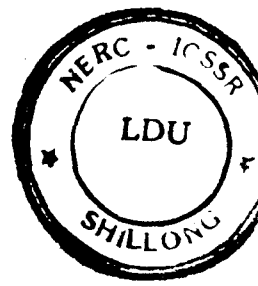


EDUCATION  
AND  
MISSIONARIES  
IN  
MIZORAM

J.V. HLUNA



# **EDUCATION AND MISSIONARIES IN MIZORAM**

**Dr. J. V. Hluna**

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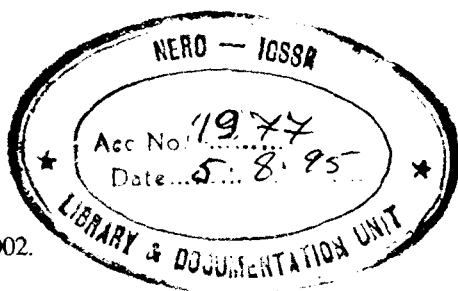
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# Chapter One

## Introduction

### The Land and the people

Mizoram, known as the Lushai Hills District till 1954, is now a State in the Indian Union<sup>1</sup>. Situated between 20° 20'N, and 24° 27'N, and between 92° 20'E and 93° 27'E, it covers an area of 21,090 square kilometers<sup>2</sup>. It is bounded on the north by the Cachar District of Assam and by the State of Manipur, on the east and the south by Burma, and on the west by Bangladesh and the State of Tripura.

#### *Physical Features*

Mizoram is isolated from the mainstream of Indian life both by its geographical isolation and its difficult terrain. Steep mountain ranges running in a north-south direction are separated by parallel plunging valleys of rushing rivers. The heights of the mountains vary from 700 metres to 2,300 metres, and there is only one plateau of about 12 square kilometres in the eastern Champhai Valley<sup>3</sup>. Its hills are covered by tropical jungles. Lakes are few and Palak, the biggest one is situated in the southern part of Mizoram.

Large varieties of wild animals are found in the jungles of Mizoram. These include tiger, wild dog, wild bear, wild cat, vermin, varieties of monkeys and *mithuns*. Formerly elephants, deer, wild-dogs, porcupines and rhinoceros were in abundance. Besides several varieties of birds, jungle fowls, several kinds of pheasants, leopards, black bear, etc., are also found<sup>4</sup>.

#### *Climate*

Lying astride the Tropic of Cancer, Mizoram has a moderate climate - temperature averaging 16° C in winter, and 25° C in summer. Monsoon from May to September brings an average annual rainfall of 254 centimetres, leaving the winter season rain-free<sup>5</sup>. During the monsoon, it rushes down the hill-sides causing some rivers to rise as high as sixty to eighty feet<sup>6</sup>. Due to variations in altitude, some places

in Mizoram have tropical and sub-tropical climate whereas the rest are temperate and sub-temperate.

### *The Mizos*

The word 'Mizo' is a generic term applying to all the Mizos living in Mizoram and its adjoining areas of Manipur, Tripura, the Chittagong Hill Tracts and the Chin Hills. 'Mizo' literally means (*Mi* = people, *zo* = highland) 'Highlander', an apt term to describe the short, stocky, muscular people who, with great physical vigour, easily climb the steep hills.

The Mizos include several sub-tribes. The Military Report of 1930 recorded 15 sub-tribes, viz<sup>7</sup>.

Lushai	Punte	Poi
Khawhring	Renthlei	Lakher
Khiangte	Chawngthu	Paihte
Roite	Ralte	Hmar
Darlong	Ngente	Thado

To this list, Zatluanga, a Mizo historian adds four more sub-tribes Pautu, Tlau, Zawngte, and Vangchhia<sup>8</sup>. Other historians like Liangkhaia<sup>9</sup>, V. L. Siama<sup>10</sup>, and K. Zawla<sup>11</sup> add some more sub-tribes such as Mirawng, Darlawng, Bawng, Biate, Hrangkhawl, Dawn, Tlanglau and Mualthuam.

Ethnological evidence indicate that the Mizos are of Mongoloid stock having "straight, coarse black hair, dark brown eyes, sparse beard, complete and sharp fold of the eyelid across the inner couthus and tendency towards a medial downward slant of the palpebral opening, a frontal and lateral projection of the molars, shovelling or inner scalloping of the incisors, light tawny or yellowish skin colour and round headdress"<sup>12</sup>.

### *Language*

The Mizo language belongs to what some have described as the Assam-Burman branch of the Tibeto-Burmese family of languages<sup>13</sup>. The following few words are given below to illustrate that the Mizo and the Burmese languages are of the same family, thereby suggesting the

fact that their forefathers had in the long past been living together in a common land<sup>14</sup>.

Mizo	Burmese	English
Kun	Kun	to bend
Kam	Kam	bank (of a river)
Kha	Kha	Bitter
Sam	Sam	Hair
Mei	Mi	fire
Meikhu	Mikhu	smoke
Hmui	Mhwe	sweet smell
Vawk	Wak	pig
That	That	to kill
Rawng	Ron	colour
Thla	la	moon
Ni	Ne	Sun

The Mizo sub-tribes could be termed as dialectical groups since each of them had their own dialect. After crossing the river Tiau, they found a place for permanent settlement where the dialect of the largest and the ruling group i.e. the Lusei (or Lushai ) called *Duhlian* served as the *lingua franca* of the people and it comes to be known as *Mizo tawng* (i.e. Mizo language). In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, this dialect had absorbed almost all other dialects. A few sub-tribes who are confined to a particular area and are a majority in that area, however, still use their own dialect. But all of them can speak and understand the Duhlian dialect.

### *Folktales*

The Mizos are rich in folktales. Most of these are now collected and compiled into books. The Mizo folktales may be classified into three main categories : (1) legends of creation, and other phenomena; (2) those relating to hills and rivers, and (3) those similar to Uncle Remus' tales of Brer Rabbit<sup>15</sup>.

One of the most popular and best known folktales of the Mizos is about *Chemtatrawta*. It relates to a quarrel between a hunter named Chemtatrawta and a prawn. As the story goes on, the case becomes

more and more complicated as many others like a climbing plant, a jungle cock, an ant, a wild pig, bats, an elephant, and an old woman are involved in the case. *Chemiatrawta* is probably the most popular bedtime story told by the Mizo mothers to put their children to sleep.

