[74] According to him, revivals and awakenings 'are essentially folk movements, the means by which a people or a nation reshapes its identity, transforms its patterns of thought and action, and sustains a healthy

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[71] ibid., p. 236.

[72] ibid., p. 239.

[73] ibid., p. 240.

[74] William G. McLoughlin, *Revivals, Awakenings and Reform: An Essay on religion and Social Change in America, 1607-1977* (The University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London, 1978), p. 7.

relationship with environmental and social change.'[75] As such, he understands the revivals not merely as a 'brief outbursts of mass emotionalism by one group or another but profound cultural transformations'.[76] He gives a very important function to revival for the sustenance of the society when he says:

> "Through awakenings a nation grows in wisdom, in respect for itself, and into more harmonious relations with other peoples and the physical universe. Without them our social order would cease to be dynamic; our culture would wither, fragment, and dissolve in confusion, as many civilizations have done before."[77]

However, McLoughlin is cautious not to leave the divine features out of the movement. He says that in "all awakenings the concept of divine immanence as opposed to divine transcendence become a central issue."[78] He upholds a close connection between the cultural development on the one hand and the movement and the church on the other, and says that in times of cultural stress, even the institutionalized religion felt a great distance between 'Creator and created' and men sink in fear and loneliness, but the awakening caused the "gap between this world and the next disappears. The spiritual and physical worlds intermingle. God can be discerned as easily in a flower, a blade of grass, or a child in a church. He can be spoken to directly, confronted personally, and his spirit takes up its dwelling in all of creation. God is all in all."[79] Thus, in his study, McLoughlin tries to maintain a balance between the spiritual and non-spiritual dimensions of the revival movement in America.

The frequent occurrence of revival movement in the ambience of Christianity, according to some, is because the "nature and history of Christianity reveal it as peculiarly susceptible to millenarian-type activities" in Europe, and as the Europeans

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[75] ibid., p. 2.
[76] ibid.
[77] ibid.
[78] ibid., p. 20.
[79] ibid, p. 20.

and missionaries moved to other lands, such movement spread to those places.[80] To others, it was a blessing from God to the church, the divine manifestations, a sign of "the coming of Kingdom of God on earth" while yet others put more emphasis on the socio-political situation that give rise to the revival movement, accentuating the function of religion in general and revival in particular for the survival of a society. To have a holistic approach to the study of revival movement and to understand the functions which religious beliefs and values perform for the social system in which they appear, the "account of the conditions under which religious beliefs and values are sustained by groups of individuals, and the way in which they are transmitted and modified" is called for.[81] With that, it may be proposed that "any particular religious orientation as expressed by its adherents should be viewed in terms of the specific historical and contemporary socio-cultural circumstances in which it has survived and maintained itself."[82]

Religious revival movement therefore, attracts the attention of both secular and non-secular scholars. While there is a tendency, especially in ecumenical studies, to study revival as an isolated phenomenon within religious sphere,[83] the movement is studied as one of the cultural phenomena by secular scholars.

1.3 DEBATE ON MIZO REVIVAL

Since the major waves of revival movements took place during the colonial period, the colonial writers as well as the missionaries had left behind number of accounts on the Mizo revival movement. Apart from the corpus of European writings, works on the revival movements have also been produced by local scholars, both theologians and secular writers as well. However, the representations differ greatly in these writings. While some works, whether they call it reawakening or revival, tend to concentrate on

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[80] Lindsay Jones (ed.), op. cit., p.7787.

[81] Roland Robertson, op. cit., pp.58-59.

[82] ibid., p. 64.

[83] See the works of Joshua Bradley, *Accounts of Religious Revivals in Many Parts of the United States, from 1815-1818 (*Richland Owen Roberts Publishers, Wheaton, Illinois, reprint 1980); Wesley Duewel, *Revival Fire* (OM Books, Secunderabad, 1996) and see also footnote no. 33-38 of this chapter.

the religiosity of the movement and its manifestations in the church, other writings attach more importance to the socio-cultural dimensions of the movement.

The missionaries as well as the local scholars who experienced the movement themselves and who received first hand information tend to see the movement as nothing but a religious movement as they trace the causes within the church only and defined its influence within the ecclesiastical order. Liangkhaia, Saiaithanga, H.S. Luaia, Zairema fit into this group.[84] They were the most prominent Mizo leaders at the inception of the church and they showed themselves to be progressive who received knowledge and education directly from the Mission. Their approach was a Mission-church centric as they confined their understanding of revival within the church only. The origin and spread of each wave of the revival was attributed to the work of the God, and its significance was measured in terms of number of new converts, and they tended to focus on the 'supernatural' features of the revival movements.

Liangkhaia, one of the most prominent pastors among the first generation Christians in Mizoram and a leader of the revival movement[85] never used the English term 'revival' for the movement throughout his book on revival; he rather used the Mizo word "*Harhna*" (meaning simply awakening), and in some places used the other term for the movement in Mizoram, that is '*hlimna*' (meaning Joy), and to him it means more of an "awakening" than a revival in its true sense, and it was generally understood simply as 'the work of the Spirit'.[86] He measured the effect of the movement in terms of the response of the traditionalists, specifically the chiefs and also whether it led to the growth of number of converts.[87] The works of Saiaithanga as well as H.S. Luaia also understand the movement simply as '*harhna*' though they recognized that it was the 'spark' they caught from the Welsh revival and they accepted without question a miraculous work of God.[88] These writers failed to see the

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[84] Refer to footnote no. 14 and 15 of this chapter.

[85] He claimed that his tour covered most part of Mizoram during the revivals. Liangkhaia, *Mizorama Harhna Thu* (LTL Publications, Aizawl, Mizoram, reprint 2006), p. 13.

[86] ibid.

[87] ibid., pp. 22-26.

[88] H.W. Carter and H.S. Luaia, op. cit., p. 74; C.L. Hminga, op. cit., p. 273.

origin and impact of the revival beyond the confines of the Mission church and assess its validity within the parameter of the established church.

The Mizo scholars like Lalsawma, C.L. Hminga, Z.T. Sangkhuma, J.V. Hluna have contributed substantially to the work on revival.[89]Lalruali and Chhawntluanga also authored books on revival in Mizoram.[90] In spite of belonging to second generation of Christians in Mizoram, these local scholars were able to get first hand information from the direct witnesses and participants of the revival. The approach of the second Christian generation scholars is hardly different from the previous group of writers. To them, the revival movement in its various waves was nothing but religious movement in the church, a spiritual phenomenon in the history of Mizo church which resulted into the rapid growth of Christianity in Mizoram, not the work of 'man' but the work of 'God'. [91]

Even among those who witnessed the movement, the outsider's view was, however, completely different from the church-centric view. A.G. McCall witnessed the revival movement in Mizoram when he was the Superintendent, and he saw the revival movement neither as a religious nor cultural movement as such. He saw it merely as a form of emotional expression by the 'Lushais' who are 'emotional, suffer in a degree from an inferiority complex, and are yet sufficiently vain not to be averse to exhibitionist tendencies'.[92] He recognized the 'mental conflict involved in a Lushai trying to comply with the dictates of Christian churches, in the face of age-long and traditional sanctions'[93] and in the absence of substitute, he admitted that 'self expression and excess are in consequence inclined to occur in the shape of frenzied hysteria within the four walls of the churches, following the lines of what is sometimes

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[89] Refer to footnote no. 15 of this chapter.

[90]Lalruali, *Zoram Hmarchhak Harhna Chanchin* (Synod Literature & Publication Board, Aizawl, 1997); Chhawntluanga, *Kelkang Hlimpui 1937: Harhna Ropui Tak Chanchin* (Synod Literature and Publication Board, Aizawl, 1985, rep. 1995)

[91] Liangkhaia, op. cit. (2006), pp. 22-26; Saiaithanga, op. cit. (1993), p. 69; Zairema, op. cit., p. 7; Lalsawma, op. cit., p. 16.

[92] A.G. McCall, op. cit., p. 219.

[93] ibid., p. 210.

known as revivalism'[94] He called the revivalists in Kelkang as 'sorcerers'[95] and forced them to stop their gesticulation. The trouble lies, according to McCall, in the fact that this is not the indigenous form of 'Lushai' movement,[96] and the 'demoniacal dances' and the 'shape of frenzied hysteria'[97] against the sanction of the Mission simply showed that the 'Lushais were not yet ready to take matters, especially an alien movement such as this on their hand, thus an 'unhealthy manifestation of wild Lushai within a Christian framework'.[98] He argues that the 'Missions were trying faithfully to keep it within the bounds of decency'[99] but the 'Lushais' defied the Mission's sanction, at the same time, the Mission had practiced what was almost equality of status with the 'natives' in various Educational and Religious committees that the Mizos were emboldened to carry out such movement.[100] He holds the Mission responsible for the movement which he considered was the outcome of their policies, and actions taken in pursuance of these policies.[101]

Scholars in the recent years developed a wider perspective from the previous generation. Frederick S. Downs has proposed that revival became an 'instrument' of indigenization of Christianity and even attributes it as the reason for the rapid growth of Christians in Mizoram.[102] This has been developed more elaborately by local scholars recently. Taking the various cultural aspects into account, scholars like Mangkhosat Kipgen, Lalsangkima Pachuau and Vanlalchhuanawma try to understand the revival as not merely a religious movement but having cultural value as they try to attach more rationale into it and believe that through the revival movement, the Mizos 'inculturate' Christianity, thereby producing a 'unique' form of Christianity in Mizoram.

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[94] ibid., p. 209.
[95] ibid., p. 223.
[96] ibid., p. 219.
[97] ibid., pp. 209, 222.
[98] ibid., pp. 223, 225.
[99] ibid., p. 223.
[100] ibid., p. 225.
[101] ibid.
[102] Frederick S. Downs, '*History,'* pp. 95, 99.

Mangkhosat Kipgen draws contrast to Mizo revival against that in Wales and Khasi Hills, and concludes that the revival in Mizoram was distinctive to the *Zo* people, "not copies" of "imported" revivalism.[103] He maintains that revival instilled self-confidence in the mind of the Mizos that led them to question policies that went against certain elements in their culture[104]that consequently resulted into indigenization of Christianity. He also emphasis that unlike the revival in Wales, there was no outstanding charismatic leaders in Mizoram on which the movement centered upon, and therefore concludes that it was 'essentially a movement of the people'.[105] As his emphasis was mainly on the contribution of the revival movement to the church towards indigenizing Christianity, his work was in essence a 'revival-centred' study.

Lalsangkima Pachuau tries to connect the formation of Mizo identity with the revival movement. He points out that "for a long time, the teaching authority was that of the missionaries who decided on what was acceptable and what was not."[106] But the revival which was turned into a 'people's movement' has 'simultaneously empowered the people as the defining factor of the emerging church',[107] and as a result, many traditional features condemned earlier was introduced into the church against the disapproval of the Missionaries. He contends that "the revival as well as the manner of expression of spiritual joy was imitational in the beginning. But in the succeeding movements, indigenous expressions supplanted the imported ones by interlacing the Mizo sense of identity and Christianity",[108] Christianity became "a defining factor of the normative structure of the society" and determined the Mizos' social norms and cultural values. It was through revival movement that Christianity penetrated into "the cultural domain and value system of the Mizos and deeply transformed the society", that in turn "helped the Mizo society to maintain a sense of identity in its transition to

[103] ibid., p. 250.
[104] Mangkhosat Kipgen, op. cit., p. 264.
[105] ibid.
[106] Lalsangkima Pachuau, op. cit., p. 135.
[107] ibid., p. 137.
[108] ibid., p. 141.

modern life. [109] In the process of the interaction between Christianity and the Mizo cultural ethos, Christianity itself became indigenized.

> "As the Mizo people adopted the new religion en masse, they not only became adapted to the new religion, but also adapted the religion to suit their mode of thinking, temperament, and customs. Thus, the people themselves became the major defining factor of the emerging church."[110]

Vanlalchhuanawma broadly sees revival movement as a 'community's response to Christianity'.[111] He subscribes to the idea that the revival movement continued uninterrupted in Mizoram even well after Indian independence, and for this reason, he choose to study the movement in decades.[112] He draws the picture of contrasting attitude between the established church which he felt was indifferent to the indigenous culture and the Mizo Christians who were inclined to indigenization, and maintains that because of this, tension arose in the church out of the movement.[113] He rightly observes that the revival movement was an instrument, through which the Mizos countered the western religious culture, and maintains that "the Revival Movement turned out to be vital in shaping Christianity in Mizoram by a process of reasserting traditional Mizo culture in its variant forms."[114] He allots substantial space in his study for the Mizos in the movement right from the beginning of the movement[115] and gives an exhaustive study on all the aspects that are related to the revival movement. Because the central focus of his book is issues relating to the "tensions which from the start developed between the movement and the mission-church"[116] and also because his area under discussion is too vast as he takes into consideration all the aspects in all the decades until 1949, he often lost his focus in the process. This may also be partly

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[109] ibid., p.173.
[110] ibid.
[111] Vanlalchhuanawma, op. cit., p. 457.
[112] ibid., p.159.
[113] Ibid.
[114] ibid.,p. 456.
[115] ibid., p. 164.
[116] ibid., p. 202.

because the central idea of the book seems to focus on how the revival movement actually contributed to the formation of a 'unique form of Christianity in Mizoram.' Therefore, even though he proposes interesting issues throughout his book, he narrowed himself down to another church-centric as well as revival-centric study. Nevertheless, his holistic approach in studying this religious phenomenon is quite a breakthrough in Mizo history writing.

Another scholar who touched upon the issue of revival movement is Sajal Nag. He sees the revival movement in Mizoram as a 'politics' played by the missionaries. As Welsh revival had succeeded in sweeping Wales with religious fervour, the missionaries who had experienced revival in Wales also decided to 'organize' revival in this part of the world, according to him.[117]

> "So when the famine struck the Mizo Hills, they decided to organize the second revival. This was considered necessary since, in the previous years the Church had been facing an extreme low with opposition from the chiefs, and a new cultural revivalism of the animist faith among the Mizos. It was felt that the famine-time adversity was best to organize another revival by which the tide could be turned in favour of the Church. As soon as the famine showed signs of decline, a revival was organized, this time in the Mizo Hills."[118]

The indigenization process which was one basic feature of the revival movement also formed part of the Missionary politics, according to Sajal Nag. He says that the 'near defeat in the face of the cultural revivalist movement' of the Puma Zai and the unacceptability of Western Christianity by the local people drove the missionaries to change their attitude towards tribal culture and "indigenization of the church in Mizo Hills was therefore conducted in two ways", by employing more and more tribals as evangelists, and by "accepting tribal feasts, dance and songs as part of Christian

[117] Sajal Nag, op. cit., p. 191.
[118] ibid., p. 192.

festivals."[119] The idea of most Mizo scholars who developed the proposition that the revival movements subsequent to the first stirring in 1906 has an indigenous origin and is no longer foreign, and that the indigenization process was introduced against the unfavourable attitude of the missionaries at the initiative of the 'natives'[120] was not followed by Sajal Nag who gives all credit to the missionaries' 'politics'.

The above discussion reveals that there are different views on the revival movement in Mizoram. While the church-centric view emphasized on the movement in relation to the established church, its origin, causes and impact are all directly linked with the church, others view the movement as having an important contribution to the society, as a means of indigenization of Christianity thereby making it a 'people's religion' which further played an important role as a 'defining factor' of the society. The identity consciousness, ethno-centricism and other issues at play during the revival movements are seen to be generated from the movement or the product of the movement. These studies are essentially revival-centric, as they tend to measure everything with revival at the center. The non-local secular scholars rule out the mystical aspects in the revival movement. McCall sees it as a 'foreign' movement and an exhibition of tribal features while Nag sees it as the missionaries' politics. Also, while none of the Mizo scholars see the revival movement as an 'organized' movement under the missionaries or by the Mizo people, Nag sees it as a movement 'organized' by the missionaries to further their cause.

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[119] ibid., p. 199.

[120] For example, in the case of Mizo hymns and tunes which became popular after the Third Wave of revival movement, there are reasons to doubt the presumption, according to Lalsangkima Pachuau, about the pioneer missionaries' appreciation of the native tunes and says that Lorrain, for one, does not appear to have appreciated such songs as read from his comments on it. C.Z. Huala, an early Mizo song composer in his interview with Lalsangkima Pachuau, says that missionaries so far as he knows did not welcome traditional tunes and poetical words, though he said he could recall 'rumours that J.H. Lorrain and D.E. Jones advised the Mizos to use their own native tunes." Lalsangkima Pachuau, op. cit., p. 135.

1.4 UNDERSTANDING OF REVIVAL IN MIZORAM

The use of the term 'revival' for the movement that took place in Mizoram in the first half of the 20th century is not problematic to the Mizos as well as most scholars who worked on revival movement in Mizoram in spite of the fact that Christianity was preached in the land for barely twelve years and only a handful of people were Christians. They do not have a problem in adopting the term because they have their own term and understanding for it.

The Mizo term for revival-'*Harhna*' or '*Harhtharna*' literally means liveliness or sprightliness, and it can be equivalent to 'renewal, 'reawakening' or 'revival'. It was also used to simply mean an awakening, as in the dictionary meaning of "an occasion when you realize something or become aware of something", or the "act of beginning to understand or feel something; the act of something starting or waking"[121] or a renewal of faith.[122] Its cognate term *Hlimna* means joy or happiness. The two terms- '*Harhna*' and '*Hlimna*' are interchangeably used. Terms like 'revivalistic', 'pentecostal' and 'charismatic' are also used to describe the features of the revivals.[123]

The term '*Harhna*' is often understood as something that happened suddenly or forcefully at once, as when somebody is wakening suddenly from his slumber.[124] It also infer to the strength of the force that caused the revival. The perception of the people of the representation of the period before Christianity as a period of darkness and ignorance against the enlightening power of Christianity justified the use of the term "*Harhna*" as representing somebody to rise up from darkness to come to light. Thus, it was understood as something that happened to a person at once, generally forcefully that it changed the course of his life. Once touched by it, a person become

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[121] *Oxford Advanced*, op. cit.

[122] C.L. Hminga says that the Mizo term for revival- '*harhna*' corresponds to 'awakening' and is a more appropriate term to use; C.L. Hminga, op. cit., p. 72.

[123] Lalsawma, *'Revival,'* p. 7.

[124] For example, in discussing the beginning of revival, writers like H.S. Luaia, Liangkhaia, etc. say, "*a lo harh ta phut mai a*" meaning "he/she immediately come to senses/is awakened"; see Liangkhaia, op. cit. (2006), p. 28; H.W. Carter and H.S. Luaia, op. cit., p. 76; *Kristian Tlangau,* February 1914, p. 33, and December 1917, p. 225.

ready to do what he had never done before, and willing to run away from what he used to love, for the sake of *Harhna.*

Another important aspect of the understanding of revival is that a renewal or reawakening could not by achieved by oneself but a result of external force. An eminent church historian tries to explain this process as an awakening not by oneself but by the spiritual renewal received from the Holy Spirit, a renewal of something that received life but grew weak and about to die, the process of reviving the life back from those who are dead, and also to give life to those who have never had lived.[125] Thus, the Holy Spirit was considered to be the external force necessary for the revival, and throughout the movement, the Holy Spirit is given a very important place.

Scholars who study revival movement in Mizoram therefore, were open-minded in regards to 'abnormalities' and strange or extraordinary features in the revival movement as it was considered that "the appearance of the crude and primitive excesses counted for the success of the revivals."[126] The emotional expression is maintained as the manifestation of *Harhna*. Liangkhaia says that it was generally believed that crying and dancing which was the most common feature of the revival since the beginning, was understood as how the Spirit works.[127] Saiaithanga also points out that many people during the revival believed unusual and strange features as evidence of the work of the Holy Spirit.[128] Zairema says, "Singing and dancing were the most popular expressions generally accompanied by ecstatic phenomena."[129] It is also understood to refer to a "phenomena marked by a state of excitement accompanied by enthusiastic activities of singing, body movements, preaching and even of social action," and an important mark for identifying the depth of spirituality

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[125]Lalsawma, "Harhna Awmzia leh a Nihphung" in *Harhna: Mizoram Revival Centenary Souvenir (1906-2006)* (Synod Revival Committee, Mizoram, 2006), p. 3. (free translation by researcher) of "*Mahni thua harhchhuahna nilovin, Pathian Thlarauvin a tihharhna a kawk. Thil nung ve tawh si, mahse chau thi lek lek tih nun thar lehna a ni a. Chumi azarah chuan thi tawh hnu tihnun thar lehna leh la nung ngai lo, nung tura kaihthawhna pawh a keng tel bawk.*"

[126]Lalsawma, '*Revival'*., p. 73.

[127]Liangkhaia, *Harhna*, p. 26; a translation of '*Tah leh lam hi a tir atanga a thawh dan a ni a, Thlarau chan dan turah kan ngai deuh ber.*"

[128]Saiaithanga, *'Kohhran,'* p. 69.

[129]Zairema, op. cit., p. 7.

grew to be the degree of strangeness in the individual or group experience and expression to some circles.[130] Another scholar believes that "revival upheavals without any excess abnormalities should rather be suspected for such revivals do not mean much for good also."[131] The general understanding of the revival movement is very well described in this passage:

> "Revival by itself is something unnatural, and out of ordinary from the common walks of life whether of the religious or the secular. The moment it becomes common and ordinary it ceases to be a revival."[132]

Thus, to the Mizos, public excitement and extreme emotional display are legitimate and are all part of the revival. In fact, it grew to be the central aspect of the movement. Many people accepted that the authenticity of the movement was defined by its weirdness.[133] In the Mizo understanding, a spirit is expected to act in a mysterious and abnormal way, so the Mizo words for the spirit like *thla*, *huai* and *rau* implies. It is therefore, argued that their emotionalism as well as their understanding of the work of the Holy Spirit is largely guided by their expectation and experience of the spirit to act strangely. As a result, the Mizos have no issues in accepting the unreasonable features of the revival movement.[134]

However, the earlier Church leaders considered certain features as extraneous to the work of the Holy Spirit and unacceptable to the Church because they feel that some of these were connected with their 'primitive' culture. Liangkhaia believes that expressing their joy by dancing and crying was more of 'Mizo culture' than the work of the Spirit, for, according to him, not all who experienced the Spirit necessarily dance.[135] H.S. Luaia also mentions the reservation the church had on certain features

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[130] Vanlalchhuanawma, op. cit., pp. 1, 207.

[131] Lalsawma, '*Revival.'* p. 16.

[132] ibid., p. 136.

[133] Saiaithanga, '*Kohhran*,' p. 69.

[134] Lalsangkima Pachuau, op. cit., pp. 130-13.

[135] Liangkhaia, '*Harhna,'* p. 26-27. Liangkhaia believes that though the Missionaries do not normally dance, they could not be ruled out as not affected by the Spirit.

of the revival movement, like '*Khurh Harhna'*(Quaking) and '*Hlim sang'* (High revival), and says the Church prevented it from spreading in the churches in the South.[136] As a result, '*Harhna Hruaina'*, a revival guidebook was published by the Assembly. Thus, it was generally accepted, especially at the church leader level that the revival movement has in it many features which could be controlled by force and were not acceptable to the Church.

Conclusion

From the above discussion, it may be seen that the Mizos' understanding and experience of revival within the religious sphere is not very different from that of other communities, and the church-centric studies says that their focus is only on the role of revival in relation to the church. However, since the emotional excitement is given a central place in this phenomenon, there is a chance of variation in the experience of the movement from one community to another, for which aspects other than religious must have played a role. There is a possibility that the cultural factor determines the variance, which suggests that the study of the phenomenon could not be complete without having the cultural context in its purview, that is, it is not an isolated phenomenon so as to confine it in religious sphere alone.

Vanlalchhuanawma puts up a valid question as to why the Khasi revival was brief in comparison to the Mizo revival despite the fact that the same Mission worked in both areas though initially the Khasis showed much greater enthusiasm than the Mizos did which is indicated by the numerical growth of Christians in the first stirring of 1906.[137] He also noticed the same problem raised by Mangkhosat Kipgen who says that the socio-cultural factors that contributed to the differing responses of the Khasis and the Mizos has not been satisfactorily explained so far.[138] Still, rather than trying to deal with the "socio-cultural factors" that are supposed to regulate the differing

[136]H.W. Carter & H.S. Luaia, op. cit., pp. 84-88.
[137] Vanlalchhuanawma, op. cit., p. 163.
[138] ibid.

responses, Vanlalchhuanawma simply explained away the short-lived Khasi revival confining the whole phenomenon in the realm of the church.

> "What may be inferred at this point is that the 'welshness' of the revival and the subsequent conversion from the Khasi Niam (traditional religion) … must have created tensions in and outside the church. The revival tensions in the Khasi-Jaintia Hills probably developed to a degree beyond the capacity of the church to handle, or to be accepted by the general public."[139]

The Mizo revival movements in the first half of the 20th century seem to pervade the whole country affecting both the Christians and non-Christians. If at all the "form of the religion and the form of the social structure correspond with the other", and if "the religion was the essential part of the constitution of the society",[140] the fact that the revival movements with all its intensity was experienced repeatedly during the colonial period and did not occur with the same intensity or with the same features in the later period is a curious reality.

The "indigenization" or "acculturation" process of the revival movement has been one peculiar feature of the Mizo revival. The "reappearance" of many cultural elements which had already been considered "obsolete" by the newly established church and the general acceptance subsequently accorded to it deserve more serious attention.

Lastly, in studying revivals, the impact has always been stressed upon more than the causes, taking the cause as given, which is the work of the Holy Spirit. However, there are features which are unbiblical, particularly in Mizo revival, which the church also could not accept, but it appears that finding the cause in physical world is not considered feasible since the phenomena is regarded as strictly spiritual, and the possible connection between the physical and spiritual life of man, the social

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[139] ibid., p. 164.

[140] A.R. Radcliffe-Brown, *Structure and Function in the Primitive Society* (Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, reprinted 1976), p.163.

function of the religious system[141] has been left unexplored. In order to truly understand the movement, however, it is imperative to study the socio-cultural as well as political situation of the period, the physical realities in which the people found themselves, and that will be the content of the next chapter.

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[141] ibid., pp. 160-164 and William McLoughlin, op. cit., p. 8.

CHAPTER 2: THE SETTING

The generalization that socio-cultural change in Northeast India was a gradual process prior to the advent of the British and that the pace of change was accelerated since then, stands unchallenged. There has been a debate, though, of whether it was the British administration or Christianity that was responsible for these changes. While Nalini Nataranjan argues that Christianity was the major agent of change, Frederick S. Downs holds the British administration primarily responsible for it.[1] Nevertheless, unprecedented change have happened following the advent of the British in the early nineteenth and continuing through the twentieth century particularly among the tribes in Northeast India. The imposition of British administration alone could have wrought the tribal world upside down, "affecting every facet of tribal life – political, social, economic and cultural", as Downs argued, but this was coupled with the introduction of Christianity, a new belief and culture. The consequence was what Downs called a 'socio-cultural trauma'.[2]

Though the contact came relatively late in Mizoram, the dual contact of colonial rule and Christianity from the late nineteenth to the first half of the twentieth century greatly disturbed the Mizo community affecting the political, economic, social, cultural and psychological life. Downs argues that "the best way of understanding the substantial Christian movements in the areas under study is as part of the people's response, however unconscious, to the traumatic experience of being placed under British administration and the consequent opening up of the region to the process of modernization" that pervades

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[1] Nalini Nataranjan, *The Missionary among the Khasis* (Sterling Publishers, New Delhi, 1978), cited in Frederick S. Downs, *Essays*, op. cit. p. 216.

[2] ibid., p. 214.

every facets of their life. [3] This chapter is an attempt to study the 'traumatic' experience of the Mizos as a result of their encounter with colonialism and Christianity.

2.1 ADVENT OF THE BRITISH

The confrontation between the British and the Mizos was a result of the expansion of the British power into Assam.[4] When Chittagong was ceded to the East India Company by Mir Qasim in the year 1760, trade was opened up with the adjacent and 'intensely jungly hill tracts' bordering the habitats of the 'Lushais',[5] which later resulted into a series of encounters between the two parties. Amidst hostile encounters, friendly relationship at one area or another, mostly in the form of trade was also carried out.

2.1.1 EARLIER ENCOUNTER

The first recorded encounter of the Mizos with the British appears to have been in 1824 when some enterprising traders from the plains who had penetrated into the hills along the Dhalleswari River to collect bamboos and timber were ambushed and killed by the Mizos. After an investigation by a magistrate from Sylhet, it was found that the incident was an act of retaliation by the Mizos on account of the refusal of a certain *Zamindar* in Pertubgarh circle of Sylhet district to present the usual gifts to the visitors from the hills who visited the plains.[6]

A series of 'raids' was conducted by the Mizos, mostly by the chiefs who resided in neighbourhood of the plains like Chittagong, Cachar and Karimganj which happened to be the subjects of the British government. The reason for these frequent raids could be many, the foremost was political. As tea estate was started in Assam in 1835, the land

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[3] ibid., p. 171.

[4] Lal Biak Thanga, *The Mizos, A Study in Racial Personality (*United Publishers, Gauhati, 1978), p. 108; Zairema, op. cit., p.1.

[5] A.G. McCall, op. cit., p. 35.

[6] Lal Biak Thanga, op. cit., p. 109.

used for tea plantation was expanding towards the Mizos inhabited areas. A Mizo chief, Vanpuilala even sent his *Upas*[7] to the government at Silchar and launched his complaints about the expanding British occupation which encroached upon his territory along Tuirial River, as his father Ngura's territory expanded up to the Monierkhal Tea Estate.[8] The territorial claim of the western Mizo chiefs also expanded to Alexandrapore, Kutlichera, Lalaghat.[9] Thus, protecting their territory was deemed necessary by the Mizo chiefs.

The rapid expansion of tea estate in the foothill of the 'Lushai' hills also meant the loss of forest for big game, particularly for elephant hunting which was very important for the Mizos especially for economic purpose, as elephant tusk formed an important item of trade in a barter system, and sometimes, it was demanded as a tax by stronger chiefs from the tributary chiefs.[10] Thus, losing their hunting ground was a big deal for the Mizos.

The 'raids' were often the retaliation of the Mizos as a result of the breach of faith between them and the plain dwellers. The raid of 1826 conducted by Vuta was a punishment to the *Zamindar* defaulters. The 1844 event under the leadership of Lalsukthla was revenge. [11] McCall rightly perceived that the objective of the Lushai raiding expeditions was a 'vengeance on deserters who were then residents in British India' rather than a war against the British.[12] Also, these 'raids' were an important source for acquiring materials, particularly guns and metal works which were very rare in the hills, as well as slaves.[13]

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[7] *Upas* means village elders who were members of the Chief's Council.

[8] Lalthanliana, *Zalen Nana British Do* (published by author, Aizawl, 2000), p.15.

[9] ibid., p.16.

[10] F. Lalremsiama, *Milu Lak Leh Vai Run Chanchin* (MCL publications, Aizawl, 1997), pp. 43-48.

[11] ibid., p. 17.

[12] A.G. McCall, op. cit., p. 38.

[13] F. Lalremsiama, op. cit., pp. 67-72.

McCall further connected the raids with the spiritual life of the people by saying that it was to appease the 'animist spirit' that raids were conducted.[14] J.H. Morris also says:

> "The object of these raids was to obtain human skulls with which to adorn the graves of their ancestors, the belief prevailing that the spirits of the slain would become the slaves of their ancestors in the spirit world."[15]

This concept of 'headhunting' is however debatable, and it is necessary to differentiate between 'raiding' and 'headhunting' as "there is a subtle but significant difference between the raiding and headhunting practices of the hill tribes", the material interest being associated with raiding and non-material concern with headhunting.[16] The Mizo raids to the plains in the last quarter of the 18th century were no doubt that of material interest, a fight to save their country.

2.1.2 MIZO RESISTANCE

Concern for the safety of their territory, their freedom and rights urged the Mizo chiefs to make attempt to drive away those who were perceived as 'intruders', and concerted efforts were thus made to launch attack on the plain involving many independent chiefs towards the end of 19th century. In January and February 1871, several Mizo chiefs- the sons of Rolura Sailo and Lianlula from the south, Lalsavunga's sons from the north, and from the east, Lalhleia, and from Tiperrah side Lalngurchuailova, came together and for the first time in the history of Mizoram made a combined effort against a rival and attacked tea plantations in Cachar, Sylhet and Chittagong Hill Tracts districts and

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[14] A.G. McCall, op. cit., p. 38.

[15] John Hughes Morris, op. cit., p. 77.

[16] David Vumlianlal Zou argues that headhunting is "an ambivalent site of discourse where the coloniser/ethnologist can inscribe his/her desires. It is also a contested custom for the assertion of manhood and masculinity for both the colonisers and the colonised", and he agrees J. Shakespear's argument that the 'Lushais' as 'headhunters' is a pure invention, as Shakespear maintains that the " killing and taking of heads were merely incidents in the raid, not the cause of it." See David Vumlianlal Zou, 'Raiding the Dreaded Past: Representations of Headhunting and Human Sacrifice in North-East India', *Indian Sociology*, vol. 39, no. 75 (2005).

captured British subjects including a girl named Mary Winchester. [17] It was an attempt to thwart the British expansionary design and to push away the settlers.[18] That the Mizo chiefs who were at 'perpetual' war against one another in the hills came together and fought a war jointly was very unusual.

In so far as British relation to the tribes in 'Lushai' hills is concerned, the policy of appeasement which implied a determination to resist the financial costs of occupying the Hills was followed by the British [19] because the 'Lushai hills' was "barren, mountainous and severe, in any case commercially uninspiring".[20] But after the raids of 1871, an expedition to the Lushai hills was imminent. Sir Cecil Beadon, the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, has already announced in 1862 that "the hill people had to be 'made to understand and feel the power' of the government through 'a simple plan of government suitable to their present condition and circumstance, and interfering as little as possible with existing institutions through the extension of intercourse with them and endeavour 'to introduce among them civilization and order.'[21]

Expeditionary forces were thus sent out in two columns on 1st November, 1871 from Cachar and Chittagong.[22] The British met fierce resistance from the Mizos but the resistance lacked unity and as a result, the objective of the expedition was successfully carried out and number of "Lushai" chiefs submitted to the invading parties, all the captives including Mary Winchester were freed, and a decade of amity followed.[23]

The final phase of the Anglo-Mizo war soon came. The attack of a survey party under Lt. Steward and his murder by Hausata in 1888 was the first of several outrages of the renewed onslaughts. The small village in the Chengri valley and Pakinna Rani were

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[17] Lalthanliana, op. cit., p. 24.

[18] ibid., p. 25.

[19] A.G. McCall, op. cit., p. 48; J. Zorema, *Indirect Rule in Mizoram 1890-1954* (Mittal Publications, New Delhi, 2007), pp. 22-23.

[20] ibid., A.G. McCall, p. 65.

[21] S.K. Chaube, *Hill Politics in Northeast India* (Orient Longman, Patna, reprint 1999), p.13.

[22] E.B. Elly, op. cit., pp.1-2; J. Zorema, op. cit., p. 25.

[23] ibid., J. Zorema, p. 31; Lalthanliana, op. cit., pp. 51-91.

attacked by the Mizos inflicting heavy casualties which aggravated the situation. Retaliatory measures became essential, and the Lushai expedition sent in 1888-1889 under Col. Tregear destroyed the village of Hausata and "returned to Lungleh which he fortified and garrisoned with Military Police, Shakespeare being appointed intelligence officer for compiling data for a more extensive operation the following year."[24]

The Colonial Government decided to take over as much country (land) as possible between Burma (now Myanmar) and Assam and "to ensure that British power and needs should be recognized at once and for all times."[25] The Chin-Lushai expedition of 1889-1890 was thus sent with an objective of establishing permanent authority in the Hills. The Lushai chiefs put up fierce resistance against the British, but want of arms and the fragile economy which could be forced to submission after burning their barns and villages compelled the Mizo chiefs to surrender,[26] and in April 1890, the expedition ended successfully for the British, and a South Lushai Hills District and North Lushai Hills District was created.[27]

The British rule in Mizoram however continued to meet resistance from different chiefs even after 1890. The Mizo chiefs thought that like the earlier expeditions, the British would leave the hills after the end of the war. But as the government demanded a house tax of ₹ 1/- per annum, 12 *maunds* of rice and 6 days labour from each household, the chiefs came to realize that they were being placed under the British government.[28]

With this realization, many Mizo chiefs put up a renewed effort to regain their authority. The first Sailo family to fight the British in 1890 was Manga's sons.[29] Later, in 1892, chiefs from the east, Lalsavunga's sons, put up a fight and again, Vuta's sons in the

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[24] A.G. McCall, op. cit., p 55.

[25] ibid.

[26] ibid., p. 60.

[27] 'Proposals for the Administration of the Lushai Hills', H/ Poll., CB – 5, F. No. 149P. G – 57, MSA, Aizawl. Appendix I, p. 5, Appendix VIII, p. 6; S.K. Chaube, op.cit., p. 19.

[28] Lalthanliana, op. cit., p. 131.

[29] ibid., p. 132.

southeast fought the British in 1894.[30] The Mizo chiefs in the West[31] met at Kalkhama's village and decided to fire Aizawl fort and drive the British away from Changsil camp. In September 5, 1890, the Mizo warring party launched an ambush and killed the Political Officer Captain Browne. The fort at Changsil and Aizawl were attacked the following days, and a fierce battle was fought and Aizawl fort almost fell. But, reinforcement from Silchar rescued the fort. Mr. McCabe, who replaced Captain Browne, continued to fight the scattered chiefs who had lost the spirit of unity. He captured the chiefs and guns, and burned their villages. (He earned a name '*Lalmantua*', meaning 'one who capture chiefs') Thus, by the end of the year, the resistance by the western chiefs was completely subdued.[32]

The eastern chiefs also decided to fight the British government which tried to put their part of the country under their control. Under the leadership of Lalburha, the eastern chiefs, including Buangtheuva's sons, Pawibawia's sons, Lalhleia and other chiefs decided to resist the British in 1892.[33] At first, these chiefs were able to unite their forces against the British, but from April after the fall of Sesawng, they fell apart, and became vulnerable to the British. Thus, by June 1892, after their villages were raided and burned and with loss of many lives, the Mizo chiefs surrendered. Thus, as the year 1892 came to an end, "it was thought that repetition of any combined resistance was unlikely."[34]

The only great and strong-minded ruler outside the British control in 1895 was Kairuma Sailo, chief of Khawhai. Kairuma has never fought the British, but he did not agree to the demand for porterage or to pay a fine in default either. The original fine had been enhanced but the fine remained unpaid; therefore, the forces coming from Burma and Aijal burned Kairuma's village, and seized many mithun. Kairuma was then

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[30] ibid.

[31] ibid., p. 133. These Mizo chiefs include Kalkhama, Thanruma, Thanghulha, Liankunga, Lalhrima and Hmingthanga.

[32] ibid., pp. 138-139.

[33] ibid., p. 141.

[34] A.G. McCall, op. cit., p. 63.

compelled to pay his fines. This was the "last major gesture of resistance to British rule" by the Mizos, and the colonial era began.[35]

2.1.3 ESTABLISHMENT OF BRITISH RULE IN MIZORAM

The Chief Commissioner of Assam, J.W. Quinton proposed to take over north Lushai hills in 1890 and sent Captain Browne, his Personal Assistant to Fort Aijal as the Political Officer, with orders "to keep moving about among the chiefs with the object of establishing political influence and control over them", though it was only on 6th September, 1895[36] that the North Lushai Hills district was officially included under the British government and became a part of Assam Province. On 12 January 1890, the South Lushai Hills was proposed to be placed under a Superintendent or a Political Officer separately from the Chittagong Hill Tract. Accordingly, the South Lushai Hills was constituted with a Superintendent over it in April 1891[37] and was made a part of Bengal Province.[38] On 1 April 1898, the North Lushai Hills and South Lushai hills were amalgamated into one, that is the Lushai Hills District within Assam and "the Lushai Hills rules for administration of justice were issued. The Assam Frontier Tracts Regulation of 1880 was extended over the district."[39] It took longer time to bring the whole area under British administrative control till 1924 when the Lakher region was brought under colonial administration. [40]

As Parry rightly points out, the tribes were not the assenting parties to the change in their political status but taken over "against their will and solely in the interest of their

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[35] ibid., p. 64.
[36] S.K. Chaube, op. cit., p. 19.
[37] ibid.
[38] J.M. Llyod, op. cit., p. 27.
[39] S.K. Chaube, op. cit., p.19.
[40] ibid.

more advanced neighbours, and to stop them from raiding in the plains".[41] The various chiefs in 'Lushai' hills were made to accept the new conditions with 'stoical sagacity.'[42]

2.2 CHANGES UNDER COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION IN MIZORAM

The imposition of British administration itself had initiated a process of cultural change that was 'irreversible'.[43] Frederick S. Downs sums up the changes experienced in the hills as a result of consolidation of British rule in the hills:

> "For the first time they were brought under the authority of an alien political power and the old-village state polity was undermined. The procedures, and the values those procedures presupposed, of the imposed administrative and judicial system were entirely alien. A money-economy was introduced with new material options such as mill cloth and kerosene lanterns and tea which replaced the largely self-sufficient traditional economies. Modern communications and transport systems were introduced, breaking down the barriers of isolation necessary to the maintenance of the traditional way of life. Perhaps most significant of all was the presence in the hills of a number of outsiders – administrators, clerks, soldiers, merchants, technicians, missionaries – who provided new life-style models in the newly created towns. The process of modernization of cultural change had begun, and the old isolated cultures began a slow process of disintegration."[44]

He further says that "in highly integrated tribal societies, any of the above mentioned intrusions would have been disturbing, and all of them together created socio-cultural

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[41] N.E. Parry, *Lakhers*, pp. 14; see also J. Zorema, op. cit., pp. 40-41.
[42] A.G. McCall, op. cit., p. 64.
[43] Frederick S. Downs, *Essays*, pp. 186-187.
[44] ibid.

trauma."[45] Anthropologically-minded British administrator like McCall who believed in the government's policy of upholding the social customs of the people also agrees that the British administration had far reaching implications in the life of the people, and that the establishment of the government in the hills alone was enough to make the world of 'Lushai' 'staggered', 'bewildered' and their control over the land for a time paralyzed the people.[46]

2.2.1 DEVOLUTION OF POLITICAL POWER

In order to run expedient administration at a low cost in the Mizo Hills, the British government formulated a system which was partly traditional in maintaining the existing chieftainship, and partly novel in introducing Circle system, that is the division of the whole land into Circles. As a result of this measure, the British government was able to administer Mizoram efficiently with fewer men.

2.2.1. a. The Chiefs

The advent of the British in Mizoram caused profound changes on Mizo chieftainship. Since they were found to be the main centre of power, the chiefs were the first target when British government was permanently established in Mizoram. R.B. McCabe, in his letter to Chief Commissioner, Assam in 1891 said that he had "noted with astonishment the blind submission rendered to those Lushai Rajas by their dependents" and considered that this is a factor that cannot be ignored in any future arrangements made for the administration of the Mizo hills. He further suggested that punishing the chiefs would have the desired impact of subduing the people.[47] Perhaps because of this suggestion, the British administration curtailed the authority of the chiefs soon after their authority was established in Mizoram. But as they wanted to make use of this traditional institution in minimizing the cost of their rule in Mizoram, sufficient authority was preserved for the

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[45] ibid., p. 215.

[46] A.G. McCall, op. cit., pp. 196-199.

[47] R.B. McCabe to the Secretary to C.C., Assam, 19 January 1891, H/Poll, CB. 1, F. No. 5, MSA, Aizawl.

chiefs.[48] Parry argued that since the people were used to being ruled by the chief and that they were looked up to and respected, it is suitable to continue the rule of the chiefs in villages, but it is also true that the ambition was to minimize the cost of the administration, as he himself says that "unless the authority of the chiefs is maintained, it will be practically impossible to run the district except at a very great expense and with a very much larger staff than at present."[49] Thus, chieftainship was continued, but with a much lesser power for the chiefs.

The chiefs owed their office to the Superintendent, who had the final authority in appointing and removing the chiefs. According to the provision of the Assam Chiefship Act, the chiefs derived their authority from the Superintendent who could 'make or unmake' the chiefs.[50] The British government thus assumed the position of 'chief-maker'. The traditional chiefdom, which was attributed with a divine right, as the chiefs were often spoke of as '*ni leh thla kara leng'*, (born of Sun and Moon), was destabilized and diluted.

In the process of curbing the authority of the chiefs, many of their traditional rights has been arbitrarily extinguished, which McCall says was an "unavoidable action".[51] Obviously, this further reduced their status as an independent and sovereign chief. The chiefs' authority like:-

a) Right to order capital punishment.

b) Right to seize food stores and property of villagers, who wish to transfer their allegiance.

c) Proprietary rights over lands, now arbitrarily reserved by the government in the interests of the public living in neighbouring areas in British India.

d) Right to tax traders doing business within the chiefs' jurisdiction.

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[48] ibid.

[49] N.E. Parry, *Monograph*, p. 3.

[50] ibid., p.1.

[51] A.G. McCall, op. cit., p. 202.

e) Right to freedom of action in relation to making their sons chiefs under their jurisdiction.

f) Right to help those *bawis*, who were by custom not open to redemption.

g) Right of freedom of action in relation to other kinds of *bawis*, who used to constitute the means whereby the chiefs could cultivate and acquire the ability to sustain their villages in peace and in war.

h) Right to attach the property of their villagers when they wished or deemed fit, with or without fault on the part of the villagers[52] were taken away from him, making the chiefs merely agents of the British government.

In resisting the invaders, several of them were killed, wounded, outlawed, deported or deposed while their villages and granaries were burnt down. The deposition of the chiefs was beyond the contemplation of the common people as the "person of a chief was considered sacred"[53] whose power and privileges came from his birth.[54] An offensive activity against the chiefs, particularly their removal often created widespread distress.[55]

Another spectacular political change that was experienced during that time was the breakdown of villages. When Rev. William Williams visited Fort Aizawl on Friday, 20 March 1890, he was surprised at the size of several Mizo villages, as there were "up to a thousand houses in some villages, far bigger than a normal Khasi village."[56] Morris also records, "As a rule, the Lushai villages are larger than those of the Khasis. On the Khasia Hills a village of one or two hundred houses is considered large; in Lushai, the villages

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[52] ibid.

[53] J. Zorema, op. cit., p. 40.

[54] The birthright of the chiefs was recognized by Parry too. See N.E. Parry, *Lakhers*, p. 249.

[55] For example, the removal of chiefs Lianphunga and Zahrawka for their raids to Chengri valley created widespread distress that caused many chiefs and their elders to resist the British. J. Zorema, op. cit., p. 40.

[56] J.M. Llyod, *History*, p. 21.

frequently number from four to eight hundred houses."[57] However, the report of J. Shakespeare in 1900 shows that following the British occupation, big villages were fast breaking up into hamlets and the population was becoming more scattered.[58] Khandaih village, in about 1903 consisting four hundred houses was reputed to be one of the largest villages of the time.[59] The breaking up of villages and creation of numerous small villages was intentional, and one scholar argues that creating more chiefs was a devise to abate the power of the chiefs, with a simple reasoning that "if there are more chiefs, the powerful chiefs will lose their political power".[60] The British government thus "made over lands to persons who had no pretence to chieftainship under indigenous conditions"[61] sometimes as a reward of their service to the government.[62] As a result, the number of chiefs grew, from around 60 at the time of British advent to about 200 chiefs when the British left the country.[63]

2.2.1.b. Circle Administration

The British government introduced a new system of circle administration from 1901-02. In the Circle administration introduced by the British, the whole land was divided into 18

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[57] John Hughes Morris, op. cit., p. 78.

[58] Major J. Shakespear to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam, Shillong, 9th April 1900, No. 22G, H/poll., CB-7, F. No. G-76, MSA, Aizawl. He says in his book that it was the absence of the fear of being raided that the people no longer feel the need to live together in large communities and the size of villages is steadily decreasing. J. Shakespear, op. cit., p. 20.

[59] Vanlalchhuanawma, op. cit., p. 131.

[60] Suhas Chatterjee, *Mizo Chiefs and the Chiefdom* (M.D. Publications, New Delhi, 1995), p. 1; Lawmsanga, 'A Critical Study on Christian Mission with special reference to Presbyterian Church of Mizoram' (PhD thesis, University of Birmingham, 2010), p. 78.

[61] A.G. McCall, op. cit., p. 202; T.H. Lewin records, 'Their chiefs are chosen from one ancient strain of royal blood; but it does not therefore follow that every chief's son shall succeed his father. He must first show himself worthy to be a leader before men will follow him. Although his rule may be set aside, the scion of a chief's house (or '*Lal*' as he is called) is held sacred as being of semi-divine origin, and must not be ill-treated or killed. The chief directs in war, and must be the first to attack and the last to retreat." T.H. Lewin, op. cit., p. 243.

[62] Subedar M.C. Ralkapa, a recipient of Military Cross was appointed as chief of Kawnpui. B. Lalthangliana, *Mizo Chanchin: A Short Account and Easy Reference of Mizo History* (published by author, 2009), pp. 208-209; See also N. Chatterji, *The Earlier Mizo Society* (TRI, Aizawl, 1975), pp. 34-35.

[63] Suhas Chatterjee, op. cit., p. 1.

circles, 11 circles in the northern part of Mizoram and 7 circles in Southern Mizoram, in which an interpreter and one *chaprasi* were appointed to each circle.[64] A Circle Inspector was appointed to each circle, whose function was to act as a channel between the Government, represented by the Superintendent and Sub-Divisional, and the chief and the people on the other end. In addition, a village writer, called '*Khawchhiar*' was appointed in every village to keep records and statistics of the village.

The introduction of Circle administration was very convenient for the British, at the same time, it provided an avenue of employment for the Mizos. The Mizos who were employed with a lower salary could be held responsible for any matters within their own circle. This proved to be very efficient system and it was continued till 1942.[65] In paper, the circle staff has no executive power in relation to the manner in which the chiefs rule their villages but to act according to the orders issued from the headquarters. [66] However, being a government employee with a privilege to demand porterage in their travel, these staff misused their power and burdened the chiefs and harassed the people with their demand of fowls and eggs in the villages they visited. These demands were made through the chiefs, and it created a burden for the villagers. In fact, much of the complaints of oppression launched against the chiefs were because of these demands.[67]

The position of the Circle Interpreters was in a way higher than the chiefs, as the chiefs were also subjected to the report of the Circle Interpreters. This was clearly recognized by the C.Is who composed this song:

"Sappui bawngte keini min tai chuan,

Lal lai hrui ang in suih lo vang,

In run romei kai rawh se."

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[64] D.C.(A), detailed statement of the permanent staff of the Superintendent's office, Lushai Hills for the month of April 1902, as cited in J. Zorema, op.cit., p. 66.

[65] Lawmsanga, op. cit., p. 80.

[66] J. Zorema, op. cit., p. 66.

[67] From Telela's diary, as retold by Darchhawna in *Kulikawn Arsi Eng* (published by Kulikawn Pasaltha Chawimawitu Committee, Aizawl, 2006), pp. 2-3.

(If thou art against the British employee like us,

Thou art no longer being a chief,

Just expect to end in smoke.)[68]

This sarcastic song was very bitter for the chiefs who had earlier enjoyed supreme authority. The abrupt relegation of the chiefs to the position of a subordinate to the Government officials disturbed the minds of the people, and the people soon began to raise question as to why the chiefs should demand the service of his villagers to build his house that was the traditional prerogative of the chiefs. [69]

2.2.2 PERMANENCY VIS-A-VIS CIRCUMSCRIPTION

Shakespeare notes that the Lushais have been nomadic ever since their ancestors started on their western trek some 200 years ago. This was largely because the method of cultivation which they follow is very wasteful, and a large village soon uses up all the land within reach, and then a move becomes imperative.[70]

Earlier, the chiefs were few and held very large tracts of land, and the custom was for the chief to sub divide the land and 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. The youngest son only remained with his father and succeeded to his father's village when the later died.[71] Thus, constant movement was taking place within Mizoram due to the people's customs as well as out of necessity before the advent of the British.

One important consequence of British contact in Mizoram was the making of definite boundary for the chiefs. Since the British rule, the government laid down definite boundaries for all the chiefs and every chief holds a *Ramri lekha* or boundary paper.[72] No

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[68] K. Zawla, *Mizo Pi Pute leh an Thlahte Chanchin (*Zomi Book Agency, Aizawl, 1993), p. 408; Lawmsanga, op. cit., p. 80.

[69] For example, see '*Kulikawn Arsi Eng*,' pp. 2-6.

[70] J. Shakespear, op. cit., p. 22.

[71] N.E. Parry, *Monograph*, p. 4.

