

**AFRICAN AGENCY IN EVANGELISM AND EDUCATION AT RUSANGU
MISSION IN MONZE DISTRICT OF ZAMBIA, 1905-2012**

BY

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A Dissertation Submitted to the University of Zambia in Partial Fulfilment of the
Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in History

The University of Zambia

School of Humanities and Social Sciences

Lusaka

2021

DECLARATION

I, Conellia Masiliso Aikayo, hereby declare that this dissertation represents my own research work, and that it has not been previously submitted for a degree at this or any other university. All published work or materials from sources that have been incorporated have been duly acknowledged and adequate references thereby made.

SIGNED _____

DATE _____

APPROVAL

This dissertation of Conellia Masiliso Aikayo is approved as fulfilling part of the requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Arts in History at the University of Zambia.

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ABSTRACT

This study is of the African Agency in Evangelism and Education at Rusangu Mission in Monze district of Southern Province of Zambia, covering the period from 1905 to 2012. The study focused on Rusangu Mission which was founded in 1905 on the eastern plateau of Monze by a missionary, William Harrison Anderson and his team from the United States of America. Anderson, belonging to Seventh Day Adventist church was sent by the worldwide mission, established in 1874 to evangelise to the international community on the Adventist faith. Specifically, the study sought to analyse the development of Rusangu Mission from 1905 to 2012. The development of the mission among the Tonga people brought the knowledge of reading and writing, and conversion to Christianity. Western education resulted in white collar jobs among the Africans. The introduction of new methods of farming under industrial skills improved the yields of crops grown in the area. The study also examined the role played by African Agents in the evangelisation of Africans at Rusangu Mission. Converted African teachers - evangelists and pastors played a role in deserting practices of worshipping the Supreme Being, traditional Leza at the sacred spot *Tinti* or *Malende* (shrine). Through evangelism, some converted Africans abandoned the traditional beliefs and practices, and accepted Jesus Christ as their personal saviour. The study further investigate the impact of African agents in the provision of education at Rusangu Mission. The African agents of Rusangu mission contributed vastly to the spread of literacy and industrial training among the Plateau Tonga. Specifically, the development of agriculture among the mission-educated Africans also contributed to the rise in political consciousness among the Plateau Tonga. The study further reveal that the African agents contributed to the development of man power both in colonial and post-colonial Zambia in education. Therefore, it is concluded that the development of Rusangu Mission was not a mono-effort by the missionaries as Africans equally played a vital role in evangelisation and provision of education at the mission.

DEDICATION

To my Mother, Elizabeth Mwambwa Aikayo whose love, inspiration and encouragement are invaluable. I also owe it in memory of my late father, Harrison Mweene Aikayo for his encouragement and struggle to see me through my education. To my brothers and sisters, I thank them for their encouragement in all my educational endeavours.

To all of you, I owe my success.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Special thanks to the Almighty God for giving me the opportunity to write this work amidst the challenges I faced. I sincerely wish to thank my supervisor, Dr. Euston Kasongo Chiputa for his endless and professional guidance throughout the research. His investigative and critical comments greatly contributed to the completion of this study. Further appreciation is extended to Prof. Bizeck J. Phiri and Dr. Walima T. Kalusa in the Department of Historical and Archaeological Studies for stimulating my interest in this study and the intellectual guidance.

I am grateful to the Librarians at the Special Collections Section of the University of Zambia Library and staff at the National Archives of Zambia for their support and patience in checking and finding the various documents that I needed to access during the course of my research. Many thanks also to some members of staff at Rusangu University, Rusangu Secondary School and Rusangu Primary School. I thank Rusangu Rural Health Centre and South Zambia Conference for providing me with major sources of information during my field work. Special gratitude goes to Chief Monze for allowing me to visit him at his palace and providing information that I needed for my study. I owe sincere appreciation to Sing'andu Bruno for taking me to Chief Monze's palace and acting as my interpreter. I humbly and sincerely acknowledge the support I got from Rusangu Mission community members for allowing me to interview them. Special thanks go to retired Pastor Bright Halwindi of Siyumbu Farms and Jonathan Mudala of Chikonga village, both former pupils of Rusangu Mission School, for the information they gave me about the mission activities.

My gratitude also goes to Nancy Nyambe Nasilele for providing me with accommodation and other needs during my field work at Rusangu Mission until the time I concluded conducting interviews. My blessings go to my son-in-law, Mr. Kanyika and my daughter Constance

Shibalwa Kanyika of Kamwala South, Lusaka, for their hospitality and courtesy during my stay at their home while I was waiting to be offered accommodation at the University of Zambia. I also express my thanks to my course mates in the M.A. class of 2017, Josephine Mwanza, Namushi Situtu, Monica Mbiri, Roseberry Phiri, Apex Mwanza, Oggy Kelvin Muombo, Jimaima Hang'ombe and Dalitso Phiri, for their support and encouragement during my study.

Lastly, my appreciation goes to my husband Godfrey Shibalwa and our children for their sacrifice, support, encouragement, love, care, understanding and perseverance during my study and long absence from home.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
AMO	Adventist Men Organisation
ANC	African National Congress
AY	Adventist Youth
CMML	Christian Missions in Many Lands
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
LMS	London Missionary Society
MTS	Ministerial Training School
NAZ	National Archives of Zambia
NRAC	Northern Rhodesia African Congress
NRMF	Northern Rhodesia Mission Field
PEMS	Paris Evangelical Missionary Society
PMO	Provincial Medical Officer
PS	Permanent Secretary
RFI	Riverside Farm Institute
RU	Rusangu University
SDA	Seventh Day Adventist
UNZA	University of Zambia

ZAC	Zambia Adventist College
ZAS	Zambia Adventist Seminary
ZAU	Zambia Adventist University
ZNBC	Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation

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CHAPTER ONE

1.0 Introduction and Historical Background

The Seventh Day Adventist (SDA) Church is one of the largest Protestant churches in Zambia. Its headquarters is the General Conference situated in Washington, D.C, in the United States of America. The name ‘Seventh Day Adventist’ was adopted by the Sabbath-keeping community in the United States of America in 1860.¹ In 1874, a worldwide mission programme was established whose main objective was to evangelise to the international community on the basis of the Adventist faith.² The worldwide mission sent American missionaries to all parts of the world where there was need of spreading the gospel. The Seventh Day Adventist message reached South Africa in 1887. Later in 1903, the Southern African Union Conference was formed with two conferences of European people and four missions among the Africans.³ In Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) they established the first station among the Africans in 1894: the Matebele Mission which was later named Solusi Mission, near Bulawayo, with a grant of land of 12,000 acres from Cecil Rhodes.⁴ The Adventists stretched out their works to Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia) in Monze District. William Harrison Anderson and his team established a mission at Rusangu in 1905 which became the first Adventist mission in Northern Rhodesia⁵ whilst their operational base remained at Solusi Mission in Southern Rhodesia.

Rusangu Mission is located in Monze district of Zambia under Chief Monze in the heartland of the Tonga plateau. The Mission was set close to Chief Muchilemba’s village near a prolific natural spring called *Tinti* which was regarded by the local community as *malende* (shrine). Anderson wanted the mission to be near the Africans so as to educate them and also

¹ Seventh-Day Adventists’, *Review and Herald: Special Anniversary Issue*, Vol. 152, No. 51 (1975), p. 5.

² Robert, H. Pierson, *Miracles Happen Every day*, (Mountain View: Pacific Press, 1983), p. 6

³ Arthur Whitefield Spalding, *Origin and History of Seventh Day*, Volume 4(1962), p. 9.

⁴ Spalding, *Origin and History of Seventh Day*, Volume 4, p. 13.

⁵ Peter Snelson, *Educational Development in Northern Rhodesia, 1883-1945*, (Lusaka: NECZAM, 1970), p. 97.

to spread the gospel as this was his main aim. Thus, he wanted a place that had good supply of water, availability of transport and good soil to set up an industrial mission.⁶

Anderson acquired another piece of land and by the beginning of the planting season in 1905 he had planted maize, the staple food crop, sweet potatoes and groundnuts. However, farming was not the main objective of establishing Rusangu Mission, but to spread the Gospel.⁷ The only way Anderson could find it effective to spread the gospel to Africans was through education as it could have a multiple effect and could be faster than any other means.⁸ The missionaries' motive for educating the local people was to enable them receive and understand the Gospel message by reading the Bible and then teach others too. Education was an important tool in evangelization and in nurturing Christian leadership.⁹ The idea of opening a school was welcomed by parents and they encouraged their children to attend. Thus, the first school was founded in 1905 at Rusangu Mission.¹⁰

Education was not only specifically to be offered to the communities surrounding Rusangu Mission, but also many parts of the Tonga plateau as well as the Gwembe valley. In this vein, the Rusangu missionaries embarked upon a programme of opening out-schools. With government approval, SDA missionaries and local teacher-evangelists opened several schools such as Bweengwa and Kazungula in Monze west and Kaumba in Monze east. Bweengwa was the first to be opened and proved very successful. In addition, the Mission established Munengu and Demu Schools in Magoye and Pemba east respectively. The out-schools were run on the principle of self-support. They had to produce enough food to feed themselves without depending on the main station. Additional teachers were recruited by Anderson from

⁶ William Harrison Anderson, *On the Trail of Livingstone*, (California: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1919), p. 179.

⁷ Elizabeth Colson, *Marriage and the Family among the plateau Tonga of Northern Rhodesia*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1958), p. 12.

⁸ Peters Harold Eugene, 'The Contribution of Education to the Development of Elite Among' Tonga Plateau of Zambia: A comparative study of schools 1930-1965,' PhD, Thesis, University of Illinois, (1976), pp. 92-93.

⁹ Snelson, *Educational Development in Northern Rhodesia*, p. 11.

¹⁰ Colson, *Marriage and the family among the plateau Tonga of Northern Rhodesia*, p. 12.

Solusi Mission in Zimbabwe to ensure a constant supply of teachers for the out-schools. Consequently, the opening of out-schools gave the missionaries an opportunity to also evangelise in other areas beyond Monze district.

Expansion of the Seventh Day Adventist activities led to the establishment of widely scattered missions. In 1917, a new mission station was founded in Mkushi District at Msofu. Other Stations were opened at Liumba Hill near Kalabo, in 1928 and Mwami in Chipata in the same year, at Sitoti in Senanga in 1944 and at Yuka, 10 kilometres from Kalabo in 1955.¹¹In all this, credit is given to local teacher-evangelists who contributed greatly to the furtherance of mission work among Africans.

1.1 Statement of the Problem

Works on Christian missions, evangelisation and education in Central Africa have largely focused on the role played by Western missionaries as transmitters of the gospel and Africans as recipients. However, there is an expansion in works analysing the roles played by African evangelists in converting their fellow Africans to Christianity. Such works have shown evidence of how Africans adopted Christianity and how African evangelists also became precursors in the spreading of Christianity in Zambia. However, little scholarly attention has been given to Rusangu Mission in this regard. Absalom Mhoswa did a study on the mission in which he focused on the educational contribution of the Jesuits at Chikuni and the Adventists at Rusangu from 1905 to 1964.¹² His concern was mainly a comparative view of the educational policies of the two missionary groups and the areas of differences that emerged. However, Mhoswa did not include the role played by African evangelists at Rusangu Mission. Therefore, this study focuses on the historical development of Rusangu

¹¹ Snelson, *Educational Development in Northern Rhodesia*, p. 96.

¹² Mhoswa, 'A Study of the Educational Contribution of the Jesuit Mission at Chikuni and the Adventist Mission at Rusangu', p.20.

Mission, particularly the role of African evangelists, and their impact in evangelism and education.

1.2 Objectives of the Study

The study attempted to:

1. Analyse the development of Rusangu Mission from 1905 to 2012;
2. Examine the role played by African agents in evangelisation at Rusangu Mission; and
3. Investigate the impact of African agents in the provision of education at Rusangu Mission.

1.3 Rationale

The rationale for undertaking this study lies in the fact that although much has been written on missionary evangelism and education in Zambia, little has been done on the role of African agents in evangelism and education at Rusangu Mission. It is hoped the study will provide insights on African agency in evangelism and education in colonial and post-colonial Zambia.

1.4 Literature Review

A survey of literature on evangelism and education shows that little has been done on African agents and the Seventh Day Adventists Mission at Rusangu. However, there is abundant literature on the origin of the Seventh-Day Adventists church, missionary education and evangelism in Africa – themes which proved significant to the present study.

In understanding the origin of the Seventh-Day Adventist Church and its doctrines, the studies by Arthur Whitefield Spalding were helpful. In his first volume, Spalding observes that the SDA had its early beginning in the United States of America where Sabbath-keeping

Adventists, in the early nineteenth century, proclaimed the second coming of Jesus. Believing that permanent results could be secured only by a longer series of meetings, the pioneers of the Adventist Church used camp meetings as an evangelical tool for winning followers to the new faith.¹³ In another volume, Spalding observes that in 1870 alone, Ellen G. White, an Adventist prophetess, attended fifteen camp meetings. The result of such meetings was the growth of the Sabbath-keeping community to include areas such as Michigan, New Hampshire, New York, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Iowa.¹⁴ Spalding's works proved essential to this study as they not only outline the history of the SDA church but also illuminate methods used in evangelism.

The work by Tony Gouda et al. give a synopsis of the SDA church in Africa. The authors observe that in 1879, the SDA church established a school in Egypt under the direction of Dr H.P. Ripton in an effort to extend its influence among Muslims. In West Africa, precisely in Liberia, Hannah Moore is mentioned to have started missionary work. Even though the first official missionary to have been sent to Liberia only went there in 1926, the Adventist message was already being preached. Ogouma et al. further observe that the spread of the Adventist message in southern Africa is credited to William Harrison Anderson who came to Africa in the early 1890s, headed Solusi Mission Station in Zimbabwe and later pioneered Adventist work in Southern Zambia.¹⁵ The study is useful in illuminating the spread of the SDA church in some African countries, including Zambia.

Matsobane J. Manala's work surveys the impact of Christianity on Sub-Sahara Africa focusing on Malawi, Uganda Kenya, Botswana, and South Africa. He observes that

¹³ Arthur W. Spalding, *Origin and History of Seventh-Day Adventists* Volume I (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1961), p.20.

¹⁴ Spalding, *Origin and History of Seventh-Day Adventists* Volume II (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1962), p.8.

¹⁵ Tony Ogouma, Bohoussou Y. Edmond, Kossi-EkaoAmouzou, and Ndometh E. Abib, 'A Brief History of the Seventh-Day Adventist Church in South Africa, 1869 – 1920', *Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences* Vol. 22, No. 8 (August 2017), p.45.

missionary enterprise in Africa during the twentieth century was a resounding success as protestant churches used mass Western education as a means of spreading Christianity. He cites an example from Malawi in which Christianity ousted evil social practices such as slave trade and trial by poisoning the accused.¹⁶ Manala's work, though not directly related to this study, brings out the broad view of the impact of Christianity on African societies.

In understanding strategies used by missionaries to achieve their civilising mission in Central Africa, the work of Robert Rotberg proved useful. Rotberg demonstrates that the missions and the overall impact of European experience contributed immensely to the outward and inward westernisation of the peoples of trans-Zambezia. He observes that many methods of coercion were used by missionaries to obtain compliance with their modernising demands. For instance, they provided employment only to those Africans who declared some seemingly sincere interest in Christianity.¹⁷ Rotberg's work helps to appreciate the various strategies used by missionaries to win Africans to Christianity.

Another useful study was done by Thomas Spear who notes that African evangelists played a critical role in increasing the number of their fellows by settling in villages, teaching in schools, and forcefully preaching the gospel in vernacular. They were also instrumental in translating the scriptures, interpreting the Christian message and conveying it to others. Spear further observes that in the course of indigenous missionary movement, the Christian message shifted subtly from that of a profoundly nineteenth-century European Christianity to a twentieth-century African one, rooted in vernacular Bibles and the catechists' own cultural interpretations.¹⁸ Spear's study is useful to the present one as it does not only spell out the

¹⁶ Matsobane J. Manala, 'Impact of Christianity on Sub Saharan Africa', *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae* Vol. 39, No.2 (Feb. 2013).

¹⁷ Robert I. Rotberg, *The Rise of African Nationalism in Central Africa: The Making of Malawi and Zambia 1873 – 1964* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), p.9.

¹⁸ Thomas Spear, 'Toward a History of African Christianity', in Thomas Spear and Isaria N. Kimambo (eds.), *East African Expressions of Christianity* (London: James Currey, 1999), p.7.

role played by African agents but also the degree to which they indigenised Christianity within existing cultural lens – something that this study attempts to do.

Joseph Mujere, who examines the role of African evangelists among the Shona in the late nineteenth century, is in agreement with Spear. He observes that African evangelists were quite indispensable in the evangelisation of many African communities. Apart from working as evangelists and lay preachers, early African converts worked as translators, porters, guides, and advisers among other jobs.¹⁹ Although the study is not directly linked to the present one, it was useful as it enhanced our understanding of the roles played by African evangelists in converting fellow Africans to Christianity.

The study by C.J.M. Zvobgo observes that Wesleyan Methodist missionaries adopted new tactics to evangelise Africans in Southern Rhodesia. These methods included the use of African evangelists, conversion of traditional leaders and the use of music bands. He notes that the use of local evangelists was out of the conviction that Africans were best fitted to carry the message to their fellow Africans.²⁰ Although Zvobgo's study focuses on Southern Rhodesia, it is of help to this study in that it provides insights into the changing evangelical tactics that missionaries used to convert Africans to Christianity.

Zvobgo's view resonates with that of Terence Ranger who observes that, the first generation of Anglican and Methodist missionaries in Southern Rhodesia trained up an African clergy, expecting them to take over the churches and to play a prophetic role. He, however, notes that some missionaries refused to support the efforts of African agents who were providing education in the reserves. This led to strained relations between the missionaries and local

¹⁹ Joseph Mujere, 'African Intermediaries: African Evangelists, the Dutch Reformed Church, and the Evangelisation of the Southern Shona in the Late Nineteenth Century', *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae* Vol. 39, No.2 (Feb. 2013)

²⁰ C.J.M. Zvobgo, 'The Influence of the Wesleyan Methodist Mission in Southern Rhodesia, 1891 – 1923', in J.A. Dachs (ed.), *Christianity South of the Zambezi* (Gwelo: Mambo Press, 1973), p.67.

evangelists resulting in the formation of African independent churches.²¹ Similarly, Zablon Nthamburi notes that the rift between missionaries and African agents was partly necessitated by Western-trained clergy's failure to have time for "real problems" that haunted the people.²² The studies by Ranger and Nthamburi broadly helped us understand the role of African adherents in evangelism and education as well as the strained relations that sometimes emerged between the two groups.

Further, the work by Patrick Harries demonstrates that the growth of mining compounds was paralleled by the expansion of missionary activities on the Witwatersrand. The gold fields were viewed by various missionary groups as ideal centres from which to spread the Gospel throughout South Africa. The missionaries began training black catechists who in turn ran religious services and Sunday schools in the absence of white missionaries. Harries further observes that labour migrants who had received elementary education and had been recommended by missionaries, opened up catechists classes in the mine compounds.²³ Harries work is useful as it enhances our understanding of the contribution of African agents in expanding missionary influence beyond ethnic lines.

Another work valuable to this study is N.D. Atkinson's chapter 'The Missionary Contribution to Early Education in Rhodesia'. Atkinson explores a number of missionary groups in Rhodesia and their contribution to the field of education. Schools, teacher training institutions and trade schools were established as centres of civilisation. He further notes that missionaries provided industrial education which was used to better serve the economic interests of both the Europeans and the Africans.²⁴ R.W. Schwarz agrees with Atkinson by

²¹ Terence Ranger, 'African Initiated Churches', *Transformation*, Vol. 24, No. 2 (April 2007), p.68.

²² Zablon Nthamburi, 'Toward indigenisation of Christianity in Africa: A Missiological Task', *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* (July, 1989), p.116.

²³ Patrick Harries, *Work, Culture and Identity: Migrant Labourers in Mozambique and South Africa, c. 1860 – 1910* (Portsmouth: Heinemann, 1994), p.213.

²⁴ N.D. Atkinson, 'The Missionary Contribution to Early Education in Rhodesia', in J.A. Dachs (ed.), *Christianity South of the Zambezi* (Gwelo: Mambo Press, 1973), p.71.

stating that instructing young men in agriculture and mechanical lines would fit them for practical duties of life.²⁵ Although Atkinson's work does not mention the SDA Mission at Rusangu, it is significant in that it helps us appreciate the impact of missionary education on Africans.