### *Population*

The total population of Mizoram in the 1981 Census is 4,93,757 with 2,57,239 males and 2,36,518 females, and the density of the population is 23 per square kilometre<sup>16</sup>. The growth-rate of population is high. In 1901, the population numbered 82,435 and the density was 11 per square kilometre. In the decade of 1951-61, the growth rate was 35.61 percent, and in 1961-71 it was only 20.91 per cent. But in 1971-81, the growth rate rose again to 46.75 per cent<sup>17</sup>. With the exception of a very small number of immigrants, the inhabitants of Mizoram are Mizos. B. C. Allen found in 1901 that 93 per cent of the inhabitants of Mizoram had been born inside the boundaries of the district. The bulk of the immigrants at that time came from Nepal and served in the Military Police battalion<sup>18</sup>. The non-Mizos at present included Nepalese, Bengalees, Santalees, Assamese and Chakmas who formed about 16 per cent of the total population in 1981. Of these the Chakmas alone constitute about 8 per cent<sup>19</sup>.

Since 1966 the percentage of the urban population increased greatly. The disturbance which broke out in that year made life insecure in the rural areas and also caused the scarcity of foodstuff. As a result many families moved out from the villages and settled in the towns where life was comparatively peaceful. The two towns of Aizawl and Lunglei alone account for 19-20 per cent of the total population of the territory. 72.11 per cent of the population are cultivators, and 27.86 per cent belong to other professions. Women workers number as high as 57.70 per cent of the total woman population<sup>20</sup>.

The following table shows the increase in population since 1901<sup>21</sup>.

Years	Males	Females	Total	Decadal variation	
1901	39,004	43,430	82,434	—	
1911	43,028	48,176	91,204	+	8,770
1921	46,652	51,754	98,406	+	7,202

1931	59,186	65,218	1,24,404	+	25,998
1941	73,855	78,931	1,52,786	+	28,382
1951	96,136	1,00,066	1,96,712	+	37,926
1961	1,32,465	1,33,598	2,66,063	+	75,351
1971	1,70,824	1,61,566	3,32,390	+	66,327
1981	2,57,239	2,36,518	4,93,757	+	1,61,367

### *Dwellings*

The Mizo villages are built along the ridges of the mountains on the top of the hills where the air is fresh. These sites were chosen in the olden days primarily considering the strategy of defensibility against surprise raids by the enemies. This, of course, has a disadvantage because water supply is a perennial problem, and it has to be fetched from springs below in bamboo tubes.

Houses are usually built in two parallel rows along a ridge, with a road in between. Formerly, the chief's house and *Zawlbuk* were constructed at the centre of the village. The chief's house usually accommodated a number of people who could not support themselves, and as such it was usually large. Houses are set on posts fixed on the slope of the hill, and some of them have to be very high to level the floor of the house. The length of the posts depends on how steep the slope of the hill is. Wooden pillars provide the framework of the houses, and woven bamboo matting forms the walls. Roofs are made of bamboo and thatch. An open verandah outside the main door provides a place for grinding rice, spinning cotton, and weaving cloth. More recently, houses in larger towns are made of mud-brick with asbestos or corrugated iron roofing. A number of re-inforced cement concrete buildings are coming up these days. But the materials for these houses not being locally available are brought in from other parts of India.

The churches and school buildings are now the most important buildings of every village. The church is usually built on the highest spot within the village and the best materials available are used for its construction. The school building are also big enough so as to accommodate all the village children who are of school age.

### *Occupation*

The economy of Mizoram is predominantly agricultural. For centuries the people have been practising slash - and - burn shifting

cultivation, know as *jhuming*. Each village controls a certain extent of land, of which a portion is cultivated each year. When the spring comes the village council or council of elders arranges a day when every family makes a choice by drawing of lots. After the selection of plots by each family, the trees and bushes are cut down and left to dry up. On a chosen day such areas are burnt, and everyone is alert on such days so that the fire may not affect the reserved forests. The burning not only kills weeds and insects, but also provides ash for fertilizer<sup>22</sup>.

Mizoram is no longer self-sufficient in food. Flat areas, suitable for terrace cultivation, are scarce. The *juming* system being a wasteful type of farming does not produce enough food for the whole population, and terracing, introduced to increase food production mainly depends on monsoon rain. The poor mountain soil requires chemical fertilizers which are imported from other parts of India, and this has proved to be very expensive.

A few small-scale industries based on agricultural and forest products have been introduced. These include fruit preservation, food processing, lumbering, tea, coffee and rubber plantations, rearing cocoon for silk and bee-keeping. Handloom materials and handicrafts of Mizoram are being sold throughout India, and even abroad on a small scale<sup>23</sup>.

### *Origin and Migration*

Where did the Mizos originally come from is a matter of conjecture. According to tradition, the Mizos come out of a very big stone cave called *Sinlung* or *Chhinlung*<sup>24</sup> Mizo folk-lore and folk-songs throw some light on this claim. One of which runs<sup>25</sup> -

Kan siengna Sinlung ram hmingthang,  
Ka nu ram ka pa ram ngai.  
Chawngzil ang kokir thei changsien  
Ka nu ram ka pa ram ngai.

When translated it means,

Famous Sinlung - my motherland,  
Home of my ancestors,  
Could it be called back like Chawngzil  
Home of my ancestors ?

This song clearly describes the feeling of the Mizos at Chhinlung. It expresses their pride and a deep attachment to that place, and also a wish to go back there if they could.

A minor section of the Mizos think that they are the descendants of a lost tribe of Israel. Whereas some of them claim to be the descendants of the tribe of Mannaseh<sup>26</sup>. There is not enough evidence to substantiate such claims, and nothing is gained by making such claims.

*The Burma Census Report of 1891* which is taken to be the most reliable source, says that the Kukis of Manipur and the Lushais of Bengal and Assam, and the Chins originally lived in Tibet and are of the same racial stock<sup>27</sup>.

#### *The Kabaw Valley or the Shan State Settlement*

The Mizo tradition does not go much beyond their settlements in Burma. On the basis of their folksongs, it is learnt that there was a big settlement in the Kabaw valley extending upto Khamti area in the north and so far south as Kale in Burma. It can be gathered that this settlement was ruled by three Mizo chiefs. Luahpuia ruled the town of Khampat, Zingthloh ruled in the north believed to be the Khamti area and Lersia ruled at Kale town which is now identified as Kalimyo. The following verse bears support to these accounts,

*Sima Lersia, hmara Zingthloh,  
Khawma laiah Luopui (Luahpuia)  
Luopui-in lenbuang a phun,  
Thlanga pualrangin ilan e*<sup>28</sup>.

