

ZOMI CHRISTIANITY AND CULTURAL TRANSFORMATION

By

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A Dissertation Presented to the
Faculty of the School of Intercultural Studies
FULLER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
In Partial fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Intercultural Studies

April 2010

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ABSTRACT

Nang, Gin Khan.

2010. "Zomi Christianity and Cultural Transformation." Fuller Theological Seminary, School of Intercultural Studies, PhD in Intercultural Studies. 281 pp.

This dissertation focuses on the Zomi revival movement of the 1970s from social and cultural perspectives. The life and culture of the Zomi has been shaped by contact with other cultures through the centuries. This change has been intensified since the 1970s, when the revival movement was experienced and impacted their life in various ways.

This study has investigated the issues and factors in the revival movement, through historical, phenomenological, anthropological, and theological disciplines. This research is based on data collected largely through library and archival research, augmented by interviews and questionnaires, and by correspondence in the form of letters and emails. My personal experience has contributed significant information to the investigation.

This study examines social and cultural factors that shaped the life and culture of the Zomi through the known history as a result of contacts with other cultures, including western, Asian and related ethnic cultures. Encounter with the revival shaped the life of the Zomi in nationalism, theological concepts, worldview, church music, and worship. Through this encounter, some of the cultural practices that had been hidden by western Christian influence were rediscovered. It has been argued that opposition to the revival was due to western influence on Christianity and refusal of change in the church, overlooking the social and cultural background of the people concerned.

This study concludes by arguing that the revival movement became an agent of change in the social, religious and cultural life of the Zomi. Some of the cultural values have been recontextualized in the form of house and village cleansing.

Mentor: David Bundy

277 words

ENGLISH LANGUAGE DISCLAIMER

As a non-native English speaker, there may be words, phrases and clauses in which the ideas have not been clearly conveyed as they should be. The primary purpose of this dissertation is to acknowledge a theory and apply it to a Zomi context. Despite problems with the English language, it is my intention to make ideas clear. I appreciate the editorial assistance of various individuals who have given help, but assume responsibility for this work.

DEDICATION

To

My beloved wife Ching Za Man

Who took care of my children during my study at Fuller.

To

My mother Dim Niang and my sister Nian Za Cing

Who passed away during my study at Fuller.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is my privilege to acknowledge the individuals, churches and organizations that provided valuable help and support for the work of this dissertation. I would like to record my appreciation and thanks to the following.

I express my sincere thanks and appreciation to the family of Chin Khua Khai, Pastor of Myanmar Full Life Mission Church, Los Angeles, for their hospitality during the first month of my study at Fuller in 2005.

My deep appreciation goes to my mentor, David Bundy, who untiringly worked with me throughout the project until completion, without which I would not be able to reach this stage. I am indebted to his openness, valuable guidance and the time he spent for me throughout the program. His insights and inputs contributed much in the process of writing the dissertation, for which I am so grateful to him. I am also grateful to my committee members for their guidance, including Elizabeth “Betsy” Glanville, Director of Doctoral Program, R. Daniel Shaw, Chairman of Doctoral Program and Paul Pierson, Professor Emeritus at Fuller.

I am also grateful to the Board of the Christian International Scholars Foundation (C.I.S.F.) for granting me a scholarship, without which I would have never been able to come to Fuller. Also my gratitude goes to the faculty of Fuller Theological Seminary for a grant of scholarship as a Fuller Fellow in partnership with C.I.S.F. Also I am thankful to the office of the International Students, especially Samuel Bang for his concern, care and help in time of need.

I am thankful to individuals, leaders of the church, and friends in India and Myanmar who helped me in my research, including Job Thawngno, Langh Do Khup,

Kham Sian Pau, Do Sian Thang, Thuam Khan Thang, H. Pau Za Cin (Lamka) and my representative Lian Do Khup. I am also thankful to Chin Khua Khai for giving me access to his personal library and to S. Neng Ngaih Lian, Manager, who allowed me to have access to Khup Za Go Library in Guwahati, India.

Lastly, I praise the name of the Lord for his faithfulness in giving me the opportunity to study at Fuller Theological Seminary. Let this project be for the glory of his name alone. I am also thankful to the Zomi Baptist Church in Mizoram, my church members in Shillong and friends in India and Myanmar, who give me moral support and pray for me and my family.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A.D.	Anno Domini
A.G.	Assemblies of God
A.F.P.F.L	Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League
Agri.	Agriculture
B.C.	Before Christ
B.D.	Bachelor of Divinity
B.Th.	Bachelor of Theology
B.E.	Bachelor of Engineering
B.E.H.S.	Basic English High School
B.I.A.	Burma Independence Army
B.I.T.	Burma Institute of Theology
B.O.M.	Bethesda Orphanage Ministry
B.R.E.	Bachelor of Religious Education
C.B.A.	Chin Baptist Association
C.B.C.N.E.I.	Council of Baptist Churches in North East India
C.C.O.C.	Chins for Christ in One Century
C.D.A.	Chin Defense Army
C.D.	Cassette Recorder/Product name
C.I.S.F.	Christian International Scholars Foundation
C.L.F.L.	Chin Leaders Freedom League
C.M.C.	Centenary Mission for Christ
C.M.B.C.	Cope Memorial Baptist Church
D.Min.	Doctor of Ministry
D.D.	Doctor of Divinity
D.Th.	Doctor of Theology
D.V.D.	Digital Versatile Disc
E.B.C.	Evangelical Baptist Conference/Convention
E.B.C.H.	Evangelical Baptist Children Home
E.C.T.	Eastern College of Theology
E.F.C.B.	Evangelical Free Church of Burma/Myanmar
E.F.I.	Evangelical Fellowship of India
F.G.A.	Full Gospel Assembly
I.A.F.	Indian Air Force
I.M.C.	Inland Mission for Christ
I.N.A.	Indian National Army
J.A.G.	Jehovah Jire Assemblies of God
K.Z.B.A.	Kale Zomi Baptist Association
Ks.	Kyats (Myanmar Currency)
L.L.B.	Bachelor of Law

M.Div.	Master of Divinity
M.A.F.	Missionary Aviation Fellowship
M.B.C.	Manipur Baptist Convention/Myanmar Baptist Convention
Mech.	Mechanics
M.N.F.F.	Mizo National Famine Front
M.N.F.	Mizo National Front
M.R.E.	Master of Religious Education
Th.M.	Master of Theology
N.E.I.G.M.	North East India General Mission
N.T.	New Testament
O.K.	Oklahoma
Ph.D.	Doctor of Philosophy
R.C.	Roman Catholic
Rs.	Rupees, Indian Currency
Rtd.	Retired
S.B.C.	Southern Baptist Convention
S.D.A.	Seventh-Day Adventist
T.B.A.	Tedim Baptist Association
T.B.C.	Tedim Baptist Convention
T.K.B.C.	Tedim Kim Baptist Church
T.T.Y.C.	Thirty for Three Years for Christ
T.V.	Television
U.K.	United Kingdom
U.N.I.C.E.F.	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
U.P.C.	United Pentecostal Church
U.S.A.	United States of America
U.S.	United States
Vety.	Veterinary
WWI	First World War
WWII	Second World War
Z.B.A.	Zo Baptist Association
Z.B.C.	Zomi Baptist Convention/Zomi Baptist Church
Z.B.C.M.	Zomi Baptist Convention of Myanmar
Z.C.F.	Zomi Christian Fellowship
Z.C.L.S.	Zomi Christian Literature Society
Z.M.A.	Zomi Mothers' Association
Z.N.C.	Zomi National Congress
ZOLUS	Zomi Literature Uplift Society
ZOMUS	Zomi Music Uplift Society
ZORO	Zomi Re-unification Organization
Z.S.F.	Zomi Students Federation
Z.T.C.	Zomi Theological College
Z.Y.A.	Zomi Youth Association

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation focuses on the Christian revival of 1970s among the Zomi from social and cultural perspectives. The Zomi are the hill people residing in Indo-Myanmar. Anthropologists classify them as Tibeto-Burman speaking members of the Mongolian race. They identified themselves by various names at various locations when they were divided into three administrative units between Myanmar, India and Bangladesh by the British colonialists. These people were unknown to the world outside South-East Asia before British annexation in 1895, due to geographical separation and dialectical differences. Since British occupation of the area the Zomi were exposed to the world by contact with other cultures. The dissertation will examine, through phenomenological and post-colonial theories, the factors and extent of the transformation brought by encounter with other cultures, with special reference to the revival of 1970s, which resulted in spiritual and cultural transformation. This introductory statement will focus on overview of Zomi contact with other cultures, research design, notes on basic terms and delimitations.

The Zomi and Other Cultures

The Zomi are believed to have migrated from Mongolia through China, and then to the Chindwin Valley in Burma. At first they settled down in the Chindwin Valley, which is now the Kabaw Valley and Kale Valley. Due to tribal war, they moved further west to the hills as far as the Chittagong Hills in Bangladesh. At present the Zomi are found in Chin State of Myanmar; Manipur, Nagaland, Mizoram, Tripura states in North

East India and Chittagong Hills in Bangladesh, bearing various names and identities. In the western part of Myanmar they are known as Chin, and in North East India and Bangladesh they are known as the Kuki-Chin-Lushai group. These groups still represent a number of clans and dialects as a result of dialectical differences in the course of migration, which I shall deal with in more detail in the next chapter.

Ever since the Zomi settled in Kale Valley in Upper Burma they encountered other cultures around them. Interaction with the Shan people lasted for about 150 years, around 1250-1400 A.D. (B. Lalthangliana 2007c:3). They encountered the Meitei culture in the course of their tribal war in the 1800s. They also learned other similar cultures—of the Lusei (Mizo), Zahau, Pawi and Tlaisun people with whom they made war. It is believed that the use of guns, musical instruments and dress were copied from these tribal groups of the same origin in the course of their raids (F. K. Lehman 1963:25).

The first encounter with western culture took place when the British colonialists occupied the area. The Anglo-Burma war broke out in 1824 and was settled by the Treaty of Yandaboo in 1826. By this agreement the boundary line between India and Burma was drawn for the first time. Following this, the British took control of Lower Burma in 1852 and Upper Burma in 1886. The hill area was annexed after some resistance in 1895. The motive for the annexation was not for trade purposes, as in the case of other areas, but to subdue the hill people from raiding the Burmese and taking people as slaves. To control their tribal war the British raided the area and brought them under control.

The Zomi were exposed to the western world when 1000 Zomi were enrolled in the British Labor Corps in 1917-1918 during the First World War (WWI). It was the first exposure to the world of modern civilization. Out of the 1000 persons, twenty-four lost their lives in France and were buried there. The most exciting experience was the visit of the leaders of the Zomi laborers to the King of England (King George V), on his request in London to honor their good services. They were laborers helping the frontline soldiers

in supplying war equipment and materials (Gin Za Tuang 1973:43). On their return from France they were absorbed into the regular army in Burma in 1921.

Christianity came to the Zomi people through the American Northern Baptist Churches in the U.S.A. in 1899. One might expect that Christianity would have been introduced by the British Christians, but it was the Americans who first introduced Christianity to the Zomi. At least seven missionary families rendered their services among the Zomi, by which—along with English presence—western culture was introduced to the Zomi. Missionaries introduced written form of the Zomi language, opened schools, and translated scriptures into the language. While these contributions strengthened much of Zomi culture at certain levels, many cultural elements and traditions were buried in Christianity by western influence on the people.

The Zomi were exposed to another culture during the Second World War (WWII) when the Japanese invaded the area. It was the last leg of their invasion into South East Asia, when they suffered defeat in the hands of allied forces and retreated. The Japanese invasion of 1942-45 provided an opportunity for Christian growth. When the land became a battlefield, their traditional religious beliefs were shattered when they could not carry out religious practices as before. They also learned modern dress, trade and medicine from the Japanese people.

Zomi were also exposed to Indian cultures by way of administration and religious contacts. The Zomi in India were exposed to Indian culture when India was freed from British rule in 1947. The Zomi groups in Manipur, such as Paite, Vaiphei, Gangte, Thado and Hmar, were under the North East India General Mission (N.E.I.G.M.), started in 1910 by Watkin Roberts, a convert of the Welsh revival. In fact, he entered southern Manipur in violation of the Church Committee agreement with the American Baptist Mission in Ukrul in the northern part of Manipur. Roberts left the area due to the

Japanese invasion, and no more missionary came to the area, as his mission was a private enterprise.

The Evangelical Convention Church (Paite speaking) left the N.E.I.G.M. and joined the Baptist group in 1997. The name was changed to Evangelical Baptist Convention (E.B.C.) and affiliated to the Baptist World Alliance in 1999. In 1961, the Tedim speaking group in Manipur formed the Chin Baptist Association, with its base in Lamka town. At the influence of the Zomi revival the Zomi Baptist Church came into being in Mizoram since 1982. C.B.A. and Z.B.C. (Tedim speaking) are affiliated with the Council of Baptist Churches in North East India (C.B.C.N.E.I.). So the Zomi were exposed to other cultures of North Eastern India through religious contacts.

When Burma became independent in 1948, the Zomi were exposed to Burmese culture in new ways. After over ten years of democratic rule in Burma, the country came under military dictatorship in 1962. The government policy of one nation, one religion and one language had adversely affected the life of the Zomi. As a result, the door was closed to the missionaries in 1966, when the last missionary—Robert G. Johnson—left Burma. The Church was then in the hands of native leaders.

When the spiritual condition of Christians was at a level of degradation, a revival broke out in the 1970s among the Zomi, beginning at Tedim town, which has been interpreted and described in various ways. The revival of the 1970s promotes religious and cultural change in the life of the Zomi. Due to negative interaction with these changes, the revival resulted in diversification in the church. Taking the historical, theological and cultural aspects into account, this dissertation will examine the century-long intercultural interactions and development of Christianity among the Zomi. This dissertation argues that the revival of the 1970s provided a context for rediscovering the lost cultural elements in Christianity. Cultural structures of the Zomi will be pursued as they help understand the revival of 1970s. I will argue that division of the church was due

to a failure of church leaders to recognize the social and cultural aspects present in revival movement.

Thesis

Contact with other cultures has always shaped Zomi culture. This cultural heritage has been most radically transformed by a revival movement among the Zomi. Cultural structures become a phenomenon to tribal cultures that shaped the revival experience of the 1970s and beyond. Contact with western and other cultures deeply influenced the life of the Zomi as Christians. As part of the century-long interaction between the Zomi and other cultures, the Zomi revival of the 1970s challenged the institutional church structures established during the mission period. This dissertation argues that the revival of the 1970s established new social forms and provided vehicles for recovery of features of Zomi culture.

Problem Statement

The Zomi church faces political and religious challenges due to military rule in Myanmar even today. In the bordering area of India—in the states of Mizoram and Manipur—the Zomi and related tribes have experienced evangelical revival movements since the 1960s in successive stages. Frequent contacts have been made through mission activities. Revivals in neighboring states did not have a widespread influence on the Zomi due to opposition from the missionaries and church authorities. However, the 1970s revival had a lasting impact in spite of actions taken by the Baptist church against revivalists; and the movement brought changes in the life of the church as well as in the society. The problem addressed in this dissertation is to identify the factors and extent of western cultural influence on Zomi Christianity and the degree to which the 1970s revival promoted the rediscovery of Zomi cultural values in Christian life.

Issues in Discussion

The central research issue of this study is to examine the impact of the Zomi revival movement on the church and society. This research attempts to answer questions such as:

1. What was the Zomi life and culture that experienced the 1970s revival?
2. What is the mission history of the church among the Zomi?
3. What is the cultural and religious background of the Zomi revival movement?
4. What had happened during the Zomi revival movement of the 1970s?
5. What has been the impact of the revival movement on the church and society?

Literature on the Zomi

Very few books have been written on the Zomi. The literature about the Zomi focuses on different issues. The first written document on the people of Zomi was the work of western writers B. S. Carey and H. N. Tuck, entitled *The Chin Hills: A History of the People, our dealings with them, their customs and manners, and a Gazetteer of their country*, printed first in 1896 in Kolkata and reprinted by the Tribal Research Institute of Mizoram in 1976.

Carey and Tuck's book is a record of the British conquest, observations of the Zomi culture, social life, beliefs and practices, dress, food and marriage. Carey was the political officer of British India who became the first Deputy Commissioner of the Chin Special Division. The purpose of the book was to explore the warring people whom they annexed under British rule. Though some of the terms and names are incorrectly spelled it gives information on their life before British annexation.

This book demonstrates that the Zomi were once head hunters and argues against a theory that Zomi were not head hunters as neighboring tribes were. The concluding

remark of the book indicates the nature of a Chin, saying, “the Chin has so far proved himself a dangerous enemy when taking the offensive, but when acting on the defensive he quickly loses heart and the real way to defeat him is to ambush him and stop all cultivation” (Carey and Tuck 1976:236).

H. N. C. Stevenson, the Assistant Commissioner of Falam in 1943, just before the Japanese invasion, wrote an important book on economy called *The Economics of Central Chin Tribes*, published in 1968. According to him, the Chins in those days were self-sufficient as agrarians. It is noteworthy that for the Chin, wealth meant spending rather than accumulating, and their surplus of food was spent in feasts and celebrations (1970:164).

An American anthropologist F. K. Lehman, professor of Illinois University, conducted his research in 1957-1958, and wrote a book entitled *Structure of Chin Society* (1964). He says that the Chin followed a hereditary system and inheritance of property in a family unlike the social system of the Burmans. He termed these hill people as “nuclearsubclans” because they were deprived of development on all areas in comparison to those of the plain people. They also required a strong administrative structure like that of the Burman who had a chief. These sources serve as basic information on social and cultural life of the people.

Melford E. Spiro’s book *Kinship and Marriage in Burma* (1977) documents the kinship system and marriage practices among the Burmese shedding more light on the Zomi. I used R. Daniel Shaw’s book *Transculturation* (1988) as a model for a theoretical construct dealing with the Zomi life and culture.

The last missionary to the Chin, Robert G. Johnson, in *Burma Chronicles*, reported that there was almost a revival during WWII (Johnson 1963a:391-392). It is true that the war torn people turned to God in good numbers as a result of WWII (1942-1945). But it was a rapid growth, not a revival in a real sense. Another book by the same

author *History of American Baptist Chin Mission* (2 Vols. 1988) is a record of missionary activities in detail. It includes the revival coming from Mizoram and the response to it by the Zomi Baptist Convention (Johnson 1988b:1203-1204). It gives a good picture of the mission's attitude towards revival. The Zomi church leaders took strong opposition to the movement as heresy. However my argument is that the missionaries and the Zomi leaders failed to see the social-cultural background of the Mizo which is similar to the Zomi. I am going to present the revival of 1970s from social and cultural perspectives.

The Indian government officer, N. Chatterji's book, *Zu in Mizo Society* (1975) is a rare document on the subject that I also used in connection with the Zomi. Chatterji was the former Senior Research Officer in the office of the Tribal Research Institute at Aizawl, Mizoram. Mizo social life is similar to Zomi as they are ethnically related, so the book is useful for the study of the Zomi culture. Drinking is a way of life for the Zomi which becomes a critical issue for Christians even today.

A Zomi scholar Vumson Suantak, who was trained as a geologist in Germany and then worked in America, wrote a historical book called *Zo History* (1986) which deals with migration and distribution of Zo people in Indo-Burma. His focus is to explore the political and racial relationship among Zo tribes. He deals with the political uprisings in the 1960s just before the revival, which other scholars do not include in their research. It is important for me to know the political life of the people preceding the revival.

Another Zomi scholar Lian Sakhong's book *Religion and Politics among Chin People of Burma* (2000) also gives good insights on traditional religion and the contribution of British colonialism and its effects on the Zo people. I made use of Lian Sakhong a great deal as the book provided documented material on history, religion and culture written by a native scholar, though he did not present Christianity from a cultural perspective.

The dissertation of current Zomi Baptist leader in North East India, Ngul Khan Pau, “When the World of Zomi Changed” (1995) included informative material on the Zomi worldview which needs further investigation. He speaks about ‘group above self.’ The concept, according to him, is in relation to obedience and loyalty of the individual to the group. However I am going to argue that the concept of group above self is in relation to power and authority of a group over individualism. As warring people they pulled power together as a village in attacking another village in which an individual has no say. Therefore the authority of a group over individual is maintained in relation to war, which rules other areas of life as well. I also have investigated the deep and surface culture in worldview, according to C. H. Kraft (1999), as cause and effect, which Zomi scholars have not done so far. I discovered that most cultural activities were the effects of their deep level cultural worldview.

The dissertation of Zomi scholar of religion and former Fuller student, Chin Khua Khai, “Dynamic Renewal: A Historical Movement among the Zomi/Chin in Myanmar” (1999) is the only document so far dealing with Zomi revival. He presents a good overview of the revival movement as renewal of spiritual life, evangelism, urban mission, and participation of lay leadership. He does not deal with the revival from a cultural perspective and does not include Holiness Movements of the 19th century in America.

Pentecostal Movements and Keswick Conventions of the 19th century in Europe and America have influenced the Zomi. The issues of these movements serve as standard interpretation for the Zomi revival. This study presents revival from a different approach to social and cultural transformation and an opportunity for rediscovering social and cultural values.

The first Mizo theologian Liangkhaia published his book, *Mizoram Harhna Thu* (History of Mizo Revival) in 1972 and reprinted in 2006. He cited three revivals, beginning in 1906 from the Welsh revival, the second in 1912-14, and the third 1919. He

deals with the first waves of the movements in which he took an active part in the revival. Therefore he wrote about the revival out of his own experience. He exhorts in the book to pray for many more revivals for hundreds of years.

Liangkhaia was the founder of the *Beihruai* movement in the month of September¹ that has become an annual activity of Mizo Christianity today (2006b:35). It was the method of evangelism to win unbelievers; and now it has become a renewal activity studying a given topic for each day's meeting for the month. The *Beihruai* meeting is not found in any other country besides Mizoram.

Another former Fuller graduate, C. L. Hminga, wrote *The Life and Witness of the Churches in Mizoram* (1987), which talks about six waves of revivals and also presents the revival movements as factors for Christian growth in Mizoram. He has done good contextual reflections from cultural perspectives.

Lalsawma, former Principal of Aizawl Theological College, deals with six revival waves in his book, *Revival the Mizo Way* (1994a). He says that since the fourth revival wave in the 1930s, charismatic elements crept into Mizo Christianity. In 1934 a strong revival was experienced at Hlimen village near Aizawl. The people claimed to be spiritually drunk (*Thlarau rui*), and people received messages saying "the Lord told me," and there was speaking in tongues, heavenly singing, heavenly language and heavenly dance (Liangkhaia 2006b:54-55). It was known as *hlimsang* (high joy) from which the "Hlimsang Movement" emerged.

The Mizoram Revival Centenary Souvenir (2006), edited by R. L. Thanmawia is a collection of articles written by various church leaders expert in the topic. This book gives good analytical insights regarding revival and the interaction of cultural elements

¹ They have held worship services in the church every evening during the month of September each year since 1918. Originally it was an evangelistic campaign to win the heathen. Today it has become a meeting for renewal in the Church, studying a guide book prepared by the head of the Church.

like drums, new songs, dance, and the response to the work of the Holy Spirit among the Mizo Christians.

The current Vice Principal of the Aizawl Theological College Vanlalchhuanawma's work *Christianity and Subaltern Culture: Revival Movement as a Cultural Response to Westernization in Mizoram* (2006) under the Serampore University, is the most exhaustive piece so far on Mizoram. He deals with Mizo revivals as a cultural response to the western Christianity from a Mizo social and cultural perspective.

The famous revival of Mizoram at Kelkang in 1937, known as *Kelkang Hlimpui* (great revival of Kelkang) has a far reaching effect in Mizoram with the birth of the United Pentecostal Church (U.P.C.) in 1949 under the leadership of Zakamlova. The U.P.C. forms the third largest church body in Mizoram today. The Kelkang movement was uncontrollable until the government intervened and stopped by force taking the leaders captive and punishing them with hard labor.

The *Kelkang Hlimpui* has influenced the Zomi as well. For example, among 27 persons who contributed domestic animals for a love feast (*Pathian Chawimawi*), two must have come from the Zomi community as indicated by their names. Hnawkzama (Nok Zam) and Chhawntinzama (Thawng Tin Zam) must have been Zomi who took an active part in the revival (Chhawntluanga 1985:33). The possibility is that there are Zomi villages nearby the Kelkang village even today, like Leisenzo which is nine miles from Kelkang. Voluntary evangelist Son Lang of Leisenzo, who visited Zomi villages in the 1950s, preaching and sharing the gospel to the Zomi, must have been influenced by Kelkang revival. Son Lang was a native of Suangzang village across the border in Burma.

Another example is that as a result of the Gospel Post in 1946 and 1948, a project of Mizo revival, my village Murlen experienced revival in 1948. It was started with dancing of young people and later joined by the whole church. They were known as *milimte* (people of joy). The leaders took an extreme position, to the extent that the leader

attempted to be crucified naked on the cross. Division in the church followed. The positive result is that this small and remote village of about one hundred households produced at least 14 ordained ministers by the year 2000, of which three have doctorate degrees and became key leaders of the church both in India and Myanmar. However, the influence proved to be limited to the local level, as it did not spread to other Zomi villages. The present investigation focuses on a national revival of the 1970s at Tedim in Myanmar, which spread wherever the Zomi are found, both in Myanmar and India.

Some Zomi writers took a negative approach to the revival. For example, the recent publication of *Chin Church History* (2007) edited by Do Sian Thang, principal of the Zomi Theological College in Falam, contains a number of articles contributed by his staff members. Hrang Kap Hnin contributed an article on “Revival.” He talks about the beginning of the revival movement, its theological emphasis, its results, and the effect of the schism. He made a negative evaluation of revival, as in the time of missionaries. D. S.Thang’s article “the Changes of Theological Concerns” in the same book also speaks negatively about the new style of worship using revival songs.

The book *Khristian Lamlak Thulaigil* (A Guide to Christian Doctrine 2006), by Kam Khaw Thang and published by Z.C.L.S., has articles on various topics. Here the author cited terms like “Amen,” “Hallelujah,” and “Praise the Lord,” which are commonly used in revival meetings, as improperly used in the church.

A book entitled *Tapidaw Pawlpi leh a Upna Taangthu* (A History of the Christian Church and Its Doctrine, 2005) written by Do Suan Mung, principal of Faith Evangel Bible College in Tedim, deals with the present charismatic movement, place of women in the church, doctrine of the Holy Spirit, Spiritual gifts, miracles, visions and prophecy from a fundamental evangelical point of view. He says that women have no place in Christian ministry and miracles ceased to exist in this present time as it was given to the

apostles only as a special gift. However I am going to argue that spiritual gifts like miracles, healings and visions continue to take place today.

My work, “Evidences of Growth among Zomi Baptist Churches in Indo-Burma” (1990) a Th.M. thesis, is about church growth among the mainline denominations. It points out that revival was one of the factors for promotion of Christian growth among the Zomi. This dissertation continues the study of that revival as an agent of change in the social, religious and cultural life of the Zomi. The latest work, “Zomi Lasiamte Tangthu” (Story of Zomi Talented Musicians, 2009) discusses changes in church music through young talented Zomi who have composed songs and recorded C.Ds and D.V.Ds.

In this dissertation I will take a positive approach to the revival as a powerful force in transforming the social, cultural and spiritual life of the Zomi, which has not been done by other scholars. I will investigate the deep and surface cultures of the Zomi worldview, the areas in which the revival has rediscovered the missing cultural elements in Christianity and recontextualization of those cultural elements.

Methodology

Important questions raised in this study come from a diversity of perspectives. Building upon anthropological, theological and historical data, the present study gives phenomenological and non-ideological attention to the cultural and religious structures of Zomi society and the churches.

Phenomenology is a study of experience in history that examines phenomena in relationship to other phenomena with no assumed or presumed *meta-structure*. The phenomenological approach is based on Marc Bloch’s (1886-1944) *The Historian’s Craft* (1954), translated by Peter Putnam from the original French. It was written in 1944 in prison. Bloch was later killed by German soldiers. Bloch articulated an approach to historical observation, historical criticism and historical analysis, providing a coherent

methodological approach to writing history. Building on Bloch's insights, this study looks at various types of experience including social, religious and linguistic activity. According to Bloch, history of the past can be understood by the present and the history of the present by the past (1954:39-47). He integrated history as a "science of men in time."

Zomi experience has been examined by looking at periods of encounter with other cultural forces that shaped the life of the Zomi. The results of those experiences with other cultures have been analyzed and assessed. The structure of these forms of experience is called "intentionality" from a personal point of view (Edmund Husserl 2008:17).

The present study also employs post-colonial approaches in the analysis of both primary and secondary sources. By applying post-colonial theory, the investigation "draws the attention to the relationship of power and knowledge," as proposed by Edward Said in his book, *Orientalism*, about the Middle East and Asia as conceived by Europeans (1979:13). Said's book deals with history, sociology, literature, anthropology and especially philology.

This theory has been developed by Anne McClintock, who conceived post-colonialism as relying on a progressive understanding of history. Following McClintock's approach (McClintock 1992:14), this study looks at the longer historical experience of the Zomi with the other cultures. Building on Said's theory I have observed the power relationship of the Zomi in each encounter with the other. It appears that each power encounter has implications for social and religious aspects of the people.

Primary Sources

The primary sources include personal experience, correspondence, missionary records as well as personal accounts. As minister of the church for thirty years in North

East India, my personal experience in revival meetings and crusades, my encounters with evangelists and knowledge of the movement have given me firsthand information. Also, missionary accounts in the form of letters and records in their original form become firsthand information of the time.

Personal accounts received from revivalists and musicians in the form of letters also form basic information on the subject. Interviews and responses from revivalists and individuals in correspondence and emails form substantive information. Organizations formed to support and promote Zomi culture and religious organizations, including gospel teams and cross-cultural ministries, provided basic information on the impact of the movement.

Secondary Sources

Printed materials in books, reports and articles form the basic secondary sources. Researched materials on the Zomi include books written in Zomi, Mizo and English. Most of the Zomi writings resulted from silver, golden and other anniversary celebrations. Also magazines and journals produced by philanthropic organizations provide good information.

For the study of western revivals I heavily depended on the McAlister Library of Fuller Theological Seminary and Latourette Library of William Carey International University at the U.S. Center for World Mission campus. I had access to the Library of the late Khup Za Go in Guwahati, India, who researched in oriental studies in London and Oxford Universities. I also made use of the personal library of Chin Khua Khai, former graduate of Fuller Theological Seminary, and my personal library, including materials collected from the Archives of American Baptist Churches in Valley Forge in 1989. Apart from this, collection of materials by research collaborators during my field research provided sources for this study.

Overview of Chapters

Following the introduction, the dissertation continues with Chapter 1 about the Zomi life and culture. The study of Zomi life and culture is necessary because Christianity entered as a replacement of the old tradition. Most cultural activities were more or less connected with religious activity, whether marriage, festival or funeral. Killing of human beings, hunting for animals, feasts and festivals had religious meaning for life after death. The local drink called *zu* had an important place in social and religious activities. Without it no activity could be conducted. The kinship system helped the Zomi to become Christians in groups. Their worldview had greatly influenced their religious and social life. Zomi encounter with western culture took place when the British annexed the area, which paved the way for entry of missionaries.

Chapter 2 deals with Zomi encounter with Christianity. Christianity came to the Zomi as transplantation of western culture, uprooting the local culture. Baptist faith and practice has been conceived as Christian faith and practice, as Christianity came from North American Baptist missionaries. To win the Zomi, the missionaries adopted certain methods, including medical service, introduction of literature and pastoral ministry. The area is predominantly Baptist, except for the Roman Catholic Church (1934) and then the Seventh-Day Adventist (1954). The local religious movement called *Laipian Movement* ushered in the acceptance of Christianity. It was a power encounter that changed the religious life of the Zomi to Christianity.

Chapter 3 discusses the background of the revival movement of the 1970s. It was a transition period in many ways in politics, economy and education. The democratic country of Burma became a socialistic country, with the goal of becoming one nation, one language and one religion—a goal toward which the country is still striving. The country's politics, economy, and education were in a bad shape. Pastoral care was inadequate, and the spiritual condition was at a low-ebb. The church faced insurgency

movements from within and without. The revival movement called “the Hlimsang Movement” that came from Mizoram was opposed by the Baptist Church.

Chapter 4 is about the Zomi revival of the 1970s. The revival movement has been divided into two waves according to the nature and features of the movement. Hau Lian Kham and Khai Khan Suan played major roles in the first wave, and later Kam Cin Hau, Lang Do Khup and Pau Lian Mung became the leading revivalists in the second wave. The characteristics of the first wave revival can be summed up as repentance, salvation, happiness, joy and visions, prophecy, miracle and dancing. Visions and prophecies were common and some took to extreme positions. Prayer, setting up of prayer mountains, erection of crosses, house cleansing, and village cleansing are some of the main features during the second wave. The urgency of the second coming of Jesus Christ was felt and eschatology became a popular theme.

Chapter 5 deals with impact of the revival movement and recontextualization. A spirit of nationalism has been felt wherever the Zomi are found, whether in Myanmar, India or in other countries. Theological institutions, orphanages, and gospel teams emerged as a result of revival. Good singers came out of the revival that are widely used in ministry, not only locally and regionally, but also at national and international levels. Change has been felt in worldview, theological concepts, social life, and worship style, with new songs. The mission emphasis has been changed from local to cross-cultural missions. Prayer replaced animal sacrifice for healing; tea is used in place of the local beer *zu*. Observance of traditional festivals has been rediscovered in a Christian way. The revival movement became an agent for social and cultural change in the life of the Zomi.

In the Conclusion, the review of research, methodological approach, contributions of the dissertation, and results of the research have been summarized. Suggestions for future Christian growth have been given. Zomi life has been shaped as a result of contacts with other cultures, including western culture. Medical service, better co-ordinated

literature ministry, Christian schools, Bible study, unity, continued revival and global mission are some of the considerations for future Christian ministry.

Delimitations

My approach to the study is from an insider's point of view as a member of the community. However, my first plan to go to Myanmar for field research could not be carried out due to political developments in the fall of 2007. Sufficient interviews could not be conducted as first planned. Therefore my observations on the movement could appear biased to those who are in the field.

It is useful to deal with all people groups in Chin State under the umbrella of Zomi. However, it is not possible to cover all people groups in Chin State, such as Falam, Haka, Matu and Paletwa, due to the vast scope and my limited knowledge about them. Also, other Zomi ethnic groups in India, such as Paite, Vaiphei, Zou, Simte, Gangte and Thado could not be accommodated here due to limited space. Each people group deserves separate research, which I trust other scholars will do in the future. Therefore I have decided to focus on the Tedim speaking group of the northern Chin State. It does not mean that Zomi refers to Tedim speaking group only.

It should also be noted that as the Zomi are often referred to as "a nation without a state," due to their diverse settlement in Indo-Myanmar, it is not possible to give a precise statistical report from one source. Statistics put forward by other writers (Vumson) are based on their own estimations, without documented support. Therefore I have taken statistical reports from the offices of church bodies covered by this study that can give the most reliable data.

Notes on Terminology

Different names and different forms of spellings are employed by different writers for the same name, place, people and organizations. It is confusing for readers without knowing the background. Therefore I am giving some explanations on the basic ones.

Kam Hau—the most famous chief of the northern Chin State. It is used in reference to Zomi group and also the language sometimes called Kam Hau dialect by missionaries now known as Tedim dialect.

Sukte—name of a clan used by foreign writers referring to the Zomi people group as most of the leaders hailed from Sukte clan.

Tedim—a town of northern Chin State; it also refers to the language used by the people. Foreign writers spell as “Tiddim.”

Zomi—hill people, used as the local name for Chin. I am using it interchangeably with Chin.

Mizo—hill people, same as Zomi.

Zo—refers to the hill people of Indo-Myanmar, including Bangladesh. Mizo and Zomi claim Zo to be their ancestor.

Kuki-Chin-Lushai—refers to hill people in Northeast India, especially in Manipur. Foreign writers use it in reference to hill tribes.

Lamka—Churachandpur is the official name and Lamka is local name, the headquarters of the Manipur South District.

Lushai-Lushei-Mizo—refers to the Duhlian speaking people in Mizoram.

Tribal—term used by Indian government referring to the hill people of Indo-Myanmar as backward and uncivilized people groups with special constitutional rights. (Burma and Myanmar are also used interchangeably in this paper.)

Church—used referring to the local or regional church with lower case C, and universal Christian community with capitalized C.

Pagoda—prayer house of Buddhists in Myanmar.

CHAPTER 1

ZOMI LIFE AND CULTURE

This chapter aims to establish—to the extent possible—the cultural profile of the Zomi as they came into contact with western cultures. Building on the phenomenological, non-ideological and historical approach of Marc Bloch (1954:39-47) this chapter will investigate Zomi history, settlement, social behavior and traditional religious beliefs. There were various theories and hypotheses about Zomi origins, names and movements before they settled down in Indo-Myanmar. Zomi were unknown to the outside world until the British annexation in 1895, which was the first exposure to Western culture. In this chapter I will discuss Zomi cultural identity, migration theories, different Zo tribes, Zomi life before and after British annexation, their socio-cultural structure and their worldview.

Cultural Identity of the Zomi

The Zo people trace their origin back to the “Jo” or “Zhou” dynasty 111-221 B.C. in China (Gin Za Tuang 1973:2). Following the Zhou Dynasty, a Chin dynasty existed (221-207 B.C.), and the names “Zo” and “Chin” must have come from these two dynasties. The common theory that the term “Chin” was a derivation of the Burmese word for “carrying basket” appears to be of later discovery. It must have come from Chinese, as “Chin” in Chinese means “man.”

In Burma, Chin became an official name with the creation of the Chin Special Division in 1948, and later Chin State in 1974. However, the people called themselves

“Zo” or “Zomi.” J. George Scott, former British official in Burma offered the following explanation:

The names “Kuki” and “Chin” are not national, and have been given to them by their neighbors. Kuki is an Assamese or Bengali name given by them to all the hill tribes in their neighborhood. Chin is the Burmese name given to all the people in the country between Burma and Assam. Its origin has not been determined. The Chins call themselves Zho, or Shu, Jo, or Lai (1921:106).

The late S. T. Hau Go contended, “We ourselves never use or accept it (Chin) as our racial name. We belong to the race, generally known as Tibeto-Burman” (1998:559).

The Zomi are called Mizo in Mizoram and Kuki-Chin in Manipur. Speaking about the term “Mizo” Vanlalchhuanawma states: “The strongest challenge to the name has come from a proposal of the term ‘Zomi’ by which a section of the Mizos in Myanmar has been known and which has more or less the same meaning” (2006:14). Vumson label the Zomi in Myanmar as Eastern Zo and Mizos as Western Zo, which is idealistic approach (1986:21-25). Lian Sakhong, who did an extensive research on the Chin, named the present Chin State as East Chinram, and Mizoram as West Chinram (2000:22-51). This is also an idealist approach, as there is no East and West Chinram.

However Vumson and Sakhong’s approach reveals the fact that the Zomi or Chin have no common identity, as they were divided by the British government at the time of independence. The people are still struggling with this issue even today. Lian Sakhong identified the present northern Chins as Zomis, southern Chins as Chins and grouped the Kukis among the Zomi. However Zomi includes all the Hill People between India and Burma, including Chin State of Burma, Mizoram, Nagaland and Manipur of India, and Chittagong Hill tracts in Bangladesh. Vumson (1986) and M. Kipgen (1996) rightly rendered the term “Zo” in reference to the hill people of these hill tracts who are known by Kuki or Chin or Lushai (J. Shakespear 1912:8). The term “Chin” is a name given by Burmese and British officials, whereas “Zomi” is the local name for the people of the hill

tract (Gougin 1984a:12). Therefore, in this paper “Zomi” is used in reference to the hill people of Indo-Myanmar.

Migration Waves

According to the historian Wilhelm Klein, the Mons first landed in Burma around the 3rd century A.D., and then followed by the Pyus in the 8th century and then the Chin-Kachin groups in the 9th century (1983:41). The Mizo historian Liangkhaia mentioned that the Mizos came out of “Chhinlung” cave in and around 750 A.D. and settled to the south of the present Kalemmyo (2002a:13). Vumson agrees with this theory, writing: “When the Burmese descended to the plains of central Burma, during the ninth century, the Chin people settled already in the Chindwin Valley” (1986:35).

The name Chindwin (Chin river) itself is an indication of the settlement of the Chin in the Valley (Sing Khua Khai 1984:36). G. H. Luce is of the opinion that the Chin (Zomi) migrated from western China to east Tibet, going south via the Hukong Valley (1959:75-109). They moved southward and followed the Irrawady Valley where they settled in Chindwin Valley until they scattered in various directions. Oral tradition says that the Zomi came out of *Khul* (cave) according to a song.¹ Vanlalchhuanawma agrees with this theory, saying that *Chhinlung* represents a hole as a passage in the Great Wall of China (ca. 1200 A.D.), through which the oppressed section of the Mizo left the country in secret (2006:16).

B. Lalthangliana, a Mizo historian, believes A.D. 1250-1400 to be the period of settlement in Chindwin Valley (2004a:77). The Zomi lived in Kale Valley and Kabaw Valley in Upper Burma peacefully for at least a hundred years. Khampat in Kabaw Valley is the most important place where the Chin group settled in peace and prosperity.

¹ The Zomi have a song of their origin which says “*Eiteng khawlkhawm a tuam om lo, Vannuai ci peuh ‘Khul’ a piang, Tun sung khat pan piang hi ngeingei hang e.*” (We all are one under heaven, born of one womb coming out of “Khul” [cave]).

The Khampat era was believed to be the most glorious period in the history of the Chins (2004a:87-89).

The theory for the departure from the Kale Valley is that the Shan King at Ava forced them into hard labor in construction of the city fortress of Kalemyo. Tradition as recorded by L.B. Naylor, the Assistant Superintendent in Tedim in 1920s, says the hardship was so unbearable that the “fingers of workers, which were accidentally cut off, filled a basket” (1925:42). The first group that moved to the Chin Hills by way of Yazagyo, crossing the Manipur River were the Lushais, now called the Mizos. Another group moved to the hills and camped at Kennedy peak. From Kennedy peak one group moved down to Ciimnuai and another group moved to Zangpitam (Naylor 1925:42-43). Vum Kho Hau agrees with this theory, saying that the migration from Kale Valley took place in three waves, which appeared to be the most probable.

One group went there by the foothill Burmese village, Yazagyo, and the clans now Zangpitam above Thuklai village, Sihzang valley. Later they continued their move to Ciimnuai near Saizang village, Sukte area. Their descendants spread along various routes from Ciimnuai and are believed to be the ancestors of the present tribes of Sihzang, Sukte, Kam Hau, Zote, and Thado. The remainders moved from the Myitha river valley into the Central Chin country and were the ancestors of the Zanniats, Zahaus, Tashons of Falam and various tribes of Haka (1990:2).

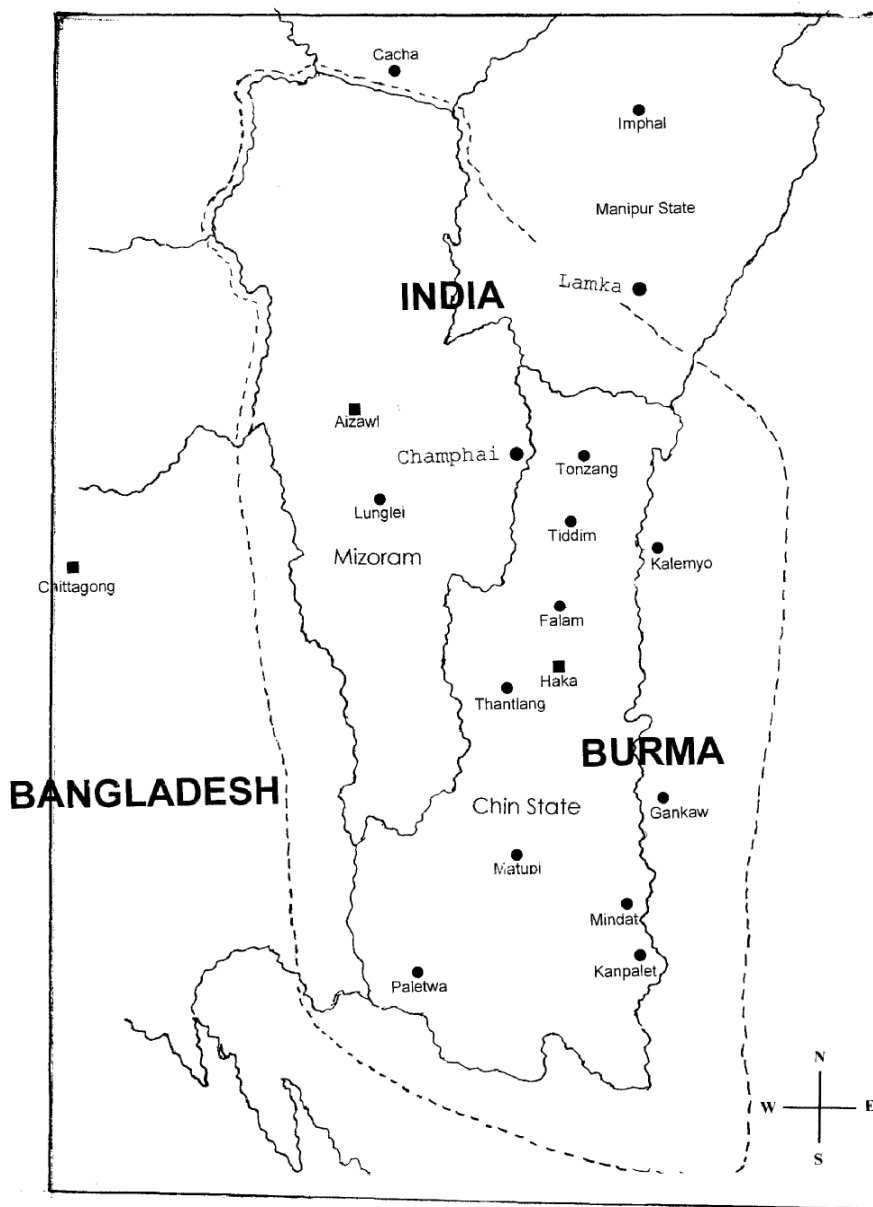
Unable to bear the forced labor, the people began to move to the hills and made their settlement at Ciimnuai in Tedim Township and Locom in Falam Township. From Ciimnuai they scattered to Saizang, Geeltui, Dimpi, Dimlo and later Tedim. At least nine tribes originated from Ciimnuai such as Sihzang, Thado, Zote, Teizang, Saizang, Dim, Guite, Phaileng and Hualngo. The people from Locom moved to Ramthlo. The founder of the Ramthlo village was the first who collected taxes in Chin Hills. The Haka tribes are descendants of Ramthlo (Khamtung Mite Tangthu 1985:3).

The hypothesis for the migration had been that the progenitors left central Asia in search of a better settlement as agriculturists. However, the migration history suggested that they migrated as a result of suppression from the rulers. It was possible that the weaker section of the society left the area to escape the hardship in construction of the Great Wall of China. They were forced to move southward following the Irrawady and the Chindwin Valleys. They moved again from the Chindwin Valley to the present location as a result of Shan rulers forcing them to construct the great fortress of Kalembo city. Today the Zomi are found in Myanmar, North East India and Bangladesh (see Map p. 26).

Zo Tribes

The people of the Zo group belong to the Tibeto-Burman language, and are found in China, Tibet, Pakistan, India, Nepal, Bhutan and Bangladesh. In addition to Burmese, other Tibeto-Burman languages are the Jingphaw, Zomi (Chin), Naga, Kachin and Shan languages. The total number of speakers in the Chin Hills Special Division came to almost 350,000—about 3% of the country's population in 1931 (Frank N. Trager 1971:546-547). On the Indian and Pakistan (now Bangladesh) side there were at least 850,000 Chins and Nagas in 1931 (Census of India 1931: 182-193).

Vumson believes that by 1986 the total population had reached about two million Zo people both in India and Myanmar: 180,000 in Mizoram, 50,000 in Tripura, 400,000 in Chin State, 300,000 in the plains of Burma and 50,000 in the Naga districts (1986:2). However, there is no official record in support of this, and the actual population cannot be ascertained due to the diversity of settlement.



MAP 1

AREA COVERED IN THIS RESEARCH
(Adapted from Lian Sakhong 2000:53)

The Zo tribes consist of clans and sub-clans. The complexity of clan and sub-clans indicates the complexity of dialects within the same tribe. These Zo tribes and sub-tribes speak about forty-four distinct Chin and Chin-related dialects (F. K. Lehman 1963:6).

Tribal dialect and geographical distances have implications for understanding Zomi religion and culture, including the revival and its aftermath. Attention will be given to this matter in later chapters. Definitions of all categories are debated by the people themselves and not scientifically established. For this project the analysis of Lian Sakhong is adopted for reference (see Figure 1 p. 28).

Life before British Annexation

As the Zomi lived in a hilly region, there was no contact among themselves for centuries due to geographical and dialectical differences. They began to regard each other as enemies and fought one another for supremacy (K. Z. Go 1996c:29). The period from A.D. 1400-1885 could be termed the years of tribal war in which they were known as “head hunters” (J. H. Cope 1930a:1). The events are discussed here under the title Tribal War.