David Beach, in his study, 'The Initial impact of Christianity on the Shona',²⁶ is concerned with the response of southern Shona people to evangelists and missionaries of the protestant churches up to the arrival of the British South Africa Company (BSA) in 1890 in Mashonaland. He observes that the southern Shona rulers' response to missionary enterprise was overwhelming due to demands for imported goods such as cloth, bracelets and beads.²⁷ Although Beach's work focuses on the Shona people of Southern Rhodesia, it is nonetheless helpful in understanding the varied motives of Africans in accepting Christianity and its attendant values – an aspect that this study investigates.

Also valuable to the present study is Ado Tiberondwa's *Missionary Teachers as Agents of Colonialism* in which he notes that European missionaries who went to Uganda and other African countries introduced Western education mainly as a means of converting Africans to Christianity. He further observes that in colonial Africa, the church and school were allies of the colonial forces based in Europe.²⁸ The study is of help as it shows that missionary schools and churches were two sides of the same coin whose ultimate goal was to win Africans to the Christian faith.

In addition, Edward Berman's work is vital to the present study. Berman's study focuses on African reactions to missionary education and to missionaries as people. He observes that

²⁵ R.W. Schwarz, *Light Bearers to the Remnant: Denominational History for Seventh Day Adventist College Classes* (Washington D.C.: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1979), p. 121.

²⁶ David N. Beach, 'The Initial Impact of Christianity on the Shona', in J.A. Dachs (ed.), *Christianity South of the Zambezi* (Gwelo: Mambo Press, 1973), p.25.

²⁷ Beach D.N 'The Initial Impact of Christianity on the Shona', p.25.

²⁸ Ado K. Tiberondwa, *Missionary Teachers as Agents of Colonialism: a Study of their activities in Uganda, 1877 – 1925* (Lusaka: Kenneth Kaunda Foundation, 1978), p.131.

missionaries were agents of European churches and constructed schools because education was considered to be the motor for spreading the Gospel of Jesus Christ. He further notes that the African reasons for attending mission schools were mainly political, social or economic.²⁹ Although Berman's study is not directly linked to this study, it is invaluable as it demonstrates the interplay between education and evangelism; that education was a means of converting Africans to Christianity.

A study that dwells quite substantially on the educational contribution of Rusangu Mission is Absalom M. Mhoswa's work. Mhoswa makes a comparative study of the educational contribution of the Jesuits at Chikuni and the Adventists at Rusangu missions from 1905 to 1980. He observes that both missions used education as a means of evangelism. In addition, Mhoswa's work gives a detailed narrative of the establishment of Rusangu Mission.³⁰ The present study builds on these insights but distinguishes itself by bringing the discourse up to 2012.

While Mhoswa concentrates on education as a means of evangelism, Jonas S. Chitebeta shows how the SDA used the media as a tool of evangelism especially in post-colonial Zambia. He observes that the SDA African evangelists, in an attempt to reach out to many people in the 1970s and 80s, aired on the Zambia Broadcasting Service (ZBS), later renamed Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC) radio, some vernacular programmes such as *Ijwi Lya Cishinshimi* (voice of prophecy) and *Atusalazyanye mu Bbaibbele* (Let's get clarity from the Bible).³¹ Chitebeta's findings provide the basis for further investigation into some of the methods introduced by the SDA in its effort to win African converts.

²⁹ Edward H. Berman, 'African Responses to Christian Mission Education', *African Studies Review*, Vol. 17, No.3 (Dec., 1974), pp.527-540.

³⁰ A. Mhoswa, 'A Study of the Educational Contribution of the Jesuit Mission at Chikuni and the Adventist Mission at Rusangu', MA Dissertation, University of Zambia, 1980, p.19.

³¹ Jonas S. Chitebeta, 'The Seventh Day Adventist Church in Zambia and the Media: An Evaluation of the use of Mass Media by the Church', MCD Dissertation, University of Zambia, 2006, p.21.

Charles C. Guthrie explores the impact of missionary education on the lives of the first generation of the African elite at Mwenzo mission in Northern Zambia. He observes that while the traditional elite were experiencing a gradual loss of position, a new generation of educated Africans was emerging.³² These elite became the forerunners of African nationalism in colonial Zambia. The current study builds on these findings and examines how education at Rusangu may have influenced the political landscape in Monze particularly and Southern Province in general.

Sean Francis Morrow's study examines the motivations and methods of the London Missionary Society (LMS) in Northern Rhodesia to 1941. He demonstrates that missionaries of the LMS regretted the impact of European civilisation on Africans as it worked against the moral and social standing contained in Christian values. This is because most of the missionary educated Africans left rural areas for urban centres, leading to the collapse of Christian values they had earlier embraced as converts. Missionaries, therefore, wished to preserve a Christianised version of what they perceived in the traditional way of life as a shield against forces of urbanisation which they believed to be unethical and socially destructive.³³ Morrow's study is significant in that it shows ways in which Africans came to view Western education as a ladder to better life in town – something this study also investigates.

Bernard M. Chisenga's work is equally significant in that it illuminates the impact of Western Education on the Lala of Serenje district. He notes that mission education created a political leadership which assumed district and national leadership of various movements.³⁴ The

³² Charles C. Guthrie, 'The Emergence and Decline of Mission-educated Elite in Northeast Zambia 1895 – 1964', Ph.D. Thesis, Indiana University, (1978), p.269.

³³ Sean F. Morrow, 'Motives and Methods of the London Missionary Society in Northern Rhodesia 1887 – 1941', Ph.D. Thesis, University of Sussex, (1985), p.100.

³⁴ Bernard M. Chisenga, 'Chitambo Mission: A History of Missionary Education and its Impact on Lala Society of Serenje District, 1906 – 1964', M.A. Dissertation, University of Zambia, (1987), p.60.

present study benefited from Chisenga's findings by investigating how mission education contributed to political consciousness among former students of Rusangu Mission.

In his 'Educational Policy and Activities of the Dutch Reformed Church Mission in Zambia', Richard Lupiya demonstrates that the main objective of the mission's educational work was conversion of Africans. The demands of secular education were, therefore, reckoned to be secondary. In post-colonial Zambia, however, the mission no longer viewed education as a means of conversion but a tool for entrenching Christian values and principles among the adherents.³⁵ This study is important in that it shows how missionary perceptions were shaped by changing times and political environments.

The work by Walima T. Kalusa, which focuses on the medical encounter between missionaries and the Lunda-speaking people of Zambia in Mwinilunga district, is of value to this study. Kalusa argues that missionary medicine in Africa emerged out of its interactions with Africans and came to fit into local medical systems that missionaries wanted to eradicate in the first place. He further argues that in their engagement with evangelical medics, Africans re-interpreted, filtered and fine-tuned the new system of healing through their own existing cultural lens and medical knowledge in ways that confounded European medical evangelists.³⁶ In another study, Kalusa notes that indigenous medical workers in colonial hospitals were more than translators who crafted languages through which Western medicine came to be expressed or understood. He further observes that African auxiliaries invented rituals critical to the smooth running of colonial and mission hospital regimes.³⁷ The analysis put forward by Kalusa forms a useful framework for examining the role played by African agents as well as their response to European medical evangelism.

³⁵ Richard L.S. Banda. 'The Educational Policy and Activities of Dutch Reformed Church Mission in Zambia up to 1976', M.Ed. Dissertation, University of Zambia, (1981).

³⁶ Walima T. Kalusa, 'Disease and the Rethinking of Missionary Medicine', Ph.D. Thesis, Johns Hopkins University, 2003, p.90.

³⁷ Walima T. Kalusa, 'Language, Medical Auxiliaries, and the Re-interpretation of Missionary Medicine in Colonial Mwinilunga, Zambia 1922 – 51', *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, Vol. 1, No.1 (April, 2007), p.60.

Brendan Carmody's study, *Conversion and Jesuit Schooling in Zambia*³⁸, explains how education was a means of promoting conversion at a Roman Catholic Jesuit mission station. He observes that by the early part of the twentieth century, the Jesuits had embraced school as a means of evangelism, shifting from the earlier mode which emphasised social and structural aspects of conversion. The new strategy entailed establishing village schools in as many areas as possible.³⁹ Carmody's work provides a mirror through which the present study analyses ways in which Adventist missionaries accessed local populations for evangelism; seeing that they operated in the same locality with the Jesuits.

James Haabukoko Naali's work on the Pilgrim Wesleyan Missionary Society in Choma analyses the methods of conversion employed by the mission to win Africans to Christianity. The strategies included provision of western education, health services, material rewards and evangelism through pastoral training and the use of women.⁴⁰ The present study benefits from Naali's findings by demonstrating ways through which both European missionaries and African evangelists won converts.

In understanding Tonga society prior to European penetration, Elizabeth Colson's study is valuable. She observes that Christianity changed the Tonga perceptions about the nature of their world and the meaning of their own lives.⁴¹ The study proved important in that it explains Tonga beliefs prior to Christian influence and how they changed or remained static when Christianity was introduced.

A more recent study by Rodgers Chuulu investigates the extent to which the advent of Christianity impacted on the traditional religion of the Toka and Leya people of chief Mukuni

³⁸ Brendan P. Carmody, *Conversion and Jesuit Schooling in Zambia* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992), p.4.

³⁹ Carmody, *Conversion and Jesuit Schooling in Zambia*, p.4.

⁴⁰ James H. Naali, 'A History of the Pilgrim Wesleyan Missionary Society in Choma District, 1930 – 1990', M.A. Dissertation, University of Zambia, (2003), p.8.

⁴¹ Elizabeth Colson, *Tonga Religious Life in the Twentieth Century* (Lusaka: Book world Publishers, 2006), p.237.

in Livingstone. Chuulu notes that acceptance of Christianity by the Toka and Leya changed their conception about *Leza* (God) and embraced Christian values in place of traditional practices such as ancestor honour, offertory prayers and rites of passage.⁴² Chuulu's study helps to understand the Toka and Leya religious life before the advent of Christian missionaries and the changes that took place thereafter.

1.5 Methodology

Data for this study was collected from February to July 2019. The study used both primary and secondary sources. The first part of the research was devoted to collecting published and unpublished data from Secondary sources such as books, journal articles, theses and dissertations at the University of Zambia main library. These sources provided information concerning not only the development of Rusangu Mission but also the role played by African agents in various missionary groups.

This was followed by visits at the National Archives of Zambia (NAZ) in Lusaka where primary documents such as District Notebooks, District and Provincial Tour Reports, District Education Authority Minutes and Correspondence, and letters were consulted. These documents provided information on the educational affairs of Rusangu Mission in the colonial period.

Lastly, oral interviews were conducted at Rusangu and surrounding areas in Monze where first-hand information on evangelism and educational activities of the Mission were obtained. Informants included present and former SDA African evangelists and former students, lecturers at Rusangu University, teachers at Rusangu Primary and Rusangu Secondary Schools, members of staff at Rusangu Rural Health Centre Clinic, and officers at the SDA

⁴² Rodgers M. Chuulu, 'The Impact of Christianity on the Traditional Religion of the Toka and Leya of Mukuni Village in Livingstone', M.Ed. Dissertation, University of Zambia, (2015), p.50.

South Zambia Conference offices. Oral interviews provided data that was lacking in written sources.

1.6 Organisation of the Study

This study is divided into five chapters in a chronological manner. Chapter One introduces the study and outlines the historical background of Rusangu Mission. The chapter also contains the statement of the problem, objectives, rationale, literature review, methodology and organisation of the study. Chapter Two analyses the development of Rusangu Mission. It shows how the coming of the white missionaries into the area led to its development through Western education which was a motivating factor towards converting Africans to Christianity. Chapter Three examines the role played by African agents in evangelisation at Rusangu Mission. The chapter reveals that various approaches of evangelism were employed by African agents to convert their fellow Africans to Christianity not only at Rusangu Mission but other places in colonial and post- colonial Zambia. Chapter Four investigates the impact of African agents in the provision of education at Rusangu and notes that African agents at Rusangu Mission contributed massively to the spread of literacy and industrial training among their fellow Africans. Chapter Five is the conclusion of the study.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 DEVELOPMENT OF RUSANGU MISSION, 1905-2012

2.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the development of Rusangu Mission from 1905 to 2012. It examines the events that took place in colonial and post-colonial Zambia. It is argued that the development of Rusangu Mission was not a mono-effort by the white missionaries as Africans also played a pivotal role in evangelisation and provision of education at the Mission. The chapter reveals that Rusangu Mission was established in 1905 by William Harrison Anderson on the eastern plateau of Monze District in Southern Province, with intent to educate Africans and spread the gospel. The development of the Mission began with the introduction of Western education to Africans. The knowledge of reading and writing enabled Africans to spread the gospel to their fellow Africans. Therefore, education was a motivating factor towards converting to Christianity. The chapter further discusses the introduction of training centres where Africans were trained in teaching, agriculture, carpentry, bricklaying and other trades to raise their standards of living. The Mission later started providing health and medical services to the members of the community. This promoted the growth of the Mission. Beyond education and health, African agents innovated and improvised new strategies of converting fellow Africans to Adventist Christianity, such as camp meetings. Lastly, the chapter discusses the introduction and importance of secondary and tertiary education in the development of Rusangu Mission.

2.2 Overview of Early Missionary Work in Northern Rhodesia

The nineteenth century was a period in which several missionary societies set up mission stations in Northern Rhodesia. Northern Rhodesia was first penetrated by missionary

explorers of whom the most remarkable was Dr. David Livingstone of the London Missionary Society. Livingstone did a lot of explorations in central Africa up until his death in 1873. His death encouraged many missionaries to come to Northern Rhodesia. For instance, Francois Coillard of the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society (PEMS) established the first permanent mission station at Sesheke, north of the Zambezi in 1885.¹ The London Missionary Society (LMS) of Robert Moffat also opened a mission station at Fwambo's village near the Kawimbe plateau. In the Southern Province, Elizabeth Colson states that the first missionaries who opened a mission station in 1901 on the Zambezi were the Primitive Methodists. The Primitive Methodists were later joined by the Jesuits who built Chikuni Mission and the Seventh Day Adventists who set up Rusangu Mission on the eastern plateau of Monze in 1905.²

Additionally, Fredrick Stanley Arnot, a Plymouth Brethren pioneer reached Barotseland (Western Province) in 1882. He set up a mission station at Sefula in 1887, where he built a church and school.³ The beneficiaries were Lewanika's son called Litia, royal family members and the community at large. The onset of this school marked the early history of education in Northern Rhodesia. In every mission station that was established, George Wayland Carpenter observes, the missionary settlement included a primary school and a church. Both adults and children were pupils as the main interest was to impart the knowledge of reading and writing to the Africans.⁴ It was through their interest in evangelism that the missionaries introduced western education to the Africans so that the latter could read

¹ Brendon Carmody, *The Evolution of Education in Zambia*, (Lusaka: Book world Publishers, 2004), p. 1.

² Elizabeth Colson, *Tonga Religious Life in the Twentieth Century* (Lusaka: Book World Publishers, 2006), p. 10

³D. E. Needham, E. K Mashingaidze and N. Bhebe, *From Iron Age to Independence: A history of Central Africa*, New Edition, (Edinburgh: Longman Group Limited, 1984), p. 100

⁴ George W. Carpenter, *African Education and the Christian Missions*, Vol. 41, No. 4, (Jan, 1960), p. 191.

the Bible and disseminate the gospel to others.⁵ However, the skills of reading and writing, according to the missionaries, were what constituted education.

2.3 Origins of Rusangu Mission

Rusangu Mission was established in 1905 by an American missionary, William Harrison Anderson and his team. The missionaries belonged to the Seventh Day Adventist church (SDA). Their main task was to evangelise the communities of Rusangu mission, other areas around Monze and Zambia at large. To convert the Tonga people to Christianity, Anderson set up a school that was used as a tool for evangelisation. Michael Omolelwa notes that Christian missionaries laid the ground for Western education and used literacy training as a method of converting Africans to Christianity.⁶ Through education, social control over African people was achieved by the missionaries. By 1907, Rusangu Mission had established out-schools in several parts of Monze as will be shown in subsequent chapters.

Before the introduction of western education, Africans largely practiced their own traditional education. Michael Omolelwa defines traditional African education as:

An integral part of the culture and history of a local community, which is stored in various forms and transmitted through different modes. Modes include language, music, dance, oral tradition, proverbs myths, stories, culture and religion.

Learning in the traditional system involved everyone in the community in preparation for one's roles in the society. Elizabeth Colson highlights that among the Tonga community

⁵ John M. Mwanakatwe, *The Growth of Education in Zambia Since Independence*, (Lusaka: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 9.

⁶ Michael Omolelwa, 'Educating the Native: A Study of the Education adaptation strategy in British Colonial Africa, 1910-1936', *Journal of African American History*, Vol. 91, No.3 (2010), p. 267.

children underwent training in the village. They acquired adult roles that prepared them for a single career according to sex.⁷ Like Colson, Mwanakatwe explains that:

Traditional education was extensive practical training of the young ones to enable them to play a useful role in society. It sought to adapt the young generation to their physical environment so that they could use it fruitfully for their own benefit and the benefit of the whole community. This education varied from tribe to tribe and the methods used were dictated largely by the nature of the environment.⁸

Mwanakatwe's view signifies that traditional African education was used to transmit cultural values to the young ones and to shape their livelihood. This was passed from one generation to another through word of mouth. There were no schools and professional teachers, but initiation centres and adult members of the community were teachers. Traditional leaders possessed moral and religious authority which influenced their communities in achieving developmental goals.⁹As such, they were respected in the society.

2.4 Language Barrier

Language is humanity's primary means of communication. It is the method through which humans share their ideas and thoughts with one another. Language is used to inform others, to ask them to do certain things and to express feelings, moods, ideas, information, experiences and so on. If people are unable to communicate using a language this is what is known as language barrier. The most challenging problem the European and American missionaries encountered in Africa was language. At the time when the Christian missionaries came into Africa, not many Africans understood and spoke European languages, nor did Europeans speak African languages. Anderson could not speak Tonga with the local

⁷ Elizabeth Colson, *Marriage and the family among the Plateau Tonga of Northern Rhodesia*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1958), p. 258.

⁸ Mwanakatwe, *The Growth of Education in Zambia Since Independence*, p. 1.

⁹ Omolewa, 'Traditional African Modes of Education: Their Relevance in the Modern World,' p. 601.

people; similarly, the local people could not speak English. Missionaries spoke through African interpreters who did not have adequate knowledge of English language to interpret correctly. Edward E. Andrews observes that the language barrier disadvantaged basic communication and hindered the spreading of the gospel.¹⁰ It was difficult for the missionaries to communicate freely with the people.

In view of the above, missionaries' first task at their newly established missions was to learn the language of the people of the area around the mission and to put the language down in writing.¹¹ The conversion of the Africans without effective and active communication was believed to be impossible. It was only possible through learning the language, knowing and appreciating the cultural contexts and experiences of the relevant cultures. Anderson learned to speak Chitonga language from his pupils. Having learnt a bit of Chitonga, he would get a Bible story and translate it into Tonga. The story would then be read to the pupils. Thereafter, he would use the same story to teach pupils how to read and write.¹²

Since the language of the Tonga people was not yet in written form, lessons were taught phonetically and the missionary had to prepare his own grammar books to use. By producing grammars, dictionaries, textbooks and translation of religious texts, missionaries laid the foundation for translated literature in African languages.¹³ Carpenter observes that lack of school texts and other reading materials in the African languages was the greatest deterrent to effective teaching.¹⁴ In this case teachers had to be resourceful in order to teach the indigenous language to the pupils and the community. Henry D'Souza states that the

¹⁰ Edward, E. Andrews, 'Christian Missions and Colonial Empires Reconsidered: A Black Evangelist in West Africa, 1766-1816,' *Journal of Church and State*, Vol. 51, No.4(2009), p. 680.

¹¹ Michael, Kelly J., *The origins and Development of Education in Zambia: From Pre-colonial Times to 1966*, (Lusaka; Image Publishers Ltd. 1999), p. 34.

¹² Arthur Whitefield Spalding, *Origins and History of Seventh Day Adventists Volume 4* (Washington, D.C. Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1962) p. 20.

¹³ Pawlikova-Vilhanova Viera, 'Christian Missions in Africa and their Role in the Transformation of African Societies,' *Asians and African Studies*, Vol, 16, No.2 (2007), p. 225.

¹⁴ Carpenter, 'African Education and the Christian Missions,' Vol. 41, No.4, (1909), p. 191.

elementary vernacular school was based on the sound educational principle that a child should start his early education in the mother tongue.¹⁵ Rotberg agrees with D'Souza that Africans learned how to count, read and write in their own language as well as memorising selected quotes of the Bible.¹⁶ Learners were quick to master what they learnt because they were familiar with the language.