[72] ibid., p. 3.

chief was allowed to plant his village within one mile of his boundary and any chief moving or causing a boundary stone to be moved was heavily fined or otherwise punished. For moving the village, the chief was required to get the permission of the Superintendent or in Lungleh of the Sub-Divisional Officer.[73]

The definite boundary somehow produced a sense of permanency to people, as they were compelled to settle in the same area for a long time. At the same time, the system of cultivation being the same, it still required frequent move of villages while they were circumscribed by boundaries, violation of which was to be punished severely.

After the definite boundary was assigned for the chiefs, it was no longer possible for them to divide land to the sons; therefore, the system of inheritance also had to undergo a change whereby a custom of the eldest son to succeed the father was crystallised.[74] It means there was a chance for only one ruler to emerge as opposed to multiple chiefs in earlier times that checked the spread of influence of a chief over a certain ruling house.

Though, according to Parry, a *ramri lehkha* (a boundary letter) was made in order to prevent further subdivision of land, the British government gave land to people of their choice and created new chiefs. It was in fact part of their measure to exercise control over the chiefs. Under this scheme, the chiefs as well as the people, pressed by customs and traditions on the one hand, and British control on the other, were once again placed in a critical situation.

2.2.3 IMPRESSED LABOUR (*KULI*)

One of the first attempts to exercise the colonial power in Mizoram was their demand for 6 days labour from each household and a house tax[75] which was greatly resented by the

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[73] ibid., p. 5.

[74] N. Chatterji, op. cit., pp. 38-39.

[75] "In 1891, the government approved Lyall's proposed rate of ₹ 1 as house tax and a liability to deliver 10 seers of rice from each house at the rate of ₹ 2 per *maund* (sic), together with free labour for six days in the year." AR Letter No. 1049P Calcutta 16th March 1891, From Chief Secretary to the government

Mizos.[76] The most-able bodied Mizos were demanded from time to time to carry burdens for the officials. Porterage was considered necessary because "none of the roads could take any wheeled traffic apart from the 14 miles between Aizawl and the river, where goods could be carried by ox-cart."[77]

In the Mizo tradition, the villagers gave voluntary labour for building and repair of the chief's house and *Zawlbuk* whenever they set up a new village.[78] Moreover, it was customary to accompany a chief on a journey by some of his *upas* and *ramhuals*.[79]Thus, offering service to the ruler was not new to them.

However, the British demand for labour from the Mizos was resented right from the beginning and it continued to be the source of discontentment against the British government throughout the Colonial period. Shakespeare notes:

> "Lushais looked on the supplying of coolies as a sign of complete submission not so much because of their actual aversion to the labour but because to be obliged to send a certain number of his men to work at Aijal or Lungleh was considered as a conclusive sign of the submission of a chief and the mere fact of having to obey orders galled the independent Lushai who even among themselves have but little respect for authority."[80]

R.B. McCabe felt that the uprising of 1890 where Capt. Browne was killed, was a resistance against this proposed revenue demand, and wrote to the Secretary to Chief Commissioner, Assam:

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of Bengal to Secretary Government of India, cited in Sangkima, op. cit., p.230. Later, the number of days of service demanded from a *kuli* was raised to 10 days.

[76] J.M. Llyod, *History*, p. 41.

[77] ibid.

[78] N. Chatterji, op. cit., p.45.

[79] This is testified by the Superintendent's order - D.C. (L) Superintendent's Standing Order, No. 94 of 16.11.1926 cited in J. Zorema, op. cit., p. 97.

[80] Capt. J. Shakespeare to the Commissioner of the Chittagong Division, Chittagong, 14 August 1895, Lungleh (H/Poll, CB-4, F.No. G-47, 596G, MSA, Aizawl).

> "In July and August, the political officer made repeated attempts to effect and preliminary settlement of the revenue and labour supply questions but met with the most and obstinate opposition to the Lushais acting under the order of their chiefs refusing even to work as *chaprasis*."[81]

One British officer also noticed the Mizos' resentment to impressed labour:

> "I do not approve of the system of imposed labour, though it is absolutely necessary at present. It is about the only result of our presence that Lushai really object to strongly."[82]

As compulsory labour was taken as a sure sign of complete submission, therefore, in their struggle for mastery in the hills, the British government found it necessary to continue to insist on 'coolies' (*kulis*). With the hope of getting more willing labour, there was a proposal to raise the wages of *kuli* but Shakespeare was convinced that an increase of wages would not help much, and that the Lushais will always scheme out if he can, and for this, he even dubbed them as being 'lazy'.[83]

It was not so much about the labour but what it stood for that bothered the 'Lushais' for it was found to be 'degrading'[84]. In other circumstances, they were willing to offer endless service voluntarily. Both men and women helped to carry J.H. Lorrain and F.W. Savidge's luggage from Demagiri when they came back to work among the Mizos in 1903.[85] When a Pawi village in South Lushai district offered to start a village school for girls, Miss Chapman and a number of girls went from Serkawn to act as a nucleus of the school, their luggage was carried by the people in the three days' journey

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[81] R.B. McCabe to the Secretary, Chief Commissioner, Assam, 19 January 1891, Aijal (H/Poll, CB-1, F.No. 5, MSA, Aizawl).

[82] General Administration Report, 1891-2 (H/Poll, CB-1, F.No. 6-9, MSA, Aizawl).

[83] Captain J. Shakespeare to the Commissioner of the Chittagong Division, Chittagong, 14 August 1895, Lungleh, H/Poll, CB-4, F.No. G-47, No. 596G, MSA, Aizawl.

[84] Zairema, op. cit., p. 22.

[85] J.M. Llyod, *History*, p. 75.

without charge.[86] Being a *kuli* was seen to be mortifying. Carrying the load of a '*hnamchawm*' (commoner) only because they became '*Kamding*' (government employee) was taken as demeaning,[87]and therefore, Makthanga says that it is better to be a barber or a washer man than to be a *kuli* for the *Rahsis* (the petty government officials).[88]

In order to evade the demand of compulsory labour, some migrated to Manipur. The diary of Lt. Col. Maxwell records one account which an old Lushai woman who migrated to Manipur made to him:

> "Most honoured father, we have come into your territory to escape from the worry and annoyance we receive in the Lushai Hills District, the Sahibs and Police are forever visiting our villages, seizing us as coolies, forcing us to work on the roads, issuing orders, the purport of which we cannot understand, and causing us to live in a state of uncertainty and fear. We know you are a kind father, and we are happy under Manipur administration, and we pray that you will permit us to remain and pay revenue as the Kukis do."[89]

Maxwell, who served as Political Agent in Manipur, was however convinced that the British government always meant well, and it was only want of experience that often

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[86] Dorothy Glover, op. cit., p. 32.

[87] *Mizo leh Vai Chanchinbu* (*MLVC),* September 1931, pp. 137-138.

[88] ibid., May 1914; Thangkhama, (father of Dr. Nghaka) recounted the burden of *kuli* vividly, "A *Kuli* was given '*duli*' or 8 annas per day. We were required to carry load to Silchar from Aijal which is five nights journey. Added to the load we had to carry which amounted to about 20 kgs., we had to carry enough rice to last for to and fro journey of ten days and blankets for the nights. Therefore, the assigned load for each was too heavy and thus, two persons were made to share, but the earning was not increased, and the two persons had to split the 8 annas. Moreover, they paid only on the days when the load was actually carried, and even if we spent ten days to be back again in our villages, we were payable only for five days. Thus, out of the five '*duli*' we earned, after splitting into two, each one got ₹ 1.25 (for ten days of labour), that means a man actually earned '*dere*' for one day. It became more difficult when the order for '*kuli*' come in times of harvest or of demanding labour in their field, it sometimes resulted into the loss of the whole year's labour." Lalthangfala Sailo, *Khawvelthanga Sailo Maubuang Lal* (unpublished), p. 2.

[89] Diary of Lt. Col. Maxwell, Political Agent in Manipur and Superintendent of the State, for the week ending Saturday, 3rd Feb 1900 (H/Poll, CB-11, F. Nos G-148, 5/1900, MSA, Aizawl).

leads to poor result. Nevertheless, the burden that weighed the people was no doubt heavy. [90]

As it was equally troublesome for both the chief and the villagers to comply with the demand of *kuli* labour as each man is liable for 10 days impressed labour a year,[91] being exempted from it was vied for by the people. The government promised exemption of *kuli* as a reward to those who graduated Class IV Standard when the people were averse to education, and a number of young people joined schools in order to escape this degrading and labourious task.[92] The Missionary J.H. Lorrain requested the Superintendent, Lushai hills to grant a '*kuli awl'* (exemption from *kuli*) to parents if they force their girls to go to school, with a hope that parents would be more enthusiastic in giving education to their girls.[93] Normally, the chief, three or four *Upa*s from each village and one '*Puithiam*'(medicine man/ traditional priest) for each village were exempted from *Kuli*.[94] At the request of J.H. Lorrain, in South Lushai Hills, a recognized

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[90] The extent of the burden caused by *Kuli* is shown clearly by this example. Zahrawka was given a permanent chieftainship by J. Shakespeare in 1895. His village was at Thiak Tlang. Though his village was free from any kind of threat from their neighbouring villages, the demand of *Kuli* was so heavy that they could hardly work their own field. They felt that since the village was just on the roadside, (an inspection bungalow was constructed there) they were imposed to such labour. Therefore, they decided to set up a new village site far off from the main road which they hoped would be beyond the reach of the '*Sap*'. Thus, in a place called Lungchalde, they set up a hamlet, and they hoped to settle there later. This new site has only one entrance from the main road, and the villagers constructed a '*dai*'(fence) in order to fence off the intruders, which they called '*Vai Dai'*, and they felt they would be saved from *kuli*. However, before they could actually settle in the new site, the chief Zahrawka died. The villagers brought the corpse to Lungchalde and gave him '*Kuang Ur'*, a funeral given to honoured persons. To their surprise, the Superintendent J. Shakespeare appeared to Lungchalde with a goat to condole the bereft, so the villagers knew full well that they could not hope to evade *kuli. Kuli* was thus imposed on the village all the more, and it was a double trouble for them, as they had to go miles before they could reach the main road, and from the main road they had to start all over again to reach the starting point of their *kuli*, that is Aizawl. It became necessary to move again to a site close to the main road and they moved to Maubuang. Lalthangfala Sailo, op. cit., pp. 2-3.

[91] M. Bradshaw Esqr. (Sub-Divisional Officer, Lungleh) to the Superintendent, Lushai Hills, Aijal, 30 September 1913 (H/Poll, F. No. 548DC, MSA, Aizawl).

[92] Zairema, op. cit., p. 22

[93] J.H. Lorrain to J. Hezlett, Superintendent, Lungleh, South Lushai Hills, 13 September 1913, in *British Rule in Mizoram (Collection of Important Documents)* vol. 1, comp. C. Lalchawimawia (published by author, Aizawl, 2010), p. 122-123.

[94] M. Bradshaw, Esqr, Sub-Divisional Officer, Lungleh, to the Superintendent, Lushai Hills, Aijal, in ibid., p. 128.

Pastor or Evangelist as well as Sunday school teachers 'who are doing particularly good work' were granted exemption from *kuli* labour which 'will act as an incentive to a higher standard of efficiency'.[95] Lorrain was pleading for the Christians to get equal treatment with the non-Christians in that the exemption of *Kuli* granted to the village '*Puithiam*' which extended to all members of his family living in the same house with him, would also be applied to the exemption to the Evangelist or Pastor which was 'personal', should also be made to cover the whole members of his house.[96] When Parry became the Superintendent of Lushai Hills, he withdrew the provision of *kuliawl* for Sunday school teacher,[97] and exemption to Upper Primary passed boys was already withdrawn by W.L. Scott, the Superintendent in 1919.[98] For the volunteer Mizo young men, '*Kuliawl*' was the greatest inducement to enlist themselves in the Labour Corps to go to France in First World War. [99]

2.2.4 MATERIALISM

After visiting the 'Lushai' country, T.H. Lewin comments:

> "What struck me most among them was the contentment and well-being of their lives, as compared with the feverish anxieties of civilized life.… They require no knowledge other than what they have; they know how to sow and when to reap; they have their own pharmacopoeia of simples, herbs and roots; their women weave warm cloth; and cunning are the snares by which they entangle all sorts of animals, few there be that escape the pot. In a word, they know what is

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[95] J.H. Lorrain's letter to J. Hezlett, Superintendent, Lushai Hills, Lungleh, South Lushai Hills, dated 19 November 1913, in ibid., p. 133.

[96] ibid.

[97] Superintendent's Standing Order No. 113, dated 29 July 1927, Memo No. 1179-80G, D/ -29/7/27.

[98] 'W.L. Scott's letter to SDO, Lungleh, dated 6 October 1919, in C. Lalchawimawia, op. cit., p. 147.

[99] Superintendent, Lushai Hills Order No. 3 of 1917-18, in *MLVC*, December 1918, p. 180; J. Zorema, op. cit., p. 93.

> necessary for their happiness and well-being; to know more than this would make them unhappy."[100]

Though self-sufficient and "have none which they fear to lose, nor do they desire more",[101] the material culture of the Mizos in the pre-colonial period was rather simple.[102] The Superintendent J. Shakespear is of the opinion that the nomadic habit of the Mizos was considered responsible for the simple material culture of the Mizos, as they had to carry on their back all their belongings every four or five years to their new house. He says:

> "It is not strange if you are disinclined to amass more than is absolutely necessary and gradually become content with very little, and prefer ease and idleness to toiling in the hopes of being able to add to your worldly possessions."[103]

To a society which "preferred half-anna pieces to two annas because the small pieces were ideal for making bullets"[104] a money-oriented economy and thus new value system was introduced when colonial government was established in Mizo Hills. Shakespear comments that while the Chins were eager to earn money by work or trade, the 'Lushai' far preferred to lay smoking in the sun.[105] However, after the colonial government began to demand house tax which was to be paid in cash, the cash-nexus got entrenched into the society gradually. A group of people whose earning come in cash emerged and "black-coated occupations" became very appealing. [106] The Welsh Report of 1925-26 says that the "height of the aspiration of a Lushai is to keep a shop and have a tin roof" over his head, and shows concern that people may have joined the churches for the sake of their

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[100] T.H. Lewin, op. cit., pp. 286- 287.

[101] ibid., p. 287.

[102] J. Shakespeare, op. cit., pp. 22-31; see Lianhmingthanga, *Material Culture of the Mizo* (TRI, Aizawl, 1998).

[103] ibid., p. 23.

[104] J.M. Llyod, *History*, p. 20.

[105] J. Shakespeare, op. cit., p. 23.

[106] A.G. McCall, op. cit., p. 205.

daily bread.[107] Thus, the changing economic orientation affected the material and spiritual life of the 'natives'.

2.2.5 EXPLORATION OF WIDER WORLD

The Mizo world was no longer confined to the fringes of the hills after their contact with the British power. Tours to 'mainland' India were arranged for the Mizos, some were brought to Europe while many others ventured into all parts of India for some work or pursuing further studies. Not only did it widen the outlook of the people, it also worked for the advantage of the government, for the magnitude of the British Empire was strongly infused into the mind of the people through it.

It was T.H. Lewin, known to Mizos as Thangliana who first took Mizo chiefs to the plains. The seven Mizo chiefs were taken to Calcutta, "to pay their homage to the great ones of Government and to see the glories of the metropolis".[108] Lewin was expecting to astonish the chiefs with the grandeur of Calcutta, but he was struck by the 'impassivity' of the Lushais. The magnificence of the City of Palaces did not apparently impress them, nor the dwelling of the Lieutenant-governor, palatial as it was, and "once and once only, were they roused to enthusiasm" when he took them at full speed on a snorting locomotive engine, out of which they were made to confess "that the power and wisdom of the Sahibs was altogether wonderful"[109]

On 1 December 1910, the Superintendent arranged the visit of the plains for 15 chiefs and 18 others and visited Badarpur, Lumding, Gauhati, Tezpur, etc. Chala, a *Rahsi* (Circle Interpreter) wrote a report of this visit in *Mizo leh Vai Chanchinbu* where he reported that ₹ 1, 595 was spent for the trip to Shillong alone. [110] Again, Chala, was also taken to Delhi via Dacca and sent his report to *Mizo leh Vai Chanchinbu*. Since he was

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[107] *Reports of FMPCW*, p. 73.
[108] T.H. Lewin, op. cit., pp. 310-312.
[109] ibid.
[110] *MLVC*, March 1911, p. 62.

still keeping his hair long, he reported that he was confused with a woman which was a little shameful. Nevertheless, he was thoroughly impressed by the cities.[111]

Taking into account the government's intention to keep the cost of administration at the minimum, spending money on an excursion for the chiefs could not have been done without any purpose. These reports have greatly confirmed the greatness of the British government, as they were taken to see the 'power and wisdom of the Sahibs.'

The reports from the Mizos who visited Europe and some other places appeared time to time in *Mizo leh Vai Chanchinbu*. Challiana wrote a series of reports of his visit to London where he was thoroughly impressed by the good Christians in Europe and the grandeur of the British.[112] The returnee from France after serving in the Allied Labour Corp in the First World War brought home a telling presentation of the splendour of Europe. These reports that attest the greatness of British government became helpful in tightening the grip of colonial rule.

The exploration to the wider world also brought to the Mizos a consciousness of their own 'self' as against others while at the same time reminded them of the strength of the Government.

2.3 ADVENT OF CHRISTIANITY

Christian missionaries closely followed the British conquest of the hills. It was Rev. William Williams, a young Presbyterian missionary working in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills (Meghalaya) who was the first missionary to visit Mizoram in March 1891. He and his party gave some Scripture pictures to the children and sang several songs to them. [113]

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[111] ibid., June 1911, pp. 119-120.

[112] The report of Challiana that appeared in March 1909 edition of MLVC was his eighth note in the series of his report (see *MLVC*, pp. 39-41) Challiana and Chuautera were brought in 1907 to London and other places by F.W. Savidge, they were the first Mizos to visit the Western countries. In 1913, Rohmingliana, and later Lalmama and Rev. H.S. Luaia from the south were also sent to Europe. From the north, Dr. Peter Fraser took R. Dala to U.K. in 1913, and Sir J. Herbert Lewis sponsored Pasena to study in Gold Smith College in 1926. Saiaithanga, *'Kohhran,'* p. 144.

[113] J.M. Llyod, *History*, op. cit., pp. 20, 21.

It appears that he was attracted to the Mizos and they also seemed to like him, as he said, "They told me that if I should come to live in their country, they would all come to me to learn."[114] However, Williams died of typhoid within a year and his dream to serve the Mizos could not be fulfilled.

It was in 1894 that the pioneer missionaries, F.W. Savidge and J.H. Lorrain, both members of the Highest Baptist Church in London[115] arrived in the Mizo Hills after waiting for more than two years for an opportunity to work in Mizoram, with a binding agreement that they would not interfere in governmental affairs and should not expect any help from the government.[116] They were sent off by the Indian Aborigines Mission, better known as the Arthington Mission. They landed on 11 January 1894 at Sairang and arrived in Aizawl on the 16 January 1894.[117] These missionaries however, had to leave the hills after a brief stay of about four years, as their sponsor Mr. Arthington demanded that they should move on and preach the Gospel to the unreached. No one was baptized during their stay of four years in Mizoram. Nevertheless, Lorrain and Savidge, known to the Mizos as Pu Buanga and Sap Upa respectively, had "created an interest in the Gospel and had won a measure of trust" during their short stay.[118]

As Lorrain and Savidge were leaving Mizoram, the Calvinistic Methodist Mission (as it was then known) took up the mission work in the Mizo Hills. Rev. D.E. Jones, a young man from the village of Llandderfel in Wales was their first missionary.[119] Jones reached Aizawl on 31 August 1897 with Rai Bhajur, a Khasi Christian and his wife, who were to be his colleagues, and settled down in Lorrain and Savidge's house. An

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[114] ibid., p. 22.

[115] ibid., p. 25.

[116] J.V. Hluna, *Mizoram Hmar Bial Missionary-te Chanchin* (Synod Literature and Publication Board, Aizawl, reprint 2003), p. 16.

[117] Lalhruaitluanga Ralte, op. cit., p. 202.

[118] J.M. Llyod, *History*, p. 31.

[119] ibid., p. 35.

uninterrupted European Missionary presence therefore ruled the hills for the next 60 years until the final withdrawal of Missionaries in 1968.[120]

D.E. Jones was soon joined by Edwin Rowlands who reached Aizawl on 31st December, 1898; he was given a Mizo name Zosapthara, the new '*Sap*, while D.E. Jones was called Zosaphluia, the senior '*Sap*'. The whole of Mizoram, including the former north and south 'Lushai' Hills, was virtually considered the mission field of the Welsh Presbyterian mission, and Zosaphluia and Zosapthara made several visits in the south to scores of villages and baptized many converts though they settled themselves in the North.

However, in 1901, it came to be known that the Baptist Missionary Society has turned their attention to South Lushai and its possibilities. The BMS had other mission stations not too far away, the most important being the one at Chittagong. It was through their encounters with some Mizo Christians that they learnt the problems and needs. Rev. George Hughes, one of the BMS Missionaries was then sent to enquire and report the possibilities of Mission work, and he went as far as Lunglei and came back with an encouraging report of the prospect of starting missionary work in South Lushai.[121]

D.E. Jones and Edwin Rowlands telegraphed to the Home Board of the Presbyterian Church of Wales in Liverpool to express their disapproval of the BMS's plan and argued that denominational difference could create problems for the Mizos. But the Home Board, according to D.E. Jones, seemed to have the impression that the North and South were totally different countries. Moreover, the great earthquake of 1897 had placed severe financial burdens on the Society that they were not in a position to sent reinforcement from Wales to the Lushai Hills immediately.[122]

Ultimately, the Baptist Missionary Society took up the mission work in the South from 1903, and J.H. Lorrain and F.W. Savidge, the pioneer missionaries in Mizoram,

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[120] ibid., p. 294.
[121] ibid., p. 74.
[122] ibid.

who were working among the Abor-Miri people in North Assam at that time, were invited back to work among the Mizos.[123] By then, there were 30 baptized Christians in the South and a Christian community including children numbered 125.[124]

Other than these two missions, the Lakher Pioneer Mission was also started by Reginald. A. Lorrain, brother of J.H. Lorrain and his wife in 1907 working in the southernmost part of Mizoram among one of the Mizo tribes, the Lakhers.[125]

2.3.1 MISSION WORKS

It is already mentioned that Mission work is one of the agents of change especially among the hill tribes in North East India. The Mizos experienced tremendous change through education, medical mission and evangelization which formed the three pillars of mission work in Mizoram, along with colonial "modernity". Indeed, one missionary from Serampore foresaw the possibility at the hands of the missionaries in Lushai hills to have "the birth of a nation as well as a church in their hands."[126] A government employee once remarked to Mr. Jones that it was the missionaries who were "the real rulers of Lushai", which another missionary agrees that "in many ways it is quite true."[127] With such authority and influence the mission work operated in Mizoram, and the change experienced due to the mission work is immeasurable.

2.3.1.a. Education

The missionaries, and to be more specific, the protestant missionaries often regarded the ability to read the Bible as one important condition for an individual to worship God aright and that is how education and evangelism were interlinked, the former constituted the basis for "*prepaeratio evangelica"*, thus the missionaries' involvement in educational

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[123] ibid., p. 75.
[124] ibid.
[125] *Report by BMS,* p. 45.
[126] *Report of FMPCW,* p. 133.
[127] Kitty Lewis to a friend, Aijal, 2 March 1923 (F.No. 25,356, CMA, NLW).

programmes was a supplementary to the primary task of communicating the 'spiritual' message to the people.[128]

Reducing the language into written form using Roman script by the pioneer missionaries J.H. Lorrain and F.W. Savidge was one of the most important contributions made by the Christian Mission in Mizoram. This was followed by the opening of schools; the first school was started at Thangphunga Veng (Chaltlang) on 2 April 1894.[129] However, this school was soon closed down as the Missionaries had to leave the hills, and a school was reopened only in 1898 by D.E. Jones. By 1898, there were three schools in Mizoram, one school each at Aizawl and Lunglei run by the government and a Mission school at Aizawl which D.E. Jones, opened on his 28th birthday, on February, 1898.[130] The Mission continued to open more schools in villages as well, and by 1903, there were fifteen schools in North Mizoram, including two night schools. Of these schools six were in Aizawl town and the remaining schools were in villages.[131]

Since 1904 following the visit of Sir Bamfylde Fuller, the Chief Commissioner of Assam, the government schools were amalgamated with the Mission schools, the whole management of education and opening of schools on the Hills was placed in the hands of

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[128] Lal Dena, op. cit., p. 90.

[129] Thangphunga and Suaka were the first students who were taught from 9 to 11 in the morning. Pu Buanga Log book, dated 26th October, 1894, As cited in Lalhruaitluanga Ralte, op.cit., p. 216; Llyod records that 'parents were not in the least inclined to send their children to school' and the two young men tried to attract them by offering sweets. J.M. Llyod, *History*, p. 31.

[130] Z.T. Sangkhuma, '*Missionary,'* p. 95. There were 39 students in this school [C. Lianzawna, *Mizoram Education Chanchin* (H. Rokhumi, Aizawl, 2005), p. 4]. By that time, three schools had already been established in the country by the government (*Report of FMPCW*, p. 3). At first, the government did not take interest in educating the Mizos. The letter of A. Porteous, then Political Officer in 1896 to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam that proposed sanctioning of grant for the establishment of one school for the benefit of Mizo children with Bengali as the medium of instruction, in 1897, dispatched a strong worded note to the authorities where he writes, "I desire to point out that although it is now seven years since Aijal was occupied, nothing whatever has yet been done by Government in the way of commencing to educate the Lushais." On the basis of this dispatch the first Government school was established on 21 August, 1897 (ARR from Porteous to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam, Letter No. 677, dated 28 January 1897, as cited in Sangkima, op. cit., p. 148.

[131] *Report of FMPCW*, pp. 19-20. The five schools in 1903 in South Mizoram were all maintained by the government, see C. Lianzawna, op. cit., p. 4.

the Mission[132] which the government assisted chiefly by making grants-in-aid of rather small dimensions.[133] In the field of education, thus, the missionaries were permitted *carte blanche* to work among the Mizos.

Thus, it was in the hands of the missionaries to make the curriculum, write textbooks, train and recruit the teachers. A prominent place was given to Biblical teaching in the school, [134] while other branches of elementary education were not excluded. In the syllabus of more 'advanced subjects', 'Lushai Composition' that consisted writings of the history of the 'native' religion- demons, gods, etc. and also Christian subjects was included.[135] All Mizo students who were in 'elementary' or 'advanced subjects' took Scripture lessons, learnt verses, the catechism, and Tonic Sol-Fa, which they very much liked.[136] It is quite safe to say that the driving force of the missionaries was to educate the masses so as to enable them to read the Bible on their own.[137]

D.E. Jones writes that the educational work in these hills affords them a great opportunity of enfolding young lives in the security of the Gospel. These schools are not only centres for secular instruction of children, but the teachers preach the Gospel as occasion offers, and are in several cases pillars of the church.[138] Jones further says:

> "However successful the school may be in the 'secular' subjects it would however fail of its object if there were not an influence tending Christward, and a definite attempt to win the boys for our Redeemer…I

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[132] ibid., *Report of FMPCW*, p. 22; *Report by BMS*, p. 12.

[133] The government's expenditure on education in 'Lushai' hills had never exceeded three half-pence per head of population per year during the first forty years of colonial administration. A.G. McCall, op. cit., p. 203.

[134] A separate school was maintained by the Mission for Hindi and Bengali boys numbering about 20 without religious instruction. *Report of FMPCW*, p. 22.

[135] ibid., p. 10.

[136] ibid., pp. 10-11.

[137] There were many literates by the time the translations of the Gospels and Acts arrive (ibid., 1898-99, p.3). In the school curriculum, Biblical teaching occupied a prominent place while other subjects were given secondary importance. Lalhmuaka, *Zoram Zirna Lam Chhinchhiahna* (TRI, Aizawl, 1981).

[138] *Report of FMPCW*, p.57.

> hope that from this school will go out every year a number of boys and young men whose lives will tell for Christ and greatly help to win this people for his service."[139]

Therefore, it is of no surprise if the students showed empathy with the religious teaching imparted in the schools and desired to become Christians, which many did so.

The interest of colonial government in mission's educational programme was both "paternalistic and imperialistic". They understood that education has an effective 'civilizing' character, and what is more, it can be used to make "peaceful and loyal subjects out of the natives".[140] As has been pointed out in the minute of J. Farish issued in the Bombay Presidency, "the natives must be either kept down by a sense of our power, or they must willingly submit from a conviction that we are more wise, more just, more humane, and more anxious to improve their condition than any other rulers they could possibly have,"[141] education that enabled the people to read became an useful tool as the interest of the government was directly or indirectly safeguarded through education that stabilize their control over the subject people. E.L. Mendus reflects the value of mission education for colonial government when he contrasts it with education that had been controlled by "merely secular agencies":

> "The effects of purely secular education in India are well-known, one of which is Unrest. So far, education in Lushai has kept itself wonderfully free from the evils generally attended (sic) upon it on the Plains of India."[142]

Certainly, Mizoram was more or less free from political unrest at least during the colonial period.

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[139]ibid., pp. 57-58.
[140]ibid.
[141] Gauri Viswanathan, *Masks of Conquest* (Faber and Faber, London, 1989), p. 2.
[142] *Report of FMPCW,* p. 70.

With the ability to read comes thirst for knowledge and demand of books. J.H. Morris records that in some years the receipts for books has amounted to nearly 300 pounds which was a good amount taking into consideration the poverty of the people, and a strong proof of the Mizos' thirst for knowledge. [143] This thirst was quenched by one-sided source, for almost all literature available in Mizo were provided by the 'white-masters', the books published during this period were either a translated book or authored by the Missionaries, or written by Mission-educated Mizos. The compiled textbooks includes *Zirtanbu(Lushai Primer), Zawhna leh Chhanna Bu (Book of Questions and Answers), Zirtanbu Thar(New Lushai Primer)* where moral and religious lessons and some articles of general knowledge were incorporated. In June 1899, the first printed copies of some translated books from the Bible like the Gospel of Luke, John, and Acts came to hand and about 150 copies were sold before the end of the year.[144] Jones reported that more books were sold even in 1900.[145] When Sir Herbert Lewis came to Mizoram in 1925, he collected a catalogue of 'Lushai' publications, numbering no less than 64 items which he presented to National Library of Wales. [146] While the number grew, the range of books published has necessarily been limited for a long time, and the official monthly journal of *Mizo leh Vai Chanchinbu* since 1902 and the monthly church magazine of '*Kristian Tlangau'* (Christ Herald) since 1911 were the only non-textbook publication for quite some time.

As the number of schools and literates grew, the government was quick in taking advantage of the developing reading habit. Though education was completely entrusted in the hands of the missionaries since 1904, the government grasped the opportunity to

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[143] John Hughes Morris, op. cit., p. 87.

[144] In 1902, Edwin Rowland, a Welsh Missionary, introduced two new text books in Mizo language, *Thu Ro Bu* (A New Reader) and *Hriselna Bu* (Sanitation Primer) for the students. In 1903, some advanced text books were brought out by the missionaries which includes *Lushai Arithmetic Part I & II* and *Kristian Hla Bu* (Hymn book-enlarged version of 80 hymns), *An advanced Reader, First reader, Paihte Reader* and *Lushai-English Primer.* The translation of the Gospel of Mathew, Mark and First Epistle to the Corinthians was also completed in 1905. J.V. Hluna, *Education*,pp. 23-24.

[145] Jones as however was convinced that worldly advantage is at the root of it. See *Report of FMPCW*, p.10.

[146] ibid.

provide reading material to these new literates. An official monthly journal of '*Mizo leh Vai Chanchinbu'* (earlier *Mi Zo leh Vai Chanchin Lekhabu)* was then launched and the first issue was published in November 1902.[147] At the time of its publication, there was no printing press in Mizoram, the first being installed in South Mizoram as late as 1909 that was also not good enough for printing books. [148] And the journal was published monthly by the Assistant Superintendent[149] and printed by Rev. J.P. Jones, a Missionary in Sylhet until a good printing press (the Loch Printing Press) was launched in Mizoram. Considering the fact that the government had been deliberately adopting the policy of limited public expenditure, and that even construction works including road construction were done by forced labour[150], the willingness of the government to spend money on publishing a Mizo journal, that also had to be transported from Sylhet, left no doubt that it was done with a purpose.

These rather limited reading materials formed the only source of information and knowledge in vernacular language for the people in which colonial agenda has been strongly imbedded, particularly in the official monthly journal. In fact, it formed one of the imperialist cultural designs through which the western cultural hegemony was firmly established, first in the mind of the educated classes through the classified information they received from the colonizers, then to the uneducated masses through the educated class.

The journal provided ample space for the local people to express themselves, and the educated Mizos freely shared their feelings through the journal. It therefore became

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[147] *MLVC*, October 1934, p. 148. In 1920, there were 412 subscribers all over Mizoram, as per recorded in *MLVC*, January 1922.

[148] J.V. Hluna, *Education*, p. 45.

[149] The Superintendent Major J. Shakespear was on furlough at the time of its first publication, therefore, though the Superintendent was supposed to be the publisher, as assumed by the printer Rev. J.P. Jones who printed the Superintendent as a publisher in the first issue, his assistant A.R. Giles was mentioned as the publisher in the subsequent issues as requested by the Assistant Superintendent himself, and it eventually became the responsibility of the office of Assistant Superintendent. A.R. Giles' letter to Rev. J.P. Jones, missionary in Sylhet, dated 24 February 2003, says Superintendent was made the publisher in the first issue.

[150] Sajal Nag, op. cit., p. 141.

one of the important sources to understand the mindset of the people. The ideas that appeared in these volumes show that the people engaged themselves in trying to make sense of their present and thus often recalled and evaluate their past. The passages in the journal, particularly in the first decade of its publication,[151] makes one raise the question as to how the "people who were so recently disaffected" and "obviously required to be treated with discretion"[152] developed such trust on these alien rulers. As the European missionaries made a gigantic impression on the new literate groups as they subscribed to "progressivism" which came with colonial rule, this group in turn has strong influence over the non-literate masses. The intellectual impact the journal have made on the mind of the people could hardly be overestimated.[153]

It is also noted that the Government officials looked at the introduction of western education as a legitimizing process of colonial rule, as western education tended to make colonial occupation appear as beneficial in the eyes of the subject people.[154] McCall is of the view that local educational practice developed the idea that "education and

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[151] It was the Mizos themselves who began to affirm colonial rule, particularly in the first decade of the publication *MLVC* as depicted in their writings. To cite few examples, July 1903 has an article of '*Mizorama Dan Tha Thar Lo Chhuak'* (The Coming of Good New Rule in Mizoram) written by Thanga, a Chaprasi in *Borsap/Bawrhsap* (Superintendent) office, saying that a new structure of better government unknown to the Mizos and the advent of *Sap* (Europeans) in Mizoram brought many progressive ideas and taught what is good, and therefore everyone should respect them and should rather try to learn a better way of life than being apprehensive. Thankunga of Sethlun writes in January 1906 the shameful life of the Mizos saying the Mizo lives a pathetic life over what other people discarded. We should appreciate the *Zosaps* and their perseverance, who, though they are not government employee, came to Mizoram leaving their pleasant country, and gave us education and it was at their initiative that the Mizos achieved much higher than they could comprehend and says, "*We should be very thankful to them (the Britishers) and it would be for our own good that we should obey them or we will regret".* In February 1909 issue, it is written that it was only because of the British government that the Mizos could enjoy hospitals, schools, and have preachers, traders and teachers and even emancipation of slaves, for which the Mizos should be very thankful that the British ruled over their land, and comparing and contrasting the 'Lushai' chiefs with the White saying that the Zosaps spent even their own money just to educate the Lushais, which was never done by the Lushai chiefs, not even the Sailo chiefs could transform the land as the British did. See *MLVC* July 1903-February, 1909.

[152] File No. 27318, CMA, NLW, Wales.

[153] Even after Makthanga took over as Editor in 1911, the magazine proved to be a platform of educated Mizos, but an interesting turn had been made as the people displayed consciousness of identity, soul searching and competitive-mindedness, but all within the framework of colonial rule.

[154] Lal Dena, op. cit., pp. 90-91.

Christianity were the passport to "salaried jobs", relief from the wearisome toil of cultivating a hard land," leading towards "blackcoatism", and "black-coated occupations became synonymous with progress," as monthly salaries gave the beneficiary "a special, in fact, quite a new material power".[155] Mendus also mentions that "certain ideas have already have laid hold on the mind of the Mizos, e.g., that Education exists to secure a post that shall release its holder from manual toil." He says:

> "It is no wonder that Government fights shy of encouraging Education. There can only be average of about three posts a year falling vacant in the Government offices here, and practically the only other outlet educated young people in Lushai is in Mission Service, where post are few."[156]

This clearly shows the changes in values as a result of the introduction of western education. It was displayed at the sight of the people what education could do to a person, and education became popular very soon.[157]

At the same time, there developed in the minds of the Mizos an aspiration to have education higher than elementary level. However, plea for establishment of high schools fall in deaf ears, the indifference of the government already known, and the mission did not afford to run it with limited man power and finances; after all, they preferred to have more village schools where elementary education was imparted equipping the people to read Bible on their own than setting up school for higher studies.[158] It is reported that in 1936 when a Mission Commission from Wales visited Mizoram, few men from Kulikawn - Thuama, Telela, Chawnghnuaia, V.Z. Biaka, Saikunga, etc. requested for opening of High School, and they were permitted to go ahead if they could find teachers. Thus, in the yard of Thuama, a High School was run with Aithulha as teacher. But the

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[155] A.G. McCall, op. cit., p. 205.

[156] *Report of FMPCW*, p. 70.

[157] As early as 1900, D.E. Jones writes that the "desire and the endeavor to learn is on the increase although worldly advantage is at the root of it." ibid., p.10.

[158] First High School in Mizoram was established only in 1944. Lalhmuaka, *Zirna*, p.16.

missionaries and officials did not show much support and the Superintendent closed it down after one year.[159]

Apart from the facility of reading, education paved the way for the emergence of a new social force, the western educated elite, that was largely made up of the "commoners" in traditional social set up. It is agreed that education was instrumental in bringing about individual upward mobility for all the Mizos.[160] Makthanga, a government official, comments that some young men are more fine and cultured than the chiefs.[161] McCall has recognized the 'close association between education, salaried jobs and Christianity'[162] and a Mizo scholar also considered the elite as 'the product of Mission work and effectively allied to the church.'[163]

The Mission schools provided manpower for employment in the church as well as government services. Some work in government office as messengers, vaccinators, dressers in hospitals, "agriculturists – according to the Bengalee way of cultivating the soil," road makers, household servants, clerks, etc.[164] The village school masters performed a dual function of teacher and pastor, generally responsible for Sunday and weekday services. They were the "only paid executives in the village" and "the most important persons in the villages."[165] Also Christians were the forerunners in doing petty business and accruing the benefits of monetary transaction, particularly after the Aizawl bazaar was opened by Major Cole in 1909 which facilitated the gradual spread of

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[159] *Kulikawn Arsi Eng*, op. cit., pp. 82-83, It is interesting to note that the young men who started High School in 1936 were the same men who were arrested for their political demands in 1926 .

[159] ibid., pp. 82-83. J. Zorema, op.cit., p. 95.

[160] C. Nunthara, op. cit., p. 61.

[161] *MLVC*, May 1914, p. 76.

[162] A.G. McCall, op. cit., p. 207.

[163] Lalngurliana Sailo, 'Mizoram: Socio-Political Consequences of the Economic Changes' in Malsawmliana and Benjamin Ralte (ed.), *Social, Economic and Political History of the Mizos* (EBH Publishers, Guwahati, 2011), p. 91.

[164] *Report by BMS*, p. 22; *Report of WCMFMS*, p. 10.

[165]ibid., *Report by BMS*, pp. 163, 173.

monetary transactions.[166] Thus, through education and business, the emerging elites, on account of their knowledge and economic power, became a powerful group in the contemporary Mizo social set up.

In a society where there is absence of class distinction and the relationship to each other was "easy, even with the chiefs, simple and informal,"[167] the new Mizo elite groups have attempted to introduce a new tradition which was to strengthen the oligarchy. The influence of education under the colonial rule drew upon the elements of alien culture and upon the historical experience of a different civilization, which was primarily 'denationalizing' as it alienated the members of the educated middle class from their cultural moorings and made them imitate "blindly what others have done."[168] The *Mizo leh Vai Chanchinbu* repeatedly give notice and guidance to the practice of act of respect, on how to greet or talk to superiors and executives, particularly the government servants with '*Chibai', 'Khawngaihtakin', 'Ka lawm e'*:

> "It has been a while since, among the government employees and students in Aizawl, people greet one another. This is an admirable practice among the foreigners (*Sap* and *Vai*) and they too appreciate it when we greet them."[169]

Thangluaia, a Rahsi (Circle Interpreter) exhort the villagers that they should show respect to government employees like *Rahsi*, Mizo *babu*, *Mohurir* and students from Aizawl because they deserve it, who in return would help their fellow Mizos wherever they could, in this way, foreigners would respect Mizos and not ill-treat them.[170] This kind of hierarchical view was to strengthen the privilege of the few, and it shows a changed worldview, at least of the educated Mizos which they attempt to infuse on the people.

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[166] C. Nunthara, op. cit., p. 62.

[167] J.M. Llyod, *History*, op. cit., p. 215.

[168] K.N. Panikkar, *Culture, Ideology, Hegemony* (Tulika, New Delhi, reprint 2001), p. 105.

[169] *MLVC*, September 1914, p. 148.

[170] ibid., February 1914, p. 23 (translated by researcher).

Since the character of pre-colonial institutions and of the colonial state was understood and assessed within the framework of colonial understanding, these elite groups became an early critique of the pre-colonial system and were ready to accept 'British rule as divine dispensation.'[171] It has to be kept in mind that "in the path to progress presented to the Indian mind by colonial rule, the concept of a liberal polity was the most influential." Liberal principles has found deep root in the political vision of the intelligentsia that liberalism became the sole criterion for testing political institutions, be they of colonial rule or of Indian rulers.[172]

> "While liberalism formed the criterion for rejecting the pre-colonial system, colonial rule was welcomed for the same reason, for colonialism was seen as a carrier of liberal, democratic and constitutional principles as well as of social and scientific knowledge." [173]

The influence of liberal attitude on the elites sometimes resulted in the feeling of antipathy towards traditional practices. The ideology of the elites more often than not found its ground against traditional institutions and was averse to traditional structure of authority. In Mizoram, they were the prime movers in abandoning the Zawlbuk system,[174] and resented chieftainship that resulted into the fall of the chiefs in 1954.[175]

Education was thus imparted as part of mission work and its impact on the society could not be overstressed. The colonial government also benefitted from it in more ways than one. Above all, education changes the outlook, and to a great extent of the worldview of the people, thus made a long lasting impact on the whole social structure.

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[171] K.N. Panikkar, op. cit., p. 94.
[172] ibid., p. 115.
[173] ibid., p. 95.
[174] A.G. McCall, op. cit., pp. 211-212.
[175] Vanlalchhuanawma, op. cit., pp. 380-382; J. Zorema, op. cit., pp. 94-97.

2.3.1.b. Medical Mission

Medical mission was another area where the Mission thrust their efforts in Mizoram. The aspect of health was found to be closely connected with the traditional religion as the most common and well-known religious activity of the Mizos was the performance of sacrifice to appease the evil spirits which they believed caused them sickness or misfortune. Probably because of this, J.M. Llyod, the missionary concludes that the Mizo religion was "chiefly a means of avoiding sickness and of postponing death" and its "function was to maintain him and his family in life and health". [176] Saiaithanga, one of the earliest pastors, however, proposes that Mizo religion is much more than appeasing and propitiating evil spirits to avoid sickness and ill health.[177] Nevertheless, performance of sacrifices in times of sickness was one of the plausible treatments for the Mizos. Thus, salvation of the body became a site of mission work along with salvation of the spirit, and medical work was one of the most effective means of challenging the traditional worldview and belief system which was essentially "supernaturalistic".[178]

The Mizos used to wear *kelmei*, a turf of goat's hair hanging from a string around the neck to protect themselves from misfortune and to ward off evil spirit. Removing *kelmei* was "a violent break with the past and was as painful, they said, as if a man were to tear his hair out by the roots."[179] The experience of a French traveller, Dr. Emil Riebeck who visited the Hills in the early 1880s also testifies how much the 'Lushais' valued *kelmei*. While he was able to get Lushai trinkets and even headdress of a chief to add his collection, he found that it was "almost impossible to get hold of one Lushai ornaments in particular, an 'amulet consisting of nothing more than the turf of a goat's

[176] J.M. Llyod, *History*, p. 210.
[177] Saiathanga, *Mizo Sakhua* (Maranatha Printing Press, Aizawl, n.d.), p. 17.
[178] Lal Dena, op. cit., p. 105.
[179] J.M. Llyod, *History*, p. 107.

beard'- the *kelmei*."[180] It was told that once a man lost his *kelme*i, and he heard from the back the sound of a goat, "baa, baa", he fell and died.[181]

In spite of such conventional belief, the missionaries won the trust of the people through medicine. It was not easy at first to persuade the Mizos to avail themselves of the facilities of hospitals and medicines for western medicine was considered by many as synonymous with Christianity.[182] One important indication of a person's sincerity to become a Christian was when he was ready to put away his *kelmei*.[183] It means risking his health and even his life to trust the Christian God, that may also mean he was ready to avail the other option of healing, which is medicine. As such, the Christians who had given up sacrifices were naturally more ready than others to use medicines.[184]

However, for a long time, many Mizos could not be completely freed from their earlier belief. Their mind was perplexed with their traditional belief that was eroding while they witness at the same time that "a rupee or two spent on quinine secured better results than the purchase of a sacrificial hen, and was less expensive too".[185] One of the boys under Edwin Rowlands continued to wear *kelmei* saying he wore it "for ornament".[186] Saikunga, the first attendant of J.H. Lorrain was asked to put away his *kelmei*, but after keeping it away, he became easily frightened even at the smallest thing, and he went back to his village and performed a sacrifice with a goat and brought back *kelmei* more than once.[187] Some performed sacrifice though they take medicine too,[188]

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[180] Emil Riebeck, *The Chittagong Hill-Tribes: Results of a Journey Made in the Year 1882 (*Asher & Co, London, 1885), pp .5-7; Kyle Jackson, 'Mizos, Missionaries and Medicine: Religious and Medical Contact in Lushai Hills' (M.A. thesis, University of London, 2009), pp. 13-14.

[181] Lalhruaitluanga Ralte, op. cit., p. 217.

[182] Kyle Jackson, op. cit., pp.47-48.

[183] J.M. Llyod, *History,* p. 53. The would-be convert usually brought his *kelmei* to D.E. Jones whose custom it was to place it in the safe in his office, duly docketed in case the owner changed his mind and wanted it back. If he didn't, the amulet was later destroyed.

[184] Zairema, op. cit., p. 25.

[185] J.M. Llyod, *History*, pp. 211-212.

[186] Edwin Rowlands to Mr. Williams, 4 April 1900, F. No. CMA 27300, NLW, Aberystwyth.

[187] Lalhruaitluanga Ralte, op.cit., p. 217

[188] See *Krista Tlangau*, February 1913, p. 229.

while some have more faith on the prayer of faith-healer more than the missionary's medicine.[189] Thus, the Mizo psyche was like a pendulum swinging between two opposite poles – traditional belief system on the one side and modern medicine on the other, and this must have been a traumatic experience of transition.

2.3.1.c. Proselytization

The eventual proselytization is the most glaring depiction of complete transformation in a person's life. Lal Dena maintains that "while conversion was essentially a religious issue, it encompassed the whole aspect of one's or community's life, and therefore, the missionary view about the process of conversion itself ultimately amounted to a whole theory of social change."[190] Frederick S. Downs also believes that conversion movements always imply an acceptance of the value of change.[191] In fact, fundamental to the nineteenth century understanding of Christianity in Northeast India was the idea that becoming a Christian meant adopting a new mode of life.[192] The conditions laid down for church membership in 'Lushai' hills clearly shows the expectation from the member:

> "The standard of church membership of the Mission field was set high and clear from the beginning. It was enjoined that every candidate should not only have renounced all heathen practices, and lead a moral life, but that he must possess an intelligent knowledge of Christian principles, observe the Sabbath, and abstain from all intoxicants."[193]

Therefore, conversion involves not only spiritual but physical transformation as certain standards were maintained for a Christian. The development of what was referred to as

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[189] *Report of FMPCW*, 1901-02, p. 15.

[190] Lal Dena, op. cit., p. 86. He discusses the different typologies of conversion. For further details, see pp. 85-87; See Frederick S. Downs, *Essays.* p. 147.

[191] ibid. Frederick S. Downs, p. 220.

[192] ibid., p.147; Still, Downs argues that the missionaries do not always believe in changing everything that could be changed, the "paradigm for the converts would inevitably be the particular forms of western Christianity that the missionary represented" and says that "missionaries who advocated total change in this manner were the exception rather than the rule, even in the nineteenth century." ibid., pp. 220-221.

[193] John Hughes Morris, op. cit., p. 91.

'Christian character' was emphasized in missionary writings and it is safe to assume that "the converts themselves understood Christianity as, at least in part, involving a specific and different way of life."[194]

Being 'new creations' therefore, the new converts had to give up the old practices, and adopt new ways of life. As a result, the general impression is that it was not possible for them to live as Christians without abandoning their own village to form a Christian community, according to D.E. Jones.[195] Sunday observance was taken as a hallmark of Christian living. The Christian village has overcome the "superstitious fear of evil" as they began to build houses with "more and larger windows in it" unlike "a certain pattern handed down from time immemorial", an alteration of which was believed to result in dire calamity.[196] Llyod notes that "there was even a time when in any village it was easy to distinguish the Christian from the non-Christian by his personal appearance." [197] Male church members were expected to cut their hair unlike the earlier way of keeping long hair, and ladies who used to wear *saiha bengbeh* (ivory earrings) were asked to remove it if they were Christians.[198] Thus, "to become a church member in Lushai means a definite break with old traditions, customs and habits. Total abstinence is insisted on, old forms of worship must be abandoned, Sabbath must be kept and regular attendance at church recorded."[199]

One who toured the Hills claimed that it was "nothing less than "newness of life" that has come to Lushai", and "it was difficult for a visitor to realize or even to visualize what conditions were in Lushai thirty years ago." [200]

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[194] ibid., p. 148.

[195] *Report of FMPCW*, p. 6.

[196] J.M. Llyod, *History,* p. 223; *Report by BMS*, p. 61; In traditional Mizo belief, opening of windows was restricted only to those who performed *Thangchhuah* ritual.

[197] ibid. J.M. Llyod, p. 223.

[198] Z.T. Sangkhuma, *Missionary,* p.139.

[199] Zairema, op. cit., p. 17.

[200] M. Eleanor Bowser, op. cit., p. 16.

When they preached the Gospel, the pioneer missionaries Lorrain and Savidge knew that they were introducing a completely new concept to the Mizos. When the first printed copies of the Gospel of Luke and John, and the book of Acts came to hand in June 1899, Jones notes that "the people say they are difficult to read - not because of any stiffness in their translation, but because it is all so different to their mode of thinking."[201] Lorrain writes:

> "Our first message, as soon as we could speak the language, was of a Saviour from sin. But the people had [no] sense of sin and felt no need for such a savior."[202]

To the Mizos, not observing Sunday or taking *zu* or rice beer was not a sin. But sin was conceptualized from the framework of western understanding and this was combined with the standard of living expected of a Christian. Thus, the new concept introduced by the Christian church was not in tune with the traditional culture, and the newly established church therefore, strongly criticized and prohibited many of the earlier traditional practices like use of drums, traditional form of dance, tunes and songs, taking of rice beer, etc.[203]

Giving up *zu* drinking was considered as an indication to show that a man was in earnest about becoming a Christian. This meant not merely abstinence but a discontinuing of numerous religious and social rites because *zu* was always part of those rites.[204] *Zu* had firm connection from the earliest time with the Mizo society, culture and religion. It was considered a sacred and unblemished diet due to its connection with

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[201] *Report of FMPCW,* p. 6.
[202] *Report by BMS,* pp. 93-94.
[203] Z.T. Sangkhuma, op. cit., pp. 135-162.
[204] J.M. Llyod, *History,* p. 53.

religion[205] and formed an important item in all religious ceremonies, apart from being a frequent part of a day's diet.[206] Edwin Rowlands comments:

> "I was struck by the way the Lushais are addicted to drink; everything is made the occasion for drinking,-the return from a journey, a death, a marriage, a piece of work completed etc."

