

CHAPTER V:

THE MISSIONARY FACTOR

The missionary embarks on no political reforms or agitations; he preaches the Gospel.

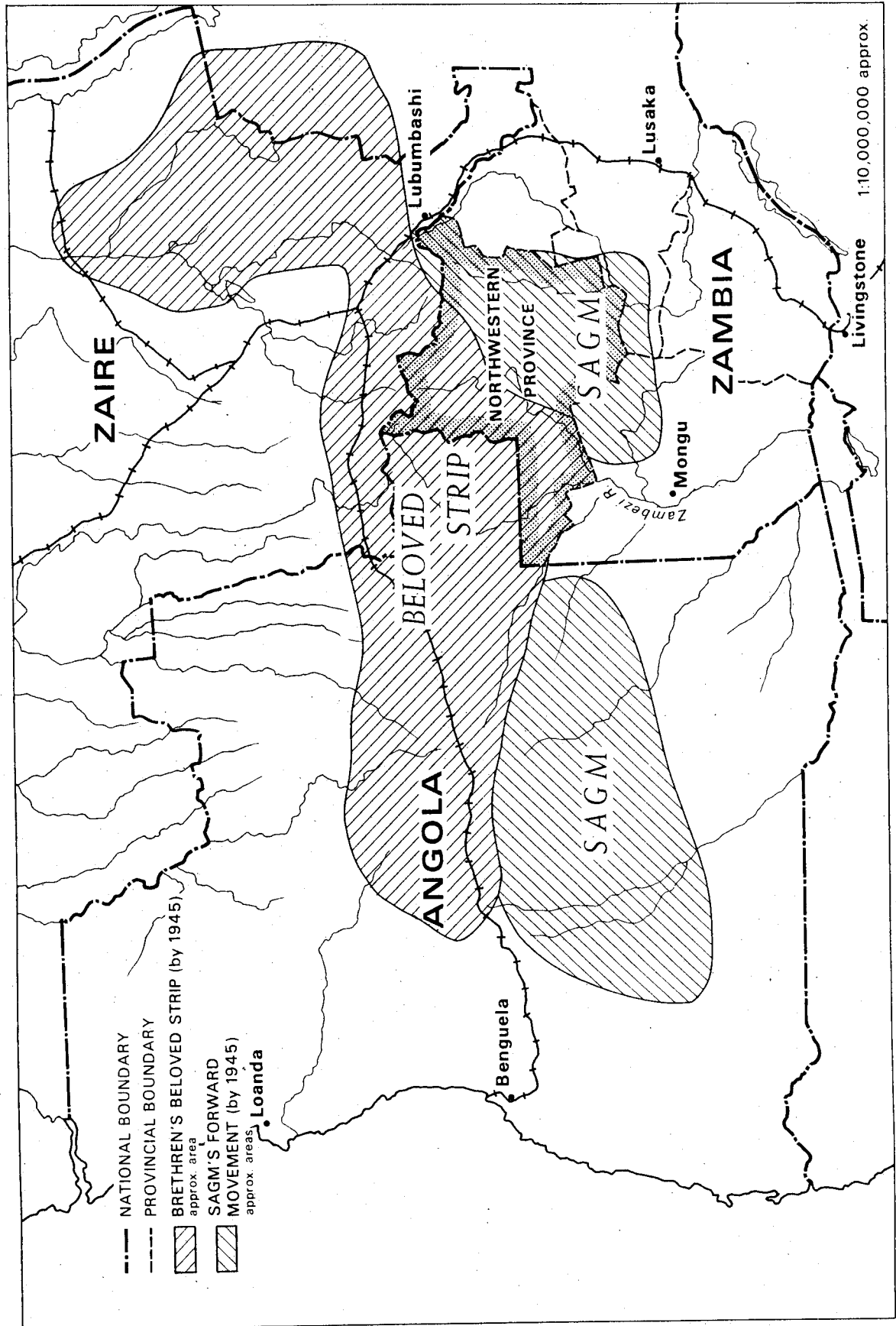
A. R. Short{1}

The missionaries in the NWP differed considerably from most of their missionary counterparts in Northern Rhodesia. Until World War II, the only missionaries were not part of the large Protestant and Roman Catholic mission agencies. Instead they represented two small, loosely organized groups of conservative evangelicals, called by several names, especially the SAGM and the Brethren. They cooperated with each other by not competing for territory and converts. As indicated by Arnot in the last chapter and by Short above, their primary social objective was uplifting people through salvation. {2}

{1} Short, A Modern Experiment in Apostolic Missions (Bristol: W. G. Harris, n.d.), p. 14.

{2} SAGM stands for South Africa General Mission. After the independence period in Africa, the mission became African Evangelical Fellowship (AEF) and the local church in Zambia became the Evangelical Church of Zambia (ECZ). The term Brethren is probably preferable to other choices with regard to the other grouping of missionaries. Many outsiders in Britain called them Plymouth Brethren or PBs. As noted in fn. 4, one Brethren writer called his history . . . the Brethren Movement. As a group of missionaries in Africa, they were first identified as the Garenzanze

MISSION STATIONS: BRETHREN AND SAGM



The Brethren and SAGM mission activities in south-central Africa evolved from Arnot's pioneering efforts, and together their mission field spanned an area of Africa that was larger than Britain and France. The Brethren, by far the larger of the two during the colonial period, covered vast areas of Angola, the Belgian Congo, and Northern Rhodesia, including the western parts of the NWP. To them, this large area became known as the Beloved Strip because so many early and beloved missionaries quickly died from malaria and other unknown or untreatable diseases. The Brethren's early, widespread activities and enormous influence make a remarkable, largely unknown story of the European missionary advance into Central Africa. Brethren missionaries, for example, were probably the most homogeneous non-African body in this whole area of the savanna prior to World War I. The much smaller SAGM mission field adjoined the Beloved Strip. In the NWP, it lay to the south and east; and in Angola, to the south. The SAGM entitled its mission work in these areas as the Forward Movement.

Arnot acquired and sustained a personal interest in the upper Zambezi region, especially the NWP, although most of the Brethren's Beloved Strip lay to the west, north, and

Evangelical Mission. Later, American Brethren began to use the title 'Christian Missions in Many Lands' to satisfy legal requirements. Consequently, CMML is the most commonly used name in Central Africa today. Brethren, however, is possibly the most acceptable for everyone since they add the adjective 'Open' or 'Closed' Brethren to distinguish between two major divisions among their movement-- see fn. 32 later in this chapter.

east of the NWP, and most of the SAGM's Forward Movement focused on Angola. Since his reputation became so great, the NWP remained particularly significant in Brethren and SAGM mission circles. In addition, as the only mission agencies in the NWP for much of the colonial period, the Brethren and SAGM acquired local importance. Even church politics and philosophies assumed wider meaning in NWP society. Above all, these reluctant missionaries became the most important originators of all new social services, especially education and health. Thus the history of Arnot, the expansion of the two missions, and the evolution of the NWP became intertwined. {3}

The Brethren and the SAGM: Background and Entry

Despite their importance in parts of south-central Africa, the Brethren were neither well-known nor well-liked in Britain, in other English-speaking parts of the Empire, or in Western Europe. In contrast, in the polyglot religious confusion of America, they became just one more tiny, conservative, evangelical group. Orthodox British religionists considered them extremists since they adhered to their nineteenth-century revivalist heritage. Strongly

{3}For Arnot's first journeys and the attempt of the colonial powers to involve or use him in their schemes, see Chap. III. The following pages continue the story of Arnot's quest.

egalitarian and dissenting non-conformists who sometimes seemed to be aggressively evangelical, they posed a threat to the established church and to the social order of the nation. Or so more nominal Christians believed.