2.5 Primary Education, 1905-1964

Rusangu Primary School got its name from the *musangu* trees that surrounded the area where the Mission was established. The missionaries failed to pronounce the word '*Musangu*,' hence the derivative of the name Rusangu Mission. The missionaries who came from Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) led by Anderson, first settled in Chief Monze's area where they were granted a piece of land of about 5,436 acres (2,200 Hectares).¹⁷ The following Africans were among the team; Jacob Detcha, Philip Malomo, Jack Mahlatini Mpofo and Andrew Nyakana. These Ndebele speaking people acted as Anderson's helpers and interpreters of the Tonga language. Some of them later settled around Malomo area east of Monze which much later became popularly known as 'Ndebele' settlement.¹⁸

The first school buildings were shelters built of grass which acted as classrooms from Monday to Friday and as a church on Saturday. As time went by, three buildings were constructed of pole and mud bricks, and roofed with grass. The three buildings made up Rusangu Primary School. The main aim of the mission was to preach the Gospel and the most important tool was education. The school was a powerful force to attract those who were anxious to learn as William Lane notes:

¹⁵ Henry D'Souza, 'External Influences on the Development of Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa from 1923 to 1939,' *African Studies Review*, Vol. 18, No. 2 (Sep, 1975), p. 37

¹⁶ Robert, I. Rotberg, *A Practical History of Tropical Africa*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 191.

¹⁷ National Archives of Zambia (hereafter N.A.Z.) SP/3/25/28, Seventh Day Adventist Rusangu Mission, District Education Authorities Minutes and General Correspondence 28 October, 1960.

¹⁸ Interview with Bright Halwindi, Siyumbu Farms, Monze District, 15 May, 2019.

Now to convert the native to Christianity it is necessary to have schools and to impart at least an elementary education. It is through the medium of schools that the young can be influenced and trained to good lives; it is only by instructing and training the young that Christianity can be introduced and get a footing among these people ... a certain amount of schooling is necessary.¹⁹

Therefore, school was used as a centre of attraction to the young ones, where instructing and training them would be much easier.

Primary education was in three stages thus, elementary from Sub-Standard A and B to Standard II, Middle stage and Upper Primary was from standard III up to V1. Anderson, who started as the only teacher later recruited Detcha and Malomo as assistants. Rusangu Mission developed and local men were being trained as teachers. The school Curriculum included three aspects which Adventists were expected to give equal attention to. These were to train the Hand, the Heart and the Head. The aim of training these would:

Harmoniously develop the physical, the mental, social and spiritual powers of the students for the joy of services in this world and for the higher joy in the world to come in conformity with the values and the teachings of the Seventh Day Adventist Church.

In their philosophy statement, the SDA church believed that if the pupils were trained to be thinkers and not mere reflectors of other people's thoughts, they could attain academic, moral and spiritual excellence.

In addition, the enrolled pupils at Rusangu Mission School were engaged in manual work as a key school programme. The pupils did not pay school fees but did manual work to cover their living and learning expenses. Pupils were provided with clothing, blankets, food, slates to write on and several other things. Manual work was a means of developing Christian character and agricultural skills. Harold Eugene Peters quotes William Anderson in his work

¹⁹ William S.J. Lane, 'Jesuit Religious Education: Zambesi to Zambia, 1875-1975', M.Ed. Thesis, Trinity College, Dublin, 1976.

as stating that “it is a good experience for the boys and they are learning, to bear burdens and carrying responsibilities that will work wonders in the development of the character”.²⁰ From the foregoing, it can be stated that missionary education aimed at developing the value of self-sufficiency in students.

The early schools for the Africans were centred on industrial education. The pupils tilled the soil, raised most of their own food and sometimes produced for sale. They planted fruit trees, and ate the fruit.²¹ The pupils at Rusangu School were trained to work by using their hands in order to develop the agricultural skill they would go with as they left school. This skill, if utilised would enable them to be responsible in the society and develop economically.

The mental development stated in the curriculum was about life transformation in totality which began from birth. The school engaged the pupils in activities that involved remembering, imagining, thinking and solving problems to enhance mental development. Practical work too encouraged close observation and independent thought processes. Ellen G. White observes that when practical work was rightly performed, the development of practical wisdom known as common sense improved.²² Practical work develops ability to plan and implement, reinforces courage and determination, and calls for the exercise of thoughtfulness and skill. It is in the early years in the home and in the formal school work that the mind develops, and a pattern of living is established and character is formed. At Rusangu Mission the learners were aided to develop spiritually through the Bible. As the pupils studied the word of God, not only were they taught how to pray, how to exercise faith in God, but also how to understand and obey God.²³

²⁰ Harold Peters, ‘The Contribution of Education to the Development of Elite Among Tonga Plateau of Zambia: A Comparative study of schools 1930-1965’ PhD, Thesis. University of Illinois, (1976), p. 17.

²¹ Spalding, *Origins and History of Seventh Day Adventists, Volume 4*, p. 23.

²² Ellen, G. White, *Education*, (Mountain View: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1903), p. 170.

²³ White, *Education*, p. 93.

Although Rusangu School progressed well, it continued to experience a high rate of pupil desertion. The worst occurred in 1912 when the pupils left the Mission in protest that Anderson refused to include English in the school curriculum when the subject would fit them for a variety of wage-earning jobs. The same situation had happened at Chikuni Mission in 1911 where school had to be abandoned frequently because of the same views by students. Similarly, Sefula School in Barotseland did not offer English.²⁴ Pupils felt their ability in the language of the Missionaries was the most impressive aspect of education. To the contrary, the function of the school, according to Anderson, was not to provide the pupils with the skills which would enable them to earn a living in this world but to prepare them for the next world through a study of the Holy Scriptures.²⁵

Anderson was unable to find a single pupil for Rusangu School for the rest of 1912 and 1913.²⁶ However, he revived the school in 1914, but still refused to concede defeat to the Tonga people. He went on to recruit pupils among the Lenje people and victoriously reopened his school with forty Lenje children whom he transported to Rusangu Mission School at a considerable expense.

2.6 Girl-child Education, 1907-1964

The enrolment of girls at Rusangu School in 1907 marked the beginning of girls' education in the area. By 1919, the number of pupils had increased but there were few girls. The girls attended academic classes at the elementary and middle levels. The lack of continuity contributed to the slow development of the girls' school. The main factor for the lack of continuity was parents' attitude towards girl education and desire for their girl children to marry early. Other factors could have been that the idea of education was strange among the

²⁴ Carmody, *The Evolution of Education in Zambia*, p. 7.

²⁵ R.W. Schwarz, *Light Bearers to the Remnant: Denominational History for Seventh Day Adventist College classes* (Washington D.C.: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1979), p. 121.

²⁶ Snelson, *Educational Development in northern Rhodesia*. p. 95.

Africans who did not see the significance of reading and writing.²⁷ However, Carpenter explains that though many women or girls had no opportunity of going to school, and could not read they received education in childcare, hygiene, cooking, sewing, Christian family life, storytelling and the Bible.²⁸ Story telling played a vital role in traditional education, to teach children about the history, norms and values of their households and communities. Edwin W. Smith notes that stories were used to amuse and express feelings, and to teach ideal forms of behaviour and morality.²⁹

By the mid-twentieth century the enrolment of girls had increased. With regard to the increase of the number of girls, the School Inspection Report for the Department of African Education observed that, Rusangu Mission had one of the largest girls' schools in the territory in 1936.³⁰ The girls continued to work hard in their domestic science class and the government appreciated their works. It was reported during an inspection of schools conducted by the education officer at Mutama SDA School that their work was good in embroidery, pots and mats making.³¹ The unfortunate thing was that the girls had no desks, they sat on bricks. These were some of the challenges the Missionaries encountered in running these schools. However, Tersha M. Robinson comments that the women and girls no longer wore skins for apparel, nor were they still hiding their faces in fear. They became bright eyed, well dressed and intelligent looking.³² The knowledge of embroidery made them change the dress code.

²⁷ Kelly, *The Origins and Development of Education in Zambia: From Pre- Colonial Times to 1966*, p. 6.

²⁸ Carpenter, 'African Education and the Christian Missions', p. 192.

²⁹ Edwin W. Smith, 'The Function of Folk- Tales', *Journal of the African Royal Society*, Vol XXXIX, No. C, p. 65.

³⁰ N.A.Z., C1/8/14/3, Seventh Day Adventist Rusangu Mission, Department of African Education Schools Inspection Report, 1936.

³¹ N.A.Z., SP4/8/7, Seventh Day Adventist Rusangu Mission, Department of African Education Schools Inspection Report, 5 March, 1955.

³² Tersha M. Robinson, 'Institute for African Women in Northern Rhodesia,' *Southern African Division Outlook*, December 1, (1949), p. 1.

On the other hand, the boys had shown interest in learning though the enrolment was often inconsistent as some of the boys would usually break off from school for six months and became deeply engaged in marital affairs.³³ The only hope was that the boys would return to school when everything was over. Over age enrolment was accepted. The following table shows the enrolment and attendance of boys and girls at Bweengwa School in Mazabuka district.

Table I: Pupil Enrolment and Attendance at Bweengwa Mission School of Mazabuka District, 1955

Class	No. on roll		Average attendance (Days)		No. Present		No. of very aged		No. Repeating	
	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS
SS A	33	28	28.5	24.1	27	23	-	-	3	3
SS B	19	23	11.6	21.6	15	23	-	-	-	1
S I	32	28	32.6	23.1	21	23	3	5	2	1
S II	37	24	32.2	19.8	31	22	5	16	3	1
S III	19	17	13.1	11.1	15	12	2	7	3	1
S IV	19	5	17.5	4.2	18	5	2	5	1	1
Total	159	125	135.5	103.9	127	108	12	33	12	8

Source: N.A.Z, SP/4/8/7, Seventh Day Adventist Rusangu Mission, Department of African Education Schools Inspection Report, 27 April, 1955.

The above table shows the enrolment of boys and girls that was fluctuating and the acceptance of over age pupils to promote the continuity of education among the Africans. To the contrary, over age enrolment was illegally implemented by the Adventist agency. It was made known to the Department of Native Education after the inspection tours by the District

³³ J. V. Wilson, "Lusaka North Rhodesia Mission Field," *The African Division Outlook*, April 1, (1923), p. 4.

officer that Rusangu Mission did not abide by the government rules of not enrolling over age pupils as was the case at Bweengwa School.³⁴

Although mission schools developed on the basis of self- support through their agricultural production, the demand for more schools and more teachers had continued. For example, the President of Northern Rhodesia Mission Field in Monze, Mr. Webster, wrote to the District Commissioner, Mazabuka, on 26 October, 1955 asking for permission to conduct a school:

Our members at Malomo settlement, out from Monze about 12miles, are eager to conduct a church school unaided by government. They will supply a teacher who will naturally meet the standards and will also pay him a regular salary. They are desirous of having their children taught in the Matebele language and also according to their religious principles.³⁵

From the request above, it can be seen that the demand to have a school in the community was something they could not avoid. Parents had realised how significant education was in the lives of their children. The other area of emphasis was their children to be taught in Ndebele, the language they understood very well as it was the nature of elementary schools to teach in vernacular language. Ndebele language was preferred because the majority of the people at Malomo were families of the Ndebele men who had come with Anderson from Zimbabwe as translators, porters and pathfinders.

In a similar manner, the Manager of Schools for Chikuni Mission, Father R.J. Cremins, also wrote to the District Commissioner, on 11 September, 1958, asking for a place where children could learn from:

You are, I think, aware that uncertainty about the status of Monze “out span,” has prevented Mulumbwa school form being expanded to meet the growing needs of the African population in the township. As a result, there are 50 African

³⁴ N.A.Z., C1/8/14/3, Seventh Day Adventist, Rusangu Mission, Department of African Education Schools Inspection Report, 1937.

³⁵ N.A.Z., SP4/8/7 Seventh Day Adventist, Rusangu Mission, District Education Authorities Minutes and General Correspondence, 26/ October, 1955.

children between the ages of 7 and 11 without a school in Monze. The residents of Monze Township have appealed to me to provide a Sub A class for these children who cannot find a place in Mulumbwa and have suggested using the old beer hall for the purpose. I have inspected the beer hall and it is, in my opinion, in every way suitable. I would like therefore to ask your permission to use the old beer hall as a classroom from Monday to Friday until the end of this school year. I have also written to Monze Management Board to ask them to approve of my proposal.³⁶

This request shows that the demand for school places among African children already outstripped the available school places. The demand for schools increased when the benefits of western education started to bear fruit. There were parents who wished all their children would go to school since the person who did not go to school was regarded as foolish. Parents would only be content if literacy was attained.³⁷

At first, the local people used to fear the missionaries to an extent of running away from them when they appeared before them or in the villages. The main reason was mostly the difference in complexion. According to Colson, other local people used the Europeans to instil good behaviour in children as they frightened them that the European would take him or her away if he or she misbehaved.³⁸ This made some of the local people resent schooling. Slowly, they got used to the missionaries and realised that what was learned in school was a transformation in their way of life.³⁹ Thomas Bewes F.C notes “... and so the church, became associated with progress, with education and with prestige”.⁴⁰ Among the White Fathers, Carmody posits that, the local people’s response to schools mostly was their desire of the new

³⁶ N.A.Z., SP3/25/27, Jesuit Fathers, Chikuni Mission, District Education Authorities Minutes and General Correspondence, 11 September, 1958.

³⁷ Elizabeth Colson, *Marriage and the family among the Plateau Tonga of Northern Rhodesia*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1958), p. 257.

³⁸ Colson, *Marriage and the family among the Plateau Tonga of Northern Rhodesia*, p. 267.

³⁹ Interview with Chief Monze, Monze District, 30 May, 2019.

⁴⁰ Thomas Bewes F.C., *Kikuyu Conflict: Mau- Mau and the Christian Witness*, (London: The Highway Press, 1953), p. 46.

faith. In Jesuit areas, it appeared to have been drooped by the angle of wage employment.⁴¹ School was viewed as a key to success.

2.7 Educational Policy of 1925

The creation of the Department of Native Education in 1925 brought mission schools in the territory under the direct control of the department. The Director of Native Education and the advisory board, Geoffrey Latham, introduced a grants-in-aid system where the government paid grants towards the salaries of trained educationists. In addition, the government provided grants for building costs, teachers' houses and grants for students in boarding.⁴² The African certified teacher was to be competent and of good character, married and residing with his wife in the village served by the school. On the part of the missionaries, qualifications of African teachers brought a concern as they would be too high, forcing the missions into providing higher training which would call for additional financial support.

The Adventist Mission Agency accepted the government's grants-in-aid system as the additional funds would relieve mission societies of their financial burdens.⁴³ This stance had been the appeal of the mission societies from the onset of schools, but the British South African Company (BSAC) had showed little interest in promoting native schooling, just like on all other African affairs. Many missions which managed schools assumed the company could share some financial backing for schooling in the territory. However, the educational developments depended on the initiative, energy, perseverance and financial resources of the

⁴¹ Brendan Carmody, *Education in Zambia: Catholic Perspectives*, (Lusaka: Book world Publishers, 1999), p. 1.

⁴² Carmody, *The Evolution of Education in Zambia*, p. 112.

⁴³ Mhoswa, 'A Study of the Educational Contribution of the Jesuit Mission at Chikuni and the Adventist Mission at Rusangu', M A Dissertation, University of Zambia, (1980), p. 93.

missionary societies.⁴⁴ This contributed to teachers not being trained and being poorly paid as missionaries handled issues pertaining to education on their own which was costly.

The coming of the Department of Native Education marked the end of missionary autonomy as the mission societies were put under its direct control. The mission schools were to be inspected and employment of teachers had to be approved by the Department of Native Education. Later in the 1930s, the department insisted that mission schools should employ certificated teachers to teach in elementary schools. If uncertificated teachers were employed, the mission would pay them. These requirements were not welcome at Rusangu or Chikuni Missions. They led to abandoning the normal schools in 1935. The strained relationship between the Adventist missionaries and the department hindered the continual expansion of the Adventist out- schools between 1931 and 1953. Meanwhile Standard VI at Rusangu, Musofu and Chimpempe continued operating on an unaided basis.

The primary education received by the Tonga society at Rusangu Mission School and other out- schools made some of them appreciate Western education which saw them acquire white collar jobs as teachers, nurses, secretaries and others. The white collar jobs and the skills learnt raised their standard of life. One former student of Rusangu Mission school, Jonathan Mudala recalled:

After completing standard VI, I could not proceed to a training school since I had no means to enable me to do so. I went to look for employment in Monze at the judiciary offices. I was employed as a clerk and after working for some time, I went to Mazabuka. I worked in Mazabuka too for a long time in the same capacity. At a certain point I had to stop working because my father died and I was required to go back home to look after the big family my father had left. At home I continued earning my living through farming and gardening, the skills I had learnt

⁴⁴ Franklin Parker, 'Government early into Multitribal Education in Northern Rhodesia,' Vol CP (16), 16th Conference, Rhodes Livingstone Institute, (1962), p. 85.

at Rusangu Mission school under the supervision of the whites and other Africans.⁴⁵

Therefore, some Africans at Rusangu Mission gained from the western education that was introduced to them. The skills imparted were practiced and the people were able to contribute to the social and economic development of the communities and the nation.

2.8 Teacher and Trades Training Education, 1925-1964

When the Department of Native Education was established in 1925, the educational policy followed was that recommended by the Phelps-Stokes Commission. The Commission advocated that education should be adapted to the needs of the African conditions. Education in Africa should be organized and supervised, comprehensive ethics of administration on educational work had to be applied by both the government and the mission. Co-operation amongst the Missions, government and commercial concerns regarding African education should be promoted.⁴⁶ Other sentiments espoused advancing agriculture, developing industries, improving health and training people in the management of their own affairs.

Following the above elaborated policies, the new Director of Native Education and the Advisory Board on Native Education, Mr. Latham encouraged Missions to set up teacher training centres as a way of improving the quality of teaching. In 1929, the Jeanes and Agricultural schools were founded in Mazabuka. The Jeanes Schools' main aim was to train the African teachers to supervise village schools⁴⁷. Kelly argues that consideration of training teachers should be acknowledged first as it all-encompasses a system of education. He further states that the training of teachers for village schools should be carried under rural conditions

⁴⁵ Interview with Jonathan Mudala, Chikonga Village, Monze District, 22 May, 2019.

⁴⁶ L. J. Lewis, *Phelps-Stokes Reports on Education in Africa*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), pp. 10-11.

⁴⁷ Carmody, *The Evolution of Education in Zambia*, p. 112.

where those being trained were in direct contact with the environment, belonging to the tribe and district whose language, traditions and customs they were familiar with.⁴⁸

Rusangu Mission introduced a teacher training programme in February 1928. The Mission was chosen by the Department of Native Education together with Chikuni Mission as teacher training centres.⁴⁹ Rusangu enrolled pupils who had successfully completed standard IV at either Rusangu or Chikuni Mission. At the completion of their training, those who qualified were sent to serve as teachers, pastors and evangelists in the churches and out- schools.⁵⁰ Similarly, Colson states that those who were educated became attracted to opportunities of permanent employment of teaching and working for the Agriculture and Veterinary Departments.⁵¹ Up to 1930, the Training School continued to train teachers to serve in the Mission's out- schools.

Later in 1930, the teacher training programme was withdrawn due to lack of qualified teacher trainers and funds to support the running of the programme. Rusangu Mission continued to send trainee teachers to the Jeanes Training School that was also closed in 1938. The replacement of the Jeanes Training School was a new Teacher Training School at Chalimbana, established in 1939. In 1946, Rusangu Mission re-established a teacher training programme. It was a Vernacular Teachers' Course to enable teachers, upon completion to use vernacular as a medium of instruction in elementary schools in the territory. The programme also closed in 1954 when government handed over all mission schools to Local Education

⁴⁸ Kelly, *The Origins and Development of Education in Zambia: From Pre- colonial Times to 1966*, p. 43.

⁴⁹ Mhoswa, 'A Study of the Educational Contribution of the Jesuit Mission at Chikuni and the Adventist Mission at Rusangu,' p. 96.

⁵⁰ Interview with Halwindi, Siyumbu Farms, Monze District, 15 May, 2019.

⁵¹ Colson, *Marriage and the Family among the Plateau Tonga of Northern Rhodesia*, p. 83.