(Lersia in the south, Zingthloh in the north,  
And in between Luopui (Luahpuia) ruled  
Luopui planted a banyan tree  
Whereon hornbills from the west feed.)

The victory songs still sung to praise their valour suggest much fighting between them and the Shans who occupied the northern part of the Kabaw valley.

Shan khua thlang-fa pu tling tleng e,  
 I do thlunglu bakin salh;  
 Ka sawmfa thlaw, ka lami tha  
 Thal khatin lan eih de ning<sup>29</sup>.

(Sons of western Shan state looked honest,  
 But you sounded out only war,  
 With abundant harvest and men killed in war  
 We will make of you a spring time Festival.)

The Mizos lived in the Kabaw valley for about 200 years, but had to leave that place due, perhaps, to the outbreak of a severe famine, known to them as *Thingpui Tam* when they suffered immensely<sup>30</sup>. The sad plight is expressed in the following verse:

*Shan khuoah lenpur a tlakin,  
 Mi raza ilan thiera e;  
 Chung Pathienin Shan Zuk siem  
 Shan khuo lung ang ngir na e*<sup>31</sup>.

(Shan village, built by God,  
 Stood like a rock;  
 Then on came a famine,  
 From Shan people fled.)

Tradition says that the Mizos, before their dispersal from the Kabaw valley, planted at Khampat a banyan tree known to them as *Khampat Bungpui* to commemorate their dispersal with a promise that they would come back to that place for resettlement when its branches pointing towards three directions touched the ground<sup>32</sup>.

In their incantations in some sacrificial ceremonies recited by the Mizo priests, reference to their settlement in Shan land is come across thus :

*A khu khual khu khawi khual maw ?  
 San khual ka ni, Sanzawl khual ka ni ;  
 Keimah Sanzawl chungtlang muvanlai,  
 A thla chante kan ang na law maw*<sup>33</sup> ?

(From whence that stranger came ?  
I'm stranger from Shan  
I am a skylark of Shan State,  
Do I not look like its variegated wings ? )

This song reveals their history about the Shan State settlement where the Mizos lived quite prosperously in the bygone days.

### *Chin Hills Settlement*

Down from the Kabaw valley the Mizos moved in groups, tribe by tribe at different times<sup>34</sup>, to the present Chin Hills of Burma where they established villages and settled down clan-wise, and thus gave clan-names to their villages. The Lusei clan settled at Seipui, the Khawkaw at Khawrua, the Ralte at Suaipui and Saihmun, the Belmual at Lungchhuan, the Hahnar, the Chuaungo and the Chuaungang at *Hahnar-tilang*<sup>35</sup>.

It is mainly due to the nature of the hill ranges in the Chin Hills that the Mizos lived in scattered villages, and therefore could not build a big town like that of Khampat. During the Chin Hills period, however, the Mizo population greatly increased owing to the growing prosperity and comparative peace despite inter-clan feuds. At the same time the scattered nature of their villages encouraged the growth of clanism or separatism leading to disunity among the Mizos.

### *Mizoram Settlement*

It is believed that the Mizos entered present Mizoram at three different times and accordingly they were known by three different names<sup>36</sup>. Those who came first were called "Old Kuki" and are Hrangkhawl, Biate, Langrawng, Pangkhua and Mawk. The "New Kuki" are the Changsen, Thado and some others. The coming of the "Old Kuki" to the present Mizoram could not be later than 15th century A.D. or the beginning of the 16th century A.D. for they find mention in the account of the Tipperah Raja, Chachag, who ruled at the beginning of the 16th century A. D. Sopitt brings the date to the middle of the 16th century<sup>37</sup>. The third group, the Lushais came to the present habitat between the 17th century by driving out the "New Kuki" and other tribes<sup>38</sup>. The migration from the Chin Hills to Mizoram was probably due to the constant pressure of the Pawi tribes like Zahau, Hualngo, Tlang Tlang of Falam.

On their arrival at the present habitat, they fought and defeated the earlier clans under the leadership of the Sailo clan and this made the Sailo chiefs virtually the rulers over the people.

### Socio-Political Institutions

A solid patriarchal hierarchy has been found in the Mizo society. In the past, the father exercised arbitrary powers in the family. On the death of the father, the power devolved usually to the appropriate person, who like the father, exercised the power in the same manner. Even the right to inheritance was reserved for paternal descent. The youngest son inherited most or all of the father's property and thus he was responsible to look after his parents in their old age. In the absence of a son, the nearest male relative became the heir. The line-age was also traced through the line of a male descendant.

Marriage is usually endogamous regarding the clan, and exogamous regarding the family<sup>39</sup>. The male's family pays a marriage price in bull or cow, or its equivalent in rupees, to the girl's family. The marriage price is distributed among the girl's relatives, who then assume a responsibility for the girl if she should fall into difficulties. In case of divorce in which the wife is at fault, the marriage price must be returned to the husband's family.

#### *Ethics of Tlawmngaihna*

The Mizo code of all activities is known as *Tlawmngaihna*. The word is so peculiarly Mizo in sound, meaning and connotation that it seems to have no exact equivalent in any other language<sup>40</sup>. It is an outstanding characteristic of the Mizo society and is deeply rooted in it. In theory; *Tlawmngaihna* should enter into every area of Mizo life. A man who practises this code is respected. It calls upon everyone to be "courteous, considerate, hospitable, kind, unselfish, prompt, courageous, with endurance, honest, sincere, industrious and must always be ready to help others to the greatest extent"<sup>41</sup>. A perfect Mizo is one who has *tlawmngaihna* in the fullest measure. In certain contexts, it is synonymous with the word 'Mizo' itself when used as an adjective. Thus when one says of a Mizo that he is un-Mizo, it is meant that that man is lacking in *tlawmngaihna*, and to a Mizo there can hardly be a worse censure<sup>42</sup>.

A lot of achievements have been made through *tlawmngaihna* in the recent past. All the construction of roads, houses, water-holes, digging of graves, etc. were done in response to a very judicious appeal of *tlawmngaihna*. People have expressed the view that *tlawmngaihna* is now on the wane, and may not continue much longer to be the moral force that it has been in the Mizo society. The late poet Rokunga's invocation to precious *tlawmngaihna* to dwell among the Mizos finds a sounding echo in the heart of every Mizo. It runs thus :

*Aw tlawmngaihna hlu, aw nunna par,  
Kan tlang ram nuam hmun sangah hian,  
Kum sang tam tak pawh ral mahse,  
Zamual liam lovin ding reng rawh.*

(Oh, precious *tlawmngaihna*, blossom of life,  
Though thousand year may pass,  
We bid you to dwell ever with us,  
In our pleasant highland abode.)