The Brethren's story began simply in the 1820s in England and Ireland. Several men met privately in Dublin to study the Bible and arrived at doctrinal conclusions that would be held by later believers. They accepted the Bible as the divinely-inspired Word of God and as a literal example for all to follow. They felt that church and state should be separated and that even church organizations were non-Biblical and unnecessary. Believers should simply meet together in local autonomous assemblies--often called "gospel halls"--and each service should be conducted under Divine Inspiration. These men said the Bible did not call for a specially trained and ordained clergy. The 'priesthood' was open to all who believed. Hence as brethren, they started 'breaking bread' without ordained ministers. Without inclining toward emotionalism, they believed that people should regularly assemble to reinforce the spirituality and fellowship of believers and to convert non-believers through evangelistic preaching. {4}

{4} There have been three recent, scholarly historical studies of the Brethren, the first two by Brethren: Frederick Roy Coad, A History of the Brethren Movement: its Origins, its Worldwide Development, and Significance for the Present Day, 2nd ed., (Breter: Paternoster Press, 1976); Harold Hamlyn Rowdon, The Origins of the Brethren, 1825-1850 (London: Pickering and Inglis,

This initial assembly felt that all believers had to help in preaching the Word in each nation and corner of the world. Many years later one prominent Brethren writer explained how the support of mission work had become both a uniting force and a symbol of spirituality within and between different assemblies.

The degree of unity and harmony which has prevailed among [assemblies] is due in no inconsiderable measure to the missionary spirit which has characterized them. Indeed, speaking of individual assemblies, it may be said that their spiritual prosperity has been in direct proportion to their missionary zeal. {5}

More specifically, as a result of this last belief, world-wide missionary efforts originated within the Dublin assembly, especially through the endeavors of Anthony Morris Groves. Like the rest of this little group, Groves believed that the formal missionary societies of Britain were

1967); Peter L. Embley, "The Early Development of the Plymouth Brethren," in Patterns of Sectarianism: Organisation and Ideology in Social and Religious Movements, ed. Bryan R. Wilson (London: Heinemann Educational Books, 1967), pp. 213-243. Numerous older histories are largely superseded by these recent studies. The best early study probably was by Henry Allen Ironside, A Historical Sketch of the Brethren Movement: An Account of its Inception, Progress and Failures and its Lessons for Present Day Believers (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan Publishing House, 1942). One other older work, largely unknown outside Brethren assemblies, is an important discussion of their fundamental teachings. See [A. R. Short] "By a Younger Brother", The Principles of Christians Called "Open Brethren" (Glasgow: Pickering and Inglis, 1913). For an extremely thorough listing of Brethren materials, see Arnold D. Ehlert, Brethren Writers: A Checklist with an Introduction to Brethren Literature and Additional Lists (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Book House, n.d.[1971?]).

{5}W. E. Vine, Preface to Principles of Christians, by "By a Younger Brother," as cited in the previous footnote., p. iii.

unBiblical. When believers listened to God's "go ye therefore," they had to proceed forth on faith alone as the Apostle Paul had done. God would reward their faith by supplying all essential needs. Thus, Groves initially proceeded to Baghdad and later to India. In South India, he laid the foundation for extensive missionary work. More important to believers in Brethren assemblies, Groves' piety and successful dedication to mission work made him the foremost model of an exemplary life. An extraordinary number of individuals heeded Groves' example, and many independent assemblies began springing up in some of the world's least accessible places. {6}

One of those men who heeded the Call was Arnot. Like many others, he simply set out to preach the Word in new lands. Like Groves, he became another role model who helped orient others toward Central Africa. Arnot's pietism, individualism, and apolitical single-mindedness are much more plausible and understandable in this religious setting than in the political setting where the new colonial

{6}Matthew 28:19. For the world-wide Brethren ministry, see Echoes of Service, Turning the World Upside Down (Bath: Echoes of Service, 1972). Since Groves inspired so many later Brethren assemblies, much has been written about him. For a recent article, see Dr. Frederick A. Tatford, "Anthony Norris Groves: His Principles," Christian Missions in Many Lands, 8 (July-August 1979), pp. 17-9. There are quite a few interesting Brethren mission histories. All of these devote a lot of space to Groves. See the following: Thomas Baird, Back to the Beginning: A Miniature Manual of Missionary Memories (New York City: Bookstall, 1919); A. R. Short, A Modern Experiment. For a recent short summary of missionary work, see: John Smart, Historical Sketch of Assembly Missions (New York: CMML, n.d.).

powers made him an unwilling participant. {7}

In 1888 Arnot's importance in the international maneuvering for control of south-central Africa largely ended when he turned over his mission work in Msidi's kingdom to Swan and Faulkner and returned to the United Kingdom. His religious and social significance, however, had just begun. Britain hailed him as a new David Livingstone. Throughout the country, he addressed Brethren assemblies and the general public. Likewise, he spoke to learned societies and the nobility. In the midst of this praise and publicity, he was married, wrote Garenganze, his first major book on his journeys, and laid plans to return to Africa. Within a year, he led a party of thirteen people to the Angolan port of Benquella. Although several members died en route, he and the group slowly moved inland, opening mission stations along the old slave trading route. By the time Arnot died in 1914, twenty mission stations were operating. He had personally initiated many of them. {8}

{7} Numerous popular books and articles, not noted here, have been published about Arnot. For a recent description of Arnot living an exemplary life for modern believers, see Frederick A. Tatford, "Frederick Stanley Arnot" (Bath, May 1981); cited in Christian Missions in Many Lands, Vol. 11, under the title "The Beloved Strip," May 1982, pp. 5-8 and June 1982, pp. 3-6.

{8} The events of 1889-1892 were the focus of Arnot's next book, Bihe and Garenganze (London: James E. Hawkins and Co., 1893). His later works were: Garenganze: East and West (London: Walter G. Wheeler and Co., 1902); and finally, Missionary Travels. See also: Baker, Arnot, pp. 231-73 and Echoes of Service, Turning, pp. 363-81. For brief, personal reminiscences by many of the early pioneers,

Although most of these new stations lay in other parts of the savanna, Arnot's brother-in-law Walter Fisher shared his long-enduring concern for the upper Zambezi region. As part of the group formed in 1889, Fisher helped establish several new stations around the turn of the century. Moving south from Kavungu (Nana Kandundu) in 1899, he opened Kazombo and then Kalunda (Hill) in 1905, both in the extreme eastern pedicle of Angola that is in the upper Zambezi Valley. A renowned medical doctor, he not only wanted to preach the Word of God, but also to build a sanatorium for missionaries who were then dying at an alarming rate from unknown or incurable tropical diseases. The upper Zambezi Valley especially suited him because it was approximately halfway between the east-west string of Brethren stations. But Fisher also desired higher land. After deciding Kalunda was not suitable, he trekked east across the newly demarcated boundary and chose Kalene Hill. Strongly believing that God guided his choice, Fisher moved to Kalene with his family in June 1906 and founded the first mission station in the NWP. [9]

see [Echoes of Service] A-Central-African-Jubilee-1881-1931,-Or-Fifty-Years-with-the-Gospel-in-"The-Beloved-Strip, forward by Montague Goodman (London: Pickering and Inglis, 1932[?]).