He believes that *zu* formed one of the vices of the people along with "superstition, ignorance and carnality".[207] It is true that rice beer was the first and foremost item served in public gatherings and festivals and feasts. In the *Thangchhuah* feasts, a *Thangchhuahpa* [208] feed the people with a large quantity of rice beer, and it was the supreme delight of the people. However, the people never drank excessively[209] and it was taken amid a very natural conviviality.

Thus, to give up *zu* was a real test for the Mizos; by doing so, they were giving up a part of them. It became the one temptation many new converts found difficult to resist and slide back to the old life, for the church discipline in this regard was strict and as much as licking fingers dipped in rice beer made one liable to excommunication.[210]

The Mizos were used to short conversations but not long preaching. Conversation with the people also required patience, as Savidge records:

> "Sometimes, during our talk they would suddenly wander off to quite a different subject; for instance, in the middle of a sentence a chief's wife

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[205] *Zu in Mizo Society (Past and Present)* (TRI, Aizawl, 1983), p. 42.

[206] But *zu* was never a daily item of diet for the ordinary home, it having been rather the mark of some real festa. A.G. McCall, op. cit., p. 187.

[207] *Report of FMPCW*, p. 7.

[208] There are two ways a person qualified to be a *Thangchhuahpa* - *Inlama Thangchhuah* and *Ram lama Thangchhuah. Inlama Thangchhuah* has six steps involving expensive feasts for each step to be given in a specific order, but not within any specified time. It usually involved considerable expenditure. *Ram lama Thangchhuah* could be achieved by killing a man and each of the following animals – elephant, bear, Sambhur, barking deer, wild boar, wild *mithan*, and a bird called *vahluk*, it would be more celebrated if it includes a species of snake called *rulngan* and a species of eagle called *muvanlai* (hawk in the middle of the sky). J. Shakespear, op. cit., pp.63,87; K. Zawla, op.cit., pp. 35-36.

[209] *Zu in Mizo Society*, op. cit., pp. 44-45.

[210] Zairema, op. cit., p. 11.

> stopped me to ask how glass bottles were made, and her curiosity had to be satisfied before I could proceed."[211]

It took quite a while to adapt themselves to the form of worship introduced by the Missionaries.

The Mizos often tend to give literal meanings to metaphors. They were given to serious thinking when they were taught that they were saved through the blood of Jesus and began to question "what kind of sorcery there could be in such blood."[212] Zairema records that in one village, the elders took precautions for avoiding falling into a sin of adultery, referring to the Bible verse concerning looking at a woman to lust as a form of adultery, and made all the ladies to sit facing the side wall of the Church. [213]Some built themselves a small prayer hut to which they could withdraw following the command of Jesus to go to a room and shut the door to pray.[214] Those who had quarrelled were not expected to come to the Lord's Table unless they had been reconciled.[215]

The Mizos could not be expected to acclimatize themselves with a completely new concept within a few years. For a long time, the Mizo understanding of Biblical teaching was largely imbued with his own feelings and background, often accompanied by insufficient knowledge about the Bible.

Like all the tribal culture, Mizo religion was closely intertwined with their social and communal life, and the religious rites also have specific social function. The transcendental nature of religion was naturally accepted by the society that sought physical benefit in performing the religious rites.[216] A.R Radcliff-Browne says:

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[211] *Missionary Herald,* August 1911, vol. 93, no.8, p. 235.

[212] J.M. Llyod, *History*, p. 46.

[213] Zairema, op.cit., p. 13

[214] J.M. Llyod, *History*, p. 83.

[215] ibid., p. 57.

[216] According to W. Robertson Smith, "It is of the first importance to realize clearly from the outset that ritual and practical usage were, strictly speaking the sum total of ancient religions. Religion in primitive times was not a system of belief with practical applications; it was a body of fixed traditional

> "The rites gave regulated expressions to certain human feelings and sentiments so kept these sentiments alive and active. In turn it was these sentiment which, by their control of or influence on the conduct of individuals, made possible the existence and continuance of an orderly social life."[217]

When the traditional belief system of the Mizos was jeopardized by the introduction of new religion, it also threatened the social order that is derived from that religion, the connection of which was often overlooked. For example, John Hughes Morris records one of the most pompous ceremonies of the Mizos, '*thangchhuah*' simply as a search for popularity:

> "On certain occasions a feast for the whole community will be provided by a villager ambitious for popularity. After a prescribed number of such feasts have been given, the man qualified the respected status of *'Thangchhuah',* and permitted to wear a cloth of a certain pattern, and also to have a window in his house."[218]

However, it was not simply popularity or to qualify to wear a cloth of certain pattern alone that man was after. In fact, as Shakespeare rightly notes, the *thangchhuah* festivals are to a certain extent religious ceremonies, and are performed with the idea of pleasing the gods.[219] *Thangchhuah* festival was performed to achieve three objectives, firstly, to get admission to *Pialral* (heaven) after death where the departed soul would be fed with cooked rice and be freed of all cares and worries, secondly, to be a respected citizen in the world, and thirdly, to escape Pu Pawla's pellet on his way to *Pialral*.[220]

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practices to which every member of society conformed as a matter of course." W. Robertson Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, 1907, pp. 16-17.

[217] A.R. Radcliff-Brown, *Structure and Function in the Primitive Society*, reprint (Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1976) p. 160.

[218] John Hughes Morris, op. cit., pp. 79-80.

[219] J. Shakespeare, op. cit., p. 68.

[220] K. Zawla, op. cit., p. 34; In traditional Mizo belief, Pu Pawla was believed to wait for the departing souls at the gate of Dead men's village with a pellet, and only the souls of *Thangchhuah*, because of

The esteemed title of *Thangchhuah* thus carries with it much honour in this world as well as the right of admission to *Pialral* after death.[221] In a society where the people were required to be self-sufficient, hardworking and brave, reward for the status was accorded with religious sanction which could be earned only by the wealthy and the brave alone, and *thangchhuah* status was one of the coveted statuses every Mizo would make all endeavor throughout his life to achieve.

Other religious rites, like *Kawngpui siam*, F*ano Dawi* etc. promoted social cohesion and solidarity while the performance of different *sakhua* by each different clan promoted respect for variety of clans.

Thus, conversion carries with it more than merely belief in the Missionaries' preaching. It meant cutting themselves off completely from old religious practices which often resulted in "alienating themselves from blood family ties"[222] though that may not have been the intention of the missionaries. The missionaries may have believed that it is possible to distinguish between the religious and non-religious components of a culture. Lorrain also writes:

> "…as we hold that the Christians should be the Lushais of the Lushais, we are trying to get them to be foremost in reviving these innocent and picturesque customs. We are anxious that the heathen should know that in seeking to Christianize them we are not doing so with the intention of denationalizing them."[223]

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his achievement, and new born child, because it was not yet known what he could have achieved in his life, would escape his pellet. Those who were hit by Pu Pawla's pellet would remain hurt for three years and "cannot cross the Pial River and are doomed to stay in *Mithi khua* where life is troublesome and difficult, everything being worse than in this world". On the other hand, *Piaral* is the height of bliss for the 'Lushais' where food and drink are to be obtained without labour. J. Shakespear, op. cit., p. 63; Saiaithanga, *Sakhua*, p.54.

[221] ibid., J. Shakespear, p. 63.

[222] J.M. Llyod, *History*, p. 53, Zairema, op. cit., p. 10.

[223] *Missionary Herald*, April 1904, p.164.

However, as much or even more than the missionaries were confused with Christianity and Western culture, the local people were gravely perplexed, for their culture and religion could not be clearly separated. The missionaries, when we study their work today, may have been relatively considerate to certain components of culture, but the "distinction may be too subtle for the average convert"[224] to understand it. The result was confusion and therefore a wholesale denunciation of all that dates prior to Christianity. The concept of "new creation" for the converts was emphasised by the people so much so that they condemned the traditional tunes and songs, dances, *khuang* (drum), use of *zu* (rice beer) etc. by the early Mizo Christians themselves.[225]

With conversion to Christianity, the Mizos' world was therefore turned upside down. The change affected on the religious component was far too profound to the tribal world as to be contained within religious sphere alone. As the religion was imbued with a great degree of social function, challenge to it amounted to challenging his whole worldview. The rapid growth of Christianity in the hills therefore could not be taken for granted. McCall says:

> "To underestimate the mental conflict involved in a Lushai trying to comply with the dictates of Christian churches, in the face of age-long and traditional sanctions, is to miss a basic point of animism, which is the need in every man's heart for spirit satisfaction, and the feeling of communal popularity."[226]

2.3.1.d. Growth and Development of the Church

The first converts who openly confessed their faith in baptism were two young men, Khuma and Khara, who received baptism on 25 July 1899[227] but Khara backslid soon

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[224] Frederick S. Downs, *Essays*, p. 191.

[225] David Kyles writes about how the Mizos themselves chose to take a stand against drinking *zu* upon the consultation by the two missionaries. David Kyles, op. cit., p. 26; Lalsangkima Pachuau, op. cit., pp.134-136.

[226] A.G. McCall, op. cit., pp. 210-211.

[227] J.M. Llyod, *History*, p. 55.

after. Christianity in Mizoram met a substantial growth which was phenomenal in the history of Mission. The 20th century began with only one Mizo Christian [228] but it grew to be 1,723 Christians in the north and 1,130 in the south after ten years. The number increased tremendously in the subsequent years, and after another twenty years, it grew to be more than fifty thousand (56,097) Christians in the whole of Mizoram amounting to more than half of the total population.[229]

The Mizo church, from a very early period, showed themselves to be a 'self-propagating' and 'self supporting' church which greatly enhanced their confidence. [230]Owing to the difficulties of contacts, and also because the Missionaries trust that the Mizos will become "capable helpers in the work", a wide gateway for indigenous involvement in the Church and its administration was opened.[231] The Welsh Mission have employed about eight or nine missionaries, including two hospital sisters, to cover two-thirds of Mizoram while the London Baptist Mission in the South has employed about eight missionaries, including two hospital sisters, to cover less than one-third of the District. As such, "the personal contacts have had better chances of success in the South than in the North where much more has had to be left to the Lushai employees."[232]

The local converts were employed in evangelising work from a very early period. In his first year on the Mission field, Rowlands in 1899 says that some Lushai boys accompanied them in their second tour,[233]and by the next year, the Missionaries report that the Lushais helped them in their work, "both in teaching and preaching".[234] As early

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[228] Mangkhosat Kipgen, op. cit., p. 209. The Christians numbered 45 in 1901 Census but it consisted of mostly British official, missionaries and non-Mizo Christians.

[229] Lalsawma, *Revival*, p. 219; On the question of integrity of these new converts, see Lal Dena, op. cit., p. 103.

[230] Lalsangkima Pachuau, op. cit., p. 96.

[231] See Lal Dena, op. cit., pp. 100-101.

[232] A.G. McCall, op. cit., p. 204.

[233] *Report of FMPCW*, p. 7.

[234] ibid., 1900-01, p. 9; Jones records that "Khuma and Khara who were baptized the previous year went together on a long journey to preach. They went to the South as far as they could until they reached villages whose dialect they did not understand". He also mentions that Khuma has become a good

as 1904, the local church was found to support three Evangelists and one Bible woman. In addition to the workers supported by the church, others preached occasionally.[235] The 1909 report indicates that four student-preachers, who had been in training for three years, were sent out supported by the Lushai church. The country is now divided into seven districts, under seven travelling regular evangelists.[236] There were also eleven 'Soldiers of the Cross' who went out to villages far and near 'to tell of the Victor of Calvary', who work occasionally to support themselves[237] or were supported by friends from home.[238] In 1910, the 'Lushais' ventured on their own to the neighbouring states to preach the gospel. Christians from Hrangvunga's villages "have commenced to work for the Master in the nearest Tipperah village". Five young men have gone to Manipur preaching the gospel and teaching people, four other young Lushais have been to the 'Pawi' country in Burma, preaching the gospel among the bitter enemies of the Lushais earlier. Several other have gone out to distance villages in Lushai to preach the gospel and to teach.[239] All this happened within fourteen years from the advent of the first missionaries.

Building up the churches in Mizoram thus, was not merely the handiwork of the foreign Missionaries but from its very inception, the local leaders played a very important role. The Mission salaried employees like pastors, teachers and evangelists as well as non-salaried preachers and deacons were given part in the church thereby contributing to the development of the church. As a result, there was a growing confidence among the Mizo church leaders, to the extent that worried McCall that "the day would surely come

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public speaker. Also three others have been under instruction and take part in prayers and even in public meetings.

[235] ibid., 1904-05, p. 21.

[236] ibid., 1909, p. 40.

[237] ibid., 1912-13, p. 51.

[238] ibid., 1916-17, p. 60.

[239] ibid., pp. 45-46.

when their own Lushai church leaders and colleagues would deny to their European preceptors their right to give a final ruling on what the Bible did or did not sanction."[240]

Women also occupied an important place in the church. They formed salaried employee of the Mission as 'Bible Women'. It seems that women have a tendency to receive the new religion more readily, as the Welsh Report of 1914-15 says that very few old men are to be seen in the Aizawl congregation while there are a good proportion of elderly women.[241] With facilities available to women for improvement of their status through education and through recognition of their place in the society, women gained confidence in themselves, and in the subsequent years, especially in the revival movements, they were seen to participate actively, and this will be a topic of discussion in the later chapter.

2.4 THE MIZO EXPERIENCE

There was an unprecedented change in all aspects of life during the colonial rule. Being under the authority of alien political ruler alone was distressful; it was fuelled by the wave of modernization and introduction of Christianity that accompanied colonial rule. The effect of these alien features could not be clearly distinguished as to determine which has impacted society the most, for the process of modernization more frequent than not was in tune with Christianity under the auspices of colonial rule in Mizoram. What remains evident, however, is the fact that the society that evolved was completely different from the traditional Mizo society.

At first, the Mizos thought that the settlement of the government was temporal and would soon take a leave just as the earlier expeditions. But when they saw the construction of Aizawl fort, they were disturbed, and the most pertinent question hanging

[240] A.G. McCall, op. cit., p. 223.
[241] *Report of FMPCW*, p. 55.

in the minds of the people became when the Whites will leave.[242] A missionary's note testifies the general feeling of apprehension when he says that the "people, in former times, went to live as far as possible from the main roads in order to avoid strangers."[243] Some threatened to kill those who befriended the '*Saps*' after they leave the hills, and some had the crazy idea that if they kill all the '*Saps'* who were stationed there, there would be no more White men to replace them.[244]

Initially, the missionaries' advent was also looked with suspicion probably because of the ostensible connection with the government, for the Mizos were convinced that the intention of the British government was nothing but their complete subjugation. Lorrain records thus:

> "The people generally were friendly but suspicious. Some would say, 'The Government is certainly clever. It says, 'Let us not try to make the Lushais slaves by the power of the sword. We shall use fair words and kind deeds and, when we have a firm hold on them, we can do just as we like with them'. This is why they sent these sahibs here".[245]

It was a bleak and confused worldview that was prevalent among the common people. The dual contact of colonial government and Mission caused tremendous change into the Mizo worldview. The permanent settlement of many non-Mizos has transformed the inclusive society into an exclusive one as the Mizos were compelled to live together with non-Mizo population that made them to compare and contrast themselves with the other social groups. This produced an identity consciousness, a search for their place in the universe when they were surrounded by "others". This resulted into introspection and retrospection on the part of the Mizos, making them to search their past and do away with what they found was shameful and retains whatever is commendable. It is very difficult

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[242] Pu Buanga Log Book, as mentioned in Lalhruaitluanga Ralte, op. cit., p. 220; *MLVC*, August, 1910, p. 135.

[243] *Report of FMPCW*, p. 68.

[244] Pu Buanga Log Book, as mentioned in Lalhruaitluanga Ralte, op. cit., p. 220.

[245] J.M. Llyod, *History*, p. 31.

to document systematically this 'soul searching' movement of the Mizos but the writings in *Mizo leh Vai Chanchinbu* during the second decade of the 20th century clearly shows that it was happening at that time amidst confusion and uncertainty.[246]

The emergence of youth movement in Lushai Hills in the subsequent decades represents the soul searching movement. In 1924, Mizo students in Calcutta, Gauhati and Shillong, seeing that an organized body was necessary to put pressure to the government on various issues of improvement, formed the 'Lushai Students' Association' (*Mizo Zirho Pawl*) but it did not last long.[247] In 1926, some Mizo young men from Kulikawn forwarded a memorandum of political demand for inclusion of the district in the reformed Provincial Council to the Governor of Assam. But the Governor referred the memorandum back to the Superintendent who immediately arrested all of them. They were subsequently released with a stern warning in future not to involve in any such activity.[248] The restiveness of the time was quelled with stern hand, and renewed political upsurge was to be seen only towards the end of colonial rule in Mizoram. The ember was not completely put off, though it took different turn.

It was not until 1935 that the 'emergence of youth movement in Lushai Hills' was officially recognized. Rev. David Edwards who superintends the West District and Boy's Middle English School pronounced the 'emergence of Youth Movement in Lushai' hills in his report in 1935.[249] He notices certain problem arising in Mizo society regarding irregularity in social relations. While the Mizos are strict about seniority, the youth has the advantage of higher education that was creating problem in the relationship between these two groups, and it seems to be necessary to find a way to stand between the two.[250]

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[246] *MLVC*, November 1911, pp. 370-71 and August, 1915, p. 145.

[247] It was revived in 1935 and has continued to exist till date. See J. Zorema, op. cit., p. 94.

[248] ibid., p. 95. Darchhingpuia (Telela), a pharmacist, Thuama, Saikunga, Thanzuala, Chawnghnuaia, all shopkeepers, and two tailors C.Z. Biaka and Chawngdailova were the men who submitted the memorandum. See also *Kulikawn Arsi Eng*, op. cit., pp. 12-13

[249] *Report of FMPCW,* p. 134.

[250] ibid.

Probably out of this concern, the Young Lushai Association was formed in 1935 under his guidance, with an objective of uplifting the Mizos by the social application of Christian principles as its chief purpose.[251] The leaders of this association mainly comprised of church leaders.[252] At the same time in June 3, 1935, Lungleh Association with an objective of maintaining fellowship with one another and to provide a discussion forum for issues that concern development of the Mizos was formed at Lunglei with the permission of the Superintendent L.L. Peters. Rev. F.J. Raper was the president and the other office bearers were Mizos.[253] The Lushai Students Association (LSA) was also revived the same year. These early formations of the community of intellectuals around socio-cultural organizations and voluntary associations reflected the intellectual ferment of the period. It became an important forum for social as well as political issues, as K.N. Panikkar puts it:

> "Despite being conduits for the dissemination of colonial ideology, these institutions provided a useful platform for intellectual exchange. In fact, many who became active, either socially or politically had their baptism in public work in these organizations."[254]

These associations became popular within a short period, and except the Lungleh Association, it virtually grew into organizations covering the whole Mizoram.

The material changes experienced under colonial rule like "construction of roads and new forms of transport and communication, the new life-style, the use of consumer items like mill cloth, kerosene lantern, the introduction of money economy etc. and the horror of living with outsiders"[255] apparently caused the Mizos to be apprehensive about

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[251] ibid., 1938-39, p.255.

[252] The first office bearers of YLA: a) President: Rev. Lewis Evans, a missionary; b) Vice President: Miss Katie Hughes, a missionary; c) General Secretary: Ch. Pasena; d) Assistant Secretary: Vankhuma; e) Treasurer: Rev. David Edwards, a missionary. Sangkima, op. cit., p. 254.

[253] The other office bearers includes, a) Vice President: Pu Thangnghilhlova, b) Secretary: Dinga and c) Treasurer: Lianhnuna; *MLVC*, July 1935, p. 123.

[254] K.N. Panikkar, op. cit., pp. 88-89.

[255] Frederick S. Downs, *Essays*, p. 215.

the settlement of the British government in their land. Many passages from *Mizo leh Vai Chanchinbu* shows the apprehension, anxiety and confusion of the people. One writer laments:

> "Now the government occupied our land and people increased in number; there are cowherds and very soon, our country will go barren. Food became scarcer, what do we do? It is very depressing. We may be able to manage ourselves somehow, but what will happen to our children? It is so unfortunate that the government occupied our land!"[256]

But others are less confident in the negative effect of the Government's occupation though he was evidently confused too. He says:

> "It's been a long time, but our ancestors lived this land, the land was better and more productive than today, and they were wealthy, living a good life, though sometimes it was not so good. In those days, the chiefs were sovereign, but they went to frequent wars against one another that resulted into insecurity, and everyone had to keep with them a spear or a gun to protect themselves. The government we have today has done good works as (a) they taught new rules, (aw) showed us better way (b) built hospitals (ch) built schools. Though it may make a person ghastly, and lead to poverty, it is generally good.
>
> "Because of the government, there is peace in the land, and we can travel about in the villages, carry out any trade, keep all the wealth, and eat food peacefully without having to fear an invasion. If the government had not come, we might have been engaged in wars just like they did, but now, our situation is much better.

[256] *MLVC*, March 1907, p. 57. (free translation by researcher)

> "But, because the government occupied our land, population has increased and many herdsmen have settled, and it appears that very soon, the land will become unproductive. Food will get scarcer, as we began experiencing even now. What will happen to our children? It is very ill-fated that the government occupied our land. But, my friend, take heart and think that the government do not merely occupy our land only to spoil the land or get revenue. They brought with them many good things as well as bad things unknown in the past, and an opportunity is offered to willing person instead of being engaged in drunkenness, but many are still not availing the opportunity."[257]

Yet other local writer choose to focus on the better side of government's occupation and refute the idea propounded by some people that government's occupation was bringing misfortune to the people and argues that the government did not ill-treat the people but rather loved them. He mentions that if any Mizo is found having nothing to eat, the Superintendent has given a word that the government will help him with money which he will repay at his convenience.[258]

Though the Mizos soon learnt to trust the missionaries, many continued to confuse them with the government officials. The article of Lianthuama, from Dawn village clearly shows this confusion. He writes:

> "What some people refused to recognize is about the way of the government and that of God. If you tell it to somebody, he would say, 'To be Obeyer of God [that is how the Christians were referred at that time] is the way of *Vai*[equivalent to government, sometimes used to refer to foreigners, particularly from the plains]. It is the practice of the *Zosap*[the missionaries]'…I heard many people say that. It may be true

[257] ibid., September 1914, pp. 151-159. (free translation by researcher)
[258] ibid., March 1912, pp. 58-59.

> to some extent. Nevertheless, we can say that the way of the government and of God is more or less the same in this world."[259]

It is clear that the Mizos received the colonial rule, at first with fear and hatred, but later when they saw the positive transformation of the land, it was received with mixed feeling. The educated Mizos, who were generally Christians and who benefitted from the British rule supported the colonial rule and their writings have permeated all the known history so far, but the feeling of apprehension and confusion of others, though it is inadequately represented in the contemporary writings could not be ruled out either.

Conclusion

Tribal societies with their closely interrelated social, economic, political and cultural elements are particularly vulnerable to change even when that change affects only one aspect of their life. But the changes experienced during the colonial period affected all aspects of their life that created a social trauma.[260] Taking the words of N.E. Parry, one of the Superintendents of Lushai Hills:

> "These tribes having been brought under administration in interests other than their own, their activities have been circumscribed, head hunting has been stopped, slaves have been freed, guns have been controlled. And the Hillman has been made to conform to a settled though loose form of administration. It will naturally take a savage time to adapt himself to order and discipline, and meanwhile, he may lose much of his interest in life. This is shown very clearly by the songs of the Zeuhnang: "Government has taken over all our country, we shall always have to work for government; it were better had we never been born," etc……To replace the old enthusiasm for war, the capture of slaves, the feasts over heads, the free hunting of all kinds of game

[259] ibid., April 1914, p. 67. (free translation by researcher)

[260] Frederick S. Downs, *Essays*, pp. 171-172.

> whenever they pleased, the Lakher has been given security; this he appreciates, but it is doubtful whether security, at any rate at first, fills the place of what he has lost."[261]

It is worthy of notice that in spite of being placed under colonial rule "against their will" and was "practically governed by the sword",[262] the pacification process after their permanent establishment, however, was rather smooth on the part of the British, as significant movement of resistance against colonial government has never been made.

Many questions thus arise - How did the Mizo cope up with the traumatic changes experienced under the Christian Mission and the colonial rule? Were the Mizos happy and satisfied with all the changes? How or by what means did they 'recover their self' at the onslaught of such forces as colonial modernity and Christianity? Did the Mizos lack patriotism or courage to give direct resistance to the mighty colonial power? Or is it possible that there was other way of venting their emotions?

An attempt will be made to take up the discourse of these problems in the following chapters.

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[261] N.E. Parry, *Lakhers*, pp. 18-19.

[262] *Report of FMPCW* 1899-1900, p. 5.

CHAPTER 3: THE WAVES

This chapter attempts to discuss the event of revival movement in Mizoram and examine the features manifested in the movement. The revival in Mizoram was first experienced in 1906, twelve years after the first missionaries landed in Mizoram, six years after the first Mizo conversion to Christianity, with only 122 male and 45 female, a total of 167 Christians in north Mizoram[1] while there were more than 245 Christians in the south.[2] The Mizos experienced repeated revival since then unlike the Khasis from whom the revival 'fire' was received.

Revival in Mizoram has been studied either in waves or in decades. Most of the studies on revival movement in Mizoram have been presented in waves, identifying the waves peaking in 1906, 1913, 1919 and around 1930. Vanlalchhuanawma however, views that the scholars who were strongly influenced by the missionaries, who worshipped at Mission Veng church has initiated this periodization which he called "traditional periodization". He believes that this periodization was based on the year the revival stirrings affected the Mission Veng church, the center church of the Mission. He argues that the missionaries' effort to put the revival movement under control was most probably responsible for the "traditional periodization".[3] Therefore, he prefers to study the movement in decades, covering four decades of revival from 1906 to 1946 as he believes that remarkable revival happened 'without interruption' all these years.

It appears that sporadic revival has been happening here and there in-between the peak years, and the *Kristian Tlangau (*the Christian Herald) which came into publication

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[1]C. Nunthara, op. cit., p. 59.

[2] *Report by BMS*, p. 26.

[3] Vanlalchhuanawma, op. cit., p. 159.

from October 1911 contains reports of revival happening one after another.[4] However, the revival in-between these peak years were confined to few areas or villages and were more or less an isolated outbreak while the stirrings recognized in the said peak years covered a wider area that produced more significant impact on the society at large. There is a general consensus about the peak years of the first three major stirrings though there is confusion about the fourth wave. It is more convenient, thus, to take the revival movement in waves, which will be followed in this study.

The revival movement was experienced in great waves covering the whole part of Mizoram simultaneously during the first half of the twentieth century. Some still maintain that the revival movement has not actually ceased but continued to work in the Hills, but after the colonial rule, the revival movements experienced in Mizoram was not as all-embracing as that experienced before independence, and the impact on the society was less significant.

For the sake of convenience, the revival waves will be discussed in general and the features will be discussed separately in this chapter.

3.1 REVIVAL IN NORTHEAST INDIA

The revival movement in Khasi hills in 1905 and in Mizoram in 1906 was the direct offshoot of the Welsh revival of 1904-05.[5] The history of Christianity in Wales has always been associated with revivals, but the Great revivals of 1904, 1905 and 1906 were more well-known. [6] In fact, the Revival of 1904-05 is considered to be the greatest of the

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[4] *Kristian Tlangau* has reports that there were revival in August 1910 at Hnawka's village (May 1912, pp.72-72), at Khawdungsei in July 1912 (November 1912, p. 173), at Lungchhuan in the Pastorate Assembly on 18-21 October 1917 (December 1917, pp. 225-226), at Nisapui in June and October 1917, Biate, Bawktlang, Khawbung, Sailulak (March 1918, p.50), at Thingdawl in March1918 (September 1918, pp.163-164).

[5] Mangkhosat Kipgen, op. cit., p. 215.

[6] Lalsawma, *Revival*, p. 9; Wales experienced waves of revivals across three centuries beginning from the early eighteenth century. The waves started in 1735 under the leadership of Howell Harris known as the founder of Welsh Calvinistic Methodism, and culminated in the revival of 1904 under the

Welsh Revivals, because of its intensity as well as its extent, as with great force and influence it spread throughout the country overwhelming the majority of the population and also spread across the oceans,[7] even to the Mission Field of the Welsh Calvinistic Mission (later known as the Welsh Presbyterian Church) in Northeast India, first in Khasi-Jaintia Hills and later in Mizo hills.

Towards the end of the year 1904, the joyful news of the Great Revival in the churches of Wales reached the Mission field of Khasi Hills, and the accounts of the remarkable effects witnessed in the homeland was reported month by month in the Khasi journal *Nongialam Khristia.* This aroused the churches on the Khasi Hills "to a state of great expectancy". With a hope that the gracious visitation might be given to the "children of the Mother-church", prayer meetings have been held in several mission stations. [8]

It has been more than eighty years since the gospel was first brought to the Khasis[9] and more than sixty years since the Khasi-Jaintia Hills was adopted as the Welsh Mission field. There were 18,240 Christians, 348 Sunday schools with 15,996 scholars, 395 day schools with 8,608 students and a Theological College.[10] It was felt that the Khasi church was more or less ready to receive the revivals, the delay being only because the "mother church should first be prepared in order to be ready to meet the demands for more workers and more funds and more prayer which must follow a revival in the foreign field."[11] At the Assembly at Cherra in February, 1905, a 'foretaste' of what was coming was experienced, [12] and two or three weeks after the Assembly, at a Presbytery held at

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leadership of Evan Roberts, and Wales came to be known as "The land of revivals." Vanlalchhuanawma, op. cit., p. 161.

[7] ibid., Lalsawma, p. 15; Kipgen, op. cit., p.215.

[8] John Hughes Morris, op. cit., p. 47; *Report of FMPCW,* p. 23.

[9] ibid., *Report of FMPCW,* p. 24.

[10] Foreign Missionary Report for 1904, p. x, ATC Library.

[11] *Report of FMPCW,* 1904-05, op. cit., p. 23.

[12] John Hughes Morris, op. cit., p. 48.

Pariong in the District which is under the charge of the Rev. E. H. Williams, the revival broke out forcefully.[13]

It would not be of much surprise if the revival in the Khasi Hills had much of a Welsh feature. Miss Treborth Davies who visited Khasi hills in 1906 openly affirms that the Welsh Mission at work in Khasi Hills "represents Wales before the eyes of the Anglo-Indian world."[14]

> "The voices of those who took part in prayer were Welsh in tone and cadence. The large Sunday School…was Welsh in every feature. Eminently Welsh too was the Khasi's palpable delight in long services, and the appetite with which he swallowed two long sermons on succession."[15]

The revival 'blessing' was incredible, there was an increase in the number of adherents from 22,565 in 1904 to 26,101 in 1905, and the effects of the Revival, though short-lived, continued "in a greater or lesser degree for three or four years".[16] It was the spark of this revival in Khasi Hills that was caught by the Mizos in 1906.

3.2 REVIVAL IN MIZORAM

A turning point, according to John Hughes Morris, in the history of the church in Mizoram was the breaking out of the Revival in 1906.[17]The Mizo church under the auspices of the Missionaries made preparation to receive the revival soon after the news of the revival in Wales and in the Khasi Hills reached the Lushai Hills. The missionaries have been receiving newspapers and letters from friends giving accounts of revival in

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[13]Mrs. John Roberts, *The Revival in the Khasia Hills*, http://www.revival-library.org/catalogues/1904ff/roberts.html accessed on 17.9.2011

[14] Foreign Missionary Report for 1906, p. vi, ATC Archive, Aizawl.

[15] ibid., p. v.

[16] John Hughes Morris, op. cit., p. 48.

[17] ibid., p. 81.

Wales that developed a "deep desire to see something of this nature in Mizoram". They related the revival in Wales to the evangelists, the teachers, and to all other Christians in weekly meetings.[18] This, supplemented by the news of the revival in Khasi Hills which constantly reached the churches intensified the Mizo churches' longing for similar manifestation, and immediately daily prayer meetings were started at the Mission stations and in the neighbouring villages. The churches in both the north and the south held regular prayer meetings since 1905 that continued into 1906 for the coming of revival in Mizoram.[19] They were determined to continue to pray until the blessing come. In spite of the fervent prayers, the year 1906 "dawned on Lushai without any sign of a religious revival."[20]

The annual assembly of the Presbyterian churches was to be held in March, 1906 at Mairang, a village in the Khasi Hills. Raja Kine Singh, the Syiem of Khadsawphra, made a generous offer to provide meat and rice for three days free of charge for all who come to the Assembly.[21] Through the Khasis living in Aizawl, the Mizos learned that "wonderful times" were expected at the Assembly in Mairang, and some were determined to go there. [22] Though the missionaries themselves could not attend the meeting due to some engagements, D.E. Jones and J.H. Lorrain were ready to cooperate in sending a joint north-south party to the Khasi Hills Assembly.[23] Seven members from the North including three female members- Chawnga, Thanga, Khuma, Vanchhunga, Siniboni, Pawngi and Thangkungi, and the four members, all male from the south - Thankunga, Parima, Zathanga and Lenga were sent to the Assembly but Lenga had to drop out at Aizawl on account of pain in his leg.[24]

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[18] *Report of WCMFMS*, 1905, p.iii, ATC Library; J.M. Llyod, *History*, op. cit., p. 89.

[19] The north started prayer meeting since early 1905 under the guidance of D.E. Jones, and the south started it from July 1905. Vanlalchhuanawma, op.cit., p. 167

[20] *Report of FMPCW*, p. 32.

[21] J.M. Llyod, *History*, p. 90.

[22] *Report of FMPCW*, 1906-07, p. 32.

[23] J.M. Llyod, *History*, p. 89.

[24] Lalsawma, *Revival*, p. 33.

In the night they spent at Cherra they had their first encounter with the revival movement. The Mizos stood dumbfounded as their hostess and her children were waving their hands about when a hymn was sung. The church meeting they attended that evening also have people "shaking like leaves" in the Church meeting which made them ask what it was all about.[25]

At the Assembly meeting, the Mizos delegates experienced revival fervor. Khuma, then Vanchhunga were consumed by the revival fire.[26] At the meeting held on Sunday afternoon in the open air, the local Missionary, Robert Evans called out the Mizo delegates and requested the congregation to offer a prayer for the Mizos and their land. As they stood there, Thanga recalled that they were "weeping and trembling", not one of them remained unaffected.[27]

The Mizos could not understand a word of what was said, but they came back deeply impressed, Lorrain records.[28] The strength of the congregation at the Assembly, which was estimated to be over 8000[29] must have amazed them, for the delegates they had seen at Mawphlang where they spent a night was already the largest congregation they have ever seen.[30] Another thing that struck them was to see so many white missionaries in the meeting.[31]Thanga noticed some Khasi Christians, obviously important government servants who seemed to be genuinely in to Christianity, and wished that the best-educated of the Mizos, Lalsuaka, a government servant who have been indifferent to Christianity, would be like them. He even records that he felt God was telling him that

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[25]J.M. Llyod, *History*, p. 91.

[26]Khuma was seen weeping while the hymn "All hail the power of Jesus' Name" was sung repeatedly for about an hour, and Vanchhunga was suddenly stricken while a Khasi friend was offering a prayer after an informal singing session. He panted like a tortured mithun, clenched his fists and became rigid, and later muttered, "Lord, I thank you for having removed my distrust which was bigger than a mountain". Cited in Vanlalchhuanawma, op. cit., p. 169.

[27]J.M. Llyod, *History*, p. 92.

[28] *Report by BMS*, p. 31.

[29]J.M. Llyod, *History*, p. 92.

[30]ibid.

[31]Lalsawma, *Revival*, p. 33.

Suaka would be converted, which happened in a few years.[32] Apart from the revival, the Assembly itself must have been therefore, very interesting to the Mizos. It was with such a state, impressed both physically and spiritually by the Assembly, that the Mizo delegates left Mairang to return to Mizoram. It was through these delegates that the first revival broke out in Mizoram.

3.2.1 THE FIRST WAVE

The Mizo delegates experienced revival spirit when they attended meetings at Cherrapunji and Sohramim on their way back and found themselves excited and dancing.[33] On reaching Silchar, however, an unpleasant mood engulfed them and for several days, they were even unwilling to speak to one another for a reason they did not know. But while they held a meeting at Bilkhawthlir, the revival joy came back and some of them even danced. After crossing Sakawrhmuituai, they could sing together as they walked, and on reaching Aizawl on the 4th of April, they stopped at Chaltlang two miles from Aizawl and offered prayer, as they always do before entering a village. Zathanga, (later Rev. Zathanga) says that each of them felt some touch, an inspiration within their heart, but that's all.[34] Thanga then composed a new hymn under the fresh inspiration:

> Sinner, sinner, sinner I am Lord
>
> But you have forgiven me,
>
> I'll praise and praise you ever.

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[32]J.M. Llyod, *History*, pp. 91-92.

[33]Lalsawma, *Revival*, p. 33; Vanlalchhuanawma, op. cit., p. 169.

[34]Lalhmuaka, *Zoram Thim Ata Engah* (Synod Publication Board, Aizawl, 1988), pp. 135-136.

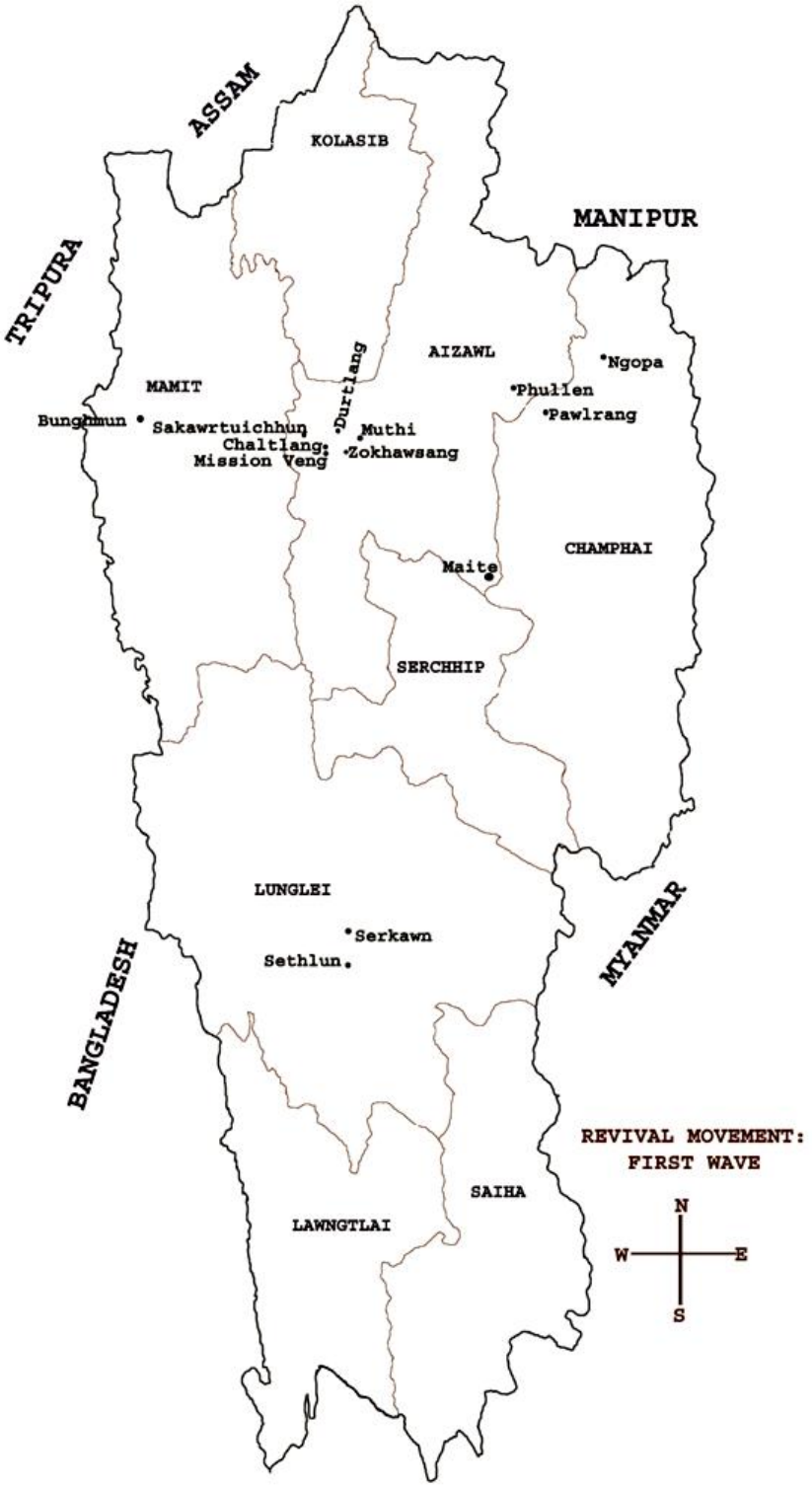

Fig. 1: Revival Movement: First Wave

From there, they continued their journey singing till they reached Mission Veng in Aizawl.[35]

The Christians in Aizawl welcomed the Mairang delegates with anticipation, and a series of reception meetings were organized. On their arrival on Wednesday, 4 April 1906, the first reception was arranged at the school-cum-chapel where prayers had been offered every evening on behalf of the Mairang delegates. The Mairang delegates were happy and danced freely, but Thanga, one of the delegates, reports that the people were suspicious and thought they were "merely imitating what the Khasi people were doing", and sneered at them.[36] One witness of the first revival meeting said they were afraid of the revivalists because they thought they were going to "bewitch" them.[37]

In spite of the delegates' enthusiasm, there was no sign of revival and the delegates themselves were very disappointed.[38] D.E. Jones describes the meeting briefly:

> "They returned here full of the spirit of the revival, and some of them manifested the groanings and the rejoicing of revival times the first night but others were quiet."[39]

But the church continued to prepare to receive a revival, the next four days were spent together at Mission Veng with prayers and meetings where the delegates gave reports and testimonies,[40] a nightly meeting was organized, the delegates addressed the children in the schools and went with the missionaries to preach in villages.[41] Still, there was no revival manifestation on Sunday services as well, and even D.E. Jones grew frustrated:

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[35]Vanlalchhuanawma, op. cit., p. 170.
[36]Thanga, *Kum 1906-a Mizoram Harhna Thlen Hmasak Ber Thu*, (n.d. n.p.), p. 15.
[37] A speech of unknown author, F. No. HZI/3/44, CMA, NLW, Abeystwyth.
[38]J.M. Llyod, *History*, p. 94.
[39]D.E. Jones, Letter dated 10 April 1906, as cited in ibid., p. 170.
[40]Lalsawma, *Revival*, p. 35.
[41]D.E. Jones, letter dated 10 April 1906, as cited in Vanlalchhuanawma, op. cit., p. 171.

> "…a few came to the meetings and it seems to be getting harder…we expected something great on Sunday but I felt it unbearably cool and hard as if before a thunderstorm. On Sunday night we asked whether there was anyone willing to follow Jesus and no one answered and we thought that we were doomed to disappointment."[42]

The expectation almost died down. It was the 8th of April, and D.E. Jones announced that a farewell meeting for the three delegates from the South would be held early the next morning. The farewell meeting was a simple one and not many people attended it. A speech and prayer from D.E. Jones and a parting hymn, "God be with you till we meet again', made up the programme. When the hymn was sung, it was sung with "unusual warmth" and went on of its own accord beyond the stipulated time. [43] The school boys and girls who came for their usual classes also joined the throng and sang with them. After the benediction was pronounced by D.E. Jones, it appears that the spirit of the gathering was just beginning.[44]

> "After pronouncing the benediction someone began to speak. Then another and another and a young woman came of her own accord to confess her sins and asked for prayer on her behalf and then a torrent came. The singing was powerful there were one or two loud screams and strong crying and tears.
>
> "Prayers became universal and we could hardly understand more than – "Forgive", "Oh Lord!", "Mercy!", "Save!" and such heart-rending exclamations. The hymns seemed new to our ears. Then there was a break and about two dozen came forward to confess their sins."[45]

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[42] ibid.

[43]Lalsawma, *Revival,* p. 36.

[44]Vanlalchhuanawma, op. cit., p. 171.

[45]D.E. Jones's Letter dated 10 April 1906, Quoted in ibid., p. 171.

A witness of the meeting recalls:

> "The school was opened at 8 a.m. as usual. The revivalists were seeing off their friends from the South. We were singing and one woman prayed and wept bitterly saying that she was a sinner. I remember one of the revivalists dropped his cloth when dancing and was unable to pick it up. Everyone was infected. That farewell meeting lasted nearly the whole day."[46]

The congregation was now filled with the sound of singing and prayer with confessions of sin as the people moved their body in excitement, swinging their arms and legs beating the tables and thumping the floor while singing in the absence of any instruments to accompany the singing.[47] This manner of expressing spiritual excitement was different from that in the later waves. It was like what the delegates witnessed during the Mairang Assembly, as they danced without leaving their places, vigorously hand waving and body swaying as the singing gained in tempo.[48] Most of the scholars agree that the revival manifestation in the first stirring appeared to be similar to the features of the Welsh and Khasi revivals.[49]

The revival continued to 'burn' with intensity for a fortnight, according to D.E. Jones.[50] The outbreak at the meeting on 9 April convinced him that revival came to Lushai Hills though the Mizos generally accepted the arrival date of Mairang delegates, the 4th April as the date of the first stirring.[51]

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[46] A speech of unknown author, F. No. HZI/3/44, CMA, NLW, Aberystwyth.

[47] Vanlalchhuanawma, op. cit., p. 171; Lalsawma, *Revival*, p. 37.

[48] ibid., Lalsawma.

[49] ibid., p. 37; Vanlalchhuanawma, op.cit., p. 172; Lalsangkima Pachuau, op. cit., p. 116.

[50] *Report of FMPCW,* 1906-07, p. 32.

[51] April 4 has been observed as the Arrival day of Revival by the Mizo Presbyterian Church since 1984 according to the resolution made by the Synod in 1981. Vanlalchhuanawma, op. cit., p. 170.

The revival broke out in other villages like Khandaih, Muthi, Ngopa, Sakawrtuichhun and Saihum soon after.[52]It also spread to Bunghmun, Pawlrang, Zokhawsang. [53]

The revival in Khandaih (later called Phullen) is often noted, not so much because of its intensity as it is for the persecution that followed. It was the largest village of the time, larger than even Aizawl,[54] and has the first permanent rural school in 1903[55] with Hranga as a teacher. It was the first distant village to receive the first stirring.[56] Zosaphluia (D.E. Jones) asked the teacher Hranga to visit Aizawl and see the revival. Hranga, along with his friends Phawka, who was an evangelist at Bunghmun, and Thanga went, and came under the influence of the revival. Zosaphluia then predicted that a revival will also break out at Khandaih. When Hranga returned to his village which was four days journey from Aizawl, he found that the revival had already broken out. Upon an enquiry, it was found that the revival broke out on 8 April 1906 at community fishing in the river the same day Zosaphluia predicted about the revival at Khandaih.[57]

The delegates from the south returned after about a week of enjoying the revival in Aizawl.[58] They shared their revival experiences at Mairang and Aizawl to the villages where they spent the night all the way to Lunglei that greatly revived the desire for an awakening.[59] The Christians under Lorrain's leadership received them on the outskirts of Pukpui and arranged a reception meeting at night at Serkawn. No spectacular manifestation was recorded except that Thankunga, one of the delegates continued to dance during the singing of hymns. But Lorrain was suspicious that it might be an

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[52] *Report of FMPCW*, 1906-07, p. 32.

[53]Liangkhaia, *Harhna*, pp. 22-27; Lalruali, op. cit., p. 8.

[54]J.V. Hluna, 'Khandaih Harhna' in *Harhna, Mizoram Revival Centenary Souvenir (1906-2006) [HMRCS]* (Synod Revival Committee, Aizawl, 2006), p. 309.

[55] *Report of FMPCW*, p. 20.

[56] Vanlalchhuanawma, op. cit., p. 173.

[57]J.V. Hluna, 'Khandaih Harhna' in *HMRCS*, op. cit., pp. 318-319.

[58] Vanlalchhuanawma, op. cit., p. 179.

[59] H.W. Carter and H.S. Luaia, op. cit., p. 71; *Report by BMS*, op. cit., pp. 31-32.

imitation of "what they had seen over there" to work up the feelings of the people, and says:

> "These methods were gently but firmly repressed by us, for we greatly feared spurious revival which would have worked nothing but evil amongst us. For the same reason we resisted the temptation to invite any of the northern Lushais across to hold revival services. We felt that if the revival was to come to south Lushai, it must be our duty to wait upon God until He saw fit to send it Himself."[60]

Still, he acknowledges that once or twice the Spirit worked among the Christians as He had never done before though it was considered not amounting to a revival movement, some people grew disheartened and ceased praying while a few maintained regular prayers for revival.[61] On the other hand, there is also an observation that the Christians everywhere in the south heeded the revival and those at Serkawn and Sethlun became greatly revived.[62]

A year after, in April 1907, at the 'Great Gathering', the 'Lushai' converts received a "wonderful outpouring of the Holy Spirit which greatly encouraged them and gave them a new power to witness for their master".[63] The revival that came in this 'Great Gathering' was wholly accepted and appreciated by Lorrain.[64] He reports in the *Missionary Herald*:

> "Suddenly, as at Pentecost, the Holy Spirit took possession of the audience, and almost every one bowed his or her head and prayed in a low voice. The murmur of prayer pervaded the whole room, rising

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[60] ibid., *Report by BMS*, p. 38.
[61] ibid., pp. 31-32.
[62] H.W. Carter and H.S. Luaia, op. cit., p. 71.
[63] *Report by BMS*, p. 100.
[64] ibid., p. 38; see Lalsawma, *Revival*, pp. 50-51; Vanlalchhuanawma, op. cit., pp. 179-180.

> louder and louder as some with tears cried to God for pardon, and others sprang to their feet to make public confession of their faults. The few who had been praying God for long months to visit South Lushai knew that their importunity had been rewarded, and that the apathy of the many was melting away beneath the influence of the Holy Spirit."[65]

There is dissonance between the missionaries and the Mizos on the beginning of revival experience. When the Mizos felt that they have experienced the revival since the return of the Mairang delegates, it took some time for the missionaries to approve that it was an outpouring from the Holy Spirit.

3.2.2 THE SECOND WAVE

Mizo scholars working on revival agreed upon 1913 as the date of the second revival stirring. There is however a minor difference about the place of origin but majority agrees that it started at Hmunhmeltha (then part of Champhai).[66] The church at Hmunhmeltha was made up of Christians who were affected in the earlier wave.[67] Lalsawma believes that the second wave of revival was 'a kind of a flashback current' of the first wave.[68]

The sudden death of the church member Dara struck the church badly. Dara died while on a visit to his wife's relatives at Tuisen village (Khawzawl), one day's journey from his village and he was buried on 3 February 1913. The village people who gathered

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[65]J.H. Lorrain, 'Revival Fire in Lushailand,' *Missionary Herald*, vol. 89, no. 11 (November 1907), p. 332.

[66]Lalsawma mentions the diary of Teacher Liansata which mentions that the Holy Spirit came upon many people at Hmunhmeltha on April 1912, but Lalsawma considered it as a preparation for the 1913 outbreak. Regarding the place, among the earlier authors form whose works most of the later works were being produced, Liangkhaia says it was at Mission Veng, Aizawl that the 1913 stirring first broke out (Liangkhaia, *Harhna*, p. 28.) but Saiaithanga says it was at Hmunhmeltha of Champhai (Saiaithanga, *Kohhran*, p. 54.); Considering the date given, Hmunhmeltha was earlier (Lalsawma, *Revival*, p. 57.) that is, February 9, 1913 as against the outbreak in Aizawl in March 1913 as given by Liangkhaia. The main centres of this revival were Champhai-Hmunhmeltha, Durtlang and Aizawl, in that order. Mangkhosat Kipgen, op. cit., p. 235.

[67]Lalsawma, *Revival*, p. 59.