#### *Village Administration.*

Before the British rule started in Mizoram, each village was an independent unit under its *Lal* (chief), who was aided by his council of *Upas* (elders) and *Puithiam* (village priest). Decisions were usually made by the consensus of this council which met in the Chief's house or *Zawlbuk* (bachelors' dormitory). The next morning a *Tlangau* (village crier) would go down the street announcing the decision. The opinion of the strongest warriors of the villages exerted considerable influence on the decisions made by the Chief and his council. Though the Chieftainship was abolished by the Government of India in 1955, the old village council provided the basis for local democratic organisation<sup>43</sup>.

#### *Zawlbuk*

*Zawlbuk* primarily served as a common dormitory for all the young lads of the village<sup>44</sup>. Except the children who were below ten years of age, all the un-married males in the village were under the discipline of *Zawlbuk*, their lives being almost completely shaped according to the practices and convention prevailing therein.

Even though *Zawlbuk* was under the overall authority of the village chief, it was placed directly in the charge of *Val Upa*,<sup>45</sup> the man who established himself as the most industrious and efficient organiser as well as the most courageous and skilled hunter amongst the group. There were two distinct groups in *Zawlbuk*, those who were above the age of ten called *Tlangval*, and those below ten called *Thingnawi fawm*<sup>46</sup>. No woman, young or old should visit a *Zawlbuk*<sup>47</sup>.

*Zawlbuk* was a large public building almost invariably situated at the central place of the village and was very near to the chief's house. As a social institution, *Zawlbuk* had a three-fold function. It served as sleeping quarters and recreational centre for unmarried as well as young married men. It imparted training and disciplined the young boys. It also served as an inn for visitors from outside the village. *Zawlbuk* was, therefore, a very powerful institution which exercised the greatest sway in establishing social norms and customs among the Mizo people.

*Zawlbuk* was the best indigenous institution in early Mizo society. It functioned like a boarding house of modern day public schools, the main differences being that the activities and the discipline prevailing therein were all conducted through self-government. It was indeed a highly potent instrument for the overall social education of the village folks and succeeded magnificently to weave out the pattern of their personality wherein the claims and requirements of a family and those of a village as a society were nicely harmonised<sup>48</sup>.

Even though the *Zawlbuk* had no formal arrangement for the education of its inmates, the activities the boys performed their stay in the *Zawlbuk* gave them the required knowledge for playing an effective role in the life of the society. It shaped a boy into becoming a mature adult through a process accepted by the youth without fear or any serious dislike. This is what the *Zawlbuk* with all its corporate living and functional activities achieved. It provided opportunities to the youth to learn co-operation, fellow feeling, sympathy and tolerance. This was, as it were, the training ground for the youth for all forms of social service. It helped the youths to acquire *tlawmngaihna*.

#### *Warfare and Head-hunting*

Until the British occupation of their land in 1890 the Mizos were known to the outside world as daring head-hunters, whose

periodic raids were a source of terror to their comparatively peaceful neighbours in the low hills and plains of Eastern Bengal and Assam. *The Encyclopedia Britannica* says about the Mizos (Lushais),

"The main occupation of the people is hunting and warfare. From the earliest times the Lushais have been notorious for their sanguinary raids into British territory, which are said to be instigated by their desire to obtain human heads for use at their funeral ceremonies"<sup>49</sup>.

They carried out head-hunting for some reasons. First, it was done not for the sake of the head, but for the sanctity of the head as the seat of the soul. Secondly, much warfare took place as a result of the ever-increasing cycle of revenge for previous killings. The more important motives for head-hunting, according to McCall, were to propitiate evil spirits, to attain *Pialral* (Paradise) after death, to prove prowess over enemies, and to gain the respect of a prospective bride<sup>50</sup>. A man who killed non-Mizos was given higher regard than one who had not, and therefore, when a man did kill a person he brought home the head to show that he was speaking the truth<sup>51</sup>. The Mizos also raided and fought inter-clan wars for loot and slaves as they needed slaves to work in their *jhums* as well as at home<sup>52</sup>. It is evident that killing of people for heads was not the main cause of raids.

In olden days, the weapons consisted of bows, arrows, spears and *chempui* (a kind of broad sword), and later the gun - the flint-lock musket which became their best weapon. Their method of attack was - surprise. Emerging suddenly from the jungle at dawn they attacked on unresisting sleepy villages and carried off their captives, laden with booty.

### *Bawi System*

One of the oldest institutions of the Mizo society was the *Bawi*. A person who surrendered himself to a Mizo chief for any reason was commonly called a *bawi*. If such *bawis* were able-bodied, they were expected to work for their master; and in any case such a *bawi* thenceforward had no anxieties as to his future for the chief provided him with lodge, food and clothing. There were several kinds of *bawis*. The poor orphans, and the destitutes could take refuge in the chief's

house and were called *Inpuichhung bawi*. When a man after committing a crime took refuge in the chief's house no one could touch him because he had protection of the chief and he became *Chemsen bawi*. In war or feud, when a person, after deserting his own party, joined the victorious side and promised to obey the chief, he and his descendants were called *Tuklut bawi*. Generally *bawis* were decently treated, but they remained as *bawis* with their children and descendants unless ransom money was paid to their master for their freedom.

### *Position of Women*

Perhaps, the worst treatment was received by women in the Mizo society. A woman had no right either in the family or in the society. In body, mind and spirit, she belonged from her birth till her death to her father, brother, or her husband. Her menfolk could treat her as they liked and a man who did not beat his wife was scorned by his friends as a coward<sup>53</sup>. A woman possessed nothing though she did most of the work. She began her day's work before dawn and continued it unceasingly till late at night. She might not go to bed till her menfolk retired. The men would sit smoking late, while she cooked the pigs' food for the next day, and then spun the cotton for cloth. She could not go out without the permission of her menfolk.

The following are some of the Mizo phrases and idioms indicating the position of women in the traditional society :

(a) *Hmeichhe finin tuikhur ral a kai lo*

(Women's wit does not go beyond the waterpoint, which is usually just outside the village).

(b) *Hmeichhia leh pal chhia chu thlak thcih an ni*

(A wife and an old fence can be changed at any time).

(c) *Hmeichhia leh chakaiin sakhua an nei lo*

(Women and crabs have no religion).