[9] For the life story of Dr. Walter Fisher, see W. Singleton Fisher and Julyan Hoyte, Africa-Looks-Ahead: The Life-Stories-of-Walter-and-Anna-Fisher-of-Central-Africa (London: Pickering and Inglis, 1948) and also the Walter

Arnot did not limit his encouragement to Fisher. He remained 'burdened' about this area that included the NWP and felt that the peoples in and near the upper Zambezi Valley, who the BSAC officially regarded as Lozi subjects, had been "deserted and forsaken" by all missionaries except Fisher. Conversely, he realized that the resources of the relatively small Brethren assemblies were too limited to extend much further. Most certainly they could not reach all the peoples south and east of the Beloved Strip, including the Kaonde/Lamba. The Roman Catholics focused his concern, since they seemed likely to enter if no evangelicals did. Spending long periods in South Africa for reasons of health and his children's education, Arnot became acquainted with the SAGM. They helped answer his prayer. {10}

Dr. Andrew Murray, a bilingual Afrikaans/English-speaking South African, guided the SAGM. The group had been formed when Murray and others inspired many loosely-associated, conservative evangelical churches to join in missionary endeavors. Just like the Brethren, the SAGM believed that the Bible was God's divine inspiration. The

Fisher Papers (HM/8), located in the Zambia National Archives (ZNA). He saw medical work as a useful tool in evangelism and in assisting new converts; for example, see the ending to his letter, 14 June 1917, Echees, 46 (Oct. 1917, pt. 1), p. 309.

{10} Baker, quoting from Arnot's diaries, Arnot, pp. 303-4. Pioneer, 22 (Sept. 1909), p. 142; Arnot to Middlemiss, 9 July 1910, in Correspondence Files, Vol. IX, Wimbledon.

missionary's task was simply to preach the Word to the 'heathen'. As the SAGM's Forward Movement expanded north into Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Murray and other leaders visited England and America to gain wider support. At this time, Arnot met them. {11}

Arnot's main SAGM contact, however, was not Murray himself but Albert W. Bailey, an American who had come to South Africa as a missionary less than two years before. After long conversations with Arnot, Bailey felt the 'Divine Call' to extend the SAGM's Forward Movement into North West Rhodesia and then, later on, into the Angolan areas south of the Beloved Strip. Although severe staff and monetary limitations made SAGM's leaders hesitate about letting him go, Bailey finally received permission to become their pioneer among the Kaonde/Lamba. {12}

{11} For information about SAGM's early days, see J. du Plessis, A History of Christian Missions in South Africa (London: Longmans, 1911; reprint ed., Cape Town: C. Struik, 1965) and The Life of Andrew Murray of South Africa (New York: Marshall Brothers Ltd., 1919). For an unpublished history of the SAGM, see John Craig Procter, "The Cross in Southern Africa: A History of the South Africa General Mission" (prepared for the American Council of South Africa General Mission, Inc., Brooklyn, New York, 1945, ts.).

{12} For chronological details of the SAGM's early work in Northern Rhodesia, see the monthly correspondence in Pioneer. For the opening of new mission stations, see Rev. A. W. Bailey's Commission and Conquest in South Africa: An Autobiographical Account of Pioneer Mission Work in Africa, edited by his wife, Metha D. Bailey (Newark, NJ: privately duplicated and bound in book form, 1968). For the first days in Northern Rhodesia, see also a pamphlet by Bailey, "Lessons in an African Prayer School" (SAGM, n.p., n.d.). Bailey was an American who had been a pastor cum missionary in a lumber camp in a remote part of Maine.

Arnot did more than just give Bailey moral support. In 1910 Arnot preceded Bailey, surveyed the area, and spent six more months helping him become settled. Together they chose a site on the Chisalala River, a day's walk south of Kansanshi Mine. The proximity of the mine enabled Bailey to minister to the European and African miners and to the local population. {13}

Later in 1912 Bailey traveled west and opened a station on the Lalafuta River in Kasempa District. After new missionaries arrived, Bailey moved on and founded a new series of stations in Angola. {14}

With Arnot's encouragement, Fisher and Bailey opened two mission stations in the northwestern corner of North West Rhodesia. But Arnot remained unsatisfied. The main Lunda/Luvale area of the upper Zambezi Valley just north of the Lozi was unoccupied, and the perennial Roman Catholic threat renewed his desire to work on his own mission station. In 1913 he finally felt the time had come and

When he heeded the Call and came to Africa, he was about forty years old, a widower with a son--who was left in America. After he assumed a more settled life on mission stations in Angola, he married Mehta Dickinson. Both archival and published SAGM materials seem to indicate that they had even more severe financial limitations before World War II than the Brethren. The latter had several wealthy businessmen in fellowship who periodically poured reasonably large amounts of money into several mission enterprises.

{13} Baker, Arnot, pp. 304-8.

{14} Bailey, Commission, pp. 30 ff.

chose the confluence of the Kabompo and Zambezi Rivers. As a result, Arnot led George Suckling, who had already worked at Kalene between 1908 and 1911, and Lambert Rogers to this place. {15}

Arnot's dream became reality, but not in the way he had hoped. Repeated bouts of malaria had permanently damaged his health. Rainy weather, combined with the task of finding a suitable site in a swampy area, broke it completely. In January 1914 his spleen burst. He was taken to South Africa where within two months he died as stoically as he lived. The story of his life and death, told and retold, inspired several generations of Brethren to 'heed the Call', come to Africa, and 'pick up the sword'. {16}

Even before Arnot died, the youthful Rogers had mangled a foot in a gun accident, but had refused to leave and seek medical attention in South Africa. Thus the new mission quickly acquired an air of romantic tragedy within mission circles. After Arnot's death, Rogers recovered and helped Suckling move the mission approximately fifteen kilometers north to the beautiful and more healthy site that it presently occupies. Although it was renamed Chitokoloki,

{15} Baker, Arnot, pp. 314-26.

{16} Baker describes Arnot's final journey from Kabompo to South Africa as an invalid, and his inspirational death bed experiences, pp. 320-30. For a memorial by someone who knew him as a fellow missionary, see Dan Crawford, "Memories of F. S. Arnot", Christian Express, 2 May 1921, pp. 74-6. For the best, but still very deficient, recent biography, see Tony Lawman, From the Hands of the Wicked (London: Hale, 1960).

most people continued to call it Kabompo Mission in honor of Arnot. But just when it seemed to be prospering, Rogers abruptly died from blackwater fever. As he was traveling to Kalene to marry his young fiancée, an equally active young missionary, the aura of romantic tragedy continued. Arnot's and Rogers's deaths made them martyrs who illustrated Christian valor. Likewise, Suckling's determination to stay, despite the deaths of his two comrades, seemed to reveal Christian determination and tenacity. Unexpectedly Chitokoloki and Suckling's new programs received considerable publicity. {17}

With this founding of Chitokoloki on the eve of World War I, the three mission stations occupied the three major parts of the NWP and became firmly established in the colonial society. From these, other Brethren and SAGM stations opened.