[68] ibid., p. 83.

to console the bereft were moved into excited singing, and that was the beginning of the outbreak of the revival.[69] The following days the fervour continued, and on Sunday, 9 February 1913, the real outpouring was experienced when the people gathered at Dara's house after the night service. The meeting continued in singing, crying, laughing, and jumping till the next morning, and was continued for the whole week.[70] The revival enthusiasm met a brief recess due to the alleging of Thangrochhingi, the widow of Dara and leading figure of the revival, as possessing devil's spirit by a certain group. It was on 8 March 1913 when an informal conference of churches of villages around Champhai gathered at Butpawla Veng to propose an agenda for the Presbytery meeting that the revival outpouring was felt again like a 'sudden outburst of rain'.[71] This revival was experienced even more powerfully during the ensuing Presbytery meeting in the north. D.E. Jones in his letter mentions that the gathering of the congregation of some five hundred people at the Presbytery meeting was "like a boiling cauldron, meeting without break for three or four days and nights", and "they could not be persuaded to leave".[72]

Very soon, the revival spread and the stirring was also felt in other places as well. Durtlang was the next affected in early April 1913. Apart from the church at Durtlang and Mission Veng, the stirring had covered villages like Sialsuk, Hmuifang, Maubuang, Phulpui, Khawbung, Hualtu, Thanglailung, Darchhun, Tuisenhnar, Arro, Kawlkulh, Biate, Leisen, Khuangleng, Khuangthing, Khuafoh, Hrangkima Khua, Khawdungsei, Dulte, Khawthlir and Haklawn. The southern part of Mizoram also experienced it soon on 22 March, 1913 at Lunglei and then at Serkawn in May and Theiriat and Tawipui in June, 1913.[73] These were the only places mentioned by Vanchhunga but Carter and Sawiluaia claimed that the wave spread widely in the South without mentioning any

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[69] ibid., p 57.

[70] Lianshata, a teacher at Champhai Sanga Veng reports that till Saturday that week, no one could go to their work, and even he could not have class for four days. *Kristian Tlangau*, November, 1913, p. 398.

[71] Vanlalchhuanawma, op. cit., pp. 196-197; Vanchhunga writes a report of this revival in *Kristian Tlangau*, January and February 1914, pp. 17-18 and 31-33 respectively.

[72] D.E. Jones to Williams, April 23, 24, 1913, as quoted in Mangkhosat Kipgen, op. cit., p. 235.

[73] *Kristian Tlangau*, January 1914, p. 18.

name of the village.[74] The western part of Mizoram was least affected by the revival stirring, so also the southern half of the South Mizoram Division. Difficult communication and little influence of Christianity preceding the Wave, absence of social solidarity and thinness of population over large areas are attributed to the absence of revival movements in those areas.[75]

Some writers say that the second stirring had multiple themes like the Cross of Christ, Christian Love, the Holy Spirit and the End Time or the Second Coming, but most of the earlier writers identified the Second Coming as the central theme.[76] The 'Urgency of the Kingdom of God' was felt along with the emphasis on Second coming that created an atmosphere of haste; "songs were sung in quick beats and they danced in quick movements", they also felt the urgency and haste to preach the gospel. Many adopted negative attitude to profitable labours for some time.[77] A Mizo scholar records:

> "And they preached in haste. Some literally ran in the streets shouting, "the world is coming to an end now!" while some others ran miles between the villages and beyond the present boundaries of Mizoram. So the core of the

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[74] H.W. Carter and H.S. Luaia, op. cit., p. 75.

[75]Vanlalchhuanawma, op. cit., p. 198; Lalsawma, *Revival*, pp. 76-77.

[76] ibid. Vanlalchhuanawma, p. 200; Vanlalchhuanawma believes that all these themes could be explained by the historical context. An experience of liberation of *Bawis* shows the Christ-like suffering of Peter Fraser on behalf of the *Bawis*, hence the theme of the cross. It was a time of famine that endears Christian teaching of love, the comfort of the Holy Spirit was longed for, and one of the most common song was "*Aw Thlarau Thianghlim lokal la, kan tha ti chak ang che…(*Come Holy Spirit, and renew our soul)". The promise of heaven was also attractive to the poverty-stricken people which made them long for the Second Coming of Christ to gather His saints. Songs referring to Christ's return like "*The Lord is coming by and by: Be ready when He comes", "Lo! He comes with clouds descending" and "Oh my comrades, see the signal waving in the sky*!" were very popular. ibid., p. 201.

[77]Lalsawma, *Revival*, p. 67; Lalsawma records, "Some stopped working in their jhums for time would not permit to wait as long as the harvest while others would not mend their houses…One old lady at Khawbung told that as a girl of 15, she disposed of all her additional dresses, such as skirts, blouses and clothes for the certainty that the ones on her body would not wear away when Jesus come," ibid., p. 67.

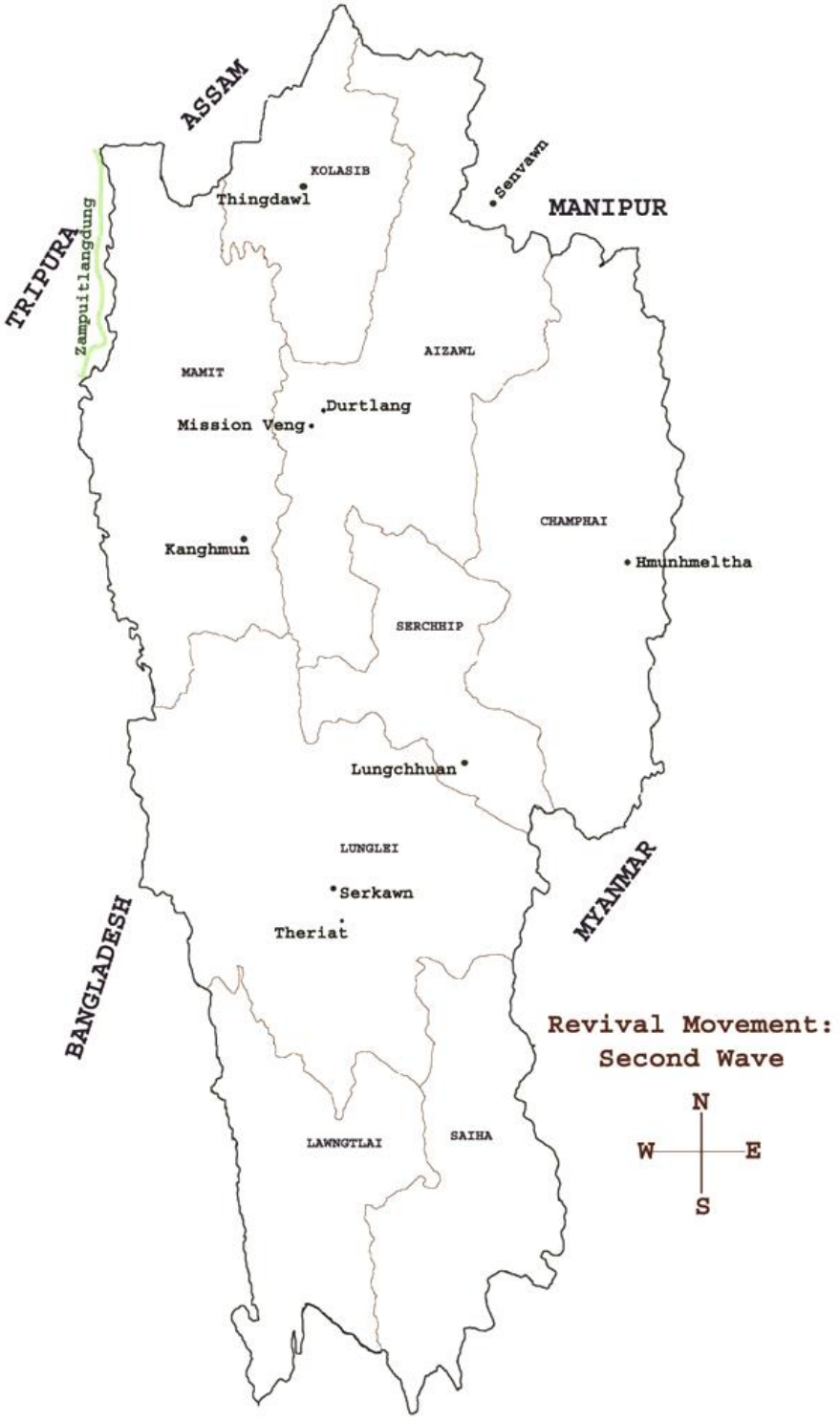

Fig. 2: Revival Movement: Second Wave

> preaching was: "Accept the Kingdom of God and the Salvation of Jesus Christ, for the world is coming to an end, yes be quick before it is too late!"[78]

Perhaps the emphasis on the Second coming might have been derived from the influence of the Missionaries, as one scholar observes.[79] Dr. Peter Fraser was recorded to have a strong conviction of the nearness of the Second coming of Christ; Lorrrain in Lunglei is also said to have preached a lot about it.[80] *Kristian Tlangau* also has many references about the Second coming of Christ and emphasis on the need to be prepared, which might also have contributed to shape the theme. [81]

The form of physical expressions in enthusiasm was still very much the same as in the first wave, but now more intense and forceful.[82] The most common manifestation of the second stirring was mainly body shaking and shouting.[83] Lots of singing and dancing was seen in gathering, either in the church or a house meeting after service. They made noise by shouting, crying and laughing, and they could not stop singing. They moved their bodies while singing, waved their hands and came out to the space at the centre and danced.[84] There were times when the leaders of the service forbade reading of the Bible or preaching of the word of God, but resolved to wait upon the Holy Spirit and decided to let the Holy Spirit work just as He pleases and that no one should dictate Him but be simply opened for God's work.[85]

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[78] ibid., pp. 67-68.

[79] Vanlalchhuanawma, op. cit., p. 201.

[80] ibid.

[81] The subject became frequently addressed especially from 1912 in *Kristian Tlangau*. See *Kristian Tlangau*, July 1912, pp. 99, 105; August 1912, p.126; July 1913; September 1913, etc.

[82] Lalsawma, *Revival*, p. 68.

[83] Zalawma, 'Mizorama Harhna Tum Hnihna' in *HMRCS*, p. 272.

[84] Saiaithanga, *Kohhran*, p. 55; Liansata, a teacher reported that on the 11th February (year not recorded, probably 1913), they sang and danced the whole day, and for five days, they were singing only one song, and school was also suspended for these days. Zalawma, op. cit., pp. 273-274.

[85] *Kristian Tlangau*, February 1914, p.33.

Many strange features like swooning, falling into trance, somersaulting, acting symbolically also appeared.[86] An eye witness reports that in Champhai revival, some claimed to see by their eyes of faith a light and the Cross while some listened to the heavenly singing sleeplessly, yet others marched to the rhythm of perceived heavenly music, some trembled whole night without knowing the cause, some groaned as if under inexpressible torture, others prostrate themselves and uttered thanks to God for delivering them, others felt the need to spread the good news of the Cross and thus run about in haste carrying the Cross. As they felt that Christ's suffering has been clearly demonstrated to them, many of the people acted as if they were suffering as Christ; "some people cowered as if a crown of thorns was hurting their heads; others looked like they were suffering from wounds on their sides of palms while others stood still with one foot on top of the other. A few of them seemed to have lost their pulses in great agony, while the lips of some turned too stiff to speak."[87] Some of them carried a cross made of cardboard to offend Satan.[88] A man in Durtlang, in the heat of singing and dancing in a house meeting, tried to dance upside down at the cross beam of the house and fell from there. What is remarkable here is that this was not regarded as something abnormal.[89] But to a European witness, it was "the most unruly revival" she has ever seen.[90]

When the missionaries tried to infuse the idea of "self-control" into the people who were considered to have crossed the line, the revivalists were not ready to listen to them, they rather understood it as an assault to the Holy Spirit.[91]`

The second wave produced a spectacular growth of number of converts. The growth in number during the year 1912-1913 almost equalled the total of converts that

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[86]Vanlalchhuanawma, op. cit., p. 204.

[87]Vanchhunga's report in *Kristian Tlangau,* April 1914, pp.75-77, (translated by Vanlalchhuanawma).

[88]Zalawma, op. cit., p. 273.

[89]Lalsawma, *Revival,* p. 68.

[90] Katie Jones to Williams, 15 April 1913, as quoted in Vanlalchhuanawma, op. cit. p. 204.

[91] *Report by BMS*, 1913, p. 100; D.E. Jones to Williams, 22 May 1913 as quoted in *ibid.*, p. 205.

had been made in the previous 18 years in the north.[92] The Christian community in the south also saw an increase of 1,103 members, bringing the total number of Christians in that area to 2,647 – scattered in 103 villages.[93]

At the same time, the earliest deviation from the established church was seen during the second wave of revival. Khawliantlira, popularly known as Tlira, who was among the deeply affected revivalists when it broke out at Butpawla Veng,[94] started an autonomous Christian movement. His teachings were based on a series of visions which he later wrote in booklets[95] and were by nature a deviation from the teachings of the official church.[96]The church therefore totally rejected Tlira's teaching and he and his group were excommunicated from the church.[97]

The second wave subsided at the end of 1914, but an attachment to the movement has already developed in the minds of the people, therefore, "a deeper current of prayer and dedicated life in the following years which in turn became the effective preparation for the third wave" was to be seen.[98] From the year 1916, '*Kristian Beihram Pawl'* under the leadership of Liangkhaia was set up which aimed at reviving the weakening church

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[92]In 1912, there had been in the north, 2,455 members. In 1913, some 4,776 members, a growth of 94.54 per cent, were reported. Mangkhosat Kipgen, op. cit., p. 235.

[93] ibid., p. 236.

[94] Tlira earned for his education serving as a military dishwasher, and after passing Lower Primary Examination, he served under the Welsh Mission as a teacher first at Biate and later at Butpawla Veng. Tlira was taught to dislike British imperialism, Vanlalchhuanawma, op. cit. p. 207-210; For more about the life and teaching of Tlira, see James Dokhuma, *Zoram Kohhran Tualto Chanchin*, rev. edn (published by author, 1997) pp. 16-28; V.L. Zaikima, *Tlira leh a Inlarna* (Lengchhawn Press, Aizawl, 2011).

[95] A twenty seven booklets of seven hundred and twelve chapters, which is called *Sakawlh Manna Van Thar Bu* meaning "Book of New Heaven on the Capture of the Chief Beast". Since he had all the books sent to Bualthluaii, a Bible Women and one of his first followers, they used to be nicknamed 'Tlira's Epistle to Bualthluaii". The style of his writing resembles St. Paul's epistles and of the Revelation." ibid., Vanlalchhuanawma, p. 208.

[96] All formalities of the established church or its doctrines were disregarded by Tlira, he proposed that drinking *zu* does not harm one's salvation. James Dokhuma, op. cit., pp. 22-26; Lalsawma, *Revival*, p. 61.

[97]Resolution of the Presbytery, October 1-4, 1914, No. 26, *Kristian Tlangau*, December 1914, p. 231.

[98] Lalsawma, *Revival*, p.74.

through prayers and additional meetings apart from the regular services. The 1918 October Presbytery at Champhai decided to regularise the practice and *Beihrual* (Evangelistic Campaign) was started which was to be organised in September every year.[99] This helped in preparing the ground for the future revival waves.

3.2.3 THE THIRD WAVE

The third wave of revival which came in 1919 was considered to be the "greatest and most powerful" revival in Mizoram. [100] Though it is said to begin in 1919, there have been reports of stirring since 1916.[101] Nevertheless, the stirring in 1919 was most dynamic and it spread all over Mizoram within a matter of two or three months. It is said to have also spread to all the places inhabited by Mizo Christians in Tripura and Manipur, and even affected the Nagas.[102] One church historian records that "the spread of the third Wave during the months [following August] was compared to that of a wild fire in a dry land."[103]

It is said that the stirring broke out simultaneously on the night of July 26, 1919 in three widely separated villages, namely Nisapui, a village 22 miles north of Aizawl, Zotlang village, 120 miles south of Aizawl, and Thingsai village, 60 miles east of Lunglei.[104]For the reading of how the revival began and spread from Nisapui to Aizawl area, let us take Liangkhaia's description as retold in English by Mangkhosat Kipgen:

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[99] Liangkhaia, *Harhna*, pp. 34-35; Saiaithanga, *Kohhran,* p. 58.

[100] ibid., Saiaithanga, p. 83; Most of the scholars on revival agreed on this statement. F.J. Sandy, a missionary, also described it as "the great revival". Mangkhosat Kipgen, op. cit., p. 236.

[101]Revival stirrings were reported at Khawpuibung in May 1916, at Kanghmun in early 1917, at Senvawn in January 1917, (Vanlalchhuanawma, op.cit., p. 236) at Lungchhuan in the Pastorate Assembly on Oct. 18-21, 1917 (*Kristian Tlangau*, December 1917, pp.225-226), at Nisapui in June and Oct. 1917, Biate, Bawktlang, Khawbung, Sailulak (*Kristian Tlangau*, March 1918, p.50), at Thingdawl in March1918 (*Kristian Tlangau*, September 1918, pp.163-164).

[102]Mangkhosat Kipgen, op. cit., p. 238.

[103]Lalsawma, *Revival*, p. 91.

[104] ibid., p. 84; C. Vanlalhruaia, 'Mizorama Harhna Tum Thumna' in *HMRCS*, p. 285.

"When the revival broke out [at Nisapui], Paranga, the evangelist in that area, was present. He quickly left for his village, Lungdai, and was followed by three young men of *tlawmngaihna.* There as they shared their experiences a revival began. After three days of revival experience, the Christians of Nisapui decided to visit the Christians at Lungdai, which they did, then together, in a great crowd, everyone went to Thingkhuang village…The excited Christians of the three villages in turn decided to visit Durtlang which they did at night. In the dark, it was only the man in the lead of the single-file procession who could see the way, holding aloft a petromax lantern. In their excitement no one, not even girls and women carrying babies, felt tired. Initially the people of Durtlang were reserved and gave them only a grudging reception. But by the end of two days they too began to participate in the revival. Only then did the Christians of the three [sic] villages returned home.

"Now it was the turn of the Christians of Durtlang, who decided to take the revival to Aizawl. In their excitement, they too would not wait till the next day but set out immediately, led by their chief, Lalsuaka. A large crowd marched towards Aizawl, singing to the accompaniment of the drum, disregarding the rain that was falling and the muddy road. They entered Aizawl singing and dancing to the beat of the drum and went directly to the school –cum-chapel building. There they rang the church gong so vigorously that the townspeople rushed to the spot fearing that there was a fire. But when they arrived they too got caught up in the ecstatic spirit of the revival. Though it was early August and the monsoon rains were heavy, the meeting continued through the

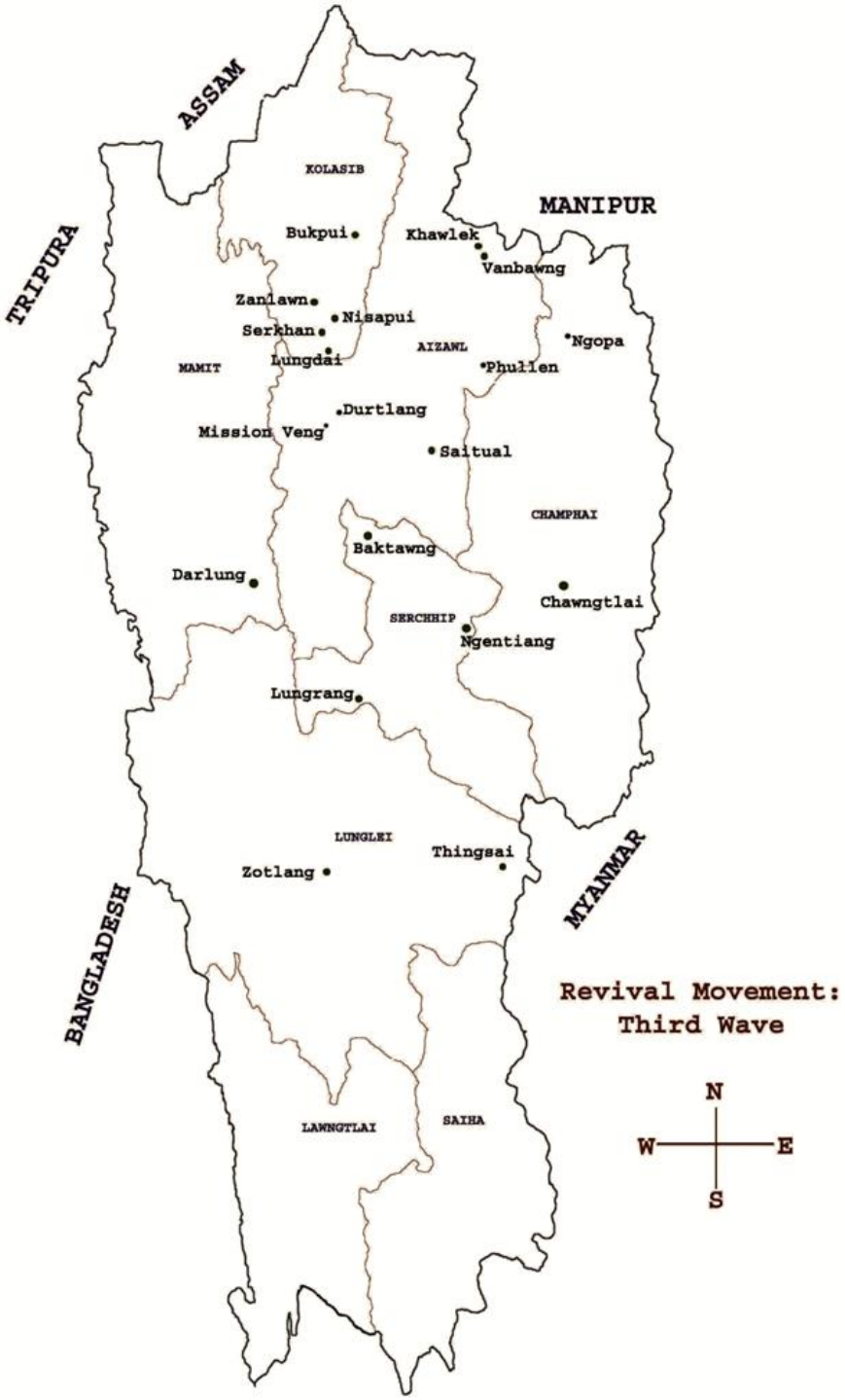

Fig. 3: Revival Movement: Third Wave

> entire night and all the next day. Thus the revival came to the Mission Veng church in Aizawl."[105]

About the stirring at Thingsai, there is dearth of information on its extend and impact on the people but it is said to be quite similar with the characteristics of the revival at Nisapui and Zotlang, people could not stop singing and dancing, and the central theme was about the Cross. [106] It is said that Thangbawnga of Thingsai, who became a famous faith healer was the product of this revival.[107]

The church at Zotlang in the south of Mizoram has been praying every Friday evening for revival, and on that eventful night, the revival broke out and soon, it spread to the neighbouring villages, like Pukpui, Lunglawn and Theiriat.[108] The revival was so intense that it is said all the flying birds were perceived to say, "Mount of Calvary"![109]

Though earlier writers were silent about the theme associated with this stirring, it is generally accepted that the Cross of Christ on Calvary focused on the physical suffering of Jesus was the theme that mainly gripped the thought of every person.[110] A Mizo scholar records:

> "...the revival made the Cross real and vivid in Christian experience of the Holy Spirit. Sermons and hymns were directed to visualize the passion incident, the Gethsemane, the *via dolarosa*, and the final humiliation of Jesus. The sorrows and tragedy were presented so

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[105]Mangkhosat Kipgen, op. cit., pp. 238-239.
[106] C.Vanlalhruaia, 'Mizoram Harhna Tum Thumna,' in *HMRCS*, op. cit., p. 297.
[107] ibid., p. 298.
[108] H.W. Carter and H.S. Luaia, op. cit., pp.76-77.
[109] C.Vanlalhruaia, op. cit., p. 297.
[110] For detail, see Vanlalchhuanawma, op. cit., p. 241.

> graphic and real that many men and women of more tender disposition were made to weep for hours on end."[111]

The people who were affected by the revival were anxious to speak about it, and therefore, they began to preach not only in the church but also in the streets and houses. People formed in group which came to be known as '*Fangrual*' and travelled to other villages thus spreading the revival.[112]

In this revival, *Khuang* (drum) was extensively used. The Great Gathering at Lungrang Presbytery in 1919 hosted an intense revival activity where delegates not only from the south but also from the north and the east also attended. Carter and Luaia were of the opinion that it was from this gathering that the Mizo church introduced the use of drum inside the church though Lalsawma maintains that it was introduced earlier.[113] Songs of native origin, like *Thisen Hlu Thisen Hlu, Thumak Ka Sawinin Theih Loh Chu* etc. were among the favourites along with translated songs.[114] The movement continued to grow even in 1921 when it was manifested in the Great Gathering at Zotlang which might have been one of the best attended Presbyteries.[115] It was in this gathering that quaking dance (*khurh lam*) was introduced by delegates from the north, according to Carter and Luaia.[116]

> "The form of dance or physical expressions took a fresh turn in an ecstatic and compulsive way beginning with quaking of the body or part of it. When the singing warmed up, a person began to quake

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[111] Lalsawma, '*Revival*,' p. 85.

[112] C. Vanlalhruaia, op. cit., pp.302-303.

[113] H.W. Carter and H.S. Luaia, op. cit., pp. 77-78. Lalsawma acknowledges the argument of Carter and Sawiluaia as well as other Mizo writers like Liangkhaia, Saiaithanga and V.L. Siama who proposed that drum was used from the Third Wave of revival. However, he proposes the beginning of use of drum by the revivalists from the second wave as he claims to receive information about its use from this time. Lalsawma, *Revival,* pp.77-78.

[114] ibid., p. 78.

[115] ibid., pp. 76-82; Zotlang village received 2040 delegates.

[116] ibid., p. 84.

> involuntarily, may be, and then quaking increased with the tempo of the singing till the person had to jump out in ecstasy. Refusal to give physical expressions may result into pain in part, or whole, of the body, or even in paralysis of the whole body. So began a familiar phrase "spirit illness" (*thlarau nat*) which became very common till recently."[117]

This feature became a disturbing aspect that resulted into division of opinion as well as confusion in the church.[118]

Like the previous wave, strange manifestations were common during the third wave.[119] In symbolic dancing, the revivalists felt graphic and real physical agony when they acted out the whole scene of the crucifixion.[120] The expectation from the people was also guided by the emphasis on emotional manifestation, a preacher who could not shed particle of tear while on the platform was considered a failure while "successful preaching drew tears and sighs and vocal ejaculations from the audience."[121]

Apart from these physical manifestations, there was a theological contention as a "form of theological reaction to the third Waves coming out of the North East." The first

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[117] ibid., p. 85.

[118] The involuntary quaking of the body and falling into trances were the "most noticeable new forms of physical expressions". It was already common in the north by 1921 and was introduced in the south in the Zotlang Presbytery of 1921. (Lalsangkima Pachuau, op. cit., p.126.) The church in the south was opposed to this form of dance and ventured to stop it. (See H.W. Carter and H.S. Luaia, op. cit., pp. 85-87.) but even after an inspection, such stern discipline was not found to be necessary in the north. (See C.Vanlalhruaia, op. cit., *p. 300.)*

[119] ibid., C. Vanlalhruaia, pp. 298-301; Lalsawma, '*Revival*,' pp. 117-119.

[120] One of such experience is mentioned here: "Two girls taking the role of the crucified Lord uttered words such as "My side is aching," and "I thirst," with terrific outbursts. They grew rigid till they fell into a coma for about an hour. Three other women played the roles of Mary the mother of Jesus, Mary Magdala and of other women standing by and weeping, crying aloud and jumping about ecstatically. Hysterical laughter took control of many people, so much so that some were on the verge of getting into coma. Several people wept bitterly over the vivid demonstration of Christ's crucifixion. Some claimed to have seen the actor's face actually bleeding." ibid. C. Vanlalhruaia, p. 289.

[121] Lalsawma, *Revival*, p. 85.

point of contention was "Justification by faith better than revival dancing".[122] When three men, Dengkawnga, Chhunga and Rova, after the revival heat subsided in 1922, left home and camped at Dardah cave for a year trying to find a way to an endless joy in the Spirit, they came home with an answer that "an endless joy is found in the experience of free justification by grace through faith (taking their stance fromj the Bible verses of Romans 3:24; Titus 3:7, etc.) not by singing nor by dancing, not by tithing nor by merits, but only by faith" and expounded the theology of "rest assured". It caused great controversy, and it was repulsed by the church. Nevertheless, it "dealt a mortal blow both to the revival dancing and tithes".[123]

Because of all these features, the question of the validity of revival arose, and it became very difficult to contemplate whether the features that came along with the revival wave, and even the revival itself, should be accepted or rejected.[124] Therefore, there was division of opinion, and many churches, particularly in the Northeast and in the South wanted revival followed by a big 'IF', which infers a negative tone, and that was the position of churches in those areas in the years to come.[125]

The striking and unique feature that emerged more prominently as an important characteristic of the revival was the more extensive use of traditional elements in Christian services by the revivalists, like use of drums in the church, and popularizing Mizo native hymns and tunes.

Another spectacular feature of the third wave of revival was the great increase in number of new converts. The church statistics show that the number of Christian community in the North in 1919 was 17,838, and by 1925, the number goes to 34,894,

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[122] ibid., p. 114.

[123] For detail, see ibid., pp. 114-116; Lalruali, op. cit., pp. 35-40, 86-95.

[124]Lalsawma, *Revival*, pp. 117-120.

[125] ibid., p. 120.

showing an increase of 17,056.[126] In South Mizoram, the number of Christian community increased from 3,670 in 1914 to 8,965 in 1925, an increase of 5,295.[127]

3.2.4 THE FOURTH WAVE

Some historians are of the opinion that the third wave of revival did not really die down and there has been some revival activity going on here and there since 1919 even though the great wave had passed.[128] Therefore, historians do not agree on the date of the commencement of the fourth revival, but taking the available evidences, the year 1930 is the most likely date of the outbreak of another great wave for the fourth time. [129]

The remarkable stirring of revival at the Champhai Presbytery of 1930 and the ensuing happenings at Biate when the delegates of the Presbytery halted, was considered to be the beginning of the fourth revival and from that time it spread to most villages in Tuichangral (the area beyond Tuichang river),[130] and the sphere of the revival movement was shifted from the Northeast to the Southeast.[131]

Singing, great excitement, dancing, preaching and prayer continued to be the features of the wave as in the previous ones.[132] John Williams, a missionary doctor in Mizoram (1928-36) reported in 1931 that the Cross was 'the central theme of the

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[126]C.L. Hminga, op. cit., p. 347; Saiathanga recorded that within four years of the revival, 19,197 people were converted into Christianity in the north. Lalsangkima Pachuau, op. cit., p. 125.

[127] ibid., C.L. Hminga, p. 349.

[128] Mangkhosat Kipgen, op. cit., p. 244; Lalsawma, *Revival*, p. 151; Vanlalchhuanawma, op. cit., pp. 328-329.

[129] H.W. Carter & H.S. Luaia say the fourth revival had already begun in the south in 1926; Lalsawma believes that the third revival was still continuing in 1926. V.L. Siama estimates the date to be 1930, Lalsawma also takes 1930 as the starting point of the wave (Lalsawma, *Revival*, p. 151); J.M. Llyod dates the beginning of the revival as 1935 which corresponds with that of Saiaithanga's, but in his recent book, Llyod moves the date back to 1933. (Lalsangkima Pachuau, op.cit., p. 127) It was in 1930 that the most noted revival in the north broke out at the Champhai Presbytery. (Vanlalchhuanawma, op.cit., p.329)

[130] ibid. Vanlalchhuanawma, p. 329; Lalsawma, *Revival*, p. 153.

[131] ibid., Vanlalchhuanawma.

[132]Lalsawma, *Revival*, p. 153.

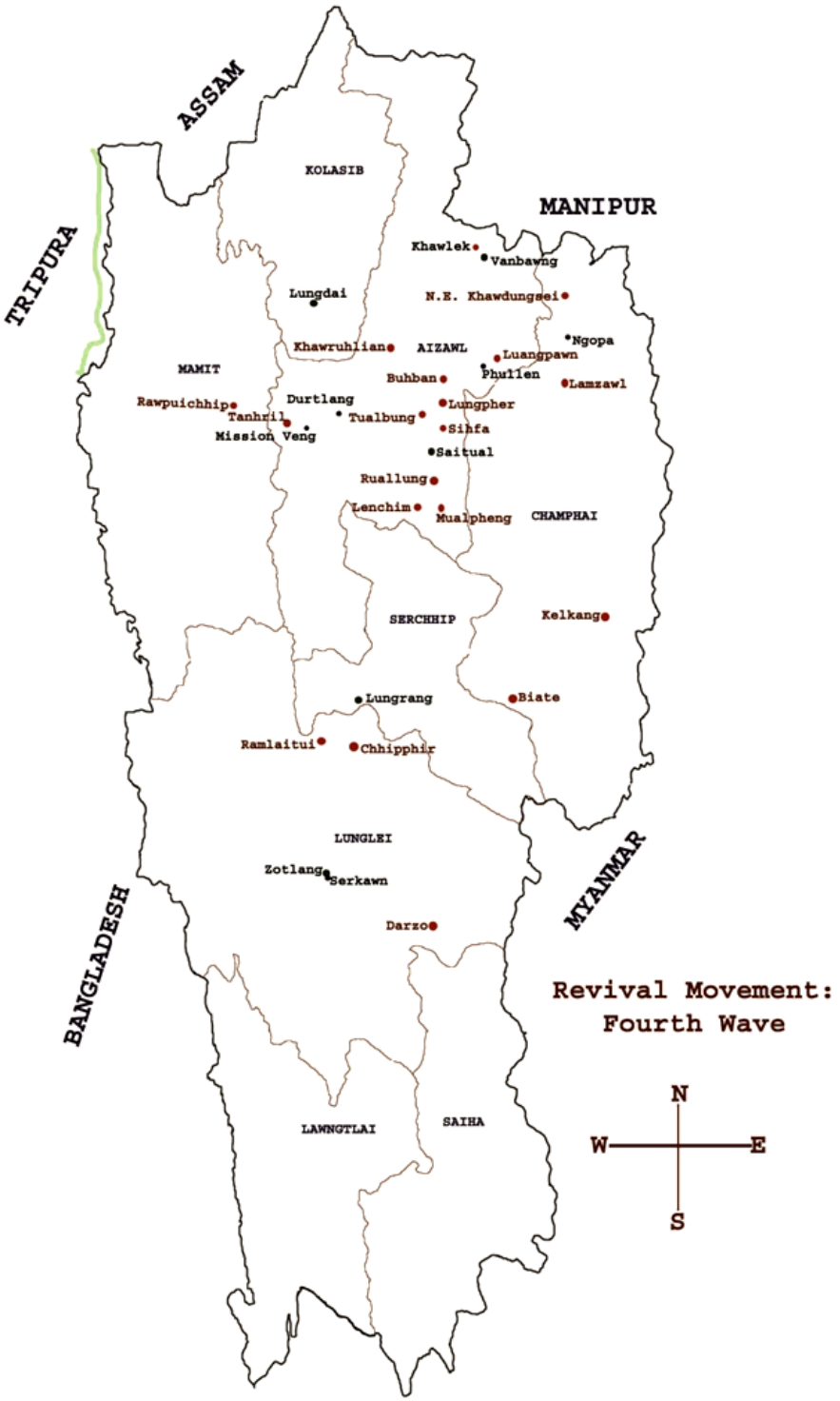

Fig. 4: Revival Movement: Fourth Wave

preaching' in Lushai Hills[133] but some Mizo scholars considered the nature and work of the Holy Spirit as the central theme.[134] There are others who maintain that there was no particular theme of doctrinal emphasis associated with the fourth wave but all the foregoing themes were taken up in the waves.[135]

The fourth revival movement was known for its "excesses" and the division it produced within the church.[136] Emphasis on charismatic or spiritual gifts, like healing through prayer, transference of the spirit by touch, speaking in unknown tongues, prophetic utterances, state of trance, comatose rigidity, symbolic actions[137] were found. "Speaking in tongues" or glossolalia (*tawnghriatloh*) which was used in talking, singing and praying was a controversial feature. This feature when used in praying and singing constitutes an enthusiasm that ran high, and "very often, excited singing in a group led some to sing in the unknown tempo of the hymn, and occasionally the known would be swallowed up in the unknown altogether."[138] "Quaking" (*Khurh harhna)* which was later called *Harhna sang* or *Hlimsang* (High revival) also continued to be found. It had begun around 1920 and was already rejected by the leaders of the southern church, but it broke out again in the early 1930s and it was mainly confined to the north.[139] The *hlim sang* or *mihlim* as they were called, acted like they were completely drunk with *zu*, and were

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[133] *Report of FMPCW*, 1931-32, p. 108.

[134] Saiaithanga, *Kohhran*, p. 69; Lalsangkima Pachuau, op. cit., p.129.

[135] Vanlalchhuanawma, op. cit., p. 340.

[136] Lalsangkima Pachuau maintains some reservation about the 'excesses' and says that "even though there were a number of elements that may be classed as "excessive", it is important to note that these excessive elements were not the main features of the waves but its accompaniments." Lalsangkima Pachuau, op. cit., p. 128.

[137] Remlalfaka, 'The Impact of Revival Movements on Mizoram Presbyterian Church and their Relevance and Challenge for the Mizoram Presbyterian Church's Mission in the Present Day Context' (Master of Theology's thesis, Serampore College, 2008), p 36; See also K. Saibela, 'Biate Harhna' and Lalsangmuana, 'Kelkang Harhna' in *HMRCS*, pp. 411-459.

[138]Lalsawma, *Revival*, pp. 158-159; Lalsangkima Pachuau mentions a Pentecostal missionary from the United States, Miss Dover's observation who visited Mizoram in 1949 that 75% of the Mizo *tawnghriatloh* were the work of Satan. (Lalsangkima Pachuau, op.cit., p. 129).

[139]Mangkhosat Kipgen, op. cit., p. 245; *Hlim sang* or high revival began in 1935. Vanlalchhuanawma, op. cit., pp. 340-341.

rightly called 'drunk with Spirit'. It is said that they claimed to be able to directly communicate with God verbally at any given time, and often proclaimed what "Father God says", for which they were often known as *Pa Pawl*, "the Father's Clique".[140]

But the most serious question, according to some writers was over the issue of "*Khurbing*" which may be rendered as "spiritual attachments", claimed as purely spiritual, mostly between opposite sex that often developed into intimate relationship, and if it continued, it may result into illicit sexual relationships.[141]

Because of these strange "accompaniments" of the revivals, there were times when the government had to interfere during the course of the fourth wave. The Superintendent issued a Standing order that the people who claimed "to be vested with supernatural and miraculous powers and known in Lushais as '*Zawlnei'* should not be received in other villages.[142]The Superintendent McCall also intervened against the revivalist at Kelkang in 1937 as the movement in that village was perceived to have taken up political tone.

The revival episode at Kelkang was one of the most famous stirrings of the revival movement in Mizoram. Almost all the ecstatic phenomena were displayed there. The movement was so intense that it appeared to disturb the functioning of the village. As prophesying was a prominent feature in the stirring at Kelkang, some revivalists predicted that rice shall rain from heaven in Mizoram as God is going to supply his people with clean rice. The revivalists also prophesied that the British Empire will fall. In an emphasis on the end of days, people refused to prepare for jhum land for the next year, and the teacher complained that many students fell out of school. Feasts were prepared continually at the cost of the domesticated animals of the village. The paid-mission

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[140] ibid. Vanlalchhuanawma, p. 341.

[141] For detail, see Mangkhosat Kipgen, op. cit., pp. 296-298; Lalsangkima Pachuaua, op. cit., p. 129.

[142] Superintendent L.L. Peters' Standing Order no. 29 of 16.7.1935, Standing Order No 32 of 1935-1936, *MLVC*, August 1935, p. 138.

workers like the Pastor and the teacher were refused to preach in the church, and even the chief was not obliged. As a result, the chief was compelled to report the matter to the government, and the Superintendent McCall set out heavily armed and by strong force, he was able to slacken the movement after meting out punishments to all the people found involved, including imprisonment to the ringleaders.[143]

In spite of all these rather undesirable aspects, large number of new converts was added during the time of the fourth wave of revival. Llyod mentions that in the year 1933 alone, 6,000 converts were added.[144] In 1929, there were 38,550 Christians in the North and 10,398 in the South, but after ten years in 1939, 70,175 in the North and 20,036 in the South were reported as Christians, a substantial increase of 41,263 all over Mizoram.[145]

The movement seemed to wane since 1936, and especially after the Kelkang episode of 1937, it diminished as a major wave though there was sporadic movement here and there in the following years.[146]

3.3 FEATURES OF THE REVIVAL

The revival waves in Mizoram in the first half of the twentieth century has certain common features which will be discussed under.

3.3.1 INDIGENIZATION

One of the most prominent features of the revival movement was the indigenization of westernized Christianity to suit Mizo sentiment. Many Mizo traditional features which

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[143] For more detail account, see A.G. McCall, op. cit.; *HMRCS*, pp. 437-467; Chhawntluanga, op. cit.; *Documentary Souvenir of Kelkang Hlimpui Diamond Jubilee (DSK)* (Presbyterian Church, Kelkang, 1997) pp. 82-83.

[144] J.M. Llyod, *History*, p. 297.

[145] C.L. Hminga, op. cit., pp. 347, 349.

[146] Mangkhosat Kipgen, op. cit., p. 247.

were rejected by the church were introduced into Christianity that resulted into the development of Christianity unique to the Mizos.

It has been noted that many of the traditional practices of the Mizos have been relegated at the background with the conversion to Christianity. Following the first revival in 1906, number of activities believed to be closely associated with the 'old" religion was officially prohibited by the church. The revival manifestations in the first wave were also not very 'traditional', and the form of dancing and singing was "an imitation of the Khasi revival".[147] However, the *Puma Zai* movement that followed the first revival, which was considered by many as the 'traditionalists' counter-revival movement', contained "much of precisely those things that the missionaries had banned". The revival movement in the subsequent years then began to exhibit these traditional features and eventually brought back into Christianity "many of the very things that had been prohibited in 1906- and had characterized the counter-revival." [148]

Among the elements that indigenised Christianity is the introduction of indigenous hymns and tune. In the course of revival movement, a Mizo composition of indigenous hymns and tune, which were earlier rejected by the Christian community, made their way into the Christian orbit.[149] The Mizo Christians have taken interest in

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[147] ibid., p. 252.

[148] Frederick S. Downs, *History*, pp. 96-97.

[149] "The first cited hymn with which the stirring broke out focuses on the final consummation when the believers shall enter into a glorious eternal dwelling where pain and sorrow come no more," Vanlalchhuanawma observes. As the stirring progress a new favourite hymn, *Thou Thinkest Lord of Me!* with an emphasis on God's unwavering care for his people in this troublesome world of toil and sorrows, then a hymn of Christian solidarity titled "Blessed Be The Tie That Binds Our Hearts in Christian Love", made a fresh impact. The next favourite hymn to rise at Nisapui mid-September was a Mizo composition to a western tune titled, *Lo Haw Ru Hming Hlu I Fak Ang*, i.e "Come, Let Us Praise The Precious Name" by Chhuahkhama. Liangkhaia notes two indigenous hymns with indigenous tunes which probably became popular in the later part of the given decade [i.e.1916-1925]: *Chhandamtu Lungngaihna Kalvari Lam Chu Panin.*.i.e "Towards Calvary Where the Saviour was in Agony", composed and tuned by Thanherha; and "*Min Hmangaih Vanga Maw, Lalpa I Tuar Chu* i.e. "Sufferest Thou O Lord, For Having Loved Me So?" Maggie Sandy's list of favourite hymns included: "Guide Me Oh Thou Great Jehova", "There Is Life for a Look at the Crucified One" and "Oh! For a Thousand Tongues to Sing," etc. Vanlalchhuanawma, op. cit., p. 242. See the same page for hymns in the south.

contributing songs for the hymn book. In 1915, Lorrain reported that out of the 450 hymns in the latest edition of hymn book published jointly by the Welsh Mission and the B.M.S, 193 hymns were "composed or translated by the Lushai's themselves".[150] New songs were ever increasing. Lorrain writes in 1930 that the 'Lushai' church was producing quite a new type of hymn, the Mizo Christians loved these new hymns and sang them with ecstatic fervour and was becoming very popular and powerful. He says in 1930, "I have over 200 of them written down in a book and the number is increasing all the time."[151]

The use of drum in church service was another breakthrough. The traditional form of singing, called *Zo zai* had already been prohibited for the Christians by the 1910 Presbytery,[152] and drum (*khuang)* was closely associated with *zo zai*, and it use was therefore disliked and using drum inside the church was out of question. However, the revivalists began to use drums in the revival meetings, and then in the church without the sanction from the church or the missionaries, and it became a permanent accompaniment of singing all over Mizoram especially from the third wave except in the two Mission-station churches in Serkawn and Mission Veng where *khuang* was continued to be banned for a long time.[153]The ban of *khuang* in Mission centres may suggest that the Missionaries were not fully convinced about the use of *khuang* but they could not prevent its use in other places. Even among the Mizo Christians, the use of *khuang* was not easily acceptable. It is reported that Khumhnawla, a *Kros Sipai* (Soldier of the Cross), was so exasperated at the use of the drum that he wept bitterly.[154]

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[150] *Report by BMS*, 1915, p.129.

[151] ibid., 1930, p. 266.

[152] H. Remthanga, *Synod Thurel Lakkhawm*, vol. I, 1910-1950 (Synod Literature and Publication Board, Aizawl, 1996), p.203.

[153] At Mission Veng, drum began to be used permanently in worship services from 1980 and at Serkawn, it was used since 1982. For detail, see Lalsawma, *Revival;* Mangkhosat Kipgen, op. cit., pp. 270-274; Vanlalchhuanawma, op. cit., p. 238; Lalsangkima Pachuau, op. cit., pp. 136-139.

[154] ibid., Mangkhosat Kipgen, p. 273.

Nevertheless, drum was used extensively in almost all the Christian gatherings. It resulted into the formation of another church functionary, though unofficial for a long time, the drummer, who was "as a rule self-appointed". Llyod specifically remarks the influence of use of drums, which he considers as a "very potent instrument":

> "The presence of the drum affected meetings profoundly and had a mesmeric influence on many. It induced and controlled the church service in 1919 more that in any previous revival. The repetitive singing of the same hymn was largely though not altogether due to the use of drum… The drum appeared to dictate to the congregation and even to the Holy Spirit."[155]

Mrs. Mendus also observes that "whenever a drum is present, the chapel is full – without the drum, they don't get worked up in the same way, and the crowd doesn't come."[156]

The pre-Christian practices of giving feasts were re-introduced, but in a modified form. Earlier, it was for the performance of *thangchhuah* that animals were killed and community feast was provided for the entire village, but here, it was for "the glory of God." This practice began from the later half of the 1920s, certain Christians in the south began to give their domestic animals and provided feast to the entire village,[157] and it was continued in many other places as well.

Singing was one major element of the revival movement.[158] During the revival movement, the people were so fond of singing that they could sing all night.[159] This was again the re-emergence of traditional practice, when young men and young girls sang and

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[155] J.M. Llyod, *History,* p. 192.
[156] Diary of Mrs. Mendus, Book X, F. No. HZI/3/10, CMA, NLW,Aberystwyth.
[157] *Report by BMS*, 1928, p. 248.
[158] Frederick S. Downs, *History,* p.8.
[159]Mangkhosat Kipgen, op. cit., pp. 274-275.

danced the whole night, particularly on the occasion of *Chapchar Kut*.[160] Singing and dancing whole night during the revival movement was therefore, not new to them.

Hence, the indigenization of Christianity[161]was taking place at its full force during the revival movement that resulted into the incorporation of many Mizo cultural elements into Christianity, thereby turning Christianity into their own. Because of the great cultural aspect involved in the movement, a church historian is moved to say that "certain aspects of the movement made in appear to be a cultural movement".[162]

3.3.2 ECSTATIC PHENOMENON

The ecstatic phenomenon was another conspicuous feature of the revival movement. Throughout the movement, it was the emotional manifestation in ecstatic form that always occupied a prominent place.[163] It is indicated in the Welsh Missionaries' Report that many felt "there was not much religion if unaccompanied by visible signs of emotion –singing, dancing, quaking, and swooning."[164] One church historian reflected the general understanding that "the appearance of the crude and primitive excesses counted for the success of the revivals (sic), for revival movements (sic) without any kind of excesses should rather be suspected."[165]

From the beginning, emotional manifestations like crying and dancing were the most common manifestations of the revival, and therefore, the general masses considered

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[160] "After dark, the young men and girls collect on houses of well-to-do people with several daughters and dance "*chai"* till daylight." J. Shakespear, *Lushai*, p. 87.

[161] The thesis of indigenization of Christianity in Mizoram has been fully developed by Mangkhosat Kipgen and Vanlalchhuanawma.

[162] Vanlalchhuanawma, op. cit., p. 280.

[163] Since the features are already discussed earlier, it will not be discussed in detail here. See also C. Vanlallawma, "Sialsuk Pastor Bial Hlimsang Harhna leh a Chhehvel" and C.Lalsangmuana, op. cit., pp. 468-487 and 437-459; Chhawntluanga, op. cit., pp. 5-46; The phenomena found at Sialsuk and Kelkang represent almost all the extreme characters of the revival movement in Mizoram.

[164] *Report of FMPCW*, 1923-24, p. 67.

[165] Lalsawma, *Revival*, p. 73.

it to be the way to experience the Spirit.[166] Later, the people went to the extreme physical manifestations like symbolic actions, transference of the spirit by touch, state of trance or swooning, comatose rigidity, symbolic actions, quaking which was "nerve racking" and contagious, speaking in unknown tongues, prophetic utterances, *khurbing*, etc. Mrs Sandy writes:

> "At first the excitement was very great, amounting at time, almost to a frenzy, and many were carried out in hysterics."[167]

With such features, 'decency, discipline and order' seemed to have little place in the revival meetings. The ecstatic phenomenon was so intense that the church leaders, especially in the south, began to question the validity and acceptability of the revival itself. Even though relatively tolerable, the church leaders in the north too took some precaution against the "excesses".[168]

3.3.3 SELF-EXPRESSION

During the revival movement, the people freely exercised their freedom of expression which became one of its characteristics. It was believed that the Mizos could not sing and dance without drinking *zu*[169] but during the revival movement, the people sang and danced without *zu*. The Mizos, male and female, trained and untrained, literate and

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[166]Liangkhaia, *Harhna*, p. 26; D.E. Jones also had some strange experiences at the time of the first revival, as he writes, "Some sank so deep into a coma that it was impossible to detect either their pulse or their breathing. They seemed as though dead and at first we were greatly perturbed by this. It seemed as though they had crossed into the spirit-world. But we were assured that similar events took place in the Khasi-Hills, and that there was no danger or any need to worry. When they regained consciousness they confidently related the visions they had seen during their trance. There were prophecies of things which had been told while they were in that condition and which were later fulfilled." (as quoted in J.M. Llyod, *History*, p. 96).

[167] Mrs. Sandy to Mr. Williams, dated 28 September 1919, Aijal, quoted in Mangkhosat Kipgen, op. cit., p. 265.

[168]The Assembly Standing Committee held on 19 October 1937 passed a resolution for discouraging the emotional manifestations. Later, a guidebook of revival was issued by the church.

[169] *Kristian Tlangau*, January, 1914, p.8.

illiterate, young and old expressed themselves freely as the Spirit led them. They expressed themselves through singing, dancing and sharing their thoughts freely.

When the people sang and danced without *zu* during the revival, it was considered to be freedom from "traditional constraints", according to Mangkhosat Kipgen.[170] When the church, in the first revival movement, took measures to protect itself by condemning many traditional elements, he believes that the spirit of free expression was almost suppressed,[171] but the Mizos were convinced of the "truth of the new religion and the celebration of joy in it" and were enthusiastic about proclaiming it, therefore, they were freed from traditional inhibitions and "freely expressed their joy - and proclaimed their faith." [172] He also believes that the "heightened *lunglen* temperaments" of the Zos set them free from all inhibitions as the people expressed their "heart's deepest love and aspirations" through the indigenous songs that were "sung everywhere with evident delight."[173]

Women were found to be actively participating in the movement right from the beginning as they came forward and confessed their sins and danced freely.[174] In all the stirrings, women and children formed the majority of participants in dancing, sharing testimony and praying.[175] As women were believed not to have much place in traditional drinking bouts, their active involvement in the revival was seen as a step to their liberation and their extensive participation in dancing as "an indication of a shift from an old "carnal" life to the commitment to a "spiritual" one."[176]

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[170] Mangkhosat Kipgen, op. cit., p. 255.
[171] ibid., p.258.
[172] ibid., p. 255.
[173] ibid., p. 264.
[174] Liangkhaia, *Harhna,* p.20.
[175]Vanlalchhuanawma, op. cit., p. 220.
[176] ibid.