Authorities. Nevertheless, Rusangu Mission continued to send standard VI students to Solusi Missionary College and Gwelo Teacher Training School for teacher and evangelist courses.⁵²

Mission schools had encouraged some form of training in practical arts and skills from the beginning. The objective was to train the students to be self-governing, individuals with built-in control patterns of character. The skills that some missionaries wanted to develop that would help the Africans raise their living standards were agriculture, carpentry, blacksmithing and other skills. At Rusangu Mission, the idea of autonomy was instilled in the minds of the people right from the beginning. Villagers were invited to Rusangu Mission to observe agricultural development and were encouraged to outdo what they saw at Rusangu.⁵³

On the part of students' participation, a former student had this to say:

Apart from planting maize, we used to plant trees around the school premises to make it look beautiful. The school had a big piece of land where we used to plant fruits such as mangoes, guavas, oranges, bananas and many others. We built houses and did carpentry too. One of the students by the name of Handiya was very good at making chairs, benches and tables that were usually used at school and at church. He used to show us how to make these things.⁵⁴

The above stated skills were not only developed among Africans of Rusangu community or mission stations in Zambia, but among other mission stations in different parts of Africa. Carpenter states that on a monthly schedule; men did practice-teaching in groups under missionary instruction. One group learned carpentry, another bricklaying and the other village sanitation. They were equipped to help villagers deal with their pressing practical needs.⁵⁵ On the other hand, in the founding of the now Eastern Free State in South Africa, wandering indigenous people were made to cease being escapees and taught by Missionaries

⁵² Mhoswa, 'A Study of the Educational Contribution of the Jesuit Mission at Chikuni and the Adventist Mission at Rusangu,' p. 99.

⁵³ Mhoswa, 'A study of the Educational contribution on the Jesuit Mission at Chikuni and the Adventist Mission at Rusangu,' p. 67.

⁵⁴ Interview with Mudala, Chikonga Village, Monze District, 22 May, 2019.

⁵⁵ Carpenter, 'African Education and the Christian Missions', p. 191.

to adopt the life of agriculturalists.⁵⁶ From the life of wandering, a new way of life was introduced to the indigenous people of South Africa.

Another skill that was introduced to the Tonga people was the use of a plough. The Tonga people had no knowledge of ox- drawn ploughing which was introduced to them by Fr Joseph Moreau, a French Jesuit missionary who founded Chikuni Mission. He demonstrated this new farming method at a field day at Chikuni Mission in full view of the local people in the 1930s. This improved farming method was an easier, faster and better way of ploughing a maize field in one day; something that amazed the local people. News quickly spread from village to village about the new method.⁵⁷ The villages that were linked to Rusangu and Chikuni Mission used the plough first including the African farmers who worked as farm labourers on settler farms. Due to its labour saving purpose, Fyle states that, the plough was first purchased by an African in 1914 and by 1931 all villages had it.⁵⁸ He further notes that those who owned ploughs hired them at two or three shillings a day.⁵⁹ This improved the economic status of the African farmers.

Land was abundant on the Tonga plateau in the pre-colonial period. Shifting cultivation therefore, had been encouraged. According to Dixon Fyle, the Tonga practiced subsistence farming with the use of the hoe. They grew millet and sorghum, but by mid-19th century maize had been assimilated.⁶⁰ The maize seed was foreign in Tonga land. It could be concluded that the seed was obtained through trade contacts with the European traders and Africans. Around 1530, the Portuguese established Sena and Tete in the lower Zambezi as their trading posts, and traded with Africans in gold and ivory. In the early 1860s, Tim

⁵⁶ J. Du. Plessis, 'A History of Christian Mission in South Africa,' Cape Town, (1965), p. 193.

⁵⁷ Peters Harold Eugene, 'The Contribution of Education to the Development of Elite Among Tonga plateau of Zambia: A comparative study of schools 1930- 1965,' Ph.D., Thesis, University of Illinois, (1976), p. 87.

⁵⁸ Mc Samuel Richmond Dixon- Fyle, 'Politics and Agrarian Change among the Plateau Tonga of Northern Rhodesia, c. 1824-63,' PhD. Thesis, University of London, (1976), p. 95.

⁵⁹ Dixon- Fyle, 'Politics and Agrarian Change among the Plateau Tonga of Northern Rhodesia, c. 1924-63,' p. 99.

⁶⁰ Dixon Fyle, ' Politics and Agrarian Change among the Plateau Tonga of Northern Rhodesia, c. 1924-63, p. 15.

Matthews records that the Tonga had trade contacts with traders from South Africa and Tswana people in South African goods.⁶¹

African farmers in the Tonga plateau experienced growth in yields when the plough method was used in their cultivation. Between 1915 and 1920, the produce had been 15,000 bags of Maize but later increased to 55,000 by 1932- 33.⁶² It can be assumed that this was the period when most villages acquired ox-drawn ploughs. Apart from the use of oxen and plough, other improved farming techniques were demonstrated such as the use of kraal manure and crop rotation. Rusangu Mission set up demonstration gardens.

The Keemba Hill Settlement was established in 1924 by former SDA teachers and pastors of the Mission. These SDA farmers were producing on a large scale by the mid-1940s. As a result of this productivity, they were offered to take part in the European system of the Maize Control Board during the farming season of 1942-3.⁶³ This rare privilege allowed the SDA farmers to sell their maize at the same price as that of the European farmers. The promotion of agricultural education by the missionaries among the plateau Tonga of Southern Province led to the advent of powerful African commercial farmers in the province. The contribution of these farmers to the agricultural sector improved local agriculture in other parts of the province.

2.9 Health Care, 1905- 2012

Besides education provision, Rusangu Mission also provided health care services as a means of evangelisation. This was in order to fulfil the obligation of providing health and medical

⁶¹ Tim Matthews, 'Notes on the Pre- colonial and History of the Tonga, with Emphasis on the Upper River Gwembe and Victoria falls areas,' in Chet Lancaster and Kenneth P. Vickery (eds), *The Tonga- speaking people of Zambia and Zimbabwe*, (New York: University Press of America, 2007), p. 27.

⁶² Dixon- Fyle, 'Politics and Agrarian Change among the Plateau Tonga of Northern Rhodesia, c. 1924-63,' p. 98.

⁶³ Mac Dixon- Fyle, 'Agricultural improvement and Political Protest on the Tonga Plateau, Northern Rhodesia, *The Journal of African History*, Vol. 18, No. 4 (1977), p. 583.

services to the people around the communities where mission stations were established. These were seen as some of the important secular activities of many Christian Missions since their inception in the colonial period. The facility began as a dispensary to school pupils and the community from the inception of the mission in 1905 until in 1950 when a permanent structure was constructed. The dispensary was shifted to the new building and was called Rusangu Rural Health Centre Clinic.

The In-Charge of the clinic was Mr. Robert Muonyu, a trained medical assistant from Malamulo. He worked for a period of three (3) years and thereafter went for further studies. After the departure of Mr. Muonyu, two members of staff were brought in to replace him. The clinic continued to offer its services to the community and also attended to cases that were coming from the schools.

The development of Rusangu Rural Health Centre received greater attention partly because of the 1958 incident that took place at Chikuni. The 1958 report of the manager of Schools on Chikuni Mission states that a whirlwind of exceptional violence traced its path right across Simukale School on Monday afternoon of 3 February, 1958 while the pupils were learning. The roof of the school was lifted off the walls and the wind uprooted three trees. Thirty-one (31) children were injured and one girl called Elizabeth Mweemba, aged nine, of standard II died after few minutes. The head teacher was also injured. Some pupils who were seriously injured were taken to Mazabuka Hospital and others to Chikuni Hospital for observations.⁶⁴ Although this incident happened at Chikuni Mission, such unforeseen circumstances gave Rusangu Mission the impetus to enhance the provision of medical services at the Mission.

In 1959, Mrs. Helen Fabre a State Registered Nurse, was appointed as the in-charge of the clinic at Rusangu Mission School. She worked up to 1966 and then returned to the United

⁶⁴ N A Z, SP3/25/27, Jesuit Fathers, Chikuni Mission, Manager of Schools Report, 3 February, 1958.

States of America. The returning of Helen to America created a problem at the clinic because the Mission failed to find a replacement. The Missionaries had to request the services of the school Boarding Master to be ferrying sick pupils to Monze Chibuyu Clinic (now Monze Urban Clinic). He was given an allowance for the service.

After Zambia became independent in 1964, some positions occupied by whites at some mission stations remained vacant because the issue of Zambianisation could not allow foreign missionaries to continue.⁶⁵ The vacancy at the clinic needed a Zambian to occupy it in order for the clinic to operate again. In the same year 1966 a medical assistant was found and formal arrangements were made to present him to the Permanent Secretary (PS) of Health then, Mr. Mashekwa Nalumango, in Lusaka so that the clinic could be re-opened. The Church took up this matter through the representation of the SDA Pastor for Southern Province then Mr. Mabuti Job (late) and the Rusangu Field President Pastor James Muyaba (late) who took the medical assistant for approval. The PS authorised the re-opening of the clinic and the Provincial Medical Officer (PMO) was informed.

The re-opening of the clinic was accompanied by aid from the Zambian Government of six beds and some drugs. This meant that the clinic was then grant-aided and would be under the control of the Government. The Government would meet its needs by providing medical supplies such as drugs, vaccines and equipment, and human resource. The church would meet its needs too.

Up to 2012, Rusangu Clinic was a rural health centre providing health services to a population of over eight thousand (8,000) in the villages and nearby institutions such as Rusangu University, Rusangu Basic School, Rusangu Secondary School, Malambo Farms, Siyumbu Farms and others. Villages included Chikonga, Maambo, Sintemba, Hamakalu,

⁶⁵ Carmody, *Education in Zambia: Catholic Perspectives*, p. 121.

Chimunya, Munang'andu, Nalube, Simukale, Beenzu, Gonde, Machinga and others. There were eight (8) members of staff and the clinic was open to the community on a daily basis. In the twentieth century the clinic provided most of the basic health services such as child health, environmental health programme, safe motherhood, family planning, Human Immunodeficiency Virus and Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome (HIV/AIDS) and outreach services provided in the villages to educate community members on health issues. Healthy standard of living of the people was promoted and enabled them to prevent and control diseases at an individual level.⁶⁶

The clinic was unable to offer services such as deliveries and admissions due to lack of infrastructure. The clinic was small and some of the rooms were demarcated in order to create other rooms. For example, the dispensary and injection rooms were created from such demarcations. Accommodation for staff was not enough either. There was only one member of staff who was accommodated near the clinic, the rest of the members resided far away. The clinic required enough transport for outreach programmes, but the available motor bike was not adequate.

2.10 Secondary Education, 1959- 2012

When the idea of establishing secondary schools came into being in colonial Zambia, the education system also included aided schools that received grants from government, and the government controlled them in matters of calendar, standards and curriculum. It was worthy considering the De la War Commission policy of increasing the number of secondary schools

⁶⁶ Interview with Tiki Minahano, Psychological Counsellor, Rusangu Rural Health Centre Clinic, Monze District, 26 May, 2019.

as university development could not take place without adequate secondary schools to feed into the universities.⁶⁷

Secondary education in Northern Rhodesia was first established in 1939 when Munali Secondary School was opened by the government with 11 pupils.⁶⁸ Later in the same year, the Methodist Mission introduced secondary education in Kafue. In 1946, a secondary school section was opened at Chipembi with the enrolment of some girls in a secondary class. Chikuni Mission also introduced Canisius Secondary School for boys in 1949 and a number of others followed.

Rusangu Junior Secondary School was commenced at Rusangu mission in 1959 up to 1964. The school offered education up to Junior school certificate level.⁶⁹ The first Principal was W. W. Zerko, whose administrative work lasted from 1959 to 1960. It was a non-government aided school. Its connection to the government was the school curriculum that was similar to the syllabus issued by the Department of African Education. Students also sat for their form II government examination. The students came from standard VI classes from each of the Central Mission Stations under the management of Rusangu Mission. The Central Mission Stations were Musofu in Central province, Chimpempe in Luapula province, Mwami in Eastern Province, Liumba Hill and Sitoti in Western province.

The Junior Secondary School at Rusangu Mission began with thirty-five (35) pupils Musofu and Chimpempe Missions sent eight students each while Liumba Hill and Sitoti Mission sent four students each. The remaining eleven (11) students were from Rusangu Mission.⁷⁰ Funds

⁶⁷ Henry D'Souza, 'External Influences on the Development of Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa from 1923 to 1939', *African Studies Review*, Vol. 18, No. 2 (Sep, 1975), p.36.

⁶⁸ Trevor A. Coombe, 'The Origins of Secondary Education in Zambia,' *African Social Research*, No. 5, (1968), p. 393.

⁶⁹ Vivian M. Kanondo, *The Story of Rusangu Mission, 1903- 2005: A Brief Review*, (Monze: Zambia Adventist Press, 2005), p. 33.

⁷⁰ Mhoswa, 'A study of the Educational Contribution of the Jesuits of Chikuni and the Adventist Mission at Rusangu,' p. 132.

from church members and school fees aided in the running of the school. However, the Junior Secondary School was discontinued when the new government urged Rusangu Mission to accept government grants in 1965.⁷¹

The idea of constructing a secondary school was initiated by K.E. Thomas, who was the Director of Chimpempe Mission in Kawambwa. He negotiated with the Government to construct the present Rusangu Secondary School between 1961 and 1966. It was agreed that the government would give a grant of 75% of the total cost of constructing a Grade II secondary school, while the Church would pay the remaining 25% of the total cost.⁷² By the end of 1965, progress had been made in the construction works to enable the school to open in 1966. The school started operating at a new place with two classes of form 1 (Grade 8) and one class of form II (Grade 9) that had moved from the old Mission Junior secondary school. By 1968, two classes at Junior and Senior levels had been added.

Although Rusangu Secondary School had been in operation since 1959, it was only officially opened by the President of the General Conference of the Seventh Day Adventist Church, Robert H. Pierson in 1970. Some buildings such as the library, agricultural science classroom block, the gymnasium and assembly hall were not yet completed up to 1979 under the administration of John E. Marter. Rusangu was a co-education boarding secondary school with a staff of not less than 20 teachers and an enrolment of over 560 pupils in 1972.⁷³ Of all this number of teachers, Africans were not more than six.⁷⁴ The reason could have been that at the time of independence Zambia lacked adequate numbers of educated and trained manpower. Fay Gadsden asserts that Zambia at independence had only secondary school

⁷¹Mhoswa, 'A study of the Educational Contribution of the Jesuits of Chikuni and the Adventist Mission at Rusangu,' p. 132.

⁷²Interview with Whyten Namwambwa, Education Director, South Zambia Conference, Monze District, 20 May, 2019.

⁷³Interview with Abel Paradza, Head teacher, Rusangu Secondary School, Monze District, 27 May, 2019.

⁷⁴Interview with Paradza.

graduates amounting to 1500 and 100 University graduates. The latter had all been educated outside the territory.⁷⁵

Rusangu Secondary School became the flagship bearer educational institution of the Seventh Day Adventist church in Zambia. Students from various provinces in Zambia went to Rusangu to obtain Adventist education. However, the government's Zambianisation policy made more expatriate missionaries to be withdrawn from their positions as Zambian teachers began to fill the vacancies left by the missionaries.⁷⁶

The departure of the missionaries from Rusangu Mission left a gap either at church or schools that needed to be filled in order to continue operating. Effects were intense as some of the plans were cut short; for example, the money the missionaries used to send to support the projects being implemented and the running of the school. By 2012, the construction of the assembly hall and the gymnasium in accordance with the original plans by the founders had not been accomplished.⁷⁷ The school had been struggling to fulfil this obligation.

Rusangu secondary's mission statement was hinged on harmoniously developing the physical, mental, social and spiritual powers of pupils for the joy and service of this world and for the higher joy in the world to come in conformity with the values and teachings of the SDA Church. The philosophy was that pupils were trained to be thinkers and not mere reflectors of other people's thoughts so they could attain academic, moral and spiritual excellence.

⁷⁵ Fay Gadsden, "Education and Society in Colonial Zambia", in Samuel N. Chipungu (ed.), *Guardians in their Time: Experiences of Zambians under Colonial Rule, 1890-1964*, (London: Macmillan Press Ltd. 1992), p. 97.

⁷⁶ Carmody, *Education in Zambia: Catholic Perspectives*, p. 121.

⁷⁷ Interview with Paradza.

2.11 Curriculum

Rusangu Secondary School, just like any other secondary school in Zambia offered several subjects at Junior and some at senior level. These subjects were as follows: Mathematics, English, Environmental science, Religious Education, History, Additional Mathematics, Computer Studies, Business studies, Commerce, Chemistry, Physics, Agricultural Science, Food and Nutrition, Home economics, Geography, Civic Education, Chitonga and Literature in English.

After completion of their schooling at Rusangu Secondary School, some pupils became prosperous farmers around the country. Fay confirms that successful peasant farming was particularly a feature of the educated in the Southern province among the SDA graduates.⁷⁸ This could have been the influence of Agriculture science lessons they were taking. Others were and still serving as pastors in high positions of Church organization of the SDA starting from the local Church, field conference, Union up to Division level.

In addition, there were a good number of teachers, nurses, accountants, doctors and others who completed their secondary school education at Rusangu Secondary School who were contributing to the social and economic welfare of the nation. However, one of the former pupils of Rusangu Secondary School, Whyten Namwambwa recalled:

I went to Rusangu Secondary School in 1972 where I started my form 1 (Grade 8). While at Rusangu, I learnt good morals and got baptized into SDA Church in 1973. I completed my form 5 (Grade 12) in December 1976. I then left for National Service in the same year, at Katete military camp in Eastern Province and later at Mutetezi Production Unit in 1978. Later I was accepted at Nkrumah Teachers Training College in Kabwe where I trained as a teacher and completed my course in May 1980. I was posted to Kasama Secondary School but I did not go there because my former Head Teacher Mr. Marter requested that I be redirected to Rusangu Secondary School. I started teaching at my former school where I rose from a class teacher to Head of Geography Department and later Mathematics,

⁷⁸ Gadsden, 'Education and Society in Colonial Zambia,' p. 114.

Sports Master, Boarding Master, Deputy Head and finally Head Teacher in 2004. I retired in May 2012 from the Government and in 2013 the SDA Church called me to serve as Education Director (ED) at the South Zambia Conference(SZC) in Monze, the position am still holding. May God be praised for what he has done in my life through Rusangu Secondary School.⁷⁹

The above assertion, clearly affirms how the community benefited from the education offered at Rusangu Secondary School up to 2012. Being an institution for the SDA church, Rusangu Secondary School benefited not only SDA students but also non-SDA students from other provinces of Zambia. Enrolment was offered to qualified persons regardless of religion or denomination. Despite being teachers or pastors, some former students also ventured into agriculture and became successful farmers in Southern Province or other areas of the country.

2.12 Tertiary Education, 2003- 2012

Tertiary education at Rusangu Mission began in 2003 with the opening of a university that became the first highest institution of learning of the SDA in Zambia. Rusangu University traces its birthplace from the Ministerial school that was established in 1975. The school offered Ministerial training to in- service pastors. After sometime, the name changed from Ministerial Training School (MTS) to Zambia Adventist Seminary (ZAS). The idea of broadening the scope for the theology training led to the change. The Church made a decision of relocating the training school to Musofu in Mkushi in December 1993. Musofu was recommended because it was centrally located and had better supply of water than Rusangu Mission. However, ZAS did not shift and this led to its closure in 1994 in order to reorganise and upgrade the centre.

In 1997, ZAS changed the name to Zambia Adventist College (ZAC). This meant that other academic and professional disciplines were to be incorporated too. In 2000, the College reopened and an undergraduate Bachelor of Arts degree in Theological and Religious Studies

⁷⁹Interview with Namwambwa.

commenced. This programme was offered to in- service pastors. The training centre had this time been shifted to Riverside Farm Institute in Kafue (RFI), an institution for the SDA. The course was offered in collaboration with Solusi University in Zimbabwe. Learning at the RFI continued for some time. In May 2003, the students were temporarily moved from Kafue to Monze's Rusangu Secondary School waiting for the completion of renovation of hostels and construction of lecture rooms at Rusangu Mission.

When pupils at Rusangu Secondary School reported for school in May 2003, the mission students were moved to Rusangu Mission, their permanent place. V.M Kanondo records that the first enrolled students were thirty one (31) in-service pastors, followed by forty seven (47) in- service teachers.⁸⁰ The teachers began learning in August 2003. This programme was known as Block Release. Courses in this programme were taken in short periods of time ranging from two weeks to one month specifically. The name of the institution changed to Zambia Adventist University (ZAU) in 2003. This marked the humble beginning of Rusangu University(RU).