Tribal Warfare

Tribal wars had been carried out due to their adversity and differences in language, geographical area and group identity. At Teizang village, Kawi Hang from a Zahlang clan became famous for his prowess among the northern Chin. During this period, frequent tribal war took place among the Kam Haus, the Zahaus, the Meiteis of

MONGOLIAN RACE**FIGURE 1****RACES OF ZO TRIBES**

(Adapted from Lian Sakhong 2000:83)

Manipur and the Sailos of Lushai Hills (now Mizoram). For example, in 1856 Zahau and Kam Hau, son of Khan Thuam raided into Manipur Hills and annexed the northern territory (Stevenson 1970:12-14).

Another example is that around 1871, just before the British conquest, Vanhnuailiana of Champhai carried out a raid on the Suktes in which they lost the war. It was carried out against the treaty signed by the two parties at Champhai in 1849 (Liangkhaia 2002a:113). The highest competition was to get as many heads as possible and to take as many slaves as possible. Women and children who were captured alive were taken as slaves.

Motives for Head Hunting

The reasons for killing one another were of religious and social motivation. They believed that a man who killed many enemies would become lord in life after death, and that the enemies that were killed would become his slaves in the other world. So, they took home the head to prove that they actually killed an enemy. A hero got social status by killing men or animals. A woman would refuse to marry a man if he had not killed another man (F. S. Downs 1983:179).

This is supported by a Mizo writer V. Hawla, who says “Our ancestors have been warriors. We waged wars against the people around us and against ourselves. Consequently we have always been alert to the coming of enemies.... We’re not satisfied with just killing, but would cut their heads, take them home, and celebrate them with those at home as we do the heads of animals” (1983:xi). Heads of human beings and heads of animals, such as tigers and elephants, had to be given public celebration in honor of the person who killed. This practice continued until the British interfered in their life.

British Annexation

Zomi were not aware of the coming of the British, even though one woman by the name of Pi Nuam Dim at Tedim prophesied the coming of white people in the 1850s. I will deal with this in the next chapter. The reason for annexation was to subdue them from disturbing the neighboring areas by killing and kidnapping, and thus bringing insecurity, as they were considered “notorious” (Lalsawma 1994a:19). It was not for trade purposes, as in the case of East India Company. Since 1813, the East India Company looked for any possible means to enlarge its enterprise in the area. Upper Burma came under British domination in 1886 and Lushai Hills was annexed in 1890 (Vanlalchhuanawma 2006:73-74). Annexation of Chin State came in 1895 after two raids.

The First Raid

On arrival at Kalemyo as Deputy Commissioner, Captain Raikes of the British army immediately called the chiefs of Siyin, Kam Hau, Hakha and Tlaisun for a meeting at Kalemyo. They were told neither to make any more raids on the people of Kale nor to take any captives as slaves. The Hakha chief refused to comply with his order and did not attend the meeting. Captain Raikes sent six delegations to call the Hakha chief. But the Haka chief killed two of them, arrested three alive, and one escaped. This enraged Captain Raikes.

The next year Captain Raikes, General Sir George White and General Faunce made a raid on the Chins with the help of the 42nd Gurkha Light Infantry, Assam troops and Punjabi military police. They built a strong stockade at Thangmual between Kale and Thuklai which was named “Fort White” after General White (Gin Za Tuang 1973:23). On hearing about the march, the Siyin, Kam Hau and Tlaisun chiefs gathered a big force consisting of 1200 Siyins, 400 Kam Haus and thirty Suktes to resist the advancing force.

The encounter took place at Phatzang for some hours. The British forces were beaten and retreated to the plains. Between 1888 and 1889 the British lost thirty-six lives and forty-four were wounded. B. S. Carey, the political officer, described the nature of Chins in the war:

Catlike people in their movements soon learnt that their power to annoy us lay in their skill in creeping inside the fort between sentries, and night after night the cattle pens inside and the piglets ... were found to have been vanished and stolen. On one occasion a whole herd of seventy heads was carried off... Another time a “drabi” was shot and decapitated in the middle of the fort, the Chin escaping through the sentries (1976:32).

The Chins were enraged at the demand of coolies for building roads, heavy fines for opposition, the collection of guns and the demand to release slaves. However they could no longer resist the second raid.

The Second Raid

The Zomi chiefs blackmailed the British by sending a word for surrender, to present an elephant tusk, a rhinoceros's horn and 150 guns to the Fort White camp. The target was to kill the commissioner, B. S. Carey. Fortunately, with Carey being out of station, the township officer was sent to meet the Zo chiefs (Ngulh Khaw Suan 1998:207). The British sent the township officer (*Myo-ook*) Tun Win with two interpreters accompanied by 30 riflemen as body guards to Pumva to receive the Zomi leaders and presents. While approaching Pumva, the appointed place for negotiation, the Zomi people laid an ambush on October 9, 1892 killing the entire British contingent, including Tun Win the *Myo-ook*, except for five who escaped (Vumson 1986:132). It was recorded as the *Myo-ook Suam* (Plot of the Township Officer).

In retaliation, the British government sent Brigadier General Palmer with a force of 2,500 riflemen. Villages were burned, livestock were taken and fields destroyed

(Vumson 1986:132). The Siyins and the Suktes surrendered to the British forces. Acknowledging the tactics of Zomi people in jungle warfare, General Palmer adopted two measures in order to subdue the Zomis: to attack during summer and to set fire on villages (G. Z. Tuang 1973:27). They started setting fire on villages one after another during summer.

In 1893 Kam Lian and Thuamngo of Thuklai, Dolian and Kam Cin of Buanman, Kham Hau of Heilei, Lal Nang of Muizawl laid down their arms and surrendered to the British forces. In the next year (1894), Khup Pau, Khai Kam, Vum Lian and Suangson gave themselves up as the last group to surrender to the British forces. In October of that year, forty-nine Chin chiefs were taken captive and sent to Yangon (G. Z. Tuang 1973:27). The British annexation had its positive and negative effects on the Zomi population.

Effects of the Annexation

The Chin Hills Regulation was adopted in 1896, drafted by B. S. Carey and approved by the British government. By this regulation the whole Chin Hills came under the control of political officers designated as Superintendent, Deputy Commissioner, District Magistrate and Collector (Chin Hills Regulation Act 1896). Carey himself was promoted to be the first Superintendent of the whole Chin Hills.

The British annexation had several positive effects, including:

1. When the British colonialists recognized the Zomi chieftainship with the powers and functions granted by them, they also introduced hereditary chieftainship called "Tribal Feudal Administrative System."
2. British annexation opened up the door for entry of Christian missionaries to the Chin Hills.
3. It was the beginning of written history of the Zomi, because following the annexation; the western scholars began to write the history, life, customs and language of the Zomi people.

4. Inter-tribal raids came to an end.

There were also negative effects of the annexation, such as:

1. The Chin Hills Regulation Act of 1896 was promulgated to form the Zomi region, including Lushai Hills into one administrative unit, but it failed (M. Kipgen 1996:142). Instead, Zomis were divided into three administrative units between India, Burma and Bangladesh. As a result, the Superintendent B. S. Carey resigned himself from the office (L. Sakhong 2000:183-186). The division into three units is something that the new generation found hard to appreciate about the colonial regime, and these sentiments continue until today.
2. Under the Colonial rule, the Zomi chiefs were unable to exercise power as before. Their authority was limited to the level of village headman.
3. The Zomi lost their right of ownership of land. The land belongs to the government and individuals had no right to acquire land without government permission (L. Sakhong 2000:188).

The significance of the British conquest lies in the fact that the Zomi people were united in resistance. In the past they carried out inter-tribal wars and raids among themselves. During the British annexation the Zomi stood as one body and fought against the British forces. For example, the *Myo-ook Suam* was a corporate plot of the Siyins, the Kam Haus, and the Tlaisuns. It was the first time that the Zomi came into contact with another world, especially the white people, called *Mangkangte*.

Socio-Cultural Structure

What is culture? Anthropologist Paul Hiebert defines culture “as the integrated system of learned patterns of behavior, ideas, and products characteristics of a society” (1983:25). A definition which more accurately reflects what is meant by “culture” comes from James P. Spradley: “Culture is the acquired knowledge that people use to interpret experience and generate behavior” (1980:6). Therefore, culture is a broad concept which includes ideas, behavior, values and concepts acquired and shared by a group of people. R. Daniel Shaw included sub-themes in culture, such as traditional religion, economic

system, kinship system, social structure and political structure (1988:24). Using these sub-themes as a model, I will deal with traditional religion, social life and the kinship system of the Zomi.

Traditional Religion

The Zomi were animists by religion (E. B. Tylor 1958). Western writers labeled them as spirit worshippers (Melford E. Spiro 1967). However it has been argued that they did not worship spirits as traditionally remarked by outside observers, but they offered sacrifices to evil spirits for healing (G. K. Nang 1990). The traditional concept that they worshipped rocks and trees also requires reconsideration. They did not worship rocks and trees, but they offered sacrifices in the belief that evil spirits resided at these places. Sickness and misfortunes are believed to have been caused by evil spirits so they offered sacrifices to evil spirits to appease them.

According to Nida and Smalley, animism is “a belief in spirits, including the spirits of dead people as well as those that has no human origin” (1959:5). Melford E. Spiro called this *nat* (spirit) worship and there were thirty-seven nats among the Burmese (1967a:40). Tradition says that nat worship among the Zomi originated when Ngengu offered a *mithun* (a bull, local animal) to his sick mother (Naylor 1925:44). Ngengu’s mother got healed by drinking water from the horn of a *mithun*. Ngengu was one of the five ancestors of the Siyin tribe in Zangpitam in Chin State. My argument is that the term *nat* is a Sanskrit term and inappropriate to apply in relation to the Zomi, as it suggests ancestral worship originating from Hinduism (G. K. Nang 1990:14). Carey and Tuck also agree that Zomi “worshipped neither god nor demon” (1976:195). Rather they offered sacrifices to appease the evil spirits. Animism according to the Zomi refers to sacrifice of animals offered to the *dawis* (demons). Zomi belief includes the existence of a “Supreme Being,” spirits called *dawis*, a place of death called *Misikhua* and life after death.

The Concept of Supreme Being

The primitive religious concept of Zomi included the belief in the existence of a Supreme Being effective beyond the ordinary power of man outside the common process of nature. This power is denoted by the term *Shah* (Sing Khaw Khai 1984:145), or *Khua* in Mizo. “The Supreme Being” is referred to as male and creator of all things including human beings, heaven, earth, moon and stars. He is all good, loving, merciful and kind. He does no harm to human beings and requires no sacrifice to appease Him (G. K. Nang 1990:12). All goodness—like health, riches, children, and other human benefits—are attributed to Him (Vumson 1986:16).

The Concept of “Dawi”

Dawis are invisible spiritual beings living in homes, jungles, forests, rocks, trees, pools, and rivers. There are higher *dawis* and lesser *dawis* according to their activities and habitation. Douzathang Guite has suggested that the higher *dawis* live in air, clouds, and high rocks, and the lesser *dawis* in homes, caves, trees, forests, rivers, ponds and springs (2003:2). The number of *dawis* and their habitation was based on the number of places where the *dawis* were believed to reside.²

The world of Zomi was full of fears and cares. Any activity unacceptable or unpleasing to spirits would cause harm, sickness and misfortune. Every movement required careful and mindful attention to the place and time. Moving to a new village, a new house, and cultivating a new field required the blessing of the spirits. Sickness was the punishment by the spirits who were unhappy with a person or family. In times of illness, domestic animals like dogs, pigs, chickens, and cows were offered. Small portions of the meat, liver, head or leg, with two cups of *zu* (drink) were offered to the

² *Sumtawng dawi* (courtyard spirit), *inndom dawi*, (backhouse spirit), *kong dawi* (front house spirit), *huankhang dawi* (garden spirit), *inn nuai dawi* (ground house spirit), *gam dawi* (forest spirit), *tual dawi* (village spirit), were the spirits to which the Zomis commonly offered sacrifices.

spirits (Vumson 1986:16). During sacrificial rituals neither a visitor nor a guest should be entertained in a house. A small branch of a tree was kept at the gate of the house as a “No visitor” sign, called *zehtang*. The period of *zehtang* depended upon the kind of sacrifice the family offered and the kind of illness.

The Concept of “Misi Khua”

The term *Misi Khua* means a place where the souls of death reside. *Misi khua* literally means a village of dead people (Wati Longchar 1991:95). Lian Sakhong writes that “all the activities and performance of a person in life time is a preparation for life after death” (2000:134). Dead people were believed to have crossed *Gun* river (Chindwin river) dividing the world of the living and the world of the dead. As the river Jordan has been used symbolizing the boundary between the death and the living, so also the Zomi use the Chindwin river symbolizing the boundary between the living and the dead (Tedim Hymn Book 2006).

The Concept of Life after Death

Belief in life after death prompted the Zomi to hunt. There are two categories of hunting: human and animals. The reason for killing one another and hunting for human heads was that the enemy would become a slave of the killer. So they aimed at killing as many enemies as possible (Carey and Tuck 1976:227-230). Killing also gives them social status. They could wear traditional clothes meant only for a hero, and got a bigger cup of *zu* in public celebrations. This is the reason why they were known as head hunters, prompted by a belief in life after death.

The second category is hunting of animals. The primary purpose of hunting animals was not for food but because of the religious significance, in that a hunter had an easy passage to the village of death *Misi Khua*. At the gate of *Misi Khua* a gate keeper

(*Shah*) would ask if he had killed animals or not. If he had not killed he was forced to eat a red worm as punishment and if he had killed animals he was given an easy passage (Laitanga 1982:112). In addition to this, all the animals killed would serve him in life after death.

Sing Khaw Khai also states that the purpose of *Kawsah* at the funeral was that the animals killed on the funeral day were presented as gifts to the souls of dead people and they were pleased with the dead person (1984:138). They must make celebrations of wild animals killed, like tiger or bison, and make a feast with villagers (L. Sakhong 2000:139). If they fail to do this, a tiger, for example, would take revenge and kill the hero. They must also make a celebration of an enemy killed, called *Gal-aih* (Lehman 1963:183). If they fail to do this, enemies would take revenge on the killer. The celebration included singing war songs, drinking and dancing.

Marriage

Traditional marriage was by arrangement of the parents. Parents of the boy propose to the girl's parents, offering a pot of *zu* called *zuthawl*. In the absence of *zuthawl* no negotiation will take place. The girl is judged not by beauty but by good character. Carey and Tuck commends "The girl is judged by the character of her work in the fields and house. If she is a good tiller of the soil she is a good match, whatever looks and antecedence she may be" (1976:189). If the girl's parents refuse the proposal, they repay the *zuthawl* to the boy's parents. If they agree, they set the date and time for the wedding, usually not long after the negotiation.

On the wedding day, the boy's party will go to the girl's parents with a pot of *zu* again, and they take the girl with them. The family priest kills a cock given by the girl's parents, studies the liver, and announces the future of the marriage" (Carey and Tuck 1976:189). Usually the result of the omen is positive.

Another practice is that the husband's side kills a cock and the wife's side a hen. The priest steps on the feathers with his feet, holds the two wings by the left hand and twists the neck by the right hand on the ground. If the cock dies twisting its legs, the omen reveals very good mate; if the legs go straight it is good; if the legs stand up, it means separation of the couple is prophesied (Laitanga 1982:122).

The purpose of marriage is twofold. One is for the purpose of reproduction and the other is to continue the genealogical tree. Genealogy is counted from sons, and therefore to have a son is very important in marriage. To have no male issue is regarded as a curse called *innmong*, which means no continuation of the family line.

One significant practice in marriage is that the wife has to address her husband as *U* (Oo) meaning literally "elder." In the case of marriage it carries the meaning not just of "elder" referring to age, but of respect and submission to the husband. Addressing the husband by name indicates indignation or insult, which can result in divorce. It is a distinctive custom among the Zomi, unlike other tribal groups like Mizos and Hmars. Therefore it would have been meaningful if Jesus were addressed as *U* instead of *To* (lord). *To* carries the image of the relationship between master and slave.

Feasts and Festivals

The most competitive feast is *Tonh*. The word *Tonh* came from the word *Tong* which refers to a person that attained very high social status by providing a grand feast called "Feast of Merit" (Lehman 1963:178). It was also known as *Zunung* or *Thunung* in some sections and *Khuangchawi* in Mizo. However it should be understood that it was not a feast of merit in isolation but was a part of *Pusha* ritual rites. Sing Khaw Khai termed it as *Tonh Sacrifice* (1984:191). It was a grand feast that only wealthy persons who had many animals and a lot of food grains could perform it.

Fermentation of *zu* drink should begin at least three months ahead of the feast. The number of animals, like mithun, killed for the feast depended on the ability of the performer. The great chief Kam Hau was said to have killed fifty mithuns while performing the *Tonh* feast (1984:191). Close relatives like fathers-in-law, sons-in-law and relatives usually made a contribution of cows and pigs according to their own ability in addition to *zu* drink. The *Tonh* feast took seven days and in some cases it lasted for nine days of merry making, eating, drinking, and dancing (L. Sakhong 2000:149).

The Zomi observed two festivals, *Khuado Pawi* and *Sialsawm Pawi*. *Khuado Pawi* is a harvest festival celebrated in the month of September-October. During the festival, participants prepare the best kind of food they can afford, like millet, sticky rice and very good *zu*. They sing, drink and dance in great exuberance. It is a time of celebration for the first fruits of their labor of the year. It is similar to the festival observed as Thanksgiving Day in the West.

Sialsawm Pawi is another festival observed annually in the month of April-May before summer begins for cultivation. It is a festival for asking the god of the harvest for prosperity, called *Tualbiak*. The family priest takes an egg to the street, cooks it in a fire and observes the manner in which the egg breaks. From the manner in which the egg breaks, the priest prophesies if the year would be prosperous or not. At some occasions, men also conducted a competition of wrestling (Laitanga 1982:144).

Food and Drink

The Zomi diet consists of rice, maize, millet, potato, sweet potato, yam, bean, pumpkin, brinjal, cucumber and chillies (Carey and Tuck 1976:181). Maize, millet and sweet potatoes were served as the main food stuff in the past. Today rice is the main staple food. *Zu* is the only drink which I will discuss in more detail because of its place in the society.

What is *zu*? Why is it important in Zomi life? *Zu* is a common and local name given to drink (beer) or any fermented liquor from grains. The beer is made of fermented rice, millet and maize mixed with yeast (N. Chatterji 1975:3). There are four types of *zu*, such as *zupi*, *zutaak*, *zuhang* and *zuha*, of which *zupi* and *zutaak* are the common drinks in public. *Zu* is indispensable in social and religious activities.

The use of *zu* is twofold. *Zu* is used as a drink in all occasions, such as feasts, festivals and at home. When there is a visitor, *zu* is offered showing hospitality. It is a common drink both at home and in public. *Zu* also played an important role in almost all sacrificial ceremonies. K. Zawla comments: “The animals sacrificed were usually sprayed with *zu*. The priest and the one for whom the sacrifice was made drank *zu* on the occasion of every sacrifice” (1976:78-80).

Effect of Zu in the Society

The effects of *zu* drinking on society and on the individual are numerous and multi-faceted. Economically, drinking *zu* reduced the wealth of the people as they were hard drinkers (Laitanga 1982:49). Morally it was sinful as it resulted in fighting and quarrelling. For example, the first medical missionary, E. H. East, remarked at Thuklai: “It is here as everywhere that when men are drunk, the sense left them and only the wild beast remains.... Every occasion whether it is a joy or sorrow, they must drink and when drunk must dance” (1983b:82). East missed the point that when they got drunk they must quarrel and fight. J. Shakespear also made the same observation of *zu* as a social evil (1912:38). As the love of money is a root of all kinds of evil, so also the love of drinking *zu* is the root of all evil in case of Zomi (I Tim. 6:10).

Music

The Zomi love music. They have a number of musical instruments, including the gong, drum, trumpet, flute, *sakhuang*, pipe (*phiit*), *gosem*, *lemlawi* and *sialki* (horn). The gong, trumpet and flute must have been obtained from neighboring tribes, such as the Shans and Burmese. There are two kinds of gongs. A big gong is used during festivals and funerals. The other is a set of three small gongs with different sounds like high, low, and medium to make the melody.

Other musical instruments are locally made. The drum is made of a hollow log about three feet long with both ends covered with animal skin. The trumpet is made of a long horn of the buffalo, cut open at the top, through which blowing is made possible. *Sakhuang*, also called *ding dong*, is made of a log hollowed in the middle in three sizes to make different sounds. It is used for keeping animals and birds away from destroying grains. The pipe is made of small piece of bamboo about one-half foot long with one end closed. Twelve pieces of such pipes with different lengths for various sounds make one set. In big gatherings one or two sets of such pipes can be used.

Gosem is made of one gourd having small bamboo tubes of different sizes attached to it. It is used at home for leisure amusement. *Lemlawi* is made of a bamboo piece with a string in the middle, and is an instrument commonly used by women. *Sialki* refers to a horn of mithun beaten with a stick and is used for music along with the drum and gong.

Ngul Khan Pau also listed nine types of musical instruments but does not describe the use of them (1995a:47). Gongs, drums, and pipes are the common musical instruments used in festivals and funerals, whereas *lemlawi*, *gosem*, trumpet and flute are played in private. No music is entertained during sacrificial ceremonies.

Songs and Dance

The Zomi preserve their achievements, joys and sorrows in song. There are various songs, such as songs of heroes, funeral songs, festival songs, love songs, social songs, war songs, songs of celebrations, welcome songs and farewell songs. They even have songs for bees of various types and songs of animals like tigers and elephants. Most of these songs are accompanied with dance, whether in funerals, festivals or celebrations.

There are various types of dance according to the song. Chin Khua Khai has four types of dance (1999:79). However these dances can be classified into two types: solo dance and group dance. In solo dance, a dancer holds a sword with the implication that one kills an enemy with the sword, which is called *namsau lek*. Another solo dance is *kheltah* which is touching the ground on either side of the thigh while dancing. Another dance is called *daak lam* (gong dance) which is a single dance performed while playing music with a set of gongs.

A group dance is called *lamngui (lamvui)* moving back and forth in a circle. Men and women take positions one to one holding hands at the back, making steps according to the rhythm of a drummer. Songs are usually in two parts of four lines for groups: one group singing the first part led by the drummer and the other part led by the leader of the other group responsively. The leaders must be well-versed in songs and the manner of dancing so they know when to go forward and backward.

Kinship System

What is kinship? Grunlan and Meyers state their definition: “Kinship is more than a network of biological relationships; it is also a network of social relationships. It establishes social ties, patterns of behavior, obligations and responsibilities and patterns of authority. In short, it is a road map or structure of interpersonal relationships” (1988:162). Therefore, kinship is a network of both biological and social relationships.

The kinship systems known as consanguine, affine, fictive and phyle ties are practiced among the Zomi.

Consanguineal relationship is a relationship by birth or blood. Among the Zomi, relationship by blood is called *beh*. F. K. Lehman termed this as “patrilineal clan” (1963:88). The origin of *beh* is taken from the first ancestor of a particular group. Many sons in a family have many *beh* and are highly respected. The *beh* relationship cannot be broken as it is created by blood (Grunlan and Meyers 1988:162).

Affinal tie is a relationship established through marriage. The relationship to parents-in-law has been termed as *sung leh pu*. Sons-in-law are *makte* for the parents-in-law. Melford E. Spiro points out that the relationship of a daughter with the parents is stronger than that of the son with the parents. He says “Daughters often cook for them, care for them when they are ill, do their washing, and so on” (1977b:81).

A fictive relationship through a legal ceremonial tie into kinship is rare, though not unknown. The traditional practice is to appoint a spokesperson from the same clan. However some clans may establish a wider relationship with a person outside of one’s clan by admitting a spokesperson, called *thusa*. A family can choose any person of high standing whom they feel is trustworthy and able speak in negotiations. *Thusa* is selected from another clan to be a spokesman, as if he belongs to the same clan. There is no ceremonial initiation or rite in such a case.

A phyle tie is a relationship through social ties. The Zomi identify themselves as a social group by language, called the Tedim dialect. The Tedim dialect was a self creation of Tedim town, the capital of the northern Chin Hills (Vum Lian Thang 1998:305-308). The Tedim language (trade language) serves as a common dialect among the Zomi that binds them together.

At the time of the introduction of Christianity, the effectiveness of kinship ties had been diminishing in the society. When missionaries discarded social and cultural

elements as opposed to the Christian faith, the kinship system was neglected. When expressions of kinship ties, such as the distribution of meat, was discontinued on wedding and funeral days, kinship ties diminished among Christians. Thang Za Dal agrees: “Several dances, customs and practices have got lost as a result of Christianization” (2004:91).

Zomi Worldview

What is worldview? Anthropologists define worldview in different terms. Paul G. Hiebert defines worldview as follows:

Behind the observable patterns of human cultures seem to lie certain assumptions about the way the world is put together. Some of these assumptions, called “existential postulates,” deal with the nature of reality, the organization of the universe, and the ends and purposes of human life. Others, values and norms, differentiate between good and evil, right and wrong. Some of these assumptions are made explicit in the beliefs and myths of the people (1983:356).

According to Michael Kearney, “The worldview of the people is their way of looking at reality. It consists of basic assumptions and images that provide a more or less coherent, though not necessarily accurate, way of thinking about the world” (1984:41). Therefore, worldview is defined as “the beliefs about the limits and working of the world shared by the members of a society and represented in their myths, lore, ceremonies, social conduct and general values” (Smith 2005). Based on this definition, I will discuss the basic assumptions of the Zomi relating to nature, culture and moral values.

Natural Values

Human life and nature are interrelated with one another. Ngul Khan Pau calls this “Harmony with Nature” (1995a:15). However there is no harmony with nature for the Zomi, as nature is believed to be the settlement of evil spirits, leading to some kind of

fear of nature. Water, trees and forest, animals, rocks, and mountains are believed to be under the control of spirits. For example, when they established a new village, the village priest will perform a ritual at the water source.³ The priest pronounced “Let the spirit of evil leave this place and become the place of celebrations and feasting” (Hau Thang n.d.:60). By the blessing of the priest it is believed that the water source becomes productive and becomes fresh water for drinking.

When they want to build a new house, they will not select a site where there is a drop or a hole in the land. They look for healthy trees for housing materials. They will not take a tree where eagles, owls, and snakes once had nested on it, in the belief that the spirits of those creatures remain in the tree (Hau Thang n.d.: 61). Trees called *singkol* and *sing lusum* are regarded to be the habitation of spirits, and they dare not cut or touch them.⁴

It is also believed that wild animals have their overseers. A hunter who is good in hunting is considered to be in favor with the overseer of the animal. If a hunter sees hair of a deer in his dream, he will go out to hunt and kill a deer. In search of an agricultural site, the priest will offer a sacrifice for approval, test dreams, and test the location to determine whether there are bones or swamps (*cik*), which were regarded as a spirit’s habitat (Ngul K. Pau 1995a:16). Therefore, proper appeasement of forest spirits takes precedence before cultivating certain areas of land. This kind of traditional concept can be done away with if the Bible is reinterpreted in the sense that nature is created and controlled by God, and spirits have no control over nature.

³ He will say, “You, the keeper of this spring, I pray you to grant living water, to supply water for 30 families (if he wishes it to be a village of 30 houses), let the land and water produce a surplus of food and grain, let the people become wise and intelligent by drinking this water and let sons and daughters be multiplied.”

⁴ *Singkol* is a tree having a hole in the body or making a hole by the branches. *Sing lusum* is a tree without branches, looking like a man without a head. Its literal meaning is a tree without a head. It is a sacred tree by itself.

Cultural Values

Anthropologists have divided culture into two levels. I appreciate, for example C. H. Kraft distinction of two levels: deep level culture and surface level culture (1999:385). The deep level culture is the causality, as Michael Kearney says, and the surface level is the effect, which is called surface level (1984:41). Deep level culture includes belief in life after death, fear of evil spirits and status in life after death. Surface culture includes sacrifices to evil spirits, hunting humans and animals, celebrations and feasting. Deep level culture has not been investigated by Zomi scholars. The Zomi worldview is full of fears that resulted in offering sacrifices to evil spirits in order to appease them (see Figures 2 A and 2 B p. 49).

Chin Khua Khai, who analyzed the Zomi worldview, classified causality, cosmos, dualism, luck, dream, time, event, myth and proverbs on the deep level, whereas social, educational, political, economic and religious systems were placed at the surface level (1999:55). He mixed up deep level and surface level cultural elements. According to Ngul Khan Pau, misfortunes are believed to have been caused by ultimate forces (1995a:21). He does not say what those ultimate forces are and the response to them. The ultimate forces are believed to have come from evil spirits and offering sacrifices was a response to it.

Pau also talks about social relationships as group above self (1995:22). To him obedience and loyalty of the individual to the group is the concept of group above self. However my argument is that the concept of group above self has been derived from the power of a group over the individual (Carey and Tuck 1976:227-230). In tribal warfare all the village men by the authority of a chief would conduct a raid on enemies, the group acting as one force which is stronger than individual force. The authority of the group must take precedence over individual agenda.

Moral Values

Zomi worldview is also relatively binary, with two levels: good and bad, holy and unholy, high and low, light and dark, fire and water, seen and unseen. Holy, good and light belong to the heavenly realm, whereas bad, unholy and dark, belong to the worldly realm. This is called a dualistic view of the cosmos. Darkness is identified with evil and light with divine. This is easily comprehensible when the Gospel is compared to light and sin to darkness.

Sexual immorality and having an illegitimate child damages the character and personality of the person. It is punishable with heavy compensation to the victims according to the customary law. Instead of stealing another's possessions, asking is encouraged in times of dire need. The guiding principle of moral conduct includes oral sayings of the people.

Moral conduct is also expressed in tales and myths. For example, the legend about two brothers (orphans) "Thangho leh Liando," who faced dire discrimination in food by their villagers. They shared a seed of millet. Millet is very small but the two brothers shared equally. The legend is to teach the society not to discriminate against people on grounds of birth or status. The story also has moral teaching of sharing things equally among children even if it is small. It serves as a moral code of conduct for the Zomi. Parents tell the story to their children so they will follow the same attitude towards their brothers and sisters. A *Dahpa* (a lazy person) story tells about the easy accumulation of wealth, which is liquidated in no time (Henderson 1965:6-8). The story has a moral teaching not to go for illegal means of wealth, which is still applicable today in the world of corruption.

Summary

Employing the phenomenological approaches to the data, the origin, migration theories, social behavior and religious concepts of the Zomi have been investigated through the available sources. The historical investigation reveals that the migration process was due to suppression from other ethnic rulers. The social and religious practices were prompted by their worldview assumptions as cause and effect. The social life, including drinking, dancing, and feasting, occupied the central core of cultural activity. The investigation of the kinship system, social structure and religious background of the people provides possibilities for knowing how far the Zomi culture has been influenced by western culture at the coming of Christianity. British annexation of the area paved the way for interaction with western culture for the first time, and also opened up the way for the coming of Christianity to the Zomi. This investigation also provides the opportunity to understand the social and cultural changes that occurred as a result of the revival movement of 1970s among the Zomi.

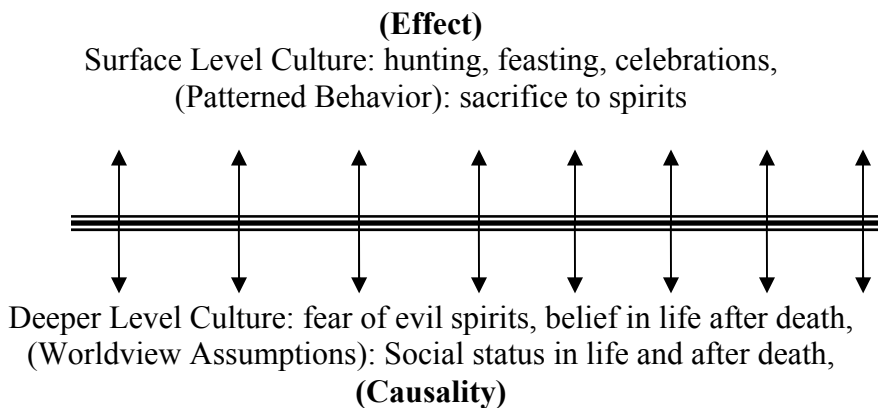


FIGURE 2 A

ZOMI WORLDVIEW
(C. H. Kraft 1999:385)

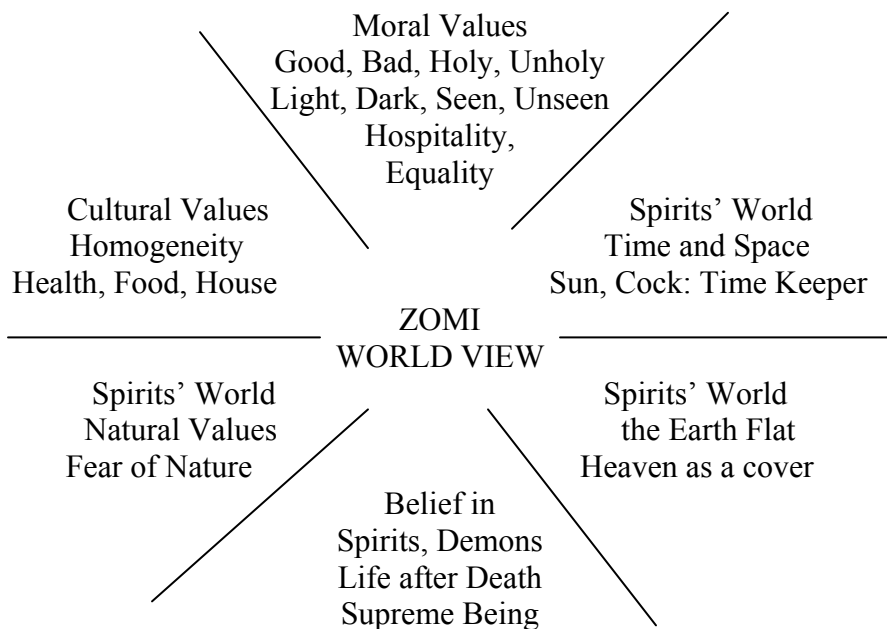


FIGURE 2 B

WORLDVIEW
(C. H. Kraft 1999:387)

CHAPTER 2

INITIAL ZOMI ENCOUNTERS WITH CHRISTIANITY (1899-1970)

In this section I will discuss the initial Zomi experiences of Christianity and will examine the western cultural influence. The approach is phenomenological, with attention to post-colonial concerns of power and knowledge. It has been pointed out that British annexation of the hill areas of Myanmar paved the way for Christian missionaries to come to the Zomi people.

The American Baptist Missionaries, who first introduced Christianity, adopted certain methods, such as literature, medical, and pastoral ministries, which impacted the religious, social and cultural life of the people from the 1910s onward. Later missions, especially the Roman Catholics and Seventh-Day Adventists, also contributed to western influence, but at a lesser rate.

However, Christianity was ushered into Zomi culture by an indigenous religious movement known as the “Laipian Movement,” which was also called the Traditional Religious Reformed Movement. Therefore I will discuss the prophecy of Pi Nuam Dim and the Laipian Movement created by Pau Cin Hau as a forerunner to Christianity. The influence of western cultures through various missions and method of religious change from animism to Christianity will also be examined.

The Prophecies of Pi Nuam Dim

Before the British conquest of the Chin Hills, the Zomi were under the chief of Kam Hau at Tedim (1840-1868). During the reign of Khua Cin (1869-1890), son of Kam Hau, a woman named Nuam Dim received messages to be delivered to the people from an unknown Supernatural Being. One day the Supernatural Being revealed himself to her saying, “My name is ‘*Pasian*’ (Holy Father) by which you should call me” (Ngin Suan 2003:1). She prophesied the coming of white people, the coming of other religions from abroad, and the introduction of modern machines and transportation means (2003:2). She also prophesied that another great ruler was going to invade the country and no one could stand against them, and the chieftainship of Khua Cin would come to an end without an heir (Pasian Thubu 1985:1-3).

The chief Khua Cin was enraged and warned her to keep silent or face death. His only son, Hau Za Kham, died of no sickness. On Hau Za Kham’s funeral day, Khua Cin’s courtyard was destroyed by storm and lightning. The people attending the funeral fell on the ground. The chieftainship went to his uncle Hau Cin Khup of Tonzang and Khua Cin’s rule came to an end, as prophesied by Pi Nuam Dim (Ngin Suan 2003:1).

In 1879, she also prophesied that out of many capable men, Pau Cin Hau was chosen by God to be a prophet and a blessing to his people (Ngin Suan 2003:2). Nuam Dim was the wife of Thual Khaat (Naulak). They moved from Tedim to Lailui six miles from Tedim when the British invaded the area in 1888, and then to Tungtuang and to Gamlai. They had no child at first, but in answer to her prayer a son was born in her late age. She named him “Sian Kam” after *Pasian* and later changed his name to On Za Kham, according to traditional practice. On Za Kham had a son, Khaat Khua Gin, who became one of the most successful pastors in Chin State. In accordance with her wishes, her children accepted Christianity (Nang Khen Khup 1985:3).

Pau Cin Hau and the “Laipian Movement”

Pau Cin Hau (1859-1948) was born of Khan Lian and Cing Zam at Tedim. His father, Khan Lian, was the son of Pau Vum the chief adviser of Chief Kam Hau. Khan Lian had eight sons and two daughters, among whom Pau Cin Hau was the fourth son (Ngin Suan 2003:1). According to his own account, Pau Cin Hau suffered a long illness from 1888-1902. His father offered all possible sacrifices he could afford in order to appease the evil spirits for his healing. However, he was no better. From 1900 onwards he claimed to have received a series of visions and prophecies (Census of India 1931:217). His own song reveals his revelation:

- a) Thangvan a zaal Sian Za Mang aw,
Tongdam khak heemin za'ng e.
- b) Pupa pat loh khua vaan nuai-ah,
Sian tongdam sin thu hi ee (Ngin Suan 2003:2).

Translated into English:¹

- a) The voice of Heavenly Lord God,
Down to me have I received?
- b) Ne'er heard in past ages under heaven,
None but it's a Divine voice.

His Visions

Pau Cin Hau claimed to have received a series of twenty-nine visions (Pasian Thubu 1985:4-42). These visions included:

1. To become a prophet telling the people whatever God wants him to tell.
2. To obey the word of God, otherwise there will be disaster, famine and death.
3. To worship God, creator of all things, who has power to heal all sicknesses.

¹ The English translation is my own.

4. To have seen heaven and hell by climbing up thirty stages of heaven by means of a rope and down to forty stages of hell in the underworld.
5. To have received a literary system by means of adding and subtracting pebbles.
6. To stop sacrifices to evil spirits but to cast out the devil with the power of God.
7. To observe Wednesday as a holy day and a day of blessing.
8. To construct a place of worship where his followers can praise the name of God.
9. To have seen modern inventions like ships and railway trains one after another on a particular day.
10. To have seen myriads of heavenly hosts, such as soldiers accorded with powers like stars in their bodies. These heavenly hosts had overcome the power of Satan and his subordinates.

Out of these visions, two will be discussed in regard to the creation of literature and to healing, which had impacted the Zomi.

On literature, Pau Cin Hau claimed to have received the literary system directly from God in a vision within a span of two years (Pasian Thu Bu 1985:12). In 1902, he had a vision where God appeared to him and instructed him to learn how to read and write. He showed him a book, and asked if he could follow it. He succeeded in reproducing the script from pebbles by adding and subtracting. It has thirty-seven consonants, twenty vowels and 1050 basic characters, each one representing a sound (Census of India 1931:217).

Because of the script, Hau was later known as Script Creator *Laipian*. With *Lai* meaning paper, and *pian* meaning origin, the term *Laipian* means the originator or creator of "Literature." His religion, as a religion of the script creator, has been known as *Laipian Paina*. Through the initiative taken by the Secretary of the British and Foreign Bible Society, W. Sharret, in Rangoon, the Sermon on the Mount was translated and

printed in 1931. It was discontinued when the Roman script was introduced by missionaries who wanted a simpler system for text in the Zo language.

The following year Pau Cin Hau claimed to have seen “many races of people flocking together in a huge plain.” There appeared a being adorned with glittering garments like gold and riding the sun as a horse. “He called me by name twice in succession ‘Pau Cin Hau, Pau Cin Hau, will you worship me?’ I said, ‘Who are you?’ and he replied, ‘The Lord who made heaven and earth, men, animals, the sun, the moon and the stars and who has power to cure all sickness’” (Census of India 1931:217).

Pau Cin Hau believed and prayed to God, “Oh God, creator of heaven and earth, the sun and the moon, animals and human beings, healer of all illness, heal me of my illness” (Census of India 1931:217). He was healed of fifteen years of illness when he decided to worship and pray to God (See Appendix A). He renounced the practice of animal sacrifice to evil spirits. At first, people did not believe him. When his health remained sound for the next six years, people eventually accepted his healing. He writes:

I stood alone in my faith for three years during which time the members of my own family, even, reviled instead of encouraged me, but gradually as my neighbors and even people from distant villages saw me still enjoying sound health, my religion began to spread until after six years when people from all parts of the hills became my fellow worshippers (1931:217).

He claimed to have healing power (G. K. Nang 1990:19). His healing power was confirmed when five persons were healed.²

His Religious Teachings

Pau Cin Hau taught the Zomi to worship the God who could cure all illnesses through prayer in the name of Pau Cin Hau. He claimed to have a healing power over all

² Cin Pau former senior Pastor in Tedim says that the following persons were healed who later became his faithful followers: Pau Za Kap, Khai Za Dong, Lian Zuan, Vum Khaw Thang, Hen Dam and Tel Ciin.

types of sicknesses. His teachings were based on nine doctrines or laws which are similar to the Ten Commandments (Ngin Suan 2003:7).

Pau Cin Hau also taught that there is heaven and hell. Heaven is the place of God, and those who worship him would go there. Those who refused him would go to the under world (hell). He also taught about judgment and salvation.

In the beginning, Pau Cin Hau's religion spread like wild fire and the people accepted it as the reformed tribal religion. For example, in 1909, E. H. East found 100 houses following Pau Cin Hau religion at Tonzang, the seat of the chief Hau Cin Khup (1983:144). East says that they prayed to *Jehovah Patien* by speaking in the mouth of an earthen jar. "O, Jehovah, creator and keeper of all the earth, O Jehovah, creator and keeper of all the earth, to thee we pray" (1983:144). Pau Cin Hau adherents numbered 28,000 in the Tedim area and 9,700 in the Falam area when the census was taken in 1931 (Census of India 1931:218).

However, Christianity outgrew this indigenous religion in subsequent years. According to the village record in 1984, there were 945 households and a population of 5705 (Nang Khen Khup 1985:49). Even though the number may not be precise, it reveals the impact of his religious movement on the Zomi. He paved the way for the coming of Christianity among the Zomi by renouncing sacrifices to evil spirits.

His Reforms

Pau Cin Hau denounced the sacrifice and offering of animals to evil spirits in order to get healing from sicknesses. It was a religious paradigm shift for the Zomi. Pau Cin Hau's teaching to stop offering to evil spirits was socially and economically meaningful to the Zomi. The fear of evil spirits had been diminished in the minds of the people. By offering domestic animals in times of illness, they impoverished their

economic conditions. He was the first to denounce the traditional religion of offering sacrifices to evil spirits.

Another reform was related to social customs. For example, Pau Cin Hau set a period of three days to bury a dead person. The practice in those days was to keep a dead body for many days or even a month. So he reformed it to three days, which has become a practice even until today in most cases among the Zomi (Hau Za Dal 2001:204).

He adopted some cultural elements in his religion. For example, he permitted light drinking of *zu* for his followers, as was also his practice. A cup of *zu* was handed over to each member during the service as a sign of gratitude to God, which appears to be a replacement of the Lord's Supper (Johnson 1988b:398). His teaching to observe Wednesday as a holy day was an alternative to the observance of Sunday. Observance of New Year in September was a replacement of the Zomi New Year called *Khuado* festival. He introduced a celebration of his birthday on December 28 in place of the Christmas celebration.

However, the most problematic teaching for the missionaries was that Pau Cin Hau regarded himself as a prophet of God and as the mediator between God and man. He taught that prayer to God must be done in his own name. As no compromise with the missionaries in Christology could be reached, the Pau Cin Hau religion became an indigenous movement among the Zomi.

The Term "Pasian"

The origin of the term *Pasian* for God in the Zo language has not been investigated. It has been the unquestionably acceptable term in relation to Bible translation since Christianity arrived among the Zomi. The term for God in tribal dialects of these areas is *Pathian* (Mizo), *Patien* (Sihzang), *Pathien* (Kuki, Hmar) and *Pasian* (Zomi). They mean the same: "Holy Father." Thaneisumpa in Tahan, Myanmar, says that

the Mizos have worshipped God and used the term *Pathian* since 1550 at Seipui village, and the Chin missionary A. E. Carson borrowed the term *Pathian* from the Mizo missionaries (Mi(sual).com Blog 2008). However, this theory too requires further investigation, as missionaries to the Mizo came only in 1894.

The Zomi term *Pasian* was first pronounced by Pi Nuam Dim³ and later developed by Pau Cin Hau. It is not known whether Pi Nuam Dim was influenced by missionaries, or by neighboring states as the Christian mission came to the Zomi in 1899. If Nuam Dim's prophetic ministry took place before Khua Cin's death in 1890, and the prophesy about Pau Cin Hau's appointment to be a prophet during Khua Cin's period, and the first missionary to the Mizos came in 1894, then Pi Nuam Dim was influenced neither by Chin nor Mizo missionaries. It could also be that the term *Pasian* was later interpolated by others in the prophecy of Pi Nuam Dim. Whatever the case, it may be that Pi Nuam Dim could be credited as the founder of the term *Pasian* in Zo language.

The ministry of Pi Nuam Dim as prophetess of the Zomi paved the way for the rising of Pau Cin Hau. As a prophet, Pau Cin Hau prepared the minds of the Zomi for the coming of Christianity. Pau Cin Hau first renounced the traditional religious practice in obedience to the voice of God, who revealed himself as creator of all things, heaven and earth. The teaching on prayer to God, who has power over evil spirits for healing, was a victorious message. He even risked his life in following the God who called him to be a prophet (Pasian Thu Bu 1985:6-7). Therefore, the introduction of Christianity to the Zomi was at the right time and must have been by divine appointment. This leads us to the coming of missionaries to the Zomi.

³ One possibility is that *Pasian* comes from Chinese *Pa-hsien*, meaning immortal. It is also written sometimes as *Ba Xian*. (Bowker 1997).

The American Baptist Missionaries to the Zomi (Chin)

British occupation led to the arrival of missionaries in the hilly terrain and mountainous region of the Indo-Myanmar border. One could expect that a missionary would come from Britain to the British colony in Burma. In the west, the British annexed the country of Mizoram in 1893, and Welsh missionaries entered Mizoram the next year in 1894. The British annexed the Chin Hills in 1895 and American missionaries came in 1899, only after four years of occupation. There were two mission stations: the first at Haka, the British army station, and the second at Tedim in the northern part of the Chin Hills. I will make a quick survey of missionaries and will discuss their contributions in the following sections.

At the time when the first missionaries came, the population of Chin Hills was estimated at 150,000 people, who had never heard the message of the Gospel (Carson 1899 as quoted by Johnson 1988b:25). The first young missionary was A. E. Carson from Columbus City, Iowa who served from 1899-1908. His wife, Laura Carson, had been a missionary among the Karens, supported by the Women's Department of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Societies. They were married in Myanmar and appointed to work among the Chins in 1887. They started work at Theytmyo among the plain Chins, waiting for an opportunity to enter Chin Hills. After twelve years, they were able to start a new mission station at Haka in 1899. However, A. E. Carson died in 1908, and his wife Laura Carson continued his work and left in 1920.

The next missionary to the Chins was a medical doctor, E. H. East and his wife, Emily East, from Kansas City, Kansas served from 1902-1910. E. H. East started his medical ministry in the hospital at Haka in 1902. He traveled a great deal to the north, up to the Tonzang and Rih villages on the Indian border. Due to ill health, East's tenure was abruptly cut short. He reluctantly left the Chin Hills on October 3, 1910. He died in 1939 in Portland, Oregon.

J. H. Cope and Elizabeth Smith Cope arrived in Haka in 1908 to start work at Tedim. However, they spent two years at Haka due to the death of Carson. They moved to Tedim in 1910 and opened a new station according to their assignment. J. H. Cope served the longest period—thirty-eight years—in Tedim station. His ministry was cut short when he died of illness on June 11, 1938 at Haka, and was buried there.

J. G. Woodin and Bessie Livers Woodin from Iola, Kansas came to replace East in 1910. They worked at Haka Hospital for five years and left in 1915, due to the wife's ill health. No replacement doctor could come, and the medical ministry was discontinued even until today.

C. U. Straits and Elizabeth Anne, natives of Glenwood City, Michigan arrived on April 5, 1926. They were greatly involved in literature ministry, opening a Bible School at Haka for fifteen years (1926-1941). The theological education continued to be an important ministry even today.

Franklin and Phileda O. Nelson from Minnesota came to Tedim in replacement of J. H. Cope in 1939. They opened a Bible School and went home on furlough after the first batch graduated in 1951. They could not return when their re-entry visa was refused by Burmese authority in 1952.

Robert G. Johnson and Elizabeth Johnson from Chicago, Illinois came in 1947 and left Burma in 1966 when the government of Burma closed the door to missionaries. R. G. Johnson concentrated his ministry for the Haka people in the Bible School and Bible translation. Johnson died on June 9, 2009 in Redland, California.