Unorthodox Religious Policy

NWP missionaries, like all missionaries in Northern Rhodesia, shared a common dilemma. Seeking to save Africa from sin, they eagerly tried to provide social services to entice Africans to salvation. But these social services

{17} These dramatic events are described in various issues of Echees. See especially the following: Suckling, 15 Mar. 1914, 43 (June 1914, pt. 1), pp. 215-6; Nov. 1914, 44 (Feb. 1915, pt. 2), pp. 72-3; 45 (Oct. 1916), p. 356.

cost them considerable money and personnel that their voluntary supporters overseas could not provide. While the territorial government wanted them to provide these social services, it refused to offer financial assistance until the late 1920s or even the 1930s. Consequently, permanent solutions to this dilemma proved elusive. While the quest for answers occasionally united disparate missions throughout the territory, each mission agency, and in the final analysis, each isolated mission station, had to reach a personal solution and then constantly re-evaluate it.

These similar goals and problems notwithstanding, competition between large religious organizations remained a dominant fact of missionary life throughout much of Northern Rhodesia because of considerable religious antipathy between the missions. In fact, this competition often became cut-throat since the missions sought exclusive occupation of, or the choicest locations in, an area. In the eastern part of the territory, the Dutch Reformed Church and White Fathers attempted to outmaneuver each other village by village. To the north, the latter competed vigorously in different places with the Church of Scotland, the London Missionary Society (LMS), and the Brethren. Later in Barotseland, the Paris Mission Society (PMS) competed with the Roman Catholics and Seventh Day Adventists. [18]

[18] P. D. Snelson gives the best account of this early competition over education: Educational Development

The Southern Province became a Christian Tower of Babel. "Nowhere in Northern Rhodesia was the denominational battle waged so fiercely. . . . By 1925, . . . eight mission societies had [been] established." In 1905 the Seventh Day Adventists and the Jesuit Fathers established two missions, Rusanqu and Chikuni, about three kilometers apart. P. D. Snelson, one recent educational historian, pondered on the situation that developed.

One wonders what the Tonga villagers thought of these two deeply divided branches of the Christian church settling in their midst in the course of a few days; each offered the pagan Tonga the promise of salvation through the same risen Christ, but considered the other to be so seriously in error as to be in danger of eternal damnation. {19}

Only in the NWP and a few other smaller areas, such as the lower Zambezi Valley and Kaoma Distrist, did a friendlier and more Christ-like relationship between missions exist. The Brethren in Mwinilunga and Balovale and the SAGM in Kasempa and Solwezi not only had similar doctrines, but shared Arnot as their spiritual father. Their paucity and isolation also prevented them from competing, and the vague threat presented by wealthier and more orthodox mission agencies entering the NWP, especially the Roman Catholics, increased the camaraderie between them.

in Northern Rhodesia, 1883-1945 (Lusaka: NECZAM, 1974), pp. 65-118. See also John Ragsdale, "Protestant Missions and the Development of Education in Northern Rhodesia" (Ed.D. dissertation, Lehigh University, 1973).

{19} For all quotations, see Snelson, Development, pp. 94-5.

This lack of competition was not necessarily desirable, however, especially from the African point of view. With the benefit of hindsight, many interviewees said it seriously affected the NWP's meager educational gains. This analysis may be simplistic, but it has considerable validity. For example, by the 1920s the Brethren in the Luapula areas of northeastern Rhodesia occasionally wrote lurid letters home to Britain about the horrors of the White Fathers, who competed with them for each locality. At this time the Luapula Brethren had more staff and a well-organized school program that had been in place at least a decade before those in the NWP. Suckling's earlier educational advances in the NWP also rested partly on the threat of mission competition. The correlation between competition, overseas support, and social inducements for Africans appears obvious. In general, competition not only seemed to bring in more money and staff from overseas, but also induced these missions to use their resources more vigorously in providing education, medicine and direct evangelism. {20}

While decreasing the amount of mission activity, the lack of large and vigorously competing missions increased a particular locality's reliance on its sole mission agency.

{20} Several interviewees preferred not to be quoted. Of those who did not request anonymity, this widespread belief was stated most clearly by Luka Yamba. I interviewed him formally on 8 July 1979 in Solwezi Township, but talked with him informally on many other occasions. It was, however, stated most forcefully in the interview with Stanley K. M. Tapa, 6 Dec. 1976, Mwinilunga Township.

In fact, each NWP district developed a vested interest in the local mission's work, policies, and types of missionaries. A whole district could sometimes feel repercussions from problems. These were often byzantine matters involving church discipline, especially clashes between African tradition and Victorian Christian ideas on sex, dancing and alcohol. Without competing missions and with little government assistance, the local colonial society could only accept or reject the social services the local mission offered. For example, people near Kalene had only one choice, to take the medicine or education along with the constant preaching of the Word by Dr. Fisher's staff. If serious internal mission problems arose, a district might also lose its only school(s). In short, the lack of mission competition and poverty of the Brethren and the SAGM minimized their effectiveness and negatively affected each NWP district.

Until after World War II the SAGM barely kept their two missions open because intractable staff and money problems remained so critical. This lack of effectiveness was clear to both the missionaries and the district as a whole. Even in good times, the SAGM seldom maintained more than six or eight missionaries in Solwezi and Kasempa Districts--generally two married couples, several single ladies, and occasionally a single man. In bad times, numbers decreased. For example, during part of 1936 and 1937, only two single ladies remained at Mutanda, the only

mission in Solwezi District. Even if the SAGM had serious social objectives besides evangelism, these minimal numbers could achieve little in such an enormous area. {21}

In private letters to their headquarters in Cape Town and in open appeals to churches, the individual missionaries frequently begged for more staff and money. But without mission competition and with the region's unimpressively low population, their prayers and pleas went unheeded. Herbert Pirouet's 1925 appeal is a typical statement of the problem and the futile attempts to change the situation.

Our district [is] twice the size of Swaziland. In a bee-line there are about 120 miles between our two stations. There are two men in this district, Mr. Foster and myself, and five ladies. It is some fifteen years since the SAGM made itself responsible for the evangelization of the Kaonde. More than half the villages are still to all intents and purposes untouched. This generation is dying in darkness. . . . We are here watching this process. . . . We need four more married couples and need them urgently. {22}

{21} In 1936, Victor and Anne Nelson went overseas on leave. For up to a year--the exact time is not stated in available records--Florence Reed maintained a small clinic and Edith Shoosmith had a small girls' school. Pupils in the boys' school were sent to Mukinge; also, see Chap. IX.

{22} Pioneer (Am.) 6 (1925/6), p. 33. In the early period, Ernest Harris's pleas were especially strong and continued generally without a break during the seven years that he remained the senior missionary. For his private correspondence, see letters from Middlemiss in the Cape Town office to E. C. Faithful in England, Wimbledon, Correspondence Files, Vol. XI to Vol. XVIII. For the open pleas to supporters in these early years, see letters by Harris and also Roy Vernon and A. A. Wilson in Pioneer.

The SAGM's poverty was not uncommon, but it became significant in the NWP because of the group's monopoly and its attitude toward this monopoly. The poverty resembled that of other small faith missions elsewhere in the territory and empire. But had they been in the Southern Province, for example, other larger, more able, and more competitive missions would have surrounded them and eagerly supplemented their social services. Here the SAGM retained a total monopoly but could provide few social services over a long period of time. Thus, Christian missionary endeavors had a minimum effect on Kasempa and Solwezi Districts. {23}

SAGM missionaries cannot be faulted for these obvious and unavoidable mission constraints. Unfortunately for the district, however, they jealously tried to block local government officials from bringing in other mission societies even when they could not adequately provide social services and when the territorial government refused to do so. Their monopoly continued, leaving a serious void until the eve of World War II.