Rusangu University was located at Rusangu Mission farm 269a, about 16km southeast of Monze town along the Lusaka-Livingstone road. The establishment of the university was driven by the need of a large Church membership of over eight hundred thousand (800,000) of whom about 70- 80% were youth. The Adventist youths and other youths who had had no place to turn to for further education utilised the University. Student enrolment was open to all qualified persons regardless of gender, race, colour, ethnic origin and nationality.

The beginning of the university was not easy as there were not enough structures. The university used hired classrooms during school holidays at Rusangu Primary and Rusangu Secondary Schools between 2007 and 2009. During the day classrooms at the primary school

⁸⁰ Kanondo, *The Story of Rusangu Mission*, p. 71.

were used as learning places and at night they were boarding rooms. Dormitories at the secondary school were also used as accommodation.⁸¹ Thus, the primary and secondary schools assisted in the establishment of the university.

For some courses, teaching and learning was conducted in the open air. Ignatius Ncube mentioned that teaching was done in the open for some students, using movable boards. Lectures were enjoyable in the fresh air outside. Tents were also used. There was not enough furniture; so students in some cases used blocks of bricks as stools and used their knees as desks.⁸² Despite all these challenges, students and lecturers did not mind about the classrooms because their main focus was to receive and deliver the knowledge respectively. Ncube's view was that students came to learn because what mattered was what came from the mouth of the professor and not the buildings.⁸³ More structures continued to be built between 2008 and 2012 using student tuition fees and funds from well-wishers and the Church. In 2011, the university changed its name from ZAU to Rusangu University(RU). Rusangu was a missionary name. The university's image was to model a Christian University in Africa. The Mission Statement was to provide quality holistic Christian education at tertiary level to all who met the university entry requirements.

2.13 Programmes of Study

Rusangu University was registered by the Government of the Republic of Zambia through the Higher Education Authority in 2005. As at 2012, the university was one of the higher education institutions operated by the SDA Church world-wide. All subjects, courses and programmes offered by the university were approved by the Higher Education Authority. The approved courses included Bachelor of Arts, Bachelor of Arts with Education, Bachelor of

⁸¹ Interview, Ignatius M. Ncube, Lecturer, Rusangu University, Monze District, 16 May, 2019.

⁸² Interview with Ncube.

⁸³ Interview with Ncube.

Sciences with Education, Bachelor of Science, Bachelor of Education (Primary and Secondary), Bachelor of Business Administration, Master of Education and Graduate programmes. The academic programme was governed by policies designed to encourage continued intellectual growth. The academic programmes were intended to shape the learners to make a difference in the world. Rusangu prepared students for both professional careers and for service to humanity.

Rusangu University put Monze town in the lime light both locally and internationally. Some of the students and faculty came from countries such as South Africa, Namibia, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Malawi, Kenya, Ghana, Mozambique, India just to mention a few. David Kasaji stated that working with non-nationals was a blessing as they contributed to the growth of the university through their contributions in many ongoing projects around the institution.⁸⁴

Rusangu University contributed to the increased economic activities in Monze town, starting with the local communities who were able to sell their merchandise to both students and employees of the university. Apart from selling merchandise, other local people ventured into opening mini-restaurants where they fed students who would not partake in the vegetarian meals prepared by the university.⁸⁵

In terms of transport, some youths in Monze town engaged themselves in transporting students, lecturers and members of the community to and from the university using private cars as taxis. One of them narrated that he had started the taxi business some years earlier and the business had helped him meet his financial obligations. He was delighted that from the same business, he had managed to procure a plot where hopefully in the near future he would relocate to.⁸⁶ Due to the opening of Rusangu University, banks increased their business too,

⁸⁴ Interview with David M. Kasaji, Director of Development, Rusangu University, Monze District, 10 May, 2019.

⁸⁵ Interview with Sarah Maluku Mukela, Lecturer, Rusangu University, Monze District, 10 May, 2019.

⁸⁶ Interview with Eric Maima, Maima Farm, Monze District, 21 May, 2019.

out of the increased number of employees with monthly income who were paid through the banks.

The land at Rusangu Mission increased value as housing and businesses began to be erected around the university. The growing enrolment of more than 5000 students required the building of hostels, houses for faculty and other learning structures.⁸⁷ This also increased job opportunities for local people and other semi-skilled, as well as unskilled workers.

In- service teachers and other people in different fields such as pastors also found opportunities to upgrade and increase their knowledge in their fields. Jobs were also created from the onset of the university for the locals as support staff as well as professionals. By 2011, Rusangu University had extended its services to Lusaka where another branch was established.⁸⁸

2.14 Conclusion

This chapter has shown that Africans were not passive recipients of western education and spiritual influence but major actors. When Western education was introduced to the Tonga society other than the traditional education they were familiar with, they received it with little interest initially. They did not understand what kind of education it was all about. When the knowledge of reading and writing was imparted to them, the Tonga society was able to disseminate the word of God to their fellow Africans. Educated Africans were attracted to opportunities of permanent employment such as teaching and work for the agriculture and veterinary departments. At their work places, they were able to transmit the knowledge of their job to their fellow Africans. Trades training education such as food growing, bricklaying, carpentry, tailoring were taught to Africans and resulted in job creation and

⁸⁷ Interview with C. Habimana, Lecturer, Rusangu University, 10 May, 2019.

⁸⁸ Interview with Nancy Nasilele Nyambe, Dean of Women, Rusangu University, Monze District, 16 May, 2019.

improved livelihood for Africans. New methods of farming that included plough and drought oxen, crop rotation and use of kraal manure improved maize yields for SDA farmers (former teachers and pastors of Rusangu Mission) who were accorded to sell their maize in the European system of Maize Control Board in 1942-3. The enhanced agricultural skills among the Tonga society produced African commercial farmers in the Southern Province of Zambia. The provision of health care to the community of Rusangu Mission and surrounding areas was also a means of evangelisation. The word of God was offered to patients as an encouragement either at the clinic or during outreach programmes in the surrounding villages. Some people were converted to the Adventist faith in that manner. During outreach programmes meetings were organised in the villages to educate members of the community on health issues, and this healthy standard of living of the people was promoted.

Secondary education saw the pupils to another level in life as the subjects offered encouraged choice of different careers. Some former pupils who trained as teachers were even posted to teach at their former school, Rusangu secondary. Finally, the commencement of tertiary education opened opportunities of upgrading for the in- service and further studies for others in the area of interest for those from secondary schools. Rusangu University contributed to the development of manpower through training a number of students in different fields who would offer their services locally or internationally.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 THE ROLE OF AFRICAN AGENTS IN EVANGELISATION AT RUSANGU

MISSION

3.1 Introduction

From the early days of Rusangu Mission in Monze, Africans played a significant role in the spread of the Adventist Faith. This chapter examines the role of African agents in evangelisation at Rusangu Mission and the methods of evangelism that were employed by African agents to convert their fellow Africans to Christianity at Rusangu Mission and other places in colonial Zambia and after. The category African agents comprised local evangelists, teachers, porters, lay pastors and other Africans who played a role in evangelisation and education. The porters and pathfinders interpreted both English and local languages and guided the missionaries to places where new mission stations could be established. Other African agents were lay pastors who worked with the missionaries in establishing mission stations and churches. Local evangelists and pastors broke some of the traditional beliefs and practices among their fellow Africans when converting them to Christianity. The chapter further analyses the forms of evangelism employed by African agents to spread the good news to Africans in post- colonial Zambia. These forms of evangelism encouraged converted Africans to work together through community service in the winning of souls. The training of pastors for service was vital because it prepared them to handle complex issues as they faced them in the field. Lastly, the chapter examines the African agents' approaches to evangelism through radio and television broadcasts.

3.2 Meaning of Evangelism

The term “Evangelism” carries many meanings. Scott J. Jones defines evangelism as a set of loving international activities governed by the goal of initiating persons into Christian discipleship in response to the reign of God.¹ The activities are set by the church relating to specific forms of beliefs to individuals. These individuals would not be aware of the beliefs but would be able to do the will of the Master, Jesus Christ. The prepared non-believers must be brought into contact with Christ, by hearing His invitation and challenge. Robert J. Ledogar states that the aim of evangelisation is conversion, handing oneself over to Christ, taking His hand and trusting in His leadership. The Gospel should primarily be presented to the non-believers, thus bringing them into a personal relationship with Jesus Christ.²

According to Christianity, all baptized Christians should practice evangelism to proclaim the good news and live according to the example of Jesus Christ. The Bible teaches that every Christian is to be engaged in evangelism, bearing witness to the things he/she has seen and heard.³ Although the converts were not gifted preachers, they had the ability to communicate with others. One of the first things that Jesus Christ said to His would-be-followers in the book of Matthew chapter 4 verse 19 was “Follow me and I will make you fishers of men.”⁴ This command gives the converts an insight that evangelism was the real mission of Jesus Christ when He was on earth. He went into different places to preach. Jesus went about all cities and villages, teaching in their synagogues, preaching the Gospel of the kingdom, and healing every sickness and every disease among the people.⁵ In the synagogues he had the privilege to meet a lot of people. He did not stick to the synagogues, but taught by the seaside

¹ Scott J. Jones, *The Evangelistic Love of God and Neighbour: A Theology of Witness and Discipleship*, (Nashville: Abington Press, 2003), p. 114.

² Robert J. Ledogar, *Presenting the Christian Message to Africa*, (London: Geoffrey Chapman Limited, 1965), p. 56.

³ George Verwer, *Literature Evangelism*, (London: Send the Light, 1977), p. 21.

⁴ The Holy Bible, *New King James Version: Red Letter Edition* (n.t: Remnant Publications and Thomas Nelson Inc., 1982), p. 392.

⁵ Ellen G. White, *Evangelism*, (California: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1946), p. 47

and in the great thoroughfares of his travel. Jesus Christ set an example to His would-be followers how evangelism work should be carried out.

Besides Christian evangelism, Islam, the fastest growing religion also reinforced evangelism. Muslims regard evangelism as a duty. In the Islamic doctrine evangelism is called *da'wa* which means "to invite people to Islam." The vital communication was to invite people to embrace the faith proclaimed by Muhammad as stated in the Quran (Q3: 104; 3: 110; 16:152; 41: 33).⁶ *Da'wa* emphasised on Muhammad as the seal of the prophets and Islam as the best faith choice for human kind.⁷ It was for this reason, that every Muslim was encouraged to support *da'wa* to spread the proclamations of Islam's supremacy. Muslims openly and firmly encouraged calling non-Muslims to Islam.

Islam embraces the view that "There is only one God and Muhammad is his messenger," but Muslim evangelism prevailed. Peter Dogo Korosi states that Muslim evangelism refers to the sharing of the gospel with the Muslims, with the intention of winning their souls to the knowledge of Christ.⁸ Though Muslims acknowledge Jesus as a prophet and teacher, many had not thought of learning and studying what Jesus taught. They believed that both the Old and New Testaments had been corrupted and unreliable in all the parts that dealt with theology and doctrine.⁹ As a result of the belief, evangelising to Muslims required preaching the gospel as it was in order to prove that the scriptures were not corrupted as they claimed. The critical goal of evangelising among Muslims was to help them embrace God.

Muslim evangelism was not about winning an argument, but the most vital aspect was leading the converts to Christ with the gospel. Therefore, at the beginning of a spiritual conversation, Qur'anic texts similar to Biblical texts were used. But personal opinions such

⁶ Adman S. Ibrahim, <https://fullerstudio.fuller.edu/proselytizing-in-islam/1:22pm>, 11/07/20.

⁷ Ibrahim, A. S. <https://fullerstudio.fuller.edu/proselytizing-in-islam/1:22pm>, 11/07/20.

⁸ Peter Dogo Korosi, 'Muslim Evangelism in Kano State of Nigeria: A Case Study of ECWA churches, Asbury Theological Seminary, Nigeria, (2007), p. 20.

⁹ Kenneth S. Oster, 'Evangelism Among Muslims,' Dissertation Projects, Andrews University, (1975), p. 63.

as ‘I think,’ ‘it seems to me’ or ‘I feel like’, were to be avoided during evangelism, because Muslims would interpret them as part of the corruption of the Bible. After repenting and surrendering to Jesus Christ through baptism, converts were not abandoned, but provided with a Bible, an invitation to a home, church or Bible study group. Bible study had built relationships among participants, and between them and Jesus Christ.

3.3 African Agents and Evangelism through Education, 1905-1955

Evangelism was adopted as the fastest means of spreading the Gospel to the Tonga society of Rusangu Mission as well as other parts of Zambia. Western education was introduced at Rusangu in 1905 and evangelism work commenced at the same time. The school recorded the baptism of eight African boys as first converts between 1907- 1908.¹⁰ This mode of conversion through education was also adopted by other Missions such as the Jesuits of Chikuni, the Wesleyans of Choma and the Salvation Army of Chikankata and others. Missions, medicine and education together acted as harmonising institutions of conversion.¹¹ Fay Gadsden is agreeable with Ronald Niezen in stating that in the colonial period education was considered a major tool of evangelism.¹² The knowledge of reading and writing acquired by Africans aided in the spreading of the gospel.

Rusangu Mission opened out-schools in different provinces of Zambia from 1905- 1955 as a means of evangelism. Many out-schools were opened in some parts of the Tonga Plateau and Gwembe valley. This led to the growth in church membership from 38 in 1907 to 92 in 1920 and then 598 in 1927.¹³ Anderson proved his success by counting the number of teachers or

¹⁰ Interview with Bright Halwindi, Siyumbu Farms, Monze District, 15 May, 2019.

¹¹ Ronald Niezen, ‘Healing and Conversion: Medical Evangelism in James Bay Cree society,’ *Ethnohistory*, Vol 44, No. 3 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), p. 464.

¹² Fay Gadsden, ‘Patriarchal Attitudes: Male Control over and Policies Toward Female Education in Northern Rhodesia, 1924- 63,’ *Zambia Journal of History*, no, 6/7(1993/1994), p. 33.

¹³ Jonas S. Chitebeta, ‘The Seventh Day Adventist Church in Zambia and the Media: An Evaluation of the use of Mass Media by the Church,’ MCD, Dissertation, University of Zambia, Lusaka, (2006), p. 18.

evangelists produced at Rusangu and the number of out-schools whose functioning was pleasing. Peters quotes Anderson in his writings expressing his success in evangelism thus:

The measure of success of the missionary is his ability to multiply himself in native teachers and evangelists. We are now beginning to use our natives in helping us to carry the gospel to their own people, their faithful labours were crowned with success.¹⁴

From the above assertion, it can be seen that the act of Africans becoming teachers and evangelists exposed them to playing a role of agents in evangelizing their fellow Africans. Ledogar states that “school teachers do deserve, as a matter of fact, the name of catechist in as much as they contribute to the formal program and proclaiming of the gospel message”.¹⁵ The teachers or evangelists at Rusangu Mission taught in class. On Saturdays, they stood on the pulpit to preach to the church.

The attachment of religious activity to the school was the basis of evangelisation in the community of Rusangu. The Central Mission (Rusangu) was the centre of religious activity and her success was shown by the expansion of out-schools which were placed among the converts of the missionary society. According to Victor Murray, each mission out-school was an evangelistic agency, and their existence was for the Christianising of the people.¹⁶ J. du Plessis agrees with Victor Murray that the established schools were largely instrumental in spreading the doctrines of Christianity, which were later better understood and discussed by the community.¹⁷

¹⁴ Peters Harold Eugene, ‘The Contribution of Education to the Development of the Elite Among Tonga Plateau of Zambia: A Comparative Study of Schools 1930- 1965,’ PhD, Thesis, (1976), p. 92-3.

¹⁵ Ledogar, *Presenting the Christian Message*, p.90.

¹⁶ A. Victor Murray, *The school in the bush: A Critical Study of the Theory and Practice of Native Education in Africa*, (London: frank Cass and Company Ltd. 1947), p. 65.

¹⁷ J. Du. Plessis, *A History of Christian Mission in South Africa*, (Cape town: C. Struik Africana Specialist, 1965), p. 193.

Evangelism was not only practiced by teachers or evangelists but by students too. For example, the Manager of Schools, W.W. Walker, had one time encouraged the boys to go home during the school holidays and spend time sharing the gospel with their communities. Four boys teamed up and visited fifty-one villages. The other two visited forty-two villages. They preached the gospel in each village,¹⁸ which in turn enabled the boys to experience personal transformation and revival.

Although there was denominational rivalry between the Jesuits at Chikuni and the Adventists at Rusangu, the policy of Adventists did not discriminate against Chikuni students. To the contrary, the Jesuits prevented their students from establishing rapport with the SDA students. The Jesuits feared the religious influence of Adventism. Nevertheless, on occasions when the students happened to meet with the Catholic students, the Adventists shared the Adventist message with their Catholic counterparts.¹⁹

3.3.1 Public Campaigns Evangelism

Another form of evangelism introduced by 1940 was called public campaign or 'effort' (also known as, open air or crusade) evangelism. The preaching was categorized by speaking in public places out in the open to crowds of people at a time using a message, sermon or speech which spread the gospel.²⁰ According to the book of Matthew chapters 5, 6 and 7, Jesus was one of the earliest open air preachers of Christianity. His first sermon was the 'Sermon On the Mount', on a mountain side. The other sermon in open air is recorded in the Gospel of Luke chapter 6, verses 17- 49), known as 'Sermon On the Plain'. Open air form of evangelism had been used by Old Testament prophets and preachers.

¹⁸ W.W. Walker, 'What is being done at Rusangu?' *The African Division Outlook*, (May, 1922), p. 4.

¹⁹ Absalom Makota Mhoswa, 'A Study of the Educational Contribution of the Jesuit Mission at Chikuni and the Adventist Mission at Rusangu', M A Dissertation, University of Zambia, Lusaka, (1980), p. 158.

²⁰ Charles Haddon Spurgeon, 'Lectures to my students', Zondervan Publishing House, Printed (Oct, 1977), 8th Printing, ISBN0- 310-32910-8, p. 235.

Open air preaching was often employed by protestants throughout Europe during the Protestant Restoration. These protestants could not always preach inside churches because these were mostly Catholic.²¹ The famous Baptist preacher, Charles Spurgeon of England, argues that open air preaching was instrumental in persuading people to hear the gospel , who might never have heard it.²²

Preparation for the open air meeting was done during the day. Lay members of the church would go in the villages to invite people for the meeting that was held in the evenings, for a number of good days. People would sit around a fire while a sermon was being preached. Because of the teaching of the evangelists, people frequently desired baptism and the new religion. Fear of hell and the vision of heaven featured as part of the motivation²³towards conversion, thereby increasing church membership.

3.3.2Camp Meetings

During the school holidays each year, church leaders organised camp meetings where the teachers or evangelists preached to the church members. The camp meetings required families to shift from their homes for a period of one week to meet and fellowship together. It was one of the most effective methods of arresting the attention of the people and teaching all with maximum attendance.²⁴ It was also a time of counsel and prayer. Revival services would be preached from the commencement to the close of the meetings. Camp meetings were meant to bring the scattered members together for religious instruction and encouragement.

The Camp grounds were vast schools where the teachers or evangelists spoke words of cheer and courage, and sowed seeds of spiritual truth into the soil of honest hearts, to spring up and

²¹ Spurgeon, 'Lectures to my students,' p. 236.

²² Spurgeon, 'Lectures to my students,' p. 255.

²³ Brendon Carmody, *Education in Zambia: Catholic Perspectives*, (Lusaka: Book world Publishers, 1999), p. 16.

²⁴ Ellen G. White, *Testimonies for the church* volume 6, p. 31.

bear precious fruit.²⁵ The belief was that as the teachers or evangelists laboured in the fear of the Lord, their efforts would be rewarded by the Holy Spirit. The congregants also believed that the power of God in camp meetings worked upon His children to prevail against the enemy of souls' as light and darkness could not meet together in one place.

The importance of attending camp meetings by both teachers and pupils in Seventh Day Adventist schools in Mazabuka District in some cases would take place during the official school calendar. Touring Kanchomba SDA School on 22 July 1952, the District Education Officer stated that:

The school [Kanchomba] was not in session on the day of my visit. The assistant teacher told me that the head teacher had gone to Demu for the whole of this week for a "Camp meeting" and the school was consequently closed. It is not proposed to grant-aid this school in any way for this week since no approval was given for this closure during the official school calendar.²⁶

It was not good policy to close schools to facilitate prayer meetings. As such, the SDA teachers closed their schools in defiance of government policy. In such incidences, the affected schools were made to lose their grant-in-aid. In another development to show how serious the issue of camp meetings was, the Provincial Education Officer, Mr. P.D. Maynard, wrote a letter to the Manager of Schools, Rusangu Mission, Mr. Bristow, to explain the closure of SDA schools during camp meetings. Mr. Maynard stated that:

I understand that your village schools were closed during the beginning of July because your teachers were attending a camp meeting. I have no record of any request from you to alter the official village school terms laid down in my Southern Province Circular Minute No. 19 of 21st May, 1952. Last year I had occasion to point out to Mr. Eva that no departure from the official terms should be made without prior notification and approval of this office. My predecessor in his Southern Province Circular Minute No. 63 of 10th August, 1949 also

²⁵ White, Testimonies for the church volume 6, p. 45.