The first missionaries were not without helpers. The Karen workers came along with the first missionaries as interpreters. Out of seven helpers, San Win worked with the Carsons as an evangelist in Haka area. Shwe Zan and Po Ku began teaching in the school at Tedim, and then at Tonzang, the seat of a great chief. These helpers were descendants

of Karen Christians as a result of the work of the first missionary to Burma, Adoniram Judson, in 1813.

Missionary Methods

Missionaries adopted certain methods for evangelization of the Zomi. As the Zomi were not yet exposed to the world, they introduced medical service, literature and pastoral ministries.

Healing Ministry

Seeing the plight of the people, the first missionary A. E. Carson gave priority to healing ministry. His first action as missionary was to acquire land for the mission center and for a hospital. Johnson says that he acquired “thirty acres of pine wood land, built a school and a house, and plans were under way for the medical doctor to come and to minister to the appalling medical need” (1963a:385).

E. H. East came in 1902, and was able to start medical service in a twenty-bed hospital in 1904. Medical service was rendered free of charge. Missionaries and evangelists distributed medicines on their tours free of cost, as the Chins did not know the importance of medicines and they had no medium of exchange. They established relationships with the local people by means of medical service. It was through medical service that the first Zomi convert was won to Christ.

For example, East established friendship with Thuam Hang chief of Thuklai village by helping his son in sickness. He extracted his older son’s teeth. The father was very happy with the doctor (East 1983b:65). But Thuam Hang had another son who had spinal TB. His father offered many animals to the evil spirits, but the son was no better.

Now the evangelist Shwe Zan asked him to worship the God of heaven who alone could give life and health and save them from Satan and his hosts. Thuam Hang

began to pray with the evangelist. Thuam Hang came to the conclusion that he would save his son's life even if it cost him his own life. The belief was that if anyone touched the skulls and heads that had been sacrificed to the evil spirits (sacred objects), that person would surely die. The teacher told him that the whole thing was the work of the devil. If they wanted the God of the heavens to bless them, they had to break from all the works of darkness. If he did so, God would make his son well.

One day, Thuam Hang decided to take the test when his whole being was overcome with agony about his son. He filled a corner of his blanket with stones, sat down before the heads and skulls, and began to talk to them. He said, "So, if I touch you, you will kill me, so if I touch you, you will kill me" (East 1983b:66). He was agitated and began to strike every skull with a stone from his blanket. That was done. Filled with fear he sat down to die. When death did not come, he said, "You are a lie, I will worship the God of the heavens" (1983b:66). The teacher was with him throughout the whole episode and went up to his house to pray. Thuam Hang's son recovered from his sickness and lived a wonderful life (1983b:67). This is how the first Zomi was converted to Christ through medical service.

Through medical service the superstitious belief of the Zomi were changed. For example, one man was mauled by a tiger and taken to the hospital. The witch doctor and the people believed that he must surely die. However, with medical treatment he was healed. The people began to put their trust in the missionaries and trust in their old religion diminished (Johnson 1988b:272).

However, medical service did not bear much fruit among the Zomi as there was a problem with the people. The following factors played a role in the failure:

1. After offering all possible sacrifices in vain they brought their patients to the hospital as a last resort. It was usually too late.

2. The people did not want to die outside their homes, in the belief that their spirits would also roam about. They preferred to be at home when their illness became serious (1988b:380).
3. They could not give up drinking and smoking, preventing the medicine from working properly (1988b:273-275). Therefore, the medical ministry was discontinued when the Woodins left the country in 1915. Healing ministry has been missing in the life of the Zomi church even until today.

Literature and Educational Ministries

When the missionaries first came, the Zomis were without a written language. Tradition says that the Zomis once had a written language on leather. Dogs had eaten up the unattended leather and it was lost (Naylor 1925:46). However, there is no proof for this theory. The Karens also had a story of a lost book which was taken away by a white man and returned after many years (Pe Yee 1990:281). Obviously the introduction of Christianity to the Karens was regarded as a return of the lost book by the white man.

A. E. Carson and his Karen helpers reduced the Haka and Falam language into writing and prepared textbooks for schools. Laura Carson's translation of the four Gospels, the book of Acts and the Haka Hymnal of 126 songs appeared in 1920 (Johnson 1963a:387).

J. H. Cope, the first station missionary at Tedim (arriving in 1910), reduced the Tedim (Zomi) language into writing. With the help of Karen evangelists, Shwe Zan and Po Ku, he reduced the northern language into writing by using Roman script. The Pau Cin Hau script was abandoned due to difficulty in printing the many symbols. Within three years Cope printed "The Chin Primer" in the Tedim Dialect No.1 in Rangoon in 1913.

Cope's literary productions included a small song book in the year 1914, the book of Matthew in 1915, a monthly journal entitled the *Chin Hills News* (Tedim Thukizakna) in 1919, the New Testament in 1932 and *Pilgrim's Progress* in 1933. Six Chin dialects

were reduced into a written form by 1932 (Cope 1932c). The *Chin Hills News* (1919-1938) printed in Madras and distributed in the Chin Hills was the first newspaper in the area for promotion of literature, as well as the Gospel.

Another method of evangelism was through school education. For example, Schools were opened at Tedim (1902), at Khuasak (1904) and at Tonzang (1905). J. H. Cope also prepared school textbooks for primary classes up to standard four. When the British government took over all the mission schools by agreement in the year 1922, J. H. Cope eventually became an Honorary Inspector of Schools for the Chin Hills, a position which he held until his death in 1938 (Johnson 1963a:389). The Foreign Secretary of the American Baptist Mission, J. C. Robbins wrote to J. H. Cope when the New Testament in Tedim was completed:

I was tremendously interested in the literary work that you are doing and congratulate you upon the completion of the N.T. (Kamhau). I note what you say in regard to the question that is raised in your mind because of the amount of time that you are giving to schools and to translation work. I do not think that you should be concerned about that for I am persuaded that you are making a really worthwhile contribution to the development of the life of the people and that by your very presence and by the influence of your personality and of the preaching that you are doing you are three missionaries in one: educationist, translator, and preacher I wish that we have more Copes in all our fields (Robbins 1931).

The British government accordingly conferred upon J. H. Cope the honor of “The Kaisar-i-Hind Medal” (Second Class) in 1927 in Rangoon. The citation reads thus:

The Reverend Joseph Herbert Cope, Superintendent, American Baptist Mission, and Honorary Inspector of Government Schools, Chin Hills.- The Reverend Joseph Herbert Cope was the first person to give information of the Haka rebellion in 1917-18. He has been connected with mission work in the Chin Hills since 1908, and since 1920 he has carried out the work single-handed. He has always shown a very keen interest in education, and his mission schools in the Chin Hills have given excellent results. When the new system of education was introduced in the Chin Hills on the 1st of April, 1925, Mr. Cope undertook the preparation of the text-books in two different languages. He is still engaged on this laborious work and a great

deal of his time is devoted to it (*Brief Notes of the Titles and Rewards to be Presented* 1927:3).

With the introduction of schools at Tedim and Tonzang, the northern Chins were able to receive the Gospel through education. For example, the first students at Tonzang School—Vial Nang, Tun En and Cin Lang—accepted Christian faith and were able to help missionaries in the production of a small hymn book in 1914 (K. Z. Go 1990b:6).

Cope's death on June 11, 1938 at Haka while on tour was a deathblow to the Zomi. His wife, Elizabeth Cope, also left for America. The *Chin Hills News* came to an end and died along with him. The Bible translation work was discontinued due to lack of a competent native worker (see Figure 3 for development of Zo alphabets, p. 66).

The introduction of literature in Roman Script has advantages and disadvantages. The advantage is that it does not require a separate script for computer education in modern technology. It is perfectly suited to modern computer technology as it has minimal tonal signs. The disadvantage is that it abolished the introduction of indigenous literature created by Pau Cin Hau. His request to translate the N.T. in his script was denied in 1933 (K. Z. Go 1981a:3). The opportunity to have an indigenous script for the Zomi has been lost forever with the denial of the translation of the Scripture into that script.

Pastoral Ministry

The missionaries were aware of the need to nurture Christians when more and more people came to Christ. To take care of the new congregations the three Karen evangelists were ordained to the ministry by A. E. Carson on March 25, 1907, during the first Chin Hills Association meeting. Thuam Hang, the first convert, later became pastor of Thuklai Church, whereas Vial Nang became the first ordained native Pastor in 1923 at Tonzang without formal training. The first step taken was to train native people for pastoral ministry.

For example, Chester U. Straits started the first Bible School (1928-1931) at Haka with 13 students for the purpose of training native pastors to meet the growing needs of Christians. At first the medium of instruction was in the language of Haka and the four students from Tedim area could not understand the instruction as they did not comprehend a single word in the Haka dialect. However, they completed the course successfully (Johnson 1988b:510-511). The thirteen graduates became leaders in their respective churches. When the Straits left Burma, R. G. Johnson continued the Bible school with a four year course at Haka in 1947.

In the northern part of Chin State, F. O. Nelson started a Bible School with a four-year course in Tedim with twenty students (eighteen men and two women) in 1946. With the exception of two from Falam all of them came from the Tedim area. These graduates became the backbone of the Zomi church. Among them is Kam Khaw Thang who became a prominent leader in Myanmar, and who recently retired from active service.

The Nelsons went on furlough to America in 1951 with plans to return and improve the Bible School. The plan included establishment of a College which would include agriculture, science and theology. A medical hospital was also to be set up in the most convenient location for the Chin Hills. Nelson in fact preferred Tedim to be the location, because it has good water supply, telecommunication facilities and is connected with motor road, over the proposed Lumbang where there was no water supply (Nelson 1946c). The proposal was to establish a joint station instead of two at Haka and Tedim for better management of the Mission.

However, the Nelsons were denied entry visas by the Burma government without explanation. On December 7, 1952, the Tedim Baptist Association sent a petition, signed by nineteen pastors, to the Home Ministry requesting that they issue visas for the

ZO ALPHABET

A	B	C	D	E	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
N	O	P	S	T	U	V	W	Z	-21 letters		

The revised Alphabet in 1920 has three letters added and W dropped:

A	<u>AW</u>	B	C	D	E	G	<u>NG</u>	H	I	J	K
L	M	N	O	P	S	<u>SH</u>	T	U	V	Z	

-23 letters

The present alphabet revised in 1975 follows Roman alphabet:

A	B	C	D	E	<u>F</u>	G	H	I	J	K	L
M	N	O	P	<u>Q</u>	<u>R</u>	S	T	U	V	<u>W</u>	
<u>X</u>	<u>Y</u>	Z									

-26 letters.

The current alphabet follows the Roman letters even though the Tedim language originally does not have F, J, Q, R, X, Y. It is said to be of “G” group which means using a tonal sound. The Mizo and its allied dialects are known as “F” and “R” group.

Source: Til Shin Bu, Tid Dim Pau 1913, 1914, 1920 and Tan Lang Bu 1975.

FIGURE 3**DEVELOPMENT OF ZO ALPHABET**

(J. H. Cope 1913)

Nelsons. The Nelsons waited and waited until the end of 1954. There were misgivings and suspicions about the government action (K. K. Thang 1999b:50). For example, the government delegated one minister to visit the Chin Hills, inquiring about the Nelsons. To his surprise the minister met an educated and intelligent Zomi, S. T. Hau Go, who asked political questions that the minister, who was illiterate, could not answer. The Minister reported on the meeting with Hau Go, who acted on behalf of the missionaries, to the Home Minister, Foreign Minister and the General Secretary of Anti-Fascist Peoples Freedom League (A.F.P.F.L). They decided not to issue a visa to the missionary couple (Johnson 1952c). The door for the Nelson's return to Tedim was closed. It was a great loss for the Zomi for the following reasons:

1. The Tedim Bible School was discontinued, whereas there was a great need for trained leadership for the growing church.
2. The proposal to set up a Bible College was dropped because it was the Nelsons who would carry out the project.
3. The Nelsons severed their connection with the American Baptist Churches and joined the Baptist General Conference in 1954. Nelson later became the Director of Foreign Missions in the Baptist General Conference (Nelson 1954g).
4. Two missionary families—Norman Abells,⁴ appointed for the Hospital, and Leon Emmerts for Tedim station—were also refused a visa. They were instead sent to Zaire in Africa (Johnson 1988b:1,009). Both are now retired—the Abells residing in Florida and the Emmerts in Fort Wayne, Indiana.

When the missionaries could not come, S. T. Hau Go took up the position as principal of the Bible School at Tedim. Hau Go could not continue after one year, due to

⁴ Dr. and Mrs Norman Abells worked in Zaire, concentrating in Public Health since 1954. After 36 years of active service they retired in 1990 and settled in Florida. They have two sons and two daughters. Their eldest son is a doctor in Oklahoma City and their youngest son is missionary pilot with M.A.F. in Idaho. The Emmerts are also retired in Forte Wayne, Indiana.

health reasons. The School was moved to Haka in the year 1952 and then to Falam in 1953, at which point the Zomi Baptist Convention took full responsibility for the College. This was the birth of the Zomi Theological College (Z.T.C.), Falam, offering B.Th. degree program, in which about eighty students are enrolled every year. It is important that Z.T.C. served the whole Chin State until the 1980s as the only Theological Seminary for the Zo people in both India and Myanmar.

Roman Catholic Mission

The next Zomi encounter with western culture came through the Roman Catholic mission. Catholic mission of the Franciscans from Portugal arrived in Myanmar in the 16th century. However, Catholics did not come to the hills until late 1930s. Mainier of Mandalay visited Tonzang in 1939 at the request of the chief Pum Za Mang. Discussing the matter, Pum Za Mang permitted the Catholics to open a mission school and dispensary in his village. Since government permission was required to start a school, they could not promise this, but they established a dispensary in 1947. On their return to Mandalay, they sent Bha Maung and Tun Yin, who were well received at Tonzang. After two years, Bha Maung moved to Lailui and Tun Yin at Mualpi where they settled for mission work. They visited villages, preaching the word of God (Cin Khaw Zam 2006).

In December 1940, Blivet, Moses, Mainier and Chit Maung visited Tonzang from Mandalay. They reached Tonzang on December 24. Tun Yin, along with fifty young people, met them on the way. At Tonzang they celebrated the Mass three times and baptized Miss Lun Cing. While in Tonzang they visited the surrounding villages, including Khiang Lam, Lang Phun, Mualpi, and Taalzung (C. K. Zam 2006).

At Taalzung they baptized forty-one new believers. Pum Za Mang lent horses for their tour, and Go Cin accompanied as a cook and horse boy. Tonzang became the center for the Roman Catholic mission in the Hills. Moses was in charge of the station and

Kelbert succeeded him. Kelbert published a journal called *Thupha Puak* (Blessing) in the Tedim dialect. In 1961 he built the tallest church building with the steepest roof in the area at Tonzang. He left the area in 1966 on government order.

To continue Kelbert's work, Lian Za Thawng, a Zomi, came to Tonzang. Pum Khan Nang, a resident of Tonzang became a priest in 1959. Today there are fifteen Zomi Fathers and two Bishops.⁵ It is encouraging that at least two Zomis are serving as bishops. Mang Thang was promoted to the bishopric in 1992, and recently Felix Lian Khen Thang became bishop of the Chin State Diocese at Haka (C. K. Zam 2006).

The coming of the Roman Catholic Mission to the Hills was not an easy task. The policy of the mission agencies at that time was that no other foreign mission should enter the same area where one mission had already been in operation. R. G. Johnson writes concerning the reaction of the Baptist missionaries at the coming of Roman Catholics:

This mission finally arrived in the northern area about 1939 when they began a station at Tonzang, 20 miles north of Tedim town. I understand that at first no foreign priests arrived, but that they were Burman or Karen priests. The arrival of this mission caused Dr. Strait a great deal of distress, as he felt that the British were wrong to permit another mission to come into an area reserved until then for the Baptists (1988b:620).

Until now, the Zomi church was under the American Baptist Mission. The Roman Catholic mission made very few converts from the animists, as their converts were mostly from those who had already converted to Christianity. Soon there were problems regarding doctrine and practice. The new doctrine was that only members of the Catholic Church would be saved since the key to heaven was given to them (Mat. 16:16-19).

On the social front drinking, *zu* was permitted, which was strictly forbidden by Baptist missionaries (Nelson 1940a). Their teaching created misunderstanding among the

⁵ Bishop Lian Khen Thang (2006), Bishop Mang Thang (1992), Fr. Pum Khan Nang (1959), Fr. Thang Za Khai (1966), Fr. Thawng San Mung (1968), Fr. Nang Khan Mung (1984), Fr. Neng Khan Thawn (1984), Fr. Suan Khan Mung, Fr. Gin Khan Mung, Fr. Hau Khan Kap, Fr. Dem Cin Khup, Fr. Go Lian (1992), Fr. Tuang Pau (1991), Fr. Thang Ngaih Lian (2002), Fr. Thang Khan Lin, Fr. Zam Khaw Kam, Fr. Kam Hau. The reporter Cin Khaw Zam was a catechist at Haiciin village from 1956-2005.

Christians as they knew only the teachings of J. H. Cope. The Nelsons paid a visit to Tonzang soon after their arrival in 1940. Nelson gave them teachings on Catholicism, its beginning, doctrine and practices (Phileda Nelson n.d.:34). Thus, Roman Catholicism came to the Zomi as a counter activity, not in cooperation.

Another problem was that the Roman Catholics did not follow the comity agreements drawn up among the Protestant main-line missions, unlike their counterparts in India (K. Z. Go 1996c:53).

Several factors may have contributed to the coming of Roman Catholics among the Zomi. First, the Roman Catholic leaders were clever in that they sent Burmese and Karen priests first to start the mission work at Tonzang, to dispel the argument in relation to comity agreements.

Second, it was by the permission of the chief Pum Za Mang that a mission started at Tonzang. The relationship between the chief and Christians was not always good. Hau Cin Khup, father of Pum Za Mang, persecuted Christians and expelled them from his village. The chief was not always happy when Christians preached against slavery, drinking, and feasting (Johnson 1988b:344-347).

Finally, it could also be because of the relaxation of the drinking practice, in contrast to the strict abstinence laid down by the Baptist missionaries as a prerequisite for church membership. Therefore, looking at these issues, it might have been Pum Za Mang's intention to welcome a non-Baptist mission.

The progress of the Roman Catholic Church has been slow, but deeply rooted among the Zomi. The list of the Fathers from the Tedim area clearly indicates that the Roman Catholic mission made an impact on the Zomi.

Seventh-Day Adventist Mission

The Seventh-Day Adventist Mission was another group that the Zomi encountered. The Seventh-Day Adventists (S.D.A.) traced their origin back to the prophecy of William Miller, a Baptist pastor in the U.S. who prophesied that the return of Jesus would take place in 1843 (William Miller 2005:47). When it proved to be wrong, Miller went back to being Baptist, but his followers scattered in different directions observing the Seventh-Day of the week. They were known as the Seventh-Day Baptist Church, which later became known as “Seventh-Day Adventist” in 1860 under the leadership of Mrs. Rachel Oakes. They proclaimed their mission through printed material and Radio.

Even though the Adventist mission started in the 1900s in Myanmar, it penetrated to the Chin Hills only in the 1950s. In 1952, Ngul Khaw Pau, who visited Kolkata (Calcutta) as a driver, met a Lushai young man Lalrawna, who accepted Adventist belief. Ngul Khaw Pau wrote a letter to the Adventist missionary at Aizawl, W. G. Lowry, requesting a missionary for the Chins. In response to the request, A. E. Anderson, the Adventist missionary at Myaungmya, came to the Chin Hills in 1953 (Tun Khaw Nang 1992:46-57).

A. E. Anderson and his wife Lois Anderson of the U.S. first came to Burma in 1953, working at Tedim along with Go Za Kham of Yangon (Zam Mung 2006a). In 1954, Hang Za Gin and his friends—fourteen in all—were baptized as believers, including Ngul Khaw Pau on May 8, 1954, by Upper Burma Section President P. A. Parker. Ngul Khaw Pau was sent to Myaungmya Seminary, whereas Go Za Kham was sent to Spicer College in Pune, India. On completion of the course, Ngul Khaw Pau was ordained to the ministry in 1965 and Go Za Kham came back without completing the course, due to family problems. Later Go Za Kham returned to the Baptist Church and then joined the Evangelical Baptist Conference in 1976.

In 1960, the Adventist seminary (called Burma Union Bible Seminary) was founded at Myaungmya where most of the workers received their training. Ngul Khaw Pau later became the President of the Upper Burma Section in 1977 (Tun Khaw Nang 1992:58). Spicer Memorial College, in Pune, India, became one of the important educational institutions for Seventh-Day Adventists, where many young people from Myanmar go for education. For example, Dallian and his wife Niangno were graduates of Spicer Memorial College. They founded the Blue Star Academy at Lamka town in Manipur—one of the leading high schools in Manipur.

The S.D.A. doctrinal teachings are based on Revelation 3:6-12, where the angels prophesied about the world to come. They believe in the Trinity, Creation, the life and death of Jesus Christ, and the observance of two ordinances—baptism by immersion and the Lord's Supper. Christian life means to be obedient to the Ten Commandments and observance of the Sabbath. They also believe that there will be no rapture, and the revelation of Christ will take place here on earth, which will be a new creation and a new earth.

Free literature distribution as evangelistic work is one of the characteristics of the S.D.A. (1992:63). Emphasis on the social gospel through education for the poor and literature evangelism are the distinguishing marks of the S.D.A. (Zam Mung 2006b). One appreciative characteristic of the S.D.A. Mission is the emphasis on holiness of life for Christians—abstaining from smoking, drinking and chewing betel nut.

Cultural Influences on the Zomi

It is necessary to look at the cultural influences of various mission agencies on the Zomi. Each mission placed emphasis on beliefs and practices that impacted the Zomi in some way or the other.

Pau Cin Hau claimed in another vision that he saw God with ten hands riding the sun as a horse. He also claimed to have seen God with twenty hands, whose son and scribes are busy making earthly people rich and poor (Pasian Thu Bu 1985:8, 19). These visions of God having hands posed a question whether he was influenced by Hindu religion. Hindus worship a god with ten hands. At the time of his prophecy, the British colonialists occupied Burma along with Indian soldiers. It is possible that Pau Cin Hau was influenced by the Hindu concept of a god with ten hands. However, this god with ten hands did not have impact on the Zomi people, as there was no more mention about it. It could also imply God as the creator of human beings.

On doctrine, Pau Cin Hau's teaching was to pray in his own name. He demonstrated assurance of salvation to be with God, rejecting the mediatory role of Jesus Christ. The following song testifies his conviction of salvation.

- a) Sianmang sinthu ka ngaih manin
Phung tawh laukha hual maw'ng e,
- b) Ka pham zongin tung thangvanah,
Sian angah zal ding hi'ng e.

Translation:

- a) For my unwavering faith in Pasian,
With kin and kin I can't accord,
- b) I mind not this, for when I die,
In Pasian's bosom in heav'n I'll lie
(Pum Khan Thang n.d: 9).

Is there salvation outside Jesus Christ? This question addresses the central issue of the Christian faith. This posed a challenge for Christians, who held the doctrine of salvation only through Jesus Christ (cf. Jn. 14:6-8). For the Catholic Church, salvation means to be in the fold of the Catholic Church, as the key to heaven was given to them (Mat. 16:17-18). The Catholic Church is the only true way to God according to them. For

the Seventh-Day Adventist, observance of the right rest day—Sabbath—and obedience to the law is the way to salvation (T. K. Nang 1992:52).

Regarding the cultural mandate, Pau Cin Hau retained several aspects of traditional religious practices. For example, he retained the term *palikte* (police) for evangelist and sacrifice to evil spirits was substituted by prayer. Social customs such as drinking *zu*, dancing and singing in traditional form were retained. No western hymns are used in Pau Cin Hau religion, even today (G. K. Nang 1990: 24). He served *zu* in place of wine for the Lord's Supper. The Catholic Church allowed moderate use of *zu* as drink (Nelson 1940a). The Adventist and the Baptists hold the same view on local drink but differ on meat-eating practices. Adventists condemned eating pork as unclean meat, whereas Baptist Christians view that all animals are given for food, as human beings are given authority to be lord of the creation (see 1Cor. 9:25-26; Rom. 14:5-6).

However, both Pau Cin Hau and J. H. Cope missed the opportunity for compromise. Pau Cin Hau could have accepted Jesus Christ as the mediator between man and God, not himself. J. H. Cope could have accepted cultural adaptations, such as singing in the form of traditional tunes and dancing in the church without ritual practices.

For the Zomi, social and cultural issues such as drink and observance of feasts and festivals were more important than doctrine. These social issues became major obstacles for Christian growth. In dealing with the social issues the missionary J. H. Cope introduced certain principles, called Huang Khenna⁶ (demarcation line) on July 23, 1926, at Khuasak, the village of the first converts. The following principles were used to distinguish between Christians and non-Christians:

1. No Christians were to participate in the feasts and other rituals of the Animists, especially when beer and other intoxicating drinks were served.

⁶ Thuam Khan Thang, in his speech on “Cope and Zomi Culture” on November 2, 2008 at Tedim during the pre-celebration of Cope's centenary to be held in 2010, quoted these rules set up for Christians.

2. No Christian should slaughter animals for the purpose of carving them up and distributing to relatives (like Animists do) in the death-house on funeral days.
3. No Christian should take part in group dancing, mixing with non-Christians.
4. All Christians should observe Sundays as wordship-days (sic) and no manual labors be undertaken (Kip Thian Pau 1999:54).

In addition to these rules, Christians and non-Christians had separate burial grounds in a village (1999:53). These principles became a moral code for Christians and established as a model for Christian behavior. Thuam Khan Thang also mentions that no Christian parents should accept a bride price against their daughters. By taking a bride price, parents sell their daughters, degrading the status of women.

Thuam Khan Thang is of the opinion that Cope was the architect of Zomi cultural reforms. My argument is that it was not a reform but a rejection of Zomi culture in toto without rationalization of good and bad (Cope 1932c). For example, when Christians were not allowed to participate in festivals and feasts, cultural values have been regarded as anti-Christian even today. Festivals including singing in traditional tunes, dancing and use of music did not have a place in the church.

Distribution of meat on a wedding day or funeral day also established kinship relationships. It could be carried out without rituals. For example, the *Tanupi* (first married daughter) would get a half-thigh of the animal killed by the house owner. The *Pu* (mother's brother) would get a neck or thigh flesh of the animal, signifying respect as a life giver. Taking no bride price resulted in discontinuation of distribution of meat among Christians. As a result, kinship relationships have been slowly diminishing. Therefore, some of the cultural values have been buried in Christianity.

The other argument is with regard to bride price. The missionaries, as well as western writers, often misinterpreted bride price as selling of daughters. They failed to see the real meaning of the custom. It is a seal of marriage and confirmation of the relationship established by the marriage between two parties. Having no bride price is

regarded as degrading oneself. Therefore, bride price is still practiced by some Christians today, especially in India. However, the bride price must not be regarded as the dowry of the Hindu marriage custom, since the Zomi accept a minimum as a token of confirmation of the marriage relationship.

Point of Departure

It was not easy for the Zomi to embrace Christianity from animism, departing from feasts, festivals and celebrations. However, since the Japanese invasion, the Zomi were exposed to the modern world and to the social and religious life of others. I will discuss the Japanese invasion in more detail in the next chapter. Lian Sakhong had quoted F. K. Lehman, saying that the Chin had “two choices: to become Buddhist in the Burman mould, or to adhere to some other world religion. The First course was unacceptable to most Chin because it would have amounted to giving in to the Burman, so the Chin took the second” (2000:333). According to Sakhong, the choice was between Buddhism and Christianity. He seems to be unaware of the attitude of the Zomi towards Buddhism or Hinduism. Buddhism did not become part of Zomi religious consideration.

The Zomi were confronted with two religious choices: traditional religion and Christianity—not with Buddhism. Politically, becoming part of Burma or India does not mean to become Buddhist or Hindu. For example, J. H. Cope mentioned one woman who embraced Christianity over animism. Cope said one woman was “tired of sacrificing to the spirits and wanted something better. Had her husband been there, perhaps both might have been won. At other places the same spirit was manifested” (Cope 1919b).

When Zomi accepted Christianity over animism they performed a ritual service at the home of the convert, called *inn phiat* (house-cleansing). In those days *inn phiat* was a popular conversion activity and was taken seriously. For example, E. H. East reported in 1910 such house-cleansing activities.

Mr. Cope and I were now in Tang Nu Kwa (Thangnuai Village) by invitation. We were called there by the people, as seven families have accepted “the new way” and have asked us to help them break down the altars and all emblems of evil spirit worship, to remove all heads of animals sacrificed and all bamboo resting places for evil spirits. This is quite a job as there are many altars and many skulls, sometimes numbering fifty to a hundred, and as we have to take the initiative in order to embolden the people to touch things formerly held sacred and to help us in this most destructive breaking down of spiritualism and building up of Christianity. It took us from about 2 PM until the lengthening of the shadows. The last house we sanctified to God belonged to an old couple, and when all emblems had been taken out and readied to be burned, the old man asked, ‘Will I dare to sleep in this house tonight since the spirits are not here to protect us and they have no resting place?’ We then knelt and I placed my hands upon their heads and prayed ‘that Jehovah God should now and thereafter dwell with them to protect them against sickness and all harm.’ Now they were ready to go back into the house and were not afraid, as God was greater than evil spirits (East 1910).

As a sign of change in belief, all the traditional emblems, such as heads of animals, legs, and feathers that were sacrificed to spirits, were removed from the home and burned (see Acts 19:18-19). Anthropologist Allan Tippet termed it an “act of rejection or rite of separation” (1999:328). The issue here is fear—fear of spirits. In the mind of the Zomi, it takes some time to be completely freed from fear of spirits. All items that had to do with spirit worship were put away as a sign that the concerned family had no more connections with the traditional religion.

The gesture of the above cited family clearly indicates how strong the fear of the spirits was. However, since WWII this fear has been diminishing in the mind of the Zomi. Lian Sakhong is right when he says “During the war, however all these holy places were trampled by soldiers and became camps or battlefields ... nothing happened to the soldiers who violated their taboos and profaned their holy places. As a consequence many people were converted to Christianity” (2000:299). Nelson also mentioned another incident in his letter of 1941.

A few Sundays ago, we witnessed an interesting sight. In the nearby village of Lailo, two families had decided to become Christians. Sunday

afternoon, accompanied by several members of the Tiddim Church, we walked down to Lailo, about four miles from Tiddim. We met in one of the homes that was to become Christian. First we had a devotional service. One of the elders from Tiddim gave a talk in which he set forth the privileges and obligations of becoming followers of Christ. Then the missionary gave a short evangelistic message. When the service was over, the two elders from Tiddim together with the heads of the home, went through the entire house, gathering up all the objects relating to their former worship of “nats” or evil spirits. All these objects were carried out and thrown into the jungle. A small stone fireplace, used only in the preparation of a meat offering to appease the spirits of the ancestors, was torn up and destroyed. Gourds that had been fashioned into cups to catch and hold the blood of animals, then set apart to satisfy the nats, were likewise discarded. Going out into the front yard, two tall poles used in their heathen worship were pulled up and carried away. Then we proceeded to the other home where a similar service was conducted with another house cleaning after the service (Nelson 1941b).

Nelson’s observations, however, require reconsideration on two issues. First, the idea that gourds hold the blood of animals, and then are set apart to satisfy the “nats,” might be incorrect. These gourd cups hold meal or food offered to the spirit of the deceased members in the family, not blood. It is believed that the spirit of the deceased might visit the house in hunger and search for meal or food to eat. By offering meal or food they felt that they were feeding the family members who had been gone.

Second, the two tall poles erected in the front yard were not a part of worship of evil spirit. They were erected to mark the animal killed for the *Tonh* feast, and the two poles represented the husband and wife of the family. As the two poles stood together, the marriage of the husband and wife became inseparable since they offered the *Tonh* feast. It is a sign of the marriage bond.

The house was not just a home for people; it was also an abode for the spirit called *inn daw*i. When the Zomi wanted to become Christian, the first thing the Zomi did was to let the *inn daw*i leave the house. In order to do this they needed to clean the house and destroy the altar. They also removed fetishes attached to the neck of children to ward off illness caused by evil spirits.

Usually baptism followed the *inn phiat*. From the traditionalist point of view, the *inn phiat* and baptism were crucial signs of departure from the “old way” to the “new way.” These are part of the conversion process that formed key social and ritual activities through which the transformation of identities and communities was accomplished (L. Sakhong 2000:344).

Summary

In this chapter I have examined the cultural and religious influence of western culture on the Zomi from phenomenological, historical and non-ideological perspectives.

The origin of the term for God has been formulated for the first time, which is open for future debate. Through Pau Cin Hau’s ministry the fear of the evil spirits diminished and offering sacrifices to evil spirits had been fading away significantly. His religious teaching to pray to God for healing impacted the people to accept the Christian faith.

Missionaries adopted certain methods for evangelization of the Zomi, including medical service, literature, education and pastoral ministries. Introduction of literature by missionaries and translation of Scripture into local languages became the beginning of the introduction of modern knowledge for the people, which has had a lasting impact on the life of the target group.

The encounter with Christianity, including Roman Catholic and Seventh-Day Adventist churches, influenced the life and culture of the people at different levels. The introduction of a moral code for Christians had negative implications—as if culture is opposed to the Christian faith. As a result, some of cultural values have been lost through western Christian influence. However, the Zomi embraced Christianity because it offers a better religious system in comparison with the burdensome nature of animism. Before

going to the revival itself, it is necessary to look at the political, social, economic and religious conditions of the Zomi that experienced the revival.

CHAPTER 3

THE BACKGROUND OF ZOMI REVIVAL: CULTURAL CONTACTS FROM WORLD WAR II TO 1970

The Zomi faced a series of problems due to contact with other cultures preceding the revival of the 1970s. Politically and economically, the period was unsettled due to local independence movements. These movements—directly or indirectly—affected the cultural and social life of the Zomi. Religiously, spiritual nurture was inadequate. The Church was in the hands of native leadership, as missionaries had left the country in 1966 on government order. So I will examine the Zomi encounter with social, economic, religious and political powers from other cultures preceding the revival movement. The approach is phenomenological, informed by the writings of Marc Bloch and the post-colonial theorists.

Japanese Invasion (1942-1945)

Zomi contact with another Asian culture took place when the Japanese invasion reached Burma. It was the last leg of WWII, part of the Japanese campaign to take control of South East Asia. British colonialism was at stake, as independent movements had taken its hold in Burma and India. Under the leadership of General Aung San, Burma's independence movement helped the Japanese take Burma. On the other hand, the Indian National Army (I.N.A.) under the leadership of Subhas Chandra Bose was on the side of the Japanese to free India from British colonial rule. But Chandra Bose did not succeed in freeing India, as he was believed to have been killed in an air crash.

Taking advantage of the opportunity, the Japanese gave military training to Aung San and his thirty comrades in Tokyo and formed the Burma Independence Army (B.I.A.) in 1941. Thousands of young Burmese joined the B.I.A. With the help of the B.I.A., the Japanese Imperial Army captured Yangon without much opposition from the British Burma Army on March 7, 1941. The British forces left Yangon for India and the Governor Sir Reginald Dorman-Smith fled to Simla where he established his administration there and came back only in 1945 (U Nu 1975:114).

By December, 1942, the Japanese occupied the whole of Burma proper except the hill areas of the Zoland. Assistant Commissioner Norman W. Kelly called a meeting of Zomi chiefs at Tedim to discuss the impending attack of the Japanese from Kale Valley on April 25-26, 1942 (see Appendix B). In order to defend the land, the Zomis agreed to form Chin Levies "A" and "B" (Vumson 1986:158). The Chin Levies were under the command of H. N. C. Stevenson and G. E. Naylor, assisted by Zomi leaders. The Zomi commanders included On Khaw Mang from Thado, Vung Za Cin, Khup Za Tung, Thang Za Kam from Tonzang, Thawng Za Khup and Hau Za Lian from Sukte, Dam Khaw Mang, Lian Thawng, Mang Pum and Thian Pum from the Sihzang area (Khamtungmite 1985:67). At that time Pum Za Mang was the great chief at Tonzang.

The first action of the British was the construction of roads at two sectors. One was Imphal-Lamka-Tonzang-Tedim-Kalemio in the hills named "Tedim Road" and the other sector was Imphal-Moreh-Tamu-Kalemio in the plains. The construction of the Tedim road was carried out under Pum Za Mang as contractor stationed at Cikha. Transportation of goods, ammunition, food and other supplies was carried out by the Supply Officer, assisted by S. T. Hau Go. For two years the Chin Levies defended their country from Japanese invasion (G. Z. Tuang 1973:48). When Japanese intelligence succeeded in getting into a Gurkha regiment that got information about British locations, they destroyed the ammunition center at Tedim with rockets from Kalemio. The British

contingents (Allied forces), under the command of Colonel Scoones, decided to retreat for a while from Tedim (1973:48).

On learning of the retreat, the Japanese forces quickly moved to Tedim and occupied it on March 19, 1944. The Japanese commanders were Masada, Imamura, Inada, Itoh and M. Yanagida. They immediately called a meeting of Zomi leaders and formed the Chin Defense Army (C.D.A.) to fight the British. The leaders included Vung Suan, Kim Ngin, Ngo Zam, Pum Za Kam, Khup Sa Vung, Tel Do Lian, Thawng Za Hau, Tuang Cin and En Thawng. They were given military training at Tedim.

In the beginning the Japanese were cordial to the Zomis, but as supplies and ammunition diminished they became furious and depended on food obtained from Zomis by force. Gin Za Tuang noted that the first greeting was a slap in the face, a kick with boots and gun buttons, and instant killing of those who appeared to be pro-British (G. Z. Tuang 1973:51).

In order to defend the rights of local people, the “Chin Leaders Freedom League” (C.L.F.L.) was formed to prevent ill treatment by the Japanese upon civilians. The leaders included Vum Kho Hau, Pau Za Kam, Khai Mun Mang, Vul Za Thang, Gin Za Tuang, Lun Pum, Sum Mang, Awn Gin, Zukthio and Pi Dim Kho Cing. They saved many lives from the hands of Japanese brutality. For example, the lives of Khup Za Neng, Vung Za Nang, Hang Za Gin, Luai Thang and Lian Khaw Gin who were unjustly sentenced with death penalty were saved¹ (Pum Za Mang 1944).

The Japanese forces reached Bishenpur near Imphal under the command of Lt. Colonel Motozo Yanagida. The 33rd Division and 31st Division under the command of Lt. Colonel Yumimori Sato reached near Imphal via Dimapur road, ready to capture Imphal on April 29, 1944, the birthday of Japanese king Hiroshito. However, the commander of

¹ These persons were suspected of reporting Japanese activities to British authorities. The Chin leaders saved their lives by signing a bond on their behalf. The chief, Pum Za Mang, circulated a letter to all village headmen to be cautious to avoid misrepresentations.

the air sector, Lt. Colonel Naborru Taday, was unable to provide air supply, and their plan to capture Imphal could not be carried out (G. Z. Tuang 1973:51).

In addition to this, the Japanese lost to the British forces in the encounter at Kohima. Unable to stand, the Japanese immediately retreated to Tedim road, where they lost hundreds of lives due to hunger, thirst, diarrhea and fever. For example, in the Japanese Hospital at Tedim, 100 laborers were engaged to bury dead bodies every day during this period (G. Z. Tuang 1973:51).

In the course of the encounters, the Japanese lost 1,316 lives; 533 were wounded, and 53 taken as prisoners. The British side lost 88 lives, and 293 were wounded (Vumson 1986:173). H. Kam Pum (Rtd. Colonel) estimated the total loss of Japanese in Burma to be over 50,000, while the British lost 12,000 in the encounter at Kohima (2002:41). The effects of the war can be summarized as follows.

First, the traditional religious belief was shuttered and weakened. For example, during the war the traditional sacrifice could not be offered in a proper way. In such a sacrifice the sacrificer had to observe certain days as sacred, called *zehtang* (sacred day), remaining confined to the house. It could be three days, a week or even a month. Violation of this observance would result in the sacrifice becoming null and void. During the war that kind of observance could not be carried out, as they were forced to be porters and suppliers of food stuff. Their sacred places of *tualbiakna* (sacrificial place for the village) became a battle ground or military training ground. When no harm happened to those violators of the sacred place, faith in traditional religious practices became weakened (Za Tuah Ngur 1993:73).

Second, people learned modern medication for healing. For example, during the war the people learned from the treatment of wounded soldiers that modern medication could heal sickness and illnesses. The dangers they faced during the war led them to seek security in God, and many accepted Christianity after the war.

Third, people found spiritual answers in Christianity. Za Tuah Ngur calls this a psychological factor of the Zomi population that the traditional religion could not address. Christianity offered inner security at a time when all else was uncertain (1993:72). However, Za Tuah Ngur has not pointed out the healing process of the psychological and spiritual factors.

Fourth, their economy suffered as they were forced to be porters, unable to properly attend to their farming. All the horses were used as porters to Manipur but were not returned (Kam Pum 2002:43). At the same time they had to support the enemies with food in the battle field.

Finally, living conditions improved after the war from primitive ways to modern ways of living. Men and women learned the use of modern clothing. Women began using long skirts since then (Gin Khan Khual 1998:57). The worldview of the Zomi was changed. In defense of the country the Zomi learned a sense of nationalism and unity.

Mention also may be made that there is no report of sexual abuse on women by the Japanese, unlike their attitude towards the Koreans and Filipinos during the war. The reason could be that their stay was short, concentrated on fighting against the enemies. Also the Chin Leaders Freedom League could be accredited for protecting the lives of their people not only from sexual abuse but also from death sentences.

Panglong Conference, 1947

During British colonial rule the Zomi exercised a certain administrative system of their own under the Kam Hau chief. At the end of the Japanese invasion, India and Burma were about to be freed from the British colonial regime. To consider the future of the hill people of Burma, a meeting of frontier leaders from Shan, Kachin and Chin was convened at Panglong, Shan State, on February 12, 1947.

Vum Kho Hau, Hlur Hmung, chief of Lumbang; Thawng Za Khup, chief of Saizang and Kio Mang, chief of Haka, represented the Chin community. Vum Kho Hau, a high school graduate from Thuklai, became interpreter in the Panglong conference. As interpreter he played a mediating role between the British and the Zomi people (Vumson 1986:191). Vum Kho Hau in fact was the first Zomi who became Burma's ambassador to France, the Netherlands, Indonesia, Austria, Hungary and Czechoslovakia from 1955-1977.

Out of the nine resolutions, the fifth and the seventh were directed to the Hill people that guaranteed freedom of administration and protection (see Appendix C for the rest of the resolutions).

(v) Though the Governor's Executive Council will be augmented as agreed above, it will not operate in respect of the Frontier Areas in any manner which would deprive any portion of these Areas of the autonomy which it now enjoys in internal administration. Full autonomy in internal administration for the Frontier Areas is accepted in principle.

(vii) Citizens of the Frontier Areas shall enjoy rights and privileges which are regarded as fundamental in democratic countries (Hugh Tinker 1984:404-405).

The signatory on behalf of Burma was Gen. Aung San, father of the present Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. The British officials wanted to preserve the rights and identity of the frontier people as those of their brothers in Indian frontiers. Since this agreement envisaged autonomy for the frontier people in internal administration and protection of the area—as they had enjoyed since the time of their ancestors—it was perceived by some politicians as a threat to Burma's unity. It also included a right to secede after ten years² (U Nu 1975:131).

² The Right to Secession, as found in the Burma Constitution of 1947 (1947:58)

201. Save as otherwise expressly provided in this constitution or in the Act of Parliament made under Section 199, every state shall have the right to secede from the Union in accordance with the conditions herein after prescribed.

202. The right of secession shall not be exercised within ten years from the date on which this

When Aung San and six elected cabinet members were assassinated on July 19, 1947, by his political opponents, the actual independence agreement was signed by U Thakin Nu and Vum Kho Hau on behalf of Anti-Fascist Peoples Freedom League (A.F.P.F.L) party and by British Prime Minister Atlee on behalf of the British government (Tinker 1984:133). It was known as the Nu-Atlee Agreement, signed on January 4, 1948, which granted Burma independence (Vumson 1986:196).

***Burma Independence and Establishment
of Buddhism as State Religion***

When Burma became an independent country on January 4, 1948, the new constitution of the Union of Burma ruled out the power of chiefs. But the chiefs refused to relinquish their power, and provided six parliamentary seats for the Chins (Sian Khan Thang 1980:133). A historic meeting of representatives from all Chin tribes was convened at Falam on February 18-20, 1948. Lian Sakhong says that the purpose of the meeting was to resolve who would fill the six seats in the Union of Burma Parliament (2000:329). However, Sian Khan Thang, the Tamu Township Chin Cultural Committee Chairman at the time, says that the reason for calling the meeting was to resolve the power and position of the chiefs after independence (1980:133). But it was both.

More than 5,000 delegates attended the meeting from Tedim, Falam, Haka, Matupi, Mindat and Paletwa districts. At the meeting it was decided to unite the six districts as the Chin Special Division and free them from the rule of the chiefs for “self

constitution comes into operation.

203. (1) Any state wishing to exercise the right to secession shall have a resolution to that effect passed by its state Council. No such resolution shall deem to have been passed unless not less than two thirds of the total numbers of the state council concerned have voted in its favor.

(2) The Head of state concerned shall notify the President of any such resolution passed by the council and shall send him a copy of such resolution certify by the chairman of the council by which it was passed.

204. The President shall there upon order a plebiscite to be taken for the purpose of ascertaining the will of the people of the state concerned.

determination” It was a momentous occasion for the Zomi when the hereditary rule of the chiefs came to an end, and the Zomi were freed from paying loathsome taxes to the chiefs. Lian Sakhong is of the opinion that “it was not only abolishing traditional political system of chieftainship, but also their traditional worship became defenseless religion” (2000:331). However, he does not explain how far the political shift affected the traditional religion as defenseless.

It was supposed to be the beginning of “self-determination” and political “freedom” for the Zomi. The date—February 20—in which the vote was taken, has been observed as *Zomi Nam Ni* (Chin National Day)—a day of freedom from the yoke of chieftainship. It was recognized by the successive Parliaments as a national holiday in the Union of Burma (L. Sakhong 2000:332). Coincidentally, on the same day February 20, 1987, Mizoram became a full-fledge State of India, and this date is observed as “State Day” in Mizoram.

The expectation of self-determination for the Zomi came to an end at the death of Gen. Aung San. The formation of the Chin Special Division was upgraded to Chin State in 1974 without political power and privileges (Vumson 1986:240). The Zomi enjoyed democratic rule only for a short period of time (1948-1962) under the leadership of U Thakin Nu, popularly known as U Nu, the first and only democratically elected Prime Minister of the Union of Burma.

However, U Nu was in trouble when he agreed that Buddhism would be the state religion in 1960. The frontier leaders agitated, leading to opposition from the Christian community all over the country. The lawmakers wanted to include Buddhism as a state religion in the constitution from the very beginning of independence, in line with Ireland, where Roman Catholicism was a state religion in the constitution (U Nu 1975:128, 204-206).

Ne Win took over power in a military coup-d'etat in 1962 in an attempt to save the country from further degeneration (Vumson 1986:207). Since the dissolution of Parliament by the military regime until today, no democratic administration has been restored. The dream for political freedom and self determination came to a close and no bright political prospects have been in the offing. There is no constitutional safeguard for the undeveloped frontier area and no political forum has been set up where they can exercise, express and raise their voice, wishes and feelings.

Political suppression and dissatisfaction was felt in most sections of the society. The people lost hope in future government for effective democratic rule in the country. Nelson comments, "They would far rather be under British government than Burmese government" (Nelson 1948d). The church was affected by this psychological discontentment in the minds of the masses. The Zomi were in search of hope for the future. The introduction of Buddhism as the state religion, coupled with military rule, resulted in an uprising among the Zomi called *Thual Zen Gal* (Thual Zen Rebellion).

Local Nationalist Movement: Thual Zen Gal (1964-1965)

The dissolution of Parliament and the introduction of Buddhism as the state religion resulted in uprisings throughout the country, especially among the Karens, Kachins, Shans and Chins. The Zomi formed the Chin National Union, a political wing under the leadership of Hrangawl of Falam and Son Cin Lian of Tedim, both former members of the Parliament (Vumson 1986:232-233). Later they were joined by Dam Khaw Hau, Ralhmung, Hmunhre, and Rothang, who were Rangoon University graduates.

Son Kho Pau of Thuklai, who lost his career in the Burmese regiment, and Thual Zen, a former military sergeant from Lamzang, also joined the movement. They fled to India on the border between the states of Manipur and Mizoram. With the help of Tun

Kho Pum,³ a Baite leader from Manipur, they formed the United Chin Government. They were able to obtain help from the Pakistani and Indian governments. In 1964 they planned to attack Tedim, Falam and Haka simultaneously with thirty personnel trained in Pakistan, to get money from treasuries to buy arms. From the base at Tuisan the leaders split up into two groups to attack Falam, Haka and Tedim (Vumson 1986:234-235).

Hrangawl led the party of twenty strong men to attack Haka. On their way they easily captured the border town of Rih which was held by a platoon of the Burmese army. They were unable to take Haka, as news of the impending attack leaked two hours before their arrival. The police at Haka took a defensive position and drove back the attackers, but the treasury clerk was killed in the cross fire (Vumson 1986:235).