Fortunately, the SAGM's relatively orthodox mission structure helped unite the mission. Under the supervision of their headquarters in Cape Town, SAGM missionaries in Northern Rhodesia held a yearly regional conference on internal matters, such as doctrine, church polity, finances, and general church operations. Each missionary received a

{23} The SAGM was certainly no poorer than missions like the South African Baptists, Brethren in Christ, the Church of Christ, Salvation Army, or the Pilgrim Holiness.

basic salary, though individual missionaries also could receive personal gifts. Individual SAGM missionaries reported to the Field Secretary at the mission headquarters and he reported to Home Secretaries in countries that sent missionaries. In turn, these men contacted the missionaries' sponsoring churches, recruited new missionaries, and provided general information on SAGM. The most important home office, in Wimbledon, England, published On-Trek, a mission magazine for children, and South-African Pioneer, a monthly composite of mission news. Despite the great diversity in recruits from independent evangelical churches in different countries, this conventional structure gave the mission a reasonable degree of harmony. [24]

Like the SAGM, the Brethren acquired, and sometimes sustained for up to fifty years, a total monopoly on religious work and the accompanying social services in Mwinilunga and Balovale/Kabompo Districts. They also had frequent staff and funding problems. Unlike the SAGM, however, these Brethren missions differed intrinsically from

[24] Wimbledon, a conversation with Horace Totterdell, Home Secretary of the British Council for Africa Evangelical Fellowship (in his office on 21 Jan. 1976) provided much insight into the general organization and social perceptions of the Mission. I am also deeply indebted to the other staff at Wimbledon for their marvelous hospitality for several weeks during Jan. 1976 and their patience in answering my flood of questions regarding the past and present structure of the mission and also to Mr. and Mrs. Michael Warburton, whom I originally met at Mutanda Mission near Solwezi, Zambia in 1963 and later again in 1975 in their new roles with the new AEF International Headquarters in Reading, England. If any errors occur in this description, they are due to my own carelessness.

major missions in the rest of the country. Their greatest differences came from an unceasing insistence on local mission autonomy. As in England, these Brethren missionaries were religious purists who objected to the 'laxity', and even the organization itself, of more orthodox churches.

Lacking a formal organization, the Brethren conducted mission work in an informal manner. After an individual acknowledged the Divine Call, his local church assembly vouched for his piety and faithfulness, and expressed its faith in his call by sponsoring him. Then one or more nearby assemblies seconded the sponsorship and helped support him while overseas. In the mission field, the new missionary became responsible only to the leading elder on the mission station and to these sponsoring churches. While he never made open appeals for money and staff, as the SAGM missionaries did, one or more journals printed his letters and supplied publicity and information to all assemblies. {25}

Of these periodicals, Echoes of Service, published in Bath (England), was the earliest and most important. In 1922 after noting that they had just passed their fiftieth year of operations, the editors of Echoes emphatically stated what they were and were not.

{25} A reasonably complete list of Brethren periodicals relating to missions is given in the Bibliography. There have also been several commercial Brethren publishers, such as Paternoster Press (London and Glasgow) in Britain and Loizeaux Brothers (Neptune, NJ) in America.

We wish it to be understood that we do not constitute a Society, nor is there a Board of Control, but we are simply a medium of communication between individual Christians or assemblies of God's people and labourers who had gone forth in gospel service in the Lord's name in simple dependence upon him for their guidance and maintenance. {26}

Without a formal society to take responsibility, the Bath office served as a clearing house for general donations. If a donor specified a gift's destination, it was forwarded. If not, a group of elders divided it as God directed. This meant that some Brethren missionaries in the Beloved Strip had very adequate funding with ample equipment and whereas others barely survived.

The Brethren's lack of organization and centralized direction caused an anomalous situation in parts of the NWP where they acquired and sustained a monopoly on mission work. Since no orthodox missions overshadowed them, as in England and most parts of the Beloved Strip, they became a rigid anti-establishmentarian religious establishment. From this paradox, three interrelated and overlapping problems, which arose in Brethren mission work throughout the Beloved Strip, became especially noticeable and had multiple social implications in the NWP.

The first problem, a lack of leadership, related to them as a large body of missionaries and other groups. The Brethren continually refused to allow any person to lead or

{26} Echoes, 51 (Apr. 1922), pp. 75-6. Echoes of Service had its centenary anniversary in 1972. It was called The Missionary Echo until 1885. Today it is simply called Echoes.

represent them and intermediate with others, despite the considerable confusion this caused among government officials, other missions, and the African population. As in Britain, their stations often became the "happy hunting ground of the individualist," each jealously guarding its independence. This is illustrated by a letter dated 1906 from Fisher. In it, he reported that other Brethren missionaries did not regard Arnot as their representative, although by then he was very famous. {27}

The second problem was coordinating, planning, and sustaining continuity among Brethren missionaries without a formal organization. This problem had both internal and external implications. Several hundred missionaries in several dozen mission stations and three territories of Central Africa, including Brethren missionaries in the NWP, were unwilling to coordinate their current activities or to plan their future evangelical and social activities beyond the individual mission station. Total autonomy meant that different stations did not necessarily coordinate or plan anything except when an urgent need arose. For example, Dr. Walter Fisher and his staff had limited interest in education. They never attempted to send pupils for teacher training at either Johnston Falls (in Luapula Province) or Chitokoloki until the government applied strong pressure in the mid-1930s. Thus as late as 1936, Mwinilunga District

{27} For the quotation, see Coad, Brethren Movement, p. 165. Fisher (at Kanongesha) to Singleton Darling, 12 June 1907, Walter Fisher Papers, folios 1552-5, NAZ.

had no certified teachers. Likewise, Chitokoloki and Chavuma missions in Balovale District had contrasting educational philosophies and policies. {28}

The first two problems especially frustrated and annoyed government officials. These men generally came from more orthodox churches and failed to see any doctrinal value in autonomy. They normally dealt with large mission organizations represented by a single individual who spoke and acted forcefully on behalf of the whole organization. Most important, many wanted to develop the districts. Since economy was the chief watchword of both the imperial and territorial governments and yet many government officials desired progress, they wished to maximize all available resources. The missionaries appeared to be natural allies for this task. But administrators were used to missions complaining about each other and competing to establish schools or evangelical centers. Thus they found the NWP, especially Mwinilunga, initially surprising. By the mid-1930s, for example, administrators had to deal separately with the head missionaries of Kalene, Kamapanda, and Mujimbeji. These missionaries did not even necessarily know what the others were doing. At the same time they did not complain about the others, nor did they constantly

{28} The teacher training school at Johnston Falls became esp. well-known after 1926 under the supervision of Charles E. Stokes. Government reports and the individuals who attended the school make this clear. In particular, see the interviews with Aaron Ngalande, 14 Nov. 1978, in Kasempa Township and Tito Kibolya, 10 Nov. 1977, in Solwezi Township.

demand government assistance for social services. {29}

Since this anti-system became Mwinilunga's system by default, the government officials believed overall development of the district suffered. Most annoying to them, no mission would take a progressive lead. Kalene, with the only well-equipped and adequately staffed hospital and with the best land surrounding it, did not try to develop a medical or agricultural training center. Kamapanda absolutely refused to develop teacher training. Without government funding to proceed on their own and without other mission agencies, Mwinilunga DCs continually felt frustrated. {30}

The third problem that evolved from Brethren autonomy related to internal disagreements. These could not be solved easily without any formal ecclesiastical appeal beyond the individual missionaries and their sponsoring assemblies. Solutions had to be reached by consensus. In the United Kingdom, extremely dissatisfied parties simply withdrew their fellowship and then isolated themselves from the offenders. At the same time, they withdrew the knowledge of quarrels and schisms from non-believers. In Central Africa, however, a local misunderstanding or

{29} See the next chapter for a comprehensive comparison of missionaries and administrators as the two elite elements of the NWP society.