²⁶ N.A.Z., SP4/8/7, Seventh Day Adventists Rusangu Mission, Department of African Education Schools Inspection Report, 22 July, 1952. Before 1965, Monze was still under Mazabuka district and therefore, some of the areas under modern day Choma and Monze were initially under Mazabuka.

warned managers against unauthorized closures. In this latest instance, the District Officer, Mr. Large on his visit to Itebe 6th to 10th July found that the school had not been opened this term and I made special journeys to no less than three of your schools in the same period only to find them also closed. You will appreciate that such a waste of time and money cannot be tolerated. In addition to the cases mentioned, there are possibly wasted journeys of Jeanes supervisors, education councillors and school attendance officers. Please be good enough to inform me with a copy of the Director of African Education and District Commissioner, the dates of your July camp meeting and how many teachers attended and how many schools as result were closed and for what periods. Failing some satisfactory explanation from you, I shall recommend to the Director of African Education that a pro rata deduction of grant is made in November.²⁷

From the above statement, it is clear that camp meetings were observed by teachers or evangelists and pupils even in defiance of government policy due to their importance in evangelism. Churches like SDA and Salvation Army observe this approach of evangelism. Salvation Army calls these gatherings as congress meetings. This means evangelisation was done in some instances not to complement education provision, but at its expense. It would thus not be wrong to infer that evangelism was respected more than education provision in SDA schools.

3.3.3 Medical Evangelism

Medical work was another form of evangelism that was used to the mid-twentieth centuries. Christianity and medicine acted as complementary realms of cosmology and practice that worked together to change what missionaries considered as absurd native beliefs and healing practices.²⁸ Through medical evangelism, African medical auxiliaries strengthened Christian missionary efforts to overwhelm pre-existing systems to civilise Africa as well as to convert

²⁷ N.A.Z., SP4/8/7, Seventh Day Adventists Rusangu Mission, District Education Authorities Minutes and General Correspondence, 11 August, 1952.

²⁸ Niezen, *Healing and Conversion: Medical Evangelism in James Bay Cree Society*, p. 464.

its people to Christianity.²⁹ The ability of African medical workers to speak local languages enabled western medicine to be understood by their fellow Africans.

As African medical workers went round treating patients in hospitals or homes, they were encouraged by their employers to heal the sin-sick souls by giving them the message of salvation that would later break down the prejudice.³⁰ They worked on the body, believing that God reached hearts through relief of physical suffering.³¹ As they provided these services they had the privilege to meet many souls who would have never heard the gospel message.

The SDA church built hospitals and clinics where medical evangelism was conducted. The first mission hospital and leprosarium was erected at Mwami Mission Station. Mwami Mission Station was purchased by the SDA in 1925 to serve the people across that region. The Mission was located 30km southeast of Chipata, 8km west of the Malawi-Zambia border in the Eastern Province of Zambia. The hospital was established and pioneered by Dr. E.G. Marcusin 1927 as a natural extension of the work from Malawi's famous Malamulo Hospital.

The second SDA hospital in Northern Rhodesia was Yuka Mission Hospital, which also housed a leprosarium. It started as a mobile clinic under a big tree (still standing at the time of writing this work). The area had been used as a rest place by refugees escaping upheaval and instability in Angola. The hospital was named Yuka (meaning to rest after being tired). It is situated 1,058 kilometres west of Kalabo town in Western Province. It was founded in 1953 to provide health services to the needy communities. In Western Province, the leper settlements were taken care of by three missionary societies, the SDA, the Capuchin

²⁹ Walima, T. Kalusa, 'Disease and Remaking of Missionary Medicine in Colonial North- Western Zambia: A case study of Mwinilunga District, 1902- 1964,' PhD. Thesis, Johns Hopkins University, (2003), p. 58.

³⁰ Ellen G. White, *A Call to Medical Evangelism and Health Education*, (California: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1933), p. 7.

³¹ E. G. White, *Evangelism*, (California: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1946), p. 513.

(Catholic) Fathers and, to a lesser extent the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society.³² It is most likely that the PEMS rendered less help to the leper settlements in Kalabo than both the Capuchin Fathers and the SDA because they arrived later in the area.

As people came to seek treatment for various ailments such as leprosy, tuberculosis, malaria and others, they received the gospel alongside the treatment. They went back to their villages bearing the news of both healing and gospel. Admitted patients were blessed with spiritual devotions every morning through the efforts of the hospital Chaplain and the African medical workers.³³ On the other hand, missionary concern over leprosy was part of their evangelisation process. Lepers were actually some of their first converts to Christianity.³⁴ It was easy to convert the lepers to Christianity since the missionaries were seen as meeting a basic need of the lepers' health condition by providing free medication.

3.3.4 Trickle Down Effect

Christians have used many forms of evangelism throughout history to spread their faith in order to turn souls from darkness to light. They believed that success in evangelism was not to see how many people could be converted, but sharing the good news of Jesus Christ and trusting God for results. Since the people being reached during evangelism had different spiritual conditions, the use of all scripture, the counsel of God was imperative. In the book of Mark, chapter 10, verses 17-27, there is the story of how Jesus used the law to show the rich man the need of the saviour.³⁵ In SDA evangelism, therefore, the goal was not quick decisions, but rather winning souls that would go on to become true disciples.

³² Brenda Liwoyo Mbaita, 'Missionaries, The State and Leprosy in Zambia 1893- 1964', MA Dissertation. University of Zambia, (2011), p. 80.

³³ Vivian Munachande Kanondo, *The Story of Rusangu Mission: A Brief Review, 1903- 2005*, p. 55.

³⁴ Mbaita, 'Missionaries, The State and Leprosy in Zambia', p. 80.

³⁵ The Holy Bible, New King James Version: Red Letter Edition (n.t: Remnant Publications and Thomas Nelson Inc., 1982), p. 410.

Trickle Down was another form of evangelism that was used in the colonial era. The method involved converting many or the person who held the highest rank in the society so that his or her influence could serve to help spread Christianity throughout the society. Among the missionary societies, Rusangu Mission recorded such an incident when headman Chikonga of Chikonga village, surrendered his village dancing drum to the Mission when he got converted in 1937.³⁶ The conversion of headman Chikonga influenced his subjects to follow suit.

3.4 African Agents as Porters and Pathfinders

During the period of developing Rusangu Mission, Africans who acted as porters and pathfinders played a role in the development and evangelisation at Rusangu Mission. When William Harrison Anderson left Zimbabwe in 1903 to look for a piece of land where he could establish a mission station in Zambia, he was in the company of other American missionaries and African men. Among those men was Jacob Detcha who could speak many languages and he took the role of an interpreter.³⁷ According to Thomas Spear and Isaria Kimambo, missionaries spoke local languages poorly or not at all, and thus were subject to translations made by local intermediaries.³⁸ Detcha was able to communicate with his fellow Africans whom they met on the way and probably asked for directions. Anderson and his team reached Monze, met chief Monze and were given land 10 kilometres south east of Monze town with the guidance of Detcha. Later, Anderson and his fellow Americans went back to the United States of America.

In 1905, Anderson took an expedition with another team of missionaries. Among the team was an African by the name of Jim Mainza whose native land was Zambia. Since Mainza was

³⁶Mc Samuel Dixon- Fyle, 'The Politics and agrarian change among the Plateau Tonga of Northern Rhodesia, c. 1924- 63, PhD. Thesis, University of London, (1978), p. 38.

³⁷ Jonas S. Chitebeta, 'The Seventh Day Adventist Church in Zambia and the Media: An Evaluation of the use of mass Media by the church,' MCD Dissertation, University of Zambia, 2006, p. 17

³⁸ Thomas Spear and Isaria Kimambo, *East African Expressions of Christianity*, (Oxford: James Currey Ltd, 1999), p. 6.

able to speak Tonga, Anderson saw it fit to use him as an interpreter in place of Jacob Detcha.³⁹ When the missionaries were settled at Rusangu, Detcha and the other African men continued to work hand in hand with them. The men played an important role in the recruitment of youths to attend school at Rusangu Mission. They were dispatched into the nearby villages to consult with parents and to appeal to them to send their children to school.⁴⁰ The knowledge of the local language was an added advantage for the African men in the recruitment of pupils. When the school was established, the men were retained by Anderson as teachers or evangelists.

It is imperative to note that the African porters and pathfinders did not only contribute to the establishment of Rusangu Mission, but also in other societies where mission stations existed, their contribution was creditable. For example, in the Southern part of Zimbabwe, among the Shona people, Joseph Mujere records that many African converts volunteered to go and work, the aged offered their young sons for missionary work to contribute towards the evangelisation of other Africans.⁴¹ Soul winning was desired as an important undertaking. The growth of the mission in that area of Zimbabwe was largely due to the efforts of the indigenous people.

Earlier in 1902, when Prestage and Moreau had been in Chief Monze's area requesting for land to open a mission station, they were given four African men to go back with to Zimbabwe. While in Zimbabwe, the young men learnt new skills of plowing the English language. Prestage and Moreau learned Chitonga and took advantage of it in their mission work. In 1905, Prestage, Moreau, the four young men and Julius Torrend, a linguist returned

³⁹ Chitebeta, 'The Seventh Day Adventist church in Zambia and the Media: An Evaluation of the use of Mass Media by the Church,' p .18

⁴⁰ Mhoswa, 'A Study of the Educational Contribution of the Jesuit Mission at Chikuni and the Adventist Mission at Rusangu, p. 81

⁴¹ Joseph Mujere, 'African Intermediaries: African Evangelists, the Dutch Reformed Church, and the Evangelisation of the Southern Shona in the late Nineteenth Century,' *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae* Vol. 39, No.2 (Feb 2013), p. 22.

to Chief Monze's area and settled at Chikuni.⁴² Father Moreau worked well with the four local young men to develop the mission station there.

Among the Africans who had come with Anderson and settled in Southern Province after their hard work in evangelising and educating their fellow Africans around the area were Jacob Detcha in Mbeza near Bweengwa, Jack Mlahlatini in Mpofu and Jim Mainza in Kantengwa area.⁴³ Jim Mainza had once been caught up in Ndebele raids as a small boy with his mother. They were taken to Matebeleland. While in Zimbabwe he went to Solusi Mission where he attained elementary education. Anderson made it possible for Jim Mainza to reunite with his family members the time he returned with him to Northern Rhodesia as an interpreter.

Jim Mainza went to school at Solusi Mission in 1895 and later graduated as a teacher/evangelist. While in Zimbabwe, he worked as a gospel preacher at Solusi where he was recognized by the missionaries as the best African worker.⁴⁴ Mainza's power in preaching back in Zambia made people follow him. He preached in places around Kafue and Monze.⁴⁵ Many companies and churches were set up as a result of Jim's evangelism zeal.

As a teacher, Mainza taught at Bweengwa, one of the first out-schools to be opened by Anderson. The school proved successful and later a dozen more village schools were opened.⁴⁶ While working as a preacher, Mainza converted more than 1,000 people to Christianity in his area, including his family members.⁴⁷

⁴² S.J.M. Choobe, 'Encounters between Jesuit and Protestant Missionaries in their Approaches to Evangelisation in Zambia', in Robert Aleksander Maryks and Festo Mkenda (eds.), *Encounters Between Jesuits and Protestants*, (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2018), p. 118.

⁴³ I.B. Burton, 'Visiting Isolated Believers,' *Southern African Division outlook*, (Oct 1933), p. 3.

⁴⁴ W. H. Anderson, *On the Trails of Livingstone*, (California: Pacific Press Publishing Association), p. 218.

⁴⁵ Interview, Halwindi, Siyumbu Farms, Monze District, 15 May, 2019.

⁴⁶ Peter Snelson, *Educational Development in Northern Rhodesia 1883- 1945* (Lusaka: NECZAM, 1970), p. 95.

⁴⁷ Interview, Halwindi, Siyumbu Farms, Monze District, 15 May, 2019.

3.5 African Agents as Lay Pastors, 1920-1964

The work of evangelism was concentrated in the Southern and Central provinces of Zambia before 1920. The catchment areas in Southern Province were Kazungula, Demu, Mujika, Kaumba, Munenga, Hufwa, Bweengwa, Dimbwe, Siasikabole and many others. Some Pastors and evangelists were sent to all these areas to spread the gospel to their fellow Africans. In 1935, Kazungula District was under the leadership of Evangelist David Muhwanga, Demu District under Pastor Lawson Endaenda, Dimbwe Mission District under Henry Maboma and Munenga was headed by Evangelist Samuel Chilumbi. The work of the African evangelists in these districts contributed to the growth of the membership of the church. By 1962, the church membership in Southern Province had reached 4,867.⁴⁸

In 1917, Pastor Samuel Konigmarcher, one of the missionaries at Rusangu Mission left for Musofu in Mkushi. He established Musofu Mission and one of his converts, Matthew Chivanga, became a worker at the mission. An elementary school was set up and it was run by the church. After the mission had fully developed, Konigmarcher left Musofu in 1921. The African evangelists and pastors at Musofu continued with the work started by Konigmarcher. By 1963, the school had expanded to senior primary with a total of 300 pupils. As a result of evangelism, Musofu Mission grew in size and organized 20 churches, 112 companies and 168 Sabbath School branches. The church membership had reached 3,633,⁴⁹ by 1963. The work was under the supervision of five African pastors and five evangelists. Mujere notes that although the expeditions were directed by the white missionaries, mostly

⁴⁸ Seventh Day Adventist Encyclopaedia, Vol.10 (California: Review and Herald Publishing, 1996), p. 1451

⁴⁹ Seventh Day Adventist Encyclopaedia, Vol, 10, p. 1452.

they were conducted by African evangelists, consequently underlining the importance of African evangelists in the missionary activities.⁵⁰

Another early Mission station that was established in the colonial period was Chimpempe Mission in Luapula Province. In 1919, W.E. Straw of Zambesi Union Mission and John N. de Beer of Somabula Mission located a site near Kalungwishi river where Chimpempe Mission was founded. H. J. Hurlow, in the company of two Africans Lawson Endaenda and Isaac Galwale activated the missionary activities when he arrived in the area in 1921.⁵¹

Setting up Chimpempe Mission was a challenge because of the London Missionary Society that was present in the area at Mbereshi Mission. The Christian Missions in Many Lands (CMML) was already in the area and had established Mambilima Mission in 1898, Kaleba in 1910, Mwenso Wansoka in 1914 and Mansa in 1919.⁵² Because of these other mission societies which already dominated the area, the Adventist faith was not easily accepted. People including the chief in that area were already converted to the faiths of these two mission societies. However, the medical services that were also provided by Hurlow in the surrounding villages opened an opportunity for the Adventist missionaries to be accepted by the people including their chief. This proves Rodgers Chuulu's view that when free medication was provided to the sick, they were willing to follow the providers and became their disciples.⁵³ The Mission gained a point when one of its first converts, James Muyaba (late), became a pastor and later Vice President of the Northern Rhodesia Mission Field

⁵⁰ Mujere, 'African Intermediaries: African Evangelists, the Dutch Reformed, and the Evangelisation of the Southern Shona in the late Nineteenth Century,' p. 22.

⁵¹H. J. Hurlow, published Letter, African Division Outlook, Zambesi Union Mission, July 15, 1922.

⁵² Kovina L.K. Mutenda, *A History of the Christian Brethren (Christian Missions in Many Lands-CMML) in Zambia* (London: Yeomans Press, 2002), p.38.

⁵³ Rodgers M. Chuulu, 'The Impact of Christianity on the Traditional Religion of the Toka and Leya of Mukuni Village in Livingstone,' M.Ed., Dissertation, University of Zambia, (2015), p. 53.

(NRMF) of the SDA Church in 1962. The Mission managed to establish an elementary school in 1923, a church in 1926 with only 27 members and later a day school.⁵⁴

When Pastor Konigmarcher left Musofu Mission, he went to Barotseland to spearhead the gospel. He began his work at Katimamulilo which then spread west and northwards of Barotseland. In 1928, he opened a school at Liumba Hill in Kalabo District after he was given permission to do so by LitungaLewanika. Later Sitoti and Numa schools were opened. By 1946, Konigmarcher had worked hard enough to see four out-schools built and eleven organized churches set up.

From the above discussion, it can be observed that in most of the work that was done in establishing Mission stations, African pastors and evangelists played pivotal roles. They worked together to spread the good news to various places where there had been none. Surprisingly, by 2012 the bond that had existed between these two groups of servants of God had waned. In an interview, Pastor Peter Chuulu had this to say:

There is a misunderstanding between pastors and evangelists. They look at each other as opponents not working partners. Some pastors feel they are more holy than the evangelists. They no longer work together since pastors underrate the other group and evangelists are not free to mingle with them. This is not right since they are both working at the same goal of bringing those in darkness to light.⁵⁵

The above statement shows that there was a growing rift between pastors and evangelists in the Seventh Day Adventist Church, in spite of the important work that both groups had been doing since the inception of the SDA mission work in Northern Rhodesia in 1905.

⁵⁴Seventh Day Adventist Encyclopaedia, Vol, 10, p. 1452.

⁵⁵ Interview with Peter Chuulu, Lecturer, Rusangu University, Monze District, 27 May, 2019.

3.6 African Agents as Brokers of Culture

Before the arrival of the Christian missionaries, the plateau Tonga of Southern Province, were followers of traditional religion. The Tonga religion focused so much on God, the Supreme Being, the traditional *Leza*; they did not know Jesus Christ or the Holy Spirit.⁵⁶ The Supreme Being was believed to be distant, was only approached through the mediation of ancestral spirits and never demanded prayers from human beings. Great phenomena or features such as rivers, thickets, anthills, extra-ordinary trees and hot springs, according to Naali, were generally used as centres of worship called *Malende* (shrines) where it was believed the spirits lived.⁵⁷ The *Malende* were places of the *mizimo* (spirits) who were responsible for rainfall and other good things. They were patronized by the rain maker to offer rituals to the rain spirits. The Monze chiefs assumed the role of rain makers before 1930s until the practice ceased after the death of Monze Hamanjanji in 1946.⁵⁸ To appease the spirits, items such as animals, fowls, food, utensils tools and coins were offered.⁵⁹ Without these offerings, the spirits could not perform their duties on behalf of the living.

The Tonga were committed to the norms and requirements of their religion. By the end of the nineteenth century, the coming of British rule and western ideas, attitudes and values as well as Christianity, had affected the control of some of these beliefs and practices. The teachings that came along with Christianity were not in tandem with the traditional religion. The Tonga did change some of their beliefs as a response to the new religion, yet on the whole, many continued with their belief in ancestral spirits. The spirits were attached to families and clans.

⁵⁶ Elizabeth Colson, *Tonga Religious Life in the Twentieth Century*, (Lusaka: Book world Publishers, 2006), p. 50

⁵⁷ James H. Naali, 'A History of the Pilgrim Wesleyan Missionary Society in Choma District, 1930- 1980,' MA Dissertation. University of Zambia, (2003), p. 11

⁵⁸ Mhoswa 'A Study of the Educational Contribution of the Jesuit Mission at Chikuni and the Adventist Mission at Rusangu, p. 9

⁵⁹ J. Mbiti, *Introduction to African Religion*, (Cape Town: Wave land Press, 1991), p. 20.

Within the area where Rusangu Mission is situated lies a place called Tinti. The place was regarded by the community as a *Malende* and had a sacred spot. It had a radius of about 50 meters and was permanently moist. The site is one kilometre away from Rusangu Mission. Due to the coming of the missionaries, the Tinti was no longer a sacred spot. The appeasing of the ancestral spirits was discouraged when the communities around Rusangu Mission were converted to Christianity. The place around Tinti was thus turned into a farm. An act that concealed the Tonga traditional belief.

The Tonga religious practices were centred on *Muzimu* cult or ancestral spirits, which was regarded as the source of power to sustain the living and to ensure the continued existence of the clan.⁶⁰ The relationship with the clan determined the property of the community and the welfare of each member. The ancestral spirits were believed to inhabit among the living, hence they were worshipped by the living. Colson observes that much of Tonga religion was concerned with the relationship between the living and those who had disappeared.⁶¹ *Mizimo* operated in three ways. The *Basangu* looked at the wellbeing of the community and depicted good things. The *Masaba* tormented the community by causing suffering and misfortune. The *Zyeelo* appeared as ghosts of the dead to the living.⁶² The belief in *mizimo* no longer existed among the followers of Jesus who regard the Holy Spirit as their faithful guide.