Thual Zen,⁴ the commander-in-chief of the movement, led 700 strong men to attack Tedim. Instead of attacking the town, Thual Zen and his lieutenants met Col. Vankulh, the commander of North West Burma Army and Thawng Cin Thang, the Commissioner of the Chin Special Division. Vankulh and Thawng Cin Thang themselves Zo, convinced the nationalists to lay down their arms in order not to cause hardship and difficulty for their own people. Vankulh and Thawng Cin Thang promised amnesty to the nationalist group. Thual Zen and his men agreed to lay down arms and return to their own villages. Contrary to the promise, they were arrested and sent to jail in Monywa, where they spent eight years of imprisonment (Vumson 1986:237). Thual Zen died in jail while serving his jail term. The movement was known as *Thual Zen Gal* (Thual Zen Rebellion).

The activity of the nationalists attacking the government offices in Burma resulted in withdrawal of support from the Indian government. The leaders Son Kho Pau,

³ Tun Kho Pum of Baite tribe in Manipur South District started anti-Indian movement when his attempt to contest Manipur Legislative Assembly elections in 1963 was denied. He went to Pakistan and established relationships in procuring training and arms deals. He was believed to have been killed during an M.N.F. uprising at the Manipur - Mizoram border (Vumson 1986:236).

⁴ Thual Zen, ex-serviceman from Lamzang near Tedim, was a successful businessman who became a self-style general in the movement. He was also known as General Thual Zen.

Hrangawl and Dam Khaw Hau were arrested and deported to Burma and others hid themselves in Manipur South District (Vumson 1986:236).

A number of factors may have played into the failure of the movement. First, the leaders lacked co-ordination and determination. Thual Zen must have been regarded as insincere and untrustworthy by his colleagues for not carrying out his assignment.

Second, lack of education of the masses on the movement resulted in leaking the news of the attack at Haka. The frontier people were faithful by nature and had little knowledge of politics. The nationalists failed to receive support from the local people. They were seen as trouble makers by the local people.

Third, they carried out the attack without proper preparation and sufficient number of trained personnel.

Fourth, the aim of the attack was to obtain money from the treasuries for buying arms, so they were regarded as gangs (Vumson 1986:234). The movement was not regarded as a nationalist activity as a sign of political discontentment and demand for the freedom of frontier areas.

Finally, they failed to receive back-up from India as a result of the meeting of Lal Bahadur Shastri, then Prime Minister of India, with Ne Win in Rangoon in 1965 (Vumson 1986:236). The reason for not giving support to the movement could be that India had also been fighting against insurgency movements from ethnic minority groups, especially the Naga independence movement, since Indian independence.

During this period, the church leaders were suspected due to factions in the church. The militants aimed at taking the lives of those who spied for the government. Due to an internal problem in the Cope Memorial Baptist Church, some people wanted to take advantage of the anti-government movement to resolve their ambitions. Kam Khaw Thang, Cin Pau, and Gin Za Tuang were issued death threats from the militants (K. K. Thang 1999b:208-210).

However, the militants failed to execute their plan, as they failed to take the town of Tedim. The government introduced a village guard, called *Pyituh Sit* (village guards), to protect each village. The church leaders and pastors were required to do sentry duty in defense of their villages. The movement created a sense of fear in the minds of the people. This led people to seek God. Life was meaningless in such a situation without God.

The Mizo Uprisings (1966-1986)

Another nationalist movement came from the neighboring ethnic group of Mizos for independence from India. Mizoram is a hilly region between Bangladesh and Myanmar, occupied by few ethnic groups, including Lusei, Ralte, Hmar, Pawi, Mara, Paite (Zomi), Chakma and Bru. According to the census in 2001, the population came to 891,058 in an area of 23,980 square kilometers. Mizoram enjoyed political privileges in India, attaining Autonomous District Council in 1954 and full state status in 1987 when the Mizoram accord was in operation between the Mizo National Front and the Indian government (S. K. Gosh 1998:39).

According to Mizo historians, famine occurred in Mizoram every fifty years since 1862, called *mautam*, meaning flowering of bamboo (Vanlalchhuanawma 2006:10). *Mautam* literally means dying of bamboos. *Mautam* came in 1959-1960 when the people of Mizoram suffered hardships and even death from hunger. The Mizo District Council demanded Rs.150, 000 for famine relief, which was rejected by the Assam government. The Mizo National Famine Front (M.N.F.F.) was formed to take care of the famine and render voluntary services to the affected famine areas. The relief granted by the Assam government later was so inadequate that the Mizos felt neglected and marginalized by the Assam government (S. K. Gosh 1998:39).

When the famine was over in 1961 the M.N.F.F. was converted to the Mizo National Front (M.N.F.), a popular political party in Mizoram under the leadership of Laldenga as president and Vanlawma as general secretary. Laldenga, a clerk in a government office, was a dynamic preacher with nationalistic enthusiasm. The other party was the Mizo Union, which successfully demanded that the Mizo District Council free the Mizos from the rule of Sailo chiefs in 1954 (S. K. Gosh 1998:133). Unhappy with the treatment of the Assam government during the famine, the introduction of the Assamese language in schools added to the spirit of nationalism among the Mizos in 1960 (Vumson 1986:271).

Ethnically, the Assamese are Arian, whereas the Mizos belong to the Mongolian race. Since 1962, Laldenga's party—the M.N.F.—began to demand independence from India on the basis of the right to secession after ten years from independence, which was the same as that of the Burma frontier (U Nu 1975:131).

Laldenga, Lalnunmawia and Sainghaka went to Pakistan to seek help. They received a good response from Pakistan, promising a base, money and training, and an agreement was signed to that effect. On their return, Laldenga and Lalnunmawia were arrested and jailed in Assam. Laldenga was released after one month, saying that he went to visit his Mizo relatives there (S. K. Gosh 1998:39).

After Laldenga's release, the M.N.F. formed the Underground Mizo Government in secret to demand independence more effectively. Members of the government were Laldenga (President), Lalnunmawia (Vice President), Lalkhawliana (Finance Secretary), R. Zamawia (Defense Secretary), Sainghaka (Home Secretary) and J. F. Manliana (Chief Justice) (Vumson 1986:277). The underground government sent twenty youths to Pakistan for training and arms deals. A shipment of arms arrived in 1965 and an outfit of volunteers was formed throughout the country to carry out the action. The M.N.F. submitted a memorandum to the prime minister of India on October 13, 1965, demanding

independence (see Appendix D). The goal of the M.N.F. was to unite all the areas inhabited by the Zo tribes, including such areas in Burma, Bangladesh and India (1986:286).

As there was no satellite communication in those days, the M.N.F. volunteers used a form of “Morse code” with battery torches called “dot-dot-dash” in sending messages. It is a telegraphic system translated into flashlights. Every village could be connected with this communication, passing messages from one village to another.

The M.N.F. declared independence on March 1, 1966, attacking Assam Rifles camps throughout the country. Aizawl, Champhai, Vairengte, Chhimluang, Chawngte were captured and money was looted from the treasuries. In Champhai, the Assam Rifles camp was looted, and all the arms and ammunition were captured and taken by the M.N.F. On the same day, Sangau, Tlabung and Khawzawl were attacked and conquered (C. Dinthanga 2008:17). Aizawl bazaar and Hnahlan were set on fire by jet fighters. All the inmates of Aizawl Jail escaped during the fire. At Lunglei the Assam Rifles successfully defended themselves and killed two M.N.F. personnel. C. Zorammuana, the security enforcement officer of Mizoram comments, “Army and Air force are trained to combat enemies and they are not trained to combat its citizens in order to solve internal problems” (C. Zorammuana 2008: 9).

The M.N.F. volunteers also attacked Falam, Haka, Tedim and Tamu in June, 1966, in Chin State. Lianhnuna (a self-styled Lt. Colonel) and his team secretly encircled Falam at night and captured the police station. They took three light machine guns, .16 sten guns, 122 rifles, three U.S. carbines, and nineteen .38 pistols including Ks.23,000 from the treasury. Zachuala (a self-styled Lt. Colonel) led T battalion (Taitesena) and captured Tuibual village in Hualngo area. The Burmese army platoon fled after a few shots. The M.N.F. took six rifles, sten guns and a wireless set. Tedim was taken easily without opposition and the booty was some 200 rifles and ammunition (Vumson

1986:287). The Burmese government panicked, and sent Lt. Col. Ngozam to deal with the guerillas. Ngozam, a native of Thuklai successfully subdued the uprising in Chin State (1986:287).

Mizoram was declared a disturbed area and a number of army battalions were sent to deal with the situation (Vumson 1986:282). In 1967, the Indian Reserve Police on their way to Mizoram were ambushed by the M.N.F., killing 16 police personnel. In 1974 the Mizoram Lt. Governor S. P. Mukherji's motorcade was ambushed near Zanlawn village, in which he sustained injury but fortunately escaped. The Inspector General of Police, G. S. Arya, was killed in his office while holding a meeting with his lieutenants (S. K. Gosh 1998:40). A "Quit Notice" was served to all non-Mizos to leave Mizoram. The uprising continued another twenty years until a peace accord was signed between Laldenga and the Indian government in 1986 (K. Z. Go 2008c:173). Laldenga accepted the status of statehood instead of independence and became the first Chief Minister of the State in 1987.

It was estimated that the uprising cost several *crores* (millions) of rupees. The Mizo District Council recorded Rs. 40,923,629 to be the cost of the revolt. The M.N.F. lost 350 lives whereas the Indians lost 160 lives (Vumson 1986:286). The villagers were relocated to strategic points to check the uprising, called "Grouping System." A curfew was clamped all over the country, creating hardship on the villagers in cultivating their farms. Movement from one village to another was at risk without a permit from village authorities. No visitor would be entertained in the family without proper identification and a letter of authorization.

Due to this relocation policy, a number of people fled their homeland to Burma, Manipur and Assam. The people who went to Chin State were arrested and deported to Moreh and then sent to Nowgong jail, irrespective of age. Students in other states

suffered as no support could be transacted from home. These students later received a study allowance from the Indian government.

New terms have been adopted in the local language, such as “volunteer” for insurgents, “fighter” for jet fighter plane, “permit” for traveling, “sikh regiment,” “major *suala*” (notorious major of Sikh regiment), “curfew,” “ambush” and “grouping centre.” Some of these became local terms, making the language richer.

Among the frontier nationalistic movements, the Mizo independence movement could be ascribed a success as far as politics is concerned. The Nagas insisted on independence even when they were granted a full fledged state in 1974, and have continued their movement even until today. The Kachin, Karen, and Chin movements were subdued without any form of political success.

The following factors may be credited for the success of the M.N.F. movement.

1. The people cooperated in the movement, as political education and the campaign toward their goal were promoted among the people for four years (1963-1966). The leaders trained and educated the members in Pakistan with proper arms and supplies.
2. They adopted the standard military tactical method of communication called “Morse code,” which the soldiers were unable to detect and understand. It was fast and secret, and could be understood only by those who learned the method.
3. The leaders inspired the youth in a spirit of nationalism, and those who died in the movement were regarded as martyrs for liberation of the country. Laldenga became a hero of the Mizo tribe, naming him *Hnam Pa* (Father of the Nation), and M.N.F. members pay respect on his death anniversary at his tomb in Aizawl every year.
4. 4. The Duhlian language served as the common language spoken by most of the people. Most of other ethnic groups, like Lai, Mara, Paite, Pawi and Bru also speak the language.
5. The M.N.F. received a reliable back-up from Pakistan, the longtime rival of India, providing training, arms and monetary help.

The Mizo uprising affected the Zomi church in both negative and positive ways. Negatively, the Zomi churches in Mizoram were displaced and uprooted in many villages. Positively, the Zomi churches in Burma and Manipur gained membership from the refugees. New churches came into being.

Other Aspects of Zomi Contacts with Non-Zomi

I will discuss Zomi experience in communication, trade, economy, education and social life during the period in question.

Communication Methods

Communication has been an important means of contact with other cultures. Communication in the old days was very slow. In emergency cases, messages were sent from one village to another by means of a messenger taking a letter or verbal message. Transportation was available in some regions by horse and bulls. The fastest transportation means was by horse. Horses have been useful in transporting goods and agricultural products, even until today. Zomi learned the use of the horse for transportation from the missionaries. Missionaries traveled by pony, and the Zomi imitated this. Transportation by horse was practical, for there were very few motorable roads in the area.

Contact with Manipur, Kalembo and other parts of the State were made possible when roads were constructed during WWII. The road connecting Kalembo-Tedim, Haka, Falam, Thantlang, Matupi and Kanpetlet was only six to eight feet wide before WWII (Lal Bik 1998:19). Lal Bik, a Zomi Superintendent Engineer (Rtd), was in charge of the construction of roads in the Chin State after WWII. Lal Bik writes: "Improvement to the said mule road from Fort White to Falam via Lumbang, into a motorable earth road, a distance of just forty-eight miles took over ten years to fully complete because of scarcity

of funds” (1998:20). Motorable earth roads from Kalembo to Tedim, Falam, Haka, Mindat, and from Tedim to Rih Lake and from Falam to Rih Lake on Indian border were completed in the 1960s. These roads have not been maintained until today, except for a short distance from Kalembo. Kalembo is the gateway of Chin State, which is connected by air with Mandalay and Yangon.

The lasting achievement of Lal Bik was the construction of a bridge at Vaar over the Manipur River, which was Bailey Suspension Bridge, 340 feet long. It was inaugurated by then Chin Affairs Minister Za Hre Lian, on February 20, 1962 on Zomi National Day (Lal Bik 1998:20). Except for these sectors, villagers have to transport goods loaded on human backs, or by horse. Speaking about transportation, Kai Thang states:

Physical transportation system forms the backbone of any development. Thus roads, railways, shipping routes and air routes combine to provide different modes of an integral transport and communication system. Although these modes of transport have been in existence for centuries in almost all parts of the world, the world of Zo people, asking for even the most basic one i.e. road communication is akin to asking for the moon (2007:54).

The only road connecting Imphal-Lamka-Tonzang-Tedim-Kalembo, called “Tedim Road,” has not been maintained or paved by the Indian government. The Zomi are deprived of communication even by road both in India and Myanmar. Chin Khua Khai observes that communication improved after WWII, which paved the way for spreading the gospel (1999:168). However, my argument is that the single Tedim road could not serve the area. It has not been maintained and it becomes almost unusable today. There is not a single concrete sector in the northern part of Chin Hills. Village roads are foot paths, making communication slow in the area. Travels and visiting were done mostly on foot, except in the Tedim Road sector. This was a setback for the church.

Economy

Economy became one of the factors for contact with other cultures. Since the birth of Chin Rifles in the Burma army (1921), Zomi youths joined it for a better living. Education was not yet popular and circulation of currency was in the offing. The best way to earn money and prestige was to join the Burmese military service (C. Thang Za Tuan 1998a:173-174). The Zomi are faithful, truthful and dedicated to the service they are assigned to. They earned the confidence of the Burmese government in fighting against the communist movements, Karen and Kachin militants. Zomi received awards and promotions to high ranking offices in the Burmese Army.

For example, Tuang Za Khai of Thuklai joined the army in 1950, and was promoted to Lt. Colonel in 1966, Brigadier in 1980 and Major General in 1984. Dal Za Kam of Saizang joined the 2nd Chin Rifles in 1936, and was promoted to Colonel in 1948 and retired in 1951. Khen Za Moong of Maymyo joined the Indian Military Academy in Dehradun in 1945, and was promoted to Colonel in 1958 and served till 1970 as South West Commander (Gin En Cin 1998a:616-629).

There are a number of Zomi officers serving as majors, captains and lower officers in the regiment.⁵ There were twenty-five personnel in military service from Tonzang village alone way back in 1927 (Hang Khan Pau 2004:72). The 1940-1970 periods can be termed as the age of military service for the Zomi. It is estimated that about 3,000 Zomis served in the army during this period in 1st, 2nd and 3rd Battalion Chin Rifles.

The motive for entering the military service in most cases was to get a better living. They earned ranks and positions by their earnest efforts (Pau Lian Mang

⁵ A number of Zomi officers as recorded in 1998 (Navy, Airforce and Police) includes Major General -1, Colonel -10, Lt. Colonel -38, Major -64, and Pilot -4 (Thang Za Tuan 1999b:96).

1998:199). The economy of the people has been improved through military service and it was regarded as good employment (T. Z. Tuan 1998a:174).

Young boys were encouraged to join the army if they did not want to study. Most military retirees settled down in Kale Valley or other cities in Myanmar instead of returning to hilly villages. Living conditions improved in housing, dress and food. Military pensioners had better living conditions, were able to send their children for education and were generally better off in financial matters.

The influence of soldiers on the church was commendable, especially in giving. The last missionary in Tedim, F. O. Nelson, points out, "In fact, the greatest source of income for the Chins is from their young men who are serving in the armed forces and who sent back most of their pay to support their families in the Chin Hills" (Nelson 1952ff.). The church benefited from the income of the soldiers who gave tithes faithfully for the glory of God (Johnson 1988b:734). This helped the church becoming financially self-supporting since WWII.

Trade

The Zomi made contacts with other cultures through trade as well. Trading was one of the Zomi occupations after WWII. The church got income from the contributions of the traders. The barter system came to an end and coin money was replaced by paper money (Pau Za Khan 1987:26). Since WWII, Zomis began to learn trading with Burma and India. Tedim became the center of trade for the Zomi, where the Chinese and Indians also had their share. Goods like iron sheets for housing, canvas shoes, sandals, and cigarette paper were exported from Tedim to Mizoram and Manipur.

Tedim town itself made a visible improvement in housing and living standards. The Moreh-Tamu road serves as the gateway in border trade between Burma and India even today. Teak, rice, guava and chili were exported to Manipur, Nagaland and other

Indian cities from Moreh (Pau Za Khan 1987:27). Pau Za Khan is a graduate in business and one of the well-to-do individuals among the Zomi who resides in Texas at present. He says that politics and economy are like the two sides of one coin. Where there is no political freedom, there is no free trade (1987:26).

However, free trading did not last long following the military coup in 1962. On April 9, 1964, nationalization of the business sector, including banks, was instituted, reducing the Zomi to poverty. For example, 16 shops at Haka, 17 at Falam, and 38 at Tedim were nationalized. There was great sorrow, even weeping and fainting (Johnson 1988b:1212). The number of shops at Tedim indicates that Zomis were interested in business and trade.

In addition to this, on May 17, 1964, the currency notes of Ks. 50s, and 100s were demonetized. Johnson records the effect of the measure: “Some bazaar people lost heavily and especially hard hit were organizations such as schools, churches, and other groups collecting money for projects. As there were no banks in the Chin Hills, such groups tended to keep money in 50s and 100s to lower the bulk of paper money” (Johnson 1988:1216). Due to communication problems they had no opportunity to exchange their money in the banks, which were available only in cities. When the quit notice was served to non-Burmese to leave the country, many Indians and Chinese nationals left the country empty handed. The exodus of Indians and Chinese nationals impoverished the business sector to the extent that Burma—once an exporter of rice and teak—became one of the poorest countries in the world (Fred Feldman 1988:34).

The deteriorating economy resulted in the exodus of the Zomi to neighboring areas like Mizoram and Manipur. They fled their country in search of jobs, engaging as housemaids, security guards and gardeners. They took up even the most menial jobs for survival. As a result, they exported and imported religious ideas and practices and this proved to be more effective way of spreading Christianity. The establishments of the

Chin Baptist Association in Manipur (1961) and later the Zomi Baptist Church in Mizoram (1982) were the direct results of the political and economic instability in Myanmar.

Education

During the Japanese invasion, schools were badly disrupted and many of them closed down. After the war, the Zomis were anxious to reopen schools in their villages. Christians opened primary schools at the village level and teachers were paid in the form of food grains as salary. The Zomi Baptist Convention also helped run schools where the government had not run schools. For example, Z.B.C. helped forty-five primary schools and twenty-two middle schools in the state with Ks. 120 for primary schools and Ks. 663 for middle schools each year for five years. The Mission also granted Ks. 10,000 each to Tedim and Haka for construction of hostels for students in high schools (Johnson 1988b:1087-88).

The aid came to an end when the military took over the government in 1962 and all schools were nationalized. The aided middle schools in the Tedim area included Kaptel (1952), Gamngai (1953), Tonzang (1954), Vangteh (1956) and Tuimui (1959). The first high schools started by Christians at Tedim and Thuklai were also taken over by the government. By 1962, there were two high schools, six middle schools, and sixty-six primary schools in the northern Chin Hills (G. E. Cin 1998b:32-53).

The new education policy of the country affected the Zomi in particular and all frontier people in general. As noted before, the medium of instruction at the primary level was the Zo dialect since 1925. When the military took over in 1962, the education policy was changed, taking effect in 1967. According to the new policy, the Zo vernacular was abolished and all textbooks would be in Burmese and medium of instruction would be Burmese from primary to the high school level (G.E. Cin 1998c:154).

In 1949, a High School Leaving Examination center was opened at Tedim for the first time in Chin State. According to the new policy, a two tier system of passing was introduced, called “A” and “B” lists since 1968. Only those who pass in the “A” list are eligible for college admission, and “B” list students are disqualified for higher education, but allowed to apply for clerical positions or equivalent jobs (G. E. Cin 1998c:156).

A Township Education Officer is in charge of education in each sub-division. According to the record of these offices there are three high schools, thirteen middle schools and 114 primary schools in Tedim Sub-Division and two high schools, seven middle schools and seventy-eight primary schools in Tonzang Sub-Division as of 1998 (G. E. Cin 1998c:162-165).

Burmese as medium of instruction in schools was a setback for the Zomi due to difficulties in language (G. E. Cin 1998c:158). For example, the pass percentage on the High School Leaving Examination was low as recorded at Basic English High School (BEHS) No. 1: 6.67% in 1953, 2.50% in 1960, and 7.64% in 1970 (1998d:111). In the latest high school exam result in June, 2009, 12% passed in the whole of Chin state (see Table 1, p. 105).

The new education policy aims at producing a skilled labor force to improve industrialization of the country, in line with the Russian education policy. Chan Hre says that the comparison of gross national expenditure on education was 7% in 1962 in the Soviet Union, 3% in Burma, 5.7% in Japan and 4.5% in U.K. and U.S.A. (Chan Hre 1969a:138-139). To him in the developed countries (Western countries) there was no coordinated program between education and economic growth. He points out the imbalance in the education program and economic growth in developed countries saying,

The content of the education programmed may be such that it does not lead to an improvement in the skills of the people and even if it does, the trained people may not be willing or may not have the opportunity to utilize their newly acquired skills. Under such circumstances, an increased

educational program will be a hindrance to, rather than a stimulant for, economic progress (Chan Hre 1972b:6).

He came to the conclusion that “in order to make education a sufficient condition or an effective growth factor it will be necessary to bring about a high degree of integration between skill formation and capital accumulation. It may be suggested that one way of achieving this is a socialist planning method” (Chan Hre 1972b:7). It aims at job oriented education for the masses.

However, this socialist planning method is an indirect method of segregating hill people, preventing them from going for higher education. The frontier students have no aptitude to compete with the advanced Burmese students at high school examinations as the Burmese language itself is a stumbling block for them. This is evident in the pass percentages cited above. The former headmaster of Tedim High School, Cin Khaw Gin, points out the importance of learning the local dialect as much as other languages like Burmese and English for development (2002:74). Vumson also contended,

The Burmese elite were reared in towns under different conditions where automobiles and other luxuries such as refrigerators and stereo equipments were taken for granted although simply out of touch or unaffordable for the mass. The mass needed basic necessities they could afford such as stitching needles and pots and pans to improve their century-old routine of daily life (1986:242).

Vumson has pointed out the imbalanced standard of students at the national level in education. The frontier people needed some special concessions in the educational system. There was no policy to develop frontier languages, such as Zo literature. It was an indirect assimilation policy of education and literature over minority languages. The frontier people could not afford to send their children for higher education, and the majority of students drop off at the high school level. Due to poverty, they go for distance education, which does not provide quality education.

TABLE 1
RESULTS OF CHIN STATE HIGH SCHOOL LEAVING
EXMINATION, 2009
 (Source: Momno News, Sept. 2009 prepared by Lianpu)

Exam Center	No. of Students	No. of Appeared	No. of Pass	Pass Percentage
Mindat	673	630	125	19.84
Falam	822	752	132	17.55
Kanpetlet	296	250	43	17.20
Tedim	1226	1089	172	15.79
Hakha	1687	1509	238	15.77
Tonzang	152	134	18	13.43
Thantlang	717	632	78	12.34
Cikha	163	147	14	9.52
Matupi	1493	1314	111	8.45
Rihkhawdar	91	88	7	7.95
Paletwa	1215	1102	62	5.63
Rezua	356	310	9	2.90
Average				12%

So, Zomi students opted for business when they do not qualify for registration in higher education (Vung Lian Mang 2003:8-9). Vung Lian Mang is a graduate of Yangon Institute of Technology with B.E. (Mech.), a son of former Baptist Minister P. Thuam Thang at Kalemyo.

This new education policy impacted the Zomi negatively. For example, the decreasing participation of frontier people in government service is a direct impact of the new policy. The former director in the Ministry of Home Affairs, Tuan Khaw Mang, a Zomi, also observes that there has been an increasing trend to go for a more attractive

jobs (business) rather than government jobs, in view of the low pay and benefits (Tuan Khaw Mang 2003:15). C. Thang Za Tuan the former Education Director, a Zomi, collected the statistics of positions and offices held by Zomi (1999b:96) (see Table 2 p. 107).

Another impact has to do with religious education. Vung Lian Mang says that Zomi students are attracted by theological education (2003:9). The reason for getting religious education is that religious institutions accept “B” listings for admission, who are not allowed in secular institutions for higher education. Zomi students who want to pursue higher education are blocked by the new education policy. For example, P. S. Kham Do Nang sat for the high school leaving examination for twelve consecutive years since 1961, until he passed in the “A” list in 1978. He now completed L.L.B., B.R.E. and M.R.E. (Kham Do Nang 1998:193-195).

The new education policy of the country promotes education for only the elites but blocks the frontier people from higher education. Therefore, the socialist planning method of education allows the elite society to control the economic sector of the country.

Spiritual and Social Conditions

Zomi encountered social problems during the period in review. Upon their retirement, military officers were given important positions in the church, and this had a negative impact on spiritual life. Retired soldiers usually applied strict rules and by-laws on church members, which impacted their spiritual condition. The church became institutionalized in most cases. Under such legalism exercise of spiritual freedom was not always possible. Favoritism often resulted in dissensions and factions in church elections. Often church leaders were busy in solving problems of the church rather than in outreach

TABLE 2
OFFICES OCCUPIED BY THE ZOMI

Sl. No	Office/Position	Before 1970	After 1970
1	State Councilor	4	-
2	Minister/Deputy Minister	9	-
3	Director General	1	-
4	Rectors	2	-
5	Deputy Engineer	1	-
6	Professor/Assoc. Professor	4	1
7	Director	11	3
8	Commissioner	5	-
9	Company/Hotel owner	26	17

ministry. In the 1950s and 1960s worship services were quiet and dry. Dry sermons did not feed the spiritual needs of church members. Some pastors worked to fulfill their allotted number of working days.

Another setback was the influence of *zu* on the society. At the time of festivals and feasts young people often became prey to join them. Usually disciplinary action was taken against those who did drink *zu*. Drinking was regarded as a sin. It was regarded as the source of all evils, fighting, quarrelling and even murder. So *zu* became a social

barrier for Christians that resulted in moral decline not only in the church but also in the society as a whole (Chin K. Khai 1999:164).

Drunkenness, quarrelling, and fighting among the young people between one block and another—one group against the other group—was rampant. Stealing, looting and violence occurred from time to time. Life and property was unsafe. Many young people indulged in the misuse of heroin and other drugs (Langh Do Khup 2007a). Parents lost trust in their children, especially in matters of finance. The future of young people was bleak unless some superpower would interfere in their lives. In the midst of these social problems and evils the church could not find the answer until the revival of 1970s (Chin K. Khai 1999:171).

Baptist Church from World War II to 1970

During this period Christian ministry was carried out mainly by Baptists, since the contributions of Roman Catholic and Seventh-Day Adventist churches were minimal. Christian ministry was regarded as a second class profession. The pay and benefits did not attract people to enter ministry.

The graduates of Nelson's Bible School at Tedim served as the backbone of the church. They were posted in different areas. For example Thawng Khaw Nang was posted in Tonzang area, Khual Do in Luangel area, Khup Khen Thang in Kansau area, Thuam Khan Do in Kalemoyo/Tahan area, Thang Gin in Dolluang area and Zam Khaw Lian in Gungal area (Cin Lian Sum 1983:16).

There was a generation gap in filling the posts in these places. The Burma Institute of Theology (B.I.T.) at Insein, Rangoon, offering B.Th. and B.R.E. degrees, was the only institution offering degree courses. As there was no other course, some leaders took the B.R.E. course upon graduation. For example, Sing Khaw Khai, Pau Khan En and Hau Lian Kham were some of the graduates with B.R.E. degree who later became

prominent leaders of the church. Pastoral care during the period was low, in spite of the fact that the ministers worked hard. The small number of pastors and the vast hill area to cover was really a challenging one.

The spiritual condition of the Zomi during this period was at a low-ebb. One pastor was in charge of two to seventeen villages. One could not expect proper pastoral care under such circumstances. Also there was no proper screening system for pastoral ministry. To some, pastoral ministry was regarded as a profession rather than as a spiritual ministry for lost souls. For example, even the leading minister, Kam Khaw Thang, entered ministry in obedience to his father, not out of his commitment for the sake of the gospel (K. K. Thang 1999a:26). He carried out his assignments as a duty, not as a service to God (1999a:111).

Some graduates of the theological seminary did not enter the ministry, and even if they did, they were not very helpful (K. K. Thang 1999:70-71). Preaching was mostly on ethical issues—to be good, obedient, and pay tithes on a regular basis (K. K. Suan 2007b). Missionaries and local leaders were content with the change of religion from animism to Christianity. Even the pastors did not know what regeneration means. Their duty was to guard the sheep from reversion. Even theological students were treated in such a way that they did not give up their study. For example, Kam Khaw Thang states that Zomi students received good treatment from the missionaries so that the students were not tempted to revert to their old religion and give up their studies (1999a:56). Lack of commitment on the part of pastors produced nominal Christianity (Chin K. Khai 1999:157).

The Mizo Hlimsang Movement

Zomi religious contacts, known as the *hlimsang* movement, came from Mizoram during this period. The term *hlimsang* means “high joy.” *Hlim* is joy or ecstasy and *sang*

means high (Johnson 1988b:1, 195). The term *hlimsang* is maintained here as it comes from Mizo. Zomis called *milimte* meaning joyous people or dancers. It will be helpful to look at its origin in Mizoram.

The Mizo Christians experienced revival since 1906 from the Welsh revival⁶ through the Khasi Christians in Meghalaya. Khasi Christians experienced revival first from the Welsh missionaries in 1905 at Nongsawlia in Sohra during the Assembly meetings. M. Griffith, who was the speaker from Wales, gave a presentation about the Welsh revival of 1904. They prayed for the same revival in Khasi Hills. On the last day of the meeting revival broke out, and this spread to other villages (R. P. Lyngdoh 2006:4-7).

In 1906 during the Assembly meeting at Mairang, ten Mizos (7 men and 3 women) participated, in the hope that they would take the revival spirit back to Mizoram. On their return in Aizawl, the delegates experienced revival in which they spent one week in singing and dancing (Lalsawma 2006b:13-22). The revival movement occurred in six stages or waves since then in Mizoram. The fourth wave of revival started in 1934 at Hlimen near Aizawl. Liangkhaia says that the people became spiritually drunk (*thlarau rui*) and began to speak in tongues. They sang spiritual songs and uttered heavenly messages (2006b:54). And the most powerful and controversial revival broke out at Kelkang in 1937, and spread to the Hualngo area in northern Chin Hills (Lalsawma 1994a:160).

By this time the Mizo Christians experienced speaking in tongues with visions and ecstatic experiences. It was uncontrollable until the government interfered. The leaders were arrested and sent to Syhlet jail, which is now in Bangladesh. The men folk

⁶ In the early 20th century Wales experienced revival under the leadership of Joseph Jenks, Seth Joshua and Evan Roberts. This revival spread all over the world, including England, Europe, Korea, India, China, South Africa, Indonesia, Japan, Australia and New Zealand. Meghalaya and Mizoram received the Gospel from the missionaries of the Welsh Presbyterian Church since 1841 and 1894 respectively and influenced by the Welsh revival of 1904.

were taken to Aizawl for forced labor as punishment (Lalsangmuana 2006:457). It resulted in the formation of the United Pentecostal Church in Aizawl under the leadership of Zakamlova of Mission Veng in 1949 (Lathangliana 2007c:207-208). Zakamlova was an ordained deacon and a pharmacist by profession who accepted the Pentecostal faith. The U.P.C. formed the third largest denomination in Mizoram today.

The revival impacted the Mizos in terms of mission work. For example, a mission outreach was undertaken to the Chins called *Chanchintha Dak* (Gospel Post), initiated by Robuanga of Champhai in 1946 and again in 1948 (Lalchhuanliana 2006:489-492). They collected Bibles, hymnbooks, literature and clothing and packed them in boxes. Volunteers carried these boxes on foot from Aizawl and distributed them to the neighboring Chins. They distributed at least 300 such boxes containing Bibles and literary materials in over a 100 villages mostly among the Hualngos and Zahaus (2006:498).

The second trip reached the Tedim area at Singlei, Ngawsing, Mualnuam, Khawtung, Keizang, Laitui, Kaptel, Suangzang and Hriangngai on the border (Lalthangliana 2006b:513-514). However, the people at Hriangngai did not welcome them because it was regarded as a means of spreading the Mizo language in the name of the gospel, and also they did not welcome the *hlimsang movement* (2006b:514-515). The Zomis do not understand the Mizo language and do not read the literature. Therefore the purpose was not served as expected in the northern area. But the Hualngos accepted the movement and benefited from it.

The negative reaction of the Zomi Christians resulted in dissension in the Church. For example, Nelson came across people dancing and speaking in tongues in all 14 villages he visited in the Hualngo area. He cited his encounter with one young man who followed him in his travel. Instead of receiving the missionary's message, the young man abandoned the journey (Nelson 1948e).

B. Lalthangliana says that Nelson called a meeting of evangelists working in the Hualngo area—including Hrangthuama, Nungthanga and others—to his office in Tedim in 1948. Nelson charged them with being disobedient to St. Paul's teachings about speaking in tongues. The evangelists counter-charged him with being disobedient to Paul's teaching banning speaking in tongues. They parted ways unreconciled on the issue (2006b:518).

When the *hlimsang* group was dismissed from the church about forty villages severed their Baptist connections. They remained "independent" for some years. They requested affiliation with the Mizoram Presbyterian Church, but the Mizo Presbyterian Church refused to break the denominational agreement between the two countries. Later they joined the Methodist Church (Lalthanliana group) in Tahan, Sagaing Division (Lalthangliana 2006b:518). The Baptist Church in the Hualngo area was greatly weakened following the defection of the Hualngos (Johnson 1988b:1, 195).

Another example was in the Matu subdivision in 1962. The area was under the last missionary, Robert G. Johnson, stationed in Haka who left the country in 1966 on government order. The movement coming from Mizoram entered the Haka area at Dawn, Ralpel, Bungtlang and Lungler. Two pastors in the Matu area accepted the movement, and were later imprisoned by the Deputy Commissioner for espousing the "Hlimsang Movement" (1988:1, 197).

Dancing and speaking in tongues were the characteristics of the movement. Rapid beating of drums, repeating songs many times over and over again, meeting in homes late at night were the common practices of the movement. Johnson, in his sermon at Leisim during the Association meeting in 1962, exhorted the people to stop using drums but to follow the tune while singing. All pastors and preachers were instructed to oppose the movement and prohibit dancing in their own churches. Johnson had high expectations

that his sermon would have an effect on the people. Instead they conceived that the missionary was preaching a false sermon.

Seeing the reaction of the people, Johnson reported to the Zomi Baptist Convention and the Burma Baptist Convention, suggesting intervention. The Z.B.C. Executive Committee meeting at Haka on April 5, 1963 took the following actions:

Voted, that we inform the Sub-Divisional Officer, Matupi, and the Chin Supreme Council, Kalemyo, that *hlimsang* (holy rollerism) is opposed to our Baptist principles, teachings, and practice and that we do not give it any support, and that we will do our best to stop it wherever it is found in the Z.B.C. area (D. S. Thang 2007d).

The missionary Robert G. Johnson proposed stopping the movement by removing drums in worship and singing in the *hlimsang* tune, and to put an end to meetings in homes for singing, speaking in tongues and dancing. However, he concluded that “it must be treated with some degree of patience” (1988:1202-1203). His concluding remark to exercise patience could have been best applied in dealing with the movement. He failed to see the social-cultural background of the Mizo.

The use of drums, singing and dancing was part of the traditional customs of the Hill people. Especially the Mizos composed many songs out of the revival movement in line with traditional tunes and printed in a book form, called *Hlathar Bu* (Book of New Hymn) since the 1930s (Vanlalchhuanawma 2006:346). This *Hlathar Bu* has been translated by related tribes in Manipur like Paite, Kuki, Vaiphei, Gangte, and Thado. The hymn book serves as an important religious songbook in the society next to the translated western Christian hymns. In fact the Mizos claim that Mizoram became the first Christian State in India by 1925 because of the revival movement (2006:260).

The Baptist leaders in Chin Hills failed to see the real meaning of the Mizo revival. As the Zomi Baptist Convention could not accommodate the *hlimsang movement*, the Presbyterian Church was born on February 5, 1956 at Losau in Matu area.

The Mizo Christians sent Lalthanga to take care of the group, numbering 2,029 in twelve villages. When the Burma government closed the door to missionaries, Lalthanga returned to Mizoram in 1966, and their relationship came to a close (Lalthangliana 2006b:525).

According to B. Lalthangliana, the immediate results of the revival movement in Chin Hills included the following:

1. The Methodist church came into being among the Hualngo people and the Presbyterian Church among the Matu people as the result of the revival movement.
2. Evangelistic work was promoted, bringing to the people the message of freedom from the bondage of Satan, and many people were converted to Christianity. Those who could not give up drinking *zu* could give it up by then.
3. Emphasis was placed on faith and work. Faith and work could not be separated but go hand in hand. Giving increased as an expression of faith.
4. Living standards were improved, such as cleanliness, as a result of contact with the Mizo Christians during the revival. The Mizo Christians paid a visit as often as possible, giving encouragement and exhortations to the Chin people.
5. Enthusiastic religious experiences, such as singing traditional tunes, dancing, glossalalia and traditional musical instruments became acceptable aspects of Christian worship (Lalthangliana 2006b:521-523).

The Hualngo and Zahau people were influenced by the revival movement due to language relations. They could read, write and speak the Mizo language. They used the Christian literature brought from the Gospel Post. In fact Lalthangliana says that when they spoke in tongues it became the Mizo language and when they had mass prayer they prayed in Mizo (2006b:523). The Mizos, who sent the materials to the Chins, experienced spiritual renewal at home as well (Lalchhuanliana 2006:500-501).

The opposition of the missionaries and the Zomi Baptist leaders to the *hlimsang movement* must have been based on the measures taken by the government of Mizoram

on the Kelkang movement in 1937, as the *hlimsang* movement was the continuation of the Kelkang revival. It was regarded as unbiblical and unethical for Christians.

Summary

By using a phenomenological approach and post-colonial theory, this investigation reveals that the Zomi encountered a series of political, social and economic influences from other cultures. The Zomi lost political power when the military dictatorship came to power in Burma in 1962. Political discontentment resulting in local uprisings, such as *Thual Zen Gal* and Mizo uprisings had affected the life of the people in a negative way. The Zomi were deprived of a political forum where they could express themselves culturally and politically. They lost political and economic freedom, which in turn affected the church.

The new education policy prevented the Zomi from learning their language. Communication and trade were not improved. Spiritually, the Zomi began to live a life of degradation due to inadequate pastoral care. The Zomi Baptist Convention lost membership to the *hlimsang movement* due to opposition to the revival coming from Mizoram. The attitude of the Zomi Baptist Convention towards Mizo revival has been applied to the Zomi revival of the 1970s, which I shall discuss in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4

THE ZOMI REVIVAL (1970-2009)

It has been pointed out that political, economic and religious conditions preceding the revival were not as conducive as one might expect. Yet the revival occurred in the midst of political, economic and religious uncertainties. It has been pointed out also that the Zomi life and culture has been shaped by contact with other cultures, including Western, Asian and other related ethnic influences.

The cultural change has been intensified and diversified through the Zomi encounters with the revival movement of the 1970s and beyond. Therefore in this section, I will examine the revival movement, its characteristics, features and responses from the Baptist church, using the insights of phenomenology, historiography and post-colonial theory.

The Context

In the neighboring Indian states of Mizoram and Manipur, an evangelical revival known as the “Born-again movement” was sweeping the area in the 1960s. “Are you born again?” “Are you saved?” “Are you going to heaven if you die now?” “Do you have a victorious Christian life?” were common questions in meetings and gatherings. Dr. Nghakliana of Durtlang Presbyterian Hospital and Rev. Khuanga of the Baptist Church of Mizoram¹ were instrumental in the movement in Mizoram.

¹ The Presbyterian Church of India in Mizoram was a mission of the Welsh Presbyterian church since 1894, with its headquarters at Aizawl, while the Baptist Church of Mizoram was a mission of the Baptist Missionary Society in England, with its headquarters in Lunglei in the southern part of Mizoram.

Nagaland also experienced charismatic revival among the Baptists in the 1970s, resulting in the visit of Billy Graham in May, 1972, to Kohima, Nagaland. Many church leaders from neighboring states, including the leader of the Chin Baptist Association, Khup Za Go, participated in the crusade of Billy Graham in Kohima. Lamboi Vaiphei, lecturer of Churachandpur College, was also one of the participants at the Lausanne Congress on World Evangelization in Switzerland in July, 1974, under the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association.

The Lausanne Covenant papers (J. D. Douglas 1975:3) were translated into local dialects, including Tedim (Zomi), and circulated in churches for implementation. Christians in Manipur were especially influenced by the Congress as they became aware of the need to spread the gospel to neighboring states. As a result, a direct contact between Manipur and Myanmar was established by the visit of evangelists like Pum Za Thang, T. Thangta, and Thawng Khen Thang in the 1970s. These people visited Tonzang, Tedim and Kalemyo, preaching the gospel of salvation by faith (Gin Khan Do 2007). These movements contributed to the Zomi Revival.

The Beginnings

The first Zomi revival was experienced by the ministry of Thang Za Kam (1918-1966) a native of Tonzang, who converted to Christianity in 1932. He was a man of faith who preached salvation by faith alone. He was said to have special gifts like visions, miracles and healing (H. Z. Dal 2001:206). Later he became assistant pastor of the Tedim Kim Baptist Church (T.K.B.C.). His interpretation of scripture, his visions, healing ministry, and miracles were peculiar to many of the Christians in those days.

Kam faced a number of trials and tests from the authorities of his church. At last he was excommunicated from Cope Memorial Baptist Church (C.M.B.C.) on February 11, 1965 (H. Z. Dal 2001:206-207). He and his followers formed a church called the New

Tedim Baptist Association, and later his followers changed it to Thang Za Kam Baptist Church after his death in 1966 (2001:206).

Another local revival was led by the ministry of Tun Za Kap of Gamlai (1929-), who became Christian on March 24, 1937, and was baptized by Vial Nang on June 10, 1942. He experienced assurance of salvation on April 24, 1960, through the reading of Heb. 9:24. His conversion was influenced by the message of the Evangelical Free Church of Burma (E.F.C.B.), also known as the Lalthanliana group, which preached salvation by faith alone. Lalthanliana, the leader of the E.F.C.B., is a Mizo speaker in Kalembo, and has good connections with Mizoram.

Tun Za Kap began to preach on spiritual salvation by faith. He converted his own father, who was a traditional religious priest. As a result of his ministry, his village experienced revival on August 18, 1968. But it did not spread to other villages, as Tun Za Kap left the church in order to avoid confrontation with the Baptist church. Tun Za Kap later joined the Evangelical Free Church of Burma, which ordained him to fulltime ministry in 1967 (Tun Za Kap 2007).

The First Revival Wave (1970-1990)

The Zomi Revival can be divided into two waves according to the nature and features of the movement. The first wave covers roughly two decades, during which the revival movement was carried out by the Pentecostal group that left the Baptist church as a result of the excommunication of the revivalists in 1975. During this period the most prominent revivalists were Hau Lian Kham and Khai Khan Suan.

Hau Lian Kham

Lian Za Go, father of Hau Lian Kham, was a school teacher who became Christian in 1927 at Tonzang. Due to the opposition of the chief, Hau Cin Khup, his

family moved to Ngennung village from Tonzang, where Hau Lian Kham was brought up. On graduation with B.A. in 1968 and with B.R.E. in 1971, Kham became pastor of Cope Memorial Baptist Church in 1971 at the age of twenty-seven (H. Z. Dal 2001:16-18).

With his assistant Gin Khaw Thawng, Kham conducted seminars and trainings for young people. Seeing the plight of the young people in his church he had a heavy burden for their souls. As he was a good preacher, attendance in the church increased from 400-600 in two years. Along with his close friends (Gin Khan Kham, Cin Khen Kham, Kham Khen Mang, Niang Khaw Man, and his wife Hau Lun Cing), Hau Lian Kham held prayers at the home of Kam Cin Hang, sometimes late at night. They prayed for revival in the church and the outpouring of the Holy Spirit. These were also Billy Graham's peak years in America. Kham decided to conduct gospel crusades in the church.

Hau Lian Kham introduced a method of open air meetings due to the ill attitude of his church authorities. For example, in 1973 he conducted revival meetings for the first time on April 30 to May 6, with the permission of his church. People had no faith in the success of the crusade. He determined to go ahead, saying, "Whether people come or not to listen to my sermon, I will still preach the gospel of salvation even to an animal (dog) that comes" (H. Z. Dal 2001:26).

Nothing happened for the first two nights of the meetings. With his friends, Gin Khan Kham and Gin Khen Mang, they cried to the Lord for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit. On May 2, a young person—Kham Lian Mang, son of Go Za Kham—responded to the altar call. Each night more people responded to the message. The attendance increased to more than 2000 (H. Z. Dal 2001:29). At the end of the meeting about 176 persons responded the altar call, accepting Jesus Christ as their personal savior.

Hau Lian Kham conducted other crusades at Khampat, Tamu, Thalmual, Phaiza and Kapteel. Big crusades were held at the Tedim Football stadium on January 5-8, 1975,

at Kapteel on February 7-9, 1975. The biggest one was at the Tedim High School field in April, 1976, where some 4000-5000 people were in attendance.

His sermon on the sinful nature of man through Adam and salvation through Jesus Christ was a new thing to many. His church could not accept his doctrine, method of preaching and conduct of crusades. It resulted in division in the church, which I will discuss later in more detail.

Apart from these, Hau Lian Kham conducted a number of crusades and open air meetings at Kalemyo, Tahan, and Munlai in Sagaing Division. He also visited Lamka, Manipur, in 1975, preaching the gospel. His motto was “to bring as many people as possible to Christ in the shortest possible time” (Luai Hre 2007:171). The Holy Spirit touched people’s hearts in repentance. Among the converts—who were mostly young people—were thieves, drunkards and criminals. Since that time salvation by faith alone was the topic of discussion in towns, homes, offices, and stores (H. Z. Dal 2001:30). Revival manifestations like crying, weeping, shivering, tongues, visions and dreams were common characteristics during the revival.

The revival produced immediate results. For example, Bibles in the Baptist bookstore at Tedim were quickly sold out. The Tedim jail was almost empty and no additional convictions were admitted for sometime. The reason why it spread quickly among the Zomi was that Hau Lian Kham was the Chairman of the Tedim Baptist Association at that time. As head of the Association, his impact on the people was evident. His converts were drawn from different denominations, including Roman Catholic, Baptist, Laipian and Methodist (Suak Za Go 2007).

Hau Lian Kham was also a church planter. For example, when he moved to Yangon to take up the principalship of a newly established seminary, Evangel Bible College (E.B.C.) in 1979, he founded a church in Yangon. The E.B.C. was the project of the Assemblies of God church in Myanmar. U Myo Chit, head of the Myanmar A.G.,

invited Hau Lian Kham to be the first principal of the college, which was inaugurated by the Asia Pacific Field Director, Wesley Hurst, on August 2, 1979 (H. Z. Dal 2001:219). While acting as principal of Evangel Bible College he started Grace Assembly of God Church in 1984 with about seven members. The church soon grew to over 300 in three years. He was also a good singer and loved singing. Along with his brother, Gin Za Lian, he (Lianbawi) led crusade meetings in praise and worship.

In 1987, Hau Lian Kham went to Asian Pacific Theological Seminary in the Philippines, from which he and his wife Hau Lun Cing graduated with a Th.M. Later, in 1995, he completed his D.Min. Preaching the gospel he visited Thailand, Singapore, Japan, and Korea. He represented Myanmar at the Global Consultation on World Evangelization 1995 in Seoul, Korea. He passed away due to illness on December 29, 1995, in Yangon at the age of fifty-one. He has been named “Father of Zomi revival” (H. Z. Dal 2001:97).