This feature of self-expression continued to be an important feature of the movement in the subsequent waves. However, the exercise of the spirit of freedom often encroached upon the authority of the church that resulted into tension between the revivalists and the official church time to time.[177]

3.3.4 CHALLENGE TO ESTABLISHED AUTHORITY

Another feature of the revival movement was the manifestation of many unconventional and often non-conforming characters which sometimes appeared to be more political or cultural than religious, often anti-establishment in nature. During the revival movement, the revivalists who were mostly from the common folk and many of them illiterate but under the influence of the revival spirit felt they had the right to claim authority in the church which otherwise was reserved for the missionaries and the ordained church leaders. With an emphasis on the Holy Spirit in which most of the waves revolved around, the revivalists derived their authority from the Holy Spirit, if not the Father God himself (as in the case of *Pa Pawl*), and commanded a good amount of authority. "Let the Holy Spirit work just as He pleases, let no one dictate Him but (let everyone) be simply open for God to come according to His own will"[178] was the dictum.

This was possible because they claimed to have derived their authority from the Holy Spirit, over which none could to say anything. They believed that no one can control the Holy Spirit, and the revival enthusiasts were ready to stand against what they believed was an assault to the Holy Spirit. It was very difficult to get through to the revivalistic audience even for the missionaries.

In the second wave, D.E. Jones tried to take a moderate step against the "excesses", some section of revivalists accused him as "not having the Spirit" and as "trying to control the workings of the Holy Spirit" and one particular Bible student was

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[177] ibid., p. 204.

[178] *Kristian Tlangau*, March 1914, pp. 50-52.

said to have made a protest dance.[179] In one revival meeting, the revivalists were jumping and "shouting "*A dik a ni*"(it is true!) at the top of their voices from time to time, jumping up to the pirouette round with a hop, skip and jump or moving slowly backwards and forwards to the rhythm of the hymns."[180] At one meeting attended by Chhuahkhama and Mendus, the revival fervour took the better part, the revivalists "began shouting and rushing about, even outside the chapel" and Mendus asked the 'Lushai' leaders to control them, but the hymn was repeatedly sung. Finally Mendus "asked the man with the drum and revivalist deacon to finish the hymn, but they took no notice", so he went away.[181] At another occasion, on the arrival of D.E. Jones to attend one meeting, the revivalists (among which was also an evangelist) exclaimed, "Here's the *sahib*, he's against the revival, let's knock him down."[182]

Though certain amount of discipline was considered necessary, the revivalists "resent any interference at all".[183] "The worst feature of all" according to Mrs. Mendus, "is that spiritual pride, and disregard for their pastors and leaders and of the missionaries."[184] Mendus also writes:

> "One of our chief difficulties is that many of these people will not listen to teaching or respond to guidance from Church leaders for they say they have the Spirit of God himself within them. Who is man therefore that he should be listened to?"[185]

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[179]Lalsawma, *Revival,* pp. 71-72.

[180] Mrs. Mendus' Diary, F.No. HZI/3/17, CMA, NLW, Aberystwyth.

[181] ibid.

[182] ibid.

[183] ibid.

[184]Letter of Mrs. Gwen M. Mendus (addressee not given) Dated 2 January 1938, Aijal, , p 3, cited in Mangkhosat Kipgen, op. cit., p. 300.

[185] *Report of FMPCW,* 1938-39, p. 62.

As such, "the official church leaders or highly educated preachers were not well received."[186]The revivalists emphasized on the "Spirit-controlled" preaching, and they refused to accept anything which they did not approve to be of the Spirit. The Pastor at Kelkang, at the heat of revival, reported that Tlangbawia and Pasina, the revival leaders, prevented him from preaching in the church as they claimed that "the village church was going along according to the direction of the "Spirit" and neither a missionary, Pastor nor Evangelist can preach except if the "Spirit" allows."[187] Dothuama, the teacher at Kelkang also laments that though he was a preacher and an assembly member, i.e, church elder, he was prevented from preaching for a long time on the ground of the revivalist Pasina's claim that he "only preached from knowledge" while "they wanted only spiritual things".[188] Pasina is also alleged to have said that they "should not bow down to the paid servants of the Missions – as the "Spirit" directed".[189] Enquiring upon how the people so readily throw over the teachers who have been appointed by the proper authorities of the 'Lushai' church, McCall found that it was because "the accused [the revivalists] said they learnt from God.[190]

This is not an isolated phenomenon but widespread throughout Mizoram. D.E. Jones himself writes:

> "The people were readier to listen to any creature that danced or jumped or fell in a swoon than to the words of the Scriptures or preacher or common sense"[191]

The revivalists believed in the direct revelation of the Holy Spirit, and even stressed more on the revelation than the Scriptures that often created tension between the church leaders

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[186] Vanlalchhuanawma, op. cit., p. 257.
[187]The deposition of Sena Pastor, High Court Criminal No.(M) 83, in *DSK*, p. 81
[188] ibid., p. 83.
[189] ibid.
[190] ibid., p. 84.
[191] D.E. Jones to Williams, dated 22 May 1913, as cited in Vanlalchhuanawma, op. cit., p. 205.

and the revivalists. There was also a dilemma of the constitution of the church versus the Holy Spirit. Mrs. Mendus records:

> "P told us of a boy in one village who took drink at the bidding, as he said, of the Holy Spirit! The revivalists wished to condone it for that reason, the others said he must be turned out of the church, as the constitution does not allow any drinkers to be members. So there is a deadlock."[192]

With the authority of the Holy Spirit, the church's dictate were defied; this often resulted into defection within the church and therefore, various denominations as well as sectarian groups emerged during the revival movement and the origin of these earlier sects was almost always connected with the revival movement.[193]

On doctrinal issues too, when the assurance of faith was given a fresh interpretation and the doctrine of 'justification by faith' was popularized, certain sections of the revival movement took advantage 'to promote their ambition for autonomy and to condemn the structural church as an embodiment of law and meritious deeds', and thereby refused to perform regular church activities like paying tithes, etc., which disturbed the organization of the church also.[194]

Not only the church but the government authority was also reported to have been defied. At Kelkang stirring, the three ringleaders, Thangzinga, Pasina and Thanghnuaia held up against the chief when he tried to summon them at his house, saying the "Spirit"

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[192] Mrs. Mendus Diary, F. No. HZI/3/10, CMA, NLW, Aberystwyth; 'P' stands for Pasena.

[193] James Dokhuma, op. cit., pp. 4-13; Not only sects that originated of Mizoram, the denominations other than Presbyterian and Baptist were set up mostly at the initiative of the Mizos who were not satisfied with the existing churches, like Salvation Army, Roman Catholic, etc. It was upon the invitation from the Mizos that these denominations were set up in Mizoram.

[194] Lalsawma, *Revival*, pp. 115-116; Vanlalchhuanawma, op. cit., p. 336.

did not permit them to come.[195] Pasina, invoking the "Spirit" said that "he feared none - the chief, the Superintendent, the Mission or anyone."[196]

The Superintendent A.G. McCall was made to take a harsh step against the Kelkang revivalist. In his report, he says that there was a plot to raid him when he visited Kelkang:

> "When the accused Pasina was to appear before the Superintendent he would irritate him, dance before him, tremble and then when the Superintendent got angry or said "Damn!" he would give the signal for assaulting the Superintendent by suddenly fisting him in the face when all were to fall on the Superintendent and then if he was murdered no one could be held a blame individually for no one would be able to say exactly who killed him."[197]

However, the Superintendent took them by surprise and no such open upheaval happened. When the accused, that is the revivalists, were taken into custody, "a crowd started to collect and young men commenced to press slowly forward in a surly manner - provocative and insolent." McCall says:

> "To avoid the infliction of blows from rifle butts by the escort I went for them to break them up but they only just made way and were disinclined to move off. This is very unusual behaviour for a Lushai village, but its significance was not at this time known to me.''[198]

He conceived the whole thing as a politics of power struggle by the Mizos as he believes that the revivalists wanted to have power, and their action was truly "an easier way to try

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[195]*HMRCS,* p. 85.
[196] ibid., p. 82.
[197]McCall's report on Kelkang Incident, dated 26 August 1937, cited in *DSK,* p. 56.
[198] ibid., p. 52.

to have which was not at their reach otherwise".[199] It was at Kelkang that the antagonistic feature of the revival was displayed at its best.

The actions and reactions of the revivalists were not always strictly in conformity with the religious norm. Bearing in mind the aggressive acculturation process at the revival, a church historian also concludes that in its extreme form, the movement appeared to be an autonomy movement and an assertion of Mizo identity.[200] Mrs. Mendus even concludes:

> "To me, the whole atmosphere had little connection with the Christian religion as I knew it."[201]

The claim of authority derived from the Holy Spirit therefore emboldened the revivalists, mostly the uneducated and ordinary people to even dare to stand up against the official church as well as government authorities. This is one of the peculiar features of the revival movement in Mizoram.

3.3.5 A MOVEMENT OF THE PEOPLE

In the growth of Christianity in Mizoram, the large scale participation of "the ordinary Christians, men, women and children, not merely unordained, but unchosen and unpaid"[202] is extraordinary. In fact, a church historian credits the rapid increase of the Christians in Mizoram 1900 and 1925 to the contribution of the laypeople:

> "The rapid growth was greatly due (apart from the work of the Holy spirit) to full participation of laymen, very ordinary men and women

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[199] A.G. McCall's letter, in ibid., p.48.

[200] Vanlalchhuanawma, op. cit., p. 280.

[201] Mrs. Mendus, 'Contrasting Pictures in Lushai', F. No. HZI/3/44, CMA, NLW, Aberystwyth.

[202] E. Chapman & M. Clark, *Mizo Miracle* (The Christian Literature Society, Madras, 1968), p. 96.

> whose knowledge of theology or the Bible itself were far from profound."[203]

It was the active laity's participation that formed and shaped the revival movement. The informal character, which became one of the features of Mizo Christianity that "opened opportunity for fuller and freer participation of the laity in Christian worship and activities",[204] is one prominent feature of the revival movements.

Unlike the revival movements in Europe and America, there were no particular prominent figures or leaders who led the movement in Mizoram.[205] That is the reason why some scholars tend to call the movement a 'movement of the people' or 'people's movement'.[206] Some of the more prominent leaders who emerged during this time became leader of 'dissidents' and turned against the established church. These groups were strongly condemned by the church. Also, the church adopted a rather accommodating and compromising attitude even in the case of the "extremes", therefore, when the official church dictated, it was still respected, and what the official church condemned could not be popular for too long. This checked the growth of a particular individual to be too popular.

On the other hand, the revival provided more space for community participation. Apart from the community singing and dancing, there were *Fangrual or Zinrual* (the Itinerant Group Campaigners) especially from the third wave, who visited villages and preached the Gospel. One Pastor of that time remarks that probably because of the revival, everyone wants to preach, and there were always too many preachers in villages.[207] '*Tawngtairual*' or 'mass prayer' or 'communal prayer' was a

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[203] Zairema, op. cit., p. 12.

[204] Vanlalchhuanawma, op. cit., pp. 316-317.

[205] Leading figures in western revival movements were the Wesley brothers in Great Britain, Evan Roberts in Wales, Jonathan Edwards in the United States, etc.

[206] Lalsangkima Pachuau, op. cit., p. 141.

[207] Liangkhaia, *Harhna*, p. 76; Lalsawma, *Revival*, p. 92.

common practice during the revival movement. The practice seems to have no direct cultural root, but the whole congregation praying together simultaneously is much akin to the traditional Mizo custom of communal involvement in various endeavors,[208] and worked for wider public participation in religious activities. This strengthened the movement to be a 'movement of the people'.

The revivalists turned the important official church meetings into revival meetings. In the annual Synod, Presbytery and Pastorate of District meetings, rather than the resolutions passed, revival manifestation was given more importance, revival being an important unwritten agenda. It has been recorded that many people from different places, "some of them mothers with babies slung on their backs", walked many miles to attend the gatherings or *Inkhawmpui*. "Most of these people came, of course, to attend the services rather than the business meetings, at which only delegates or deacons were allowed."[209] One scholar observes:

> "It may be said with little reservation that the annual church conferences – the Synod or Assembly, the Presbytery and the Pastorate or District meetings – grew to be formalized revival meetings."[210]

Even though there were many "excesses" and the church leaders disapproved many of it, there was not much that can be done. In the south, the church leaders were able to exercise restriction on the strange manifestations, and they were successful to a certain degree, but in the north, the revivalists often gained upper hand. When the Standing committee pronounced their statement condemning the excesses, the people were very much annoyed.[211] Guidebook for Revival (*Harhna Hruaina*) was published, many revivalists rejected it and the church was left in the lurch.

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[208] ibid., pp. 308.

[209] E.L. Mendus, 'The Dairy a Jungle School-Master' in *Glad Tidings*, February 1924, p. 7.

[210] ibid., p. 267.

[211] Mrs. Mendus Diary, F. No., HZI/3/11, CMA, NLW, Aberystwyth.

Though there was an absence of a charismatic leader, but the laity shaped the revival movement by actively participating into it and thus turning it into a people's movement.

3.3.6 STATISTICAL GROWTH OF CHRISTIANS

The rapid increase in number of Christians in Mizoram has been one of the most spectacular features of the revival movement. The growth in number was spectacular during the revival years; in fact, revival and the growth of Christians always been recorded together in most of the writings. John Hughes Morris writes:

> "On the 9th of April the Revival broke out in Aijal, and soon spread to the villages around; 89 converts were baptized within a few months, and 400 enrolled as adherents…In 1913, 1914 and 1915, the Revival swept thousands into the churches. By the end of 1913, the number of adherents had grown to 4,832, as compared with 1,800 in 1911.In 1914, the converts numbered 6,134, and in 1915, 7,886."[212]

D.E. Jones also writes in 1906:

> "I am glad to say that the revival has broken out in two distant villages. The names sent in now number one hundred fifty besides the thirty in the baptismal class before revival came."[213]

Since the first wave, the revival movement attracted attention and listed enquirers, many of whom eventually became Christians.[214]Not only the common masses but also the chiefs and government officials converted into Christianity during the revival

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[212] John Hughes Morris, op. cit., p. 82.

[213]D.E. Jones to Williams, North Lushai Hills, 12 April 1906, as cited in C.L. Hminga, op. cit., p. 72.

[214] In the revival meeting at night on 9 April 1906, "a call was made for those who would be enlisted as enquirers, and several had their names registered and the meeting resulted in remarkable individual conversions." Vanlalchhuanawma, op. cit., p. 172.

movements. Vankhuma, Tumpuilal was recorded to have converted after participating in the revival meeting.[215] Another striking conversion was the conversion of chief Vanphunga's brothers who were also chiefs, and his two sons who were the fiercest persecutors of Christians. [216] The third wave of revival added 4,000 converts to the churches in 1919, and over 3000 in 1920.[217] By the time of the fourth wave, one church historian observes that "revival, and for that matter, Christianity, was gaining in popularity and public acceptance in the land".[218]

While the number of Christians grew, there were among them that were classified as the "revival Christians". They were those who became Christians during the revival and slipped back after it was over.[219] Referring to the third wave of revival, Mendus records that during the five or six years of revival in the country, many became Christians, or "they thought themselves that they were Christians during the revival." But when the revival stopped, many of them did not know where they stand as they did not "really know the meaning of Christianity".[220]

Nevertheless, statistical record clearly testifies that the decades during which the revival movement was experienced was the decade of growth.[221] In fact, the series of revival movement have been attributed to the rapid growth of Christianity in Mizoram. [222]

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[215] ibid., p. 172.

[216]D.E. Jones to Williams, 10 July 1913, cited in ibid., p. 212; Thangphunga and Dorawta, brothers of Vanphunga, and Lalbuaia and Awksarala, his two sons, joined the church in 1912.

[217] *Report of FMPCW*, 1925-6, p. 79.

[218]Lalsawma, *Revival*, p. 155.

[219]Vanlalchhuanawma says that these 'revival Christians' formed the masses which caused the remarkable growth of the church since the first decade of the revival movement. Vanlalchhuanawma, op. cit., p. 205.

[220]Mendus' Report for Western district, 1926-27 in *Report of FMPCW*, p. 81.

[221] See Appendix A and B for Christian Statistics.

[222]Frederick S. Downs, *Essays*, p. 122.

Conclusion

In receiving revival for the first time, the English Baptist missionaries showed themselves to be more cautious and reserved than the Welsh missionaries in the north, and one scholar is of the opinion that this attitude influenced the native Christians, and thus the flow and progress of revival waves was more controlled and restrained in the south than in the north throughout the period.[223] If that is so, it implies that the flow of revival could be determined, which requires more serious contemplation.

The foregoing discussion shows that the revival movement that was experienced in the first half of the twentieth century in Mizoram came repeatedly. There were two revival waves in the second decade of the 20th century alone, and from the next decade, it became difficult to determine when one ends and the other starts, for there was a sporadic revival here and there. This clearly shows that from the early 1910's, revival has become one of the significant features of the colonial period. It may also be worthy of notice that except the first wave, there was no outside influence in the outbreak of the movement in the hills. Considering the rapid growth of number of Christians at that time, it is safe to conclude that the revival was overwhelming for all the Mizos residing in the North and South "Lushai" Hills. The missionaries, the government officials and the Christian and non-Christian Mizos were all involved in the movement though in a variable degree, their response to the movement too was very diverse. The response to the movement to a very great extent defines its affect and how it was perceived by a particular group. This will be discussed in the next chapter.

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[223] Lalsawma, *Revival,* pp. 51-52.

CHAPTER 4: RESPONSE TO REVIVAL

When the revival happened for the first time in 1906, Christianity was still very young in the country, and therefore, the impact of the first wave on the growth of Christianity was also not far reaching as compared to the subsequent waves, for its work was confined to the small Christian community in Mizoram.[1] Nonetheless, Christianity was spreading very rapidly covering the whole region in a short while. In 1929, three decades after first Mizo Christians were baptized, Mendus' report for North Mizoram says that he does not remember "seeing a village in which there is not a church".[2] The geographical spread of Christianity corresponded to the spread of revival and therefore, it left a massive impact on the people at large.

The revival movement was received differently by various sections in Mizoram,- the Mizos, (Christians, non-Christians, the church leaders, the masses), Europeans, including the Missionaries -the Welsh Presbyterian Missionaries in the North, the English Baptist Missionaries in the South, and the government officials, and they responded in varieties of ways. This chapter is an attempt to study these responses.

4.1 NON-CHRISTIANS' RESPONSE

The reception that Christianity received in the hills at first was not at all hostile, though the people were generally apprehensive because they sensed the ostensible connection between the government and the missionaries. Lorrain writes in 1894 that there was "no prejudice to new religion,"[3] and he also observes later that "the attitude of many of the

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[1]There were 167 Christians at the time of the first outbreak in 1906, and the number grew to 626 the next year, and 1723 in 1911, according to the Reports of the Presbyterian Synod (Synod Dan Bu) from Book I to XXXII, the Presbyterian Church, Aizawl, as cited in C. Nunthara, op. cit., p. 59.

[2] *Report of FMPCW*, 1929-30, p. 96.

[3] Lorrain, BCMCA LB, January 1894, p. 28(a), as cited in Kyle Jackson, op.cit., p. 11.

heathen towards Christianity is of a most friendly nature."[4] Christian hymns were sung by both Christians and non-Christians. A literate non-Christian willingly gave his service to a group of non-literate Christians and conducted the service every Sunday, and it was seen not as unnatural by either party.[5] This was largely because the Mizo society was tolerant and open to new ideas and new people as their spirituality and worldview was inclusive by nature.[6]

However, this liberal worldview underwent a radical change since the advent of new rulers in the hills. The accommodative community was turned into an insecure and suspicious society. Their recent experience of British outrage made the Mizos convinced

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[4] *Report by BMS*, p. 38.

[5] F.W. Savidge, 'A Preaching Tour in South Lushai,' *The Missionary Herald*, vol. 93, no. 8 (Baptist Missionary Society), p. 235.

[6] Kyle Jackson has developed an argument that the Lushai spirituality was inclusivist, tolerant to new ideas, largely "out of basic necessity to the discovery of new, other-than-human persons." See Kyle Jackson, op. cit., pp. 7-11; Not only their spirituality, but also their societive was inclusive. There are number of instances where non-Mizos were accommodated in Mizo society in the pre-colonial period. There were non-Mizos who were captured from the plains but came to occupy respected positions in Mizo society. Rutton Sing, one of the 'Mantri' of Kalkhama was a non-Mizo, one of the coolies at Monierkhal Tea Garden who ran away and joined the 'Lushais', and he was one of the mastermind of the 'Lushais' Monierkhal raid of 1869 (*The Lushais*, TRI, Aizawl, reprint, 2008, p.57) Known by the Mizos as Kahmuliana, who became an elder in the court of Lalluava, chief of Bualpui, and Tahkura (probably a Mizo version of Thakur) the elder at Lungrang village were the more prominent non-Mizos who remained in the hills after being captured by the Mizos. Kahmuliana's real name might have been Kamal Ali, and he ruled at Chhipphir for two years in place of his patron Lalluava. Tahkura refused to go back to the plains even after the captured slaves from the plains were freed by the British expedition, and it is said that he even performed *Khuangchawi*, the highest ceremonial rite of the Mizos (C. Lalnunchanga, *Dehloh Sakei Huai*, Aizawl, 2011, pp.18-19). Brigadier General Brownlow, who commanded the Chittagong column of Lushai Expedition, noticed that the "majority of the captives whom they treat as their own people" look upon a return to civilization as a doubtful boon. (Report of Brigadier General Brownlow, commanding Chittagong column of Lushai Expedition, dated 29 January 1872, cited by A. Campbell, 'On the Looshais,' *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. 3, (1874), pp. 57-65). Dorothy Clover also records that some members of the Gurkha regiments who had come with the British troops in the punitive expeditions liked the Hills and decided to remain there; some of them were marrying Lushai women (Dorothy Glover, *Set on a Hill*, Gospel Centenary Committee, Baptist Church of Mizoram, Serkawn, 1993, p. 16). There is no record in popular history that discrimination on racial basis has been inflicted on these non-Mizos who resided or traded with them. It is very difficult to say if these events represent the whole picture and worldview of the Mizos, still it is safe to maintain that the Mizo society was not ruled by narrow ethnic feelings. The fact that the non-Mizo captives themselves chose to remain with the Mizos and their occupation of respected positions in the villages testify the inclusive attitude of Mizo society that accepted them at par with its own and did not deny high position on account of their racial identity.

that the advent of the missionaries was the colonial strategy to subdue the Mizos, "not by the power of swords" but by "fair words and kind deeds",[7] and many believed that accepting the missionaries' teaching would fatally affect them. They remarked:

> "The British government now intends to kill us without recourse to the knife. Missionaries are sent to put an end to our religion and to our mode of worship so that we may all die. We shall be in terrible trouble if we accept this message."[8]

In such a situation, the church was born, and it introduced an uncompromising new life-style which earned its members a brand of "anti-social elements":

> "Being new creations they felt that they should cut themselves off completely from old-religious practices. Every Mizo family kept a castrated pig for family worship and only the very nearest relative may share in the feasts that followed. Christians could not take part in this and thus cut themselves off from blood family ties and adopted their fellow Christian as their new family."[9]

Christianity itself was alien to the people, and its emphasis on 'change' threatened the whole existence of the society, for the strength of the society was derived from its intricate culture. The loyalty to traditional culture promoted hostility against the alien religion that advocated change from the familiar system. It was but natural that adverse attitude developed against this new group of converts. In the South, as the Gospel spread and tried to undermine those social norms and old habits, hostility began.[10] Christians were disowned by their families or were threatened of their life, and they were expelled

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[7] J.M. Llyod, *History*, p. 31.
[8] ibid., p. 60.
[9] Zairema, op. cit., p. 10.
[10] Vanlalchhuanawma, op. cit., p. 120

from Pukpui village in 1902, but at the sanction of the Government these Christian refugees were given a new village site at Sethlun.[11] D.E. Jones remarks in 1900-01:

> "In some parts great opposition is shown towards those who wish to become Christians, so that it is difficult for the latter to live in a village…Obstructions are put in their way in the villages. They are compelled to carry loads on Sunday. They must give rice to make beer for the feasts."[12]

However, there seems to be little or no severe oppression of the Christians recorded in the north until the outbreak of revival at Khandaih.[13] The outbreak of revival attracted the attention of the people,[14] and Christianity was becoming popular that resulted into persecution in many villages. The aggressive organized reaction by the non-Christians against Christianity in general and revival movement in particular was never as intense as in the first revival stirring that marked the climax of forceful opposition to Christianity.

4.1.1 PERSECUTION

The immediate reaction to the revival movement from the non-Christians was in the form of persecution. It was at Khandaih, one of the largest villages of the time[15] that the most severe persecution happened. The village had a very interesting contact with the British even before the outbreak of revival. In 1892, as the British government was settling itself in Mizoram, they demanded *kuli* and house tax (*chhiah*) from the area beyond Tuirial which covered the village of Khandaih. But Vanphunga, the chief of Khandaih, said, "I

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[11] These villages are in South Mizoram.

[12] *Report of FMPCW*, 1900-01, p. 10.

[13] Vanlalchhuanawma, op. cit., pp. 137-138.

[14] The first outbreak at school-cum-chapel building in Mission Veng, "the strangest meeting that Mizo Christians have ever experienced" attracted the attention of many people from the neighbouring villages as they were "fascinated by what they saw and heard. It was with difficulty that they were persuaded to go home for meal" from the school house. J.M. Llyod, *History*, p. 95.

[15] There were 400 houses. Lalsawma, *Revival,* op. cit., p. 38.

am the chief and nobody rule above me. Without my sanction, no one should impose *kuli* or tax." This resulted into armed confrontation with the British, and he was captured and jailed at the end of 1893. He was in jail for four months. But the Superintendent A.W. Davies visited him at jail and asked if he would be willing to comply with their demand, Vanphunga admitted his defeat and replied, "*Kan ngam lo deuh che u a nih hi."* ("You are too strong for us.") Thus, the Superintendent made him give a thump impression on a 'bond paper' and he was freed. [16]

In January 1903, a village school was set up at Khandaih, and there were only few Christians at the time of the outbreak of revival in 1906. As everywhere else, the uncompromising nature of the Christians, known as 'Obeyers of God', who refused to participate in public rites like *Kawngpui Siam* and *Fano Dawi*, and other religious functions like *Huai* and *Sahmula biak*[17] aroused anxiety, and people scorned them. The non-Christians sneered at their peculiarity like shaking of hands which the Christians adopted from the foreigners who were living with them, and they composed a sarcastic song, "*Pathian thuawih invuan chet-invuan chet*" (Shaking their hands are the Obeyers of God). [18] They were considered 'lost' to the family. The people could not understand the observation of Sunday by the Christians, they thought they would never be able to harvest enough grain and said it will surely lead to famine.[19]

As the number of Christians grew, the chieftainess Lalkaichhungi felt that it could be a threat to her husband's position. Though the chief apparently did not seriously believe that this band of poor people could ever overtake him, he shifted the school building which was also used as a chapel, to the outskirt of the village where the noise

[16]J.V. Hluna, 'Khandaih Harhna,' pp. 310-311.
[17] ibid., p. 315.
[18] ibid.
[19] ibid., p. 323.

could not disturb the village. The attendance fell considerably, from 116 to 21 in May 1904.[20]

A peculiar incident is also recorded of Khandaih. Two Christian ladies, Harkungi and Machepi were found wearing the '*Thangchhuah puantial',* a sacred cloth reserved only for those who performed a very expensive sacrifice of *Thangchhuah*, which give ticket to *Pialral* or heaven after death. Until then, the cloth was hard-earned; but these Christian ladies showed that they were above 'tradition'. As one government official observes:

> *"*The importance of the individual in the Christian scheme of things, and the belief in the salvation of the Christian soul, if the rules of the Church are followed, has been stressed upon the Lushais by the missions. This has helped the Lushai to shake off the shackles of subservience to the unknown multitude of spirits: it has introduced a sense of greater liberty and security. One effect of this has been a loosening of the bonds of customary behavior."[21]

The outright disgrace these ladies meted out to tradition was too much for the villagers, elderly as well as young men; thus, getting themselves drunk, they threw stones at them.[22] In such a situation, revival broke out at Khandaih and there was a substantial growth of Christians after the revival in April 1906.[23] This alarmed the chief, as he found

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[20]Zirtirtu Hranga Diary, 1904, as cited in J.V. Hluna's article 'Khandaih Harhna,' p. 323. But the school was reconstructed in the same site on 13 September 1904 after Zosaphluia sent Hymn book to Vanphunga.

[21] A.G. McCall, op. cit., p. 209.

[22]J.V. Hluna, 'Khandaih Harhna,' p. 316.

[23]No record was found of the initial details of the outbreak, but the time of the outbreak was said to be simultaneous with the meeting at Aizawl where Jones made his prophetic announcement (Lalsawma, *Revival*, op. cit., p. 39). It is mostly accepted that the beginning of the outbreak was at Tuivai River where there was public fishing sport. As they come home, they were singing songs on the way, and it continued even when they reached the village. They gathered at the open space singing and dancing,

that the functioning of the village was disturbed and that the Christians became insubordinate even to the chief. Also his concern was the preservation of traditional privileges. Vanphunga and his *Upas* retorted:

> "If we spare them, they'll all turn away to become "Obeyers of God!" Consequently, we'll lose the privilege of drinking *zu* and of performing feasts since the Christians teach against making and drinking *zu*. What will be the advantage of being chiefs? This (sic) sort of people are bad subjects, and must be checked."[24]

Therefore, to bring back order, Vanphunga decided to eliminate the Christians from his village.[25] It was the new Christian culture that provoked the non-Christian chiefs to persecute the Christians than aggression against Christianity per se. From May 1906, the chief Vanphunga started to persecute the Christians.[26] He called a council with his brothers who were chiefs of the surrounding villages to devise a plan to put a stop to Christianity. His action was followed by his fellow chiefs and persecution set in.[27]

On hearing the news, the native preachers Thanga and Phawka visited Khandaih. Invoking history, they were convinced that Christianity persisted amidst opposition even in the Roman Empire and said:

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and all those who came to watch them were caught in the spirit and began to dance too. ibid., J.V. Hluna, p. 321.

[24]Liangkhaia, *Harhna,* p. 7, translation from Vanlalchhuanawma, op. cit., p. 174.

[25]J.V. Hluna, 'Khandaih Harhna,' p. 323.

[26]ibid.

[27] It includes Thangkama, Sihfa chief; Dorawta, Saitual chief; Lalzika, Bihban chief; Lalruaia, Lailak chief; Thawngliana, Lenchim chief; and Khawzadala, Khawruhlian chief. According to Lalsawma, the method of persecution Vanphunga used against the Christians became the pattern of persecution everywhere, differing only in intensity in the early period of Christianity. It includes physical obstructions, forcing the Christians to do impressed labor on Sundays, impose fines such as chicken, eggs and pigs when guests from other villages came to the village, and failure of which resulted into confiscation of paddy equal in value to the things demanded; torture, physical harassment, expulsion from the village at dead of night without prior notice, sometimes under heavy downpour of rains. They were allowed to take only what they could carry, while the rest of their property was confiscated. One young man named Chalbuanga was beaten up so severely that he succumbed to the injury and died a few days after. Lalsawma, *Revival,* pp. 40-41.

> "The Mizo *Lals*, subjected to the Christian Government and too insignificant to be acknowledged as Masters, should not even think of destroying it [Christianity], for they will never do at all."[28]

This was a "change of loyalty from the Mizo chiefs to the Christian masters."[29] Such challenges to the traditional values simply provoked the traditionalists, as Christianity came to be seen as a 'rival' culture. It has been reported that the translated Christian songs sung by the Christians also came to be considered as a challenge to the non-Christians.[30]

The reaction from the Christians led to wider persecution. At the initiative of the chiefs, the Christians were beaten by their relatives, they were threatened and many were ostracized by the community. Public meetings were prohibited, and children were forbidden from going to school. Christians were not allowed to buy food and the atmosphere was unpleasant atmosphere for the Christians in Vanphunga's village that, towards the end of the year, it was reported that over 80 had ceased public profession.[31] It is also reported that several have done the same in Hrangliana's village. Some chief fined their villagers for listening to the preaching of the Gospel.[32] Though other chiefs also persecuted the Christians in their own villages, it was said that persecution of Christians under Vanphunga was the severest test that the Church in Mizoram had to pass through in the history of Christianity in the land.[33]

The news reached the mission centre. D.E. Jones went to Khandaih in October 1907 to comfort the Christians as well as to plead with Vanphunga. Vanphunga also

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[28]Vanlalchhuanawma, op. cit., p. 175.

[29] ibid.

[30] Lines in the songs like, "*Ho my comrades! See the signal/Waving in the sky/ Reinforcements now appearing, victory is nigh!/"Hold the fort, for I am coming!"* and "We shall surely win" were taken as an open challenge to the chieftainship." ibid.

[31] *Report of FMPCW*, 1906-7, p. 34.

[32] ibid.

[33]Lalsawma, *Revival*, p. 40.

brought his brothers together to meet D.E. Jones. The chiefs' council did not give much regard to Jones and his plea. One of the elders poured on him a *zu* and made fun of him. Another elder took off Jones' shoe and mockingly wore it and moved around the chief's house. But Jones' did not want to back off easily and came back to Vanphunga's house that evening and made the same plea. Vanphunga's brother Thangkama then took a *dao* and tried to behead Jones and said to him, "I am the chief, you cannot do anything"; but Vanphunga calmed him down. When the Christians were dispersed by force at the very sight of Jones, Jones retorted, "I never knew if there were such a *lal* as Thangkama; I know of only one king, King Edward VII"[34]

The Superintendent Cole also intervened on behalf of the Christians. When the sons of Vanphunga came to meet him, he told them that the chief should stop his persecution within one week or he will be deposed. It was probably because of D.E. Jones' Report that the Superintendent himself went to the village, and the persecution stopped at Khandaih.[35]

The persecution at Khandaih displayed the support and protection the Christians derived from the rulers. At this, Jones writes:

> "The chiefs soon found out that they dare not injure the Christians without bringing down upon their heads the punishment of Government".[36]

In fact, it was not just the chiefs who noticed this. It was open for all the people to see it. The Khandaih event therefore provided opportunity to show to all the Mizos that the Christians were the protected subjects of the British government, over which their own chiefs could not do anything.

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[34]J.V. Hluna, 'Khandaih Harhna,' p. 330; Vanlalchhuanawma, op. cit., p. 176.
[35]ibid., pp. 330-331.
[36] *Report of FMPCW*, 1906-7, p. 34.

Despite the fact that aggressive persecution did not work, the chiefs still hold very strong antagonistic feeling to the revival movement. They resorted to reporting or making petitions against the church or the pastors,[37] or forbid ordinary volunteer preachers from visiting their villages to preach the Gospel.[38] Liangkhaia records that the chiefs at around Champhai attempted to make a joint effort to suppress revival though he mentioned only what happened at Tualte.[39] At the early part of 1920, Chief Dokhama of Tualte completely demolished the chapel building saying that the Christians in his village were too noisy and a nuisance to the society, and hacked open the Christian drum with a hoe. He even petitioned the Superintendent W.L. Scott to force the church to build the chapel a mile away from the village because the revivalists were singing and dancing all night at the beat of the drum and created so much noise. One scholar contends that it was out of possessiveness of the chiefs over the cultural items like drums that aroused violent reaction.[40] But the antagonistic feeling of the chiefs against Christianity in general and revival in particular was enough to provoke them. However, the Superintendent "ordered the chief to allot the Christians the most central place in the village for building a chapel while the church sent Liangkhaia and Suaka, who as its representatives eventually compelled Dokhama and his villagers to erect a new chapel."[41]

D.E. Jones also made reference in 1921 that there was an outbreak of revival stirring in Mission Veng and all along the East, certain chiefs were making petition to the Superintendent against one of the pastors without specifying the reasons.[42]

The chiefs were generally considered as solely responsible for persecuting the Christians and the cause for the persecution was searched in connection with their interest

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[37]D.E. Jones to Williams, 7 September 1921, cited in Vanlalchhuanawma, op. cit., p. 255.

[38] ibid.

[39]Liangkhaia, *Harhna*, p. 46.

[40]Vanlalchhuanawma maintains that "the use of drums by Christians was a cultural threat from the traditional view-point." Vanlalchhuanawma, op. cit., p. 255.

[41]Liangkhaia, *Harhna*, p. 46.

[42]D.E. Jones to Williams, 7 September 1921 as cited in Vanlalchhuanawma, op. cit., p. 255.

alone, largely ignoring the sentiment of the common people. However, unless the people supported them, the chiefs alone could do very little, because tradition sanctions liberty to the villagers to desert the chief if he is an absolute ruler. A report from the South testified it. A certain chief showed some sign of opposition to the preaching, but he could not find a single one of his people to join him and the whole community evinced a most unusual interest in the movement, so he wisely kept quiet.[43] When the Christians were socially ostracized, it was the collective action of the community. The sentiment of the people is very clearly demonstrated at Khandaih. Before the chief actually took action against the Christians, the people could not stand against the disrespect of traditional value by Harkungi and Machepi and threw stones at them. The antagonistic feeling was still strong in the common people even after open hostility from the chiefs died down. In the report of 1907, Lorrain writes:

> "Some of the outlying schools are being so used to win the young for Christ that heathen parents have become alarmed and are trying to get their chiefs to expel the teachers from their respective village."[44]

The Welsh report of 1908-09 also says:

> "The chiefs do not now persecute those who become Christians; but much cruelty is shown towards them still by members of their own family. Four women ran here for refuge last month from a village 26 miles distant, because of the ill-treatment of their relation."[45]

The hostility towards the Christians manifested most severely at the outbreak of the first stirring was not an isolated event, nor was the target Christianity per se. The concern of the chiefs and the people was more about the challenge that Christianity posed to culture

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[43] ibid., p. 181.
[44] *Report by BMS*, 1907, p. 43.
[45] *Report of FMPCW*, 1908-09, p. 38.

and tradition. However, it was proved to the chiefs as well as the people that forceful resistance did not work, rather it was detrimental to themselves, because the backup force for the Christians was too strong for them. This may explain the rapid and extensive spread of more passive form of resistance very soon after, the *Puma Zai* movement, which will be discussed below.

4.1.2 *PUMA ZAI*

An unprecedented movement that began in 1907 in north Mizoram was a movement inspired by a new song called *Puma Zai* (*Puma'*s song) which spread rapidly throughout the hills, "the speed with which the Song spread and the height of excitement it aroused was beyond comprehension".[46]Mangkhosat Kipgen believes that *Puma Zai* movement was an indirect outcome of the first revival wave while persecution was a direct reaction.[47]

Puma Zai was a '*Zai*'[48]composed of a double-lined refrain of any number of verses, the first line of every refrain end with '*Puma'* while the final three syllables of the second line were repeated. The rise and fall of the cadence is in a regular rhythm but the beat of the syllables in the line varied for more or less in length. The very simplicity of the tune and naiveté of the song makes it easy to repeat.[49] One of the earliest *Puma zai* that was popularized this time was:

Ril an sa, ril an sa, ril an sa, Puma
Zolerah sai lian pui ril an sa.
(They are plaiting intestine, *Puma*
They are plaiting intestine of a big elephant on the hill top)"[50]

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[46]Lalsawma, *Revival,* p. 47.
[47]Mangkhosat Kipgen, op. cit., p. 222.
[48] '*Zai*' means the way of singing, or sometimes the term is used to mean 'a song'.
[49]Lalsawma, *Revival,* p. 46.
[50] Vanlalchhuanawma, op. cit., p. 181.

There are various theories on the origin of the song. Lorrain says the song owe its origin to a man possessed by demon.[51] Llyod attributes a simpleton named *Puma* with his little lullaby as the origin of the song.[52] But most Mizo writers believe that the song originated from the Biate clan, as "the earliest known *Puma* songs were in the Biate dialect," and "*Puma*" is a Biate word for God, and "*Puma Zai* in its original form was perhaps a chant used by the Biate clan while worshipping their family God."[53] Hrangchhuana Khua, Vairengte, Bunghmun and Ratu are the four main places within Mizoram where the *Zai* was said to have originated.[54] K. Zawla, a Mizo historian, writes that *Puma Zai* was presented in Mizoram earlier in 1872 by the Biates who formed part of Edgar's coolie, and again in 1880 when people heard it from the Kukis, but the song was not quite popular and waned very soon.[55] However, when it was reinvented in 1907, it became very popular and was spreading like "blazing bits of cotton."[56] Some of the selected songs are:

1. *Sial ren lo nge in duh tlang ren lo…Puma,*
   Tlang ren lo vangkhua a zau zel ang, zau zel ang.
   (Abundant *mithun* or vast possession of land whom do you choose...*Puma*
   His dominion is expanding that has vast land.)

2. *Kan lam man sialin a rel dawn e, Puma,*
   Lal lai than sei, lal Bawrhsappa, lalhmeltha, lalhmeltha
   (It is *mithun* that is awarded for our dance, *Puma*,
   May he live long our *Bawrhsap*, handsome chief.*)*

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[51] *Report by BMS*, 1908, p. 48.
[52] J.M. Llyod, *History*, p. 108.
[53] Mangkhosat Kipgen, op. cit. p. 227.
[54] Vanlalchhuanawma, op. cit. p. 182.
[55] K. Zawla, op. cit. pp. 401-402; see also *MLVC*, May 1911, p. 94.
[56] J.M. Llyod, *History*, p. 108.

3. *Lal Bawrhsappa, lal hmel tha a lo lang e Puma,*
   I vangkhua chung siar zat chu kan tlanglam e, tlanglam e.
   (The *Bawrhsap,* our handsome chief shows up *Puma,*
   We, your people, as numerous as the stars are dancing, dancing.)

4. *Kei chu thiani, tlang rel ka dawn lo Puma,*
   Lallai partlan, khuavang note kan tlanglam, tlanglam e.
   (I, my friend, could careless rumour Puma,
   We are getting pleasure from our wealthy chief and dance, dance.*)*[57]

Right from the beginning, the song attracted people, and they flocked to the village of Ratu to learn it. It was a catchy song, sung at the beat of the drum and danced to its tune, and easy to add new verses.[58] The chiefs were the most enthusiastic supporters. Chief Lalzika of Zawngin,[59] in early 1908 sent some of his young men to Bunghmun to learn *Puma Zai* and bring back to his own village. When the *Puma Zai* was brought to the village and lines in his praise were added, Lalzika was overjoyed and killed his *mithun* to celebrate the *Puma Zai* that continued for several days with dancing and drinking and many more domestic animals killed for feasting. Chiefs of other villages also killed animals and gave public feasts to inaugurate the new song and made it popular.[60] The *Puma Zai* rapidly spread throughout Mizoram.

The excitement at the singing was so extreme that the young people would sing and dance around while feasting, holding their food in one hand and waving the other.[61] The celebration of *Puma Zai* far "exceeded any sort of merry making" by the Mizos in

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[57] *Lusei Hnam Zai* (TRI, Aizawl, 1993), p. 49; translated by researcher.
[58] J.M. Llyod, *History*, p. 108.
[59]Lalzika, brother of Vanphunga, Khandaih chief, was one of the persecutors of Christians.
[60]C.L. Hminga, op. cit., p. 86.
[61] K. Zawla, op. cit., p. 403.

the past, for earlier, they consumed rice-beer sang and danced only at festivals and other such occasions; it was more like the recent Christian revival.[62]

Lalsawma says that the religious connotation was not apparent in the movement.[63] A strange phenomenon in the *Puma Zai* movement is that it received a lot of ceremonial celebration (known in Mizo as *ai*[64]), even with full rounds of animal heads, which the Mizo called *Ran lu kim a ai*[65]which is not a common experience in such event of singing until that time. It is also reported that "all those who gave public feasts to celebrate the song were treated with the honour due only to those who performed the *Thangchhuah* feast. The young people would dress the man and his wife with the *Thangchhuah puan* (shawl) and they would be placed on a specially constructed platform in the middle of the village in front of which the *Puma Zai* would be performed"[66] which seem to have appended certain religious implications. Only those who are considered to have performed the required number of rites and rituals are considered *Thangchhuah* and the man who performed it was called *Thangchhuahpa* in traditional Mizo culture, a *Thangchhuah puan* was reserved for him, no ordinary man was allowed to wear it and only such men were allowed to *Pialral,* the paradise in traditional belief. A way to *Pialral* for the *Thangchhuahpa* was already losing its meaning as the British confiscated all their guns and it was now unlikely for anyone to kill the traditionally required animal to perform a *Thangchhuah,* let alone the intrusion of Christianity, hence to get to *Pialral* for the non-Christian Mizos was almost impossible. But within the movement, a new religious meaning was given and a way to *Pialral* was reopened. Lorrain also attested the religious undertone in the movement as he reports in 1908:

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[62]Mangkhosat Kipgen, op. cit., p. 228.

[63] Lalsawma, *Revival,* p. 47.

[64] The word *'ai'* has many meanings, like "to fascinate", "to obtain power over" etc. In traditional society, it was used as a necessary religious ceremony for a man in order to gain "possession of the spirits of the men and wild animals he has killed here below" and he will be able take his enemy with him as a slave when he dies, the person performing *'ai'* will have to sacrifice a mithun, goat, or pig. J. Shakespear, *Clans,* p. 78.

[65]Lalsawma, *Revival,* p. 47; C.L. Hminga, op. cit., p. 74.

[66]Hrangthiauva and Lal Chungnunga, *Mizo Chanchin* (Lalrinliana & Sons, Aizawl, 1978), p. 344.

> "Many rumours were current as to what this "*Puma Zai*" would accomplish, and it was stated that all who acclaimed its advent would be exempted from offering sacrifices to demons, and that the dread spirits would in future be appeased if such votaries merely offered, when ill, a few hairs or feathers instead of the usual sacrifices of animals and birds."[67]

Taking hint from Lorrain, C.L. Hminga also comments that the promise of cheaper token sacrifices of a 'few hairs or feathers' was devised to counterbalance the Christian message of healing without the necessary costly sacrifices.[68] Though it may not have succeeded in convincing the sick 'Lushai' to abstain from the usual sacrifice,[69] nevertheless, it proved that the *Puma Zai* movement was not merely about the *Zai*, and that it has much more meaning in it.

The performance of the song increasingly became a communal activity, and young people in various villages derived immense enjoyment from it as they sang in the open village squares, beat the drum and danced to its tune. "It echoed everywhere."[70] More songs were composed and "minor changes brought in the structure, tune and ethos of the *Puma Zai."*[71] The two lined verses were increased to three or more, and the word '*Puma*' was eventually omitted. With this, the name changed to *Tlanglam Zai* (Song of Community Dance). Since then, the '*ai*' also is said to have stopped,[72] but singing and dancing continued even without *zu* which was not common in "pre-Christian" culture which could rather be taken as "modification of the traditional practices to match

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[67] *Report by BMS*, 1908, p. 48.
[68] C.L. Hminga, op. cit., pp. 86-87.
[69] *Report by BMS*, 1908, p. 48.
[70] J.M. Llyod, *History*, p. 108.
[71] Vanlalchhuanawma, op. cit., p. 183.
[72] K. Zawla, op. cit., p. 405.

Christian religious practice."[73] In fact, Mizo composers began to compose songs in Mizo tune from the *Puma Zai* movement, therefore, the songs in Mizo tune which were composed after 1908 came to be called '*Puma Zai'* in general because the tunes were borrowed from the *Puma Zai.*[74]

Mention may be made here that soon after the *Puma Zai* movement, the Church was able to officially put a "complete ban on beer drinking, participation in any feasts and festivals of any form, native songs and tunes together with religious chants of any kind, or on any other practical connections with the old religion."[75]

Puma Zai was seen as an anti-Christian movement by the contemporary church. The Missionaries as well as certain historians of Mizoram see *Puma Zai* movement as a counter reaction of non-Christians to the revival movement.[76] Lorrain was convinced that the song was a "device of Satan to retard the Gospel in these hills" and it was welcomed by the heathen as a revelation from the 'Evil One', and confidently affirmed that it would silence forever the Christian hymns and stamp out the new religion.[77] He confides that it was a "severe test to the scattered converts in the distant villages."[78] J.M. Llyod writes:

> "It [*Puma Zai*] spread like wild fire to all parts of the hills. Amazing manifestations of feeling accompanied the singing – almost as though the revival were parodied. Great feasts were held during which the young men and girls danced in ecstasy. These demonstrations were made in every village. The travelling preachers complained that

[73] Vanlalchhuanawma, op. cit., p. 185.

[74] K. Zawla, op. cit., p. 406.

[75] Presbyterian Kohhran Khawmpui Thurel (Presbytery Minutes) April 1910 nos. 1-3. Mangkhosat Kipgen, op. cit., p. 257.

[76]Lalsawma, *Revival*, p. 45; J.M. Llyod, *History*, p. 108; *Report by BMS*, 1908, p. 48.

[77] ibid., *Report by BMS*.

[78] ibid.

> preaching was a burden. The gospel was losing ground and no one wanted to listen to it. The cause of Christ seemed doomed in Lushai."[79]

He believes it represented the "resurgence of heathenism",[80] and observes that the "easy to add new verses" *Zai* has swelled up into a very potent anti-Christian song:

> "While the movement lasted many Christians felt stunned, a few indeed recanted and even the singing of the Christian hymns lost its flavor for the time being. It naturally gave encouragement to all forms of persecution."[81]

Liangkhaia calls it the "great power of darkness",[82] Saiaithanga says it was "the greatest single obstacle that the Christians of those days ever faced."[83] Carter and Luaia also attest that the *Zai* was used to counter the Christian movement[84] and C.L. Hminga claims that the movement "was definitely launched as a measure to stop people from becoming Christians[85] and says that it was comparable to the 'Ghost Dance' movement among the Western Indians of the USA.[86] He also admits that "there were already some innovations and the fusion evidently had taken place in the minds of the many who were not yet Christians" and the chiefs who were able to sense this launched the movement.[87] A verse to ridicule the evangelists like this is taken up in support of the movement as anti-Christian:

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[79]J.M. Llyod, *On Every High Hill* (Synod Publication Board, Aizawl, 1984), p. 55.

[80] ibid., p. 54.

[81] ibid., p. 108.

[82] Liangkhaia, 'Mizo Sakhua' in *Mizo Ziarang*, 1st edn, 1975, p. 136.

[83] Saiaithanga, *Kohhran*, p. 28.

[84] H.W. Carter & H.S. Luaia, op. cit., p. 57.

[85]C.L. Hminga, op. cit. p. 86.

[86] ibid., p. 74; for detail see Michael Leroy Oberg, *Native America, A History* (Wiley-Blackwell, U.K, 2012), pp. 250-253.

[87] ibid., p. 86.

Lehkhabu keng vai lemchang
Chanchin hril reng reng Puma
(Carrying book, imitating foreigners,
Always proclaiming something *Puma*) [88]

However, a new insight has been put into the analysis of the movement. Many Mizo scholars lately argue that the *Puma Zai* has very little to do with Christianity and was not primarily anti-Christian in nature[89] and direct attack on Christianity did not appear in the *Puma Zai,* [90] and argue that to some, it may represent a reaction against the new religion and the translated western songs that were sung by the Christians during the revival but, by and large, it represented something of a cultural revival and many would have participated in it irrespective of their attitude towards Christianity. Lalsawma says the movement was "a very effective means of expressing cultural instinct for entertainment"[91] but Lalsangkima Pachuau says it "fulfilled a much larger societal need than a mere social entertainment" but has little to do with Christianity.[92] Vanlalchhuanawma says it was a cultural response to Christian revival movement.[93] Mangkhosat Kipgen and Sajal Nag agree on the movement as cultural revival, but Sajal Nag goes further saying it was a protest movement, "an attempt to spite the white men and isolate the converts from the mainstream of tribal community," an attempt to fight back the new culture introduced by the combined power of the British and the missionaries."[94]

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[88] H.W. Carter & H.S. Luaia , op. cit., p. 57; translated by C.L. Hminga.

[89] Lalsangkima Pachuau, op. cit., p. 118; Vanlalchhuanawma, op. cit., p.184; Mangkhosat Kipgen, op. cit., p. 231.

[90] Vanlalchhuanawma, ibid.; Lalsangkima Pachuau, ibid.

[91] Lalsawma, *Revival,* p. 48.

[92] Lalsangkima Pachuau, op. cit., pp. 118-119.

[93] Vanlalchhuanawma, op. cit., pp. 180, 185.

[94] Sajal Nag, op. cit., p. 196.