(d) *Chakai sa sa ni suh, hmeichhe thu thu ni suh*

(Just as crab meat is not counted as meat, woman's word is not regarded as word).

(e) *Nupui vau loh leh vau sam loh chu an pawng tual tual*

(An unthreatened wife and weeds of the field not properly cut are both unbearable).

### *Position of men*

Men always occupied a high and respected position not only in the family, but also in the social life as a whole. They were solely responsible for their family affairs. All hard works like clearing the jungles for the jhum, hunting, fishing, and the like were done by men. In their spare time elderly men used to stay at *Zawlbuk* and bachelors were engaged in courting girls, and sometimes they also accompanied them to the jungle to collect fire woods.

### *Dress*

In early times, both men and women alike kept long hair. A woman wore a kind of skirt called *Siapsuap* - a small piece of broad cloth woven from the reeds or the bark of trees. More than one piece would be worn together, tied round the waist reaching only above the knee. A man had, *Hnawkhal* made of the same material as the women's *Siapsuap* but woven in larger pieces. It was used to cover the upper part of his body to protect him from cold<sup>54</sup>. This was subsequently replaced by a *puanhlap*, an ordinary cloth made of cotton. Later, *dawltrem kawr* was added. In the same way, the woman's dress also improved by the addition of *hmaram pawnfen pawnfen* (petticoat) which was coloured and designed.

### *Games and Sports*

Their traditional sport included different types of wrestling called *inbuan*, *inchai*, and weight lifting called *chawilung*. These were played in the *Zawlbuk* as a matter of routine exercise. Visitors to the village were challenged by the local young men and the competition continued till one of them was defeated. These games were held either in the morning or in the evening.

Among the many games played by the Mizo children, *in-uleu*, *inkawi vawr*, *inbuh vawr*, *invailungthlak*, *in mati*, etc. are common games among the Mizo boys and girls. *Inkawi hnawk* or *inhnawk* meaning a "bean game" was a favourite among boys. Boys also played a *kaihbu* (a spinning top) and *Kalchhet* (stilt).

### *Festivals*

The Mizos had three main festivals which they called *Kut* namely, *Pawl Kut*, *Chapchar Kut* and *Mim Kut*. *Kuts* were the only occasions when they worshipped God corporately and thus had religious significance behind their performance. In these festivals, stories of their sojourn in the fertile valleys of Tiau and Run rivers in Burma replete with anecdotes were enacted<sup>55</sup>. *Pawl Kut* was observed at the end of the harvest and was more a festival for children although the adults too joined in it. *Chapchar Kut* was a spring festival celebrated just before the beginning of jhum cultivation. Before its performance, rice-beer (*zu*) was prepared and the menfolk went out hunting and other eatables were collected for the grand community feasting associated with it. Very often people looked forward to the advent of *Chapchar Kut* with great eagerness as it was the most popular and enjoyable *Kut*. *Mim Kut* was held in honour of the departed souls when the first fruits or crops were ready for the feast. They offered such fruits or crops to the dead ones. Hence, it was sometimes called *Mitthi Kut* (Festival of the Dead).

### *Drinking*

Drinking *Zu* (rice beer) was compulsory at victory celebrations, ordinary social gatherings, the three main ceremonies connected with birth, marriage and death, and at the three annual festivals. All ceremonies and festivals involved feasts and sacrifices with dancing and drinking<sup>56</sup>. Some feasts lasted three or four days, depending upon the quantity of *Zu* available, so that the whole villagemight be drunk for several days at a time. However, drunken brawls were practically unheard of.

### *Dances*

By nature, the Mizos love social gatherings. From the early period, singing, dancing, and drinking *zu* accompanied all social gatherings and in former days was performed only on certain festive occasions. The three most popular dances are *Cheraw*, *Khuallam*, and *Chheith Lam*. *Cheraw* is the most colourful and distinctive dance. Because of the use of long bamboo staves non-Mizos often call it is a bamboo dance. Traditionally, this dance was performed to wish a safe passage and victorious entry into *Pialral* (Paradise) or *Mitthi Khua* (village of the death) for the soul which had just departed from earthly existence. *Khuallam* is a group-dance performed in colourful profiles

to the tune of gongs and drums. Originally, it was a dance performed by the honoured invitees while entering into the arena where the community feast was held. *Chheih Lam* is a dance over a round of rice-beer in the cool of the evening. The lyrics in triplets were normally fresh and spontaneous, and on-the-spot compositions recounting their heroic deeds and escapades, and also praising the honoured guest in their midst<sup>57</sup>. There were often forms of dances like *Puma Zai*, *Sakeilu Lam*, *Sarlam Kai*, *Chai*, which are now strictly preserved and taught in almost all the secondary schools in Mizoram.

## The Mizo Psyche

### *The concept of God*

The Mizos believed in the existence of one Supreme God whom they called *Pathian*, a God of all humanity and goodness<sup>58</sup>. Corresponding to the great God they also imagined that every village had a guardian God who was called by the name *Pathian* and poetically called *Khuanu*<sup>59</sup>. Sacrifice was made only twice in a year to *Pathian* — before and at harvest<sup>60</sup>. They also recognised the presence of other supernatural beings such as *Vanchung Nula* (Maiden of Heaven), *Khuavang Lasi* and *Ramhuai* (Demons or evil spirits). The last one had several forms such as *Tau*, *Chawm*, *Khawhring*, *Phung*, *Hmuithla*. *Lasi* was the guardian spirit of all wild animals<sup>61</sup>. It was believed that hunters who were possessed by *Lasi*, called *Lasi Zawl*, were successful hunters. *Lasis* were numerous in number and inhabited the jungle.

### *Sacrifice to Evil Spirits*

The Mizos believed that life was subjected to the control of a number of spirits who could only be appeased by sacrifices. They believed that every big tree, hill, big stone and such other objects and places were inhabited by various spirits who were responsible for sickness, death, drought, storms, bad crops or accidents which befell the people<sup>62</sup>. They were often careful not to incur the displeasure of the spirits which might harm them. Even before taking meals in the jungle, a small portion of food would be set aside for the spirit by saying *Khuatlai* (meaning 'let the spirit be satisfied'). They, therefore, lived in constant fear and consequently, the pre-Christian religious activities of the Mizos were all centred on propitiating the spirits, and the sorcerer's magic was in demand to determine which animal should be sacrificed to appease a particular spirit<sup>63</sup>.