Khai Khan Suan

Khai Khan Suan, a convert of Hau Lian Kham, became faithful preacher and pastor in the Assemblies of God church at Tedim. When Hau Lian Kham left Tedim to start Evangel Bible College in Yangon in 1978, Khai Khan Suan took up his pastoral position at Bethel A.G. church in Tedim. The Bethel Assemblies of God church grew from 120 in 1977 to 1300 members in 1997 (Cin Khen Kham 2002: Appendix).

Suan became District Superintendent at Kalemyo for three consecutive terms from 1993-2001. During his tenure, the membership of the A.G. grew to 38,707 in 293 churches in the whole district, including Tedim, Kale and Haka Sections (K. K. Suan 2007b). He was awarded an Honorary D.D. by Asian Pacific Theological Academy, Philippines, in 2006.

Since 1975, Suan visited most of the villages, preaching the gospel in Tedim and Tonzang townships by riding a horse (he has difficulty in walking). His father presented a horse for his gospel tour, carrying food and clothing. His mother and the church prayed for him all the time. In the beginning he faced certain opposition to his ministry. For example, at one time he could not get a horse for his return to Tedim from Tungzang village which is about 18 km away. Even though most of the villagers rear horses, no one was willing to lend him one. So he walked all the way on foot. On reaching home, his mother, who was on a sick bed, wept because of his long walk on foot (K. K. Suan 2007b).

Another example of opposition is that for three times Suan was not allowed to preach at Khuasak village on his visits. In the first instance the house where he was staying was stoned, and they could not hold a service. On the second time, he was threatened, but the gangs were too drunk and could not lay hands on him. He was not allowed to preach in this village the third time. Also at Zungkhua he was not allowed to preach, and went to Dimzang. At Sakhanyi near Kalemoyo he and his team were told by non-Christians and unbelievers not to present the gospel. But the people who opposed the gospel saw angels guarding Suan and his party, and they were converted. Later they invited him to preach, and revival took place in these places afterwards (K. K. Suan 2007b).

Theological Emphasis

According to Chin Khua Khai, the central issue was to be born-again or piangthak, which became the catchword during the revival movement (1999:316). Piangthak means not of physical birth but of spiritual birth, like that of Nicodemus in the New Testament (Jn. 3:3). By the conviction of the Holy Spirit one has to acknowledge the sinful nature through Adam, leading to repentance and forgiveness of sin through the

death of Jesus Christ on the cross, as in Romans 6:23 (L. D. Khup 2008b). Factions developed in the church regarding *piangthak* and *pianglui* (new birth and old birth), as this became an issue of discussions. The *piangthak* group alleged that the *pianglui* group was spiritually dead and that the church was a dead church. To a certain extent, there was some validity to these allegations. Luai Hre concedes,

Many people came to the realization that being a nominal member of the church is not a guarantee for eternal life and that true regenerate church membership is necessary and important. Speaking from the Baptist background, it must be said that many church members come to realize that simply being a Baptist believer and that only true regeneration experience can make a person a true believer or church member with assurance for future life. Many people also come to experience the joy of salvation assurance which some earlier generation Christians did not have, and for their inexpediency, so to say. Having the assurance of salvation is more advantageous than not having it because one becomes more joyous in living and more thankful in serving God (2007:175).

There are two issues for discussion in these statements: “Baptist believer” and “earlier generation Christians.” “Baptist believer” here means one who received water baptism, a regular church goer, and a regular giver of tithes, without a spiritual salvation experience. This is called “nominal Christianity” (Eddie Gibbs 1989:240). The “earlier generation Christians” refers to Christians before the revival period. In most cases they were in the state of nominal Christianity, which the revival changes into spiritual assurance of salvation by faith. The position of the *piangthak* group was that salvation by faith in Jesus Christ is secured, or cannot be lost nor affected by even murder or adultery. It can be argued that there can be no “Baptist believer” as such, but only Christian believers in the saving work of Jesus.

The method of presentation of individual salvation was to respond to the altar call to accept Jesus Christ as personal Savior. They are accepted as they come forward to receive Christ as their Savior. However, this method lacked personal counseling, by

which a seeker would be guided to understand the real meaning of salvation. The *Pianglui* group cannot accept the concept that salvation in Jesus Christ is secured and can not be affected even by murder or adultery. It was regarded as an unhealthy presentation of the Gospel.

The language is also influenced by other cultures. For example, terms like *piangthak* and *pianglui* were used popularly to label, the convert and the unconvert respectively. The term *piangthak* is a transliteration of Mizo *piangthar* and Hrang Kap Hnin says that the term *piangthak* became part of Zomi vocabulary since 1964 (2007:154). However, the term did not actually become part of Zomi vocabulary until the 1970s. At the coming of the revival in 1970s, these terms, such as *Piangthak*, *Pianglui*, *Crusade*, *Testimony*, *Amen*, and *Hallelujah* became Zomi vocabulary.

These new terms also annoyed some people. For example, Kam Khaw Thang says that using foreign terms in worship services is evidence of spiritual pride and a nuisance for others, and that all things should be done decently and in order (2006b:107-109). However, it should be noted that unless a person is inspired by the Holy Spirit to do so, no one can pronounce such foreign terms in praising the name of the Lord. Zomi came to know that through the work of Jesus Christ on the cross, people have the right of inheritance and become members of the divine family (Col. 3:23-24; 1 Pet. 1:4). They are filled with joy and cry out pronouncing *Amen*, *Hallelujah* and *Praise the Lord* while giving a testimony or in response to speaker. It is a way of giving glory to the Lord.

Another western influence is in worship. Public testimonies have been introduced in the church, sharing their spiritual experiences, as in the time of John Wesley and Charles G. Finney.² Finney also demanded that ministers preach the gospel from their experience, and made a distinction between “experience religion” or “heart religion” as

² John Wesley in 18th cent. and Charles G. Finney in 19th cent. introduced public testimony in the church and prayer led by women in the presence of men in England and America.

opposed to “head religion” (William G. McLaughlin 1959:66-67). So the Zomi converts testified to the spiritual experience received in faith through grace (Eph. 2:8). Khuang Nawni also mentions that renewal was taking place in prayer, preaching, house meetings, witnessing to neighbors, singing gospel songs that filled the air in towns and villages (1990:73). When they are assured of spiritual salvation they can praise the name of the Lord.

The theological concept has shifted from nominality to assurance of spiritual salvation. This is revealed in the manner of prayer. The earlier generation of Christians tended to pray in the attitude of asking for physical blessings, good moral life and kindness with little sense of praise and thankfulness. This trend has changed since one experiences eternal salvation by faith through grace. It is a free gift of God in Jesus Christ that brought happiness, joyfulness and gratefulness in heart.

Today in prayer people give thanks and praise to the one who saves life. This trend has been revealed in local songs that have been composed by local musicians. For example David Kham’s song *Topa tungah lungdam ka ko ding* (I will give praise to the Lord) is a song of praise for his grace and his redemptive work (D. Kham 2007b). Praise and worship occupies an important place in the church. It is a discovery to give praise and glory to the one who saves us and gives us eternal salvation (Ps. 150). He is the one to be praised.

Prayer

Emphasis on prayer in the church and homes became the source of revival. However, Hrang Kap Hnin comments:

They could pray much. They used to go to church. But they are not satisfied. Father said it is needed. They have prayers in adjoining jungles. During the quiet hours of noon when others were out in fields they have

jungle prayers. All good things that happened were credited to their prayer and all ill-fortunes were blamed for insufficient prayers (2007:157).

In spite of Hrang Kap Hnin's comment, people experience spiritual growth when they pray.

Mass prayer was introduced at the influence of Mizo Christians. For example, Evangelist Zadawla (a blind preacher) from Mizoram visited the Hualngo area preaching the gospel in September 1973. It was during the hot season of revival movement at Tedim. The revival group invited him to Tedim to share the gospel. So Zadawla asked the people to pray in unison, called Mass Prayer.³ They sometimes prayed the whole day and night—shouting, shivering, weeping and speaking in tongues (Zadawla 2008).

Praying the whole night or day is a sign of one's eagerness to have fellowship with God. It is the usual practice in Mizoram, whereas it was a new thing for the Zomi to pray in unison. Since then, mass prayer has become a regular feature in most Zomi churches, except for some Baptist churches (Thawngno 2007a). Luai Hre's comments on revival, such as inviting people to pray overnight or the whole day is rather a theological paradigm which should be encouraged (Luai Hre 2007:177).

Another example is that daybreak prayer has been introduced in Zomi churches since it has been regarded as source of spiritual nurture. Prayer in the morning was introduced in the 1980s, known as "morning devotion" or "daybreak prayer" in the Chin Baptist Association and the Zomi Baptist Church in India. Some people even prayed at 3 o'clock in the morning each day in the church.

Daybreak prayer is said to have originated at Lunglawn Baptist Church in southern Mizoram in 1962 (Zonet.in 2009). It is a direct influence from Mizoram to the neighboring state of Manipur in the 1980s and then to Chin State. The emphasis on

³ The Mizos copied the practice of mass prayer from the Khasi Christians at Mairang where the Mizo delegates first experienced revival in 1906. It is still a regular feature of Khasi and Mizo worship services. All worshippers pray together aloud without regard for the prayer of others (Lalsawma 2006b:16).

prayer resulted in setting up prayer mountains at various locations, usually under the influence of prophets or visionaries, which I shall deal with in more detail.

Prayer Mountains

Many prayer mountains have been set up under the influence of the so-called prophets and visionaries. For example, at the direction of a visionary, the Bethel A.G. members had set up a special place for devotion and prayer at Tedim. They obtained a 0.98 acre parcel of land at Tedim from the government in 1985 for setting up a prayer spot. It is called Peniel Prayer Mountain and was opened to all denominations that hunger for prayer and to have communion with God. A small hut of 18' by 16' constructed with donations from individuals serves as a prayer cabin and 12 pits dug around the house serve for private prayer (Cin Khen Kham 2002:23).

Another example—and the most famous prayer mountain—was set up in 1991, called Carmel Prayer Mountain at Va-awm mountain near Saikhua village, about 7 km from Kalemyo. It was founded by the vision of Thang Khan Kam (1957-1997), who received a vision in 1988. Thang Khan Kam of Tuipi, who moved to Khampat, went to Yangon on a gospel tour following 40 days of fasting and prayer at Khampat. Thang Khan Kam, Mang Za Suan, Thawng Khan Kam, Suan Khaw Thang were on fasting and prayer at Grace A.G. Church in Yangon on April 20-30, 1988. On the fifth day, four ladies Cing Ngaih Lian, Pau Khaw Cing, Zel Khaw Cing and Ngaih Vung joined them.

During this prayer meeting Thang Khan Kam saw a vision of a prayer mountain called Carmel Prayer Mountain (Dal Za Khup 2007). In fulfillment, on January 4, 1991, some forty-seven members of Fuller Assemblies of God Church spent ten days in fasting and prayer on the Va-awm mountain near Kalemyo under the leadership of Thang Khan Kam and Pau Khaw Cing.

The four stages of the mountain were named as follows: the first is Olive mountain, the second—Horeb mountain, the third—Carmel mountain, and the highest one is called Elijah mountain (Pau Khaw Cing 1994). Thang Za Thawng, Pau Khaw Cing, Khup Khaw Cing, Hau Peek, Numawi, Cing Sian Vung set up a small hut at the altitude of 4,375 feet, which became the permanent prayer site on February 20-28, 1992 (D. Z. Khup 2007).

The Horeb Mountain is the camp site where people spend time in prayer. The small hut was replaced with corrugated galvanized iron sheets with donations from well wishers. No food or drink is allowed on the mountain, allowing only for fasting and prayer. A small stream nearby, which runs all year round, serves for drinking water. The water of the stream is said to have a healing power which is taken in bottles for sick people (Thuam Go Am 2006:38). By 1994 it became regular prayer mountain used by different denominations.

Miracles are taking place on this mountain. For example, when Thang Za Thawng (Tedim), Pau Khan Cing (Limkhai), Pau Khaw Cing (Khuasak) spent 100 days in prayer at the mountain, Ren Liana—a dumb person—could speak, and Ciin Khan Huai was healed of breast cancer (P. K. Cing 1994).

In India a similar prayer mountain, called Peniel Hall, was set up in 1986 at Lamka (Muolvaiphei), as a result of a vision by Lalmanlien of the Independent Church of India. The leaders included Chungthang Thiek, Darthangmawi and Lalmanlien (Ginkhopao 2006). Chungthang Thiek was a revivalist in the 1980s at Lamka, and is currently secretary for the North East India of Evangelical Fellowship of India (E.F.I.), based in Guwahati. Ginkhopao, the reporter, is the Vice Chairman of the current management committee of the Peniel Hall.

The Zomi Baptist Convention also set up a prayer mountain, called the Centenary Prayer Mountain for all the Zomi Christian denominations at Taingen, Chin State, in

2003. The building complex was constructed at the cost of Ks. 40,000,000 from foreign funds with the theme John 1:5; Jeremiah 33:3 (D. S. Thang 2007a:323). The difference here is that other prayer spots have been set up out of the conviction of local people with local donations, while the Z.B.C. prayer project was set up at the cost of foreign funds.

The idea behind setting up prayer mountains shows the influence of the Korean revival in 1907. Some theological seminary students—for example, Kai Za Song of the Evangelical Baptist Convention in Manipur in the 1980s, who returned from Korea—reported that prayer on mountains was one of the characteristics of the Korean revival (Harry A. Rhodes 1934:251).

Prophetic Ministry

The influence of visions and prophecies was commendable in certain cases. One such a case is a marching around the town of Tedim under the leadership of a visionary, Ngaih Khan Man. Ngaih Khan Man of Phaiza village selected seven persons (a divine number) at the direction of the Holy Spirit, and they marched around the Tedim on April 3-9, 1978 (Lang Mang 2007). They marched once on the first six days and seven times on the seventh day, from 5 AM to 1 PM. The selected participants included Ngaih Khan Man (visionary), On Kho Zam (husband of Ngaih Khan Man), Suah Za Dal (teacher), Thang Suan Kham (deacon), Ngin Khan Dong (teacher), Dai Khan Pau (manager, Agriculture Dept.), Tuang Kho Pau (veterinary doctor).

They were given the following rules to follow: wear a white shirt only; wear no shoes; eat only an evening meal; do not look aside during the march, only look at the cross ahead; utter no words, but shout aloud “Hallelujah” at the leader’s instruction at selected points. As they marched, they occasionally sang Tedim Hymn No. 175 “Holy Spirit Faithful Guide” and No. 179 “Onward Christian Soldiers” (L. Mang 2007b).

The purpose of the march was to dismantle what was perceived to be the satanic fort of the town of Tedim, which refused the work of the Holy Spirit. As the city of Jericho was literally destroyed (Josh. 6:15-21), so also the satanic fort of Tedim has to be destroyed. The spiritual gate of Tedim should be opened so that the Holy Spirit could enter the town of Tedim, they claimed (L. Mang 2007c). It was the first time that people acted openly according to prophecy in the area. By doing this they claimed that the spiritual gates as well as physical blessings have been opened to Tedim.

The fulfillment came at the introduction of electricity and construction of the water supply for the town by U.N.I.C.E.F. in 1984. The site of the construction of a micro-wave tower on the hill top of Tedim was the site that the prophet predicted for an airfield. A number of families connected by telephone line today are the fulfillment of the prophecy; they claimed (L. Mang 2007d).

They also claimed that the participants have been blessed in various ways. For example, Ngaih Khan Man (the recipient of the vision), Thang Suan Kham and Suah Za Dal bought a house and all settled down in Tedim, supported by their children from Malaysia, Korea and Japan. Ngin Khan Dong became a district pastor in the United Pentecostal Church (L. Mang 2007e). Ngaih Khan Man also prophesied the second coming of Jesus Christ, to which I now turn.

Second Coming of Jesus Christ

Another case of prophetic movement is the expectation of the immediate second coming of Jesus Christ. American millennialist William Miller made the same prophecy of the second coming of Jesus in 1843 during a great American revival (William Miller 2005:104). Such prophetic utterances also occurred during the revival among the Zahaus. For example, at Dartei village in the Zahau territory, the members of the Evangelical Free Church of Burma (E.F.C.B.) under the leadership of their pastor, Nung Kam, believed by

prophecy that rapture would take place on June 20, 1969. They slaughtered all their domestic animals and stopped working. They waited for the return of Jesus Christ in prayer on the appointed day. But the expected event never took place (Hrang Kap Hnin 2007:158). No mention has been made as to what happened next to the group.

Following the march around the town of Tedim, the visionary Ngaih Khan Man prophesied the second coming of Jesus Christ on a certain date. All spiritual people (*khamite*) from Tedim and Kalemryo gathered at the hilltop of Tedim to receive Jesus Christ at 11:30 PM on December 23, 1979, as they believed that rapture was at hand. Over 2000 people gathered together to receive Jesus Christ at the appointed time and place. They waited, praying and shouting. However, Jesus did not come as prophesied.

They later explained that even though Jesus did not come in person, it was a lesson to be ready at all times for his second coming and to wait with great expectation. The visionary Ngaih Khan Man distributed spiritual crowns to those who gathered there as a symbol that they would one day receive the crown of life as found in 2Timothy 4:7 (L. Mang 2007f). However, trust in prophecy was shattered when it failed. Some of them joined the United Pentecostal Church. It is here that prophets and visionaries need Biblical teaching and guidance from the word of God. They were not guided by the word of Jesus when he says “No one knows about that day or hour, not even the angels in heaven, nor the Son but only the Father” (Mk. 13:32-35).⁴

On the contrary, Go Khen Thang, the late General Secretary of Tonzang Township Baptist Association (T.T.B.A.), says “Jesus will not come again” in his thesis at Zomi Theological College, Falam (1982:1). He also preached about it after his graduation from the seminary. He says “We cannot take as literal truth the Jewish pictures of it which Paul used. We need not think of physical coming of Christ in the

⁴ Unless otherwise noted, Scripture quotations are taken from the New International Version (NIV), published by the International Bible Society, 1984.

clouds or a physical trumpet blast. The doctrine of second coming is the final guarantee that life can never be a road that leads to nowhere; it is a road which lead to Christ” (1982:48).

Thang’s position was on the other extreme, that Jesus is Immanuel (God with us), and there is no other place he can come from, since he has come already and stayed with us forever in spirit. Christ’s second coming is thus viewed as unnecessary (realized eschatology). Verbal report indicates that Go Khen Thang was in trouble with his church regarding his concept of eschatology. His ideas show the probable influence of N.T. scholars, such as C. H. Dodd (Dodd 1962:85), who hold to a particular view of realized eschatology.

However Go Khen Thang later repented of his preaching and reconciled with his church. It was a movement to counter extreme views of prophecy and visionary ministry. The second coming of Jesus is a future expectation, but no one knows the time. Siang Kung comments that Go Khen Thang seemed to be “putting forth something worthy of consideration” (2007:246).

Erection of Cross

Being in a Buddhist country, the erection of crosses on mountains in Myanmar shows the likely influence of Buddhists, who set up pagodas on mountains, especially in hilly areas. The erection of crosses became an important activity of the movement in homes and churches as a sign that Satan is overcome. For example, some forty spiritual people erected a cross thirty-eight feet high and fifteen feet wide on the top of the Tedim Peniel Prayer Mountain on June 19, 1985 (C. K. Kham 2002:24). The site was dedicated to be sacred for meditation and communion with God. Erection of the cross has become a common experience in private homes and churches as a sign of victory over Satan. At

Ngaizawl village in Mizoram there is a cross in almost every home of the Assemblies of God Church.

Another example is that of a cross fifty feet high that was erected at Kapteel village on the top of the prayer mountain, in line with a vision of Thuam Lian Pau in 1997. It was an extension of Carmel Mountain in Kalemmyo to Kapteel village in the hills (T. L. Go 2008). Some fifty spiritual people dressed in white robes from Tedim and 30 people from India joined the villagers for the erection of the cross. The group from India spent three days in fasting and prayer. While erecting the cross it was said that a swarm of bees stayed on the cross moving upwards as they went higher and higher, till they completed the fifty foot height of the cross (T. L. Go 2008).

On the dedication day each clan in the village slaughtered one animal for the dedication of the cross. It is also said that the soil where the cross stood has healing power with a different taste, bitter, sour and sweet. People from the locality and other villages took the soil for placing in their compounds for blessing (T. L. Go 2008). It is believed that not only the cross itself but even the soil in which it stands has healing power.

The question must be faced: Does the Bible teach the erection of actual crosses at certain places, or is the spiritual cross in the heart? The cross is a symbol of the suffering and death of Jesus Christ on our behalf. It is to be a spiritual cross in heart, not necessarily an erection of a visible cross. It is almost the same as carrying a cross in necklaces and chains as some Christians do.

Methods of Evangelism

Crusades, camps and gospel tours are the product of the revival movement in terms of evangelism. Crusades and Camp meetings are also effective means of evangelization as in the time of Bishop Francis Asbury in the American revival of the

19th century⁵ (Nathan O. Hatch 1988:55). Sharing of experiences in camps and crusades became a common scene in the church. For example, the Assemblies of God Tedim Section listed sixteen crusades conducted during 1979-2001 (C. K. Kham 2002: Appendix). Nang Do Kap of the Compassion Gospel Team conducted at least fifty-nine crusades in three years 1997-2000 (T. G. Am 2006:27-29).

Gospel tours are means of sharing the gospel through words and experience. When people are converted they are filled with joy. They want to share what they have experienced in Jesus Christ. For example, Hau Lian Kham took five youths with him from Kapteel who shared their experiences in Tedim in 1973 (H. Z. Dal 2001:37). It was to encourage people to see how Jesus Christ could change their lives. Individuals and groups went on gospel tours sharing what they had experienced in their lives. However, Hrang Kap Hnin observes gospel tours as enjoyment of outings. He says,

They are fond of outings. Bringing along their blankets they go from place to place. They halted at a place as long as Father thought fit. Their gospel is mainly dancing. Prayers and dancing are emphasized in lieu of talking and sermon. They do not have program. They listened to the voice from above. By the leading of the Holy Spirit some could go on touring year after year (2007:157).

Hrang Kap Hnin seems to be making external observations, ignoring internal convictions. Peter and John said, “For we cannot help speaking about what we have seen and heard” (Acts 4:20). It is a part of missions.

Certainly there were some defects in the gospel tours, especially the individual gospel tours. For example, when I was a pastor at Aizawl, a lay Zomi Baptist couple came to Aizawl on a gospel tour from Kalemryo in 1996. We allowed them to speak in the church service on Sunday. The next day they visited my members and demanded that they do the so-called “faith seed sowing” (*upna khaici tuh*). Faith seed sowing is

⁵ Francis Asbury referred to these camp meetings as “fishing with a large net.”

something like a love gift offered to ministers or evangelists so that blessings will come upon the giver in return.

So the evangelists demanded that the people give the best kind of clothing they had, and set a fixed amount to be given to them. My members gave them money and clothing as demanded, not out of love or willingness. On learning the news the caretaker of my church went to them and found out the truth. He took the clothes and returned them to the owners, but allowed the evangelists to retain the money for their return journey. Immediately they were sent back to their home country. Such misuse of gospel tour for personal gain should be avoided.

Another example is also of my own experience as Executive Secretary of the Zomi Baptist Church at Champhai, Mizoram. In 2003 one A.G. evangelist from Myanmar came to Champhai. He claimed to have healing power. He demanded registration in his denomination if a person wants his prayers. For example, one sick person belonging to the Roman Catholic Church wanted him to pray for healing. The A.G. evangelist first demanded transfer of membership to his denomination, saying that he cannot minister outside of his denominational boundary. So the family of the sick man transferred their membership from R.C. He prayed for his illness, firing guns at the evil spirits coming from the valley below. The sick person was not healed, but died not long after.

In another example, the parents of a dumb boy in my church wanted the evangelist to pray for their son so that he could speak. They also transferred their membership to his denomination without the knowledge of my church. They invited him to their house and prayed for their son. He said the evil spirit which caused the boy to be unable to speak flew away as an eagle from their house. However, the boy could not speak, until today.

On hearing of the evangelist's method of ministry, I wrote to him and circulated a copy to all my members, saying that God's power is not confined to one denomination. If the evangelist is a true servant of God he must serve all the people who are in need, irrespective of denomination, creed or confession. Immediately he left the town. At first glance his claim sounds very logical; however he was stealing members of another church in the name of the gospel. It was an unhealthy gospel ministry.

Second Wave of Revival (1990-2009)

During the first wave of revival the movement was mainly confined to the Pentecostal church, as most of the revival groups embraced the Assemblies of God church, and some the United Pentecostal church. It also can be termed a period of division in the church. In the second wave of revival there has been better understanding among the churches, as the Baptist members were also involved in the revival.

Those of the younger generation became leaders of the revival movement, including Kam Cin Hau, Langh Do Khup, Pau Lian Mung, Pum Khan Nang, Nang Do Kap, Thang Khan Kam, Thang Khan Thawn, Cin Za Mung and Pau Khan Khai. They were drawn from both Pentecostal as well as Baptist backgrounds, indicating that the revival movement had become more interdenominational. The theological concept also shifted from exclusivism to inclusivism as people became more rational in their theological concepts. Due to limited space, I will discuss only three of these evangelists.

Kam Cin Hau

Born on February 22, 1963, Kam Cin Hau was brought up at Nahnuai, where his father retired from military service. He experienced assurance of salvation from Hebrews 2:3 in a revival meeting at his church in June, 1975. Later he joined the Assemblies of

God church against the will of his parents. He claimed to have received the baptism of the Holy Spirit in 1977 after three days of fasting and prayer (K. C. Hau 2006:5).

According to Hau, baptism in the Holy Spirit becomes the highest blessing for born again Christians which one should aim for. Miracles become one of the gifts bestowed upon the revivalist by the Holy Spirit (K. C. Hau 2006:5). He felt as if he was in Paradise, having close fellowship with the Lord. Since then he dedicated his life to ministry (2006:6). He founded two churches at Nahnuai and Mandalay and set up his own mission, called Paradise Mission Centre in Mandalay since 1998 (2006:18).

Hau visited most of the Zomi villages, conducting mass crusades that produced great revivals. For example, in February, 1988 he conducted mass crusade meetings in the Tedim Township area from village to village, and witnessed great revivals. The Holy Spirit touched children and young people, who dedicated their lives to the Lord. The revival first came on children and young people, and then soon reached the adults. The Holy Spirit manifested among them by falling down on the floor and seeing visions (K. C. Hau 2006:13).

At one time in the Bethel A.G. Church the compound could not hold the crowd and had to move to the town hall. More than 5,000 people came to hear him. Even the town hall was too small for the crowd and every night about 700 people fell down unconscious by the power of the Holy Spirit. Many sick people were healed and experienced deliverance (K. C. Hau 2006:13).

The revival shook the whole town. The Township Council Chairman himself converted to the Lord. Many teenagers committed their lives to the Lord. Students attended the crusade and the authorities had to suspend classes temporarily. In those days the whole country faced political turmoil and chaos due to the 1988 student uprising in Myanmar. Many students lost their lives in the political demonstration and all educational institutions were closed in the whole nation. However, in Tedim the whole town was

experiencing revival, so no one bothered with those political events. Everybody was happy discussing the word of God. Shopkeepers and customers studied the word together and discussed among themselves (K. C. 2006:14).

The mass crusade meeting at which the biggest crowd was recorded as well as the largest number of people turning to God was the crusade held at Lamka, Manipur, India in June, 1995. It was organized as a joint effort of different churches, including the Chin Baptist Association (my former church) and the Evangelical Baptist Convention Church, as well as individuals. The crowd attending the meeting was recorded at 30,000 every night and the number of new converts receiving Christ as their Savior was more than 7,000 (K. C. Hau 2006:15).

During his twenty years of service in ministry (1985-2006), Hau conducted mass crusade meetings at 120 different places and preached 200-220 times. The number attending those meetings totaled about 300,000 and the number of people turning to God at those meetings was 55,000 and 1,200 received water baptism by him (K. C. Hau 2006:21). It was amazing to witness the manifestation of the Holy Spirit in all these meetings as many people received the baptism of the Holy Spirit, gifts of tongues, healing and deliverance from all kinds of sicknesses (2006:16).

Langh Do Khup

Langh Do Khup, a Baptist and a school drop out of Kansau village, was converted to Christ in 1990 from his worldly life. As a young man he had a burden for young people of his time and began a gospel tour with his friends. He conducted crusades and campings, converting mostly young people. Miracles, healing and visions were taking place in his ministry (L. D. Khup 2008b).

For example, a broken family was reconciled at Buanli village in 1991, a paralyzed woman—Hau Man—was healed at Lamzang village in 1994, revival took

place without a sermon at Muallum village in 1994, one lady who was on a sick bed for twenty-one years was healed at Suangpi village in 1996, a devil possessed woman was healed at Kalemio in 1997.

In one case, a woman was raised from death at Lamzang village. While conducting a revival crusade, his team was invited to pray for a lady who was sick on the point of death at Lamzang village in 1994. While praying for her she died. Family members, relatives and members present in the house began to cry. Langh Do Khup and his team members prayed to God fervently to give life back to her, holding her right hand tight. Langh Do Khup challenged God not to let her hand down till life returned to her. At last life came back to her after a long struggle of prayer (L. D. Khup 2008b).

In spite of limited education, Khup is talented in preaching, writing and singing. For example, his song “*Itna sisan luangin*,” (drop of blood out of love) became an offering song in many churches today. *Lamdang lua aw, lamdang lua sa’ng* (wonderful love) speaks about young people who are converted to Christ by God’s love. He is also a good writer. For example, his book entitled *Hauhna leh Khansauna Thusim* (The Mystery of Riches and Longevity) written under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit in the year 2000 was accepted by the Manipur University as a college level textbook for Paite (Zomi) vernacular in 2007.

Khup’s video album in 2003, called *Ngaih Anglai-ah* (In the bosom of a lover), which depicts a drug addict converting to Christ and safe in the bosom of Jesus is popular for moral teaching of today’s young people (Kham Sian Pau 2007a). His Gospel Team formed in 1996 is called *Khitui Gospel Team* (Tears Gospel Team) indicating that they shed a lot of tears for the lost souls. His Gospel Team has been directed by Thang Khan Khen, a law graduate. His ministry is operating among the Dais of southern Chin State in Myanmar, sponsoring 13 missionaries as of 2007 (L. D. Khup 2008b).

In 1998 he was invited to preach in Australia where he could preach in English, though uneducated. He felt it was the work of the Holy Spirit. In one church he was given fifteen minutes but spoke thirty minutes without a break. He visited India, Singapore, Malaysia, Japan and Australia, speaking in Zomi churches. He conducted 160 crusades and preached 1,310 sermons by 2007 (K. S. Pau 2007a).

Pau Lian Mung

Born on May 8, 1969, Daniel Pau Lian Mung, a Baptist of Haupi village in Tedim Township was converted on January 10, 1988 during a crusade in Emmanuel Baptist Church at Kalemyo. On that very night he could not sleep but spent the night in prayer, saying “God take my life, I want to be with you.” In his dream he saw Jesus dying on the cross and the dripping of blood. While trying to touch the dripping blood, he heard a voice saying “Don’t touch it, but preach about it. I will be with you as I was with Moses and Daniel. I will not take you now” (P. L. Mung 2008). Since that time on he surrendered himself completely to his service, abstaining from any kind of intoxicating drinks.

Mung’s ministry has been carried out through a team called Macedonia Gospel Team, after Paul’s Macedonian call (Acts 16:6-10). His team includes 11 members from Theizang, Mualpi, Singzung and Pyidawtha villages. The name Daniel has been added to his name, after Daniel of the Old Testament. He conducted 173 crusades in different places, including Chin State, Mizoram and Myanmar. In his crusades, healing, miracles and wonders have taken place.

For example, one lady in a vision saw the blood of Jesus dripping on the cross during a crusade meeting at Dolluang village. One person, who had alleged that Jesus was an unwanted son of Mary, was converted instantly (P. L. Mung 2008). In another case, while Mung was conducting a crusade, a fire came down on the church from heaven

at Muallum village while people in the church—including drug addicts and adulterers—were crying, repenting and turning to the Lord. Seeing the light of the fire coming down on the church, the villagers rushed to the church to take control of the fire. On reaching the spot they realized that it was not natural fire, but spiritual fire.

During another crusade at Hiangzang village, one woman in the church was grieving the loss of her children. While responding to the altar call, she fell and stopped breathing. She was in a coma for about an hour. Reading Philippians 4:13, Mung cried to the Lord for her soul. After a lapse of one hour she came back to life. She testified that while in that condition she was in heaven with her two deceased children (P. L. Mung 2008).

Revival Features during This Period

The ministries of the revivalists reveal that the revival features included miracles, signs and speaking in tongues. Revival activities became more interdenominational and contextualized, as the revival influence has been felt in most denominations, even the Roman Catholic and Seventh-day Adventist. In this section I will discuss miracles, tongues, personal holiness, house cleansing, village cleansing, the church's response, and negative and positive consequences of the revival.

Miracles, Signs and Wonders

Kam Cin Hau, Lang Do Khup and Pau Lian Mung claimed that miracles, signs and wonders are taking place in their revival meetings. At the same time there have been writings for and against the validity of miracles, especially of faith healing, among the Zomi Christians. Can miracles take place today? This question is still lingering in the minds of some Zomi Christians.

Do Suan Mung, Principal of Faith Baptist Bible College and leader of the Evangelical Baptist Conference questions the validity of miracles in his book *Tapidaw Pawlpi leh Upna Taangthu* (Christian Church and Doctrine). He says that miracles were performed by the apostles because they were unique and endowed with the power to do it. It is not for today's Christians. The validity of miracles, signs and wonders ceased with the age of the apostles (D. S. Mung 2005:216). This is the position of the reformers like John Calvin, Martin Luther and churches associated with these reformers (Joe Nichell 1998:133). It is called the cessationist position (Richard B. Gaffin 1996:41).

However, miracles like healing continue to be experienced in Catholic and Protestant churches even today. I agree with the Fuller Seminary position on miracles as stated below:

Fuller Seminary believes in the miraculous. No one questions whether God can and does work miraculously.... Fuller Seminary believes that all the spiritual gifts are in use in the body of Christ today. We do not agree with those who contend that the sign gifts ceased with the apostolic age. We recognize that God does not give all the gifts to all churches, but we encourage the use of all the gifts He gives and we desire to train our students to use whatever gifts they have responsibly (Wagner 1987a:10).

The power of God works in the same way as in the time of apostles. God does perform miraculous things according to his will at his own appointed time and place.

Do Suan Mung argues that the scripture passage Heb. 13:8—which is considered by some as a scriptural basis for the pro-miracles position—refers to the divinity of Jesus, his love, his holiness and truth that does not change but remains the same (D. S. Mung 2005:212). However, it can be argued that the divinity of Jesus as well as his power is the same through all ages.

Ralph M. McInerny says “miracles prove the divine origin of Christianity. They are not to be dismissed as fitting only to earlier times and to minds less advanced than our own” (McInerny 1986:122). A. J. Gordon (a Baptist and theologian), Andrew Murray (a

saintly missionary to Africa), and A. B. Simpson (a Presbyterian, who founded the Christian and Missionary Alliance) were among the forerunners that accepted and experienced the miraculous working of God in the 19th century. This is called the continuationist position (Robert L. Saucy 1996:121). Miracles, signs and wonders do exist in modern Christianity even though God does not perform miracles just to show his power.

Speaking in Tongues

Speaking in tongues was a common experience beginning from the first revival wave through the second period of the revival movement. It is one of the most controversial elements in revival movements even today. Pentecostals accept it as a sign of the baptism of the Holy Spirit. But Pentecostals are not the first who adopted this view. During the American great revivals the Holiness Movement, the mountain people of North Carolina received the baptism of the Holy Ghost and spoke in tongues in 1896 (Charles W. Conn 1996:xxvii).

It was promoted by the Azusa Street revival in 1906, which was the beginning of the Pentecostal movement, and was an issue during the Holiness and Keswick movements in the 19th and 20th centuries. The Pentecostals broke their relationship with the Holiness Movement when glossalalia was rejected by the Keswick Holiness Movement (Melvin E. Dieter 1980:271). The Keswick Convention also rejected glossalalia as a sign of the baptism in the Holy Spirit. The Keswick position is that baptism in the Holy Spirit is “for power in action” not a “second blessing” as claimed by Pentecostals (Donald W. Dayton 1985:23).

Joe Nichell, who studied glossalalia, says “Glossalalia is language-like because the speaker unconsciously wants it to be language-like. Yet in spite of superficial similarities, glossalalia fundamentally is not language.... For example *Drawk cabda erfi*

esnes nonton” (1998:108). Nichell concludes that speaking and praying in tongues is not a sign or evidence of spiritual gifts. Rather it is “nonsensical utterance” to satisfy psychological emptiness and it is “self deception” (1998:109).

St. Paul’s view is that it is more profitable to “speak five intelligible words to instruct others than ten thousand words in a tongue” (1Cor. 14:19). This means speaking in tongues does not promote the Christian life. However, the Bible undoubtedly mentions the existence of tongues in the church, but does not regard it as edifying. It is for individual edification and communication with God (1Cor. 14:1ff).

Personal Holiness

Personal holiness through the miraculous work of God promotes better Christian living. The purpose of the Keswick Conventions in the 19th century was also to promote personal holiness, brotherly love and increased interest in the work of the Lord (David Bundy 1993:120). Emphasis on personal holiness for new converts includes abstention from drinking, smoking, chewing betel nut, and gambling, as an outward manifestation of inner conversion. Inner conversion also must be manifested in the marriage relationship, relationships with others and zeal for soul winning. The Zomi who had been unable to give up their drinking habit *zu* had the strength to give up their bad habit with the help of the power of the Holy Spirit.

For example, Zam Khaw Thang of Champhai testified that when he was converted he gave up his habit of gambling, drinking, smoking, chewing pan (an Indian custom). He donated Rs.60 per month towards missionary fund—the amount equal to what he had spent in smoking and chewing pan. He became a prominent leader of the Zomi Baptist Church in Mizoram. Women also could give up their habit of smoking *tuibuk* when they were converted. In another example, one woman who was a heavy smoker gave up her smoking habit on hearing the testimony of Niang Go Cing at Cikha

in 1987 (N. G. Cing 2008:19). Revival promotes personal holiness in the same pattern of Paul's ideology as found in his letter to the Corinthian Christians (1Cor. 3:16-17).

House Cleansing

House cleansing is another type of holiness movement among the Zomi which seems to have been a result of unintentional contextualized theology of *Kauciah* during the *Khuado Pawi* festival. During the festival, male members of the household would hold pinewood fire in their hands and cast evil spirits out of the house, led by the priest. The purpose of house cleansing is also to cast out evil spirits and invite the Holy Spirit to come and rule the house after removing all the elements thought to be connected with evil spirits and materials objectionable to the work of the Holy Spirit.

For example, Nang Do Kap (1956-2000) by the direction of the Holy Spirit cleansed the house of Pau Lian at Cauleng village. He pointed with his finger where to go and what to do, as he was not allowed to speak by the divine command. When the cleansing activity of prayer was over they were about to leave the house. Unable to leave the house they entered the house again. He pointed at a wooden box, which they opened. Opening the box, they found items like feathers and poles used by the priest. With the permission of the house owner, all the items were burned. The daughter-in-law of Pau Lian, Cing Hau from Tungzang village, was revived in her soul. She began speaking in tongues, saying “*phit, phit, phit, ping, ping, ping.*”

As they were about to leave the house Nang Do Kap pointed again at the cupboard. Upon opening the cupboard, nothing was found and they were about to leave. Unable to leave the house he pointed at the cupboard a second time. Opening the cupboard the third time, they found a bunch of polyethylene bags with one smoking juice container (*tuibuk theipi*), which they threw away (T. G. Am 2006:11). Such items—like smoking materials, local cigarette juice and materials related to traditional worship—are

objectionable to the Holy Spirit and should be done away with. Inner holiness should be demonstrated in the outward appearance in the house.

However, over emphasis on house cleansing may bring disgrace to the revivalist and the revival movement. For example, revivalist Thang Khan Kam (1957-1997) performed the house cleansing at Lun Pau's house at Limkhai village. The photo of his wife, who had passed away sometime earlier, was on the wall. Thang Khan Kam took it and burned it down along with other items. On seeing the action of burning the photo of the mother, his son took the case to the authorities. Thang Khan Kam was arrested by the police and taken to Tedim town for interrogation. He was released by the authority at Tedim when he appeared in the court (T.G. Am 2006:47). Not only house cleansing, but also village cleansing, is a popular activity of the revival movement.

Village Cleansing

Christian holiness includes the corporate holiness of a village as a community. It is a replacement of traditional religious customs of community worship in a village, called Tualbiakna, in which the villagers offered a sacrifice in asking the god of harvest for health and good harvest. All misfortunes on a village are believed to have been created by evil spirits, and they should be cast out of the village with the power of the Holy Spirit. This is in line with what missiologists have called the "receptor's frame of reference (C.L. Hminga 1987:270).

For example, in Mizoram the pioneer missionaries first did not recognize the "right frame of reference," according to C. L. Hminga. He writes,

When the pioneer missionaries Messrs Lorain and Savidge preached their first message in Mizo language in English frame of reference they found that people did not understand what they were saying. Then they discovered the secret that they had to present their message in what is now called 'the receptor's frame of reference.' So instead of a 'Savior from sin' they presented a 'Savior from the power of the evil spirits' which the

receptor could understand and which met his felt need. This formed the central message of the early preaching in Mizoram (1987: 270).

So also casting out of evil spirits from the village was one of the central activities of the revival movement according to the receptor's frame of reference, which is a contextualized corporate holiness movement.

For example, at Tungzang village the A.G. Church members held prayer for the sick in one house on one Saturday night in September, 1988. During prayer the petromax (kerosene lantern) they were using for lighting the house was removed by itself. They could not meet for the Sunday morning worship service, as they were disturbed by unseen forces. Since that time there were women who roamed about the village at night (in the dark) with their hair shaved off. People dared not go out at night after 8 PM. In addition to this, five persons died in one day on October 31, 1988. The villagers were filled with fear and trembling due to unpredictable incidents and unseen forces. They believed that the prediction of a visionary, who had said that the evil spirits (*khaninte*) would work in the village, had taken place (J.A.G. Silver Jubilee Magazine 2003:45).

On the night of November 1, 1988, as agreed upon by all leaders of five different denominations in the village—Baptist, Assemblies of God Church, Church of Jesus Christ, Roman Catholic Church and Seventh-Day Adventist—over 100 people, with five petromax units for lighting, took a march throughout the village from one corner to the other. Beating drums, they sang, prayed and shouted as they cast out the evil spirits. When they reached the other corner they stopped at a place where once a village sacrifice was offered. They removed the very *Tualsuang*—a flat stone used for offering village sacrifices to evil spirits. It was done with a prayer of A.G. Pastor Tun Khan Zam. They took the stone to a nearby precipice and rolled it down. It was broken into pieces.

One drunkard had a dream on that very night that 3,000 soldiers were killed by falling off the precipice (J. A. G. 2003:45). The belief is that they had cast out the evil spirits from the village. From that time onward, the villagers experienced health and good life (J.A.G. 2003:45).

Another example is a cleansing of Thuklai village, which is the village of the first Zomi converts, Thuam Hang and Pau Suan. It was called the “Siyin Tribe Repentance and Renewal Festival,” held April 21-27, 1997, based on 2Chronicles 7:14. Evangelist Langh Do Khup was invited to be the speaker. Over 2,000 people from all denominations and leaders of the Siyin tribe participated in the festival of repentance, including Max Vai Pum, the Siyin Bible translator. The purpose was to ask God for forgiveness of the past mistakes and to seek blessings so that the Siyin people would be blessed as before according to the prophecies of Ciin Khan Huai and Thang Za Thawng. The people of Thuklai were once antagonistic to the first converts, refusing the ministry of evangelist Suang Khaw Kam in the 1930s and the ministry of Hau Lian Kham in 1975 (K. S. Pau 2008b).

The main feature was prayer asking forgiveness for killing one another and taking human heads of the Burmese people. They especially prayed for forgiveness for the so called Myo-ook Suam during the British invasion, when the Zomi plotted against British officers (Vumson 1986:132). They held prayer in the very locality where the fighting took place. They asked God to forgive them for refusing the ministries of Suang Khaw Kam, who was regarded as a fanatic in the 1930s and the ministry of Hau Lian Kham in 1975.

They also prayed for the sins of their forefathers and submitted themselves in repentance (K. S. Pau 2008b). It was a time of prayer for forgiveness of the sins of the past and asking for blessings on the village, healing the land to produce sufficient

agricultural products (2Chr. 7:14). Such village cleansing was practiced in many villages including Lamzang, Kapteel, Gawngmual, Keizang and Phaiza (Lian Do Khup 2008).

Village cleansing posed some doctrinal questions. Do the sins of the past affect the offspring in the present time? (cf. Ezek. 18:1-4). Is it biblical to live in fear of evil spirits after becoming Christians and spiritually born again? How can we interpret this passage when God says a person will die of his own sin, not for the sins of forefathers?

It has something to do with individual sin and corporate sin. The Zomi believed that apart from individual sin, a corporate sin must be done away with as a community, as they did in traditional religion. This is a replacement of the traditional religious activity of *Tualbiak*, in which the whole community offered sacrifices. Their religious activity includes both personal and communal holiness from the influence of the evil spirits.

When animists became Christians they burned fetishes, or threw them away as a symbolic act, called a “rite of separation” from the old religion and an “act of commitment” to the new religion (Allan R. Tippet 1999:626; see Acts 19:18-19; Eph. 4:22-24). However, it is unbiblical to embrace the concept that children inherit the consequences of the sins of their forefathers (Ezek. 18:1-5).

Baptist Official Response to the Revival Movement

In the beginning of the revival movement the response of the Baptist church in encountering the revival has been negative. The position taken by the Baptist church leaders in the beginning of the revival had been to oppose and remove revivalists from the church, as a doctor removes some organ in order to save the other organs of the body. The hlimsang movement coming from Mizoram was opposed (Johnson 1988b:1204). Thang Za Kam was excommunicated from the Church. Tun Za Kap left the Baptist Church to avoid action taken by the Church. Following his suspension from preaching, Hau Lian Kham—along with his two friends Vial Khaw Hau and Khai Khan Suan—were

eventually excommunicated on February 9, 1975, by the Cope Memorial Baptist Church (H. Z. Dal 2001:49).

The next week, the Church laid down further disciplinary measures restricting any involvement with the piangthak group, and declaring that violation of the measures would result in excommunication from church membership (Kham Khan Mang 1990:107). The resistance was based on doctrinal differences, unwillingness to change, especially in worship style. Emphasis on salvation by faith alone was interpreted as unbiblical and neglecting the practical side of faith according to the teaching of James 2:24.

As a basis for the denial of the revival, the pianglui group held that emphasis on the work of the Holy Spirit—neglecting the practical side—is imbalanced theological teaching. The introduction of singing choruses (latom) in the church, praying in unison and public testimony was unacceptable to many. David Allan Hubbard says that just as change in the church carries risk, so also does resistance to change.

But refusing to change may lead to deadly orthodoxy, smug spiritual complacency that assumes, ‘we know all truth and are totally satisfied with our level of spiritual maturity.’... When people of charismatic experience are treated that way, the obvious question is, ‘Who is responsible for the divisiveness, the enthusiastic charismatic or the pastor?’ (1987:15).

Resistance to this kind of movement resulted in division. As Johnson said, some kind of patience and tolerance could have been exercised, since time can heal. Hau Lian Kham acknowledged the mistake committed during the early revival in his sermon as recorded by Khai Khan Suan.

During the early revival movement, we did not know how to present it. We made a mistake to present the gospel in love and humility. “Were you saved?” we asked. The reply was “No, I am not.” “How dare you?” we continued. We were filled with joy. Good. We knew we were the children of heaven. That’s why we were happy. That’s fine. However we were filled with spiritual pride disregarding other’s opinions. We were thrown

into problem after one another. That was the reason why there were so many denominations in our land (2003a:142).

The action of the Mizo Church leaders toward the revival movement provides a lesson for the Zomi. Leaders of the Mizo Church prepared guidelines for the revival movement, called “Revival Guide or Manual of 1949.” It was prepared in 1937 but was not circulated until twelve years later, in 1949, in order to avoid negative results⁶ (Vanlalchhuanawma 2006:449). They took the path of patience that avoids major unwanted results. This could have been the response of the Baptist Church to the revival movement among the Zomi.

Response to Opposition toward the Revival

The revival group emphasized spiritual freedom to the extent that they disregarded the authority of the church, ministers and church discipline (K. K. Suan 2007b). They interpreted 2Corinthians 6:14-18 as if the Bible grants permission to break away from the Baptist Church, implicating the Baptists as unbelievers with whom they should not be yoked. Due to strong opposition from the Baptist Church authorities and the excommunication of the revival leaders, a number of denominations came into existence.

For example, Hau Lian Kham and his followers started the Evangelical Baptist Conference in 1975. Later, due to doctrinal differences, he joined the Assemblies of God Church in 1977. A number of churches came into existence since the 1970s, including the Evangelical Baptist Conference (1975), Burma Christian Baptist Church (1975), Assemblies of God Church (1977), United Pentecostal Church (1980), Evangelical Church of Christ of Myanmar (1982), Assemblies of Yahweh (1983), Theocratic Christ

⁶ It was an amplification of the resolution Nos. I, II, III & IV made by the Assembly’s Standing Committee of the Mizoram Presbyterian Church on July 14, 1937, but published only in the early part of 1949. It listed seventeen major features that characterized the revival movement from its inception.