Though the missionaries looked at the movement with antagonism, the Superintendent H.W.G. Cole was moved by the performance of *Puma Zai* to welcome him in villages. He declared exemption of Zawngin village from impressed labour in return to the flattery he received from them through *Puma Zai.* At another occasion when Cole went to adjudicate the boundary problem between Thawngliana, chief of Lenchhim and Dorawta, chief of Saitual, he settled the matter in favour of Dorawta whose youth gave an excellent performance of *Puma Zai* with dance in his praise.[95] A Mizo historian also noted that even the British officers and the plain people were affected by the song that they would either dance along with the people or at least clap their hands if they were present when it was being sung.[96]

It has already been proved that forceful reaction was impracticable in the prevailing circumstances which the cases of Khandaih and others have confirmed, but the *Puma Zai* movement provided an opportunity for passive resistance while giving the people a chance to celebrate themselves, their identity and their culture. As such, this movement was popular among the people and "spread like wild fire" all over the hill, and even challenged the invasion of alien culture and halted it, including the revival movement successfully for a while.

The outbreak of bamboo famine in 1911 was generally considered to have defused the popularity of *Puma Zai*. [97] It was believed that the famine "not only put an end to the ecstatic element of the *Puma Zai* but in a way it also prepared the people for another revival,"[98] for another revival wave with more intensity broke out soon after the famine in 1913. From this wave, the revival that broke out were of local origin, and the

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[95] Vanlalchhuanawma, op. cit., p. 183.

[96]K. Zawla, op. cit., p. 405.

[97] J.M. Llyod, *History*, p. 108.

[98] Mangkhosat Kipgen, op. cit., p. 234; The features in the subsequent waves like revival dance, native hymns and use of drums were all connected to the *Puma Zai*. Lalsangkima Pachuau, op. cit., pp. 140-141.

features also became more 'indigenous', eventually leading to the 'indigenization' of Christianity through the revival movement.

4.2 CHRISTIANS' RESPONSE

The Christians in Mizoram could be broadly divided into two groups – the church leaders and the laity. Among the church leaders, there were European missionaries and the native leaders, mostly Pastors. Even among the laity, one scholar tends to see the 'revival enthusiasts' and the 'extreme enthusiasts'.[99] These groups of people came from different background and therefore, they received the revival differently.

4.2.1 THE OFFICIAL CHURCH

The attitude of the official church was greatly influenced by the attitude of the European missionaries who had internalised the ideology of the 'white man's burden' which generated the binary of 'savage' and 'civilized', identifying western culture as 'civilized' while the non-western culture was labelled as 'uncivilized', 'primitive' or 'barbarous'. About the inhabitants of the 'Lushai' hills, John Hughes Morris records:

> "The inhabitants were regarded by the few Europeans then residing in Bengal, as the fiercest and most barbarous of all the tribes within the province, notorious for their head hunting expeditions to neighbouring plains. The object of these raids was to obtain human skulls with the object to adorn the graves of their ancestors, the belief prevailing that the spirits of the slain would become the slaves of their ancestors in the spirit world."[100]

Therefore, the British missionaries, when they came to the region, had a pre-conceived notion that they were going to work among the 'primitive' people and they would have to

[99]Vanlalchhuanawma, op. cit., p. 205.
[100] John Hughes Morris, op. cit., p. 77.

'civilize' them through evangelization.[101] They found the people to be "one of the filthiest men on earth"[102] 'lazy, cruel, superstitious and very prone to drunkenness',[103] "a fierce and warring tribe", "fond of amusement and games, and the old days, drinking and dancing were the accompaniments of wild rioting and immorality."[104] D.E. Jones writes:

> "Wherever we go, and the more we hear of the customs, habits and lives of the people, the more are we convinced of their need of the Saviour."[105]

The missionaries thus came with the 'mindset of superior civilized people encountering a lowborn savage' which was reflected in their attitude and behaviour to the people. It was difficult for the Europeans therefore, to find anything commendable in the tribal culture. As such, the newly born church in Mizoram under the guidance of the missionaries in the first decade of the twentieth century found itself building fences around with an intention "to safeguard the infant church from the attractions of the old life and to help maintain high moral standards in the Christian community."[106] The Mizo Christians made rules for their own church while the missionaries 'played an advisory role', and they passed rules against many of their own cultural practices.[107] As a result, there was a hiatus between 'old' Mizo culture and the 'new' Western Christian culture.

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[101] The colonialists wanted to employ the service of the missionaries for 'political and security' reasons. They were convinced about the effectiveness of Christianity to put an end to the outrages of the tribes and thus welcomed the missionaries in the Northeastern Frontier. And "even before the missionaries had any idea of the tribes, the colonialist had formulated that the tribes were 'savage' and 'uncivilized' and the Western Christian influence which was 'civilized' would be able to tame and conquer them culturally." Sajal Nag, op. cit., pp. 157-165.

[102] *Report of FMPCW*, 1906-07, p. 35.

[103] Sajal Nag, '"God's Strange Means": Missionaries, Calamity and Philanthropy among the Lushais', in Tanka Bahadur Subba, *et al*., *Christianity and Change in Northeast India* Concept Publication, Guwahati, 2009, p. 290.

[104] M. Eleanor Bowser, op. cit., pp. 9, 11.

[105] *Report of FMPCW*, 1898-1899, p. 4.

[106] Mangkhosat Kipgen, op. cit., p. 256.

[107] Issues like drinking of rice beer, Mizo tunes and dances, etc. ibid.

Though there was a homology between the native church leaders and the European missionaries' thinking, their response to revival movement differed.

4.2.1.a. The European Missionaries

From the accounts of the missionaries and their actions, it can be seen that at first, the missionaries from both the North and the South wanted to have revival movement in Mizoram[108] but they were hard to convince that revival came with the Mairang delegates. The delegates danced freely at the reception meeting but they were considered as merely imitating what they saw at Khasi hills.[109] In the north, four days after the arrival of the delegates that the missionary was convinced the revival has come. It took a longer period of one year in the south.[110]

The initial suspicion may have been largely because of the missionaries' lack of faith in the Mizos in general, and sending revival seekers to Khasi Hills must have been done with some reservations.[111] This attitude continued to rule even as the phenomenon gained momentum, for the Missionaries bear in mind that they were working among the 'primitive' people, and primitivism was often connected with 'emotionalism' and therefore, the emotional manifestation of the revival has always been viewed with suspicion.

Many of the revival features were therefore, seen not simply as 'unchristian' but also 'primitive'. A concession was given only for the fact that they were 'Oriental, primitive people' with a different temperament, as Mrs. Sandy writes:

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[108]D.E. Jones expressed his desire to see revival in Mizoram as happened in Wales. J. M. Llyod, *History*, p. 89. See Chapter-3 of this thesis. *Report by BMS*, 1906.

[109]Vanlalchhuanawma, op. cit., p. 170.

[110]*"With glad heart am I sending you the news of the revival which broke out here on April 9th. I had almost made a secret resolution not to write home until I had news of a revival here. And thanks be to God! It has come."*D.E. Jones' letter to Wiliams, dated 11 April 11 1906, as cited in Vanlalchhuanawma, op. cit. p. 203; *Report by BMS*, 1907.

[111]Lalsawma, *Revival*, p. 52.

> "At first the excitement was very great, amounting at times, almost to a frenzy (sic), and many were carried out in hysterics. There was much that jarred on us and we felt the need of guidance and wisdom in leading and teaching these people. We remember that they are Oriental, primitive people with temperaments very different from ours – and that what did not appeal to us might be the means of doing much good to them."[112]

Referring to the revival of 1934-35 in the West District, David Edwards comments:

> "The phenomena were crude and primitive, and the people were referred to as those "drunk with the Spirit." It is very difficult to explain the effect upon a European mind. It was a difficult period, and one which is, of course, still very much in other parts of Lushai."[113]

Lorrain's misgiving about the revivalists is clear with his emphasis on 'self-control' as he felt that at times:

> "There has been a danger of some of the people yielding to themselves too much to their physical emotions and forgetting that one of the fruits of the Spirit is "self-control"."[114]

However, Lorrain was one of the missionaries who really appreciated the movement. During the third wave, he was said to have confessed at Lungrang Presbytery that Calvary was clearly shown to him there.[115] But seeing that some features like quaking

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[112] Mrs. Sandy to Mr. Williams, 28 September 1919, Aizawl, cited in Mangkhosat Kipgen, op. cit., pp.264-65.

[113] *Report of FMPCW*, 1936, p. 69.

[114] *Report by BMS*, 1913, p. 8.

[115] Liangkhaia, *Harhna*, p. 41.

often spoiled and defamed the revival itself, he concluded, "My joy has now turned into sorrow."[116]

The official church in the South openly branded the revival accompanied with quaking and freezing not as God's work and decided that all the pastors should make utmost efforts to control it.[117]In spite of the disapproval of the Missionaries however, throughout the period under study, the movement was featured by emotionalism that grew more and more intense with the movement, especially in the North.

E.L. Mendus' first reaction to the revival in Mizoram was, "Either these people are Christians and I am not, or I am a Christian and they are not."[118] When he saw the movement taking on "strange" features, he was appalled at first, and as tensions were stemming up, he was worried that the "Lushai church would ground and split in two".[119] He saw revival as a "problem", at the same time, he could not help but recognize the positive aspects of the movement. He writes:

> "I took opportunity when preaching in this Presbytery of pointing out the danger of a pseudo-revivalism creeping into the church and of discouraging uncontrolled enthusiasm. The revival has constituted our greatest problem for years. To begin with there was the element of good in it and its necessary emphasis on the need for religion being spiritual and not formal and external; we can only know God truly through His Spirit, etc. there is a valuable mystic strain in it that should be conserved, however primitive and crude its forms may take. We cannot but recognize also the valuable side of those qualities of keenness and abandonment of self to what they believe is supernatural, involving a

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[116] Lalsawma, *Revival,* p.141.
[117]ibid. pp. 139-140
[118] Quoted in Mangkhosat Kipgen, op. cit., p. 265.
[119] *Report of FMPCW,* 1938-39, p. 156.

> willingness not only to suffer but to die for their belief. The supernatural become often more real than the temporal; manna may fall from heaven at any time, and death has a glamour cast over it…All this, while anathema to the stolid common-sense Englishman, may to some extent be understood by the mystic Celt, and it is not surprising that many of the best Lushais …were loth to take a stand against it…This was perhaps the chief difficulty in dealing with what was rapidly looming up as the darkest cloud-storm I have ever seen on our ecclesiastical horizon."[120]

This kind of mixed feeling towards revival is not uncommon among the missionaries. David Edwards too scathingly criticized the Mizo church as "very undisciplined" and its revival as "almost exclusively psychic and ecstatic", but at the same time recognized the "calm orderliness" in the revival fervour, thus remonstrated himself for "his lack of faith" on the Mizo character.[121] Mrs. Mendus also records:

> "It was a strange one, and I could not but react against the strange hypnotic influence that seemed to be at work, carrying people away so that they become unconscious of themselves. There seemed to be primitive instincts and forces at work in these people, and I felt that I had no standard or knowledge by which to judge them. I was in an unknown world. To me the whole atmosphere had little connection with the Christian religion as I knew it….On the other hand one cannot but recognise the fact that lives have been changed by the revival, and that many have found a joy and gladness which put more humdrum Christians to shame."[122]

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[120] ibid., pp. 155- 156.

[121] Mangkhosat Kipgen, op. cit., p. 309.

[122] Mrs. M. Mendus, 'Contrasting Pictures in Lushai', op. cit., p. 3.

Due to its contribution towards the numerical growth of the church, the Missionaries, whose mission was to convert the people, could not turn down the revival movement in spite of many "undesirable" and unacceptable traits because it was felt that "the undeniable spiritual blessings of the Revival far outweigh the comparatively few gloomy human failures."[123]The Welsh missionary report says:

> "Although there were many undesirable traits to be seen, yet the people were influenced to come to the meetings and many were brought within the fold."[124]

Also it was these revivalists who were by far the keenest workers in spreading the Gospel in the country.[125] Therefore, in the interval period when the revival spirit was at low ebb, the churches under their leadership all over the hills cried out in prayer for a revival, and when it came, it was remarked with delight as is evident in the words of Lorrain:

> "By far the greatest factor in the work has been the presence of God's Spirit in the midst of His Church, manifested more especially in 1913 and 1919-20 in mighty power. It is a fact which should be recorded that since the first outpouring of the Holy Spirit upon the Lushai church in 1907, every six years has witnessed a similar but ever-increasing Pentecostal experience, empowering believers for joyful and fruitful service, and greatly affecting the heathen as well. Each gracious visitation has raised the church on to a higher plane of Christian experience than the one preceding it and has resulted in a large gathering of souls."[126]

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[123] *Report by BMS,* p. 101.
[124] *Report of FMPCW*, 1923-24, p. 67.
[125] Mrs. Mendus, 'Contrasting Pictures in Lushai', op. cit.
[126] *Report by BMS*, 1921, pp. 170-171.

The Welsh Mission in the north also reports in 1919:

> "In an account of last year's work the first place must be given to the great revival which so deeply affected the life of the churches in Lushai. It not only brought great blessing to those who were already believers, but it was also the means of adding more than four thousand to the membership of the Church."[127]

The Mission recognized that the movement has a "potent power if properly harnessed", that "there was power, power to effect changes in individual lives which preaching alone could not effect, power to awaken and win wide areas, even beyond the frontiers, from animistic darkness to the light of the Gospel."[128]

It is true that they scorned the emotionalism and "excesses" of the movement, because they thought it was "primitive" trait. Thus, throughout the period, they attempted to guide the movement and put it under control by trying to tighten their grip on the church and teaching the people through the influence of the native pastors, through Sunday school and through their paid-workers.[129] Mendus has been trying very hard "to get a common mind among the leaders" who will be sent out to influence the Christian masses.[130] The church then issued guidelines for the revival and that was later published in a Guidebook for Revival.[131]

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[127] *Report of FMPCW*, 1919, p. 10.

[128] Quoted in Mangkhosat Kipgen, op. cit., pp. 307-308.

[129] The words of Mendus to the Superintendent at the incident of Kelkang after calling a special Assembly reveals thus, "Standing committee consisting of some of the best and wisest Lushai…meets regularly once every month to deal with the affairs of the whole church….do not approve of such excesses and are endeavoring to combat them and are determined to continue doing so….. I believe that the weight of the personal influence of our leaders will soon make itself felt." E.L. Mendus, B.A., the Welsh Presbyterian Mission, Aijal to the Superintendent, Lushai Hills, Aijal, dated 6 March 1937, F. No. NLW 27353, NLW, Aberystwyth.

[130] Mrs Gwen M. Mendus letter, Aijal, 2 January 1938, p 3, cited in Mangkhosat Kipgen, op.cit., p. 300.

[131] Standing Committee, July 14, 1937, No.1 gives guidance to the revival; A booklet of *Harhna Hruaina* (Guidebook for Revival) was issued again in 1949.

In the missionaries' expectation, revival was supposed to produce more interest in biblical teachings, more effective preaching and more converts, and that it should yield to more respect to the guidance of the church because revival was considered to renew and reform the church for action:

> "It is a reaffirmation of theology, a resuscitation of worship, a reviving of conscience, and it is all these within the church and for the church."[132]

The revival meeting with no preaching and teaching "was inconceivable to the Calvinistic temperament of the missionaries who placed preaching in the centre of worship."[133] However, in Mizoram, Scripture reading and preaching were relegated to the background, and the missionaries feared that hymn-singing was ousting prayer, as the 'use of drum troubled many', and the "drum appeared to dictate to the congregation and even to the Holy Spirit."[134] They were troubled that the people were "not infrequently led away on unimportant issues to the neglect of the fundamental realities"[135] and perceived that many became Christians during the revival without really knowing the meaning of Christianity due to the lack of knowledge of Biblical teaching.[136]

On the other hand, the people did not seem to feel the need of any such thing. The Welsh Mission report says that "during the revivals, the Sunday school was not popular", saying that "consequently many of the converts are very ignorant, and have a tendency to abandon their new religion when temptation comes."[137] Therefore, the Missionaries and the church leaders thought that the great need for the "Lushai" is biblical teaching.[138]The missionaries from the second decade of the movement thus made intensive efforts at

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[132] Max Warren, op. cit., p. 20.
[133]Vanlalchhuanawma, op. cit., p. 204.
[134] J.M. Llyod, *History,* p. 192.
[135] M. Eleanor Bowser, op. cit., p.18.
[136] *Report of FMPCW*, 1926-7, p. 81.
[137]ibid., 1924-5, p. 69.
[138]ibid., 1926-7, p. 81

strengthening the Sunday School, forming a Sunday School committee when the revival movement reached its climax with all its characteristic features, the purpose of which may have been to counter and correct the intuitive approach of the revival enthusiasts, and thus of the revival movement, to biblical teaching.[139]

Right from the first stirring, the official church in its attempt to guide the movement on its own terms, attempted to establish the authority of the church, but these matters cannot be dealt with by the church "with a stroke of the pen or by any dictatorial methods which might result in a sullen resentment or schism"[140] whereas the revivalists could not tolerate any interference.

The whole night meetings, the vehement dancing, the seeming absence of 'order' in the revival meetings, etc. could not fit into the missionaries' understanding of revival. D.E. Jones and the church leaders saw the need of taking moderate steps to the vehement dancing and prolonged meetings of the revivalists, and there were times when Jones dismissed the meeting about an hour before midnight.[141] However, in the struggle between the missionaries' discernment and the revivalists' enthusiasm, the missionaries at some point, even lost the courage to speak against the revivalists even if they crossed their line. D.E. Jones writes:

> "We were afraid of saying anything much against it the first night in case they might be over much grieved and we might be blamed (as they are very fond of saying) of working against the Holy Spirit, if any criticisms are made on the dancing or any extravagances."[142]

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[139] Vanlalchhuanawma, op. cit., pp. 318-319.

[140] E.L. Mendus to the Superintendent, Lushai Hills, Aijal, 6 March 1937, p. 2, cited in Mangkhosat Kipgen, op. cit. pp. 295-96.

[141] For this, he was criticized by some revivalists as not having the Spirit and trying to control the working of the Holy Spirit. Lalsawma, Revival, pp. 71-72.

[142] D.E. Jones to Williams, 22 May 1913, cited in Vanlalchhuanawma, op.cit. p. 213.

As the Christian number increased, 'natural leaders' began to emerge already in 1908-09 and "were constantly and persistently pushing themselves forward". They were "doing the work of elders and were acknowledged as such", but this self-appointed leadership proved to be 'disturbing' to the functioning of the church. In order to check their growth, D.E. Jones insisted that there should be a regular election of elders by the local church and ordination in Presbytery.[143] Three elders, namely Rosema, Dala and Darchhinga were ordained at the first Presbytery in 1910 in Aizawl under the leadership of D.E Jones and Dr. Fraser.[144] This was followed by the ordination of native pastors in both the North and the South. Chhuahkhama was the first Mizo pastor, who was ordained in the October Presbytery of 1913, and the next year, four evangelists were ordained for pastors in the North, and the South also ordained Chuautera as their first Pastor. Pastorates were subsequently created and were placed under the charge of a pastor.[145]

The insistence of official ordination for local church leadership was meant to discourage natural leaders and to prevent the growth of popular individual personality. It worked to check the 'ecstatic self-appointed' leaders and also strengthened the grip of the Mission over the dispersed churches.

The attitude of the official church over the people who deviated from the main church as a result of tension within the church to new indigenous sects or to other denominations during the period was derogative in nature. A Mizo scholar argued that the 'imported character' of the movement in the first decade was wholeheartedly welcomed by the church but tension arose in the church when the indigenous character began to develop.[146] This may be an extreme view. It was largely due to the difference of opinion over revival that tension rose. In fact, tension began to build up between the church and

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[143] J.M. Llyod, History, pp. 123-124.

[144]ibid., p. 124.

[145] Vanlalchhuanawma, op. cit., p. 216; the four evangelists were Vanchhunga, Phawka, Hauchhunga and Thangkhuma.

[146] ibid., p. 159.

the revivalists from the first decade of revival, not simply over questions on indigenous features but also on the perception of Christian principles as well.

W. J. Leslie Wenger, a missionary in the South records that "some Lushais in North Lushai who had formerly been professing Christians, and had come under discipline for unworthy conduct, had endeavoured to cause trouble by trying to induce other societies" like Salvation Army and Roman Catholics to enter the country.[147] They were considered as the "malcontents, nearly all of whom had been disciplined by the church. They were a constant source of annoyance to the church."[148] Llyod also observes that most of the people who joined the Salvation Army were "lapsed Presbyterians."[149] This view of the official church on the non-official leaders deeply influenced the Christian masses as it continued to exert its influence over the people. It was successful in discouraging the members from following such leaders and their separatist movements, and therefore, majority of the people continued to stay in the Mission church.

Thus, the missionaries' response seems to be an ambivalent one. Since the majority of the Mizo Christians favoured the revival movements, the Mission and the Church could not afford not to patronize it. As the movement often went out of their hand, the church was forced "to adopt a conciliatory approach towards the revival movement or, at least, a modified negative reaction."[150] It was at the initiative of the missionaries that the revival broke out in Mizoram, however, once the movement took momentum and became powerful, they failed to control it, and there lies their confusion. The missionaries' expectation of revival was belied by the actual practice of Christianity by the Mizos. The missionaries' critique of the movement was not so much for the

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[147] "The leaders of the Lushai church are becoming alive to the danger, and by special teaching we are hoping to make our people so well informed that they will be able to stand against all threats and persuations." *Report by BMS*, 1926, p. 221.

[148] Statement regarding the Activities of the Salvation Army in Lushai. F. No. 27154, CMA, NLW, Aberystwyth.

[149] J.M. Llyod, *History,* p. 200.

[150] Vanlalchhuanawma, op. cit., p. 213.

introduction of indigenous elements as it was for their failure to control the movement. Thus, at times, it seemed to them that the revival was a boon because they perceived the positive aspects of it, but whenever they found that it had gone out of control, they felt it was a bane.

4.2.1.b. Native Church Leaders

The native church leaders were constituted of pastors, salaried-mission workers like evangelists, teachers who were usually church elders in their respective villages, and were the product of the missionaries' education. They were either direct participants or direct observers of the movement. Their interest in the movement was synchronized with the European missionaries.[151]

The Euro-centric view of the Missionaries by and large influenced the local leaders from the inception of the church.[152] As a result, they were convinced by the fact that their customs "are bound up with their old religion, and reviving them would mean reviving the feelings and thoughts connected with heathenism", so the missionaries claimed that they were more against their traditional culture than them.[153] This attitude of distrust on Mizo customs persisted and some features of the revival were seen to be the product of the "primitive" mentality and it was agreed that control of the movement was necessary. Liangkhaia, one of the most prominent Mizo pastors enunciates that the best

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[151] The interests were numerical growth, how the revival meetings were conducted, the abnormal features of the movement, etc.

[152]These native leaders passed rules by themselves with the missionaries playing an 'advisory role' against the drinking of rice beer, native tunes and dances soon after the *Puma Zai* movement. Largely, because of this, there was a tendency among the Lushais to destroy and eliminate all that dates from a period prior to the Christian era. These educated Lushai Christians including the religious leaders condemned Zawlbuk and they contributed for its demise, etc. McCall op. cit., p. 211; It is recorded that D.E. Jones (Zosaphluia) proposed to the early Christians, "When I survey the Wondrous Cross' is a very serious Christian hymn to be sung solemnly. The most solemn tune of the Mizos is a '*Chai Hla'*, shall we arrange the song to be sung in *Chai hla* tune?" The early Mizo leaders refused it. Z.T. Sangkhuma, *Mizoram Harhna Thlirletna* (published by author, n.d) p. 101.

[153] *Diary of Mrs. G. Mendus*, Book XX, F. No. HZI/3/19, CMA, NLW, Aberystwyth.

church leaders are always the trained leaders, not the revivalists.[154] It appears that it was not expected of a pastor to be disturbed by the revival spirit. When Pastor Chhawna experienced the revivalist Spirit, his peer Pastor Liangkhaia, pointing out the fact that he was an educated and level headed man, commented in a rather perplexing tone that he was confined to his house for more than a week under the influence of the Spirit and could not perform his normal duties very well.[155] This shows that an educated mind was not expected to respond to revival reflexively.

Liangkhaia also opines that dancing was more of Mizo culture than the work of the Spirit, saying "the *Saps* (White men), even if they experienced the same spiritual touch as the Mizos, might not necessarily dance" and felt that there are more bad aspects than good in dancing.[156] His opinion is very closely related to the resolution passed by the Assembly Standing Committee soon after Kelkang incident, which is representative of the attitude of the church over dancing. The committee says:

> "We do not completely rule out dancing in revival as not of the Holy Spirit, however, dancing is a manifestation of primitive mind, and therefore, we should teach our members to take the higher level in worship and church activities."[157]

Sawiluaia and Carter are of the opinion that "Illiteracy and simple-mindedness" were responsible for the difficulty of doing away the quaking and freezing features in the South. They said that these simple illiterates "feared that withdrawal of quaking would lead to withdrawal of their revival joy."[158]Therefore, the earlier Mizo church leaders were convinced of the 'primitive' character and ignorance of the people during the revival

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[154]Liangkhaia, *Harhna*, pp. 74-75.

[155]ibid., p. 60.

[156]ibid., p. 70.

[157]Assembly Standing Committee (ASC), 19 October 1937, Resolution no.6. (free translation by researcher).

[158] H.W. Carter & H.S. Luaia, op. cit., p.85

movement, and therefore, it was discouraged to a large extent.[159] The more educated and intellectual Mizos were expected to adhere to more of the doctrinalistic revival.[160]

Though these educated Mizos were not in favour of high or extreme revival, but at the same time, they did not take an open stand against it, as it is indicated in Mendus report:

> "The best Lushai Christians even though they would not participate in the extreme expressions of this revival were loth to take a stand it lest haply they might be found fighting against God, or helping to pluck up the wheat in trying to pluck up the tares.(sic)"[161]

Therefore, though they saw the dangers and weakness of the revival, the local church leaders were quite tolerant. In a crisis situation as a result of the influence of the high revivalists, the church often sent prominent men as trouble-shooters to those churches.[162] These leaders often failed to find features that would have called for church discipline.[163] On the 'strange' features, the Presbyterians tried to be "more specific and condemned only the illicit relationship and adultery," the Baptist church on the other hand, "condemned the feature outright".[164]

Not all the Mizo church leaders had empathetic attitude towards the revival.[165] Katie Hughes, a missionary mentions that a particular leader who had been to Wales,

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[159]ASC, op. cit.; Quaking was outrightly condemned by the church leaders in the south.

[160]C. Rosiama, 'Revival Movements and the Problem of Unity in Mizoram: with special reference to the life of the Presbyterian Church' (Degree of Bachelor of Divinity thesis, United Theological College, Bangalore, 1978), p. 45.

[161] *Report of FMPCW*, 1938-39, p. 156.

[162] Mangkhosat Kipgen, op. cit., p. 302.

[163] C. Vanlalhruaia, op. cit., p. 300.

[164] Lalsangkima Pachuau, op. cit., p. 129.

[165] Mrs Gwen M.Mendus' letter, Aijal, 2 January 1938, p. 3, cited in Mangkhosat Kipgen, op. cit. p. 300.

"never goes anywhere near these revivalists but condemns them very much when they are not present. In this way, he embitters them."[166] Mrs. Mendus also records one event:

> "Mr. Evans preached this afternoon – the drum was in evidence and the ugly head shaking and so on. But Pasena who took the service and translated the sermon kept it within bounds by giving out hymns to the tunes of which they could not get worked up."[167]

The Mizos, though they have never experienced such hysteria in their known past, were not as sceptical as the European missionaries in regards to the features of the movement. The missionaries, who already had more knowledge about revival movement were not able to understand many of the features in Mizoram while the common masses as well as the Mizo church leaders themselves were relatively accommodative towards the 'excesses' which were beyond the understanding and approval of the missionaries:

> "Although relatively more 'tolerant and accommodating" than the southern leaders, the northern missionaries and church leaders, in Lalsawma's words, "were always wary of uncontrolled overflow of enthusiasm". In the north, the church and mission became noticeably sensitive to the "excesses" of the third revival."[168]

As a whole, the Mizo church leaders were generally more tolerant than their missionary counterparts, and their attitude on the revival was not totally negative. It seems that native church leaders were aware of the cultural context of the Mizos and therefore, they avoided outright condemnation. For the Mizos, supernatural was very natural, and they had no problem in believing the Holy Spirit to actually speak to a person, and the person

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[166] Katie Hughes to Mr. Thomas, 27 September 1935, cited in Vanlalchhuanawma, op. cit. p. 350.
[167] Diary of Mrs. Mendus, Book X, F. No. HZI/3/10, CMA, NLW, Aberystwyth,
[168] Lalsangkima Pachuau, op. cit., p. 127.

acting on it. And the immingle of the spiritual world with the physical world during the revival movement was not very strange to them.

4.2.2 THE CHRISTIAN MASSES

The revivalists formed the bulk of the Christian masses. The dancing and ecstatic movement of the revival attracted people, mostly from the uneducated and ordinary social strata.[169] In the early church set up, the role of the masses was minimal. It was mainly the students and the educated ones who helped the missionaries as Evangelists, Teachers and Pastors. The teachers were considered to be leaders of the church in villages which they usually did, because they were able to read the Bible, and also because they possessed 'good Christian qualities'. [170]

At the first half of the twentieth century, majority of the population were still engaged with the same chores trying to find a living from the land though the condition was not the same as in pre-colonial period. As the church banned all the familiar cultural elements of the Mizos like traditional tunes, hymns, dance and drums, it requires certain amount of effort for the common people to adapt themselves into the new world order as well as to 'Christian way' of life and worship.

The revival provided the common people a chance to have more place in the church through its various features like dancing, singing, and confession of sins, spontaneous prayers, etc. Thus, right from the first wave, revival was appealing to the common people. When the use of drum was introduced in the church, the drummer, who were "usually self-appointed" began to play an important role in the church service.[171] The 'Urgency of the Kingdom of God' and the Second coming as the themes in the second wave witnessed more laity participation as people felt the urgency and haste to

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[169] C. Rosiama, op. cit., p. 45.
[170] Lalsawma, *Revival,* p. 154.
[171] J.M. Llyod, *History,* p. 192.

preach the gospel. These preaching even crossed the present boundaries of Mizoram,[172] and most of them were self- appointed preachers. The absence of preaching or teaching and the emphasis on singing and dancing in the gatherings of the revivals[173] also attested that the role of common people was intensified as compared to their limited role in the regular services.

The revival also gave opportunity to the non-literate persons to take up leadership and it was totally acceptable to the people. In normal circumstances, only literate person can be officially the church leader. Though there was no hard and fast rules, it was convention, and in a way necessary to have a literate, and if possible an educated leader. However, uneducated person could become leader of the church in the revival movement by dint of their spirituality. Parima enjoyed a great reputation as a healer; some people preferred his praying for them to the missionaries' medicine.[174] Taichhuma, Thangbawnga, etc, were not trained but became powerful preachers; three women were reported to "visiting and speaking to the people in the houses of the villagers."[175] At Kelkang, revivalist Thanghnuaia did not know how to read but carry the Bible always with him, and it is said that when he received revelation of Bible verse from the Spirit, he asked the literates to read the portion which he pointed to either with the tip of his finger or of a small stick, and the people found no problem in it.[176]

As the role of the masses was increasing, tensions also increased as the movement was taking its own course regardless of the church's dictates. As such, the movement was taking anti-establishment and to a certain extent anti-western features from the second wave. The disregard for official authorities like the pastors and the leaders and of the missionaries as a result of "spiritual pride", characterized the

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[172] Lalsawma, *Revival,* pp. 67-68.

[173] Vanlalchhuanawma, op. cit., p. 204.

[174] *Report of FMPCW*, p.15.

[175] *Report by BMS*, 1916, p.135.

[176] *DSK*, pp. 34-35; When the Pastor visited the village, he witnessed how Thanghnuaia used the Bible, and the Pastor reproached him saying that the way he opened the Bible and read to the public looked like a sort of gambling and it was wrong. (*DSK*, p. 42).

movement.[177] The people received them well whom they understood as 'Spirit-controlled', usually a revival enthusiast, and not all preaching appealed to the revival enthusiasts. People lost their interest in the normal practice of Sunday school, rather, the revivalists boasted of their slow progress with its syllabus.[178] The official church's expectation was thwarted by the revivalists' experience. In the revival meetings, the Missionaries' presence did not make much difference, for the congregation moved on its own accord. Mendus writes:

> "The little chapel that evening was crowded. The heat of the revival was intense. Three of us missionaries were there, though the congregation seemed scarcely aware of our presence."[179]

From the second wave, some extreme leaders appeared and deviated from the established church. They were mainly from the educated class. Tlira was the non-official leader during the second wave of the revival movement who was the first to break away from the Mission church. He was a charismatic leader and he gathered following from important personalities in their respective places, like Kawlkhuma, one of the co-editors with Dala of Krista Tlangau, Thangluaii and Bualthluaii, the first batch of Bible women, Lalbuana of Champhai, Chalchhuna of Durtlang, Khuma and Laichhunga of Kolasib, etc.[180]

The Second Coming of Jesus, the theme of the second revival stirring influenced Tlira who left home and crossed Tiau river in Burma to preach the nearness of the Second coming, but it was said that he became frustrated because the expected return did not happen as immediate as he preached, and this was followed by a series of vision he saw, that began probably on March 2 1913.[181] He saw in is vision a dragon in whose mouth he saw the Christian church singing, waving their hymn books and Bibles, and only the Son

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[177] Mrs Gwen M.Mendus' letter, 2 January 1938, p 3, cited in Mangkhosat Kipgen, op.cit. p. 300.
[178] Saiaithanga, *Kohhran*, p. 43.
[179] Quoted in Vanlalchhuanawma, op. cit., p. 253.
[180] ibid., p. 209.
[181] Lalsawma, *Revival,* pp. 62-63.

of Man could save the church from the dragon, and later seemed to assume the figure of the Son of Man for himself. He writes, "Follow me the leader, and all the blessings and promises are fulfilled for you."[182]

As his movement grew popular, the church reacted firmly against Tlira and his teaching. Right from 1913, warnings against false teachings and false revivals began to appear in the church's official bulletin, Krista Tlangau,[183] (later Kristian Tlangau) and the October Presbytery of 1914 decided to excommunicate Tlira's group from the church.[184] The church's stern reaction caused serious setback to Tlira's movement and it died out with the death of his immediate disciples. Vanlalchhuanawma considers Tlira's movement as 'an autonomous movement', and believes that though the church's stern reaction weakened the numerical growth, his teachings and autonomous ideology continued to quietly spread and come to the surface again in different forms time to time.[185]

The emergence of 'dissenters' was in a way a response to the revival movement. Most of them challenged and put up a form of resistance to the earlier established institution. Revivalists like Kawlkhuma, Lalnghenga, Siamliana, Zakaia, Zakamlova and Khuangtuaha began to start an autonomous Christian movement.[186] Kawlkhuma and Siamliana when they broke away from the Mission church approached established denominations outside Mizoram instead of forming their own sect.[187]

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[182] ibid., p. 66, for more of Tlira's teaching, see ibid., pp. 61-66; Vanlalchhuanawma, op. cit., pp. 207-210.
[183] *Krista Tlangau*, August 1913, Vanlalchhuanawma, op. cit., 210.
[184] Resolution of the Presbytery, October 1-4, 1914, No. 26, *Krista Tlangau*, December 1914, p. 231.
[185] Vanlalchhuanawma, op. cit., p. 210.
[186] For detail, see Vanlalchhuanga, *An Zirtirnate leh an Chanchin* (Gosen Home, Venghnuai, Aizawl, reprint 2010), pp. 28-41; James Dokhuma, op.cit., pp.16-91.
[187] These leaders were responsible for the establishment of Salvation Army, Roman Catholics and United Pentecostal Church in Mizoram respectively. While the Welsh missionaries held the view that Kawlkhuma decided to join the Salvation Army because he was annoyed by being disciplined by the church for divorcing his wife, L. Sanglura Sailo says that Kawlkhuma left the church because he was not satisfied with the governance of the Mission church, and first set up '*Pathian Thuawih Dik Pawl'* (A Group of True Believers) before he joined the Salvation Army. L. Sanglura Sailo, *Lt. Colonel Kawlkhuma O.F.* (Territorial headquarters, Indian Eastern Territory, Aizawl, 1995), pp.12-16.

The authorities of the Welsh Mission believed that the bulk of the followers of Salvation Army in Mizoram will join the established church if they were left to themselves and were not "in any way encouraged to expect Salvation Army officers to settle among them".[188] However, a letter from Col. S.R. Evans, the Territorial Commander says that in spite of withdrawing their officers from Mizoram and encouraging their members to join the Mission church, their members "refused to be connected with the Welsh Mission, and have declared their determination to stand by this decision at all costs". He further says:

> "We can clearly see that these people are fully determined to run their own services and carry on the work on our lines, even if we refuse to send them leaders.
>
> "After the work is done in reclaiming these people, we naturally feel some responsibility for them, and would be very sorry to see them drifting back [to] heathenism.
>
> "As they have been given every encouragement for eighteen months to join the Mission, have refused to do this, and positively stated their intention to stand by the Salvation Army, it seems to us we are faced with a situation which will require some definite settlement…"[189]

Though the official church was protecting itself against the cultural intrusions, the common people introduced traditional features within the church. During the revival movement, the masses introduced the use of drum without the sanction of the church. It was at the revival meetings outside the church that drum was first used, and then gradually made its way inside the church.[190] Songs of indigenous origin and tune also began to appear and it promoted public interest in revivalism to an unprecedented

[188] Rev. J.C. Evans to C.S. Mullan, 5 November 1924, File. No. CMA, 27154, NLW, Aberystwyth.
[189] F. No. CMA 27154, NLW, Aberystwyth.
[190] Lalsangkima Pachuau, op. cit., p. 137.

degree,[191] dancing in circular motion - the form of dance that resembles the pre-Christian dance which was accompanied by reservation of a space in the church for dancing that was another peculiar Mizo Christian practice.[192]

Thus, through the revival movement, the masses were able to insert Mizo cultural traits into Christianity and indigenized it. Though the Mission church showed that they did not really accept this enclosure by preventing the use of drums in the two Mission centres at Mission Veng and Serkawn, the indigenizing force was strong enough to overtake the rest of the country.

The revival carried with it much carnival character and as it provided wide opportunity to the common people to freely express their feelings, it was welcomed by the Christian masses. It was appealing to the non-Christian masses too who became Christians during the revival movement in large numbers. This resulted into the emergence of the so-called 'revivalistic Christians', who professed to be Christians during the revival but stopped going to church as soon as revival fire cooled down.[193]

As a whole, the revival movement was popular among the Christian masses who participated actively. They did not raise problem in any of the so-called "excesses" but confidently took part in what they believed was of the "Spirit". The masses were successful in leading the movement in their own perception in the midst of stern control of the official church leaders. It was this group that experienced the most ecstatic form of revival manifestation, and the indigenous features which the revival adopted in its course were introduced into the movement by this group. To a very great extent, they were designing the course of the revival by themselves, and the church was forced to

[191] Vanlalchhuanawma, op. cit., p. 298.
[192] Lalsangkima Pachuau, op. cit., pp. 140-141.
[193] Lalsawma, *Revival*, p. 116.

accommodate it. Because of this, majority of the masses remained in the church rather than following the dissident leaders.[194]

Notwithstanding the possible flaws, the movement seems to give valid appeal to the people and helped in increasing the number of church members. Thus, in spite of all their reservations, the missionaries were obliged to accept the movement including those characteristics which were markedly Mizo. It was the achievement of the force of the masses, the Christian populace.

4.3 GOVERNMENT'S RESPONSE

The colonial government had more or less patronized the Mission[195] since the advent of the Mission in the hill, which in turn helped in stabilizing the British rule in the hill through their Mission.[196] However, beneath the apparent alliance, there were inner ideological contradictions. Apart from the substantial social gap between the missionaries and the officers of the colonial state, the fundamental ideological differences, and the difference in method of work and approach often resulted into conflict between the two.[197] While the interest of the Mission was to bring people to Christ's love, the colonial movement was primarily motivated by commercial interest.[198] Nonetheless, it was the general understanding that "no administration would seek to interfere in any

[194] Vanlalchhuanawma, op. cit., p. 284; To this day, the Mission churches, the Presbyterian and Baptist churches remained the two largest churches in Mizoram.

[195] The government respected the missionaries' request to relieve the pastors and evangelists for *Kuliawl* and the government granted them exemption. Likewise, when the Christians suffered harassment from the non-Christians, the Government always came to the rescue of the Christians. The government entrusted the Mission with education of the people, and graced their functions by their presence and material contributions, etc. Therefore, to the Mizos, the Mission and the Government were more or less alike.

[196] For the relationship between Christian Mission and colonialism, See Peter van der Veer, *Imperial Encounters*, (Permanent Black, Delhi, 2006) pp. 34-43; Lal Dena, op. cit., pp. 1-18.

[197] In Mizoram, the most well-known conflict was the '*Bawi*' (or slave) controversy.

[198] Lal Dena, op. cit., p. 10.

doctrinal practice by a mission which was operating with full sanction unless or until a breach of peace threatened".[199]

It is difficult to definitely understand the attitude of the Government towards the revival movement in Mizoram that one scholar is led to conclude that the Government did not have a consistent policy with regard to the revival movement.[200]

After the first wave of revival in Mizoram and the persecution at Khandaih and other villages, the Superintendent came to the rescue of the harassed Christians and ordered the chiefs to allot the Christians the most central place of the village for building chapel. But D.E. Jones reported that the Superintendent, H.W.G. Cole discouraged religious instruction because of the persecutions and put greater stress on development of dairy farming, agriculture and secular education, that made Jones conclude that material prosperity appealed to him more than spirituality.[201]

The Superintendent L.L. Peters issued a Standing Order against those revivalists who claimed to be faith healers or perform miracles. Some even went to the extent of exhuming the dead body in their attempt, and the Superintendent said that the Government, the Mission and the native church leaders did not approve of it, and should be stopped. If anybody disobeyed, the chief could fine him Rs. 50/- and expel him from his village, and if it still persist, they will be imprisoned.[202]

Another incident in which the Government actively interfered was at the Kelkang event. The chief of Kelkang could not handle the matter himself and thus reported it to the Superintendent. Pasina, one of the revivalists, foretold misfortune for the Chief because he had dared to contest the "spirit" by reporting the matter to the Superintendent. The revivalists claimed to be afraid of none, neither the Missionaries,

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[199] A.G. McCall, op. cit., p. 213.
[200] Vanlalchhuanawma, op. cit., p. 177.
[201] ibid., p. 177.
[202] Standing Order No. 29 of 1935, Published in *MLVC,* August 1935, p. 136.

Circle Staff, Superintendent nor even Parliament Members and none but the Holy Spirit rule over them.[203] It was therefore seen by the Superintendent McCall as a threat to the government and took strong action against the revivalists. He awarded to the accused of Kelkang revival a punishment of three years rigorous imprisonment for "having been the instigators of the teachings of the Bible which resulted in the whole Christian community abandoning their customary method" and for claiming they could speak the voice of the 'Spirit' the whole ending in open defiance of the Chief and all authority."[204]

For this event, the Superintendent McCall held the missionaries responsible and wrote to them to stop the movement. He blamed the missionaries for losing their control over the church and the movement. He exposed his distrust of the Mizos and expressed that the missionaries should have reserved authority and leadership to themselves, for to him, it was all about power politics. He further says:

> "In the case of school or church management committees, where the European missionaries allow themselves to be demoted from their position of leadership, not only might their main claim for residence come into question, but they thereby give a stimulus to the people to seek for a status which may be neither timely nor locally appropriate."[205]

The Government's interference in the course of the revival movement was always to exert their power over the subjects, to put the people under control when the missionaries seemed to have failed, as the main concern of the colonial state was the stability of their

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[203] *DSK*, pp. 51, 56; McCall says that the revivalists' desire for cheap power and public admiration can be seen by their capacity to make people think that they were capable of speaking, though their voice was not their own body's voice but the actual voice of the Spirit.' ibid. p. 58.

[204] McCall's Order, Dated 19 September 1937 published in ibid., p. 45; He writes, "I pass this order because due to the sorcerous behaviour of these men acting under the cloak of the Bible and Christianity they have by systematic exhibitions gradually worked up a village community into a hysterical disintegration resulting in defiance of all lawful authority as well as established custom." ibid., p. 60.

[205] A.G. McCall, op. cit., p. 213.

rule. The government therefore, either attempted to restrict the movement of the revivalists or inflicted punishments on those who were found guilty of breaching of peace. The reaction grew more and more intense as the movement gained momentum, for the question was not merely spiritual matter but 'power'. Eventually, though there may be internal differences between the Government officials and the missionaries, the real difference was obviously not between the colonial state and the missionaries but between the colonizing power and the colonized.[206]

Conclusion

The perception of the movement was different among different groups of people. Response to the revival movement differed considerably, depending on the background of the subjects and how they saw themselves in the larger society. Within the Christian community, the emphasis in the movement differed that often brought tension within the church. It also came in conflict with the secular institutions like the non-Christian chiefs and the government. Nevertheless, "the Christian movement can best be understood by examining indigenous factors", and the "activities of the missionaries do not explain the response" but were "simply catalysts." [207]

At the beginning, the non-Christians reacted aggressively but concerted aggressive response was not to be seen after the first wave of the revival. This was partly because of the strength of the backup force of the Christians, also partly because Christianity was growing popular and many hostile non-Christians including the chiefs joined the church.

It is noteworthy to see what the Mizos did to Christianity. As the revival movement was spreading throughout the hills, Christianity was indigenized by the Mizo Christian revivalists who introduced Mizo cultural elements into Christianity to suit their

[206] Peter van der Veer, op. cit., p. 43.
[207] Frederick S. Downs, *History*, p. 140.

own sentiments. Many times, it was done without the sanction of the official church. In fact, the history of Mizo church in the early part of the twentieth century is that of a battle between western Christianity and the indigenized one. At times, “in its extreme form it appeared to be an autonomy movement and an assertion of Mizo identity.”

On the part of the Europeans, both the missionaries and the government have been trying to put the people and the movement under control in various ways, but in the revival movement, they were only partly successful. The European missionaries attempted to control and guide the movement through official resolutions and guidelines as well as through their influence over the people and of the local church leaders, but they were only partially successful. Rather, it caused the non-conformist to leave the Mission church to find a sect of their own or join different established denomination. The strong hand of the Government also failed to put a complete halt to the movement though it caused a retreat.

The objective of the revival was supposed to be purely religious; however, the people’s response seemed to have swerved the movement from its primary objective as they established for themselves a space for their own in the cosmos through the movement.

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CHAPTER 5: THE CANVASS

Religion has been an essential component of the society. Social anthropologists argue that it is necessary to take religion into account in order to understand the social, juridical and political institutions of the ancient societies, and religion could also be understood by an examination of its relation to the institution.[1] Thus, social and political institutions on the one hand and religious institution on the other makes a closely united or interdependent part of a coherent and unified system.

According to Anthony F.C. Wallace, the events that a society passes through could have a direct impact on the society and cause the society into action. When the individual members of a social group "experience increasingly severe stress as a result of the decreasing efficiency of certain stress-reduction techniques," which may be caused by agencies like "climatic, flora and fauna change, military defeat, political subordination, extreme pressure towards acculturation resulting in internal cultural conflict, economic distress, epidemics, and so on", it poses a threat to the mental image of the society, and result into the period of cultural distortion.[2] This, if not checked, could "lead to the death of the society".[3] In such case, either the individual must "choose between maintaining his present mazeway (that is the mental image) and tolerating the stress, or changing the mazeway in an attempt to reduce the stress."[4] It was this reaction to the events in the society in an attempt to change a mazeway in order to permit more effective stress reduction is what he called a 'revitalization movement.'[5] At his basis of argument is the

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[1] See A.R. Radcliffe-Brown, op. cit., p. 163; Clifford Geertz, op. cit., pp. 89-90.

[2] See Chapter 2 of this thesis.

[3] ibid., p. 270.

[4] ibid., pp. 266-267.

[5] ibid., p. 267. Changing the mazeway involves changing the total *Gestalt* of his image of self, society, and culture, of nature and body, and of ways of action.

principle of cause and effect, establishing a close connection between events in a society and its responses.

William G. McLouglin agrees the plausible connection between society and religion. He is of the opinion that if a culture is to survive the trauma of social change, "abnormal cultural events" like "religious awakenings or revivals – movements that grip whole communities or nations for many years – are not only fruitful but necessary."[6] He observes that it is the task of the historian to explain why a revival "occurred in those particular spans of time, in that particular place, among those particular people, in that particular way."[7] In his study, he finds that "the causes of great awakenings and the revivalism that is part of them seem to me to lie in more complex social and intellectual relationship. There can be no single cause for such wide-ranging transformations in thought and behaviour upon which millions are ready to stake their lives."[8]

He, therefore, proposes to view the awakenings in America as "periods of fundamental ideological transformation necessary to the dynamic growth of the nation in adapting to basic social, ecological, psychological, and economic changes" as he sees the conversion from an old to new worldview as natural and necessary aspect of social change that constitutes an "awakening of the people caught in an outmoded, dysfunctional world view to the necessity of converting their mindset, their behaviour, and their institutions to more relevant or more functionally useful ways of understanding and coping with the changes in the world they live in."[9]

Having said that, it is proposed that the Mizo revival too, has much more substance within it and deserves to be put under a new light because of the fact that it happened during the colonial period when their worldview was seriously challenged and

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[6]William G. McLoughlin, op. cit., p. 8.
[7]ibid., p.9.
[8]ibid.
[9]ibid., p.8.

their cultural values were threatened, and that apart from the first wave, it was of 'indigenous' origin, and it happened repeatedly in an extensive scale.

5.1 REREADING REVIVAL MOVEMENT

While discussing revival movement in Mizoram, scholars and even the missionaries recognized the plausible relationship between the religious experience of the people and the physical realities. The fact that the waves of revival except the first wave were preceded by natural calamities[10] has been mentioned in the missionaries' report as well as in the work of scholars.

Lalsawma, one of the first scholars who undertook serious study of revival movement in Mizoram, begins by studying each wave with a page on the "prelude" or "the set up" in which he discusses briefly the major occurrence prior to the outbreak of the revival, like Bamboo famine (*Mautam*) for the second wave, outbreak of epidemic and return of the Lushai Labour Corp from the First World War for the third wave, and landslides and bamboo blight for the fourth wave. He believes that the prelude have direct bearing upon the waves. In discussing the second wave, he refers Dr. Glyn Pehrhyn Jones whose writing says "that most of the revival waves in Wales…took the form of reaction to overwhelming adverse…situations," and concludes that it was the same for the second wave in Mizoram.[11] He also writes:

> "…directly bearing upon the third Wave was the outbreak of Influenza Epidemic from the latter part of 1918…It was at the wake of the Epidemic that the Third Wave broke out with an unusual gusto. The coming of the Revival was, therefore, interpreted as the coming of the Holy Spirit to comfort us in our bereavement."[12]

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[10] For example, Bamboo famine of 1911, Landslide of 1929, etc.

[11] Lalsawma, *Revival,* p. 56.

[12] ibid., p. 84.

Following Lalsawma, Mangkhosat Kigpen also refers to these preludes.[13] But neither of them relates it with the larger process of the movement besides highlighting the happenings as "prelude" or "preparation".

Vanlalchhuanawma makes a thorough study on the socio-political and cultural development in each decade before discussing the movement, and attempts to relate it with the spiritual experience of each revival decades. In spite of giving a comprehensive sketch of the situation for each decade, he fails, however, to establish a concrete view over the movement as a whole, largely because he takes the studies on the socio-political background for the movement in parts, discussing the background for each stirring separately. Nonetheless, he gives due recognition to the relationship between the physical and spiritual world.[14]

Mendus writes in his report for 1929-30:

> "The year 1929 has been an unusual one in Lushai [Hills]. We had torrential rain, storms of unusual ferocity, landslides almost everywhere, and epidemic of dysentery, and disturbing signs of a likely famine….One would have expected that the people would have been thrown back upon God more than they seem to have been. Things have been at a standstill as if waiting for another Revival before making a move upward in things of the Spirit and in the development of character and personality."[15]

Lorrain, talking about the second wave, also mentions that the natural forces are "turning the thoughts of the people Godward" and refers a pastor's letter that says that "an epidemic of sickness have been softening many hearts."[16]

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[13] See Mangkhosat Kipgen, op. cit., p.231-232, 236-238; 242-244.
[14] See Vanlalchhuanawma, op. cit., pp. 194-195; 231-234;324-326.
[15] *Report of FMPCW*, 1929-30, pp. 95-96.
[16] *Report by BMS*, 1929, p. 255.