Of the many sacrifices, *Khal* was a sacrifice to those spirits which were supposed to cause bad health and misfortunes<sup>64</sup>. *Khal* sacrifices were *Ar Khal*, *Vawkte Khal*, *Kel Khal*, *Vanchung Khal*, *Khalchuang* and *Lasi Khal*. During such sacrifices, according to Challiana, no member of the family should speak to strangers for three days<sup>65</sup>. *Daibawl* sacrifice was offered outside the village for the recovery of a sick person. Besides, there were other sacrifices connected with hunting, killing and agricultural prosperity and for various sicknesses. All the sacrifices to spirits were performed by *Bawlpu* or an exorcist<sup>66</sup>.

#### *Priests and ceremonies*

The priests were called *Puithiam* and were responsible for the performance of traditional ceremonies and rituals. Each clan had its own *puithiam* and the method of performance would vary among them. The *Puithiam* occupied an important place in the Mizo society for no religious ceremony or ritual could be performed without him. Saiaithanga says that the *Puithiam* who performed a traditional religious ceremony was responsible for invoking the blessings from God for the people, was called *Sadawt* whereas the other *puithiam* who performed the rituals to propitiate the evil spirits to cure sicknesses were called *Bawlpu*<sup>67</sup>.

Among the series of religious rituals the *Fano Dawi*, was one of the most important ceremonies performed to ensure good crops and to prevent too many mosquitoes, generally taking place in the month of June. Other sacrifices were *Hnuait*, *Hnuaipui*, *Sedawichhun*, *Sekhuang*, and *Mitthi rawp lam*<sup>68</sup>. The Mizos also performed several ceremonies to achieve certain goals in their individual lives. *Khuangchawi* was performed after the repetition of *Sedawichhun*. A man who performed such ceremony was known as *Thangchhuah*<sup>69</sup>.

There was another type of *Thangchhuah* called *Ram lama Thangchhuah*. For this a man had to kill a number of prescribed wild animals such as *Savawm* (bear), *Sakhi* (barking deer), *Sele* (wild gayal), *Sazuk* (Sambar deer), *Sanghal* (wild bear), *Rulngan* (a large poisonous snake), *Muvanlai* (hawk)<sup>70</sup>.

*Thangchhuah* was the most coveted goals which every Mizo longed to perform, and thereby their whole endeavour throughout life centred in trying to achieve this goal.

*Zaudawh* is the highest feast a Mizo could achieve and perform, after the *Khuangchawi* feasts. There were only few who could perform, because it required at least 14 *gayals* and 13 pigs and *zu* (rice beer) of about 1000 *ngan* (pots)<sup>71</sup>. A man who completed the whole series was called *Zawhzawzo* and such men were rare indeed.

### *The concept of life after death*

The Mizos believed in life after death and the existence of *Mitthi Khua* (dead men's village) and *Pialral* (paradise) somewhere beyond this world. The people who earned *Thangchhuah* in this world go to *Pialral* where life was bliss, and others go to *Mitthi Khua* where they continue work and toil like they do in this world<sup>72</sup>. This belief in *Pialral* and *Mitthi Khua* was instrumental in shaping the norms and values of the Mizos.

At death the soul escaped through the crack on the skull and wandered about in the vicinity of the village for three months. During this period, his usual seat at the family meals was kept vacant and some food was set aside. In case of the death of her husband, if a married woman misbehaves with other men during this period she would be treated as an adulteress<sup>73</sup>. In case of an ordinary man, it was believed that his soul was taken to *Rihdil*, a lake in Chin Hills about three kilometres from the present Mizoram-Burma border. After crossing *Rihdil* the soul came to the hill called *Hringlang Tlang*, from where it had the last glimpse of its dear and near ones and became full of sentiments. Here it forgot all its desires and longing as it plucked *Hawilopar* (flower of no turning back) and put it on its' hair. It also drank water of a mythical spring called *Lunglohtui* after which it completely forgot the past and was in haste for its destination<sup>74</sup>. On reaching the gate of *Mitthi Khua*, *Pawla*, giant with a huge pellet-bow met it. If the man whose soul it was, had not performed any ceremony and had not killed a man or animal, *Pawla* shot it severely and the pain would remain for many years. But *Pawla* dared not shoot a *Thangchhuah* at all. He also did not shoot at the souls of infants who died at birth. He may not shoot the soul of a young man who had enjoyed three virgins, or one who had enjoyed seven different women, even if they were not virgins. He, however, always shot at women<sup>75</sup>. From the house of *Pawla*, the road diversified - one to *Mitthi Khua*, the other to *Pialral*<sup>76</sup>.

### Scope and area of study

Before the advent of Christianity, the Mizos were living under constant fear of displeasing the evil spirits which was detrimental for the healthy and free development of their personality. Many of their superstitions were based on their ignorance and lack of understanding of the natural processes. Education which was brought by the Christian missionaries acted as liberating agent from superstitions. It freed men and women from those difficulties and constraints, internal as well as external, which tended to hamper their development.

The people were also ignorant to take proper care of their health. They knew nothing about sanitation and healthy personal habits - nothing about nutrition, proper diet and cleanliness. Major Cole, the Superintendent of Lushia Hills (1906-11) remarked of them as one of the filthiest men on earth<sup>77</sup>. Savidge and Lorrain, when they arrived in 1894, did not see any Mizo remarkable for cleanliness, either as children or adults. As a rule, they said, that a baby was not washed from birth until three years old, and a middle-aged person after becoming forty often bade good-bye to water for the rest of his life<sup>78</sup>. As a result of this ignorance, there was a high death rate especially among the infants.

The absence of political consciousness and the consequent oppression of the people by others in the last period of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, made clear the urgent need for provision of schools in the area. The political system was rigid at the time. No one dared to speak against the chiefs or criticise them for their acts. There was no political agency and no political consciousness to voice the people's aspiration and grievances. Any such voice was silenced by the chiefs and the Superintendents. In one instance, when a politically conscious group from Kulikawn, a locality in the southern part of Aizawl, demanded for representation in the Assam Legislative Assembly, they were imprisoned and they were kept in jail for some time. Such instances clearly depict the conditions of life in Mizoram even in the early decades of the 20th century.

The people of Mizoram were mainly cultivators and the adults hardly found free time to spend with the children. The children were left to themselves to direct them, and there was no school building in which they could be housed and looked after. As a result they either engaged themselves in many anti-social activities or listened to the

silly superstitions and quite often harmful tales of ignorant old persons. They thus developed unreasonable fears and wrong attitudes towards many things and even life itself. It was education that could do away with and reduce the misuse of leisure and make a good use of children's free time.