Baptist Church (1983), New Apostolic Church (1983), Church of Jesus Christ (1984), Zo Bible Church (1986), Evangelical Church of Christ (1987), Believers Church of Jesus Christ (1992), Christian Baptist Church of Myanmar (1992), True Jesus Church (1998), Antioch Adventist Church (1999) and Immanuel Church (2000) (C. K. Kham 2002, 106-110). See Tables 3 and 4 for available statistics of different church groups p. 158, 159).

These splits in the church continued one after another until the body of Christ had been splintered into many different groups. Some of these groups, such as the Unity Church of Myanmar even disregarded the authority of the church, the study of the Bible, the study of theology and even giving tithes. Many of them rely on visions, prophecies and miracles (H. K. Hnin 2007:158, 202).

Factors in the Divisions in the Baptist Church

The reasons for these divisions can be discussed from Pentecostal and Baptist points of view as the two main contenders. The Pentecostal perspective can be summed up as found in Hau Lian Kham's biography.

1. The opposition was largely due to the influence of teachers in liberal theological seminaries who objected to the revival movement.
2. The Revival movement was regarded as that of *hlimsang* movement of Mizoram which was seen as a Pentecostal movement and objected by Baptists.
3. In those days the Assemblies of God Church members in Yangon preached on salvation by faith which was objected by the Myanmar Baptist Convention to which the Cope Memorial Baptist Church was a member. Hau Lian Kham was alleged to have introduced the Pentecostal faith among the Baptists.
4. Over emphasis on salvation by faith—claiming that physical action cannot affect spiritual life even by murder or adultery—was unbiblical. Responding to the sermon by saying “Amen,” clapping hands, change in worship service by singing local songs and choruses in the church was unacceptable to the Baptist leaders (H. Z. Dal 2001:31).

According to Pau Khan En, former General Secretary of the Myanmar Baptist Convention and former principal of the Myanmar Institute of Theology, the reasons for disunity among the Zomi Christians include the following, which can be regarded as representing the Baptist perspective:

1. Spiritual superiority over other Christians in matters of doctrine, creed and confession.
2. Personal rivalry.
3. Disagreement over mission agencies like Baptist, R.C., Methodist, A.G., U.P.C., E.B.C. etc.
4. Diversities of perspectives over faith and confession (Pau Khan En 2007:57).

Pau Khan En did not elaborate the different “perspectives over faith and confession.” “Faith and confession” here implies freedom of the will and salvation by faith alone. The revival groups implied that they were spiritually superior to other Christians.

Theological differences were coupled with a leadership crisis at the Cope Memorial Baptist Church between the pastor and the deacon members. It was imperative to face division in the church, as Christians were divided into *piangthak* and *pianglui* just like the “New Lights” and “Old Lights” during the time of Jonathan Edwards, who (representing the New Lights) emphasized freedom of the will and salvation by faith alone against the Calvinism of the time⁷ (Arnold Dallimore 1990:427). Suak Za Go says “There was clear division as dry tree and green tree, as red and white color” among the Zomi Christians in those days (Suak Za Go 2007).

To these theories, the following factors resulting in division in the church can be added. First is the lack of Biblical teaching in the church. Christians usually depend on preaching of ministers in Sunday worship services without proper Bible study. There

⁷ Due to opposition and ill attitude towards revival, two antagonistic groups emerged in the Congregational Church, called “New Lights” and “Old Lights” in late 18th century in America.

were no graded Sunday school materials until the 1980s. Children did not get proper biblical guidance in spiritual matters. The lack of biblical knowledge as a whole created different approaches to revival. The non-revival group was unable to guide the revival movement according to scripture. At the same time, the revival group was unable to use scripture in a balancing way, but singled out certain portions of scripture to be authoritative over others

The second is the generation gap. The church at that time was mostly under the care of the graduates of Nelson Bible School in 1951 followed by some individuals. The ministers, mostly with local education and inexperienced in spiritual matters could not lead the church when revival broke out. The older generation wanted to maintain the status quo, whereas the new generation wanted a change—change in interpretation of scripture, change in the worship service and change in church music. This resulted in a leadership crisis in the church.

Finally, the established Baptist Church looked at the revival features from its beginning as a threat to its establishment, and took measures to suppress it. It was a great loss for the Baptist Church to dismiss a dedicated and committed leader like Hau Lian Kham, who could have been a great leader not only for the Zomi but for all Christians in Burma, if he had been given public support for his movement.

Local Churches' Response to the Revival

The positive response of the local churches includes theological understanding, membership growth and growth in giving. By the second wave of revival, interpretation of the Bible became more inclusive, emphasizing the whole Bible for the whole person: that is, salvation includes soul, mind and body (L. D. Khup 2008). Better understanding of the work of the Holy Spirit is found among the Christians, including spiritual gifts, his

works and functions. There has been common acceptance of revival as the work of the Holy Spirit.

Through the work of the Holy Spirit in signs and wonders, new converts have been added to the church. Revival promotes membership growth in the church. For example, Thawng Khen Thang reports that during his ministry in 1979, ten families became Christians in Kansauzang village, two families in Singgial village, including the chief Hen Za Nang. Hen Za Nang—celebrating the conversion—provided a feast for the church, killing a pig (Lungdamna Aw 1979a).

David L. Liana reports a revival in his village of Bapi. Dim Deih Cing was sick for a long time and many sacrifices were offered including eight hens, two pigs and one dog, with no result. Her father objected to her attending the church service before her illness. She requested the prayers of the church for her healing, to which her father objected. She had a dream on October 10, 1979, in which she heard a voice telling that she would lose her sight due to her parent's unbelief in God. After three days she lost her sight. Her father wanted to offer a sacrifice again for her sight. She told her father "If you want my healing, go to the leaders of the church and invite them to pray for me." Her father at last agreed and the church leaders prayed for her healing. There was revival in the church when Dim Deih Cing was healed (Lungdamna Aw 1979a).

Pau Lian Mung mentions that at Muallum village the traditional priest was converted when he witnessed the spiritual fire burning over the church (Pau Lian Mung 2008). Usually relatives and clans of the traditional priest joined the church along with the priest. People movement conversion has been taking place in many villages.

Another example is that during Langh Do Khup's ministry in 1994, Tuimang villagers who were regarded as the most unreceptive in the Tedim area became Christians mainly because of miracles. One girl named Hau Man was bedridden for four months due to paralysis. Langh Do Khup and his team prayed for her healing. Suddenly she was

healed and testified about her experience in the church. On hearing the experience, another sick woman, Hau Khan Zen, was brought to the church. She determined not to leave the church unhealed. She was healed on the third day. Villagers were filled with joy, praising and dancing. On seeing the miracles, the villagers became Christians (L. D. Khup 2008b). Now all the villagers have become Christians as a result of revival movement.

The percentage of Christians as reported by the Zomi Baptist Convention annual meeting in 1980 was 54.82% in Chin State (Lungdamna Aw 1983c:16). The Zomis can now claim that 90% are Christians, including the various denominations and groups. It is said that by 2000 there were no more animists among the Zomi (Hang Khan Pau 2004:j).

Most of the churches are self supporting. Love gifts have become a habit among the Zomi Christians, which is a good sign of improvement in giving. Out of love for God and passion for the Gospel, they are willing to give gifts to evangelists and ministers. They have learned the joy of giving. In addition to tithing, they give thank offerings. For example, the Kale Valley Baptist Association introduced a thanksgiving box in each household. The offerings in the box were collected at the end of each month. For the month of November in 1979 the collection came to Rs.6, 962.70 (Lungdamna Aw 1980b).

Another example is giving a handful of rice by each family, which started through the influence of neighboring tribes. In 1907 the Khasi evangelist Babu Joel Gatphoh of Mawrong village proposed to collect a handful of rice for the support of evangelists. It became a good source of income for evangelistic work, which spread from Mawrong to the nearby villages including Mawtari and Korhadem and later all over the Khasi area. The founder, Joel Gatphoh, was a school inspector who became an evangelist upon his conversion during the Khasi revival. His name "Babu" means officer, and he was given the title "Father of Handful of Rice Collection" (R. P. Lyngdoh 2006:6). The Khasis

influenced the Mizo Christians and the Mizos influenced other related tribes in Manipur including the Zomi in India and Myanmar.

Summary

Using the phenomenological approach and post-colonial theory, the history of the revival movement has been investigated. It is divided into two waves according to the nature and features of the movement. The investigation reveals that the Zomi encounter with the revival intensified social, cultural and religious change. In the midst of political and economic uncertainties the Zomi experienced spiritual dynamism.

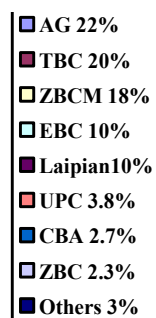
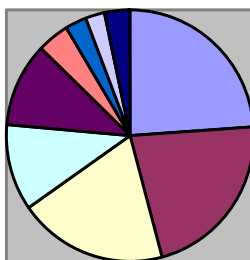
Prophecies, visions, gospel tours, crusades and camp meetings were the main characteristics of the movement. Speaking in tongues, miracles, wonders and signs were common during the revival. Camps, crusades, and gospel tours were common, bridging the communication gap. The Great American revivals of the 18th and 19th centuries have been used as a standard interpretation of Zomi revival. The Keswick Holiness Movement of the 19th century in the west also influenced the Zomi.

It is encouraging that the traditional religious practices of *Kauciah* and *Tualbiakna* have been unintentionally contextualized in the form of house cleansing and village cleansing. Setting up of prayer mountains, erecting of crosses in homes and churches became important activities of the movement.

The revival received diverse responses from individuals and churches. A number of churches emerged as a result of the revival mainly, due to opposition from the mainline Baptist church. The revival impacted the Zomi church and society more than ever before, which I shall discuss in the next chapter.

TABLE 3
CHURCH STATISTICS

Sl.No	Name of Church	No. of Churches	No. of Baptized	No. of Unbaptized	Total	Source
1	A.G.	–	10,656	11,432	22,088	Rev. Thuam Khan Thang
2	T.B.C.	76	8,934	11,099	20,000	I. Zen Thawng G. S., 2008
3	Z.B.C.M	113	9,138	8,949	18,087	AGS Report, 2008
4	E.B.C.	97	–	–	10,590	Rev. Lian Do Nang, 2008
5	Laipian	–	–	–	10,042	Rev. Lian Do Khup, 2008
6	U.P.C.	–	–	–	3,806	Rev. Kham Khen Nang, 2008
7	C.B.A.	16	1,656	1,071	2,729	ES Report, 2008
8	Z.B.C.	17	1,178	1,160	2,338	ES Report, 2008
9	Others	–	–	–	3,257	Bethel A.G. Souvenir, 2002
	Total	–	–	–	92,744	



Measure of the size of each church group under review (*Read chart clockwise*)

TABLE 4**STATISTICS OF OTHER CHURCHES**

(Source: Bethel A.G. Silver Jubilee Souvenir 2002:106-110)

Sl.No.	Name of Church	No. of Households	No. of Membership
1	Thang Za Kam Baptist Church	18	1365
2	Seventh-day Adventist (Lawibual)	16	52
3	Antioch Adventist Church	85	532
4	Methodist Church	16	
5	Burma Christ Baptist Church	70	600
6	Evangelical Church of Christ	121	712
7	Presbyterian Church	13	68
8	Assemblies of Yahweh	15	100
9	Theocratic Christ Baptist Church	52	330
10	New Apostolic Church	7	76
11	Believers Church of Jesus Christ		
12	Tedim Zo Baptist Church	37	224
13	Christian Baptist Church of Myanmar	3	14
14	A Living Jesus Christ Church	9	75
15	True Jesus Christ Church	4	39
16	Immanuel Church	9	60
	Total		3,257

CHAPTER 5

IMPACT OF THE ZOMI REVIVAL AND RECONTEXTUALIZATION

The revival has impacted the life and culture of the Zomi, including nationalism, social and religious circles. Exposure to modern technology, such as telephone, T.V., and—more recently—mobile phones also played an important role in impacting the life of the Zomi. Today most of the villages even in hill areas can be reached by mobile phone, which promotes change in their life, culture and worldview. The revival has changed the outlook of the Zomi from a local to a national mindset, moving from village to urban areas and even to foreign lands. Therefore, I will discuss the impact of the revival movement as an agent of social, cultural and religious change in the life of the Zomi.

Self Awareness: The “Zomi” Movement

The revival impacted the Zomi in terms of self awareness for their identity as a people. It was the church that first coined the term “Zomi” as a national title, when the Baptist conference was termed the Zomi Baptist Convention in 1953. This was reaffirmed at the triennial conference of the Z.B.C. at Thantlang in April, 1983 (Lungdamna Aw 1983c:10) (see Appendix E).

The influence of the church on the society became a reality as a number of parties, social groups and philanthropic organizations were formed and used the name “Zomi” both in India and Myanmar. For example, in Myanmar a political party called Zomi

National Congress was formed in 1988 as a registered party under the leadership of Chin Sian Thang, a Zomi lawyer turned politician. In fact, two legislators were elected in the 1990 general elections from Tedim and Tonzang constituencies. Later the government of Myanmar banned the activity of the Z.N.C. and cancelled the registration of the party in 1992. Yet it is still actively functioning under the leadership of the founder as one of minority parties in Myanmar.

Another instance is that social and philanthropic organizations have been formed bearing the name “Zomi.” For example, at Kalemio an organization called Zomi Youth Association (Z.Y.A.) was formed on January 17, 2005 to promote unity and service to the poor and the needy irrespective of confession and affiliation. They launched blood donation drives, called *Zomi Sisan Hopna* (Zomi Blood Donation Campaign), by which blood has been donated for the poor and the needy in hospitals in Kalemio. Over 100 persons donated blood as of 2007 to needy patients in hospitals. It is called “Blood Gospel” (Tongsan Weekly 2007). Another social organization called Zomi Football Association that was formed on September 15, 2006, conducts sports and games for the promotion of unity among the hill people. Every year they conduct a soccer tournament at Kalemio, bringing youths together in sports for better understanding and unity.

In India, a political forum named Zomi National Congress was formed in 1972 under the leadership of T. Gougin and Thang Khan Gin. The publication of T. Gougin’s book *The Discovery of Zoland* (1984a) promotes the term “Zomi” as nomenclature for all hill tribes in Manipur. It resulted in the First World Zomi Convention held at Champhai, Mizoram during May 19-21, 1988, which agreed to launch Zo reunification policy under the banner of Zomi Re-unification Organization (ZORO) (see Appendix F and G). T. Gougin says that the term “Zomi” is the ancestral name of the various ethnic groups in Indo-Myanmar (Gougin 2008b).

In Manipur, different sub-tribes such as Paite, Vaiphei, Simte, Zou, Tedim Chin, Mate, Thangkhal and Kom agreed to come under the nomenclature of “Zomi” on June 26, 1993 (Ngul K. Pau 1995a:12). In 1997 the said sub-tribes formed a forum called Zomi Council to promote peace and normalcy in the area, for reconstruction of Zoland, for reformation of Zomi society and for preservation of culture and customary law. It has become an apex body in solving problems pertaining to civil and judicial matters, such as motor accidents, extortion of money, kidnapping and even murder according to tribal customary law instead of going to the civil court. It serves also as an agency between the government and the civil population in bringing normalcy and peace, justice and transparency in regard to compensation given to the victims of the ethnic clash in 1997¹ (L. B. Sona 2008). Other organizations that were formed and used the term “Zomi” included Zomi Mothers’ Association (Z.M.A.) in 1991, Zomi Students Federation (Z.S.F.) in 1997 and Zomi Youth Association (Z.Y.A.) in 1998, in the town of Lamka, Manipur.

The term “Zomi” has also become universally used for religious and social organizations. For example, Zomis who scatter to different cities and countries formed Christian Fellowships under the umbrella of “Zomi” such as Zomi Christian Fellowship in New Delhi, Mumbai, Bangalore, Kolkata, Guwahati, Bangkok, Malaysia, Singapore, Korea, Japan and the U.S.A.. Social organizations have also been formed in the name of Zomi Innkuan (Zomi Family) in Washington D.C., Florida, Oklahoma, Chicago, Portland, Texas, Appalachia (U.S.A.); Germany, U.K., Denmark, Norway, Finland (Europe); Singapore, Korea, Philippines, Japan, Malaysia, Aizawl, New Delhi (Asia); New Zealand and Australia (G. K. Nang 2007). Therefore the name “Zomi” has become not only a regional and national name but an international name for the Zomi, and by this

¹ In 1997 ethnic clashes broke out between Kuki and Zomi in which over 300 lives were lost and many houses were set on fire in the Lamka area. The Zomi Council was formed as a forum to deal with any issues between the two factions of the same origin.

name they are united. These organizations came into being as a result of the revival and encouraged a healthy sense of ethnic awareness. These developments also show the influence of the church on the society as a whole.

Theological Education

The religious impact of the revival is felt in promoting theological education more than ever before. For example, since 1970s young people go for theological education in hundreds, as ministers received better recognition in the society (L. D. Khup 2008). It has been mentioned that due to the new education policy of the government of Myanmar, frontier students have no bright prospects for higher education. The rediscovery of human value according to the word of God has also led many young people to commit their lives to ministry.

Many young Zomis go for theological education and now complete master's and doctorate degrees (K. K. Suan 2007b). Many of them received their degrees from abroad. For example, Pau Khan En graduated B.D. from India and Ph.D. from England and Do Sian Thang graduated with D.Th. from Singapore. Verbal reports indicate that 300-500 Zomi students are in theological institutions in India every year since the 1970s. Going to other countries for study provided opportunities to encounter other cultures of the world.

Another lasting impact of the revival on theological education is the establishment of theological colleges and seminaries. For example, there was no Bible school at Tedim since 1952 when the Nelsons left the Tedim mission station. Now there are three theological colleges, including Tedim Theological College (Baptist), Faith Baptist Bible College (E.B.C.) and Bethel Bible College (A.G.), which were founded as a result of the 1970s revival movement.

All of the eighteen theological colleges and seminaries in Kalemoyo in Sagaing Sub-Division were also founded as a result of revival (D. S. Thang 2007c:428-436). All

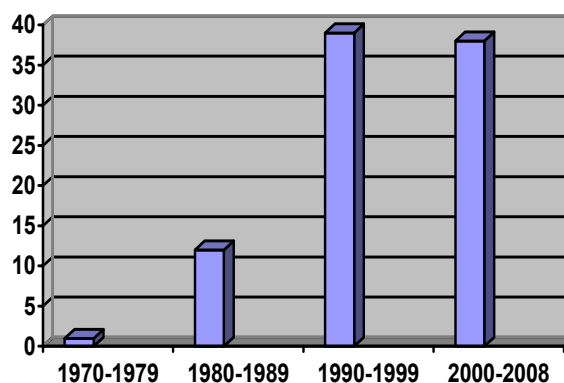
Theological Colleges and Churches in Yangon city were founded and owned by the Zomi (Chin) group since the 1980s (C. K. No Chum 2004:247-252). Using the above information, the decadal growth rate of theological institutions can be measured as shown in the chart below in Table 5 for the period 1970-2008.

Iang Khen suggests the following reasons for the mushrooming of theological colleges and seminaries:

1. Competition among denominations.
2. Desire of denominations to train their own ministers in their theological frameworks.
3. Consciousness of the need for missions.
4. Emphasis on Zomi racial/tribal/linguistic identity.
5. Doctrinal differences and differences in theological emphasis between denominations.
6. As a source of income with support from abroad (see Iang Khen 2007:242-243).

TABLE 5

DECADAL GROWTH OF THEOLOGICAL COLLEGES/SEMINARIES



The last point must be taken seriously. These theological colleges and institutions must not become a means of income and support from abroad, but must be initiated with the goal of producing quality theological education. Quality theological education could be imparted if some of the financial and human resources would be pooled together instead of going into small pockets.

Mission Efforts

Mission concern has been one of the main activities of Zomi churches ever since the revival of the 1970s. It is a rediscovery of human dignity in obedience to the great commission (Mat. 28:19-21). Denominations have their own mission enterprises either coordinating with other agencies, or supporting and sending missionaries of their own. Mention may be made along denominational lines.

Zomi Baptist Convention

The project of Chins for Christ in One Century (1983-1999), undertaken by the Zomi Baptist Convention through its Mission Department, was to let all the Zomi (Chins) hear the name of Jesus before the centenary of Christianity in 1999. Each year ambassadors or volunteers were selected, given short training and sent out to the needy areas even to the remotest parts of the state. It is a homeland mission. At the end of the project the total number of converts and expenditures are shown as below in Table 6. (p.166).

When the centenary celebration was held at Haka on March 19-21, 1999, the project of Chins for Christ in One Century (C.C.O.C.) was converted into the Centenary Mission for Christ (C.M.C.), with the aim that mission work should move into cross-

TABLE 6

RESULTS OF C.C.O.C.
(Adapted from Lang Uk 2007:267)

	Theme : “Jesus is Lord” Phil. 2:11	
1	No of converts	20,051
2	No of churches organized	60
3	No of Associations organized	4
4	No of volunteer missionaries	1,849
5	No of lives lost	7
6	Expenditure	Ks. 68,523,532

cultural mission beyond regional boundaries. For example, a mission project called Diaspora Mission was launched outside Chin State as a centenary project (Pum Suan Pau 2007:231). A good number of Zomis resided in Sagaing division and other parts of the country. The aim of the project was to present the gospel to the same ethnic group in other states including Rakhine (1992), Sagaing division (1993), Yaw mission (1993) and Ayeyawaddy mission (1996).

Z.B.C. is also working in collaboration with the Wa Baptist Association, Akha Baptist Convention, Rakha Baptist Convention, Northern Shan Baptist Convention and Myanmar Baptist Convention. As a continuation of the C.C.O.C. mission they continued in partnership with Mindat Township Baptist Association, Kanpetlet Township Baptist Association, Kuki Chin Baptist Association, and Zotung Baptist Association (L. Uk 2007:270-271).

Financial resources have been raised locally through individual sponsorship, budget system from churches, funds from the revival team, and a fowl from every household (L. Uk 2007:273).

Three missionaries—namely Hrang Vung of Thantlang Township, Maung Sann of Matupi Township and Ms Than Than Aye of Tedim Township—lost their lives while serving in the mission field as of 2007 (L. Uk 2007: 289).

The Zomi Baptist Convention with a total membership of 113,359 in 848 churches has been carrying out the task of the Great Commission in the midst of hardships and persecutions (L. Uk 2007:289).

Evangelical Baptist Conference

The Evangelical Baptist Conference is the first product of the revival movement in 1975. Soon they took up evangelism through a journal. For example, a monthly journal entitled *Thupha Puak* (Gospel Messenger) has been launched since October 1975. The circulation increased from 300 to 1100 by 2004 and it has been circulated not only in Myanmar but also in other countries as a means of spreading the Gospel. The first Editor was Thuam Khan Khup; currently Thang Khawm Pau serves as the editor. It has been widely read among the Zomi (G. K. Mang 2005:26).

They also spread the gospel by means of gospel teams. For example, they have sent out a mission team called Thirty for Three Years for Christ (T.T.Y.C.) in 1993. In the beginning 5 persons dedicated their lives for this ministry. After giving some training they have been sent out to needy areas preaching the gospel. By 1995, forty-five young people dedicated their service for T.T.Y.C., touring Tedim, Tonzang, Kaley Valley and Kabaw Valley. They are voluntary missionaries without salary and they are provided with pocket money and uniforms. According to the report in 1996 they visited 180

villages, winning 675 converts, and garnering membership at Sozang, Khumnuai, Thangnuai, Laitui, Saizang and Cikha villages (G. K. Mang 2005:33-38).

The ministry of T.T.Y.C. was changed into residential missionaries called Good News Messenger in 2000. The project became operational under the leadership of Thang Cin Mang as Director. The volunteers are sent to rural and unreached areas. E.B.C. also helped new churches by providing funds for church buildings, drinking water, musical instruments, light, and subventions for new pastors who could not otherwise find support. At least 19 new churches had been planted through this ministry by 2004 (G. K. Mang 2005:39-41).

They also have launched a mission project specifically for non-Christians. For example, Harvest Camp ministry was started for reaching non-Christians based on John 4:35. The Director, Gin En Cin, conducted camps for non-Christians at various places. Nonbelievers, including traditional priests, were converted through the ministry. For example, in 1994 at Sezang Camp, Zel Za Kap the village priest was converted among the 70 campers. Camps of various categories have been conducted, such as camps for men, for women, for youth, for ministers and for drug addicts (G. K. Mang 2005:43-44).

So far E.B.C. has only done evangelism and missionary work within its own church and the Zomi ethnic group, which is known as E-O and E-1 evangelism, according to C. Peter Wagner's strategy (Wagner 1987b:116).² It is encouraging that a special project with a target of traditional believers had been launched.

Assemblies of God Church

The Bethel A.G. Church at Tedim has carried out outreach work through its Mission and Evangelism department since 1987. In 1989 the name was changed to

² According to C. Peter Wagner, evangelism within the same church group is called E-O and within the same ethnic group or culture is called E-1 whereas cross cultural mission is E-2 and distant cross cultural mission is called E-3.

Home Mission. Gin Khua Khai served as the first evangelist and became director of Home Mission in 1995. They supported evangelists who paid visits from house to house, village to village and conducted crusades in villages (C. K. Kham 2003:29). Home Mission activity crusades were conducted every three months, through which membership of the church was added (2003:27). They also support missionaries in cross cultural mission. For example, they sent missionaries to other ethnic groups, like the Matupi area, since 1997. They also have mission fields among the Myanmarese in Paletwa (1981), Monwa (1983), Maymyo (1989), Pa-an (1989), Naungcho (1990), Meiktila (1993), Tsibaw (1996) and Mandalay (1990).

Zomi Baptist Convention of Myanmar

Since its inception in 1995, the Zomi Baptist Convention of Myanmar has undertaken mission of the whole gospel for the whole person. For example, the Evangelism and Mission department includes mission, development, health and relief work. The department has been directed by a full time secretary. The mission work includes the following as reported by Hen Khan Go the current mission secretary.

1. Revival Gospel Team: This team consists of five to ten members led by a Pastor as leader for one year term. Each year team members has been selected and given training. By 2005 some seventy-five revival team members, twenty-two leaders and four missionaries were engaged in the team.
2. Inland Mission for Christ (I.M.C.): When the church is growing there were invitations and requests to come and conduct crusades and camps. In order to meet the demand revival crusaders have been sent out to conduct revival crusades and campings. Pau Khan Khai (1999-2002) and Thang Suan Dal (2002-2006) served as crusaders. Five missionaries have been sent out each year to work in needy areas. They were given training and provided an uniform for dress which bears Zomi emblem of two hornbills on their shoulders.
3. Zomi Diaspora Mission: The need has been felt and sent missionaries to work among the Zomis in other parts of the country like Yangon, Mandalay, Mogoke, Maishu, Lashio, Hpakant and Lin Oo Lwin since 1997. As new

churches have been planted in these cities the Pastors take care of the mission activities in these areas.

4. Foreign Mission: Since 2005 there has been a need to open a foreign mission field as Zomis are scattered as refugees in other countries like Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, U.S.A. and Europe. This department has been initiated in co-operation with the Southern Baptist Convention of U.S.A.³ (H. K. Go 2008).

Z.B.C.M. Mission department is also working in partnership with the Chin Baptist Association and the Zomi Baptist Church in India.

Tedim Baptist Convention

The mission role of T.B.C. has been a homeland mission. For example, the project of seven for seven years was undertaken by the Tedim Baptist Convention sending out seven missionaries for seven years term. These missionaries have been working in the area where the church seemed to be weak. It is therefore a home mission or inland mission in reality so it is also E-O evangelism. They are helping the smaller and weaker churches in matters of worship and preaching. It should be encouraged to take up E-2, E-3 evangelism outside ethnic boundary and among the heathens.

Chin Baptist Association (India)

According to the report of the former Mission Secretary H. S. Hatzaw, C.B.A. undertakes both inland and national mission enterprises. For example, the Inland mission includes support of one missionary for Burmese nationals in Lamka town. National missionary work includes supporting missionaries in collaboration with Manipur Baptist Convention, Indian Evangelical Mission, Friends Missionary Prayer Band, Zomi Baptist

³ In 1995 Tedim speaking group left Zomi Baptist Convention and formed the Zomi Baptist Convention of Myanmar. However in 1996 the leading Association—T.B.A. withdrew—from Z.B.C.M. and formed T.B.C. out of the former T.B.A. affiliating itself to Myanmar Baptist Convention. Z.B.C.M. established relationship in missionary work with S.B.C. of U.S.A.

Convention of Myanmar, Youth for Christ and Youth With a Mission. Of the six missionaries through M.B.C., one missionary works in China, one in Bangladesh and four in Manipur (H. S. Hatzaw 2008b). Mission funds have been raised through church members as faith promise and donations from individuals.

Zomi Baptist Church (India)

The Zomi Baptist Church also launched both regional and national missions. The regional missionaries have been sent to work in the area where churches are weak. For example, Zomi Baptist Church has been supporting three such regional missionaries as of 2008. The national mission enterprises included support of missionaries in collaboration with the Zomi Baptist Convention of Myanmar, Indian Evangelical Mission and Friends Missionary Prayer Band in India (Laitai 2007:16-17). Funds have been raised from local churches, individuals, faith promise, donations and gifts.

It is encouraging that most Zomi mission funds usually have been raised from local resources. So far Zomi churches do not depend on outside help in their mission enterprise. It has been launched according to the availability of funds from members. Speaking of the ministry of Chins for Christ in One Century in 1984-1985, Do Sian Thang observes that the cost of one soul reached to Ks. 26,756 (D. S. Thang 2007b:255). However, winning souls cannot be measured in terms of money, for one soul as precious as the whole world.

In regard to planning mission strategy, the Zomi Baptist Convention has adopted proper planning and methodology in comparison with other groups. H. S. Hatzaw, the former Executive Secretary and the former mission secretary of Chin Baptist Association, suggests the following:

1. The mission field requires a lot of human and financial resources. It is a very hard task for small churches or bodies. It is the responsibility of the agency to

take care of the needs from start to finish. It should be carried out with due consideration, otherwise failure will be a shame on Christians.

2. Partnership mission in collaborating with other existing mission agencies is to be encouraged. One can be involved in missionary work by bearing part or full missionary support, or by donating towards the agency. It is good for small churches, like C.B.A. and Z.B.C. In mission work we must be open to the possibility that converts would join the nearest church, whichever it may be.

However, he warns the church that today's mission work is contrary to the Lord's command. We tend to catch a fish out of other's fishponds, rather than fishing out of the ocean. In some cases it is a sheep stealing ministry and we may be cursed by God. When one church gains membership another church loses. It is not Christian growth in the real sense, but denominational growth (Lungdamna Aw 2008e:6-8). The churches must pay attention to his remarks in relation to missionary work.

Ministry to the Poor

Service to the poor has become a great concern of the church more than ever before. Jesus says "If anyone gives even a cup of cold water to one of these little ones because he is my disciple, I tell you the truth, he will certainly not lose his reward" (Mat. 10:42). Among the poor people, widows and orphans become victims of poverty in the community. Since the 1990s, homes have been set up in different places by different churches and individuals for poor children where they receive shelter, food and education.

For example, one businessman, En Khan Gin of Mandalay, sponsors a home called Compassion Ministry at Tuithang, his own village, since 1996. It was started with some 30 orphans and now over 150 children have been cared for in the home, with Thang Deih Khup as manager (T. G. Am 2006:26). The Tedim Baptist Convention at Tedim has ventured an orphanage home in 1997 where thirty-five orphans have been admitted, one of whom graduated with a B.Th. The Evangelical Baptist Children Home (E.B.C.H.) was

started with fourteen children in 2000 and increased to thirty-two in 2005. Bethesda Orphanage Ministry (B.O.M.) undertaken by Kai Cin Mang of Tedim town was started in 1996.

Another home called Kids Alive has been in operation at the town of Tamu on the Indo-Myanmar border since 2003, under the leadership of Neng Za Thawn. Hau Lian Thang also has undertaken a new venture called New Heritage Orphanage Center at Kalembo in 2004. Tual Khan Pau also has started a new home called New Orphanage Ministry at Yangon city in 2004 (G. K. Mang 2005:31-33). There are at least fourteen such homes run by Zomi in Yangon city alone. Most of these homes have been receiving support from outside the country.

On Indian side the Chin Baptist Association has taken up this ministry in 2006 with ten children—six boys and four girls. The home is under the care of two cooks and two wardens, supervised by B. K. Swanno, Secretary of the Chin Baptist Relief and Development Board. Support comes from individuals and groups in terms of cash and in-kind donations. C.B.A. has provided funds for the education of children—for fees, books, and uniforms (Lungdamna Aw 2006d:15).

From time to time the women departments of C.B.A. and Z.B.C. have collected goods and clothing and distributed them to poorer sections of their members in rural areas, thus benefitting these poor people.

The purpose of these ministries is to provide spiritual and physical care, to give education and promote mental and physical development, irrespective of confession, gender or class. Another goal of the ministry is to impart quality education so that these children will become good citizens of the country and leaders of the church and society in future. However, one must seriously consider that according to the custom of the Zomi, orphans, widows and invalids are taken care of by relatives and the society. When orphans are taken to homes, they miss the parental care, love and relationships in the

family, which may result in insecurity of mind. It often results in self pity on the part of the person concerned.

Church as Custodian of Literature

Ever since the 1970s revival, there has been a resurgence of Christian literature, with the church serving as the custodian of literature and language. The Holy Bible serves as a model of literary work for the modern generation. For example, as stated earlier, in Myanmar the government introduced Burmese as the common language in schools, and this impacted the minority groups. Minority groups were deprived of learning their language and literature in school. In India the Zomis also formed a minority, and influence from majority groups is evident. The only opportunity where the Zomi children can learn their language and literature is in Sunday school and through songs in the church.

Literature societies have also been formed to promote literature ministry. For example, the formation of the Zomi Christian Literature Society (1980), Christian Literature Centre (1994) and Zomi Literature Uplift Society (2003) are meant for promotion of literature (Thawngno 2007a). Z.C.L.S. has undertaken translation of Sunday school materials and publication of the same to meet the need of the church since the 1980s. Some fifty-six titles have been translated and printed, including the Barclay commentary series. Most of the work has been completed by the translator Kam Khaw Thang (K. K. Thang 2006b:241). The Christian Literature Centre is a book center for publication and distribution under the leadership of Kham Khan Mung at Yangon. The Zomi Literature Uplift Society (ZOLUS) has been publishing a quarterly periodical called *ZOLUS Journal*, dealing with religion, economy, education, environment, culture and literature. The ZOLUS No. 11, 2007 has articles concerning ecosystem, conservation and sustainable development (Tuan 2007:1).

Another important activity is the introduction of journals and newspapers, which has revived the language and literature among the Zomi since the 1970s. It is a rediscovery of language and literature as a result of the revival movement. For example, the publication of *Lungdamna Aw* (1976) (Joyful Voice) at Lamka by the Mission Board of the Chin Baptist Association is to spread the good news in printed media with the writer being the first editor. It became the first regular journal in the Tedim dialect and promoter of literature in Manipur. Later it became the official organ of the Chin Baptist Association. Another example is the publication of a monthly journal called *Laitai* (1991) by the Zomi Baptist Church in Mizoram for promotion of literature and spreading the gospel in the local dialect.

A number of journals have been published in Myanmar by different churches and individuals such as *Tangko*, *Thuphapuak*, *Khanlawhna*, *Awging*, *Bawmta*, *Zokuamthawn*, *Kongkawcik*, *Thangkai Limlang*, *Peengkul*, *Tongsan*, *Lamhilh*, *Zo Aw*, *Laizom*, *Upna Laigil*, *Zolimtui* and *Leengla* (Thawngno 2007a). These journals promote language and literature. 90% of the journals are Christian publications.

To promote education and literature, the Zomi Baptist Church in Mizoram have observed the first Sunday of September as Literature Sunday each year since 1990s. Other Zomi churches also conduct a number of Seminars on education and literature. For example, the Zomi Baptist Convention of Myanmar conducted a Youth and Education seminar in April 2006 at Tamu. The Zomi University Students conducted the Crusade for Zomi Education and Zomi Students Seminar at Kalemmyo on May 3, 2006. Other promotional seminars included the Zomi Students Education Seminar at Tedim on November 22-23, 2006, the Human Resource Development Seminar at Haka in April 2006 and the second Human Resource Development Seminar at Matupi on April 12-14, 2007 (Cin Khan Lun 2007:85).

The resurgence of literature work needs reconsideration in terms of translation of scripture and hymnbooks. For example, due to dissatisfaction with the translation of the Tedim Bible, three different versions came into being. The first whole Bible published in 1977 and the Bible translated by Kam Khaw Thang in 1983 was supposed to be the same version. However, due to adoption of different terms and pronouns, they became different versions.

The Zo Bible International Version translated by Gin En Cin was published by E.B.C. in 1994. The recent publication of the Bible based on the 1977 version, with commentary by the Life Publishers International, Springfield, Missouri, U.S.A. in 2008, is the first of its kind in the Zo language. It is initiated by the Assemblies of God Church. The Zomis have been divided into three groups in relation to usage of terms or literary styles, namely conservative, moderate and progressive groups. For example, the use of terms for “Jesus” and “Christ” has been written in different ways (see Table 7 p.177).

The reason for publication of different versions is mainly due to dissatisfaction with the Bible translation of 1983 printed by Myanmar Bible Society in collaboration with United Bible Societies, which is supposed to be interdenominational.

The revised edition of the Tedim Hymnbook printed by the Zomi Christian Literature Society (Z.C.L.S.) in 1999 has also not received popular acceptance and has created some disunity due to its literal translation of English words. It resulted in the publication of other hymnbooks by other denominations for their own use. The question is whether Z.C.L.S. is producing literature which creates disunity among different denominations instead of unifying them through literature. My observation is that it is time for a review, as translations of the Bible and hymnbooks did not receive popular approval from the public after over twenty-five years of experiments.

TABLE 7
DIFFERENT TERMS USED

Version	Jesus	Christ	Group
1932 (Baptist)	Zeisu	Khazih	Conservative
1977 (Baptist)	Jesu	Khris	Progressive
1983 (Baptist)	Jesuh	Khrih	Moderate
1994 (E.B.C.)	Jesu	Khris	Progressive
2008 (A.G.)	Jesu	Khris	Progressive

In case of publication of books, there is no publishing company among the Zomi. Individual enterprise proves more effective than the church. For example, Job Thawngno, a handicapped preacher and minister sitting in a wheel chair has been the most dedicated writer and publisher. Currently serving as the assistant pastor of Tahan Baptist Church since 1987, he was ordained in 1999 at Haka during the Centenary celebration along with sixty-seven other pastors, and came to be called the Wheel Chair Pastor. In spite of his handicap, he works for the promotion of literature. He published over seventy books between 1985 and 2007, using a manual type writer. His book *Lungsim Limlang* (Mental Mirror), published in 1992, has been widely circulated and widely read. His vocabulary, idioms and words became Zomi standard usage. He was awarded the title Writer of the Zomi in 2006 by the Zomi Christian Literature Society and Zomi Innkuan in Japan (Thawngno 2007c).

Change in Church Music

Since the revival of 1970s, church music has been changed. Revival songs have been composed by local artists. For example, Thawng Kim composed over two hundred songs and printed them in a book form, called *Zolimtui*. Gin Za Lian (Lianbawi) recorded gospel songs in 1980 for the first time, which promoted interest in music (David Kham 2007b). Encounter with modern technology, like C.D., D.V.D. and T.V., promoted interest and circulation of church music among the Zomi.

A number of good singers come out of revival movement. For example, T. S. Khai, known as the Father of the local song, has composed over 1, 200 titles. His singing career began in 1978 while he was in high school. On his conversion in 1987 he joined the Evangelical Free Church of Burma as a youth worker. Later he served as music director of the Evangelical Baptist Conference at Tedim in 1995. He compose not only revival songs, but also social songs, like the famous song on unity of tribals, entitled *Tuun sung khat pan piang hi ngei ngei hang e* (We are born of one womb) in 1981 (ZOLUS Journal No. 11, 2007:151). He recorded a series of albums called *Sihna Kigo Zo*, with a total of 11 albums from 1980-2001. His songs are mostly gospel songs, mission and encouragement for Christians (T. S. Khai 2007). He was awarded a number of awards and prizes, including an award as Singer of the Year in 2006.

Ms Man Suan Cing, alias Cingsan daughter, of Tun Za Kap was a singer of the Dorcas Team in the 1980s. The Dorcas Team was founded by her father, through whom the family witnessed the gospel in song and visited various places, including Manipur and Mizoram. The team recorded an album in 1983 called *Praise the Lord*, and another in 1985 called *Jesus Calls You* in 1985 respectively. Cingsan was awarded the title of “Best Singer” in 1998 by the Tedim Christian Fellowship (M. S. Cing 2007).

Thawng Lian Kam of Kalemyo had a vision to set up a gospel team, called Family Gospel Team in 1990 (Josh. 24:15). His eight children (six girls, two boys) formed the

team, singing wherever he preaches the gospel. They visited many villages, including Chin state, Mizoram and Manipur. His conviction was to witness the gospel as a family wherever the Lord would lead them. He composed over thirty songs and recorded three albums called *Hallelujah*, Vol.1-3 in 1995, 1999 and 2003 respectively. His two daughters, Ms Sangi and Kimpi, graduated with B.Th. in 2009 from the Evangelical College of Theology (E.C.T.) at Lamka, where they formed a Trio with Ms Muanting of Lamka town. They recorded an album called “E.C.T. Trio” in different dialects, including English, Meitei, Thado, Hmar, Paite, Vaiphei, Lusei and Tedim (Thawng Lian Kam 2008). They witness the gospel in song in churches, conferences, marriages and birthday celebrations.

David Kham is also one of the current singers and composers of songs. He composed more than three hundred titles since 1992. Some of his best songs include *Anglai-ah ka pom*, *Thuman Puanpi* and *Itna Pasian*. He says that songs directly received from God have great appeal to the hearts of the people (D. Kham 2007b). Some of his songs have been translated into other dialects, including Myanmarese, Kachin, Kayian, Falam, Haka, Matu, Mindat, Thado, Vaiphei, Hmar and Paite (D. Kham 2007a). He started his own ministry called Zomi Revival Song Ministry in 2007 and made album of 3,000 copies in the same year (D. Kham 2007b).

To promote music, a society was formed in different places. For example, a society called Zomi Music Uplift Society (ZOMUS) was formed in 2,000 at Yangon by music lovers. Branch societies have been formed in Kalemmyo and Singapore. The aim is to preserve and promote Zomi music and to unify the divided Zomi Christians through music (En Khan Nang 2007). Music concerts are also held to promote music. For example, the Zomi Christian Literature Society has been conducting a Zomi Concert since 2,000 at different localities to promote music among young people. This Society is

also searching for youths talented in music. As of 2007, eight concerts had been conducted (Suan Khen Mung 2007).

Another example is the establishment of a music institute called Grace Music Institute at Yangon by David Suum. It is a breakthrough for the development of music. It offers a one to two year course in music—the first of its kind among the Zomi (D. Suum 2007). Recently another music institute was established with the initiative of Tuan Khan Mung of the Zomi Baptist Convention of Myanmar in Kalemyo.

Some young people have graduated from music schools in other countries. For example, young people like Tuan Khan Mung graduated in music from Singapore, David Suum from Philippines, Nang Mun Lian from U.K. and Nungbawi from U.S.A.

Local songs have become effective means of evangelism. Songs composed by local people like Thawng Kim, Langh Do Khup and David Kham were popular because the songs appeal to the hearts of the local people (Thawngno 2007a). By singing local songs people have been changed. For example, David Kham testified that his niece in Germany was converted by listening to his album sent to her in October, 2007 (D. Kham 2007b).

Even though the songs are in western tunes, the words come from the Zomi heart and appeal to the hearts of the Zomi. They are known as Tualsuak La (local songs) because they are composed by local people out of spiritual conviction. In many churches these local songs are commonly used in worship services. For example, the Zomi Baptist Church in Mizoram published these local songs in a book called *Siansan Labu* (Songbook of God), which is used in crusades, revival meetings and in the church. It has been reprinted three times since 1992.

The Chin Baptist Association published a song book entitled *Phatna Labu* (Book of Praise) in 2008. It is the fifth publication of the hymn book since 1972 under different titles (H. S. Hatzaw 2008a:1). Song is a powerful means of presenting the gospel as many

people have been converted through songs. Job Thawngno says “Revival produces songs and songs produce revival” (G. K. Nang 2009:1).

Introduction of contemporary music and local songs in the church was one of the reasons for splits in churches as some people refused to change. For example, Luai Hre says “The revivalists introduced the singing of choruses with clapping of hands, which was an innovation of worship. The traditional way of worship among the Chin (Zomi) people had been singing hymnals mostly classical” (2007:170). Luai Hre concedes that the adoption of western hymns as Zomi classical songs needs reconsideration. Zomi does not have indigenous classical hymns other than traditional songs. He fails to see the importance of local music in the church.

The guitar was regarded as a “lazy box” because only lazy boys played it in the past (D. Kham 2007b). It was inconceivable that the guitar would have a place in the church before the 1970s. But today almost all worship services have been held with some kind of music, at least guitar or drum or keyboard. In many churches the traditional drum (khuang) has been adopted for worship in the church (Thawngno 2007b). The revival brought the traditional music back into the church.

Some songs are composed using traditional tunes and presented in the church as special numbers (Thawngno 2007c). However, local songs composed by native singers mostly use western tunes. The tune can be of any kind—traditional or western—but the wording is what matters. However, Christians compose songs using traditional tunes when they want to commemorate important events like a year of jubilee or anniversary. Songs serve as a record of the past achievements and events. For example, one of the first converts, Pau Suan, has composed a song about his conversion in a traditional tune.

- a) Sianmang tongdam za ii lai-ah
A sang masa kei hi’ng e,

- b) Khan a ma bang ka pat cianga
Khua vannaui a taang nam aw (Suanzanang 2004:241).

English translation:⁴

- a) Amongst thousands of tongues,
I first received the gospel of God;
- b) When I accepted the gospel in my life,
The world has seen the light.

Cin Za Khup, founder of the Z.B.C. church in Mizoram also composed a song in honor of the Silver Jubilee in December 2008.

- a) Tung Pasion siam simlei dawh tam,
Tongsuah piandang tam veh aw ngaih aw,
Tam veh aw ngaih aw.
- b) Tong suah zatam singta lai-ah,
Zokam tawngdam nemno tawh Sian tong I saan,
Tua mah nuam pen e, tuamah nuam pen e (Khup 2007:24).

English translation:⁵

- a) In the world, a handy work of heavenly God,
There are multitudes of dialects and languages
Multitudes of dialects and languages.
- b) In the midst of multitudes of dialects and languages,
It's beautiful to worship and praise God in my mother tongue,
Most beautiful to worship God in my mother tongue.

These songs are composed and can be sung in a traditional tune called *Zola* which is the tune of a social song. Though the wording is Christian the tune is traditional and has no place yet in the church.

⁴ Translation is my own.

⁵ Translation is my own.

Change in Worship

The revival movement ushered in the use of the local drum (*khuang*) and dance in many churches, as mentioned before. Do Sian Thang says, “In olden days when people worship God they were so full of awe and respect so much so that they dared not speak.... During this period when God was worshipped with respect, the people fully rested on Sundays. Worshipping hours in the church had been done in utter silence” (2007a:331).

Do Sian Thang’s observations appear to have come from a western point of view, ignoring the traditional social and religious background of the people. The traditional life was full of music—beating drum, gong, dong and mithun’s horn (*sialki*). With the introduction of Christianity, dancing was missing in the church until 1970s. Dancing in the church was practiced in the early revival movement as Zadawla who visited Tedim in 1973 says that he advised the revival group not to use the term “dancing” if it is controversial, but use “moving” or “shaking of body” (Zadawla 2008).

What is dancing? Dancing is a physical movement in praising God. Dancing meets the social milieu of the Zomi when it is practiced in the church. A particular song is often repeated many times as the people enjoy it and feel inspired by it. There are songs that can arouse the sentiments of the people. One person stands up and begins to dance, another joins, and more and more people begin to dance. Some people jump up and down. There is no organized dancing in the church, as in traditional dancing. Some people run and run, sometimes faster and faster. Sometimes they fall upon one another. Especially women lead the dancing. In relation to Mizo dance, Lalrinawmi Ralte also concedes that dance is a restoration of culture in her “Dance Theology.”

Dance is a restoration of the culture of the Mizo people, which has been lost for a century.... It is a theology of transformation because we reappraise (sic) our roots and establish that root as sources of developing our theology of hope. Dance is not only a survival of our culture but points

to a new way of experiencing Christianity. Reclaiming our roots help us to honor women who are subordinated by the structures of an oppressive church. Dance makes a connection between traditional social and religious life with the Christian life. Dance integrates drums, songs and tunes. In dance, we are truly Christian and truly Mizo at the same time. Dancing is a bodily experience which expresses a spiritual reality. It therefore, integrates women's physical and spiritual self. Dance also integrates our cultural life and Christianity (Ralte 2000:1).