The scholars who worked on Mizo revival have no problem in connecting the revival waves with the immediate preceding situation, and even render it as a "preparation" to the revival, but they fail to relate the waves with the broader picture, that is the socio-cultural and political changes under the colonial rule during the time of revival movement. If the immediate occurrences have 'direct bearing' on the movement, it is a valid proposition that revival was not an isolated phenomenon after all and that the historical processes should also have to be taken into consideration while studying the revival movement in Mizoram. Therefore, since revival is one of the phenomena during the colonial period, situating it within the broader picture of colonial period would help in understanding the Mizos' attempt to adapt themselves into the change and how they tried to 'recover their self' against the challenge of the 'mighty' colonial power and western culture.

Downs rightly observes that "all peoples require a worldview that provides them with an explanation, a rationalisation of their life."[17] Michael Kearney believes that there is relationship that exists between the content of worldview categories and socio-cultural behaviour[18] as he defines the worldview of a people's as their way of looking at reality that 'consists of basic assumptions and images that provide a more or less coherent, though not necessarily accurate way of thinking about the world.'[19] According to Robert Redfield, "worldview" should be defined as "the way a people characteristically look outward upon the universe," "the structure of things as man is aware of them. It is in the

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[17] Frederick S. Downs, *Essays*, p.178.

[18]Michael Kearney believes that a worldview comprises 'image of Self and of all that is recognized as not-Self, plus ideas about relationships between them, as well as other ideas'. His ethnographical study of the Mexican peasants shows that their worldview has been formed through history by the experience of poverty, and how this worldview in turn affects their sociocultural-cultural behaviour. Michael Kearney's *The Winds of Ixtepeji : World View and Society in a Zapotec Town*, Case Studies in Cultural Anthropology, (ed.) George Spindler and Louis Spindler (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972)" cited in David K. Naugle, *Worldview* : *The History of a Concept* (William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, Cambridge, 2002), p. 244.

[19] Michael Kearney, *Worldview* (Novato, Calif.: Chandler and Sharp, 1984), p 41.

way we see ourselves in relation to all else,"[20] and so, nature, unseen things (beings, principles, trends, destinies), history, and more are organized and structured by a worldview.[21] Redfield finds a startling contrast between the "primitive" and "civilized" worldviews, and "the great transformation" from the "primitive" worldview to the "civilized" one was due to its encounter with modern civilization dominated by science, as the "traits of the primitive minds have all been weakened if not overthrown by the rise of civilization and cities."[22] The "traditional primal world-view" was not large enough to contain the 'tribal' people in a challenge against their contact with great civilizations while reality compels them to adjust themselves into it. [23]

In the Mizos' attempt to develop a worldview to meet the challenge of the harsh reality, the ideological evolution was an interesting feature of the colonial period. Ideas of the time are "responses to inward pressures, being, at least in part, translations of instinctual needs, defensive manoeuvres, anxious anticipations. Mental products in this comprehensive sense emerge as compromises." [24] The interest of historians in ideas is "not only because they influence societies, but because they reveal the societies which give rise to them" regardless of the question of its philosophical truth, studying the ideas will help in "taking the common people on their own past".[25] In fact, these ideas that

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[20] Robert Redfield, *The Primitive World and its Transformation*, (Cornell University Press, New York, 1953), pp.85-86.

[21] David K. Naugle, op. cit., p. 246; He draws contrast between primitive and civilized worldviews and describes the "primitive" "precivilized' outlook as "unified, interdependent and moral" and "this perspective has been eclipsed by modernity with its fragmented, a moral vision of the cosmos from which God, humanity, and nature are alienated. He says three basic things may be said about the primitive, precivilized worldview. Firstly, the unitary character of the cosmos in which humanity, nature and God was one. In this unity the cosmos was conceived as sacred and personal. Secondly, the sense of mutuality and cooperation that existed between man and not-man, that God, nature, and humanity coexisted in a coherent system of interdependence and shared support. Thirdly, man and not-man are bound together in one moral order. The three traits of the primitive mind have all been weakened if not overthrown by the rise of civilization and cities. ibid., pp. 247, 249.

[22]Redfield offers a provocative description of the primitive outlook as unified, interdependent, and moral. This perspective has been eclipsed by modernity with its fragmented, amoral vision of the cosmos which God, humanity, and nature are alienated. ibid., p. 249.

[23] Frederick S. Downs, *Essays*, p.178.

[24] Peter Gay, *Freud for Historians* (OUP, New York, 1985), pp. xiii-xiv.

[25] Christopher Hill, op. cit., p.17.

evolved as a product of the socio-cultural development can help in developing a holistic approach.

Kenneth W. Jones observes that the "experience of those who were conquered and then administered by the English varied sharply, depending on the time and the circumstances that saw them incorporated into the new colonial world."[26] As a "sphere of military and political control was established first, while the zone of cultural interaction evolved slowly from within the conquered territories", it produced individuals who, out of the human interaction found it necessary to become "part of the new colonial world and the culture which it contained."[27]

The outstanding aspect of the period was the acknowledgement of the all-embracing colonial power. Memories of the society of their encounter with colonial power was still fresh in the first half of the twentieth century as many Mizos who experienced the Anglo-Mizo wars were still surviving, and they remembered how the Mizos were compelled to submission by the strong hand of the British government. At the same time, colonial hegemony was infused through various means, mainly through the introduction of western education as well as Christian and western culture. The textbooks taught the superiority and power of the British.[28] The travelogues by the Mizos who crossed the border to travel to "mainland" India, Europe, Middle East, or those who served in the Labour Corps in the First World War were full of wonderful tales about the grandeur of the White men and it was published widely in *Mizo leh Vai Chanchinbu*. The

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[26] Kenneth W. Jones, *Socio-Religious Reform Movements in British India* (CUP, Cambridge, reprint 2003), p. 2.

[27] ibid., p.3.

[28] The first textbook revised by D.E. Jones in 1915, *Duh-Lian Zir Tir Bu* contained an addition which was not there in earlier edition. Edwin Rowland who compiled the earlier edition simply writes, "there are five kinds of people in the world: black-skinned, dark-skinned, brown-skinned, yellow-skinned, fair-skinned. But we all are one, the skin colour only differed because of our place of settlement." (*Khawvelah mihring hnam nga, mi dum, mi hang, mi buang, mi eng, mi ngo an awm. Nimahsela chi khat kan ni. Kan vun a danglam kan awmna ram zir a ni).* In that statement, D.E. Jones added, "Yellow-skinned are most numerous, fair-skinned people are wisest and superior *(Mieng an tam ber a, mi ngo an fing ber a, an lalber bawk.)* He also added, "You should be an obedient servant, you should not hate porterage/impressed labour, it is not good to keep a concubine." (*Bawiah awm tha rawh, Puakphur haw suh, Hmei neih a tha lo*) B. Lalthangliana, *Mizo Chanchin,* pp. 215-216.

authority of the government to make or unmake the chiefs was overwhelming. Therefore, during the colonial period, the Mizos were mentally convinced that the British were the authority over them, and that there is not much they could do about it.

There is a tendency, therefore, to consider western culture as a sign of progress and their lifestyle as appropriate to the new religion, and the people, mostly the Christians sought to imitate the lifestyle sponsored by Christian and western culture. Mangkhosat Kipgen remarks that this trend seems to have been more prominent in south Mizoram than in the north.[29]

The Mizos of that period were the "individuals caught between their heritage and British colonial society,"[30]as Kenneth W. Jones puts it. It is a normative experience that a society going through such drastic changes in a very short span of time feel a threat to the 'social organism' which Wallace called "stress".[31] The new culture and lifestyle simply disturbed the thought pattern because all societies seek to perpetuate their own cultures.[32]The western cultural blessings were tasted and propagated which often worked against the culture and worldview of the people when the pre-colonial culture and tradition was still very vivid to the 'mental image' of the people.[33] The introduction of new features like money economy, market, farming, jobs acquired from education, etc.

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[29] Mangkhosat Kipgen, op. cit., p. 271.

[30] Kenneth Jones, op. cit. p. 214.

[31] Anthony F.C. Wallace, 'Revitalization Movement,' p. 265; Wallace believes that since "a society will work by means of coordinated actions (including "cultural" actions) by all or some of its parts, to preserve its own integrity by maintaining a minimally fluctuating, life-supporting matrix for its individual members" and "regularity of patterned behaviour which we call culture depends relatively more on the ability of constituent units autonomously to perceive the system of which they are a part, to receive and transmit information, and to act in accordance with the necessities of the system, than on any all-embracing central administration which stimulates specialized parts to perform their function," therefore, it is "necessary for every person in society to maintain a mental image of the society and its culture, as well as of his own body and its behavioural regularities, in order to act in ways which reduce stress at all levels of the system." See ibid., pp. 265-266.

[32] Ralph Linton, op.cit. p. 230; He says that in normal circumstances, societies perpetuate their own culture "unconsciously and as a part of the normal processes of individual training and socialization."p. 230.

[33] See chapter-2 of this thesis.

changed the value and challenged their belief. They were found in the same situation as what Kenneth W. Jones says of colonial India:

> "They could neither ignore the English nor could they join British society and find acceptance within it….It was more difficult to answer the challenges of western superiority and the allied threat of Christian conversion."[34]

The close and continuous contact with other societies provided a threat to an indigenous culture, especially when acculturation phenomenon is involved.[35] It was believed that the honourable practices of the Mizos were slipping away.[36] K. Bawla writes from Kohima about *tlawmngaihna* where he laments that *tlawmngaihna* is losing gradually in *Zo Ram* and in spite of repeated exhortations in the journal, it does not show improvement; he believes that *tlawmngaihna* is less discernable in the church, for the church do not have 'rice-beer culture' which carries a tradition of appreciating a *tlawmngai* young man by offering the first cup of *zu* in a drinking bout that encourage the young men to keep *tlawmngaihna* alive. As the 'tea-drinking culture' of the church do not have such practice, there are more *tlawmngai* among those who live with rice beer than in the church; and since the parents do not teach their children, young men grew to be haughty. He ends his letter with a patriotic song '*Mizoram nang hi I ni ka hmangaih'* (Mizoram, you are the one I love).[37] Dengkunga, a teacher, recalls the day when, in the recent past, there were 'positive values' in Mizoram, when people were hard-working and *tlawmngai*; but since the advent of the *Vai*, many good ways are disappearing, and he claims he himself is a witness. He therefore, proposes that they should not copy the bad ways of the *Vai*s while they should not forget the 'old ways' of *tlawmngaihna* and mutual

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[34] Kenneth W. Jones, op. cit., p. 212.

[35] Ralph Linton, op. cit., p. 230.

[36] Dengkunga, a teacher writes that many of the good practices of the Mizos are lost since the advent of *Vai* and that the people should make attempt to preserve what is good and imitate only the good practices from the *Vais*. *MLVC*, May 1911, pp. 97-98.

[37] *MLVC*, January 1935, p. 17.

assistance.[38] An anonymous writer says that Mizoram is the best place to find foodstuff, but the prospect is not good for the future. There will be a time when it will be very difficult for a man to find work to earn a *duli* for a whole day work.[39] Another writer laments that while claiming to search for a better way, the people lost respect for elders and *tlawmngaihna* and they grew conceited and selfish; and as money grew to be scarce, they would pine for the good old days.[40] Chawnga who served at the Abor expedition as *Kuli Sirdar* believes that before the government occupied their land, every Mizos always felt that they were managing themselves quite well.[41]

The mixed feeling of nostalgia and feeling of helplessness to contest with the intruding culture and feeling of confusion, therefore, engulfed them. This confusion more often than not produced a pessimist view on life, and perhaps it disturbed the worldview of the people, as they were in a dilemma, no longer sure of what to believe or what to do. This passage penned in 1912 shows the ambiguity over the changing values:

> "We are no longer able to live as our fore fathers. It is no longer possible for any strong chiefs to ill-treat the weaker ones, nor is it possible to migrate about in the hills wherever we want. So it is important to reconsider our way of life. In olden days, the bravest at war were the most popular, but war is no longer fought, and it is the educated and those who get acquainted with the new law that became popular, this new law elevates *Zo Ram*." [42]

The insecurity and confusion as a result of their contact with foreign cultures on the other hand, produced an interesting feature, that is, consciousness of their identity. It has already been discussed in chapter-2 that the Mizos had no problem in absorbing the few non-Mizos which they encountered. However, challenge to their culture by the presence

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[38] *MLVC,* May 1911, pp. 97-98.

[39] *MLVC,* July 1911, pp. 166-167; *duli* is 50 paise.

[40] *MLVC,* December 1922, p. 137.

[41] *MLVC,* April 1913, p. 67.

[42] The author is Lalkunga Sailo. *MLVC,* March 1912, p. 55-56. (free translation by researcher).

of non-Mizos in large numbers for a long time and the already weakened Mizo force against colonial power seem to have created insecurity that resulted into identity consciousness. The Christian 'Great Gatherings' also brought people from different villages together for few days that strengthened the sense of brotherhood and promoted feeling of fraternity. Therefore, as early as the first decade of the 20th century, a community feeling as 'Mizo', a trace of consciousness of their identity and a passion for their homeland had developed.

In the journal of *Mizo leh Vai Chanchinbu* there are many passages which pleaded for solidarity of the Mizos vis-a-vis the *Vais*.[43] August 1913 issue has an article titled, "What is the benefit of helping non-Mizos?" The article says that there is no benefit in helping non-Mizos; though one should help a person in need, regardless of nationality, however, at normal circumstances, one should give priority to his fellowman.[44] The next month issue also has an anonymous author who asked question to its readers saying, "My friend, do you help your countrymen? Yes, I do. If I do not help my fellowmen who are 'Lushais', it will be very shameful…One should not be ashamed of his countrymen even if he is poor, we should rather try to bring comfort to them wherever we are."[45] Four points is given which all Mizos should remember along with a call to promote the interest of the community.[46] The four points are:

I. *I chi te chi dang aiin tanpui rawh.* (You should help your own countryman before others.)

II. *Mizo I ni ngei shi chuan dawt sawi aiin thi duh zawk rawh.* (If you are truely a Mizo, you should rather die than tell lie.)

III. *Tlawmngai leh taimak zir rawh.* (You should learn to be *tlawmngai* and hard working.)

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[43] *MLVC,* April 1913, pp. 59-61, 69-74; August 1913 pp. 144, 155.
[44] *MLVC,* August 1913, p. 151.
[45] *MLVC,* September 1913, p. 155. (free translation by researcher).
[46] *MLVC,* April 1911. (free translation by researcher).

IV. *Mizo sualte ho awm dan thik suh.* (You should not imitate the Mizo wrongdoers.)

Makthanga writes in May 1911 about Chawngbawnga who learnt the trade of tailoring saying that this is not simply his own benefit, rather a source of pride as a nation, and pleads the people to utilize his service and it will cost them lesser than giving to the *Vai*. He further says that if the Mizos learn the trade of merchandising, milk supplying and are able to provide all necessary ration just as the *Vai* are doing, there would not be any *Vai*.[47]

With their consciousness of 'others', the Mizos developed passion for their tradition and their own self. Chawnga writes in August 1915:

> "We should never give up our beautiful traditions, we should strive endlessly; let our nation grow to be greater and free. I profusely thank the people who worked for the greatness of our nation."[48]

From Overseas Training School, Madras, Lianbuka writes,

> "The Mizos may be backward and small in number, but I remember that we are always frontrunners among dark-skinned of the same numbers, therefore, let us not relinquish our Mizo *tlawmngaihna."*[49]

An anonymous writer recalls the service of one thousand two hundred Mizo young men at the Abor expedition who helped each other and excelled in their service among other people like Gurkhali and Nagas that earned recognition from the British and says that earlier, the Mizos were looked down upon by others but as the Mizos grow towards

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[47] *MLVC,* May 1911, pp. 97-98.

[48] *MLVC,* August, 1915, p. 145, "*Kan Mizo dan mawi tak mai hi engtikah mah ban tur a ni lo, bei hlen zel tur a ni, tichuan kan hnam hi lo mawi lehzual shela kan ram hi lo thawveng deuh deuh tawh she, kan Mizo hnam mawina ngaihtuahtute hnena chuan lawmthu shawi hleih theih lovin ka shawi e*." (free translation by researcher).

[49] *MLVC,* April 1919, p. 53 '*Mizo hnam hi tlemte leh mawl tak ni mahila, mi hang zingah kan zat pui ah a kan chungnun fo thin kha ka hrereng thin; chuvangin kan Mizo tlawmngaihna kha I bang suh ang u*.'

maturity, they will soon get pass to that, and plead the Mizos to keep up the tradition of helping each other.[50]

Mizo leh Vai Chanchinbu journal from the second decade of the 20th century reflects the Mizos' attempt to recollect and perpetuate the elements of admirable practices in Mizo way of life resulting into the promotion and growth of confidence in them. An anonymous author writes that it is better to wear their own cloth material than wearing *Vai* cloth, and highlight the current trend of looking down at 'native' product of cloth and branding it as suitable only to be worn at work. One should appreciate the value of their own handicrafts; the *Vai* will not wear somebody else' cloth, he contends.[51] This feeling continued and when Young Lushai Association (YLA), later known as Young Mizo Association (YMA), was established, they recommended the use of indigenous tobacco only, and smoking home-grown tobacco was a trend for sometime.[52] It is remarkable especially when the Mizo cultural heritage was heavily challenged by the new culture; it appears to be a parallel of the *swadeshi* movement of Indian freedom struggle.

As early as 1910, a national song (*Hnam Hla)* is composed by a student studying in Shillong and published in the journal.[53] Those who were studying or serving outside Mizoram exhorted the Mizos from their respective places, and they showed that wherever they are, they were conscious about their identity and understand that as a Mizo, they still have a long way to go to be able to stand on the same ground as others. Many of the articles are concluded with a patriotic song:

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[50] *MLVC,* September 1913, pp.156-157.

[51] *MLVC,* August 1913, pp.144-145.

[52] A popular song of the time encouraged the people to smoke Mizo tobacco because it cost less, and taste good; also it is the product of *Zoram*. It goes like this:

Mizo vaihlo hi zuk ching la,

Sen a tlem a, a tui bawk a,

Zoram thil a ni si a,

Tui berah chuan lengi zial tir ang che. (Interview with Prof. J.V. Hluna, 11 May 2012.)

[53] The content page of October 1910 issue says that there is a National song composed by student from Shillong in the issue but unfortunately, the page is missing and the song could not be found.

Mizoram nang hi I ni ka hmangaih,
I thatna tur ka duh hi
I ropuina ka zawng ang
I hming lo than mawina tur.

(Mizoram thou art my beloved
'This thy welfare that I desire
With all my might shall I strive for thy greatness
That your name shall be famed)

A motivational letter from the Mother Mizoram bears another patriotic song:

Keimahni zotlang ram nuam ah hian,
Finna leh ropuina tui kan in ang
Hmalam kan um ang, thim a kiang ang
Rem leh thawven a leng ang[54]

(In these beautiful hills of ours,
We shall taste the water of greatness and wisdom
We shall go forth, darkness shall pass,
Peace and freedom shall prevail.)

The product of soul searching, on the other hand, was the growth of confidence. The achievements of the Mizos were recollected and as many Mizos passed the highest education in Mizoram, that is Middle level, and some have gone for high school in Shillong, and yet some others were employed in the Superintendent's office, hospital, PWD office, etc, Chalkunga recollects that the Mizos have progressed enormously.[55] As such, Thanghlianga Sailo from Pashighat writes that Mizos should not feel inferior, for among them there are those who received good comments from the British in

[54] *MLVC,* May 1922, p. 60.
[55] *MLVC,* February 1912, pp. 26-27.

administration. They should be good-mannered with non-Mizos, however, 'if they ill-treat the Mizos, they should remember that their father beget them as a son'.[56] The good commend received by the 27th Lushai Labour Corps by the Superintendent W.L. Scott for their service in the First World War also must have boosted the confidence level.[57] Chala, Aijal Rahsi who participated in Abor Expedition (1911-12), in his report of their service in Abor land (Arunachal Pradesh), says that the Mizos are very responsible and trustworthy, fared no less than any other.[58]

Mention may be made that in spite of the government's stern policy not to arouse political consciousness in this part of the empire,[59] some group of people were mindful of their political rights and freedom. Scholars have not given adequate attention to this matter.[60] In discussing the 'genesis and development of Mizo politics', Lalsangkima Pachuau gives only a passing remark on the political consciousness that was developing

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[56] *MLVC,* January 1913, p. 27.

[57] The Superintendent writes in *MLVC,* March 1919: "All the Lushai companies were employed near the Arras sector of the firing line….After they were employed in various works such as felling trees, converting of logs, burning charcoal, loading and unloading of materials from the front, in digging trenches behind the firing line for defensive purpose…after they were accustomed to the climate and being quick in…their work, though small and short in stature they could always finish their jobs sooner than others…The Officer of the Labour Corps always appreciated and praised their industry and the outturn of their labour. As they were somewhat near the firing line, the enemy's long range gun shelled their camps and sometimes Aero planes also dropped bombs on the camps but the Lushais were always steady and they never showed alarm….The Commandants of the Companies who came to Aijal also highly praised the officers and men under their commands and left their high opinion on record." pp. 46-47

[58] *MLVC,* April 1913, p. 667.

[59] Even at the height of Indian independence movement, the only available journal was silent about the political movement. The only discussion on the political movement was in connection with the medal given to Babua, a Mizo Hawldar from Aizawl by the Superintendent. Babua was one of the leaders to capture Gaidiliu, a Naga (*Mirawng*) "who called upon the people in Nagaland (Ngaihban Ram) to rise against the government, but the government captured her". (free translation by researcher) The editor says that it was published by the Superintendent in "the Assam Gazette" No. 2, 1933, 18th January, page 40 as a notice to Mizo young men. *MLVC,* March 1933**;** Mahatma Gandhi, at the height of his popularity among the Indian masses in 1922 was referred as 'agitator' or 'troublemaker' in May 1922 issue. The passage further says that the government could imprison him anytime, but, rather than taking advantage of its strength, it bears him with patience and good conscience and tries to win him with love. *MLVC,* May 1922.

[60] Most writers give little importance to pre-Mizo Union political activity. See *'Political History of Mizoram'* by Chaltuahkhuma, Ex-MDC (Vanthangi, Aizawl, 2001(2nd ed.) and V.H. Khuma, *Political History of Mizoram* (3J Publication, Aizawl, 1999).

prior to the establishment of 'Mizo Common People's Union' (later renamed as Mizo Union) in 1946. He writes:

> "In 1926, a few individuals of Aizawl town lobbied political authorities of Assam for direct involvement in the district's political affairs. When the Superintendent found out about this clandestine activity, he arrested them and later released them on the condition that they never express such idea again."[61]

However, he does not examine the source of such activity nor does he trace the subsequent development if there was any in the next twenty years and jump right in the next line to the official establishment of a political party in 1946.

It is unlikely that such political activity came out of a vacuum. In fact, the thought of the educated were already disposed towards political rights and autonomy. In October 1923, S.C. Sailo, a student at M.C. College, Sylhet sent an open letter to the Mizo chiefs highlighting the non-representation of Mizos as the Council members and encouraged them to submit substantial demands for the benefit of the country on the occasion of the visits of the Governor.[62] It may be recalled that in 1924, Mizo students outside Mizoram formed the 'Lushai Students' Association' (*Mizo Zirho Pawl*) with an objective of taking up issues for the welfare of the Mizos though it did not last long.[63] At the time when Telela and his friends were imprisoned because of their political activity, complaints against the chiefs from Lungleng, Reiek and Chhingchhip also reached the Superintendent but these were settled internally.[64]

Therefore, if at all there was a feeling of antagonism against the colonial government, it was either confined to the individual or indirectly expressed, for the

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[61]Lalsangkima Pachuau, op.cit. p.81; this was the uprising of Kulikawn young man, Telela and his friends. Lamlira and Teksena who were not happy with British rule in their area also joined them in Shillong; *Kulikawn Arsi Eng*, p. 3.

[62] *MLVC*, October 1923, p. 259.

[63] See Chapter-2 of this thesis.

[64]*Kulikawn Arsi Eng*, pp. 4-5; V. H. Khuma, op. cit., p. 21.

government seems to have no patience for those who stand on its way, and no one needs to be reminded of the strength of the government. While the main source of displeasure was colonial government, it was expressed against their allies. For example, the burdens complained against the chiefs by the common people were mostly the burdens imposed on the people by the chiefs because of colonial rule.[65] Rodanga, SDO Office Apprentice reports that when he visited Chawnhu village, the village scribe tore down his journal (*Mizo leh Vai Chanchinbu)* saying "*Vai mawi atan*" (this may mean "it is simply promoting the way of *Vai*")[66] Hmingliana, chief of Mausen writes that the adoption of *Vai* dress code by the ladies like wearing skirts and black dress, and the young men shaving their head and wearing pants is simply denigrating, and says that disregarding their culture and tradition is not an indication of sagacity.[67]

The third and fourth decades of the twentieth century in Northeast India, after all, is marked by emerging "new self-consciousness, consciousness of their social, political and economic rights and privileges" which one scholar describes as "a search for a sense of identity, for a sense of belonging and for self-determination in a new social order."[68] As new ideas and propaganda were infiltrated into the educated mind along with the progress of education, in the mid-1930s, there was the "emergence of youth movement in Lushai hills".[69] Some youth associations like Lungleh Association, Young Lushai Association, Lushai Students Association were all established in 1935. These associations were established under the auspices of the missionaries and have an agenda of development of their land.[70] McCall observes that the establishment of YLA was "an

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[65] The burden of *Kuli*, revenue or house tax, *khawntesep* (exaction of fowl, eggs, etc. by the chiefs to please the government officials) complaints against the chiefs were all the by-product of British rule in the hills. See V.H. Khuma, ibid., pp.15-22; *Kulikawn Arsi Eng*, pp.1-11

[66] *MLVC,* September 1911, pp. 240-241.

[67] *ibid.*, pp.259-260.

[68] Frederick S. Downs, *Essays,* op. cit., p.177.

[69] *Report of FMPCW*, 1935-36, p.134; See Chapter 2, 2.4 of this thesis.

[70] See Chapter-2 of this thesis.

inevitable adaptation, in the face of irresistible and new forces, even though these new forces have emanated from mission ranks."[71] Llyod records:

> "The mid-Nineteen Thirties were a time when all manner of things in Mizoram were growing and everything seems to be suffering from growing pains. There was unease and restlessness. Education was progressing and people were beginning to be aware of new possibilities. Even in the days of D.E. Jones complaints were heard about the poverty of the Welsh Mission and some had wondered if it would not have been better if a larger and wealthier Mission had occupied their land. Literacy had resulted in an increasing appetite for magazines and books. A literate man is more vulnerable to propaganda and new ideas; he is also more vocal on his own behalf. Mizoram was slowly moving into a money-economy. Naturally, money was seen for the first time as a key to an improved standard of living. There was a considerable pressure in the late thirties for increase in salaries among Mission workers. Mendus said rather ruefully that they read rather too much in the papers! All these added to the ferment of the times. "[72].

While addressing the fact that the tribal life in Northeast India experienced tremendous change with their exposure to '"a wider life, a quicker tempo, a modern legal and administrative system, and altogether a different way of life the pressure of which was ever on the increase", Frederick S. Downs admits that the British policies further created "a great disturbance in these communities, economic, social and psychological".[73] A threat to their distinct identity as a result of British intrusion may result into either an uprising against the government,[74] or find an adaptive measure, a 'defense mechanism.'[75]

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[71] A.G. McCall, op. cit., p. 212.

[72] J.M. Llyod, *History*, p. 296.

[73] Frederick S. Downs, *Essays*, p. 179.

[74] ibid., pp. 177, 179; Examples are the Khasi War (1829-1833), the Jaintia Rebellion (1880-1882), and the Kuki rebellion (1917-1919). Sambhudan of the North Cachar Hills, Jadonang and Rani Gaidinliu of

Ralph Linton also agrees that when a society becomes conscious that "there are cultures other than its own and that the existence of its own culture is threatened' as result of 'close and continuous contact with other societies", a 'conscious, organized efforts to perpetuate a culture' can arise.[76] Christianity, according to Downs, was one of the "defense mechanism" adopted by the peoples of those Northeastern Hill Areas.[77]

Kenneth W. Jones, in discussing how the colonized people tried to adjust themselves to the realities of British dominance, says that "those, who could not ignore these new rulers but who depended on them for their social and economic position, found ways to restructure their own cultural heritage in order to retain a place within that heritage."[78] He further contends that "the socio-religious movements they led created a cultural and psychological world in which they could find a place for themselves, one that was acceptable to them and one they could defend against the attacks of western critics, both secular and religious."[79]As Peter van der Veer puts it, "anticolonial nationalisms are not only struggles for power in the political arena but also attempt to counter the cultural hegemony of the colonial theory of difference." They often do so, "by posing an alternative interpretation of the grounds of hegemony, be it religion or race."[80]

McCall has already noted that "all through the history of 'Lushai' relations runs strong evidence of the respect and desire felt by the people for power."[81] It may be recalled that it was after much resistance that the Mizo chiefs were compelled to

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Manipur inspired their followers to fight against the Britishers during the first half of 20th century. Sometimes they gave assurance to their followers that their magic spells would dissolve the bullets. ibid., p. 179.

[75] ibid., p.178.

[76] Ralph Linton defines this phenomenon as 'nativistic movement'. However, in his study of nativistic movement, he concerns 'with particular elements of culture, never with cultures as wholes." Ralph Linton, op. cit., p. 230.

[77] ibid.

[78] Kenneth W. Jones, op. cit., pp. 211-212.

[79] ibid., p.214.

[80]Peter van der Veer, op. cit., p.54.

[81]A.G. McCall, op. cit., p.196.

subjugation, and the wound was not instantly healed.[82] It seems that the pacification of the common people will also have to take a few more time. For a warrior people, the defeat at arms would have produced deep cultural significance.[83] Rohmingliana records:

> "The common folk deeply regretted the surrender of their country to foreign rule. Even by the time of the Welsh missionary's first visit to the south to enroll the first enquirer there, some young people still contended: "Had our chiefs made a concerted effort we could have surely checked the British inroad…Now they (foreigners) compel us to do forced labour, work on road, or even cane us at their own pleasure. What a shame that we should just die without firing at the *Vai!* It's all because our chiefs were too coward."[84]

But the British occupation that marked the presence of stronger power staggered the 'Lushai' world.[85] Time and again, it is proved to the Mizos that they encountered a power too strong for them to handle. An uprising against the government was out of question for the scattered chiefs. There were number of instances when the chiefs attempted to exercise their authority against the adverse citizens of their villages - the Christians, but the government came to their rescue, either by giving the refugees a new village site (as in the case of Sethlun and Durtlang) or by ordering the chiefs to stop the action and rehabilitate the damages caused by them, as in the case of Vanphunga, Chief of Khandaih and Chief Dokhama of Tualte as mentioned earlier. Even the chiefs, let alone the people,

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[82] See Chapter 2 (2.1); When the Superintendent J. Shakespear called an assembly of Mizo chiefs, he asked Lalburha, chief of Sesawng why he confronted the British, he withheld the British force for about a month, Lalburha replied, "I should confront you, for I am a man. Had it been possible, I wanted to kill all of you or send you all back; but you have too much fighting men that we are helpless, and you only prevailed." B. Lalthangliana, *Mizo Chanchin,* p. 208. These words clearly show the wound in the Mizo mind after their forced subjugation.

[83] Frederick S. Downs, op. cit., p. 179.

[84] Quoted in Vanlalchhuanawma, op. cit., pp. 153-154.

[85] A.G. McCall, op. cit., p.196.

had very little chance to exercise their autonomy under the British rule as the chief was subjected to rule under the control and supervision of the Superintendent.[86]

McCall is right when he says that the Mizos' pillars of strength had "tumbled down with shame and humiliation before these new and irresistible British invaders" and they had "no equipment on which to fall back for strength, except the traditions and the stories of their grandfathers."[87] The encounter with a consuming alien culture and overwhelming political power therefore posed a threat to the existing Mizo culture, the worldview of the people, the familiar way of life, causing a "period of increased individual stress". The acculturation process as a result of adoption of Christianity was already disturbing the *Gestalt*, and the challenge to traditional values and authority by the government caused confusion, the people were no longer sure of what to believe. It was apparent that at the early twentieth century in Mizoram, the cultural elements were not harmoniously related but were mutually inconsistent and interfering,[88] and the challenges that faced the people were that of 'cultural distortion'. In the word of Wallace, "it poses a threat of mazeway disintegration."[89]

The heavy weight of 'stress' felt in the second decade of the twentieth century produced an unprecedented 'revival of evil'. Lorrain writes:

> "Just as there have been waves of spiritual revival from time to time the Christians in these hills, carrying all before them and sweeping many an unbeliever into the Gospel net, so there has been this year a great revival of evil among the heathen. The oldest inhabitants do not remember having seen such debauchery and drunkenness as have been prevalent everywhere."[90]

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[86]J. Zorema, op. cit., pp.59-61; N.E Parry, *Monograph*, pp.2-3.

[87] A.G. McCall, op. cit., p.197.

[88] Anthony F.C. Wallace, 'Revitalization movement,' p. 269.

[89] ibid.

[90] *Report by BMS*, 1914, p. 110.

> Ralph Linton believes that for a threatened society that tries to perpetuate their own culture, revivalism is instrumental.[91] In other words, the people were compelled to find a suitable means of acculturation.[92] The acculturative movement in Mizo hills should seek an "accommodation to the fact of British supremacy, to the colonial milieu that such supremacy had created, and to the personal position of its members within the colonial world."[93]

The first conscious attempt of the Mizos to find their 'place in the cosmos' was the revival of 'heathen song' called *Puma Zai*. In this revivalism, "certain current or remembered elements of culture are selected for emphasis and given symbolic value. The more distinctive such elements are with respect to other cultures with which the society is in contact, the greater their potential value as symbols of the society's unique character."[94] It is already mentioned (in Chapter 4.2.2) that the popularity of *Puma Zai* from its reintroduction in 1907 was unparalleled by any other cultural movement of the Mizos until that time and that it even halted the fast-spreading Christianity while it lasted.[95] Earlier, Mizo *Zai* and dance was confined mainly to elderly men and women except in certain festivals with only one or two dancers at a time.[96] However, when *Puma Zai* was introduced, it developed into a communal activity, thus adopted the name '*Tlanglam Zai'* (Song of Community Dance) in which 'young men and girls danced in ecstasy' in every village. The chiefs and the prominent villagers were very enthusiastic about the movement and patronized it.[97] The *Puma Zai* movement was an attempt to revitalize the beleaguered traditional culture through the traditional tune and dance, a

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[91]Ralph Linton, op. cit., pp. 230-231.

[92] Frederick S. Downs, *Essays*, p. 179.

[93] Kenneth W. Jones, op. cit., p. 3.

[94] Ralph Linton, op. cit., p. 231.

[95]J.M. Llyod, *High Hill*, p. 55; *Report by BMS*, 1908, p. 48.

[96] The occasions of *Kut* (festivals) and *Khuangchawi* were the time of enjoyment for all members of the community that happened occasionally. See K. Zawla, op. cit., p. 32; B. Lalthangliana, *Mizo Chanchin*, pp. 36-39.

[97]K. Zawla, op. cit., p.405.

'nativistic' movement. It rediscovered the Mizo tradition and culture, revived interest in it and restored its prominence in the society even for a short period. In a way, it was part of the fight to counter the colonial cultural hegemony.[98]

Lalsangkima Pachuau rightly notes that the *Puma Zai* movement provided a "subtle way of venting the socio-psychological pain and tension the society was suffering under the new foreign rule"[99]and maintains that it was "in part the people's way of venting their psychological affliction and in part a process of their psychological adjustment to the new socio-political order"[100] and a "social phenomenon resulting from the people's interaction with the new world order".[101] However, he confines the people's need of outlet for 'socio-psychological pain and tension' only for the *Puma Zai* movement. If the people required an outlet at the time of *Puma Zai* movement, would they not need it after the movement failed? In fact, the end of the *Puma Zai* movement must have increased the 'stress level' with its inadequacy to reduce the stress.[102] The Bamboo famine of 1911-12 which caused the end of the celebrated *Puma Zai* movement augmented the suffering of the people. The insecurity and confusion did not disappear with the end of *Puma Zai* movement, rather, the people's need for such outlet continued, perhaps even more in the subsequent years.

The revival movement in Mizoram thus offered a suitable means of 'mazeway reformulation'. In their search for their place in the larger world, revival movement provided a weapon with which they could fight against the cultural disorder. Soon after the end of *Puma Zai*, the second stirring of revival movement broke out followed by

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[98] Peter van der Veer, op. cit., p.5 4; Sajal Nag, op. cit., p. 196.

[99] Lalsangkima Pachuau, op. cit., pp. 118-119.

[100] ibid.

[101] ibid., p. 118.

[102] In a society that experience an increasing stress, a point is reached at which some alternative way must be considered. But Wallace believes that the initial consideration of a substitute way is likely to increase stress "because it arouse anxiety over the possibility that the substitute way will be even less effective than the original, and that it may also actively interfere with the execution of other ways." Anthony F.C. Wallace, 'Revitalization Movement,' p. 269.

more stirrings in the subsequent years. Mention may be made that from the second stirring, no outside influence was felt, but it was purely an outbreak within the Mizo hills.

McCall observes that a constant persuasion towards the way of living sponsored by the missions "could easily, in whole or in part, at any time result in a political situation in which Lushais, who are under strong church influence, might try to assert a challenge, based on spiritual power, to dominate the temporal sphere."[103] But throughout the British rule, a political uprising to challenge colonial government was absent. However, attempt to 'dominate the temporal sphere' was seen in the religious realm, an attempt to challenge the cultural hegemony of the colonizers[104], and it was achieved through the process of indigenization.

An outstanding feature of the revival movement was the indigenization. It has been established that the Mizos completely indigenized western Christianity through revival movement.[105] As the familiar cultural traits of the Mizos were introduced into Christianity, sometimes 'through the backdoor', and these indigenous features were gaining prominence though it was not readily accepted by the missionaries at first but the 'western' Christianity was transformed into an indigenized one. Lalsawma says:

> "Previously Christianity was looked upon as something foreign, imported and inculcated into the Society by the white people and their native helpers. And it would have taken quite a lot more time for the chiefs and their councils to accept the new religion had it not been for their public who embraced it in mass conversion beyond their control. But now, Christians through their experience of the work of the Holy Spirit gained new confidence that Christianity belonged to them too,

[103] A.G. McCall, op. cit., p. 214.
[104] Peter van der Veer, op. cit., p. 54.
[105] Mangkhosat Kipgen, op. cit.

> and not to the 'Mission' only, and that the Church itself was their own."[106]

The second decade of the twentieth century was marked by the development of self-consciousness and the growth of self-confidence as mentioned earlier. With the growing passion for their tradition and selfhood, and a growing tendency of closer attachment to things that belonged to them, it is not surprising when they attempted to present their own cultural traits into the Christian premises. It was in this decade that drum *(khuang)* was ushered in the church. This was followed by the upsurge of songs composed by Mizos in Mizo tunes which became popular, and this was further accompanied by Mizo form of dance. The well-organized Calvinistic ideal worship service was challenged by the "crude and primitive"[107]revival, as the Mizos were establishing their own way of worship. In fact, the priorities in the formal worship service like Sunday school, preaching, official leadership etc. were unpopular among the revivalists who put more emphasis on singing at the beat of drum and dancing, and the growth of 'natural leaders' among the revivalists also confirms the self-determining nature of the revivalists. It was the new found confidence the people gained in their own self and their consciousness of their self that enabled them to counter the challenge of western culture in religious sphere. The revival movement was, therefore, in a way an attempt to restructure their own cultural tradition in order to retain a place within the new heritage they found themselves in. It was successful as a challenge against the western culture, for the flow of western culture in Christianity was stalled for a time. It is noteworthy that the third wave of revival that accommodated the full scale indigenizing features was considered the "greatest and most powerful" in Mizoram. [108] McCall has already declared:

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[106]Lalsawma, *Revival*, p. 154.

[107] *Report of FMPCW*, 1936-37, p.137.

[108]Lalsawma, *Revival*, p. 83.

> "It will always be far wiser to assist him [Mizo] openly in his searches for spiritual satisfaction rather than to countenance any gesture which might detract from his self-confidence."[109]

The revival movement provided an ample stage whereby the people could act upon their new found confidence, and therefore, it attracted women and children, weaker sections of the society as well as men-folk whose masculinity was in question at the banning of head hunting and war, and at the reality of being subjugated by alien rulers who were obviously much stronger than them. The swelling number of converts during the revival period testified that many non-believers participated in the revival while it lasted, enjoying themselves, and leaving the church when it ended, because they did not get into the principles of Christianity. These Christians were called 'Revival Christians', and one scholar notices that 'excitements during the second wave won many such converts' as "people came to church *en masse* during revival and they went out again *en masse* during hardships".[110] It may be said that the revival has much to offer to the people other than spiritual cause as it created "a cultural and psychological world in which they could find a place for themselves, one that was acceptable to them and one they could defend against the attacks of western critics, both secular and religious."[111]

It has been noted that during the revival movement, an individual has extensive freedom to express his emotions through crying, laughing, singing, dancing, shouting etc. Lorrain noticed the 'Lushais' "wealth of emotions" which 'the love of God in Christ Jesus has brought to the surface" and said that this must find an outlet, and he is of the opinion that to check it by compelling them to conform to the staid method of the Mission would be fatal.[112] McCall also says that the 'Lushai' temperament has 'a very intense and emotional potential", yet they are "sufficiently vain not to be averse to

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[109] A.G. McCall, op. cit., p.219; see also ibid., p. 215.
[110] Lalsawma, *Revival*, p.75.
[111] Kenneth W. Jones, op. cit., p. 214.
[112] *Report by BMS*, 1913, p. 99.

exhibitionist tendencies", as such, "the practice of revivalism offers considerable scope to such people." [113]

The larger participation of the Mizos in church activities emboldened them to confidently come forward and express themselves through various forms. Throughout the revival stirrings, women and children formed the majority of participants in dancing, sharing testimony and praying.[114] It has been argued that the revival movement was responsible for raising the religious status of women and "served as an important vehicle for liberating Mizo women."[115] It may be true to some extent; however, revival was as much a vehicle as it was a stage for women to exhibit their status, because dancing in public by women which was taken as a sign of women's liberation was not absent in traditional period. In fact, women had participated actively in the traditional festivals and feasts if not in private drinking bouts and all traditional dances include women. Llyod records:

> "By tradition women enjoyed considerable freedom in Mizo society…Mizo women played an early part in the growth of the church. There was a woman among the first four to be baptised in South Mizoram…Significant too is the fact that when the party to go to Mairang was being formed Sapthara chose four to go, three of whom were women. Rowlands incorporated in an early School Reader a song in praise of mothers and motherhood which had considerable influence….the presence of Siniboni and several other capable Khasi women in the young church at Aizawl may thus helped a little to emancipate their Mizo sisters whose background was so different."[116]

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[113] A.G. McCall, op. cit., p.219; see also, ibid., p 215.
[114] Vanlalchhuanawma, op. cit., p. 220.
[115] ibid.
[116] J.M. Llyod, *History*, pp. 109-110.

Mention may be made that at the time of the outbreak of revival, women were already well on their way to liberation as they were receiving education and participating in the evangelisation processes. Though the number of women receiving education was relatively less in number, the fact that they could achieve status in the church and in the society at par with men was a good reason to be confident for women. The Welsh Report of 1902-03 has it that several boys and girls bound for a term of years have proved to be of much help, both in preaching and teaching:

> "There are now about 13 who preach in North Lushai alone, and most of them have been on preaching journeys. The young women [were] also beginning to take part in public. Tlomi deserves special mention."[117]

As early as 1904, one Bible woman was supported by the native church along with three evangelists.[118] Women were also included in the team that was sent to Mairang in 1906. In education sector, girls like Nui and Saii, both full members of the church, passed Upper Primary among the highest and both secured a Government scholarship.[119] Later, Nui was training a nurse in Calcutta.[120] Two girls, Pawngi and Vanhnuaithangi, both church members scored first division in the Lower Primary examination, and Pawngi scored high enough to secure a scholarship if she desired.[121] Therefore, it may be seen that the liberated women found a suitable place to express themselves in the revival movement that improved their religious status, and this was to continue in the following years.

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[117] *Report of FMPCW*, 1902-03, pp. 16,18.
[118] ibid., 1904-05, p. 21.
[119] ibid., 1903-04, p. 19.
[120] ibid., 1905-06, p. 25.
[121] ibid., 1904-05, p.22.

It was witnessed in the Mairang revival that people can freely sing and dance without *zu* and *khuang* which was not very common among the Mizos until then. Lalsawma says:

> "In Mizo culture and saying, dancing without singing and singing without drumming and drumming without drinking was impossibility. Drumming demands drinking. Therefore, drum beating should never come into Christian worship in the early days…"[122]

However, singing and dancing was now taking a new turn as the revival provided favorable atmosphere for such activities, and it was greatly emphasized to the point of ousting Bible reading, prayer and preaching. Thus, against the traditional practice, the revival movement facilitates a suitable atmosphere whereby people can sing and dance again, but without being drunk. When *zu* and *khuang*, the main instruments for merry-making in traditional time was outcast by the Christianity of the time, it is very difficult to imagine how the Christians would entertain themselves. But revival opened up a venue where the impossible was made possible, and people expressed themselves without *zu* and *khuang.* Later, there is the use of the word 'drunk' literally in connection with the spirit- "drunk in spirit". This may also testify the continuing of the "tribal" emotionalism in the movement which has in it a strong connection of being drunk with singing and dancing.

The guidebook to revival published by the Northern Assembly in 1949 mentions that though there are madness due to misfortune but the madness before and after *Vailen* (advent of the colonial government) and the advent of the Gospel is different. [123] It appears that some cases of emotional manifestations during the revival seems to be

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[122]Lalsawma, *Revival*, p.79.

[123] A translation of the passage: "*Atna hi vanduaina lo awm fo reng a ni, Mi a thar apiang in an hunlaia thil awm apiang kha an at hnan zel a, vai len hma leh tun hnu pathian thu lo chhuah hnua ate chu an danglam thei hle. Pathain thuawi chuan Pathian thu an at hnan a, chung chu harhna hnathawh a puhzel mite hian an duhamna lamah thalrau hnathawh an thiat nasa tih an inhre tur a ni.*" *Harhna Hruaina*, (a booklet published by North Lushai Assembly Standing Committee, 1949), p.7.

mental cases for excessive religiosity or can be considered chronic schizophrenics with religious paranoia. At the second stirring, Nui, a fair lady with beautiful long hair who was a teacher and fine leader of Christian women at the Mission Veng, under the influence of the revival cut her hair to the root thinking that it was only worldly allurement. One night, she sensed that she was going to give birth to Jesus, preparations were made for childbirth by her followers, but nothing happened.[124] One lady, who later went mad, also stood in transcendent nakedness in a certain House of God, probably under the influence of revival.[125] Mendus also has a case with a man touched by the revival who had been speaking in strange tongues, went and got properly married in the church, returned to his house and killed a fowl as the "pagan" custom, then went out at night and shot himself, though not fatally.[126]

Wallace tries to understand this kind of occurrence through the psychoanalytic dream theory. As he tries to understand the vision of the prophet in his revitalization, he says that the 'prophets do not lose their sense of personal identity but psychotics tend to become the objects of their spiritual longing'. But Wallace also notices that extreme religiosity or religious experience pressurized on the other hand by the stress, led many to be in such a state. Thus, he gives scope to "tentatively conclude that the religious vision experience per se is not psychopathological but rather the reverse, being a synthesizing and often therapeutic process performed under extreme stress by individuals already sick."[127] Christopher Hill also argues that lunacy or madness may be "a form of protest against social norms, and that the lunatic may in some sense be saner than the society which rejects him," as "foolery" was a "safety-valve" in the medieval society when "social tensions were released by the occasional bouleversement".[128] Peter Gay believes

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[124]Liangkhaia, *Harhna*, p. 30; Vanlalchhuanawma, op. cit., pp. 206-207.

[125] A.G. McCall, op. cit., p. 220.

[126] J.M. Llyod, *History*, p. 297.

[127] Anthony F.C. Wallace, 'Revitalization Movement,' pp. 272-273.

[128] Christopher Hill writes, "Many writers who were aware that their views would seem intolerably extreme to their respectable contemporaries deliberately exaggerated their eccentricities in order to get a

that conversion "hysteria, in which blocked affects and denied desires find outlets in physical symptoms, is only the most vivid demonstration that feelings and wishes are real enough". [129]

The educated Mizos had more occasion to vent out their tensions, through writing or other means while the common masses who suffered the same pressure but found no way to adapt themselves into the new situation were caught in-between, they could not go back to their "old' system, nor could they find acceptance in the new system. Therefore, the revivalists who enjoyed the freedom of expression and who experienced extreme emotional manifestations were "mostly from the uneducated and ordinary people".[130] This led H.W. Carter, a Baptist missionary in the south to conclude that "illiteracy" and "simple-mindedness'" was responsible for the extreme emotional manifestation which was "unacceptable" to the church, for this simple folks considered that 'discarding quaking would mean losing their joy."[131] Nonetheless, by freely expressing themselves through revival, some released their psychological and emotional pressures while to others it was an act of confidence, and yet others try to put up with the mystification or protest through their strange behaviour. In the revival movement therefore, there was ample opportunity for the general masses to let out the tensions they felt at the pressure of life, without fear of repercussion from the colonizers. As Lalsawma remarks:

> "…Mizo nomadic mind and the spirit of adventure now finds fitting expression in the exploration of the unknown, physically and

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hearing – as, in rather a different way. George Bernard Shaw did in the twentieth century." Christopher Hill, op.cit. p.16

[129] Peter van der Veer, op. cit., p. 120.

[130] C. Rosiama, op. cit., p. 45.

[131] Vanlalchhuanawma, op. cit., p. 342; See also Assembly Standing Committee, 19 October 1937, Resolution no. 6.

> spiritually. Heaven which before was attainable to the merited few is now attainable to women too! What if one give everything for it!"[132]

As early as the beginning of the twentieth century, aggressive autonomous movements were launched from among the revivalists. It is in fact noticeable that revival movement produced number of dissenters. Some revivalists started with a motivation for autonomy and a desire to break away with the western structure of the church, but turned into denominational movement [133] except for the first autonomous Christian movement that was initiated by Khawliantlira, popularly known as Tlira, a teacher employed under the Welsh Mission.

The deviation from the established church during the revival movement was either the direct or indirect influence of the ideas prevalent of the time. In 1914, Tlira began to preach his teaching and it attracted many people. He and his followers were setting themselves very differently from the established church. All formalities of the church such as church building and its maintenance, observation of Sunday and of the church's constitution and set of doctrines, celebration of the sacraments are considered unnecessary or, at best, optional.[134] On the other hand, "the movement has a strong tendency to revitalise various cultural traits, especially traditional song, music, dance, drinking *zu* and *lenkhawm* (informal socialization) It used traditional types of Christian songs using pure traditional tunes."[135] He says:

> "I saw vision. There is no visible second coming of Jesus except his coming again now in words. Eating and drinking cannot spoil your salvation. You can take to drinking if you want, it does not matter. I am in a regular spiritual correspondence with the greatest leader of Welsh

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[132]Lalsawma, *Revival*, p. 68.

[133] See Vanlalchhuanawma, op.cit. pp. 244-252,282-284.

[134] James Dokhuma, op. cit., p. 7.

[135]Vanlalchhuanawma, op. cit., p. 282.

> revival, Evan Roberts himself who says to me, "No eating and drinking can do harm to your salvation."[136]

One of the major concerns of Tlira's teaching was about "eating and drinking". In the midst of the Welsh missionaries' presence whose disapproval of drinking of *Zu* formed the decorum of the Mizo church administration, he proclaimed, claiming authority from the Welsh man, and that also none other than the revival leader Evan Roberts, that no eating and drinking harm one's salvation. This was a direct hit to the official church's establishment. Moreover, Tlira's sect tried to revitalize the beleaguered tradition of the people as against the official church. He was the prophet who saw visions, but he was not successful. This may be largely because the church reacted as forceful as the attack, and strictly controlled its members from maintaining fellowship with Tlira and his sect that weakened the development of Tlira's movement tremendously.

Nevertheless, the emergence of sectarianism during the first half of the twentieth century almost always has direct bearing with the revival movement[137] and sectarianism "within Christianity has been typically directed at a diagnosed failure of existing religions within the immediate social context."[138] The development of autonomous ideology may have been the product of the consciousness of the reality of the cultural hegemony of the colonizers, and the rise of sectarianism may have been part of the people's response, a form of resistance against the alien culture. As much as it supplied legitimation for *status quo* in its orthodox forms, religion also furnished sources of authority available to dissenters in the case of heterodox sects.[139]

Looking at the active public participation and the absence of charismatic leader, many scholars conclude that the revival movement in Mizoram was a movement of the

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[136]Lalsawma, *Revival*, p.61.