{30} Misunderstandings that resulted between government officials and missionaries are described in Chaps. IX and X. For a consistent indication of the frustration of local officials, see Mwinilunga ARs for this period, NAZ.

separation could seldom be hidden and sometimes had consequences for many others besides church members. An outstanding and recent NWP example is a post-World War II separation between Chitokoloki and several ex-Chitokoloki missionaries, who had taken charge of Kabulumema. It eventually involved Kabompo District officials and African adherents of the two missions and continued to be significant in 1979. [31]

The problem of a lingua franca for the region provides a more relevant example of the internal Brethren disagreements that were difficult to solve and had widespread social significance. This issue raised long-term questions. Should the Bible be translated into many African

[31] A major schism had occurred in the Brethren movement in the 1840s. As a result, two large groups of assemblies formed: the 'exclusives' or 'closed' Brethren and the 'open' Brethren. The former are irrelevant to Central Africa, but for a scholarly description, see Bryan R. Wilson, "The Exclusive Brethren: A Case Study in the Evolution of a Sectarian Ideology", in Sectarianism, Wilson, ed., pp. 287-344. In the eyes of many 'open' Brethren, older histories overstressed these events. For recent scholarly accounts by Brethren writers, see Coad, Brethren Movement, pp. 106-64 and Rowdon, Origins. Kabulamema is mentioned here as a modern example because it is so widely known in Kabompo/Zambezi Districts and has been the source of local conversation for several decades. The Kabulamema issue took on complex educational, governmental, and even legal ramifications in addition to social ones. These are indicated clearly in "Kabulamema Correspondence, 1954-1964," File no. A/19, in the old Ministry of Education Files, Solwezi. Other recent, less obvious examples are probably best left unmentioned to the uninformed reader. One earlier pre-World War I, 1907 example further highlights the historical, schismatic tendency. At this time, some missionaries in Kazombo refused to have fellowship with Dr. Fisher because they felt he was too tolerant in his handling of the polygamous marriages of new converts. See Fisher to Darling, 30 July 1907, Walter Fisher Papers, folios 1564-71, NAZ.

languages? Or should more extensive educational programs teach Africans to read and understand easier-to-translate European languages, especially English, French, and Portuguese? Suckling and Charles Swan advocated the latter. Most Brethren, however, rejected the idea of a European lingua franca. They argued that Africans should read the Bible in their mother tongue. Thus, they advocated and later undertook the enormously time-consuming task of translating the Bible into many languages. For pushing his point of view too fervently, Suckling earned a rare, although mild, open public rebuke. Publicly, the issue died. Diverging feelings nonetheless remained and this difficult consensus relegated African education, beyond basic literacy for reading the Bible, to a lower place than translation work. {32}

Despite such disputes, extreme Brethren independence allowed for localized excellence. Unhampered by ecclesiastical authorities, a Brethren missionary could choose his priorities and then, in his little section of the NWP, do as much as his vision, ability, and finances permitted. The medical work of Fisher and his successors made Kalene famous throughout Central Africa. The educational program of Suckling likewise earned Chitokoloki a high reputation by the end of World War II.

{32} Several passages on the lingua franca issue, as well as significant passages on educational policy for the Beloved Strip, are given in App. B.

In contrast, NWP government officials felt no SAGM missionaries attained a notable reputation. Given the mission's funding and staffing restraints, evangelizing enormous districts and providing tiny schools and clinics therein harried the missionaries and continually limited their achievements. In the process, several SAGM missionaries lost their health. And two of the most outstanding, Herbert Pirouet in the late 1920s and Peter Letchford after World War II, assumed higher positions in the mission organization, leaving colleagues to carry on their projects.{33}

Nationalities and social class also have relevance in defining the place of these missionaries within Northern Rhodesian and NWP colonial society. Except for a few black missionaries from Guyana, all Brethren missionaries were European, and most spoke English as their native language. While increasing numbers originated from the USA, Canada, and other Commonwealth countries, the majority came from Britain until after World War II. Overseas, most assemblies' leaders were at least reasonably well-educated, though they perceived education only as a means to an end. God's inspiration was always the essential ingredient in doing His work. Reflecting this, Brethren missionaries largely came from the middle class, though some could be described as the 'better sort' of working class. In following the Biblical example of the Apostle Paul, many had

{33}After 1945, Charles Foster would become recognized for his Biblical translation work and Letchford for helping Mutanda Boys School reach territorial standards.

either/or both professional and practical trades training in medicine, education, construction and agriculture. Though most were full-time missionaries, some tried to be self-supporting. As noted in the last chapter, most European businessmen--traders and farmers--in Mwinilunga and Balovale Districts were Brethren. {34}

SAGM missionaries had a similar but more heterogeneous background. Starting with Bailey, more tended to be American or South African. Many did not have the same high professional and practical training. District administrators certainly did not regard them as highly as they did the Brethren, not only because of their training but also because most came from humbler or non-British origins. As later chapters will illustrate, Kaonde-Lunda Province administrators more frequently 'laid down the law' to the SAGM while passively enduring similar deficiencies by Mwinilunga Brethren.

The characteristics of the SAGM and Brethren missionaries made them an unorthodox religious element and clearly distinguished them from most missionaries in the territory. They did not do many of the things that might

{34} The black Brethren missionaries have an interesting untold story. After Arnot visited Guyana in 1897, they came to the Beloved Strip. They largely helped in Angola and in the Luapula Province. See Echoes, Turning, pp. 245-6 and 282-3. The increasing color bar in Northern Rhodesia adversely affected them. For a revealing incident and correspondence, see Chief of Police, and attached letter to C. E. Stokes. 16 Mar., 1932, confidential, ZA 1/9/158/7, NAZ.

have helped the region when the government ignored it. Unlike large Protestant missions elsewhere, the NWP missions did not become strong agitators for political, social, and economic reforms throughout the colonial period. Nor did they care to associate too closely with such agitation.

While other missions in the territory solicited their participation in territorial conferences on common mission problems, most preferred to remain uninvolved. Not only did such agitation go against their philosophy, but they objected to getting involved with Protestant churches which they felt were tainted by serious doctrinal impurities. Even more, they feared the Seventh Day Adventists and Roman Catholics. Open hostility was hard to avoid when meetings could not be avoided. Working together on common problems with such mission agencies, even formulating basic medical and educational social policies for Northern Rhodesia, became very difficult.