3.6.1 The Child-naming Ceremony

The child-naming ceremony was a very important traditional practice among the Tonga. New born children were given names of the departed members of the family.⁶³ Children were

⁶⁰ Mhoswa, 'A Study of the Educational Contribution of the Jesuit Mission at Chikuni and the Adventist Mission at Rusangu', p. 7

⁶¹ Elizabeth Colson, *Tonga Religious life in the Twentieth Century*, (Lusaka: Book World Publishers, 2006), p. 51.

⁶² Elizabeth Colson, *The Plateau of Northern Rhodesia, Social and Religious Studies*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1952), p. 3.

⁶³ Interview with Jonathan Mudala, Chikonga Village, Monze District, 22 May, 2019.

regarded as living representatives of the dead. Thus, family elders at the naming ceremony selected a name from among departed family members to be given to the newly born baby.⁶⁴ Some people gave their children two names, for example, a Christian and another one of the departed person.

However, in the African society of Nigeria not all child birth was welcome. Welch Galbraith, in his book *Africa before they Came* gives an example of twins in Nigeria. While some welcomed twins as good omen, others considered them with dismay, as a sign of disease. They thought twins brought misfortune to the community, they were evil spirits and dangerous.⁶⁵ On the other hand, twins were considered as not really human! The mother was condemned as an immoral woman who could have committed adultery while pregnant. One man could not be the father of two children. By 2012 this ritual was no longer upheld among the African societies that had converted to Christianity. Children were seen as blessings from the Almighty God.

3.6.2 Polygamy and Adultery

Polygamy, a practice where a man could marry more than one wife, had a special place among the Leya people of Mukuni chiefdom. Mubitana states that marriages in the Leya tradition were potentially polygamous. The husbands were the overall heads of households. A senior wife played a vital role during family rituals.⁶⁶ The Tonga tradition was not different from the Leya tradition as polygamy in all traditional societies was common. Some changes were experienced especially to those who were converted. In an interview, Pastor Fordson Vincent Chimoga narrated how he managed to counsel a man who had four wives at Kabile

⁶⁴ Munokalya, S., *The Mukuni Royal Dynasty's short History and the Munokalya, Mukuni Royal Establishments Ritual and Political Sovereignty*, (Livingstone: Munokalya Mukuni Royal Establishment, 2013), p.65.

⁶⁵ Welch Galbraith, *Africa Before they come*, (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1965), p. 325.

⁶⁶ K. Mubitana, *Christian Missions and the Toka- Leya of Southern Province*, PhD Dissertation, (Edinburg: University of Edinburg, 1977), p. 51.

in Mumbwa District where he had been sent to work in 1983. The man divorced the other wives and retained the first wife because Christianity did not condone polygamy.⁶⁷ The SDA condemned sexual immorality and polygamy. The Adventists often relieved teachers in their employ of their duties if it became evident that they had either committed adultery or taken a second wife.⁶⁸

Adultery cases were some of the issues the African teachers/evangelists and pastors tried to put to an end by disciplining those who were found wanting. Adultery cases continued to be experienced even in churches in African societies. They were recorded to be the cause of divorce in many marriages.⁶⁹ Sexual immorality contributed to most Christians moving from one church to the other after being disciplined. The discipline of the church received differing emphases in the African context with various effects. Persons under discipline either joined another church or formed their own movement in which discipline was lax.⁷⁰ The church needed to foster human contact and interest among those on discipline to make them feel they were still part of the congregation.

3.6.3 Sexual Cleansing

Sexual cleansing was a common ritual following the death of a spouse of an African adult. The cleansing took place in order to free the woman or man from the spirit of the dead husband or wife and give her or him chance to marry again. The widow or widower was made to have sexual intercourse with a relative to the deceased, chosen by the family. If sexual intercourse was not used, the other methods were employed as narrated by a respondent, Mildred Moonga:

⁶⁷ Interview with Fordson Vincent Chimoga, Lecturer Rusangu University, Monze District, 27 May, 2019.

⁶⁸ N.A.Z, C1/8/14/3, Correspondence between Rusangu and Department of disciplinary measures, 1935.

⁶⁹ Galbraith, *Africa Before they came*, p. 319

⁷⁰ G. C. Oosthuizen, *Post- Christianity in Africa: A Theological and Anthropological Study*, (Michigan: William B Eerdmans Publishing Company), p. 16.

I had the privilege of witnessing a cleansing ritual when my father died. My step mother was treated badly. They used to wake her up early in the morning and she was taken somewhere near the village. She was asked to climb a musekese tree and while up in the tree, someone would cut it and she would fall down. Her face was blindfolded with the bark of the same tree. Her legs were tied too. She was given a maize stalk to use as a walking stick. The stick symbolized her husband. She would walk back to the village. Wherever she would go, she would carry the maize stalk. If the woman was cruel, they would surround her and instruct her to fall on her husband's grave, she would be blindfolded with a black cloth and made her to run from the grave yard to the village.⁷¹

The coming of Christianity in the area condemned the sexual cleansing act as immoral and evil. Another type of cleansing known as *kuchuta* was introduced. Colson notes that cleansing was, therefore done through an alternative form of purification called *kuchuta*.⁷² The woman was made to slide on the body of a person (male or female) or even an animal and that way she was deemed cleansed.⁷³ As a result of accepting Jesus Christ as their personal saviour, most of the Christians at Rusangu Mission and other areas stopped this type of cleansing; only very few non-Christians continued the practice.

3.6.4 Nkolola Ceremony

Nkolola was a traditional initiation ceremony of the Tonga people conducted after girls became of age. In an interview, Mildred Moonga recalled thus:

When I was in grade four in 1972, I was chosen to sit with the girl who was initiated (*moye*). The girl was not supposed to talk or be seen by anyone. She was secluded for a period of five months. During this time, she was taught about hygiene, how to live with people and how to prepare for the future. When she wanted something she would clap and then I would go there to attend to her. Early in the morning before people woke up, I would take her outside to answer the call of nature. During the day she was using

⁷¹ Interview with Mildred Moonga, Rusangu Secondary School, Monze District, 21 May, 2019.

⁷² Colson, *Tonga Religious life in the Twentieth Century*, p. 193.

⁷³ Interview with Mudala, Chikonga Village, Monze District, 22 May, 2019.

the calabash that was made for her to answer the call of nature. After the five months were over, it was time for her to come out to the public. She was bathed and a special stone's bright powder was smeared on her body. Her skin glowed and she looked beautiful. I think they were preparing her for marriage because after one week, she got married. When it was time for me to be secluded, my mother refused and she explained to the elders that she was a Christian and on top of that I was a school girl⁷⁴

In view of the foregoing, Nkolola ceremony was, therefore, discouraged among the plateau Tonga after many were converted to Christianity by their fellow Africans. By 2012 many Christians had abandoned the initiation ceremony and replaced it with the modern way of teaching young girls known as kitchen party.

Traditional practices of marriage ceremonies in the Tonga society were accompanied by traditional dances and beer drinking. These practices were discouraged by the church from being performed during weddings. Dancing at wedding ceremonies was regarded as sinful. Local drinks were replaced by imported ones and the people who continued drinking the local alcoholic drinks were labelled as drunkards.⁷⁵ To the contrary, among the Agikuyu of Kenya, consumption of alcohol in some rituals was mandatory. Samuel Waje Kunhiyop in his book, *African Christian Ethics* states that:

Drinks were common in every community and were brewed from cereal crops, herbs, roots, leaves and even the sap of palm trees. Young people were only permitted to take alcohol on important occasions such as the naming ceremonies for babies, weddings, funerals and annual ritual like harvest celebrations. The consumption of alcohol was and still is mandatory in some of these rituals. Among the Agikuyu of Kenya, the bride's father must take a sip of alcohol to signify that he has accepted the suitor's proposal and has blessed the union between the couple. Drinking alcohol on traditional wedding is to share in a social celebration. It would have been unthinkable to plan a traditional wedding without alcohol.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ Interview with Moonga, Rusangu Secondary School, Monze District, 21 May, 2019.

⁷⁵ A.K., Tiberondwa, *Missionary Teachers as Agents of Colonialism: A Study of their Activities in Uganda, 1877- 1925*, (Lusaka: Kenneth Kaunda Foundation, 1978), p. 16.

⁷⁶ Samuel Waje Kunhiyop, *African Christian Ethics*, (Nairobi: Hippo books, 2008), p. 359.

Although the traditional beliefs and practices in African societies were common, they were handled differently according to the society. For example, in the statement above the Kikuyu people of Kenya had high regard for alcohol as a source of their amusement and entertainment in their celebrations, but for the Tonga society during traditional marriages beer and dances were not mandatory as some of the marriages were through elopement.

3.6.5 The Lwiindi Ceremony

The Lwiindi ceremony is the main ceremony of the Tonga speaking people and it is among the cultural practices that remained unchanged. Lwiindi is a prayer of supplication in which the Tonga people ask for rain from the ancestral spirits. It is also a thanks-giving ceremony for the harvest directed to Tonga ancestors. The *Lwiindi* has been celebrated from time to time but at some point it almost became passive. Chief Monze, Petrol Mang'unza Kapuwe recorded that the Lwiindi ceremony was one of his major concerns when he ascended to the throne in 1992. He made sure that the ceremony was brought to life again. It was vital to meet at Gonde to teach the young generation what used to happen long before so that they would know their history. After the coming of Christianity, people would choose to go and attend the ceremony or stay away. Those who stayed away no longer appeased the ancestral spirits for rain as it had been before.⁷⁷ The chief was concerned about the traditional belief and culture of *Lwiindi* ceremony among Tonga people not to lose it or else posterity would have no history.

3.7 African Agents in Literature evangelism in Post-Colonial Zambia

Literature evangelism involved the selling and distribution of Christian books, pamphlets and tracts. In the SDA church, people who were involved in this type of evangelism were known as Literature evangelists. In some countries they were called colporteurs. The main purpose

⁷⁷ Interview with Chief Monze, Monze District, 30 May, 2019.

of colportage work was to present to people the gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ. The material to be presented should be in a language to be understood by the affected people.

Literature distribution was empty and futile if the distributors lead a way of life contrary to their mission. Verwer observes that conduct, speech, appearance and work were the things that the world noticed more quickly than anything else.⁷⁸ It is advisable that as converts distribute the literature they must be in a right relationship with Jesus Christ and living in obedience to him. This called to the literature evangelists that as much as they knew that they were self-supporting workers, they should be mindful that the goal of literature evangelism was to spread the gospel and not to make money. Concentration on making money meant the spiritual aspect of the would-be customers was forgotten. There would be no prayers, no proper explanation of the goodness and quality of the book or books. The literature Evangelists would just leave the books without explaining.⁷⁹ African Literature evangelists had a great role to play of making the work of pastors manageable. They went before the pastors to teach and explain to the people they came in contact with about certain topics found in the books they were selling and the magazines, pamphlets and tracts they were distributing.

3.7.1 Role in Church Societies

In the post-colonial period, the General Conference of the SDA church introduced new church societies or groups. The aim of forming the societies was to promote evangelism amongst the laity in the Adventist church.⁸⁰ The societies were Dorcas, Adventist Men Organization (AMO) and Adventist Youth (AY). These societies encouraged every member

⁷⁸ Verwer, *Literature Evangelism*, (London: Send the Light, 1977), p. 19.

⁷⁹ Interview with Chuulu, Lecturer, Rusangu University, Monze District, 29 May, 2019.

⁸⁰ Kanondo, *The Story of Rusangu*, p. 59.

at church to be involved in evangelism. They belonged to the Personal Ministries department of the church. The *Church Heritage* notes that:

Departments constitute leaders at all levels; the local church, the conference/field, the Union, the Division and the General Conference. The leaders cooperate to keep a united and balanced work throughout the world.⁸¹

This indicates that African agents at all levels contributed to the winning of souls of their fellow Africans to Jesus Christ.

Dorcas society was a women's organization with a mission of sharing the gospel to the society and helping the needy. The society emulated the works done by Dorcas of Apostolic Church in the book of Acts chapter 9, verses 6-43. The society's evangelism works was a great contribution to the church membership from its inception. Efforts or camp meetings were conducted by the society where preaching took place and at the end of the gathering souls were won. For example, the Dorcas Federation organized a crusade in Monze in 1994. The preacher was Jim Mainza. At the end of that crusade, 50 souls were baptized and a company of believers was organised.⁸² Helping the needy was the key activity for this society. Places like hospitals, prisons and wherever aid was needed, formed the basis of the society's community service. During these visits, the society would give people clothing, blankets, food and other goods as a way of helping the needy and winning them as converts.

The Adventist Men Organisation was a department in the church that was concerned with the nurturing of men for the service to God, family and community. The Organisation encouraged both old and young to meet the spiritual needs of men in the church through prayer and fellowship work. AMO was involved in activities such as lay preaching, prison

⁸¹ General Conference of Seventh day Adventist, *Church Heritage: A Course in Church History*, (Washington D C. Zambia Adventist Press, 2001), p. 67.

⁸² Kanondo, *The Story of Rusangu*, p. 50.

ministry and community service. The men had not been as active as Dorcas society in some areas where community service was concerned.

The Adventist Youth was manned by the Adventist Youth department. The Youth Society was first formed by Luther Warren (aged 14) and Harry Fenner (aged 17) in Michigan, United States of America in 1879. The purpose of forming the society was to work on behalf of their peers. In 1907, the society had its first World Youth Director, Elder M. E. Kern. It continued holding evangelistic programmes around the world, organised by Conferences, Unions, Divisions and the General Conference. As a result of these campaigns, many were converted.⁸³Baraka G. Muganda from Tanzania was appointed the first African World Youth Director in 1995.⁸⁴The African agents continued spearheading the work of the society. By 2012, Pastor Reuben Muyunda had been organising similar work in Zambia. He was the Union Youth Director. Apart from playing a vital role in spreading the gospel, the AY also prepared young men and women for future leadership positions in the church. The society did similar work as the Dorcas mothers. It comprised of Adventurers, Pathfinders and Ambassadors.

3.7.2 Ministerial Training

The ministerial training school at Rusangu Mission was opened in 1975 by an Australian Missionary, Pastor Palmer. The idea of opening the school was to cater for untrained pastors in Zambia. Solusi College in Zimbabwe proved to be costly. The purpose of training pastors was to prepare them for field work so that they were equipped with the skills of pastoral work. Another reason was to make sure that they maintained spiritual vitality in order to help members remain spiritual. Among other things, pastors were taught to pray every day, to be

⁸³ Baraka G. Muganda, *100 Years Later: A Defining Moments in the History of Youth in the Seventh Day Adventist Church*. (2007), p. 11.

⁸⁴ General Conference Youth Department, *church Heritage: A Course in church History*, (Washington D C: Zambia Adventist Press, 2015), p. 123.

humble, respect people and to be God-fearing people.⁸⁵ Another imperative point was that the nature of their job was that of a calling and not a profession.

After completing the pastoral training, the trained pastors were posted to various places for work. In the following interview the respondent, Chimoga, narrated his experiences as follows:

After I completed my Diploma course at Solusi college in Zimbabwe, I was posted to Kabile Mission District in Mumbwa in 1983 as I was waiting to go and complete my course in Bachelor of Arts in Theology the following year. At Kabile, I had to divide my work systematically in order to achieve my goals. During that time, there were no motor vehicles and the mode of transport commonly used were bicycles. I had to travel quite a lot visiting my church members. I had 22 companies to take care of. Since the villages were apart, I used to spend sometimes a week away from home and would sleep in the church member's homes. The main purpose of these visits was to meet with the church leaders, deacons and church members to encourage them to evangelise. The church grew because of evangelism. I had challenges in convincing people to leave some of the traditional practices and beliefs they believed in. Some of these aspects were polygamy, witchcraft, wizardry, witchdoctors, to mention but a few. With prayers and the use of the Bible I managed to counsel these members and they became Christians that God wanted them to be.⁸⁶

The training that the pastors went through prepared them to face any circumstances that they might encounter in the field as they did God's work.

3.7.3 Use of the Media

The Seventh Day Adventist church was not the first church to have organized a religious programme on radio. Radio evangelism began around 1970s. The Roman Catholics of Zambia began these programmes earlier in the 1970s with a programme called "Club House Time". The programme evangelised to children through drama on Bible stories in cartoon form. This programme was followed by "Lumen 2000 Hour", where activities done by the Catholic Church and methods used for outreach were advertised in a documentary form.

⁸⁵ Interview with Chimoga, Lecturer, Rusangu University, 27 May, 2019.

⁸⁶ Interview with Chimoga.

Still in the twentieth century a preacher called Nevers Mumba of Victory Ministries Church aired the programme “Zambia Shall Be Saved.” Activities such as crusades, youth programmes, healing messages and others were broadcasted. Other private media also carried out the spread of the word through their radio stations. Radio Christian Voice, Radio Chikuni, Radio Icengelo and others aired their programmes. The importance of radio evangelism was that the message reached a lot of people within a short time.

The SDA began radio evangelism in the late 1970s. The programme was *Ijwi lya Chishinshimi* (Voice of Prophecy) in the Tonga language. It was presented by Pastor Bright Halwindi then. The programme explained some of the prophetic interpretations in the Bible that were not easy to understand. The programme was followed by many people. Another programme was introduced known as *Atusalahyanye mu Bbaibbele* (Let the Bible clarify for us). The other programme that was similar to *Atusalahyanye mu Bbaibbele* was broadcasted in Lozi with the title *Lipuzo ni Likalabo za Silumeli* (Bible Questions and Answers). It started in the 1980s and the presenters then were Evangelist Clement Imolo and Evangelist Mwendabai (late). The programme used to be aired every Wednesday. People used to write letters and ask any question from the Bible that they did not understand. It attracted listeners around Zambia and other countries such as Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa. Many people were converted through the same programme.⁸⁷

After the radio programmes, the church embarked on televangelism. The gospel was spread by an evangelistic message presented as a sermon through television. It was started in the United States and Canada in the mid-twentieth century as a primary protestant approach to evangelism. Christian viewpoints were made much more visible in the world at this time than before. A group of lay people in Lusaka at Lusaka Central Mission District of SDA,

⁸⁷ Interview with Clement N. Imolo, Stewardship Director, Woodlands Conference of SDA Church, Lusaka, 10 May, 2019.

commenced a programme called “Gospel Penetration Ministries” in 1994. The presenter of the programme was Pastor Pitman Siamandu. Later, the programme was changed to the “Voice of Prophecy” (VOP), presented by Pastor Cornelius Matandiko. After the death of Pastor Matandiko in February 2008, Pastor Joe Lubasi continued to present the programme until his demise in November, 2009. Thereafter the programme was being presented by Pastor Rueben Muyunda. In 2012, the presenter was Pastor Pitman Siamandu.

The idea of using radio and television approaches to evangelism was to have a way of spreading the gospel in the fastest way since the listeners and viewers were captured in large numbers at once. Mark Finley gives a reminder on how the old believers managed evangelism:

The early believers did not have mass media, radio, television, or the internet. They did not have the social media network such as Facebook, Twitter, or text messaging. They did not have a network of satellite television stations. They did not have seminaries, publishing houses, and a worldwide hospital system. They did not have a worldwide church organization, but this they had- fullness of the spirit. They had Jesus promise that through the outpouring of His holy spirit, they would reach the entire world with His message of love and truth.⁸⁸

Finley’s statement gives an assurance of trusting in God when people were involved in doing His work, just as early believers trusted in the promise of the Holy Spirit who was to come.

3.8 Conclusion

This chapter has shown that the African agents were major actors in evangelisation at Rusangu Mission and other places in Zambia. Western education through which the converted Africans became teachers or evangelists emerged as the main tool that was used to influence the Africans to accept Christianity. The more schools were established; the more Africans were converted. Among approaches that were used to evangelise Africans, camp

⁸⁸ Mark A. Finley, *Revive us Again!* (California: Pacific Press Publishing Company, 2010), p. 100

meetings were observed by teachers, evangelists and pupils to an extent of defiance of government policy by closing schools during camp meetings. The chapter has demonstrated that evangelism was given the first priority over education provision in SDA schools. The coming of the American Missionaries at Rusangu Mission was a success with the aid of African Agents who acted as their porters and pathfinders. Jacob Detcha and Jim Mainza who knew how to speak local languages were interpreters and they made communication easy for the missionaries and the local people. They also played a role in the recruitment of youths to attend school at Rusangu Mission and later became teachers or evangelists.