[137] James Dokhuma, op. cit., pp. 4-13.

[138] Roland Robertson, op. cit., p. 88.

[139] Kenneth W. Jones, op. cit., p. 5

people. People's movement analysts such as J. Waskom Pickett and Donald A. McGavran "defined a people's movement as a religious conversion characterized by "joint decision" of the people-group involved". [140] This definition is given in connection with conversion. It is observed that "when the people embraced the new religion *en masse*, they naturally became the active subject that defined the nature and character of the new religion. Thus it naturally led to a certain degree of social transformation."[141] It has been argued by Mizo scholars like C.L. Hminga and Lalsangkima Pachuau that if to "say that a "people movement' is one brought about by joint decision" of the group", what happened in Mizoram was not a "people movement", for the study carried out by C.L. Hminga proved that the Mizo converts 'made their decisions individually'. However, they both do not deny the fact that the revival movement affected the people in the communities and caused them to convert in large numbers.[142]

Nevertheless, even if there was no "people's movement" in regard to conversion, the revival movement surely established the people in defining "the nature and character of the new religion". It is not simply because of the lack of prominent names connected with the movement, but the large scope of involvement for the general masses, the active laity's participation, and most of all, how the people lead the movement to their own direction is significant and thus make it a 'people's movement'.

As the revival movement swept through the 'Lushai country', it was not only successful in 'bringing new life into the Christians everywhere' but was also "powerfully affecting the heathen as well."[143] It was therefore felt by both the Christians and the non-Christians. It is also noticed that during the revival movement, there was increase in the number of Christians, "those who came in under the pleasant excitement of the dancing

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[140]J. Waskom Pickett, *Christian Mass Movement in India: A Study with recommendations* (Abingdon Press, Cincinnati, 1933), p. 22; Donald A. McGavran, *Understanding Church Growth* (William B. Erdmann Publishing Company, 1970), p. 297.

[141]Lalsangkima Pachuau, op.cit., p. 142

[142] C.L. Hminga, op.cit. ; Lalsangkima Pachuau, op.cit. p. 143.

[143]*Report by BMS*, 1919, p. 153.

and the quaking and the long sustained singing, and have not laid hold of the Real behind such phenomena, are apt to be swept back into deeper depths."[144]

It has already been noted that the church attempted to exert its control over the movement. As a result there has been conflict between the church and the revivalists time to time, the tensions stemmed mainly from the movement's tendency to follow its own course regardless of the Church's dictates."[145]Within the church establishment, though there were many features which the missionaries, trained under 'Calvinistic temperament' could not understand, however, the missionaries were helpless against the passing waves.

Eventually, from the end of the '20s when quaking was popular, the church refused to compromise with the revivalists. In the south, it was openly branded, along with freezing not as the work of God which was considered related with 'illiteracy and simplemindedness',[146] and pastors were requested to control the spread of such features. As a whole, the revival movement was growing unpopular in the south as a result of this event. The Assembly of the northern Presbyterian Church also issued restrictions on certain revival phenomena.[147]

In spite of the similar official restraints in both the north and the south, the features continued in the north, while it seems to have been comparatively less persistent in the south.[148] The revival stirring still broke out in the north, perhaps with more intensity as there were outbreaks of revival in many different places from the late '20s and the early '30s that it is even difficult to attribute a particular year for the outbreak of

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[144] *Report of WCMFMS*, 1929-30, p. 96.

[145] Vanlalchhuanawma, op. cit., p. 202.

[146]ibid., p. 342.

[147]The Assembly Standing Committee, 14th July 1937 passed against sixteen listed extreme features of the revival. Standing Committee Minutes, 1929-1943, Synod Archive, Aizawl.

[148] Vanlalchhuanawma, op. cit., p. 350.

the fourth wave of revival. However, "there seems to have been no specific record of any outstanding revival stirrings in the south after the third decade of revival movement." [149]

The reservation on the part of church leaders in the south against the revival helped the church to be relatively free of revival excesses for a number of years compared to the north.[150] Some writers believe that it was because the missionaries in the north were more lenient in this regard that it continued in the north.[151] However, looking at the Welsh Missionaries' comments, it is clear that they adopted as unfriendly attitude towards such features as in the south and that they wanted to do away with it, it is just that they failed to control the movement.

In the north, native leadership was stronger than in the south, as there was more scope for the natives to take the lead or partook in church affairs, probably due to insufficient missionaries under the Welsh Mission. If we look back at the initial period, we find that there was a wide opening for native participation in Mission work right from the start. The difficulties of contacts, the occasional absence and pressing duties on the missionaries[152] made the European missionaries rely on the Mizos. As early as 1900, some "Lushais" helped the missionaries "both in teaching and preaching".[153] Soon, native workers like evangelists and Bible women were supported by the native church.[154] Apart from these salaried workers, there are honorary Evangelists called "*Kros Sipai*" (Soldiers of the Cross). They are really travelling local preachers who supplement the work of the paid evangelists.[155] The schoolboys as well as the teachers were also very diligent in evangelistic work. They formed a band and went out to the villages far and near,

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[149] ibid., p. 349.

[150] Lalsawma, *Revival*, p. 52.

[151] ibid., p. 141; Lalsangkima Pachuau, op.cit., p.154.

[152] A.G. McCall, op. cit., p. 210; *Report by BMS*, 1907, p. 37.

[153] *Report of FMPCW*, 1900-01, p. 9.

[154] ibid., 1902-03, p .16; The report of 1904-05 also says that three evangelists and one Bible woman are supported by the native church, and in addition to those supported by the church, others preach occasionally. ibid., 1904-05, p. 21.

[155] *Report by BMS*, 1914, p. 113.

particularly on Sundays, to hold meetings, with an aim to "win soul for Christ", endeavoured to maintain themselves and to help other members of the band.[156] The decade of 1915-1924 began with five ordained pastors, but there were nine at the close of it, twenty three full-time evangelists, all except four of them new appointments, fifty four school masters at the beginning of the decade, and seventy nine at the close of it.[157] The south has six ordained pastors, and all except one were ordained during the decade; BMS annual report for 1924 stated that there were 66 national workers, including the masters of the Middle and primary schools employed by the Mission with 15 honorary workers.[158]

During the third wave of revival till 1921, Rev. F.J. Sandy (1914-1926) was the only missionary in the north helped by five Mizo ordained pastors.[159] Sandy therefore wrote a letter to the Home Board urging them to send reinforcement of missionary staff:

> "I feel very strongly that at least one new ordained missionary ought to be sent to Lushai this year. There are twenty thousand Christians in this district, and it is vitally necessary that strong influences should be exerted upon them to lead them in the right ways. It will be very easy for wrong practices to creep into the church and to do immeasurable harm if care is not taken at this critical juncture in the history of the Lushai church. It is a critical juncture, for in the last two years more than seven thousand people have joined the church and a very great deal depends on the help and training and inspiration they will receive now and in the coming years. The country is vast, difficult to travel in, with villages usually far apart. I have naturally given much anxious thought to the situation as it presents itself to us now, and it seems to

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[156] *Report of FMPCW*, 1912-13, p. 52; *Report by BMS*, 1907, p. 41.
[157] C.L. Hminga, op. cit., p. 136.
[158] ibid., pp. 137, 155-156, 163-164.
[159] ibid., p. 118; Rev. and Mrs. D. E. Jones came back from furlough early in 1921.

> me that the time has definitely come for the country to be divided up between missionaries who will not be too much tied to their work in Aijal, but will be able to travel a great deal, and cover the whole country."[160]

D.E. Jones also wrote a letter to Williams in 1922 for favour of immediate reinforcement of the mission staff to cope with the situation that arises out of the revival movement and the rapid increase of number of converts, referring that the south Lushai with less than one-third the population of North Lushai has more than treble the number of workers.[161] In regard to the south, Miss Bowser writes:

> "While the south Lushai church is peculiarly fortunate in the quality and strength of its own leadership, a larger number are needed, and could be used most advantageously. For the people require much instruction, and are not infrequently led away on unimportant issues to the neglect of the fundamental realities."[162]

Therefore, it is not surprising that the voice of the people was more dominant in the north than in the south.

If we closely examine the revival, it is clear that the people were the real actors who directed the movement. The strong force of the masses is clearly seen from the fact that in spite of denial of the use of *khuang* at the two Mission centres at Mission Veng and Serkawn, it was extensively used by the people throughout the land. The Mission may be able to control the base church, but not beyond. Mangkhosat Kipgen observes:

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[160] F.J. Sandy to Williams, January, 1921, Aijal, quoted in C.L.Hminga, op. cit., p.119.

[161] "They have now two married men and three lady missionaries."(D.E.Jones to Williams, 22 April, 1921, quoted in C.L. Hminga, op. cit. p. 120. Miss Chapman writes that they are still hopeful for a bigger staff in the future. BMS Printed report for 1923, cited in C.L.Hminga, op.cit p. 128; in the same year, there were three additions to the Mission staff in the North, two of whom were women missionaries. ibid., p. 136.

[162] M. Eleanor Bowser, op. cit. p. 18.

> "In view of the rigidity the church had developed one might wonder how revival itself could have broken out again."[163]

It may be true that the people who were indulging into "excesses" might have been in minority; however, the general masses found no problem in it as they were swept by the wave. The church's attempt to control the movement by putting in more efforts on theological teaching and discipline was not going very well with the people, and from the missionaries' letters it appears that for several occasions, the missionaries had to attend revival meetings quietly for hours on end.[164] In spite of the fact that the revival with its developing emphasis on exercise of freedom appeared to be an encroachment upon the Church's authority, the assembly resolutions against the extreme features of the revival movement passed in 1937 seemed to be ineffective to control the movement that necessitated a guidebook for revival called *Harhna Hruaina* to be published by the Assembly in 1949.[165] The masses were successful in establishing their own principles in the religious realm through revivalism. Therefore, it was the people themselves, not the church or its leaders who were the main actors in the revival, and it was really a successful movement of the people.

On the other hand, the revival movement also strengthened the authority of the church. The numerical increase has always been considered a focal point in measuring the success of the revival. The increasing number of the church member strengthened the influence of the church as more people were inducted into the institution under their authority, and it enhanced their power. As the number increased, the church became more and more intolerant towards the independent activity of the people, and judgments were lashed out to many revivalists who decided to join other denominations like Salvation

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[163] Mangkhosat Kipgen, op.cit., p. 258

[164] Vanlalchhuanawma, op. cit., p. 213.

[165] *Harhna Hruaina,* op. cit.

Army, Roman Catholics, or some other indigenous sects.[166] Thus, the revival movement has helped the church in more ways than simply giving spiritual benefit to its members.

Conclusion

The causalities involved in the evangelical awakening are extremely complex.[167] As such, to conclude it as merely a reaction to certain event may not be feasible. Nevertheless, it is true that religious awakenings or revivals are helpful for a culture to survive the traumas of social change.[168] In the situation of uneven development of colonial milieu and the persistence of indigenous forms of socio-religious dissent, religious movement with acculturative features[169] was very helpful to acclimatize the people in the 'new world'.

The revival movement in Mizoram thus, served more than religious purpose. It helped to sustain the people against the cultural invasion and assisted in finding their place in the cosmos. If we study carefully, it is clear that the revival movement integrated much of the ideological developments of the time, thereby offering a 'defense mechanism'. The ideas that developed during the period, the consciousness of identity, the passion for their own self, the growing confidence in themselves and their tradition were all reflected in the revival movement. Through the revival, the Mizos could safely vent out their psychological or emotional pressures without provoking action from the authorities. The revival movement was a successful weapon for the Mizos in the tussle of cultural hegemony during the colonial period, and through the movement, they were able to effectively counter the intruding alien power, both political and cultural.

There is a tendency in many studies on revival movement in Mizoram to give more importance to the features that directly affect the established church, making the official church as the dominant subject in the scene. This may be because all the available

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[166] See Chapter-4 of this thesis.

[167] Peter van der Veer, op. cit., p. 43.

[168] William G. McLoughlin, op. cit., p.8.

[169] Kenneth W. Jones, op. cit., p. 3,

records on the revival movement are written by either the Europeans or the natives who were directly influenced by the Mission which measured the validity of the movement with the church at the centre and condemned all beyond the church dictates. Moreover, the church-centric study tries to understand the colonial period with revival at the centre and attributes the movement to all the intellectual and socio-cultural developments of the time. However, it is argued that the ideological development outside the realm of the church rather influenced the movement in the church. In studying revival, it may therefore be necessary to have a paradigm shift and change the centre from the revival movement to the people who were the real actors in the movement and who created a unique revival movement, peculiar to Mizoram. [170]

The application of systematic psychoanalytical theory to the study of the movement would have substantiate the arguments pertaining to the psycho-social change of the period in relation to the movement that would have perfected the historical investigation, as Peter Gay maintains that psychology is the 'historian's unacknowledged principal aide' and that "the psychoanalytic history of ideas is the counterpart of the social history of ideas, the one complementing and completing the other."[171]. He suggests that in spite of the incompatibility between the psychoanalyst and the historian, "there is a way of bringing them together with a stroke of the philosophic pen: by pointing out that a fantasy or delusion is a reality to those who experience them—individuals certainly act on them." [172] He says:

> "The professional historian has always been a psychologist— an amateur psychologist. Whether he knows it or not, he operates with a theory of human nature; he attributes motives, studies passions, analyzes irrationality, and constructs his work on the tacit conviction that human beings display certain stable and discernible traits, certain

[170] The parts of the people in revival meetings, like drummers, dancers, announcers of songs, prophesiers, spontaneous praying members etc. are peculiar to Mizo revivals.

[171] Peter Gay, op. cit., pp. xiii-xiv.

[172] ibid., p.119.

> predictable, or at least discoverable, modes of coping with their experience. He discovers causes, and his discovery normally includes acts of the mind."[173]

However, it is not possible to systematically employ the psychoanalytical theory for an 'amateur' to examine the revival phenomena in this thesis though it is not possible either to be completely free from attempts to utilize psychological study here and there. Nevertheless, a psychoanalytical study of the revival phenomena may be a worthy subject to be taken up by experts in that field.

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[173] ibid., p.6.

CONCLUSION

The historiography of Christianity in Northeast India had been dominated by a 'missionary-approach' which was predominantly church-centric and often suffered from denominational biases. However, the history of Christianity has developed from the narrative institutional history to analytical one. The debates on revival movement in Mizoram exposed a spectacular breakthrough from the 'traditional' approach as researchers have a propensity to look beyond the obvious.

Approach to the study of revival movement varied among scholars. Some scholars attempt to understand the phenomenon strictly within the domain of the church while others see it as a cultural movement. The ecumenical writings represent revival as nothing but the work of God to renew and reform the church, to bring repentance from sin and bring new life among the church or churches. Secular scholars, however, study it beyond the realm of the church. Ralph Linton sees 'revival' phenomenon as a useful instrument for a community to restore confidence to the members who suffer from insecurity that often take place in a contact situation. Anthropologist Anthony F.C Wallace studies religious revival as a society's attempt to find its place in the cosmos against powerful treat to the survival of its culture, which he incorporates in his concept of 'revitalization movement'. William G. McLoughlin, an American scholar applies Wallace's concept in his study on the revival movement of Christianity in America over the centuries as he proposes to rid of 'the old protestant definition of revivalism'. The functionalist approach, therefore, have been borrowed appropriately by these scholars.

The revival movement in Mizoram was a spark of the Welsh revival movement that was received through the Khasi Christians. The revival movement was experienced repeatedly in Mizoram in the first half of the twentieth century. Though it is proposed by Vanlalchhuanawma that it may be studied in decades, it seems to be still more convenient

to study in waves. Four major waves of revival movement swept the land during the period under study.

The Mizos understood 'Revival' in their own terms -'*Harhna*' meaning 'renewal, 'reawakening' or 'revival' or '*Hlimna*' meaning 'Joy' which were used interchangeably. To them, the term signifies a person awakened at once from a long slumber. These terms were later used in identical with 'dance'. When a person is asked if he is *Hlim* (joyful), it basically means if he had danced. It also came to denote the stance of a person in the light of the 'new world'.

Different groups of people perceived the movement differently. The non-Christians generally responded with antagonistic feeling which sometimes amounted to violent action against the Christians, and later to what may be called a 'passive resistance' in the form of a cultural movement the *Puma Zai*. The hostile reaction lasted through the first wave; it became less remarkable from the second wave, largely due to the fact that the missionaries as well as the government were taking the side of the Christians, and also because Christianity grew more popular due to the revival movement.

The Welsh and Baptist missionaries in the north and south Mizoram respectively shared more or less the same feeling towards the movement. Throughout the period, the missionaries tried to bring the movement in their own tract by insisting on the official leadership. The movement was expected to arouse interest in biblical teachings and allegiance to the church and its guidance but the revivalists put more emphasis on singing, dancing and other features. The Missionaries believed that the "fundamental realities" were neglected by these revivalists and feared that the Christians would be led away due to lack of knowledge of biblical teachings, and therefore, they tried to put the movement under control. The native church leaders were more liberal in their perception of the movement which may be largely because they received it from the cultural context

of the natives. The movement was beyond control, and the official church was compelled to adopt a conciliatory and accommodative attitude.

Though the revival is considered a religious movement, the colonial government also intervened time to time, first by giving asylum to the persecuted Christians during the time of revival, then by restricting the revivalists' movement, and eventually punishing the revivalists in the Kelkang stirring.

Scholars who study revival movement in Mizoram often connect the revival stirrings with the immediate occurrences while they fail to relate the waves with the broader historical context. Revival movement was not an isolated phenomenon and should not be treated separately from other socio-cultural developments. In fact, it could be best understood when it is situated in the larger historical framework.

The revival movement was experienced in the wake of the forceful subjugation by colonial government. The Mizos fought with all their might against the colonial power that was too strong for them. The contact with colonial power and Christianity along with western culture resulted into rapid and drastic changes in Mizoram during the first half of the 20th century. Their colonial experiences as well as their contact with Christianity challenged their culture and worldview that held up the society for so long. The twin forces of physical invasion by the British and the cultural invasion of western and Christian culture turned their world upside down and they were confused and loss. However, the Mizos were not the silent observer of what was happening to them and attempted to develop effective response to these challenges. The ideological development of the early 20th century shows that the Mizos were trying to find strength in their own tradition and their place in the cosmos even under the domination of stronger power. At the same time, they were completely vulnerable to stand for themselves, having 'no other strength to fall back upon except the stories of their forefathers'.

At such a situation, revival movement with all its spirit of freedom and power mitigated the circumstances as it created a space for self-expression thus appeasing the troubled soul. This may be one reason why there were repeated revivals lasting almost throughout the colonial period with many 'revival Christians' at that time.

The transformation of western Christianity into an indigenised one was a prominent feature of the revival movement. The ecstatic phenomenon was very spectacular, and the freedom of spirit encouraged the ordinary men and women to actively participate in the movement, and it attracted the people and converts increased dramatically during those decades. On top of this, the revival movement seemed to have an anti-establishment leaning as the antagonistic feeling to the authorities developed, especially towards the established church. As such, situations called for the intervention of the government time to time.

The active and mass participation was another important feature of the movement. It was the Christian masses who formed the bulk of the revivalists. They responded the movement in their own understanding and guided the movement. They indigenised the movement, as well as Christianity at large, and challenged the official leadership. It was this group that eventually shaped and controlled the movement. Not only the absence of prominent leader, but how the people directed the movement proves that it was a movement of the people.

These revivalists were the common people who did not benefit much from the modernization process, but still felt the tension of the ever and fast growing change in the society. Taking into consideration all the features of the revival movement in Mizoram, specifically the "excessive" emotional manifestations, it may be concluded that the revivalists experienced a relatively fuller opportunity to control their own self, their beliefs and actions though it was restricted within the realm of Christianity. The objective of the revival was purely religious; however, the people's response seemed to have swerved the movement from its primary objective as they established for themselves a

space for their own in the movement. It is therefore proposed that the 'heuristic and cathartic' function of the revival movement is worthy to be noticed.

Existing studies on the movement often tend to give more importance to the features that directly affect the established church, making the official church as the dominant subject in the scene. This may be because all the available records on the revival movements are written by either the Europeans or the local scholars who were directly influenced by the Mission. They adopted a church-centric study that measured the validity of the movement with the church at the centre and condemned all beyond the church dictates. The people who deviated from the Mission church to join either the indigenous sects or other established religious institutions were never given a chance to expound their standpoint and views but were often condemned and denigrated. This attitude influenced the majority of the church members.

It is also 'revival-centric' because these studies try to understand the historical development with revival at the centre, and for all the intellectual and socio-cultural developments of the time, the revival was considered to play the main role. However, it is argued that the socio-political as well as ideological development outside the realm of the church was a catalyst for the movement in the church. In studying revival, attempt has been made, therefore, to shift the paradigm and change the centre from the revival movement to the people who were the real actors in the movement and who manoeuvred the movement and created a unique revival, peculiar to Mizoram.

The revival movement was a useful weapon in the tussle of cultural hegemony during the colonial period; through the movement, the Mizos were able to effectively counter the intruding alien power, both political and cultural. The cultural preeminence induced by new colonial world was checked to the level acceptable to the Mizos as the Mizos indigenized the movement as well as the western Christianity.

The revival movement in Mizoram thus, served more than religious purpose. It helped to sustain the people against the cultural invasion and assisted in finding their place in the cosmos. It is clear from this study that the revival movement integrated much of the ideological developments of the time, thereby offering a 'defense mechanism'. The ideas that developed during the period like the consciousness of identity, the passion for their own self, the growing confidence in themselves and their tradition were all reflected in the revival movement. Through the revival, the Mizos could safely vent out their psychological or emotional pressures without provoking action from the authorities.

Wallace's revitalization model is borrowed for studying the revival movement in Mizoram, as the preconditions laid out by Wallace in formulating revitalization movement are more or less to be seen in Mizoram, though the sequence may be overlapping to one another. Though it started off as a religious movement, the revival movement developed into a movement of the people that fulfil not only their spiritual needs but also the physical and emotional needs which was essential for them to survive as a society. The three elements – revival movement, Christianity and colonial government were somehow related to one another. Putting it in other way, had the revival not happened, the history of Christianity as well as colonial rule in Mizoram may have changed drastically. But the ingenious way in which the Mizos used the revival as a means to adapt themselves into the new system pacified the people for the colonial rule while it made revival movement very popular in the hills.

In the history of Christianity in Mizoram, there are many silent areas which are left unaddressed. The aspects that are beyond the central focus of the thesis are not taken up and selective study had been done because of space and time constraints. The emergence of various sects within Christianity, particularly, will form an interesting subject that will enrich the history of Christianity in Mizoram.

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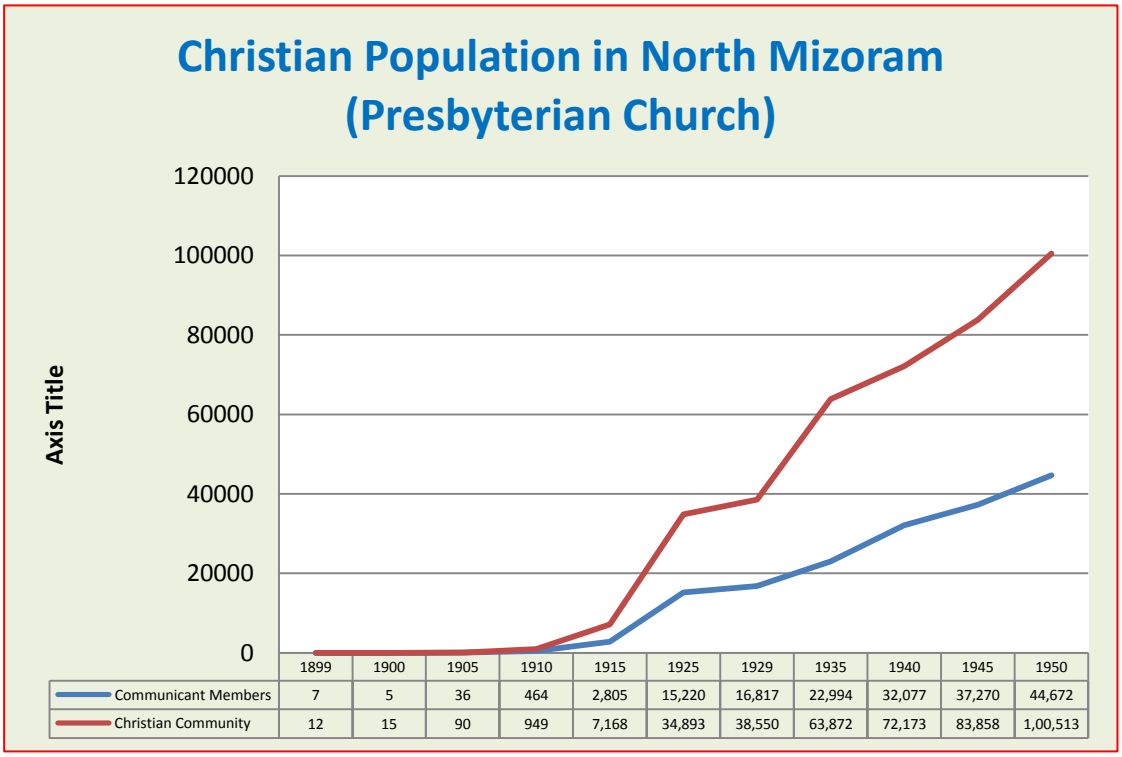
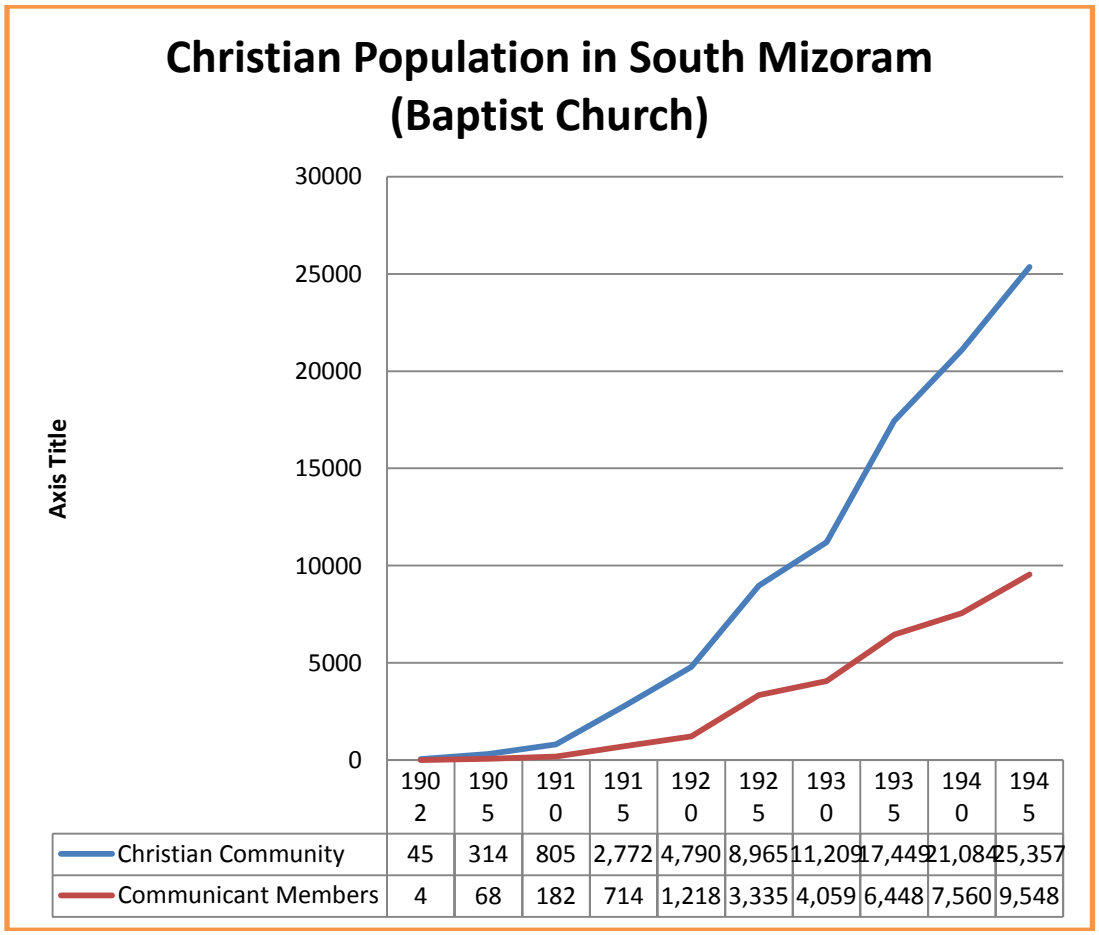
APPENDIX A: CHRISTIAN POPULATION IN MIZORAM- I



	1899	1900	1905	1910	1915	1925	1929	1935	1940	1945	1950
Communicant Members	7	5	36	464	2,805	15,220	16,817	22,994	32,077	37,270	44,672
Christian Community	12	15	90	949	7,168	34,893	38,550	63,872	72,173	83,858	1,00,513

Source: C.L. Hminga, *The Life and Witness of the Churches in Mizoram (*The Literature Committee, Baptist Church of Mizoram, Aizawl 1987)

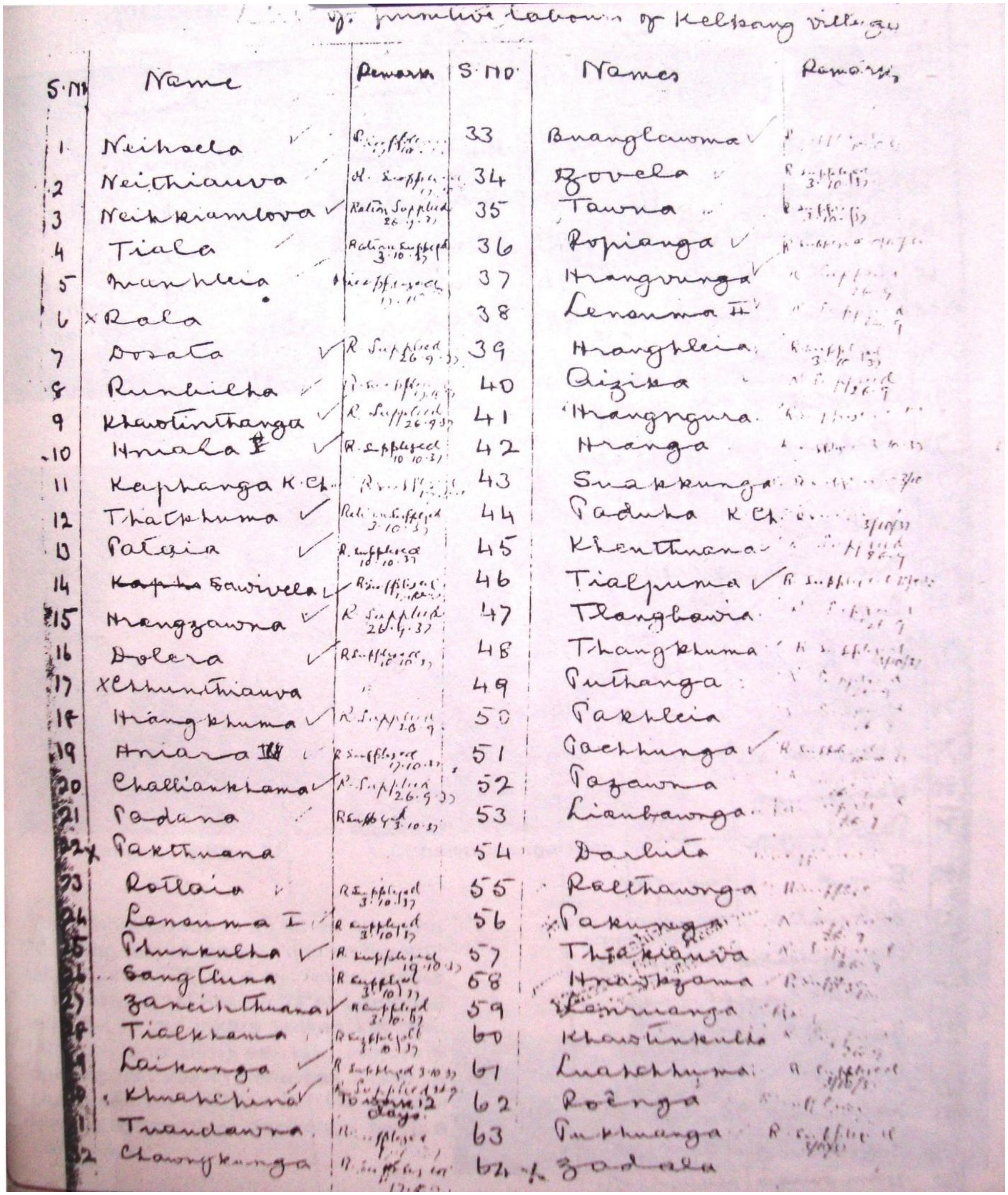
APPENDIX B: CHRISTIAN POPULATION IN MIZORAM-II



	1902	1905	1910	1915	1920	1925	1930	1935	1940	1945
Christian Community	45	314	805	2,772	4,790	8,965	11,209	17,449	21,084	25,357
Communicant Members	4	68	182	714	1,218	3,335	4,059	6,448	7,560	9,548

Source: C.L. Hminga, *The Life and Witness of the Churches in Mizoram (*The Literature Committee, Baptist Church of Mizoram, Aizawl 1987).

APPENDIX C: **List of Punitive Labourers of Kelkang Village (after 1937 Stirring)**



List of punitive labours of Kelkang village

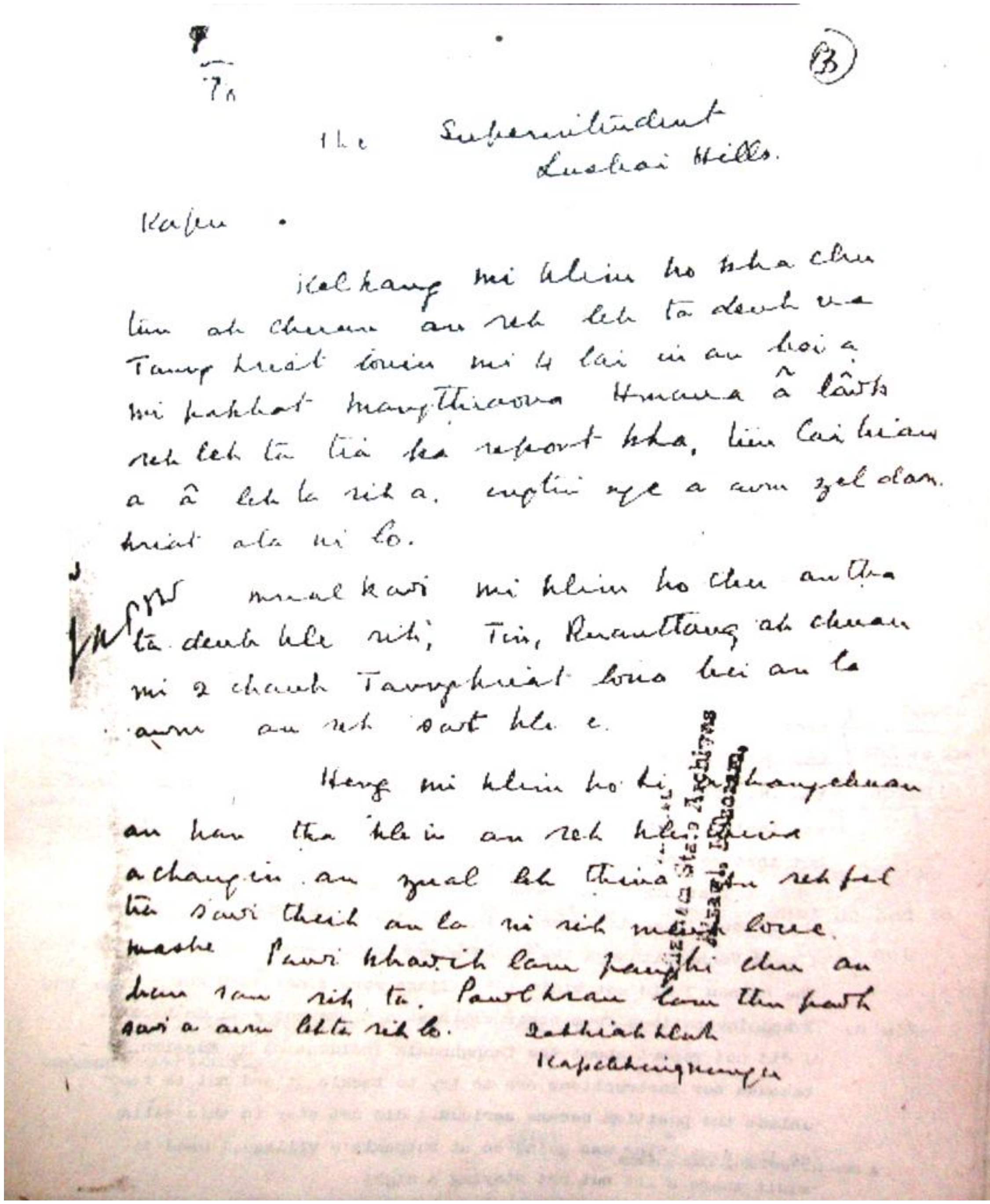
S.No	Name	Remarks	S.No	Names	Remarks
1	Neihaela	R. Supplied [illegible]	33	Buanglawma	[illegible]
2	Neithiauva	R. Supplied [illegible]	34	Zovela	R. Supplied 3-10-37
3	Neihkiamlova	Ration Supplied 26-9-37	35	Tawna	R. Supplied 3-10-37
4	Tiala	Ration Supplied 3-10-37	36	Ropianga	R. Supplied [illegible]
5	Manhleia	R. Supplied 17-10	37	Hmangvunga	R. Supplied 26-9
6	×Rala		38	Lensuma II	R. Supplied 26-9
7	Dosata	R. Supplied 26-9-37	39	Hmangphleia	R. Supplied 3-10-37
8	Runhilha	R. Supplied [illegible]	40	Qizika	R. Supplied 26-9
9	Khawtinthanga	R. Supplied 26-9-37	41	Hmangngura	R. Supplied [illegible]
10	Hmala II	R. Supplied 10-10-37	42	Hranga	R. Supplied [illegible]
11	Kaphanga K.Ch.	R. Supplied [illegible]	43	Suakkunga	R. Supplied [illegible]
12	Thatkhuma	Ration Supplied 3-10-37	44	Paduha K.Ch.	R. Supplied 3/10/37
13	Patzia	R. Supplied 10-10-37	45	Khenthuana	R. Supplied 26-9
14	~~Kapha~~ Sawivela	R. Supplied [illegible]	46	Tialpuma	R. Supplied [illegible]
15	Hmangzawna	R. Supplied 26-9-37	47	Thanghawia	R. Supplied 26-9
16	Dolera	R. Supplied 10-10-37	48	Thangkhuma	R. Supplied 3/10/37
17	×Chhunthiauva		49	Puthanga	R. Supplied [illegible]
18	Hmangkhuma	R. Supplied 26-9	50	Pakhleia	
19	Hniara III	R. Supplied 17-10-37	51	Pachhunga	R. Supplied [illegible]
20	Challiankhama	R. Supplied 26-9-37	52	Pazawna	[illegible]
21	Sadana	R. Supplied 3-10-37	53	Lianbawnga	R. Supplied 26-9
22	×Pakthuana		54	Darliita	[illegible]
23	Rotlaia	R. Supplied 3-10-37	55	Ralthawnga	R. Supplied [illegible]
24	Lensuma I	R. Supplied 3-10-37	56	Pakunga	R. Supplied 26-9
25	Phunkulha	R. Supplied 19-10-37	57	Thlakiauva	R. Supplied 26-9
26	Sangthuna	R. Supplied 3-10-37	58	Hmathzama	R. Supplied 3[illegible]
27	Zaneihthuana	R. Supplied 3-10-37	59	Lalmanga	[illegible]
28	Tialkhama	R. Supplied 3-10-37	60	Khawtinkulha	R. Supplied 26-9
29	Laikunga	R. Supplied 3-10-37	61	Luahchhuma	R. Supplied 3/10/37
30	Khuahchhina	R. Supplied 26-9 to [illegible] 12 days	62	Roenga	R. Supplied [illegible]
31	Tuandawna	R. Supplied [illegible]	63	Pukhuanga	R. Supplied 3/10/37
32	Chawngkunga	R. Supplied 17-10	64	×Zadala	

APPENDIX C: (**Continued)**

2.

S.NO	Name	Remarks	S.NO	Name	Remarks.
65	Chawngthiawva	[illegible]	91	Rokhama ✓ Kaphmawia ✓	R. supplied 26.9.37 To within 12 days
66	Paphena ✓	R. Supplied 26.9	92	Kaphmawia	R. Supplied —Do— 26.9.37
67	Taihawnga ✓	R. supplied	93	Dohnuna.	--Do--
68	Chhawnthanga	R. supplied	94	Hrinkama	R. Supplied —Do— 26/9/37
69	Rualkhuma	R. supplied 3.10.37	95	Thangchina	R. Supplied —Do— 26/9/37
70	Chaldaia ✓	R. Supplied 26.9	96	Chalruala ✓	R. Supplied 10/10/37
71	Parala /	R. supplied 3.10.37			
72	Lalkunga ✓	R. Supplied 26.9.37			
73	Pabawka ✓	R. Supplied 26.9			
74	Lalhula ✓	R. Supplied 26.9.37			
75	Mangthiawva ✓	R. supplied 10.10.37			
76	Rochhinga ✓	R. supplied 10.10.37			
77	x Chhawna ✓	R supplied 10.10.37			
78	Zaliana ✓	R. Supplied 26/9.37			
79	Rallianthuaia	R. supplied 3.10.37			
80	+ Neihsanga				
81	Pawidenga ✓	R. supplied 10.10.37			
82	Sina ✓	R. supplied 10/10/37			
83	Lalruala				
84	Chawngchhawna	R. supplied 3.10.37			
85	Laiawrha ✓	R. supplied 3.10.37			
86	Beiluta ✓	R. supplied 10.10.37			
87	x Chala	R. supplied 17.10.37			
88	Zohuanga.	[illegible]			
89	Zandawa	R. supplied 3/10/37			
90	Damounga	R. supplied 3/10/37			

APPENDIX D: A COPY OF CIRCLE INTERPRETER'S REPORT TO THE SUPERINTENDENT REGARDING KELKANG STIRRING



(B)

To
The Superintendent
Lushai Hills.

Kapu,

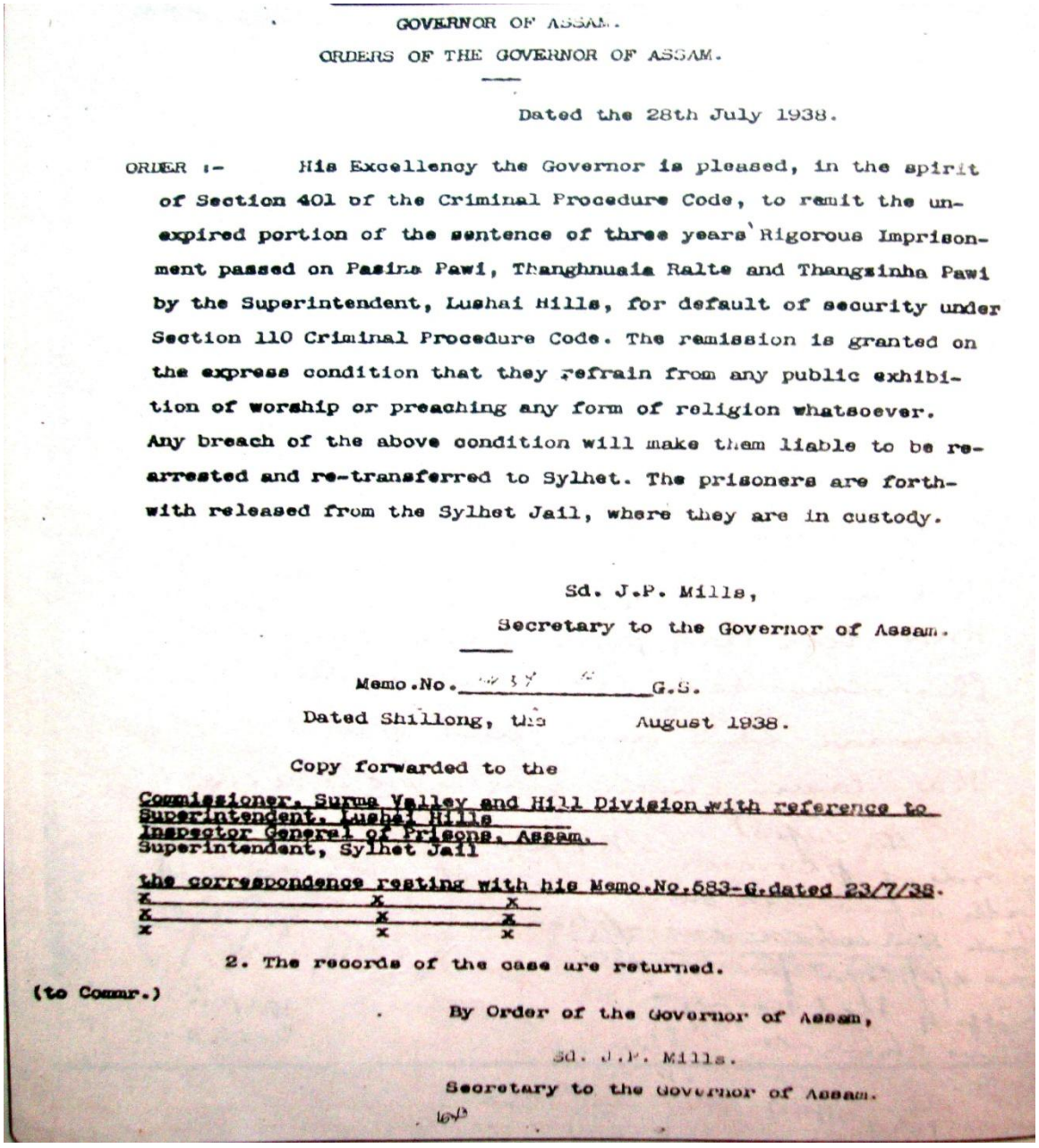
Kelkang mi khua ho tha chu tun ah chuan an rek leh ta deuh va Tawng hrait lawn mi 4 lai in an hoi a mi pakhat Mangthiawva Hmana â lâwh rek leh ta tia ka report kha, tun Cai lian a â leh la rih a. [illegible] a awm zel dan hriat ala ni lo.

Mualkawi mi khua ho chu an tha ta deuh leh rih; Tin, Ruantlang ah chuan mi 2 chauh Tawngkhuat lawn lei an la awm an rek sawt leh e.

Heng mi khua ho hi [illegible] chuan an han tha leh in an rek leh [illegible] a chang in an zual leh thin a an rek pal tur sawi theih an la ni rih [illegible] lo e. mashe Pawi khawih lam pangthi chu an kum [illegible] rih ta. Pawlkhawm lam thu pawh sawi a awm lehta rih lo.

[illegible]
Kapchhungnunga

APPENDIX E: A COPY OF RELEASE ORDER TO THE IMPRISONED REVIVALISTS



GOVERNOR OF ASSAM.

ORDERS OF THE GOVERNOR OF ASSAM.

Dated the 28th July 1938.

ORDER :- His Excellency the Governor is pleased, in the spirit of Section 401 of the Criminal Procedure Code, to remit the unexpired portion of the sentence of three years' Rigorous Imprisonment passed on Pasina Pawi, Thanghnuaia Ralte and Thangzinha Pawi by the Superintendent, Lushai Hills, for default of security under Section 110 Criminal Procedure Code. The remission is granted on the express condition that they refrain from any public exhibition of worship or preaching any form of religion whatsoever. Any breach of the above condition will make them liable to be re-arrested and re-transferred to Sylhet. The prisoners are forthwith released from the Sylhet Jail, where they are in custody.

Sd. J.P. Mills,
Secretary to the Governor of Assam.

Memo.No. 437 G.S.
Dated Shillong, the August 1938.

Copy forwarded to the

Commissioner, Surma Valley and Hill Division with reference to
Superintendent, Lushai Hills
Inspector General of Prisons, Assam.
Superintendent, Sylhet Jail

the correspondence resting with his Memo.No.583-G.dated 23/7/38.

x x x
x x x
x x x

2. The records of the case are returned.

(to Commr.)

By Order of the Governor of Assam,

Sd. J.P. Mills.

Secretary to the Governor of Assam.

GLOSSARY

Ai	to fascinate/ to obtain power over etc. In traditional society, it was used as a necessary religious ceremony for a man in order to gain "possession of the spirits of the men and wild animals he has killed here below" and he will be able take his enemy with him as a slave when he dies, the person performing *'ai'* will have to sacrifice a mithun, goat, or pig.
Babu /Mohurir	petty government officials
Bawrhsap/Bawrhsappa	the Superintendent of the British Government in Mizoram.
Chai hla	the songs or form of singing sung at the time of *chai*, a traditional festivity.
Chai/ Chailam	the Mizo merry making at the time of festivals
Chapchar Kut	Harvest festival of the Mizos
Chaprasi/Rahsi(s)	Circle Interpreter/ petty government officials
Chibai	a Mizo word for greeting
Dai	a fence
Dere	25 paise
Duli	8 annas or 50 paise
Fangrual or Zinrual	itinerant group campaigners
Fano Dawi	a traditional religious rite that involved the whole community
Fathang	paddy due payable to the Mizo chief.
Harhna Sang/Hlimsang	high revival
Harhna	the term means simply an awakening
Hlimna	means joy
Hnam Hla	national song
Hnamchawm	commoner

Huai/thla/rau	it infers to spirit.
Inkhawmpui	great gathering
Ka lawm e	means 'thank you'
Kamding	government employee
Kawngpui Siam	a traditional religious rite that involved the whole community, performed for good harvest.
Kel hmul	a turf of goat's hair worn around the neck to ward off evil spirit which are believed to cause sickness to a person.
Khawchhiar	village scribe
Khawngaihtakin	a word for 'please'
khawntesep	exaction of fowl, eggs, etc. by the chiefs to please the government officials
Khuang	drum
Khuangchawi	an elaborate feast given by the chiefs or well-to-do people in the process of the performance of *Thangchhuah.*
Khurbing	spiritual attachments
khurh lam	quaking dance
Kros Sipai	soldiers of the Cross
Kuang Ur	a funeral given to honoured persons.
Kuli Sirdar	leader of the *kuli*
Kuli	porterage/impressed labour
Kuliawl	exemption from an impressed labour.
Lal / Lals	chief / chiefs
lenkhawm	informal socialization
Lunglen	an emotional state of mind
Mautam	bamboo famine
Mihlim	joyful people / revivalists
Mithun/sial	domestic bison.
ni leh thla kara leng	born of Sun and Moon, used to refer to the chiefs.

Pa Pawl father's clique

Pathian Thuawih Dik Pawl A Group of True Believers

Pialral the Mizo concept of paradise.

Puithiam medicine man/traditional priest

Puma Zai the song that became popular since 1908; it has traditional tunes.

Ramhual(s) the privileged villager(s) who were allowed to pick a choice *jhum* land, and the chief had the right to demand any amount of paddy from them as and when the need arise.

Ramri lekha boundary paper.

Ran lu kima ai to perform the *'ai'* with the heads of various animals.

Sahib a word for respected man

Sahmula biak a traditional religious rite.

saiha bengbeh ivory earrings

Sakhua the term is used to refer to religion in general, some specifically used it to signify the Mizo traditional religion.

Sap / Saps White men

tawnghriatloh speaking in tongues or glossolalia

Tawngtairual mass prayer or communal prayer

Thangchhuah puantial/

Thangchhuah puan loin cloth entitled only to the *Thangchhuahpa*.

Thangchhuahpa a person, usually wealthy men or chiefs who performed the prescribed ceremony of public feast. They are the distinguished citizen of the village.

thlarau nat spirit illness

Tlanglam Zai Song of Community Dance

Tlawmngaihna/ tlawmngai selfless service to others

Upa member of the Mizo chief's council of elders.

Vai Dai a fence against the intruder.

Vai	at first, it was used as an equivalent to the government, and sometimes it was used to refer to foreigners, particularly from the plains; later, it was used to refer to the plain people.
Vailen	advent of the colonial government
Val Upa	leaders of young men's dormitory.
Zai/`Zo zai	traditional form of singing/tune
Zawlbuk	young men's dormitory.
Zawlnei	seer / soothsayer
***Zosap*(s)**	the missionaries
Zu	rice beer

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