Walter Fisher's response to the Northern Rhodesian Missionary Conference of 1919 illustrates how these missionaries distinguished, separated, and isolated themselves from most mission groups in south-central Africa. Missionaries at this very crucial conference handled major social, especially educational, issues. Diverse and antagonistic missionaries collectively tackled the BSAC's abysmal neglect of the African. Yet at this time of enormous educational activity and nascent religious cooperation, Fisher found the proceedings displeasing. Writing to his brother-in-law, he

expressed "disappointment" with most missionaries at the conference who were overly concerned with "business matters. They only preach the Gospel by means of paid native teachers and outschools, etc." The only ones who "interested" him "were the 'Brethren-in-Christ'" who knew "their Bibles well [and were] keen soul winners." [35]

These missions were happy to remain isolated in the NWP. Most simply did not know or did not especially care what happened elsewhere in the territory. Since they controlled all social services by default and since Africans had nowhere else to turn, the NWP shared their isolation and its consequences.

Mission Consolidation and Expansion

These NWP missions expanded in size and number but did not compete with new mission agencies until just before World War II. As later chapters will show, these changes affected the growth of the formal school system, which developed under their auspices. If a mission station expanded or a new station opened in a district, so did the school facilities. However, if a station closed, so did the

[35] For details of this conference, especially in terms of education, see Ragsdale, "Development," pp. 141-9 and Snelson, Development, pp. 133-4. This conference was preoccupied with the Native Schools Proclamation of 1918. For the quotations, see Walter Fisher to Singleton Darling, 13 Aug. 1919, Walter Fisher Papers, folios 1723-6, NAZ.

only accessible school(s).

After Bailey opened Chisalala in Solwezi District (1910) and Lalafuta in Kasempa District (1911), these initial SAGM mission stations changed their location. Before 1920 local missionaries moved the Lalafuta station in Kasempa District at least twice, the second time to the Musonwedzi (Musonwedji) River in 1914. Likewise, they changed the name first to Blanche Memorial and then to Musonwedzi. By the end of the BSAC period, the two stations had become increasingly isolated, and in 1924, they consolidated in Mukinge several miles away from the government's provincial headquarters. Four years later under government pressure, a second station opened at Mutanda Bridge, west of Solwezi boma. The SAGM opened a third at Chizera only in 1949. {36}

After Bailey left for Angola in 1912, Ernest and Emily Harris became the senior missionaries at Chisalala and Lalafuta. A middle-aged British couple, they moved from a mission station in South Africa and left their family behind. Although neither the government officials nor the mission leadership regarded them as especially capable, and although they never stopped begging headquarters for adequate staff, they remained the only experienced mission-

{36} Musowedzi was initially named Blanche Memorial after Roy Vernon's first wife, Blanche. She died while travelling toward Kalene Hospital. The name became increasingly anachronistic after Vernon remarried and returned to the NWP for several years. By the mid-1920s, it was more simply called 'Musonwedzi' after the river.

aries at the two stations until they left. Only two young married couples, the Roy Vernons and A. A. Wilsons, joined them. Consequently, the Harrises worked so hard that they became ill in trying to run Chisalala. They finally had to leave in 1919. {37}

Near the time of the Harrises's departure, two young couples entered the region--Charles and June Foster and Herbert and Florence Pirouet. Together, they guided the two mission stations for much of the interwar period. The Fosters stayed at Musonwedji and then Mukinge until 1976. Although the only trained teacher in the province for many years, June played little part in guiding education. Because of the poor health of her children, she simply taught in the local school. Early in his career, Charles asked the mission for extra leave to take special teacher training. The mission refused and his interest refocused on translation work. He increasingly devoted his life to translating the whole Bible into Kaonde and retained little interest in African education beyond basic reading. In the 1920s Herbert and Florence Pirouet shared the Fosters' responsibility for running these two stations. Pirouet's letters, several of which are quoted in Appendix E, reveal

{37} For information about these individuals, see the public correspondence in the Pioneer. For internal mission correspondence, see Correspondence Files, Vol. XI through Vol. XVIII, Wimbleton. For an example for internal mission correspondence indicating some doubt about Harris's effectiveness, see Faithful (Wimbleton) to Middlemiss (Cape Town), 14 June 1918, Correspondence Files, Vol. XVI, Wimbleton.

an extremely perceptive man who, having clearly understood the Africans' and officials' points of view, strove to change them. In 1929 after opening Mutanda, the Pirouets assumed an administrative position in SAGM's Cape Town office. While holding this supervisory position, they continued to watch the mission's Northern Rhodesian operations. {38}

Other SAGM staff are significant to this study: John and Nellie Stevenson arrived in 1928 and remained until the 1950s, evangelizing at both Mukinge and Mutanda. Victor and Anne Nelson spent much of the 1930s at Mutanda, running the boy's school. Ernest Frost arrived in 1935 and continued working in the NWP or nearby Copperbelt towns. Edith Shoosmith spent much of this period assisting in medical work and girl's education. Janetta Forman arrived in 1935 and became the first trained educator who especially devoted her ministry to African education. Finally, Peter Letchford (in 1944) and later John 'Ginger' Wright, the first trained male educators, arrived. {39}

During 1923-4 the size of the SAGM Northern Rhodesian field expanded considerably. At Luampa and Kaba Hill, J. W. V. Jakeman and Dr. Martyn Watney each opened a

{38} Pioneer - (Both the continuous British edition that was published by the Wimbledon office and the American edition) provides the best and most consistent information on these two couples. After the early 1920s, Wimbledon's Correspondence Files become less useful.

{39} See the Pioneer - (British and American edition), as noted in the previous footnote.

new mission station. Although they became the southern half of the SAGM's Northern Rhodesian mission field and are geographically connected to the NWP, Luampa and Kaba are peripheral to this study simply because Mankoya District remained in Barotseland after the NWP was officially created. {40}

The pattern of the Brethren's consolidation and expansion differed from the SAGM's. The physical location of Chitokoloki and Kalene never changed after their founding, except that Kalene moved from on top of the rocky Hill to the valley below in 1937. Both Suckling and Fisher spent the rest of their lives at these stations. {41}

Fisher's children continued his influence on the mission station and fixed the pattern of expansion. After

{40} The mission regularly transferred staff between all of these mission stations, regarding them as one unit. Kaba Hill was also called Lukuti. Luampa became the permanent location. After Martyn Watney left Kaba Hill in the late 1920s, it frequently served as an outstation of Luampa managed by African evangelists, as opposed to Luampa managed by missionaries. (Mrs.) Eva Jakeman was the driving force at Luampa, handling most of the correspondence with home, operating the school, and doing considerable translation. See her book: Pioneering in Northern Rhodesia (London: Morgan and Scott, n.d. [1926?]). She wrote with considerable perception of and sympathy with the African way of life and tried to show her readers how they 'ought' to feel about this different lifestyle.