As already mentioned, during the pre-British period, the Mizos were constantly engaged in warfare and in raids on their neighbours. They knew little about other people and the modern ways of life. The British occupation of Mizo hills in 1890 brought to an end all such raids, and inter-clan fights among the Mizos. The introduction of education slowly broke down their isolation from the rest of the world, broadened their outlook and moulded them as responsible citizens out of a savaged and barbarous race. Education also provided the individuals with the necessary skills in shaping economic, political and sociological structure of their society.

The year 1894 is a significant landmark in the history of the Mizos, for in that year the Pioneer Missionaries came to Mizo Hills, introduced the alphabet and laid down the foundation of education among the Mizos, which ultimately let them to claim the fourth highest literacy percentage among the Indian States. During the next fifty, years, till 1947, which mark the end of the British colonial rule in India, far reaching changes took place in the Mizo society transforming its primitive character to a modern civilised society. Thus education which acted as one of the most important factors in moving individuals from traditionalism towards modernity is the scope of this study.

By the time the Mizos got formal education from the missionaries, other parts of North East India had already established their educational institutions and the government had also established their own institutions and made grants to mission schools. For instance, the first English school in Assam was established at Gauhati in July, 1835 with 58 students, with Mr. Singer, as Headmaster receiving a monthly salary of Rs. 100/-<sup>79</sup>. The educational work among the Khasis was first started by the Serampore Baptist Missionaries in 1833, but was closed down in 1838<sup>80</sup>. In 1841, Rev. Lish of Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Mission started three schools for the pupils of Khasi-Jaintia Hills at Cherrapunji, Mawsmat and Mawmhat<sup>81</sup>. The Mission work in Garo Hills commenced with the arrival of Mr. Stoddard at Tura in 1868. The second Assam Triennial conference, 1898 reported that there were 1180 church members and 1072 students

at 54 schools in Garo Hills<sup>82</sup>. The first school in Naga Hill was opened at Barpathar in 1871 with 39 students<sup>83</sup>. In 1876, another school was started at Kohima and attended by 43 pupils<sup>84</sup>. By 1891-92 there were 40 aided-schools with 686 scholars in Garo Hills, 9 schools with 167 scholars in Naga Hills, and 141 schools with 2881 scholars in Khasi-Jaintia Hills<sup>85</sup>. During the same period, in Mizoram there was neither a alphabet nor formal education in the modern sense.

The Christian missions played a very important role in the introduction and expansion of education in North East India. In fact there is no greater contribution of Christianity to the people of this region than that in the field of education which helped them to adjust and find themselves following the imposition of British administration<sup>86</sup>. In the hill areas, particularly in the southern hills, the Christian educational activities had a greater impact than in the plains due to the fact that the government gave the Christian missions a virtual monopoly on education until Independence. Education, therefore, is considered the most powerful instrument of social change. Such change was more rapid in the hill areas than in the plains.

Today, however, percentage of Christianity as well as literacy is more higher among the Mizos than among other peoples in the hill areas of the North-East. In these areas, too, the missions which began education had the same authority and also received the same amount of encouragement from the government. How did then the literacy percentage among the Mizos become the highest in the North-East with in a short span of time is the question to be investigated in this work ?

In the final chapters entitled "Conclusion" and "Epilogue" a rapid survey of the progress in education after 1947 is made though this is not strictly within the scope of this study. This is done for two reasons. To provide a further account of progress and development that occurred in Mizoram after 1947 when the Missionaries no longer played that active a role and, secondly, the period after 1947 is also very important to the Mizos due to the fact that most of the mission schools were replaced by the government schools. New set ups were introduced as the creation of the Directorate of Education with its various wings - Science Promotion Wing, Scouts and Guides Wing, Physical Education Wing, State Council for Educational Research and training, etc. and also more recently, the opening of a University Campus with post-graduate departments in four disciplines.

Footnotes :

1. By an Act of the Parliament, the name "Lushai Hills" was changed to "Mizo District" in September, 1954. This change was made due to popular demand as the term "Lushai Hills" connotes outdated regime of the autocratic chiefs and of the Superintendents. Whereas "Lushai" comprises only a few clans or sub-tribes, "Mizo" stands for all the hill people of Mizoram. With the implementation of the North Eastern Re-Organisation Act (1971), Mizo District got the status of Union Territory on 21 January 1972, and was rechristened "Mizoram". By an Act of Parliament it was elevated to the status of a State, as defined in the Constitution of India, on February 20, 1987. However, the Mizo people called it "Mizoram" since time immemorial.
2. Government of Mizoram, Department of Economics and Statistics, *Statistical Hand Book*, 1974, p.4.
3. *Ibid*, p.3
4. R. G. Woodthorpe, *Lushai Expedition 1871-1872*, p. 26.
5. Government of Mizoram, Directorate of Information, Public Relations and Tourism (hereafter DIPR&T), *Enchanting Mizoram*, p. 1.
6. Chapman and Clark, *Mizo Miracle*, p. 7.
7. *Military Report on Presidency and Assam District*, Vol. III, Government of India Press, Simla, 1930, p. 201.
8. Zatlunga, *Mizo Chanchin*, p. 3.
9. Liangkhaia, *Mizo Chanchin Bu I*.
10. V. L. Siana, *Mizo History*.
11. K. Zawla, *Mizo Pipute leh an Thlahlute Chanchin*, (Hereafter cited as Zawla, Mizo Pipute).
12. Gordon T. Bowles, *The People of Asia*, p. 343.
13. G. A. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. III Part iii, pp. 3 & 10. Also H.H. Risley and E.A. Gait, *Census of India*, 1901, Vol. I-A, Part II (India), p.162; Peter Kunstadter, *Southeast Asian Tribes, Minorities and Nations*, Vol.1, pp. 79-84.
14. B. Lalthangliana, *History of Mizo in Burman* p. 8.
15. John Shakespear, *The Lushei-Kuki Clans*, Part I, p. 91.
16. V. S. Verma, *Census of India*, 1981 Series I - Paper 3 of 1984, pp. xiv-xvii.
17. Government of Mizoram, *Statistical Hand Book*, 1981, p. 22.
18. B.C. Allen, *Gazetteer of the Lushai Hills*, 1905, p. 25.
19. V.S. Verma, *op. cit*.
20. Government of Mizoram, *Statistical Hand Book*, 1983, p.19.
21. *Census Hand Book (Mizoram)*, 1971 Table 'A' - 11, p.135; Government of Mizoram, *Statistical Hand Book*, 1981 pp.21-22
22. Nirmal K. Bose, *Tribal life in India*, p.13
23. S. C. Sharma, "Industries in Mizoram", *Mizoram Today*, January 21 1975, pp.27-30.
24. The literal meaning of *Sinlung* or *Chhinlung* is "a stone that is covered". It is traditionally regarded as a place from where the Mizos originated. In modern scientific age such statement is hard to believe and it may be absurd to accept that men can come out of a hole. *Sinlung* is a poetical form of *Chhinlung*.
25. Rochhunga Pudaite, *The Education of the Hmar People*, Sielmet : Indo-Burma Pioneer Mission, 1963, p.21