It is true that social and cultural life has been rediscovered in dancing, in which musical instruments like drum, song and music form the rhythm. It is an expression of one's theological stand through bodily movement. It is also an expression of one's spiritual reality integrating physical and spiritual life. It is an expression of spiritual freedom, integrating cultural life with Christianity. Culture has been Christianized through dancing.

Where there is no dancing, people (especially women) say there is no spiritual freedom in the church. As the body needs exercise, so also spiritual exercise is found in dancing. Psychologically, dance meets satisfaction as it expresses the inner joy and warm of a person. Ralte also says that social dance is an example of equality among members of the church—between high and low, rich and poor, male and female (Ralte 2000:2). Dance reconnects the missing link between traditional religious and social life with Christianity.

This does not mean, however, that all Christians should dance. It is just like speaking in tongues. There are people who speak in tongues and those who do not. So also there are people who dance and those who do not. The church should be open to any way in which each person can express his or her spiritual life in worship. Zomi Christians no longer sing and dance in honor of heroes and their achievements, but they sing and dance in praise and honor of God.

Cultural and Social change

The cultural and social change is evident as the result of the 1970s revival. Since the 1980s, festivals like *Khuado Pawi* (Harvest Festival) and *Sialsawm Pawi* (Seed Sowing Festival) have been observed in a Christian way. They celebrate according to their own convenience in their own situations.

For example, ZOMUS organizes the *Khuado Pawi* Festival every year in Yangon. It was held on November 15, 2008 and also in Kalemmyo on December 11, 2008. The Tedim Chin Cultural Club in Manipur has organized the *Khuado Pawi* celebration on October 2, each year, which coincides with Mahatma Gandhi's birth day. Zomis in other countries also celebrate the festival according to their convenience. For example, the Zomi Innkuan Washington D.C. area celebrated the *Khuado Pawi* on October 25, 2008, Zomi Innkuan in Portland on October 25, 2008 and in New Delhi on December 13, 2008. Celebrations have been observed in many other places including Tulsa (O.K.), Florida, Singapore, London, Norway, Australia and Kuala Lumpur.

Sialsawm Pawi has also been observed in many places during April-May each year. For example, this festival was celebrated at Saizang village on March 12, 2009, and each family brings their agricultural seeds to be sown in a particular year to their respective churches, and they let the pastors pray over them for blessings and prosperity (Khup Mung 2009). The Zomi Innkuan in Delhi celebrated *Sialsawm Pawi* on April 15, 2009 and in Australia on April 26, 2009. These festivals have become an annual activity of the Zomi in which speeches are given on the need to preserve cultural identity. Cultural dances, sports, a fashion show and feasts are some of the events of the day. Overall, a prayer from a pastor or church leader for blessing occupies the central event, which is a method of recontextualizing the role of a priest.

Another change is that sacrifices to evil spirits for healing and blessing have been replaced by prayer to God. House cleansing, village cleansing and house prayer are the

replacement of the sacrifices offered to the evil spirits of the traditional beliefs. In times of sickness and bad fortune, or in times of blessings, individual families use to invite the pastor and deacons to have prayer in a house which is called *Inn Thunget*. For example, if a family member successfully passes an examination, the parents will invite the pastor or deacon members of the church to offer a prayer of thanksgiving.

In case of sickness in a family, prayer will be offered to God for healing in place of a sacrifice of animals. Prayer replaces the sacrificial ceremony of the past. C. L. Hminga also contended that among the Mizo, “the important element of the old religion, the costly sacrifices of animals to the evil spirits, was replaced by prayer. The early converts were well instructed to pray constantly so that in times of sickness and danger, prayer took the place of animal sacrifices” (1987:271).

Another cultural adaptation is the use of tea in place of *zu*. In place of *zu*, tea or coffee is served in public gatherings, like Christmas, New Year and marriage celebrations. C. L. Hminga says “In the birth, marriage, and death ceremonies also, the ceremonial use of rice beer and killing of animals in some cases was replaced by tea, cookies, singing of Christian songs and prayer” (1987:271).

The role of *zu* has also been replaced by tea. For example, the practice of sharing *zu* with fathers-in-law has been replaced by tea at the end of each year, called *Pu zukholh*. It is a time of feeding in-laws with the first harvest in terms of drink, and asks for blessings from in-laws. It was a traditional custom that has been preserved by Christians. In marriage negotiations or in any kind of negotiations, tea must be present in place of *zu*.

Do SianThang says “If there is any altercation between two persons, the *zu* or beer was prepared and taken by both sides for reconciliation. They confessed their faults with each other” and forgave one another (2007a:342). The role of *zu* has been replaced by tea in case of negotiations over disputes, quarrels, criminal cases and marriage. As D. S. Thang asserts, the “meaning of wine or liquor as symbol of love, forgiveness, and

reconciliation” in the former traditions now corresponds to the use of tea among Christians today (2007a:343).

Social change has been also evident in the life of youth. Langh Do Khup says that before the revival of the 1970s most of the Zomi youths were confined in villages and localities with high handedness. High handed people were highly regarded in those days. Most village youths, who once indulged in drinking, quarrelling, using abusive languages, were now changed. Since the 1970s revival, youths who are born-again have repented from bad habits such as drugs and alcohol, and have become regular church goers exercising self control. Educated people received respect and honor. Christian hospitality has significance today (Khup 2008).

The revival has also changed their worldview. As a result of gospel tours and modern technology, such as T.V. and telephone, the communication gap has been bridged. People learn from one another, from village to village. Communication improved economic growth. People move out of villages to towns and cities where they can find a better living (K. K. Suan 2007b). Many Zomis moved to Kalemyo plains, Mandalay and Yangon in search of a better life. In fact, revival was the eye opener of the Zomi. From towns and cities they still move to other countries like India, Malaysia, Singapore, Japan, Australia, U.S.A. and Europe. They settle down in these countries in refugee status. They no longer view themselves as an isolated community, but belonging to world community, which gives them a sense of being part of world evangelization.

Moving Towards Unity

During the 1970s the born-again and those who did not join the born-again movement could not worship together, and pastoral exchange of pulpits was beyond imagination due to division in the church (L. D. Khup 2008). According to Pau Khan En, the spiritual cold war between denominations, ill attitudes towards other Christians and

competition among denominations destroys the beauty of the gospel (2007:61). Today people realize the destructive nature of this divisiveness, and are working to overcome it.

Due to better understanding of scripture, there has been a movement of unity among the Christians since the 1990s. One reason is that those young people who were converted in the 1970s are taking up leadership in the church, paving the way for unity and understanding among Christian denominations (L. D. Khup 2008b). Holding a joint worship service is becoming common today for better understanding among different denominations.

For example, a music festival called Zomi Festival of Praise was organized under the leadership of Go Lian Suum, alias David Suum, on November 30 to December 2, 2005 at Tedim. Suum had a great burden for Zomi unification. In all 49 choir groups participated, numbering 3900 voices, singing the “Hallelujah Chorus” in English and in Zokam (G. L. Suum 2007). The first night focused on thanksgiving, the second day seeking the face of God, the last day praising God and asking for blessings. Speakers representing different denominations included Chin Do Kham (A.G.), Do Suan Mung (E.B.C.), Dam Suan Mung (F.G.A.), Gin Khan Khual (Z.B.C.M.) and Khai Khan Suan (A.G.) (G. K. Nang 2009:35).

The term “festival” itself is a local term referring to traditional festivals. Never before has there been such an occasion in the history of Zomi church, in which different denominations participated together in a conference, as that of the Festival of Praise.

Another example is the fellowship of over thirty churches from different denominations conducting joint prayer meetings on every second Saturday of each month under the banner of Tedim Christian Fellowship, since October of 2006. A frequent prayer meeting of different denominations promotes better understanding among Christians (K. K. Suan 2008c).

The purpose of conducting a Zomi Concert initiated by Zomi Christian Literature Society is also to unite Zomi churches of different denominations and create understanding among them. Speakers from different denominations have been invited to such Zomi Concerts. For example, at the Zomi Concert on Oct 15-17, 2007 at Kalemyo, speakers included Lian Khen Thang (R.C.), Langh Do Khup (Baptist) and Khai Khan Suan (A.G.). They all emphasize the need for unity, as Zomis are united people from the time of their forefathers (L.D. Khup 2007a).

The revival has also produced good leaders with spiritual conviction to serve the Lord. For example, many prominent Christian leaders are products of the revival movement, including Pau Khan En, the former General Secretary of Myanmar Baptist Convention and Principal of Myanmar Institute of Theology; Do Sian Thang, Principal of Zomi Theological College; Do Suan Mung, Principal of Faith Baptist Theological College; Pum Suan Pau, Principal of Tedim Theological College; Lam Cin Thang, Pastor of Siyin Baptist Church, Yangon; Dam Suan Mung, founder of Full Gospel Assemblies of God Church (International); Chin Do Kham, former professor at Oral Roberts University, O.K., and President of the World Zomi Community Organization; Chin Khua Khai, Pastor of Myanmar Full Life Mission Church, Los Angeles; Gin Khan Khual, Oxford, England; the late Khup Za Go and H.S. Hatzaw, former Executive Secretaries of C.B.A., India; J. M. Ngul Khan Pau, former General Secretary of Council of Baptist Churches in North East India; Enn Za Sian, Executive Secretary of C.B.A.; Gin Lam Thang, former Executive Secretary of Zomi Baptist Church; and Suan Khan Thang, Executive Secretary of Z.B.C.

Summary

Zomi encounter with the revival has impacted the life and culture, including nationalism. Self awareness has been felt in the church, as well as in the society. Change

has taken place so that many young people sacrifice their lives for Christian ministry. A number of theological institutions and para-church organizations came into being. Production of literature has been one of the milestones preserving the language and literature. Christians began to read literature published in Zokam. The revival produced many new songs and good singers. Encounter with modern technology promoted communication by production of Christian C.Ds, D.V.Ds, which also promoted missions.

The singing of local songs or revival songs added to the growth of literary production. Mission outreach became the main focus of Christian churches in sending missionaries at local, regional and even international levels. Most of the mission enterprises are becoming cross-cultural missions. The movement toward unity is to be cherished, at least in functional unity for spreading the gospel.

The revival also impacted the Zomi in recruiting qualified indigenous leadership through better education and commitment for the service of the gospel. Training in theological education has been undertaken not only in the country but also outside the country, which provided opportunity for encounter with wider cultures. Some of the missing traditions, such as music and dance, have been rediscovered as a result of the 1970s revival.

Local festivals such as *Khuado Pawi* and *Sialsawm Pawi* have been observed in a Christian way. Prayer replaced the sacrifice to evil spirits, tea replaced the use of *zu* and celebration of Christmas and New Year replaced the traditional festivals. In times of illness, Zomi go to God in prayer, trusting in the power of the Holy Spirit, instead of giving sacrifices to evil spirits. Having discussed the factors and the extent of change in the life of the Zomi as a result of the revival, I would like to make the following concluding remarks below.

CONCLUSION

This research has focused on the Zomi revival of the 1970s from social and cultural perspectives. It investigated the social and cultural influences on the life of the Zomi as they have encountered diverse cultures, including western, Asian and even neighboring cultures. In the course of interaction between the Zomi and other cultures, the 1970s revival challenged the institutional church structures inherited from the mission period.

Some of the cultural values lost in the initial interaction with colonialists and Christian missionaries have been recovered during the revival, and substantial changes have been taking place in the life of the Zomi. In this conclusion I will discuss the following matters: Zomi contacts with other cultures, methodological theories, results of the research, the contributions of the dissertation and proposed avenues for development of Zomi Christianity and culture.

Zomi Contacts with Other Cultures

Prior to the British annexation of Zoland in 1895, the Zomi lived a life of inter-tribal war. The colonial rule of the British government became the first contact with western cultures. There was no record of the life and culture of the Zomi prior to British annexation, except for oral traditions through songs and myths. The observations of British officials, such as B. S. Carey, H. N. Tuck and H. N. C. Stevenson, became written source of information on the history and life of the people. The British colonial rule was appreciated, as it did not interfere in the local administration under the traditional rule of

the chiefs. Kam Hau kingdom in the northern Chin state was at its zenith under the rule of Hau Cin Khup at Tonzang. The chief, Hau Cin Khup, was supportive of the British government, as he enjoyed the perks and powers conferred by them, collecting taxes of various forms from his subjects.

However, the division of the frontier area into three units according to the Treaty of Yandaboo in 1826, followed by demarcation of boundaries in 1837 between Burma, India and Bangladesh, instead of unifying them into one country, was to the frontier people the most unforgettable act of British rule, even until today (see Appendix J). By this division, the frontier people became a minority in their own land, whether in Burma, India or Bangladesh, and lost ownership of the land which had been their traditional treasure from their ancestors.

On the other hand the British rule changed the life of the Zomi from inter-tribal war towards modern civilization and exposed them to the world by deploying them as laborers in France during WWI (1917-1918). In reality this was the beginning of their written history. British annexation paved the way for Christian missionaries to enter the Zomi area, bringing western culture in their religious and social ideology.

Another encounter with other cultures came during WWII when the Japanese invaded South East Asia. The area became a battlefield, and the Zomi served as porters, guides for the Japanese, and as guards to their own people. Through WWII the Zomi were exposed to modern medication, dress and living. Their traditional religion became defenseless when the soldiers trampled the sacred places where the Zomi offered sacrifices. The war promoted Christian growth among the frontier people.

The Japanese invasion promoted the movement for the independence of Burma and India. The Zomi were exposed to Burmese culture when Burma became independent in 1948. During a brief period of democratic rule, the Zomi enjoyed freedom from traditional chiefs. However, the military rule of the country brought more hardships on

the people and curtailed freedom of press and religion. The frontier people must have received better treatment from the British colonialists than they did in the encounter with the Burmese culture. The economy dropped from good to bad, the new education policy banned the study of their language and there was no creation of a political forum where they could share their feelings for the development of the people.

Through encounter with Christianity from the North American Baptist Mission, the Zomi changed their allegiance from animism to Christianity. Sacrifice to evil spirits came to an end through the introduction of Christianity. Their religious burdens were relieved when they were not required to offer sacrifices in the face of illnesses. The introduction of education opened up their knowledge to the scriptures and other literature. Their history and the life of the people have now been recorded and documented.

Due to the encounter with Burmese culture, the Zomi experienced political turmoil and unrest before the revival movement of the 1970s. The imposition of military dictatorship and political movement towards one religion, one nation and one language resulted in dissolution of the elected parliament in 1962. Local insurgent movements like the Thual Zen rebellion became unsuccessful and subdued by the Myanmar military government. Later, the Mizo insurgency movement against the Indian government for independence under the leadership of Laldenga affected even the Zomi. However, Mizos received political benefits out of the movement after 20 years of struggle in 1986, when a peace accord was signed between the Mizo National Front and the Indian government.

Encounter with revival came as a result of contact with neighboring cultures, including Mizos, Nagas, and Manipuri, along with the western evangelical revival movement. The Billy Graham Evangelistic Association meeting at Lausanne Switzerland in 1974 influenced the world, including North East India, for world evangelization. During the 1970s revival, the Zomi encountered the moving of the Holy Spirit,

convicting them of sin, forgiveness and assurance of salvation through the death of Jesus Christ. It was spiritual salvation by grace through faith alone.

Freedom in Jesus Christ has been explained to the extreme that physical action has no effect on spiritual life, which was unacceptable to many. Emphasis on the work of the Holy Spirit led them to extremism, in that they depended too much on the Holy Spirit for daily activities. Prophecies, visions, miracles and faith-healing played important roles during the revival. Western influence was evident in speaking in tongues, miracles and prophecy, especially that of Pentecostals.

Emphasis on prayer should be encouraged for every Christian whether in private or in corporate prayer. Prayer replaces sacrifices to evil spirits for healing. House cleansing and village cleansings are methods of recontextualizing the traditional religious practices of casting evil spirits out from the house and from the village. Individual and corporate responsibility in religious observance still holds strong, even among Zomi Christians.

The revival has rediscovered some of the missing cultural values, such as festivals and feasts. Due to restrictions upon the participation of Christians in festivals and dancing, some traditional values were regarded as anti-Christian. Observance of festivals was discontinued for Christians since the 1930s, since it was regarded as a pagan practice.

However, the revival has rediscovered some of the traditions buried in Christianity, including dance, music and observance of festivals like *Khuado Pawi* and *Sialsawm Pawi*. These festivals are observed in a Christian way with prayers, traditional dance and fashion show. New songs composed out of the Zomi heart appeal to the people, though in western tunes. Some Christian songs composed in traditional tunes have no place in public worship in the church. Christian songs in traditional tunes should

be encouraged for recontextualization of church music in the future. Tea takes the place of the use of the traditional *zu* among Christians.

Setting up of prayer mountains shows the influence of the Korean revival experience and of Buddhism. Evangelical influence is also found in the cross cultural ministry of the Zomi churches, irrespective of denominations. In the absence of foreign missionaries, Zomi Christianity has been established by the experience of revival in the 1970s under indigenous leadership.

Methodology

In this study historical, phenomenological and post-colonial theories have been adopted as methodological approaches. Marc Bloch's *Historian's Craft* has been used as a model for the phenomenological approach. Building on Bloch's approach to history as historical observation, historical criticism, and historical analysis, the Zomi history of the past has been investigated through available documentary sources. This study examines the historical phenomena in relation to other cultural phenomena that shape the life of the Zomi. History, argued Bloch, is "science of men in time" (1954:27). The Zomi encounter with other cultures in different periods of time resulted in diverse consequences.

Stevenson, in *Economics of Central Chin*, also pointed out the economic influence of the Burmese. F. K. Lehman, in his *Structure of Chin Society*, argued that the encounter with other cultures was not influential on the Zomi. Through historical study, the origin of the people, the migration waves through the centuries from China down to the Burma valley and the settlement of the present area have been investigated.

It was the British people who first annexed the area and checked inter-tribal war. This was followed by a series of cultural experiences that shaped the life of the Zomi. In the course of encounter with other cultures, some of cultural values have been buried,

especially due to the influence of western Christianity. However, these cultural values have been rediscovered as a result of encounter with the revival in the church.

This study also drew upon the model of Edmund Said's post-colonial theory in his book *Orientalism* (1979), which gave attention to the issues of power and knowledge. Applying this theory, the present study examines the Zomi history, sociology, literature and anthropology (Said 1979:12). Post-colonial theory as developed by McClintock—that is, a progressive understanding of history—would lead one to expect that the Zomi were influenced by other cultural powers. Encounters with the British, the Japanese and then the Burmese reduced the political power of the Zomi. Vumson and Lian Sakhong agree that the Zomi lost political power as a result of such encounters. Johnson's work in *American Baptist Chin Mission* does not explore issues of power, but does provide data on the western influence of knowledge. This study also looks at various types of encounters, including social, religious and linguistic experience.

Before the 1970s revival, the Zomi encounter with other cultures took place in their own land; but after the revival, the Zomi encounter with other cultures took place when they went out to other cultural settings. For example, the Zomi encounters with the British and the Japanese took place when these colonial powers annexed the Zoland. The encounter with the modern Burmese culture took place when the area came under Burmese administration.

However, the settings of Zomi encounter with other cultures after the revival took an opposite turn. The Zomi were exposed to other cultures by going out of their country to towns, cities and even to foreign countries. By these encounters the Zomi gained knowledge, but lost political power.

There has been some difficulty in the investigation due to geographical isolation and diversity in language among the same ethnic groups separated by the Indo-Myanmar border. Today even in Myanmar, the Zomi do not live in a compact area, but they are

found in Chin State, Sagaing Subdivision and other towns and cities. They are scattered in cities and villages throughout the country. Likewise in India they are scattered in Manipur and Mizoram and other North East Indian states. Their presence among other ethnic groups in India provides an opportunity to encounter other similar ethnic cultures. Language becomes the most challenging factor in maintaining identity among other cultures. It is through the church's revival that the Zomi have preserved their language and culture in the midst of other ethnic cultures.

Sources of Data

Collection of data has been carried out mainly from two types of sources: primary and secondary. My personal experiences as a pastor and Executive Secretary of the Chin Baptist Association in Manipur and Zomi Baptist Church in Mizoram provided primary sources for my writing. My encounters with revival leaders like Job Thawngno, Lanh Do Khup, Pau Lian Mung, and music lovers like David Kham, Cingsan and others became good sources of primary information. My interviews with Khai Khan Suan, Job Thawngno and David Kham provided opportunities for me to meet them in India. I received a good number of responses to my questionnaires on the Zomi movement from concerned organizations from Manipur, which indicates their interest in the Zomi movement itself. A number of responses in the form of letters and emails from individuals were also supportive to my research.

Secondary sources included collection of data in libraries and data collection through a representative. The sources of data collection in libraries included research in the David Hubbard Library at Fuller Seminary, the Latourette Library of William Carey International University, the personal libraries of Khup Za Go and Chin Khua Khai, and my personal library. Library research was helpful in getting information on the early

history of the Zomi. Documents and missionary letters which I have collected from the American Baptist Historical Archives, Valley Forge, in 1989, was most helpful.

Correspondence, emails and the internet have also helped me a good deal. The internet system and particular websites make communication much easier, especially for contacting people in Myanmar, where I personally cannot go. I also sent my representative Lian Do Khup to Myanmar twice to meet people and collect materials for me. A number of materials, including recent publications, have been collected. Using these two main methodological strategies, I was able to write my dissertation.

Research Results

I have indicated that encounter with other cultures from the west, from the east and from neighboring states have shaped the life and culture of the Zomi. The influence of other cultures can be found in each chapter as follows:

The Introduction provides an overview of the Zomi encounter with other cultures, the thesis, problem statement, focal issues, literature on the Zomi and methodology.

In Chapter 1 the origin, migration and settlement of the people have been discussed. The Zomi ethnic group belongs to the Mongolian race, the Tibeto-Burman linguistic group that migrated from Mongolia through China and Myanmar valley. The tribal religious belief system called animism was the popular religion through the centuries until the British invaded the area in 1895. British colonial rule was able to check the inter-tribal war and slavery system, which were factors in the annexation of the area. The authority of the chiefs was recognized under the guidance of British officers. They carried out their own religious ideology, called animism, without any challenge until the introduction of Christianity.

Most of their behaviors had been influenced by religious beliefs and practices. For example, they came to be known as “head hunters” and “animists” as a result of their

belief in life after death. The experiences of the Zomi revealed that they have been influenced heavily by their worldview. This has been revealed in the deep level and surface level of their cultural worldview. Competition for social status in life and life after death caused them to hunt for human beings and animals. Fear of evil spirits resulted in sacrifice of animals to appease the evil spirits. Their daily behavior has been guided by fear of evil spirits in homes and work places. Speech and actions have been directed to the wishes of the spiritual realm. Therefore, most of their behaviors have some kind of religious importance, whether in birth, death, feasts or celebrations. The priest must have a role in most cases of social and religious activities among the Zomi. In short, Zomi are religious by nature.

Chapter 2 is about the introduction of Christianity from North American Baptist missionaries. The missionary methods to win the Zomi included medical service, education and pastoral ministry. During the encounter with Burmese culture, the healing ministry was abandoned due to lack of personnel in the field and denial of entry of medical missionaries by the successive authority in Myanmar. J. H. Cope, who reduced the language to writing, made a lasting legacy in the life of the Zomi, and they paid a high degree of tribute to him.

At the influence of Christianity, the Zomi accepted other tribes as fellow human beings. The relationship with other ethnic groups has been changed from enmity to friendship. It was demonstrated during the first Baptist Association meeting in 1907 (Johnson 1988b:147). It is possible to look at fellow tribes with the love of Jesus instead of looking with an “evil eye.” Western culture has been transplanted as Christian culture among the Zomi. The missionaries made significant contributions in bringing Christianity in place of animism, and in their educational policy. However, they were ignorant of the indigenous cultural values which could have been adopted in Christianity. The tendency was for western forms of Christianity to become the model for Zomi Christians to follow.

Chapter 3 is about the background of the revival movement after Burma gained independence. Independence was expected to provide freedom for all ethnic groups in the country. However, the emergence of military dictatorship brought religious, social and economic insecurity for minority groups like Zomi. The policy of the Myanmar government towards one nation, one language and one religion affected the minority groups.

For example, introduction of Burmese as the medium of instruction in schools became a hurdle for frontier people like the Zomi and it was a direct measure towards assimilation policy. The new education system developed elite citizens to control the country's economy. The Zomi lost the freedom enjoyed during the Kam Hau period, in which there was no administrative interference from outside. The country and the land belonged to the people. They had virtual authority over their country. Today, due to the encounter with Burmese culture, the Zomi lack religious and political freedom, especially the people in the Chin State of Myanmar. The people turned to God for spiritual freedom in Christ, and that resulted in revival.

Chapter 4 discusses the revival movement since the 1970s. The revival movement was opposed by the established Baptist church as a threat to its establishment as that of the *hlimsang* movement coming from Mizoram in the 1940s. Due to opposition from the mainline Baptist church and some unhealthy teachings of the movement, division occurred in the church. The first wave of revival witnessed an extreme emphasis on the work of the Holy Spirit. It was regarded as a Pentecostal movement, since the revival group embraced the Assemblies of God Church. However, as time passed, the influence of the revival was felt among the Zomi irrespective of confessions. The revival received better acceptance by other denominations, including the Baptist churches, during the second wave of revival. It became an interdenominational movement with a better theological approach to the whole Bible for the whole person. Healings, miracles,

wonders and tongues were largely accepted as work of the Holy Spirit. Dancing and tongues became acceptable practices in the church and local music has found a place in many churches today. Prayer, erection of crosses, setting up of prayer mountains, house cleansing and village cleansing are some of the characteristics of the movement.

In Chapter 5 the impact of the revival movement has been discussed. Through encounter with the revival, the social and religious life has been changed. The use of the term “Zomi” as an acceptable nomenclature for the tribal groups became an avenue of tribal self-awareness. Spiritual awareness produced social and cultural awareness, with the result that a number of organizations referring to ethnicity have been established both in India and Myanmar. In the absence of political freedom, the Zomi enjoy spiritual freedom and peace in Christ, who is the hope of the world. Many young people sacrificed their lives for the service of the gospel. Theological institutions and para-church organizations have been set up in large numbers. Scriptures and hymn books were in great demand in the following years. Literature ministry and Sunday school materials have been introduced on a large scale.

The love of God penetrated the life and work of the Zomi. Instead of hunting for human heads, they hunt for lost souls by sending cross cultural missionaries to other tribes in India, Myanmar and beyond (Lang Uk 2007:274-286). Head hunters have become soul hunters today (Pum Suan Pau 2007:231). The expectation of honor and status in life after death has been replaced by the expectation of an eternal crown in heaven. The Zomi strive to fulfill the great commission of Jesus Christ, asking themselves, “Shall I meet Him empty handed?” (Mat. 28:16-21).

The cultural contact with other cultures became universal when they started to go for theological education, not only in Myanmar and India but beyond regional boundaries. They have gone to Singapore, Korea, Europe, Australia and America pursuing theological education and have received rewards with various levels of degrees.

It is recorded that by 1998 there were twenty-seven doctoral degree holders in theology, with seven Ph.Ds (Chin National Day Golden Jubilee Magazine 1998:9-10).

Thus, instead of making celebrations for killing animals, they celebrate the successful achievement of their education in thanksgiving to God. For example, when Felix Lian Khen Thang (R.C.) was promoted to the office of a bishopric at Kalembo in 2006 a grand party was provided. As the former heroes committed their lives to hunting for animals and human heads, the new generations committed their lives to the service of the gospel of Jesus Christ. They go for hunting scholarly earned degrees instead of hunting for animals. The concluding sections provide proposals for the future of the Christian faith among the Zomi. Review of Zomi encounter with other cultures, methodology, sources of data, results of research, and contributions of the study and possible future avenues for Zomi Christianity, such as medical service, literature ministry, Christian schools, Bible study, continued revival and global missions are the main features in this section. The following items can be mentioned as contributions to the study of Zomi Christianity and culture which have not been investigated by previous researchers.

***Contributions of this Research to
the Study of Zomi Christianity and Culture***

In my Th.M. thesis, I mentioned that the origin of the term *Pasian* was open for investigation by scholars (G. K. Nang 1990:103). However, no investigation has been made by Zomi scholars so far. As I continued my investigation, I came to the conclusion that Pi Nuam Dim could be accredited as the founder of this term. My conclusions are based on timelines. The prophecy of Pi Nuam Dim took place before the death of Khua Cin, son of Kam Hau. Her prophecy came to a reality without an heir when Khua Cin died in 1890. In the absence of an heir, the nearest relative of Khua Cin, Hau Cin Khup of

Tonzang, inherited the throne. It was before the coming of Christianity to the Zomi (1899) and even before the coming of missionaries to the Mizos (1894).

The hypothesis of Pu Thaneisumpa in Tahan that the Mizos used the term *Pathian* for God at Seipui village in 1550 has no documental support. It is unlikely that the Mizo use of the term *Pathian* at Seipui in 1550 could influence the Zomi. Ngin Suan says that Pi Nuam Dim's prophecy of Pau Cin Hau to be a prophet came in 1879 before the death of Khua Cin (Ngin Suan 2003:2). Ten years after the death of Khua Cin, Pau Cin Hau received visions and claimed to have been healed by *Pasian*. Pau Cin Hau, who promoted the term *Pasian*, was sick from 1888-1902, and according to his own words he received a series of visions from 1900 onwards (Census of India 1931:217-218). Therefore, it is possible that Pi Nuam Dim by prophecy received the term *Pasian* as the Zomi term for God, and it later became an unquestioned term in scripture translation. It is open for future debate on the issue.

Anthropologists have discerned cause and effect in cultures in terms of two levels—deep level and surface level—and have discovered that causality corresponds to the deep level of culture, whereas effect corresponds to the surface level (Michael Kearney 1984:41). The behavior of human beings has been influenced by the patterns and beliefs on the deep level of cultures. Many Zomi religious and social customs have been influenced by their worldview assumptions. Chin Khua Khai investigated causality and effect in culture; however he has not applied deep and surface level analysis of culture to the Zomi (Chin K. Khai 1999:55). Ngul Khan Pau also deals with Zomi worldview; however, he does not investigate the deep and surface levels of the culture (1995a:21).

Using the model of C. H. Kraft, the deep level culture includes the belief in life after death and fear of spirits as causality, while the surface level culture includes hunting human beings, animals and offering sacrifices to evil spirits as the effects. This is shown in Figure 2 A and Figure 2 B (p.54) (C. H. Kraft 1999:385, 387). This investigation goes

beyond the popular acceptance that head hunting (including hunting of animals) is meant for social status within one's lifetime. The Zomi worldview assumption has been deeply motivated by a belief in life after death.

The origin of the characteristics of revival, such as daybreak prayer and mass prayer, has not been investigated. Emphasis on prayer has been one important characteristic in most revival movements. Daybreak prayer is said to have originated at Lunglawn Baptist Church in 1962 in Mizoram, from which it spread all over Mizoram. From Mizoram it spread to Manipur in the 1980s when evangelical revival was experienced in the area.

The practice of mass prayer is also said to have come from Mizoram. When mass prayer was introduced at Tedim in 1973, led by the blind evangelist, Zadawla of Mizoram, the Baptist church authority had a problem with this practice in the church (Zadawla 2008). Verbal reports indicate that in one of the Zomi Baptist Convention meetings the issue was discussed, and that it was agreed that no Z.B.C. affiliated churches would be allowed to practice mass prayer, as it invites the sentiment of revivalism. Kaplui, the then Executive Secretary of Tonzang Township Baptist Association, frankly said that he would not be able to stop mass prayer in his area as it had become a practice in the church.

Today, except for a few Baptist churches, most of Zomi churches practice mass prayer as one important item of the worship service (Thawngno 2007a). It is said that the Mizos are influenced in mass prayer by the Khasi revival of 1906 at Mairang when the Mizo delegates from Mizoram participated in the revival meetings for the first time (Lalsawma 2006b:16). It is doubtful that the Khasis were influenced by the Korean revival, because revival took place almost at the same time among the Khasis in 1906 and the Koreans in 1907, as a result of the Welsh revival of 1904.

The origin of the collection of a handful of rice by each family also has not been investigated. This collection of a handful of rice has become a good source of income for missionary work. The practice had its origin in the Khasi revival. It has been mentioned that during the Khasi revival in 1907 a school inspector, Joel Matphoh of Mawrong in Meghalaya, resigned from his post and became a voluntary evangelist. The collection of a handful of rice was introduced at his initiative for the support of missionaries and mission schools (R. P. Lyngdoh 2006:6). He was known as the “Father of Handful of Rice” and the practice is not known in other parts of the world. It became a very good source of income, and influenced the Mizo Christians. In the 1970s, the Mizo Christians influenced other related ethnic groups in North East India, including the Zomi. According to Za Tuah Ngur the income of the Presbyterian Church of Burma in Tahan from the collection of handful of rice came to Ks.73,800 in 1980 (Za Tuah Ngur 1990:85).

The relationship between revival and cultural change has not been investigated in the past. This thesis has investigated the revival movement from social and cultural perspectives, which other scholars have not done so far. Do Suan Mung, taking the cessationist position, rejected revival manifestations. Some writers, such as Hrang Kap Hnin, Luai Hre and Do Sian Thang in *Chin Christian Church History*, all from Zomi Baptist Theological College, took a negative stance toward the revival. Chin Khua Khai presents the revival movement as a renewal of spiritual life, and as a breakthrough for evangelism, urban mission and participation of lay leadership against institutionalized Christianity. But he does not approach this from social and cultural perspectives. This study took a positive approach to the revival movement, taking western revivals of 19th and 20th century in America as models for standard interpretation of the Zomi revival.

Interpretations of revival manifestations—including speaking in tongues, prophecy and miracles—have been carried out from the perspective of the Holiness Movement and Keswick Conventions. According to this study, the Zomi revival became

an agent of social, cultural and religious change in the life of the Zomi, rediscovering some social and cultural values which had been buried in western Christianity. For example, due to the rule set up by the church in July, 1926, at Khuasak, participation in traditional festivals and dancing was banned for Christians (K. T. Pau 1999:53). Traditional items—including observance of festivals, singing of Christian songs in traditional tunes and using traditional music in the church—are regarded as paganism.

Drawing a demarcation line between Christians and non-Christians had a negative impact to the extent that culture has been regarded as anti-Christian among the Zomi. Even though this mindset has not been completely overcome, the revival movement rediscovered some cultural values, such as observance of festivals in a Christian way, prayer for healing, dancing in the church and use of local drums in the church. The practice of house cleansing and village cleansing are recontextualized approaches of traditional religious practices for holiness in the lives of Christians.

The influence of the church on the society as it pertains to Zomi ethnicity has become apparent since the 1980s. The term “Zomi” was first coined as the official name of the Baptist Convention, entitled “Zomi Baptist Convention,” for the Chin State at the initiative of S. T. Hau Go. Hau Go, the first general secretary, has often been referred to as the father of the Baptist Convention.

The name Zomi became a nomenclature for all the Zo ethnic groups in Manipur when an ethnic clash took place between Kuki and Paite (Zomi). The clash impacted the tribal people to be more pragmatic in addressing their identity and led them to form the apex body called “Zomi Council,” to which Zo ethnic groups come together as one tribal group. The church has the potential to influence the society to take up such important issues, whereas the Zomi have no power to address such issues in the political field, especially in Myanmar.

Possible Future Avenues for Christian Ministry

For future Christian ministry the following issues have been raised for consideration in working toward a better understanding of the whole Bible for the whole person.

The Challenges

It has been mentioned that the purpose of this dissertation is to investigate how the Zomi revival brought changes in the life and culture. One of the changes in the life of the church is the establishment of a number of institutions, such as theological seminaries and para-church organizations. Most of the theological seminaries and children's homes were run with support from abroad. It is good that various denominations and individuals can take up important ministries with help from outside. It really helps the people in such a time of economic crisis, like the present situation in Myanmar. Due to economic restrictions, the country has been facing a severe crisis in living conditions. It is understandable that substantial projects—like a theological seminary and homes for the poor—need capital and regular income.

However, the Zomi Christians must seriously consider financial assistance from abroad, which could relegate them to the receiving end instead of becoming a blessing to others. The challenge lies in the fact that in receiving aid from abroad, the institutions may be acting as an agent of the sponsor. In other words, Christians can become slaves of materialism. It is possible to lose the cultural identity if one comes under the dictates of an outside sponsor. For example, a theological seminary may be required to teach some theological doctrine of the sponsor which is out of place in the local context. It is also possible to use the support for promotion of one's own denomination instead of developing the society. It can create a spirit of competition among leaders of denominations in an unhealthy spirit of materialism. When materialism becomes the

number one goal, it can distract people from fellowship with God and from the spiritual dimension.

It is advisable that theological seminaries be run by a denomination rather than by an individual, so as to impart quality education. The disadvantage is that the individual's problems may affect the institution, and could even result in closure of the institution.¹

Homes for children can have both positive and negative impacts on the society.

The positive impacts of such homes include:

1. Economically it is viable if the resources come from reliable supporters. Children receive food, clothing and education, including Christian nurture.
2. Economically, the burden of relatives has been eased. All the burdens go to the home and it is a relief for the relatives.
3. The children receive the teaching of scripture and a Christian environment, which many of them may not get at home.
4. These children get educated at the expense of others. Some of them can even gain a college education through such ministries.
5. The negative impacts must also be considered:
6. Children miss the home environment, especially their relationships with family members.
7. They miss parental care, love and affection.
8. They may develop psychological and mental insecurity, which may last for their whole lives.
9. They may become individualistic, isolating themselves from the society and losing trust in others. They may develop an inferiority complex.

A home must be a place where children find love, care and affection that they cannot find elsewhere. A Christian environment must be maintained in the homes with dedicated wardens who can show love in action and speech. Private homes may serve the

¹ According to the Khonumthung News, dated March 12, 2009, 50 out of 140 orphanages in Burma run by Christians had been shut down by March, 2009, as the licensing authority refused to renew their licenses when they expired.

people better than denominational homes, because individual administration is quick in implementation of orders. Yet denominational projects always prove more stable than private institutions.

Healing Ministry or Medical Service

It has been pointed out earlier that the medical service started by the first missionaries did not bear fruit, due to lack of personnel and restrictions of the government on entry permits to admit medical missionaries. Medical service is missing among Zomi Christians even today.

Two factors might play in this lack of medical service: insufficiency of financial resources and of human resources. This lack of resources could be overcome if the churches would come together as one body for a single purpose. For example, the Zomi Baptist Convention, the Zomi Baptist Convention of Myanmar and the Tedim Baptist Conventions could take up the project, pooling the resources from constituent bodies and churches. The church could sponsor medical students to work in the church, and these students could be employed in medical service upon completion of their studies. The medical ministry could become a self-supporting agency as a Christian service. In this way the need for financial and human resources could be met and medical service could become a witness to other cultures.

The need for health services is high, as the area is prone to oriental diseases like malaria and dysentery, which cause a number of deaths every year. Through medical service, Christians can serve people of other faiths by showing Christian love and compassion. Christian love and service can be demonstrated through medical service as a testimony to other cultures around them.

The Church needs the proper strategy to implement this. At the association or convention level, the project could be carried out, provided that proper planning is in

place. Medical ministry is one of the most important parts of Christian ministry, especially in a country like Chin State, where there is no public health care system. It can become an effective means to spread the gospel, especially among other faiths, like Hindus and Buddhists. Other religious groups will see the light of the gospel through medical service, which may create a better impact than sending missionaries to them. Service speaks louder than words in a country like Myanmar and India.

Literature Ministry

Due to division in the church, the purpose of the Zomi Christian Literature Society has not been effectively fulfilled. The aim of the Society was to serve all the Tedim speaking groups, which should come together for promoting literature, publication and translation of Christian materials. Almost half of the founder associations left the Society due to division in the church. It would have been good if Z.C.L.S. had become a channel for coordinating various associations in the production of Bibles, hymnbooks and other literature needs.

Before the 1970s, the Zomi used one Bible and one hymnbook in all churches, irrespective of denominations or affiliations. Z.C.L.S. could become a common platform for different denominations by providing a common Bible and hymnbook, as before. Some of the differences could be resolved by conducting a consultation on literature, and the use of terms and proper names in the Bible could be sorted out by majority vote. The Z.C.L.S. could launch such a proposal, as it is the only venue in which other denominations can share their differences. The majority opinion of the various denominations could be taken as the final decision, which would be accepted by all groups for the Z.C.L.S. literature work.

It is important that literature, such as Bibles and hymnbooks be provided to the people in sufficient supply. Scriptures should be available in the market at all times so

that people may get their copy whenever the need arises. To do this, Z.C.L.S. must open bookstores at various locations. For example, bookstores could be opened at the headquarters of associations and conventions, and in cities like Kalembo, Mandalay and Yangon. In India, the offices of C.B.A. and Z.B.C. function as bookstores, as they sell Christian materials in their offices. Production of Christian literature can be carried out by the church instead of depending on individual publishers. Graded Sunday school materials should be prepared so as to meet the need of the church at all times.

There should be a capital fund for publication of materials and an appropriate marketing process should be carried out. Literature ministry can also become self-supporting by producing commercial literature for schools and colleges.

Christian Schools

One of the missionary legacies is mission schools in frontier areas, including Chin State, Mizoram, Nagaland, and Manipur. Government schools generally do not provide good education to children today. Private schools are mushrooming, with English as the medium of instruction. In Myanmar, tuition-type hostels are popular, in which tutors provide teaching to students in towns and cities. During the missionary period, mission schools played an important role in educational development. Today the church has a good opportunity to experiment with Christian schools from primary level to high school in English medium. The purpose is twofold:

1. The goal of the school must be to produce quality education. The church can appoint teachers who are dedicated and willing to serve God in schools. Through quality education Christians can demonstrate Christian virtue to other cultures. The church can proclaim the good news through good education to other cultures around them.
2. The vernacular can be introduced as one of the subjects so that the younger generation will have the opportunity to learn their own literature and language. Learning local language in the church only may not meet the need for learning the local dialect, unless it is introduced in school. The church must seriously

consider promoting the learning of the local language in schools in order to meet the challenge of assimilation from the many other cultures that surround them.

The danger of extinction of the language can not be ruled out if the present pattern continues for another half century. The dangers are evident in that the Zomi who migrated to other countries have begun to forget their own language. Children born in other countries do not have the opportunity of learning the mother tongue as there is no school where they can learn it. Even the people who live in their homeland have no opportunity to learn their language in school due to government policy, especially in Myanmar. The parents have a great responsibility of teaching the language to their children in order to preserve the mother tongue in the midst of other cultures. Language is one of the areas in which cultural identity can best be preserved and promoted. Therefore, teaching of the local language can be introduced in schools initiated by the church.

Bible Study

Splits occurred in the church during the revival, mainly due to lack of scripture knowledge and its interpretation. People depend mostly on pulpit preaching. It is a spoon feeding method of Christian nurture that does not provide a strong foundation in individual faith. Bible study in cell groups can be formed in each local church where all church members can get involved. Systematic study of the Bible for adults can be introduced, beginning from the book of Genesis, with a guideline prepared by the head office of each denomination.

One of the foundations of the Korean revival is the emphasis on prayer and Bible study (Harry A. Rhodes 1934:253). Whenever they have prayer meetings they have Bible study. In the case of Zomi revival, prayer meetings involve only prayer, though it is not a bad thing in itself. But systematic Bible study will prepare Christian believers with a strong foundation of faith so that their faith will not be tossed back and forth by false

teachings. Also they will be able to discern what is biblical and what is unbiblical if their faith is founded in scripture. One of the factors in extremism is the lack of scripture knowledge and proper teaching in the Bible. The spiritual seeker is not usually provided proper counseling on assurance of salvation and spiritual nurture. Seekers to the altar call must be given proper guidance in spiritual salvation. Counseling classes provide deep knowledge of salvation through the birth, death and resurrection of Jesus Christ.

The weakness of the revival campaigns is lack of individual Bible study to lead seekers to real faith. Therefore, sometimes instead of trusting and trying to find the truth in the Bible, people may put trust in prophecy and visions, which provide superficial emotional complacency. It is commendable that since 1980 systematic Sunday school materials have been introduced for children. Proper implementation of these materials should be maintained by each denomination, and the supply of materials should be carried out by the Zomi Christian Literature Society.

The goal of the materials is to lead children to Christ while they are young, especially between the ages of eight and twelve. In order to meet the goal of Sunday school, teacher's training must be conducted each year. Teachers must be dedicated and committed to the service as it is an important job to lead children to the saving grace of Jesus Christ.

Unity

The need for unity has been felt not only among different denominations but also within the Baptist group itself. For example, the creation of two Baptist conventions, such as Zomi Baptist Convention of Myanmar and Tedim Baptist Convention, was an example of disunity within the same group.² Likewise, the Chin Baptist Association and the Zomi

² The Tedim speaking groups, such as T.B.A., T.T.B.A., T.V.B.A., K.Z.B.A., Z.B.A. and S.R.B.A., withdrew their membership from Z.B.C. in 1995 at Khuasak and formed Z.B.C.M. However, the

Baptist Church in India, with their different names, could become a source of disunity in the future. Identifying themselves with different names opens the way for polarization within the same group.

Leaders must be open minded, guided with far reaching visions and an inclusive approach to the problem. A narrow and exclusive mentality must be done away with for the good of the broader perspective. Zomi Christians must handle the issue with caution so that they will not be divided further. Division in the church affects the church as well as the society, promoting factions.

As a leading Christian group among the Zomi, the Baptists must seek avenues for uniting the divided churches by sacrifice. In order to obtain unity there must be willingness to sacrifice some of the decisions or even membership within the Baptist family. Therefore, every effort must be taken into consideration to bring unity among the divided churches, including Baptists, Pentecostals, independents and even sectarian groups.

Division damages the beauty of the gospel. The prayer of Jesus before he was taken up into heaven was a prayer for the unity of believers (Jn. 17:1ff). It is the will of God that believers should be united in spirit and in action. For this, the Zomi churches must be ready to open the pulpit to fellow ministers. For example, pastors can be invited by other churches to preach, sharing the pulpit among the Zomi.

A combined program of interest could also be emphasized, in which various denominations could fully participate, such as the Festival of Praise in 2005. Music concerts and the celebration of festivals can be conducted with combined effort. Activities of common interest will promote better understanding and reduce ill attitudes toward one another. Joint seminars can be conducted, inviting different churches in which some important issues can be discussed. For example, a seminar on literature could be

leading association—T.B.A.—left Z.B.C.M. after one year and formed T.B.C. out of the former T.B.A., affiliating with M.B.C. in 2005.

conducted, in which various church representatives could share their ideas and formulate common plans for implementation. Common mission strategies could also be formulated so that no boundary incursions would take place and sheep stealing would be avoided.

Continued Revival

The mainline churches, such as the Baptist bodies, could open up the door toward revival and be open to change in worship style, including church music. More effort should be put into prayer for continued revival in the church. Remembering the possible negative results, the churches must emphasize the positive side of revival. Churches must be open to change—change in music especially in worship style. Contemporary church music should be emphasized in every church, irrespective of denomination.

Churches must accept revival as an agent of change in the social and cultural life of the Zomi. The revival has been an eye opener in the cultural and social life of the Zomi and thus the movement should be maintained in the years to come. Conducting gospel camps, crusades and revival meetings should be emphasized in different areas at different timings for various age groups, including children, youth, adults (married and unmarried), even for couples and parents. This will promote the revival fire to move on in the years to come.

Churches must open the door for revival, and prayer must be emphasized for continued revival among the Zomi. Church leaders must take a leadership role in revival movements so as to provide proper guidance and avoid extremism. Pastors and leaders must be prepared to lead such revival movements under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. At the same time Zomi Christians must be ready to pay the price of revival. In every revival there is a price to be paid. Some of the price includes willingness to spend time in prayer for revival and scripture reading, obedience to the Holy Spirit as a guide and change in the church.

Global Mission

The migration of Zomi people to other countries—including USA, UK, Norway, Germany, Australia, Singapore, Malaysia, Japan, Korea and India—in the wake of military suppression in Myanmar has turned into a mission opportunity. The number of Zomi in the U.S.A. alone is estimated at approximately 3000-4000, residing mainly in Oklahoma, Florida, Washington D.C., Texas, Indiana, Nashville, California, Chicago and New York. In these places they have established their own churches. Baptists, Pentecostals, Seventh-Day Adventists and Roman Catholics founded their churches wherever possible.

The Zomi Christian Fellowships (Z.C.F.) in many cities function as a forum for all Christian bodies. It would have been good if the Z.C.F. could serve as a common platform where there is no other church among the Zomi. Doctrinal differences have become minimal since the revival movement with the emphasis on personal salvation in Jesus Christ. Putting aside the doctrinal differences, the Zomi can come together as one body in other countries instead of being influenced by the homeland atmosphere.

This poses a question on the need for pastoral care for new immigrants in other countries. The migration trend appears to be continuing, and will continue at least for some more time unless the government of Myanmar is changed. There will be a need to do research on how best to coordinate the ministry for better administration and care for the new immigrants.

The Zomi must take advantage of their presence in other countries—among many nations and cultures—as an opportunity to spread the gospel worldwide (Eph. 5:16). They can take the message of truth, trust and honesty to be the light of the world in their workplaces wherever they are. Love of Jesus Christ must be expressed in the life and culture of the Zomi where there is hatred, corruption, injustice and division. The disciples spread the gospel when they were scattered as a result of persecution from the Jews (Acts

8:1). So also the Zomi Christians must take the suppressive nature of the government in Myanmar as a means of spreading the gospel in other countries where they landed. V.C. Mang's song "Global Mission" composed in the 1980s has a clear message for globalization of mission today.