{41} Fisher died in 1935 and Suckling in 1954. The rocky Hill was too restricting for the multiple mission activities at Kalene. Government officials strongly urged that it be resited. Dr. Walter and Anna Fisher actually retired to ffolliott's Hillwood Farm, near Sakeji School, a few years before their deaths. For the last years of their lives and the actual move of the station, see Fisher and Hoyte, Africa Looks Ahead, pp. 201-7.

being severely wounded in World War I, ffolliott Fisher started Hillwood Farm. Next to his farm, the Fisher family started Sakeji, a school for the children of missionaries that continues today. Singleton, Dr. Fisher's eldest son, moved north to Muchacha along the new Benguela Railway in the Congo and, together with several of Dr. Fisher's nephews and missionary trainees, established a series of stations between the Congolese/Angolan boundary and the Congolese mining centers. A noted linguist and evangelist, Singleton became one of the foremost Brethren missionaries in the region. Charles, Dr. Fisher's youngest son, also practiced medicine, serving for a few years on the mission station and thereafter kept in touch from a job on the Northern Rhodesian copperbelt. After the mid-1930s, Fisher's daughter May and his son-in-law Dr. Julyan Hoyte continued Kalene's medical emphasis. Together, Fisher's children continued to imprint the names of Kalene and Fisher on the region. {42}

Kalene became and remained one of the more prominent Brethren mission stations although it seldom had more than a dozen adult missionaries in residence at any time. Dr. Fisher's and Kalene's increasing fame overseas also

{42} For these family details, *ibid.* The Fisher name in the Beloved Strip of south-central Africa can cause confusion, if not bafflement. As noted previously, since both missionaries and Africans in the past and today refer to Dr. Walter Fisher and 'Dr. Fisher' and to other Fishers by including their Christian names as well, this work does the same. Six of Dr. Fisher's children reached adulthood. They were, in order of birth: May, Singleton, Katolo, ffolliott, Hettie, and Charles.

attracted young people within Brethren circles to become missionaries. Consequently, Kalene became an initial, temporary place of service for new missionaries. Many stayed on permanently or for most of the period and, consequently, have relevance to this study. Before and during World War I, the following arrived: Eileen Darling, Anna Fisher's niece who opened the first school, and Winifred Hoyte who expanded it. After World War I but before Dr. Walter Fisher's death these included: Dr. Georgina Darling Revington Fisher and her husband Wilfred Fisher, and A. Digby Fisher. The latter two men were both evangelists and Dr. Fisher's nephews. The most significant individuals during Dr. Fisher's last years, or after his death, included Elsie Burr, Roseannah Shaw Kaye, Agnes Riddell, and Charles R. Nightingale, all of whom worked in education; Dr. David Kaye, Dr. Evelyn Kaye Nightingale, and C. McGregor, who worked in the hospital along with Dr. Julian Hoyte; and also L. R. Hess, who ran the nearby Sakeji School after 1932. [43]

Chitokoloki attracted far fewer new missionaries. Four men, however, have special significance to this study: Douglas Hume, Thomas Hansen, Victor Reed, and James Caldwell. In 1923 after working with Suckling for several

[43] The most consistent information by and on these missionaries is provided in Echoes. Most were British; but an American, L. R. Hess, also wrote regularly in two American publications: Voices from the Vineyard (hereafter Voices) and The Fields (hereafter Fields)--the latter was founded in 1938. For a summary of people serving at Kalene, also see Echoes, Turning, pp. 415-23.

years, Hume opened Kanqwanda Mission approximately ninety kilometers west of Chitokoloki near the Angolan border on the Lunwebunqu River. For reasons that are not entirely clear, the station closed down four years later and Chitokoloki reabsorbed its short-lived programs. Hansen started Chitokoloki's early industrial programs. Then in 1930, he opened Nyamboma near the former Kanqwanda station as a missionary-trader. In 1943 he closed the mission and moved to Kabulamema. In the 1930s and 1940s Reed and Caldwell became the sources of Chitokoloki's strong educational program. In addition, Caldwell opened Kabulamema just before World War II, before moving to the copperbelt and finally returning to Chitokoloki. {44}

Because of their lack of organization, most of the new NWP Brethren stations did not develop systematically from Chitokoloki and Kalene. The founders and years of founding were: Chavuma by Gavin Mowat and E. H. Sims in 1922, and Kamapanda by Hugh Cunningham in 1923. From the

{44} After he closed the mission, Hume left for America and joined the Sudan Inland Mission, see Hume, *Voices* 23 (Dec. 1928), n.p. Mose Sangambo described the short-lived Kanqwanda mission in his interview. Various reports indicated that Hansen's financial support was precarious, which is probably the reason for his temporary attempt to be a self-supporting missionary/trader. A Cambridge M.A., Victor Reed was the only trained educator of the four. He married Peggy Gilmour from Kalene and left Chitokoloki after she died. Caldwell was an electrician from Glasgow, who married Mrs. Suckling's sister. He received considerable recognition both within Brethren missionary circles and within Northern Rhodesia for his beautiful voice and general musical talents. John Mwondela, for example, was taught to play the organ at Chitokoloki Mission, see the Mwondela interview.

latter Sydney Buckland opened Mujimbeji in 1933. Likewise, Chavuma missionaries assisted James Geddes in laying out Dipalata just before World War II and then permanently opening it at the end. These founders were mostly Americans or Irish who had up to twenty years of prior missionary service. Other missionaries at Kamapanda and Mujimbeji included Hilda Spong at Mujimbeji, and Elsie Whyman and Mabel Hulbert at Kamapanda. At Chavuma, Wallace and Ruth Logan arrived shortly after the station opened and stayed until their deaths in 1969. [45]

Most of the above expansion--at Kaba Hill, Luampa, Chavuma, and Kamapanda--occurred in one big burst of activity between 1923 and 1924, or, like Mujimbeji, became offshoots of that activity. Despite the isolation and the distances between them, the founders of these stations had many things in common. First, they experienced the same shortages of staff and of money. Consequently, like Mutanda, Mukinge, Chitokoloki, and even Kalene, none of their stations grew very large before 1945. Except for Chavuma, the stations seldom had more than two married couples for longer than a year. These couples were occasionally supplemented by a single man or, more likely, a woman. Though records fail to indicate exact financial

[45] See Echoes for the most consistent information on these missionaries; also, Voices and Fields. Also, see Echoes, Turning, pp. 395-400, 414-23. ,

support from overseas, few if any were well financed. {46}

The founders of these missions also shared a similar philosophy and entered the NWP for the same reason. They moved from SAGM and Brethren mission stations in Angola. Forced labor, the subsequent Portuguese suppressions, and African migrations into Northern Rhodesia just before and after the early 1920s caused them to change territories. In part, these missionaries followed their parishioners. More importantly, they responded to the Portuguese restrictions placed on Protestant missions in 1923, which they regarded as intolerable. They especially refused to accept the law restricting the use of African languages in teaching. They firmly believed that the people possessed an inalienable right to learn God's Word in their own language. This basic philosophical objection to teaching in Portuguese transferred itself to Northern Rhodesia. As later chapters will show, these missionaries objected to qualitatively expanding their educational systems, often refusing to teach English. {47}

If these new missionaries reluctantly agreed to operate new educational systems under the government, they did so because they feared government threats not only to invite, but also to encourage, other missions to enter the

{46} In these years, Hume's temporary mission was the only direct expansion from either Kalene or Chitokoloki in the area of the present NWP.

{47} See Chaps. IX and X.

region. Fortunately in their eyes, but unfortunately in African eyes, most orthodox Protestant missions declined local administrators' invitations to enter until after 1945. Deeply involved in other regions, these missions regarded most of the NWP--with its vast spaces, poor transport and low population density--as too peripheral. Consequently, the long-term SAGM and Brethren monopoly was broken only at the end of or after this era. {48}

{48}As noted elsewhere, both government and individual officers' invitations to other missions were important, but often made informally and not placed in the records. Hence, precise examples and dates of these invitations are vague or missing.