26. Lalpa Zawnehuah Mizoram, p. 11.
27. Betram S. Carey and H.N. Tuck, *Chin Hills*, Vol. I. (1932), p. 1.
28. Haranglien Songate, *Hma- Chanchin*, p. 22.
29. *Ibid*, p. 21.
30. *Ibid*, p. 21
31. *Ibid*.
32. This promise was fulfilled during the first part of the 20th century according to Rev. Thanhanga, *Kawl Rama Mizo Lut Hmasate Chanchin*, Part I, p. 1.
33. K. Zawla, *Mizo Pipute*, p. 10.
34. Thawngliana, *Chin Mizo Chanchinbu (Chin Hills Tlangmite History)*, p.9.
35. Rev. Liangkhaia , *Mizo Chanchin*, 21.
36. E .T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, pp. 44-45; B.C. Allen, *Gazetteer of Bengal and North East India*, p. 458.
37. C. A. Soppit, *A Short Account of the Kuki-Lushai Tribe on the North East Frontier with an Outline Grammar of the Rongkhol- Lushai Language*, p. 7.
38. Directorate of Information, Public Relations and Tourism, Government of Mizoram, *Mizoram : Some Facts*, Pamphlet No. 55, p. 2.
39. J. Shakespear, *op. cit.*, p. 49.
40. Sangliana, *Tlawngaihna and the Mizos*, Mizoram News Magazine, August, 1984.
41. N. E. Parry, *A Monograph on Lushai Customs and Ceremonies*, P. 19.
42. Sangliana, *op. cit.*, p. 39.
43. Nirmal K. Bose, *Tribal life in India*, p. 59.
44. Rev. Zairema, *God's Miracle in Mizoram*, p. 4.
45. *Val* means young man, the short form of *tlangval*, *Upa* means elder. The term *Val Upa* means leaders of youngmen.
46. Such boys were duty-bound to carry out the orders of *tlangvals* in washing their shirts, running on different errands, collecting and carrying firewood for *Zawlbuk*.
47. N. Chatterjee, *Zawlbuk as a Social Institution*, pp. 14 -15.
48. *Ibid*.
49. *The Encyclopedia Britannica*, ninth edition, 1978, "Lushai".
50. A .G. McCall, *Lushai Chrysalis*, p. 38.
51. J. Shakespear, *op. cit.*, p. 59.
52. J. M. Lloyd, *On Every High Hill*, p. 22.
53. Chapman and Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 13.
54. L. B. Thawnga, *The Mizos*, p. 15.
55. Edwin Rowlands, *Report of 1899*.
56. *Ibid*.
57. Government of Mizoram; *Some Facts*, Aizawl : L. rectorate of Information, Public Relations and Tourism, 1985, p. 2.
59. A. G. McCall, *op.cit.*, p. 68, and E.L. Mendus, *The Diary of a Jngle Missionary*, p. 37.
59. Rev. J. M. Lloyd, *On Every High Hills*, p. 19.
60. Grace R. Lewis, *The Lushai Hills*, p. 29.
61. J. Shakespeare, *op. cit.*, p. 68.
62. V. L. Siana, *Mizo History*, p. 25.
63. Grace R. Lewis, *The Lushai Hills*, p. 29
64. J. Shakespeare, *op.cit.*, p. 21.
65. Challian, *Pi Pu Nun*, Aizawl : Lalrinliana & Sons 1982, p. 38

66. Rev. Zairema, 'The Mizos and their Religion' *Mizoram News Magazine*, Winter Issue, No. 2. Directorate of Information & Public Relations (DIPR), Government of Mizoram, Aizawl, nd. pp. 14 -15.
67. Rev. Saiithanga, *Mizo Sakhua*, pp, 9 -10.
68. N. E. Parry, *A Monograph on Lushai Customs and Ceremonies*, p. 91.
69. *Thangchhuah* was a title given to a men who distinguished himself by giving a number of public feasts. The possession of the title was regarded as the passport to *Pialral* (Paradise or abode of the souls of the elite).
70. Challiana, *Pi Pu Nun*, 54 - 56.
71. Rev. Liangkhaia, 'Mizo Sakua' *'Mizo Ziarang'* p.11.
72. Liangkhaia, *Mizo Sakhua*, p. 11.
73. Rev. Zairema, 'The Mizos and their Religion', *Mizoram News Magazine*, Winter Issue, No. 2, D.I.P.R., Govt. of Mizoram, Aizawl, nd., p. 23.
74. J. M. Lloyd, *On Every High Hill*, pp. 20-21.
75. J. Shakespeare, *op. cit.*, p.21.
76. J. M. Lloyd, *op. cit.*, p. 21.
77. Major Cole, in his meeting with Welsh Mission Executive Committee, Shillong, in 1906, was quoted to have said this, and is reproduced in the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist's Foreign Mission Report, 1906.
78. J. H. Lorrain and F. W. Savidge, "Among the Head-hunters of Lushai", *The Wide World Magazine*, Vol. IV, No. 20, November, 1899, p. 380.
79. General Committee of Public Instruction, Bengal, Gauhati School; Jenkins to Southernland, 22 July, 1835, No. 118.
80. Devika Saikia, *Sociology of Elementary Education in Khasi & Jaintia Hills*, unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, G.U. 1978, p. 69.
81. J. H. Morris, *The History of Welsh Calvinistic Methodists' Foreign Mission to the end of the year 1904*, p. 74. (Hereafter cited Morris, *History* ).
82. Viola Kettline G. Momin, *Missioneay Activites in Garo Hills*, (M.A. dissertation, Gauhati University) 1974, pp. 33-34.
83. *Report of Public Instruction, Bengal*, (hereafter cited as R.P.I.B.), 1871-72, Appendix- A, p. 427.
84. *R. P. I. A., 1876-77*, p. 19.
85. *R. P. I. A., 1891-92*, p. 24.
86. Frederick S. Downs, *Christianity in North East India*, p. 263.