1. Ngai dih vaw lawm aw I Topa hong sapna,
A na sem dingin nang leh kei hong sawl hi;
Topa in mi tul tampi khua mial sungah,
Tuate honkhia ding nang leh kei hong sawl hi.

Oh, Global mission, gupna bucing a tangko dingte,
Lam khial khate lam man va hilh in;
Oh, Global mission, kha mangthangte va honkhia meng in,
Topa Zeisu hong pai baihna ding hi.
2. Tatna thei nai lo mi tul tampi kiangah,
Gupna bucing leitung buppi theisak in;
Na gen kei leh Topa'n vantungmi sawl ding,
A sisan man uh Topa'n nang hong siik ding.
3. Lungdamna thu leitung a kizelh khit ciang,
Mi siangthote tawh Pa in hong sam ding a;
Kha khat beek I Topa kiang na tun' lecin,
Na lukhu tungah aksi tang om ding hi. (Zaideih.com 2009).

English translation:³

1. Hark the call of our Lord oh my dear friends,
He calls you and me to go out for missions;
To save millions of people in darkness,
He calls you and me to go for their salvation.

Oh, Global mission, tell the gospel of salvation,
Bring them back those who have gone astray;
Oh, Global mission, swiftly go to save the lost,
Then the Lord will not tarry to come.
2. To the millions of people in darkness,
Preach the gospel to all over the world;
The Lord will send his angels if you fail to go,
Then you will be accountable for the lost souls.

³ Translation is my own.

3. On preaching the gospel to the whole world,
The Lord will take us along with his saints,
By leading even one soul to the Lord,
You will be rewarded with bright stars of crown.

The song speaks about the great commission of Jesus to go and tell the gospel to all nations (Mat. 28:19-20). The Zomi must take advantage of the opportunity of being found all over the world for world mission in order to fulfill the great commission of our Lord Jesus Christ today.

Summary

This dissertation has examined the nature and impact of the Zomi Christian revival of the 1970s through historical and phenomenological approaches and post colonial theories. Historical investigations reveal that the cultural transformations were the result of contact with western, Asian and other cultures, including the 1970s revival. The Zomi lost power in the course of their encounters with other cultures, but gained knowledge as a result of their encounter with Christianity, especially with the revival.

Results of the research include proposals for growth in theological education, change in church music, focus on missions and rediscovery of some of the lost cultural values. Contributions of the dissertation include the origins of the term *Pasian*, morning prayer and the handful of rice for missions. The study of the Zomi revival from social and cultural perspectives has not been done by other scholars, and the influence of the Zomi worldview on the religious and social behavior has been cited for the first time.

Possible avenues for future Christian growth have been proposed, including the need for medical service, concerted literature ministry, better understanding for unity, church school, Bible study, and the need to strive toward continued revival and a more well co-ordinated global mission. The role of the Zomi in missions is no longer confined to the local and regional levels, but has become global in nature according to the

great commission of Jesus Christ (Mat. 28:16-20).

APPENDIX A

PAU CIN HAU'S TESTIMONY 1931

From the year 1888 to 1902 I suffered from a long and severe illness.

From the year 1900 onwards in dreams and visions I received a series of communications which I hold to be divine and are the foundations both of my alphabet and my religious teaching.

The first of these was in 1900 when in my dream I saw twisted rope suspended between the heaven and the earth. Many people were trying to climb it but no one was successful. I knelt in prayer and ascended the rope as far as the thirtieth heaven, then descended to the earth and still by means of the rope, which had penetrated the ground, descended deep into the heart of the earth.

A year later I heard the voice of God calling me by name and commanding me to look forward to the future when many mysterious things would occur. I saw visions of railway trains, steamships and other western inventions although I had never been away from the hills and had knowledge that such things existed. There were English, Indian and many unknown nations falling dead and disappearing from view while my own people who were with me, though still alive were left covering in the valleys between the hills, covered with dust and rubbish.

In 1902 I had another dream. In this dream I saw an English man who appeared to me to be divine. He wanted me to learn lessons, taught by means of stones in the shape of letters, which put together formed a book. I tried to learn the same and eventually succeeded and my eyes then opened.

When I got up from sleep my passion for learning, and teaching the symbols and sounds of the alphabet were so great that I could not sleep either day or night until I had written them out on paper. Though the Deputy Commissioners of the Chin Hills advised me to have my invention printed I was not satisfied with it and revised it more than once—the third and last revision being carried out in 1931.

As above stated, during the period of these visions I was still suffering from illness which was not cured during the year when I had seen the letters. In the following year, I saw in another vision many races of people flocking together in a huge plain. Then I shouted, “Behold and obey the order of God and while all bowed themselves to the earth he called me by my name twice in succession ‘Pau Cin Hau, Pau Cin Hau, will you worship me?’” I said, “Who are you?” and he replied, “The Lord who made heaven and earth, men and animals, the sun, the moon, and the stars and who has the power to cure all illness.”

I had faith in Him and in a moment was cured from my illness of fifteen years. The cure of God was complete and cost nothing.

I stood alone in my faith for three years during which time the members of my own family, even, reviled instead of encouraging me but gradually my neighbors and many people from different villages became my fellow worshippers after six years.

Our Chin ancestors worshipped various kinds of nats (evil spirits), such as house nats, forest nat, water nat, and altogether sixty four in number. Those who have believed and wished to enter my religion came from far distant villages and invited me to visit them. Together with a little band of disciples I made it my custom to accept their invitation and on entering a house of a village after praying to God would destroy completely the article used for making sacrifices to the nats and whereas sufferers had to pay large sum for sacrifices our only charge was a nominal sum to cover traveling expenses. I have declared that this was not the will of many and God, like myself, are

now entirely freed from such practices. My followers free from such expenses for sacrifices are in much better circumstances.

Among other old customs of the Chins was that of attempting to discover the particular nat which caused an illness by feeling the pulse or reading the countenance of the sick person. The nat, when discovered, was propitiated and petitioned. We now pray to one God.

Again, according to Chin belief the soul of a man may leave his body and as it wanders afar be seized on by one of the numerous nats resulting in the illness or death of the owner. To make the spirit return to its home it was necessary to sacrifice an animal. We retain no such belief. A particularly difficult disease to deal with was supposed to be caused by the injection of a foreign substance into the body through sorcery or witchcraft and in this case it was considered necessary to make a compound of turmeric and other roots, ground and steeped in water, to be drunk as libation while calling upon the name of the king of nats. We, ourselves, call upon the name of God.

Amongst all festivals observed by our Chin fore-fathers we have retained but one, the festival of separation of the year (New Year festival). It is now called the festival of God and each year after the completion of merrymaking we meet in church and offer prayers to God.

As regards the organization of my religion as I am myself unable to go to every village into the religion has entered I have appointed an elder connected with the religion in each village. Further, not long after the birth of this religion certain prophets termed either “seers” or “interpreters of the word of God” arose, some of whom were able to show wonderful and miraculous doings. Others, alas, have gone astray and are opposing the simple faith.

Given under the hand of the prophet of Pau Cin Hau at Mualbeem, on the 25th May, 1932.

(Census of India, 1931:217-218)

(TRUE COPY)

APPENDIX B

MINUTES OF MEETING HELD ON 25TH AND 26TH APRIL 1942

The Meeting between the British Officers and Zomi leaders in 1942 passed the following resolutions:

"A meeting composed as under was held on the 25 and 26 of April 1942 as to how form "Levy" in order to protect Chin Hills and for the prevention of Japanese's further advance.

1. N. W. Kelly, Esquire, ODE, Asst. Supdt, Tiddim for the crown.
2. The Kamhau, The Sukte and the Siyin Chiefs and Independent Headman.
3. The village elders from, Sukte, Siyin and Kamhau Tracts."

The following points were discussed and agreed to:

(1) That, the Suktes and Siyins agreed to serve the Government as Levies to their utmost energy and as far as possible and the Government in turn will consider as afar as practicable, the way for the grant of the following privilege to the loyal subjects.

(2) That, the Suktes and the Siyins owned plots of land (inn mun lo ngam) be observed by the Government as private lands as it had been before and that the individual's right should no longer be interfered with for inquiry.

(3) That, plots of land in Sukte and Kamhau tracts not owned by any definite individual be brought before the notice of the Government for purpose of dividing the land to individuals for private land after termination of war and this will be considered in the interest of the public by the Government.

(4) That, there should always be at least 7th Standard Government Anglo-Vernacular School at Tiddim.

(5) That, the newly formed levies should never be subjected to command of any Military Officer but be always under Mr. Kelly, the Assistant Superintendent.

(6) That, a direct fight with the enemies should never be fought but ambushing, sniping, etc., as was practiced by China in olden time be adhered to.

(7) That, unless otherwise agreed to, Levies will not go beyond No.2 Stockade.

(8) That, in case any Levy man becomes casualty (killed or wounded), he will be given Ra. 300/- rupees three hundred only) as compensation and appropriate pension will be considered to be wounded and disabled.

(9) That, except in the case of 303 Rifles, other weapons carried by Levies will become his own on termination of War. If any levy man has more than one guns, he may keep all as his own, provided he served with the Levies.

(10) That, in future, the Government should not give preference for appointment in Government Service to Falam and Haka saying that any man had already been in service; but appointment will be made to the learned and deserved without discriminating as to whether he is a Tiddim, Falam or Haka.

(11) That, as soon as the present war ends, the Government will start scheme for uplift and development of Chins and the Chin Hills in all respects such as construction of motor roads etc.

(12) That, the Government will establish as a Dispensary at Fort White for the Siyin area as well as for passers-by.

(13) That, the terms of promise by the Government during the forming of Labor Corps for France and Levy to suppress the Haka and Thado rebellions were never fulfilled.

(14) That the terms of agreement now reached should not be treated as above but be fulfilled at once. Sd/- by N.W. Kelly, Asst. Commissioner, Tiddim. 25-26, April, 1942.

APPENDIX C

THE PANGLONG AGREEMENT, 1947

Text of the agreement signed at Panglong on the 12th February, 1947 by Shan, Kachin and Chin leaders, and by representatives of the Executive Council of the Governor of Burma

A conference have been held at Panglong, attended by Members of the Executive Council of the Governor of Burma, all Saophas and representatives of the Shan States, the Kachin Hills and the Chin Hills, the members of the Conference, believing that freedom will be more speedily achieved by the Shans, the Kachins and the Chins by their immediate co-operation with the interim Burmese Government, have accordingly, and without dissentients, agreed as follows:

(I) A representative of the Hill Peoples, selected as the Governor on the recommendation of representatives of the Supreme Council of the United Hill Peoples (SCOUHP), shall be appointed as Counselor to the Governor to deal with the Frontier Areas.

(II) The said Counselor shall also be appointed a Member of the Governor's Executive Council, without portfolio, and the subject of Frontier Areas brought within the purview of the Executive Council by Constitutional Convention as in the case of Defense and External Affairs. The Counselor for Frontier Areas shall be given executive authority by similar means.

(III) The said Counselor shall be assisted by two Deputy Counselor representing races of which he is not a member. While the two Deputy Counselors should deal in the first instance with the affairs of their respective areas and the Counselor with all the remaining parts of the Frontier Areas, they should by Constitutional Convention act on the principle of joint responsibility.

(IV) While the Counselor, in his capacity of Member of the Executive Council, will be the only representative of the Frontier Areas on the Council, the Deputy Counselors shall be entitled to attend meetings of the Council when subjects pertaining to the Frontier Areas are discussed.

(V) Though the Governor's Executive Council will be augmented as agreed above, it will only operate in respect of the Frontier Areas in any manner which would deprive any portion of these areas of the autonomy which it now enjoys in internal administration. Full autonomy in internal administration for the Frontier Areas is accepted in principle.

(VI) Though the question of demarcating and establishing a separate Kachin State within a Unified Burma is one which must be relegated for decision by the Constituent Assembly, it is agreed that such a state is desirable. As a first step towards this end, the Counselor shall be consulted in administration of such areas in the Myitkyina and the Bhamo Districts as are Part II Scheduled Areas under the Government of Burma act of 1935.

(VII) Citizens of the Frontier Areas shall enjoy rights and privileges which are regarded as fundamental in democratic countries.

(VIII) The arrangements accepted in this Agreement are without prejudice to the financial autonomy now vested in the Federated Shan States.

(IX) The arrangements adopted in this Agreement are without prejudice to the financial assistance which the Kachin Hills and the Chin Hills are entitled to receive from the revenues of Burma, and the Executive Council will examine with the Frontier Areas Counselor and the Deputy Counselors the feasibility of adopting for the Kachin Hills and

the Chin Hills financial arrangements similar to those between Burma and the Federated Shan States.

SIGNATORIES

For the Shan Committee

Sawbwas: Tawnpeng, Yawnghwei, North Hsenwi, Laika, Mong Pawn, Hsamongkam and representative of Panglong.

Shan people: Tin E, Kya Bu, Sao Yapa Hpa, Htun Myint, Hkun Saw, Hkun Htee

For the Kachin Committee:

Myitkyina: Sinwas Nawng, Zau Rip, Dinra Tang

Bhamo: Zau La, Zau Lawn, Labang Grong

For the Chin Committee:

U Hlur Hmung, U Thawng Za Khup, U Kio Mang

For the Burmese Government:

Aung San

(This text is taken from pp 404-405 of Hugh Tinker's *Burma: The Struggle for Independence 1944-1948* (Vol. II) London, HMSO 1984).

APPENDIX D

MEMORANDUM SUBMITTED TO THE PRIME MINISTER OF INDIA

**BY THE MIZO NATIONAL FRONT: GENERAL HEADQUARTERS, AIZAWL, MIZORAM ON
THE 30TH OCTOBER, 1965**

This memorandum seeks to represent the case of the Mizo people for freedom and independence, for the right of territorial unity and solidarity, and for the realization of which a fervent appeal is submitted to the Government of India.

The Mizos, from time immemorial lived in complete independence without foreign interference. Chiefs of different clans ruled over separate hills and valleys with supreme authority and their administration were much like that of the Greek City-States of the past. Their territory or any part thereof had never been conquered or subjugated by their neighboring states. However, there had been border disputes and frontier clashes with their neighboring people which ultimately brought the British Government to the scene in 1844. The Mizo country was subsequently brought under the British political control in February, 1890 when a little more than half of the country was arbitrarily carved out and named Lushai Hills (now Mizo District) and the rest of their land was parceled out of their hands to the adjoining people for the sole purpose of administrative convenience without obtaining their will or consent. Scattered as they are divided, the Mizo people are inseparably knitted together by their strong bond of tradition, custom, culture, language, social life and religion wherever they are. The Mizo stood as a separate nation even before the advent of the British Government having a nationality distinct and

separate from that of India. In a nutshell, they are a distinct nation, created, moulded and nurtured by God and nature.

When British India was given a status by promulgation of Government of India Act of 1935, the British Government, having fully realized in the distinct and separate nationality of Mizo people decided that they should exclude from the purview of the new constitution and they were accordingly classed as an EXCLUDED AREA in terms of the Government Order, 1936. Their land was then kept under the special responsibility of the Governor General-in-Council in his capacity of the Crown Representative; and the legislature of the British India had no influence whatsoever.

In other words, the Mizos had never been under the Indian Government and never had any connection with the politics of the various groups of Indian opinion. When India was in the threshold of Independence, the relation of the Mizos with the British Government and also with the British India was fully realized by the Indian National Congress leaders. Their top leaders and spokesman Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru released a press statement on the 19th August, 1946 and stated : ‘the Tribal areas are defined as being those along the frontier of India which are neither part of India, nor of Burma, nor of any Indian State, nor of any foreign power’. He further stated: ‘The areas are subsidized and the Governor General’s relation with the inhabitants are regulated by sanads, custom or usage. In the matter of internal administration, the areas are largely left to themselves’. Expressing the view of the Indian National Congress, he continued, ‘Although the tribal areas are technically under the sovereignty of His Majesty’s Government, their status, when a new Constitution comes into force in India, will be different from that of Aden over which the Governor-General no longer has executive authority. Owing to their inaccessibility and their importance to India in its defense strategy, their retention as British possession is most unlikely. One view is that with the end of sovereignty in India, the new Government of India (i.e. Independent Government

of India) will enter into the same relations with the tribal areas as the Governor-General maintains now, unless the people of these areas choose to seek integration with India.’

From the foregoing statement made by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and the Government of India Act of 1935, it is quite clear that the British Government left the Mizo Nation free and independent with the right to decide their future political destiny.

Due solely to their political immaturity, ignorance and lack of consciousness of their fate, representatives of the Mizo Union, the largest political organization of that time and the Fifty Accredited Mizo Leaders representing all political organizations including representatives of religious denominations and social organizations that were in existence submitted their demand and choose integration with free India imposing condition, inter alia, “THAT THE LUSHAIS WILL BE ALLOWED TO OPT OUT OF INDIAN UNION WHEN WISH TO DO SO SUBJECT TO A MINIMUM PERIOD OF TEN YEARS”.

The political immaturity and ignorance which lead the Mizo people to the misguided choice of integration with India was a direct result of the banning by the British Government of any kind of political organization till April 1946 within Mizo land which was declared ‘a political area’.

During the fifteen years of close contact and association with India, the Mizo people had not been able to feel at home with Indians or in India nor have they been able to feel that their joys and sorrows have really ever been shared by India. They do not therefore, feel Indian. Being created a separate nation they cannot go against the nature to cross the barriers of nationality. They refused to occupy a place within India as they consider it to be unworthy of their prosperity. Nationalism and patriotism inspired by the political consciousness has now reached its maturity and the cry for political self-determination is the only wish and inspiration of the people, ne plus ultra, the only final and perfect embodiment of social living for them. The only aspiration and political cry is

the creation of MIZORAM, a free and sovereign state to govern herself, to work out her own destiny and to formulate her own foreign policy. To them Independence is not even a problem or subject of controversy; there cannot be dispute over the subject nor could there be any difference of opinion in the matter. It is only a recognition of human rights and to let others live in the dignity of human person.

While the present word is strongly committed to freedom and self-determination of all nations, large or small, and to promotion of Fundamental Human Rights, and while the Indian leaders are strongly wedded to that principle – taking initiative for and championing the cause of Afro-Asian countries, even before the World body, particularly deploring domination and colonization of the weaker nations by the stronger, old and new, and advocating peaceful co-existence, settlement of international disputes of any kind through the medium of non-violence and in condemning weapons that can destroy the world, and in general wishing of goodwill towards mankind, the Mizo people firmly believed that the Government of India and their leaders will remain true to their policy and that they shall take into practice what they advocate, blessing the Mizo people with their aspiration for freedom and independence per principle that no one is good enough to govern another man without that man's consent.

Though known as head-hunters and a martial race, the Mizos commit themselves to a policy of non-violence in their struggle and have no intention of employing any other means to achieve their political demand. If, on the other hand, the Government of India brings exploitative and suppressive measures into operation, employing military might against the Mizo people as is done in the case of Nagas, which God forbid, it would be equally erroneous and futile for both the parties for a soul cannot be destroyed by weapons.

For this end, it is in goodwill and understanding that the Mizo Union voices her rightful and legitimate claim of full self-determination through this memorandum. The

Government of India, in their turn and in conformity with the unchangeable truth expressed and resolved among the text of HUMAN RIGHTS by the United Nations in its august assembly that in order to maintain peace and tranquility to formulate her own foreign policy, among mankind every nation, large or small, may of right be free to work out her own destiny, to formulate her own internal and external policies and shall accept and recognize her political independence. Would it not be a selfish motive and design of India, and would it not amount to an act of offence against humanity if the Government of India claim Mizoram as part of their territory and try to retain her as their possession against the national will of the Mizo people simply because their land is important for India's defense strategy?

Whether the Mizo nation should shed her tears in joy to establish firm and lasting friendship with India in war and in peace or sorrow and anger, is upto the Government of India to decide.

Sd/- LALDENGA

President

Mizo National Front, Mizoram

Sd/- S. LIANZUALA

General Secretary

Mizo National Front, Mizoram

(Source: True Copy)

APPENDIX E

ADOPTION OF THE NAME “ZOMI BAPTIST CONVENTION”

There had never been any formally constituted organization of the Christian churches in the Chin Hills. When I returned from the U.S.A. arriving at Rangoon on 18th September, 1950, I was invited to speak at the Annual Meeting of the American Baptist Missionary Fellowship in October. In my speech I attempted to express what I thought to be most essential for the growth of Christianity among our people. I explained that the Chin Hills had been the most neglected and the least developed area in Burma. To remedy this I made the following two proposals:

[1] In order to strengthen the Christian churches, the village churches should be formed into properly constituted local associations and there should be overall organization embracing all the organizations.

[2] A well-experienced missionary should come and make a survey of all the Chin-Hills and give us advice on various projects of development.

The Missionary Fellowship approved both proposals. Accordingly, Mission Secretary E. E. Sowards visited the Chin Hills during February and March 1952. By the time both the Tedim and Hakha Missionaries had left on furlough. So I myself had to accompany him throughout his survey tour. At the conclusion of his survey tour he advised me as follows:

[A] He said the government in recent months changed its policy on mission work in Burma. Under this new policy our days of missionaries in Burma were numbered. And we might be asked to leave the country any day. What you proposed in October 1950 must be proceeded forthwith. You just start forming properly constituted Christian bodies – local associations and an overall convention, as speedily as you could. This properly

constituted Christian bodies must be ready to take overall missionary work whenever the missionaries had to leave.

[B] And when this convention was formed it should be purely national organization, bearing national name, and run by national personnel. No foreign missionaries should hold any official position and should not be a member of any committee, but should work in an advisory capacity only.

According to his advice, I began forming the Tedim, Falam and Haka Associations during 1952. Then in order to constitute an overall organization, I asked the three Associations to select ten leaders each from the three Associations to form a Constitution Drafting Committee.

This Constitution Drafting Committee met at Falam Baptist Church during the last week of October and the first week of November 1952. I acted as Chairman of the Constitution Drafting Committee.

[1] Having explained to the committee that we were forming a purely national organization, I proposed that the name of our organization should bear our own national name. Outsiders call us Chin, but we never call ourselves by that name. So I believe you all agree to reject Chin to be the name of our organization and all the members of the Committee agreed by acclamation.

[2] Then I proposed that we should take ZOMI as our name as this is our correct historical name. And we should call our organization ZOMI BAPTIST CONVENTION.

[3] A man sprang to his feet and rejected the name Zomi outright saying, “Saya, in Haka we apply this word Zo to the most backward and the most despicable people. So we do

not want this name for our big Christian organization”.

[4] “In that case what name do you like?” I asked and he replied, “LAIMI”.

[5] Then I explained, “I proposed ZOMI because I believe it is the correct original historical name of our people, from the Naga Hills to the Bay of Bengal. To the north of Tedim, the Thadous and other tribes call themselves YO, in Falam, LAIZO. The Tedim people call themselves ZO, the Lushais MIZO, In Hakha, ZOTUNG, ZOPHEI, ZOKHUA. In Gangaw area ZO is pronounced as YAW, in Mindat, JO or CHO, and in Paletwa KHOMI. In Prome, Thayetmyo, Sandoway, and Bassein areas they call themselves A-SHO. So I am convinced that inspite of slight variations this ZO is our original historical national name”.

[6] After this explanation Rev. Sang Ling who was the most senior and revered pastor from Hakha stood up and said, “What Saya Hau Go has just said is correct. In our younger days we were told that we were born at YOTLANG. And ZO is our true original name. The word LAI is not our national name. LAI was first used by denizens of Hakha. It means our village people, our own local people, as distinct from outsiders. It is nor our national name”. Saying this, he wayed to Rev. Sang Fen who also was the second eldest and most respected pastor and asked, “What is your opinion on this, Saya?”

[7] The Saya Sang Fen stood up and briefly said, “I agreed, I believe ZO is our national name and I myself am the pastor of ZO-KHUA”.

[8] After the two most senior and revered pastors of the Hakha area rose and spoke in support of my proposal, not a single voice of dissent was heard and the name ZOMI BAPTIST CONVENTION was unanimously approved.

[9] What the Constitution Drafting Committee had approved at the Falam meeting was officially and universally adopted by the general meeting at Saikah, March 5-7, 1953. The lone dissenting voice seemed to be a more idiosyncrasy or at best a limited local usage without any sound historical basis, because not a single member of the Constitution Drafting Committee voiced any support at Falam. The general meeting held on March 5-7, 1953 at Saikah village in the now Thantlang township of Hakha area was attended by 3,000 Christians. of these about two hundred were from the Falam area and less than ten from the Tedim area, because Saikah was 7-9 days' foot journey from Tedim area. Even there where by far the vast majority of delegates were from the Hakha area there was not a single voice of support from LAIMI, but the name ZOMI BAPTIST CONVENTION was born, named and based on the foundation of historical truth, confirmed by the General Meeting at Saikah with the most remarkable spirit of Christian harmony and unity never experienced before or since.

I was asked, out of necessity, to serve temporarily for one day as General Secretary, pending the arrival of the Rev. David Van Bik who was ear-marked to relieve me on arrival from the U.S.A. the following year.

Rangoon 1st December, 1988

Signed

Sukte T. Hau Go

(Source: Sing Khaw Khai, "Zo People and their Culture," 1995, p.69)

APPENDIX F
FIRST WORLD ZOMI CONVENTION

(Dated Aizawl The 30th October 1988)

Venue: Champhai, Mizoram.

MAY 19 – 21, 1988
DECLARATION

“We, the people of Zo ethnic group,
Inhabitants of the highlands in
The Chin Hills and Arakans of Burma,
The Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh,
The Mizoram State and adjoining hill areas of India
Are descendants of one ancestor.
Our language, our culture and tradition,
And no, less our social and customary practices
Are clear evidences of the ethnological facts.
Further, our historical records,
And footprints both written and unwritten
In the sands of time testify
To the truth of our common ancestry.

“Much against the interest for preservation,
Consolidation and promotion of our ethnic identity,
The British colonial rulers after subjugating us
During the later part of the 19th century,
Exercised the imperialistic policy
Of ‘Divide and Rule’.
As a result, our ancestral homeland was divided,
So were members of the Zo community distributed
Like cattle sold and separated.

“Adding grave insult to injury,
The emergence of the sovereign state
Of India, Burma and Pakistan in 1940s
Had the administrative fragmentations aggravated
And gave birth to deeper agonies of separation

For the constitutional laws of respective countries
Divided Zo ethnic origin into different nationalities.

“For better part of the century,
Largely because of our limited outlook
Both in terms historical and political,
The gravity of our uncertain situation
And the danger for our ethnological demise
Received no meaningful political response.
The genocidal threat of neo-colonialism
Against our Zo ethnic survival
Still remain ever unredeemed.

“Now with political consciousness gaining momentum,
And the spirit of nationalism quickening us
Come fuller realization of our human rights
And of our political prerogatives
We cannot but feel burdened
With the paramount importance of Zo Reunification
For preservation and existence of Zo ethnic identity.

“Re-asserting, therefore, our faith and confidence
In the code of comity of Nation
For redeeming injustices done to Zo ethnic origin,
We, the delegates to the First World Zo Convention of Zo Reunification
Ethnically enshrined on this day
Twentieth Day of the Month of May
In the year of our Lord Nineteen Eighty-Eight
Upon the alter of Zo Reunification
As under:

CHARTER OF AGREEMENT

I

“We solemnly affirm the truth
That members of Zo ethnic origin
Now living in Burma, India and Bangladesh
Are a people of common ancestry
Speaking a common language,
Blessed with common social,
Cultural and religious background,
And destined to common political fate and destiny.

II

We sincerely pledge and affirm
Solidarity and integration to take on
A just struggle for Zo Re-Unification
Under one Administrative umbrella
In conformity with the resolution of the Chin-Lushai Conference
Held at Ford William, Calcutta
On January 29, 1892.

III

We firmly hold the universal truth
That our political aspirations for Zo Reunification
Regardless of international boundary constraints
Are the inalienable rights of all Zo ethnic origin,
Further, we solemnly acknowledge the claim
For Zo Re-unification to be wholly legitimate.

IV

“We firmly adopt the principle of non-violence
For attaining the Zo Re unification.

V

“We sincerely appeal to the consciences
Of all heads of States and Governments
Under whom Zo Communities are citizens respectively
To recognize and acknowledge
The rightful claim for Zo Reunification.
Further, we appeal to one and all
Believing in the Universal Human Rights
To lend support to the just struggle
For Zo Reunification
At all levels and at different stages.”

ORGANISATION

In order to promote the just struggle for Zo Re-unification –

I

“We solemnly affirm and resolve
That a loose political forum
Called the “ZO RE-UNIFICATION ORGANISATION” be formed.
(And is hereby formed)
Further, we resolve that

Zo re-unification Organization (ZORO)
Be a forum covering all political parties
And Individuals –

(i) Acknowledging the rightful claim
For Zo Re-unification;

(ii) Accepting the paramount importance
Of Zo Re-unification
Above and beyond party politics, and

(iii) Willing to subscribe the ideas and views
As may develop time to time
Through the forum of ZORO.

II

“WE affirm and resolve that

(i) ZORO as a forum shall not interfere
In any local political programmes and activities
Of any constituent political party;

(ii) No constituent political unit of ZORO
In absence of consultation with ZORO
Shall organize any local political party activities
As may adversely affect the objectives of ZORO;

(iii) Any of the political parties
Involving and participating in ZORO
Shall enjoy the privilege of exercising certain discretions
As to form frontal organizations
Within the respective party concerned
Primarily for promotion of the just struggle
For Zo Reunification, and

(iv) ZORO, as a forum, shall normally finalize
Important policy decisions
In matters related directly or indirectly
To the just struggle for Zo Re-unification.

“WE, the Undersigned,
For and on behalf of Zo people,
Living and children yet to be born,
Look to God in prayer,
And seal this document with our signatures.

LONG LIVE ZO RE-UNIFICATION.”
SIGNED BY 40 DELEGATES REPRESENTING DIFFERENT ORGANISATIONS.
AND NINETY EIGHT OTHERS.

(TRUE COPY)

APPENDIX G

RE-UNIFICATION MOVEMENT AFTER BRITISH RULE: INDIA

I. Lushai Hills: In the Lushai Hills, Khawtinkhuma and Vanthuama signed the incorporation of Lushai Hills to India on the condition that the Lushai's will be allowed to opt out of the Indian Union when willing to do so subject to a minimum period of ten years. In this regard, Lalchungnunga remarks thus:

‘The Mizo Union’s option to join India through Assam was not without conditions. They reserved the possibility of opting out again after ten years, if the future trends did not seem to favor the fulfillment of their aspirations.

Vanlawma did not accept the incorporation of Zoram into the Indian Union. He differed with the Mizo Union and formed the Mizo Cultural Society. In the 1950’s a famine called MAUTAM broke out in the Mizo Hills. This famine devastated the entire Mizo Hills. The Mizo Cultural Society did a yeoman’s service to combat the famine. They formed a special committee called MIZO NATIONAL FAMINE FRONT to render voluntary service to the people most affected by the famine. The Mautam of the 1950s was very severe and there was popular discontentment against the Indian Government over the poor tackling of the famine. The insensitivity of the Government of India revived in the people the dreams of their own independence.

In 1964-65, ‘independence’ became a burning issue among the Mizo intellectuals and college students. When the famine was over, on October 28, 1961, the Mizo National Famine Front was converted into a political party called the Mizo National Front (MNF) under the leadership of Laldenga. The original aims and objectives of MNF, according to

a booklet published by the party include, 'integration of the entire Mizo ethnic group under one government processing the highest degree of freedom.'

Laldenga, the MNF President, accompanied by Lalnunmawia and Sainghaka, went to East Pakistan in the first week of December, 1963. They were well-received and the Pakistanis promised them a base, arms and some money.

On 30th October, 1965, the Mizo National Front (MNF) submitted a memorandum to the Prime Minister of India for granting freedom and aimed to fight it through non-violent means. The Memorandum was ignored by the Indian Government.

On March 1, 1966, the Mizo National Front (MNF) declared Independence and set up its own government. It had a President and a Council of Ministers, in charge of Home, Defense, Foreign, Finance and Public Information. The MNF frantically and secretly began preparing for taking over the military and civil administration of the Mizo District.

All the towns of Mizoram viz. Aizawl, Lunglei, Champhai, Vairengte and Chhimluang were encircled by a 2000 strong Mizo National Volunteers Force to strike at 'zero-hour' – One o'clock of March 1, 1966. They successfully struck at the appointed time. The engagement continued till March 3, 1966 when Aizawl fell to the hands of the MNF. After this heroic and momentous event, Mizoram became the centre of world attention.

On June 1, 1966, the MNA (Mizo National Army) successfully attacked the Burmese Army garrison at the four Zomi towns of Falam, Tedim, Tamu and Tuipang. However, the MNA returned to Mizoram at the request of Lt. Col. Ngozam, the Commander of the 23rd Burma Regiment, who was a Zomi.

A military campaign to crush the Mizo rebellion in Mizoram was carried out swiftly and brutally by the Indian government. The brutality and atrocities committed upon the Mizo/Zomi civilians – men, women and children – is said to be the greatest brutality the Indian Army perpetrated upon a civilian population in the Indian military history. Gen (Rtd) DK Palit had remarked thus:

“... 5th March was the crucial day. At last, at 1130hrs came the air strike, I.A.F fighters strafing hostile positions all around the battalion area. The strafing was repeated in the afternoon... (6th March)... There was another air strike that day and that put paid to the investment. The hostiles melted away.”

Thousands of Mizos/Zomi died in the hands of the Indian Army while tens of thousands were rendered homeless in more than twenty years of MNF struggle for the re-unification and independence of Zogam. The misery, the suffering and plight of Mizos/Zomi in the face of Indian Army brutality and might for more than twenty years forced the beleaguered MNA leaders to seek a settlement with India, under the Indian Constitution.

On June 1986, Mizoram was granted full-fledged statehood. Thus, the re-unification movement launched by the MNF, under the leadership of Laldenga, ground to a halt midway, and the dream of full re-unification of Zomi/Mizos of the region remained unresolved once again.

II. In Manipur: Manipur, a border state in the North East India, is contiguous to the rest of Zo country. In fact, the original Manipur was only the valley covering 730 square miles around Loktak Lake. The hilly regions around the valley became attached to Manipur only as a result of the British Colonial decision and the Treaty of Yandaboo, 1826. At the time, the Zomi in the hills were completely in the dark about the division of their homeland by the Treaty.

Captain Pemberton, who represented the British in the Yandaboo Treaty, stated, “Any how the Chins (Zomi) never regarded the boundary at all binding on themselves and had never been consulted in the matter”. No Zomi was consulted. Their political future was not considered. Nor were they asked to express their opinion in any matter affecting them.

The Treaty of Yandaboo in 1826, the Partition of Burma from India which divided their country in 1837, and the demarcation of the boundaries of Manipur, 1834 were unknown to the Zomi. Who made merry with their Zu (rice beer) and danced, singing:

“Tuan a pupa leh Khang vaimangte,
Tongchiam kangtui minthang aw,
Pu leh Pi leh kangtui minthang,
A tua Zota kual hi e.”

(Our fore-fathers had a promise with the Meiteis of Loktak; from the famous Loktak to Chindwin, it is the land of the Zomi).

The above song is based on oral tradition according to which the Sukte Chief, Sumkam son of (Late) Raja Goukthoang, had an agreement with the Maharaja of Manipur, affirmed by drinking wine from the barrel of a gun (During those days, any settlement or agreement made between two independent chief with the affirmation by drinking wine in the barrel of a gun, is the noblest peace settlement. Any breach of the agreement amounts to capital punishment). This agreement was made on March, 1873 where Col Thomson acted as the peace negotiator.

With India’s independence, the Zomi again realized that their land and all had been ceded to an alien master (Manipur) with whom they had no cultural, religious and linguistic

affinity. What was worse was that they became a minority in their own land. Once again, they were subjugated without a battle, without their consent and without their knowledge. By the stroke of a pen they were separated from their kith and kin. Thus, the freedom of India, Pakistan and Burma was meaningless to them. The only meaning they woke up to was a deeper separation and a clever deceitful bondage.

After the British annexation, the administration of the hill areas of Manipur which had been looked after since 1907, by the President, Manipur State Darbar (Hills) was impressively transferred into the hands of the Manipur Hill Areas Committee, in which all the tribal MLAs (Member of Legislative Assembly) were members. In theory, it promised much, but in practice it had no power to protect the interests of tribal people in Manipur. The Committee hence had no authority to prevent the interest of the tribal. A few instances may be pointed out, thus:

1) The introduction of the infamous Manipur Land Revenue and Land Reform Act (MLR & LR) in the hill areas of Manipur. The Act is seen as a way of legalizing acquisition of tribal lands by non-tribal using the pretext of equality, freedom and development. The tribal in Manipur cannot help but see in all this a sinister design.

2) The recognition of Manipuri/Meiteilon language in the Eight Schedules was a remarkable achievement. However, all that it entails makes the tribal see 'language imposition' as the next inevitable step. This, true or not unfortunately, aroused a sense of fear, insecurity and mistrust towards the majority Meiteis.

3) The concentration of all important offices and industrial establishments:

In the field of Education and Technical Trainings - the Regional Institute of Medical Sciences (RIMS), Manipur University (MU), the Board of Secondary Education, the Council for Higher Secondary Education, the Central Agriculture University, the Engineering College.

In the Field of Factories and Industries - the Spinning Mill, Sugar Factory, Fruit Processing, Poultry Farms, Dairy Farm, MANITRON, MANDTCO, MTDC and others.

Not one sports stadium or sports complex in any of the Hill Districts of the state.

Directorates of all Government Departments located only in and around Imphal.

This centralization only adds to growing divide between the hills and plains.

4) The diversion of major portions of funds allotted by the Central government, for the development of tribal to the plain areas which obviously indicates negligence of tribal areas. This only adds fuel to the fire of discontentment.

5) the cleverly manipulated hopes and its dashing by dangling the carrot of Sixth Schedule for the tribal has snow-balled into great resentment against the majority Meiteis.

Consequently, re-unification has always been the cherished dream of the Zomi of Manipur region. Its most important town, Lamka has been visited by a number of leaders of Zomi political movements, viz. Lt. Col. Son Kho Pau, Son Cin Lian, Ralhmung, Roshang, Thualzen and Laldenga. In fact, Tunkhopum's movement also started from Lamka.

In spite of such urgency and need for having a common goal, the peculiarity of Zomi politics in Manipur has the difficulty of—(a) it may be said that the politics, especially of the tribes that do not belong to the Naga group, continue to be petty because the tribal are, willy-nilly, victims of a subtle divide-and-rule policy engineered by the powers that be; (b) the prevailing success of the cunning divide-and-rule and the cross-pull of Manipur's intricate and volatile politics, make acceptance of a common nomenclature a very tricky and sensitive matter. But as proved earlier Lushai or Kuki or Chin are foreign words. Moreover, ample reasons have been given in the earlier discussion to make one arrive at Zomi as being more accurate, wholesome and meaningful.

Going back a little on the unification movement in Manipur, before Indian independence, Zavum of Thadou clan organized a meeting of most of the Zo tribes in Manipur. The meeting was not successful, as some leaders left because Zavum insisted that Thadou dialect be used as the medium of discussion. He asserted that Thadou were the real Kuki, and their dialect should be used as common language. The Kuki/Thadou rebellion 1917-1919 which was launched by the Kukis against the British in their protest on reluctance of sending Labor Corp to France during World War I do not receive the desired responses from the other Zomi tribes of Manipur.

Unlike Manipur, in Mizoram, in 1935, the YLA (Young Lushai Association) on the strength of reasoning, without much ado, switched over to a new name, YMA (Young Mizo Association), when they realized that the term Lushai/Lusei meant only one tribe of the Zo race. In Burma, the Baptist Convention held in 1953 at Saikah village in Thantlang Township unanimously adopted, on the recommendation by the Constitution Drafting Committee, 'Zomi' to be the national title for the new Baptist Organization. Hence Zomi Baptist Convention (Z.B.C.) came into being. In 1966 (in Burma) the CIO

(Chinland Independence Organization) was changed into Zomi National Front (ZNF). So now, both in the Chin State of Burma and in Mizoram state of India, the question of nomenclature, though controversial, is not an insurmountable issue. The Z.B.C. and CIO having decided in favor of Zomi it is left mainly to the Hmar, Kukis and Thadous to leave aside sentiment; apply reasons and look at the larger picture.

The leaders who walked away from Zavum's meeting formed an organization called 'Khul Union' in the late 1940s. When the Khul Union broke up in 1946, the Zomi of Manipur too broke up. So much so that the Anal, Chothe, Maring, Monsang, Moyon and Kabui who populate the present Chandel District and Tamenglong District of Manipur have since joined the Naga polity and now prefer to be identified as Naga. The Aimol, Chiru, Kom, Purum and some other smaller tribes are still unable to decide although there are enough evidences that they are descendent of Zo. Whereas, some of the Thadou speaking tribes are still unable to accept any other nomenclature, except Kuki, in their intense desire to impose the name Kuki they have driven others away. The Thadou speaking tribes even took up arms to force other tribes to accept Kuki as a common nomenclature without considering the fact that the main objection by all to the term Kuki, is that, as a word, it was an imposed name and it does not exist in any Zomi dialect.

In fact, in the 1940s and 1950s almost all the ethnic groups formed independent and distinct organizations of their own. They appended the term 'national' or 'union' or 'council' to their organizations eg. Tedim Chin Union, Vaiphei National Organization, Simte National Council, United Zoumi Organization, Gangte National Union, Gangte Tribes Union, Hmar National Union, Hmar People's Conference, Mizo National Front, Paite National Council etc. The coming into existence of all these organizations is proof enough of the rejection of the term 'Kuki'.

The plain truth is that the Kuki nomenclature, which had all the advantages, that another nomenclature viz. Naga had, has been unable to gather under its umbrella the other tribes of Zo ethnic origin who have so much in common. The aforementioned tribes, instead, desired a more meaningful, acceptable and indigenous nomenclature. Thus the profusion of organizations is but the search for an identity of their own, no matter how small. For each organizations projects and protect their shade of distinctiveness in dialect, dress, dance, custom, culture, and so on. This inevitable for lack of an attractive unifying factor has created complex and often leads to petty divisions in all spheres of tribal life. Cynically speaking, the most communalist has become the best politician for the community he belongs. Leaders at a Congress talk about unification and 're-unification' but when they go back to their respective communities, they nourished their petty communities.

Today, things have changed – the feeling of Zomi nationalism is growing stronger and stronger among the Zo tribes. There is increasing awareness of their true national identity. The impending threat of extinction - unless they are united under a common platform for a common political objective, beckons them to come in the Zomi fold. The initiative taken by the Zomi National Congress (ZNC) for national awakening during 1970s and 1980s has crystallized into an organized unification movement, under the banner of Zomi Re-unification Organization (ZRO). The Zomi Tribes who, in the past, rejected Mizo or Zomi as their nomenclature are now realizing and accepting the strong historical grounds for calling themselves Zomi. They have thus gone to the extent of changing the name of their tribe-based organizations, viz. Simte National Council to Simte Tribes Council, Paite National Council to Paite Tribes Council, etc, this change has come about because they now accept 'Zomi' as their national name. Even those few tribes who have not yet taken to the nomenclature do agree that they are the descendent

of Zo. Today, the ZRO is continuing its relentless efforts to bring all the Zomi tribes under a common platform for the ultimate objective of reunification. As of today, more and more tribes from Burma, India and Bangladesh are actively participating in the movement.

(Source: Zomi Onlinelibrary. com)

APPENDIX H
INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRES

I have prepared questionnaires according to the person to be interviewed, such as revivalist, church leader, layperson, hymn writer and literature secretary.

To the Revivalist

1. Can you tell me about your background in short?
2. How do you become a revivalist and how have you been involved in revival movement?
3. What are the main characteristics of revival according to your experience among the Zomi?
4. In your opinion, did the revival movement of 1970s change the life of the church among the Zomi? To what extent?
5. In your opinion how far did the revival movement of 1970s change the social life of the Zomi as a whole?
6. Do you see that the revival movement has changed theological concepts among the Zomi?
7. Do you feel that the church has given you good cooperation in your activity as a revivalist?
8. In your opinion do you see that the revival movement has a lasting impact on the Zomi?
9. Do you feel that the revival movement is still continuing today? If not what is the reason?
10. What will be the role of revival in the Zomi church in future?
11. Do you have anything to say to the church as a revivalist?

To Church Leader

1. What was your role during the revival movement of 1970s? How far has it affected your ministry?
2. In your opinion do you feel that the revival movement of the 1970s has impacted the Zomi church constructively? If not what was the reason? If so what are the areas that the revival movement most benefited?
3. As you see the revival movement, what are the main characteristics of the Zomi revival?
4. According to your opinion what are the impacts of the revival on the Zomi church?
5. What are the impacts of the revival on the Zomi society?
6. Do you see that the revival movement changes theological concepts among the Zomi?
7. Do you feel that the revivalists were cooperative with the church?
8. What advice would you give to future leaders in relation to revival movement?

To Hymn writer

1. Can you tell me your background in short?
2. How did you become a hymn writer?
3. Do you also sing?
4. How many songs you have composed so far?
5. What are the topics of your songs?
6. Among your songs which one is most appreciated by the people? What is the theme of that song?
7. Do you feel that the revival movement has a connection to hymn writing?
8. How far have revival songs affected the life of the Zomi church?
9. How many albums have you produced so far?
10. What do you want to say to future singers or hymn writers?

To Literature Secretary

1. What is the background of your Literature Society?
2. How many books have been written in Zomi each year?
3. Do you see any connection between literary work and revival among the Zomi?
4. In your opinion what kind of books have been produced most and what kind of books are most needed for the Zomi?
5. Do you think hymn books and Bibles have been adequately produced in Zomi?
6. What is your target for the Zomi in relation to literature ministry?

To Lay Leader

1. How did you become Christian?
2. What is your role in the church as a lay leader?
3. Do you think that the revival movement of 1970s impacted the Zomi church?
4. In your opinion is there any difference in the social life of the Zomi before and after the revival movement?
5. Do you see that the revival movement has changed theological concepts among the Zomi?
6. What is the main emphasis of the revivalist during the revival movement?
7. Do you have anything to say to the church as a revivalists for the future?

GLOSSARY

Daak	—Small gong
Dawi (s)	—Evil spirit
Kawsah	—Animals killed on funeral day, farewell feast
Khuado Pawi	—Harvest Festival usually in October
Khuang	—Drum, local drum
Laipian	—Script Creator
Misikhua	—Abode of the dead
Mithun	—Bull, local animal
Pasian	—God
Pianglui	—Non-convert or unconverted
Piangthak	—Born again, new convert
Pusha	—High God
Shah	—High God
Sialki	—Mithun's horn used as music
Sialsawm Pawi	—Spring festival for good harvest
Tonh or Tong	—Great feast (Feast of Merit)
U (0o)	— (Lit.) Elder brother/sister, respect for husband
Zam	—Gong, big gong
Zehtang	—Sacred day observed during sacrificial act
Zo	— (Lit.) higher altitude, hill area, highlander
Zomi	—Hill people, hillmen
Zu	—Local beer made of fermented grain

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VITA

The seventh of nine children of the late Khup Khaw Nang and Dim Niang, G. K. Nang was born in Murlen Village, Mizoram, India in 1951. By 1963, Nang was a teacher at L. P. School in his village until 1967, when he left his teaching post due to the insurgency movement by the Mizo National Front. Yet, he continued to pursue his education and graduated in 1969 from Sielmat Christian High School in Lamka, Manipur.

G. K. Nang responded to God's calling—rather than pursue medical studies as originally planned—to attend Eastern Theological College in Jorhat with the support of the Chin Baptist Association, Manipur. From there, he graduated with a Bachelor's in Theology in 1975. Also, he completed his Bachelor's of Divinity from United Theological College, Bangalore, in 1983. Later, he was awarded a Master's in Theology from International Baptist Theological Seminary, Rueschlikon (Zurich), Switzerland in 1990.

After working in various capacities including youth ministries, finance and administration as the executive secretary in the Chin Baptist Association from 1975-1995, he was sent to care for newly planted churches in Mizoram in 1995. These churches are called the Zomi Baptist Church. He spent ten years in Mizoram as pastor and executive secretary.

Nang was instrumental in the production of the Tedim Bible by serving as one of the proofreaders, and in the production of the pocket-sized New Testament. He also translated a number of books from English to Tedim and initiated the printing of Sunday school materials in the Tedim dialect. In 1976, he served as founder and editor of the *Lungdamna Aw*, a monthly magazine of the Chin Baptist Association. He was also editor of *Laitai* the monthly journal of the Zomi Baptist Church for six years. He published in Tedim *Ka Khualzinna Gamte* [My Traveling Experiences] in 1994 and *Zomi Lasiamte Tangthu* [Story of Zomi Talented Musicians] in 2009. Nang has also written a number of articles for journals and magazines. For his online articles and writings, he was awarded "Writer of the Year, 2009" by the Zomi International Network (an organization of about 3000 members).

He has three children with his first wife Ning Khan Ciin whom he married in 1978. Unfortunately, she passed away of cancer in 1994. He remarried with Ching Za Man in 1995, with whom he has two daughters. In all, G. K. Nang has five children and four grandchildren. Currently, he and his family have been based in Shillong, Meghalaya, Northeast India since 2005.