African agents as lay pastors in Colonial Zambia spread the gospel to their fellow Africans in Southern and Central provinces where they were sent to work. The pastors and evangelists established mission stations and schools. Their work in these areas contributed to the growth of the membership of the church. The work was further extended to Luapula, Copperbelt, and Western province just to mention a few where mission stations were created.

Before the coming of Christian missionaries, the Tonga society believed in traditional religion, where they appeased the ancestral spirits with items as offering in order for the spirits to perform their duties on behalf of the living. Through the teaching that came with Christianity in their area, the Tonga did not change some of their beliefs as a response to the new religion, but continued with their beliefs in ancestral spirits. African Agents as brokers of culture succeeded in breaking some of the traditional practices while others continued the practice. They also won souls of their fellow Africans through working in groups called societies consisting of men, women and youths. The societies offered community services to the people as a way of helping the needy. Assorted essential materials were usually given to the needy. Apart from community service, camp meetings or crusades were also organised and they ended up with new converts. The use of media in the twentieth century by pastors and evangelists was the fastest way they could disseminate the gospel to people far and near.

Two programmes were aired on the Home Service radio in Tonga and Lozi while the other on television was in English language. Thus, Africans performed significant roles as agents of education and evangelisation at Rusangu Mission during the period of study.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 IMPACT OF AFRICAN AGENTS IN THE PROVISION OF EDUCATION AT RUSANGU MISSION

4.1 Introduction

The growth of evangelical work at Rusangu Mission was partly a consequence of the contribution of African teacher-evangelists. Through their effort, many local branches were opened in the Southern Province. This chapter investigates the impact of African agents in the provision of education at Rusangu Mission. It is noted that African agents at Rusangu Mission contributed immensely to the spread of literacy and industrial training among the Plateau Tonga. This was achieved through the opening of a number of out-schools which were manned by mission-educated Africans. In addition, the chapter notes that African agents played a significant role in revolutionising agriculture in the district. Mission-educated Africans at Rusangu also laid the foundation for farmers' associations which aimed at advancing the problems that indigenous farmers faced in the wake of discriminatory policies in agriculture by the colonial government. They also played a role in awakening political consciousness and in the formation of the Northern Rhodesia African Congress (NRAC). Finally, it is noted that African agents contributed to human resource development through the establishment of Rusangu University.

4.2 Spread of Literacy and Industrial Training

One of the aims of the Adventists' primary education provision in the mission field was to eliminate illiteracy and train students in industrial skills such as carpentry, building, and food growing. To do this, there was need to open a number of out-schools in the areas where African Adventists evangelised. As early as 1906, the mission opened two out-schools,

Mujika and Kaumba, which were manned by the Matebele African agents who had accompanied Elder Anderson from Solusi to Rusangu.¹ The Matebele Africans taught various subjects as shall be seen later in this chapter. In order to speed up the spread of literacy among the locals, the Adventists at Rusangu Mission began to send trainee students to open out-schools in their respective home areas. By 1911, African agents had opened 11 out-schools in the district.² However, some of these schools were by 1915 closed due to lack of trained teachers.

By 1921, African agents had established five out-schools modelled along Rusangu Central School lines. These were Bweengwa and Kazungula in Monze West, Kaumba in Monze east, Munenga in Magoye, and Demu in Pemba east. Apart from teaching the four Rs (arithmetic, reading, writing, and religious instruction), the schools emphasised outdoor activities of farming, gardening, and fruit growing. It was Jim Mainza who became the first Tonga Adventist to manage an out-school based at Bweengwa. While carrying out evangelical work, Mainza opened up a number of schools and churches. He opened Kaumba and Demu schools in Chief Hamusonde's area in 1924. By the time of his death in 1947, Mainza had opened more than 20 schools in which many plateau children were instructed in writing, reading, arithmetic, religious teachings and industrial training.³ Mainza's dedication to mission work can be attributed to his exposure to missionary work at Solusi Mission in Southern Rhodesia. He became Anderson's trusted teacher-evangelist due to his communicative skills in African languages and English.

¹ Harold E. Peters, 'The Contribution of Education to the Development of Elites Among the Plateau Tonga of Zambia: a Comparative Study of School Leavers from Two Mission Schools, 1930 – 1965', PhD Thesis, University of Illinois, 1976, p.91.

² Absalom M. Mhoswa, 'A Study of the Educational Contribution of the Jesuit Mission at Chikuni and the Adventist Mission at Rusangu, 1905 – 1964', M.Ed. Dissertation, University of Zambia, 1980, p.89.

³ Vivian Kanondo, *The Story of Rusangu Mission 1903-2005: A Brief Review*, (Monze: Zambia Adventist Press, 2005), p.29.

By 1950, more schools had been opened by African agents in their quest to spread literacy and industrial education. In this period, Christianity was a prerequisite to literacy in the Tonga mission field. The missionaries and African evangelists opened schools in areas where they had converts because they felt that they had an obligation to teach their adherents to read and write.⁴ Once the schools had been opened and met the requirements of the Department of African Education, such as having qualified teachers, they were given grants by the colonial state. In 1951 alone, the SDA had 27 grant-aided schools in Mazabuka district each receiving an annual grant of £150.⁵ These were schools that had been opened by the SDA adherents from Rusangu and handed over to the mission field.

There are several examples of African agents who helped spread literacy among the Plateau Tonga. In 1951, Kauba School had 62 pupils under the care of Peter Silubwe, a former student of Rusangu Mission. In a neighbouring village of Siakaumba was Anderson Syalubala who opened a school there in 1950. At the time of inspection by the Department of African Education in 1951, Siakaumba School had 65 pupils.⁶ With regard to literacy and industrial training, the School Inspection Report for the Department of African Education observed that "... the two schools [Kauba and Siakaumba] are excellently run by two former teachers of Rusangu Mission. Great work has been done in literacy and industrial work. The schools have flourishing gardens and are supplying vegetables to the locals".⁷

The contribution of African agents to the development of literacy levels and industrial training among the local people could also be seen at Siasikabole School in Mazabuka, from where African agents, Dan Simauhwa, Samuel Simaimbo and Deliah Syandela traversed the

⁴ Mhoswa, 'Educational Contribution of the Jesuits and the Adventist', p.164.

⁵ NAZ, SP4/8/7, Seventh Day Adventists (SDA) Rusangu Mission, Department of African Education, Letter from the Provincial Education Officer to the SDA Manager of Schools, 11 August 1951.

⁶ NAZ, SP4/8/7, Seventh Day Adventists Rusangu Mission, Department of African Education, Schools Inspection Report, 11 August, 1951.

⁷ NAZ, SP4/8/7, Seventh Day Adventists Rusangu Mission, Department of African Education, Schools Inspection Report, 11 October, 1951.

surrounding villages to enlist pupils at the school which they had opened in 1949. There was a high rate of absenteeism among the pupils, especially during the farming season when they provided free agricultural labour to their families. Despite this challenge, the school was still able to boast of 107 pupils in 1951.⁸ Like other Adventist schools, Siasikabole provided literacy and industrial training to the local children.

In Chief Mwanza's area, there was Kaumba School which had a considerable number of African teachers. These were Langson Mesenja, Ethon Majele, Timothy Nhandu, Miles Munankompa, Joyce Haamonga, and Elina Ndhovu. In 1952, the school had a pupil population of 175 boys and 97 girls, all receiving instruction in literacy, industrial work and religious teachings.⁹ Although literacy work was good at this school, industrial work did not fare as well. The 1952 Schools Inspection Report stated that:

Kaumba School has a good number of qualified African teachers. The school is doing quite well in literacy and arithmetic but more effort should be put in industrial work where little has been done to prepare learners for practical living.¹⁰

Several reasons can be adduced for the inadequate effort in industrial training. The African Adventist teachers may not have had much training beyond what they had received as pupils. The complexity of some aspects of industrial training, and the lack of requisite equipment, together with lack of interest and the low regard that many African agents may have had for the subject, could have hampered its advancement. There were other schools that were manned by African agents that are shown in Table II below.

⁸ NAZ, SP4/8/7, Seventh Day Adventists Rusangu Mission, Department of African Education, Schools Inspection Report, 31 October, 1951.

⁹ NAZ, SP4/8/7, Seventh Day Adventists Rusangu Mission, Department of African Education, Schools Inspection Report, 20 August, 1952.

¹⁰ NAZ, SP4/8/7, Seventh Day Adventists Rusangu Mission, Department of African Education, Schools Inspection Report, 20 August, 1952.

Table II: Schools Manned by African Teachers and Pupil Enrolments

Year	School	African Agents	Number of Pupils
1952	Kachenje	Aaron Hamunene Esinet Mwempe	140
1952	Bweengwa	D. Hikanyemu J. Hamang'onze M. Hamaluba F. Kayanda M. Kaliba Martha Chuma	248
1952	Nteme	J. Nkolola J. Kanyama D. Maambo B. Chifwabale Ruth Mayoba	201
1954	Itebe	B. Chilala	105
1954	Kaloba	Andrew Ngwenya	125
1954	Kazungula	Job Mwamba Andrew Numbwa	146

Source: NAZ, SP4/8/7, Seventh Day Adventists Rusangu Mission, Department of African Education, Schools Inspection Report, 1952 and 1954.

The numbers of teachers and the pupil enrolments in the table above show that African agents came in handy in the running of SDA schools and in spreading literacy and industrial training among children both in the vicinity and far-flung areas among the Plateau Tonga people.

However, qualified teachers were not the only ones who helped in spreading educational work among the local inhabitants. Untrained teachers who were former pupils of either Rusangu or other subsequent schools played an equally significant role in educational development among Plateau Tonga people. For instance, in 1951, Ellen Buluma and Teddy Shamfula were running Kasyongo School as untrained teachers, with 113 pupils.¹¹ However, the 1951 Inspection Report observes that “the use of English [at Kasyongo] was extremely weak partly because the two teachers were untrained”.¹²

¹¹ NAZ, SP4/8/7, Seventh Day Adventists Rusangu Mission, Department of African Education, Schools Inspection Report, 31 October, 1951.

¹² NAZ, SP4/8/7, Seventh Day Adventists Rusangu Mission, Department of African Education, Schools Inspection Report, 31 October, 1951.

Nevertheless, there were other untrained teachers who administered their schools to the satisfaction of the Department of African Education. In 1952, Ephraim Caambwa of Syanjalika Chiefdom, with a pupil population of 112 boys and girls, was efficiently running a school. “Although the teacher is untrained, the standard of education being offered here is good”, remarked the Inspector of Schools from the Department of African Education. Similarly, at Luyaba School, with a population of 128 pupils, Aaron Kambela was doing a remarkable job. In this respect, the 1952 Schools Inspection Report noted that “teacher Kambele, though not trained, appeared to be doing a competent job”.¹³ Therefore, local lay Adventist teachers were very instrumental in the spread of education among their fellow Africans.

There were also examples of untrained African teachers who extended school education to adults who were interested in it in their communities. Without authorisation from the Department of African Education, John Kaambwa and Titus Mweemba, opened an adult education centre at Kalama in 1953 in which 46 members enrolled to receive instruction mainly in literacy.¹⁴ By 1955, the number of adults attending the Kalama School had risen to 73,¹⁵ a further testimony that African Seventh Day Adventist teachers played a pivotal role in the spreading of Western education in the areas where the Seventh Day Adventists operated and beyond.

4.3 Contribution to Agricultural Development

The Adventists believed that manual work was a means of developing a Christian character. In view of this, crop cultivation, poultry and cattle rearing became the chief outdoor activities

¹³ NAZ, SP4/8/7, Seventh Day Adventists Rusangu Mission, Department of African Education, Schools Inspection Report, 5 October, 1952.

¹⁴ NAZ, SP4/8/7, Seventh Day Adventists Rusangu Mission, Department of African Education Schools Inspection Report, 9 September, 1953.

¹⁵ NAZ, SP4/8/7, Seventh Day Adventists Rusangu Mission, Department of African Education Schools Inspection Report, 3 May, 1955.

at Rusangu. Referring to manual work, Anderson commented that “it is a good experience for the boys and they are learning to bear burdens and carrying responsibilities that will work wonders in the development of character”.¹⁶ In this vein, manual work was, therefore, encouraged at Rusangu Mission as it was in line with the economic life style of the local people, who were cultivators as well as cattle keepers. By emphasising an agricultural-oriented curriculum, the mission envisaged to improve the farming methods of the local people. To impact the community in the long run, it was prudent to invest in both the academic and agricultural education of the young people at Rusangu Mission.

As a result of the above measures, the agricultural programmes at Rusangu Mission produced far-reaching effects on the Tonga Plateau. According to Mhoswa, “the farming methods applied at Chikuni and Rusangu spread at a much faster rate than Christianity and the school system of education”.¹⁷ The Rusangu-educated Africans were, therefore, carriers of agricultural knowledge among the people of the plateau, just like they disseminated ideas about Christianity.¹⁸

At Rusangu Mission, the Adventists trained students to carry heavy responsibilities in agricultural training. Each student was assigned to carry out daily duties such as gardening and livestock keeping without close supervision. By the time students left school, they had acquired sufficient knowledge to implement improved farming methods in their home areas.¹⁹ Good examples of the role of African agents in spreading agricultural knowledge among the local people were the Matebele Adventist pioneers who had accompanied Anderson on his mission to colonial Zambia in 1905 and settled at Rusangu. After their retirement, the Matebele Adventists became the first Africans to establish a farming

¹⁶ Peters, ‘The Contribution of Education to the Development of Elites among the Plateau Tonga of Zambia’, p.17.

¹⁷ Mhoswa, ‘Educational Contribution of the Jesuits and the Adventist’, p.191.

¹⁸ Mhoswa, ‘Educational Contribution of the Jesuits and the Adventist’, p.191.

¹⁹ Peters, ‘The Development of Tonga Elites’, p.90.

settlement at Mujika, 12 kilometres east of Monze. The area became known as Matebele Settlement, because of the new Matebele settlers. It had large tracts of unoccupied land suitable for farming and cattle grazing. These advantages enabled the new Matebele farmers to clear large plots for growing crops while increasing their herds of cattle.²⁰ This settlement became an epitome of improved African farming as a consequence of missionary education.

The success of the Matebele Settlement invigorated other mission-educated Africans at Rusangu to venture into improved farming practices upon returning home. They gradually developed a new culture that dependence on agriculture was more beneficial than regular employment at Rusangu. In regular employment, they could neither practice large scale personal farming on the mission farm nor increase their herds of cattle because of the shortage of land and restrictive Mission policy which did not permit each individual teacher to put more than two hectares of land under cultivation.²¹ Thus, the impact of mission education via African Adventist teachers as agents was obviously positive and visible.

The first response to the rise of the Matebele farmers came in 1924 when two Adventist teachers, Gideon Makapwe and Matthew Kasula, having been inspired by the successes of the Mujika scheme, surveyed Keemba Hill area for possible settlement by an Adventist community. In 1928, Makapwe and Kasula retired from Rusangu Mission and settled at Keemba Hill, about 50 kilometres west of Monze. This became the first area on the Tonga Plateau where cash crop farming was practised by the indigenous people. From 1933 onwards, the Keemba settlement expanded as more adherents of Rusangu Mission turned to farming and settled there.²²

²⁰Kanondo, *The Story of Rusangu Mission 1903-2005: A Brief Review*, p. 30.

²¹Mhoswa, 'Educational Contribution of the Jesuits and the Adventist', p.193.

²² NAZ, *Mazabuka Note Book Vol. 1* pp.301-2.

Keemba Hill settlement was another success story after Mujika, of improved African farming brought about by Rusangu adherents. A government reconnaissance survey on land holding and land use conducted in 1945 in Mazabuka district revealed that the 26 respondents were all either ex-workers or ex-students of Rusangu Mission.²³ This was an indication that mission-educated Africans at Rusangu played a significant role in developing cash crop farming in the areas where they lived.

The 1945 survey of land usage was not confined to Mazabuka district alone, but covered other areas of the Tonga Plateau such as Sianjalika and Mwanachingwala chieftaincies in Magoye east and west respectively. The survey showed that Nathan Kabunda, an Adventist adherent and ex-teacher at Rusangu Mission, was the only progressive farmer in Magoye east. In the region of Magoye west, there was one unnamed large farmer who was also an Adventist adherent. He helped his non-Seventh-day Adventist brothers set up small farm holdings. The survey also cited a large settlement in Kanchomba, in Pemba east, which was predominantly occupied by SDA adherents. Kanchomba Settlement was rated second to Keemba Hill in growing crops. Out of 62 farmers interviewed at Kanchomba, there was only one farmer, William Kasoka, who was a Catholic adherent.²⁴

The developments outlined above demonstrate that African agents from Rusangu were instrumental in spreading improved farming practices in large parts of Southern Province. In their quest to liberate themselves from strict mission policy and waged employment, African agents from Rusangu took up farming and livestock keeping as their main economic activities. They were also able to spread the new agricultural ideas to their kin and others in various places where they settled. In so doing, Adventist African agents contributed to the spread and development of agriculture among the people of Southern Province.

²³ W. Allan etl., *Land Holding and Land Usage of the Tonga of Mazabuka District, a Reconnaissance Survey* (Rhodes-Livingstone: Oxford University Press, 1945), p.178 – 9.

²⁴ Allan, *Land Holding and Land Usage of the Tonga of Mazabuka*, p.179.

4.4 Development of Political Consciousness

The development of agriculture among the mission-educated Africans also contributed to the rise in political consciousness among the people in the operation areas of the Mission. Prior to the 1940s, the colonial government pursued discriminatory agricultural policies against the Africans. African farmers were largely ignored or discriminated against when their interests conflicted with those of the white settlers. This discrimination was particularly with regard to the land policy adopted by the government, the measures enacted to control grain prices in 1936, and the steps taken to influence cattle prices.²⁵ As a result of this, the local peasantry resisted the colonial regime's discriminatory agricultural policies. In Southern Province, resistance to the colonial state's discriminatory agricultural policies was spearheaded by Adventist mission educated Africans. Therefore, it can be said that discrimination of Africans by the colonial government in the economic sphere consequently enhanced local people's political voice.

In 1937, therefore, the Seventh Day Adventist Africans of Keemba Hill and Mujika settlements founded the Congress, an association whose objective was to convey the grievances of local farmers to the colonial state in the Southern Provinces.²⁶ The Seventh-day Adventist farmers who were responsible for the formation of the Congress were Ellison Malambo and Daniel Muhwahwi of Keemba Hill, who were retired headmaster and teacher of Rusangu Mission respectively. Others were Samuel Sibanda, a teacher at Rusangu and George Kaluwa, a Methodist adherent and a Malawian resident in Mwanachingwala chieftaincy in Mazabuka district.²⁷ It is no coincidence that the Congress was formed the year

²⁵ Alfred Tembo, 'The Colonial State and African Agriculture in Chipata District of Northern Rhodesia, 1895-1964', M.A. Dissertation, University of Zambia, 2010, p.10.

²⁶ Mac Dixon-Fyle, 'The Seventh-day Adventists (SDA) in the Protest Politics of the Tonga Plateau, Northern Rhodesia', *African Social Research* (26 December, 1978), p.459.

²⁷ Dixon-Fyle, 'The Seventh-day Adventists in the Protest Politics of the Tonga Plateau', p.459.

following the establishment of the Maize Control Board which had frustrated the market expectations of the African farmers.

The founders of the Congress of 1937 had one thing in common. They all had travelled beyond the territorial boundaries of Zambia. The three Adventists attended school at Solusi Mission with Samuel Sibanda taking a step further to attend Bethel College in South Africa. One of the reasons for travelling outside colonial Zambia was lack of Adventist institutions of higher learning within the territory. Therefore, the Adventists relied on their denominational institutions for higher education outside Northern Rhodesia. This practice exposed their students to the racial conditions as well as the currents of African political thought which prevailed in these countries.²⁸ It was out of this experience that the Congress arose and subsequently paved way for the establishment of the African National Congress (ANC) branches in the Southern province.

The Congress aimed at assisting the territorial government and the missionary societies in advancing what it called 'the good of the country' which meant providing equal opportunities to African farmers with their white counterparts. It also pledged to maintain contacts with other Congress parties in Southern Rhodesia, Nyasaland and South Africa so as to be kept abreast with new developments in the sub region.²⁹ In 1939, however, the Department of African Affairs refused to recognise the 1937 Congress on grounds that the movement was undermining the scheme of Indirect Rule which promoted the idea of African representation through officially recognised traditional rulers or local authorities. The Department of African Affairs claimed that all representational functions could be carried out by the local

²⁸Mhoswa, 'Educational Contribution of the Jesuits and the Adventist', p.201.

²⁹ Dixon-Fyle, 'The Seventh-day Adventists in the Protest Politics of the Tonga Plateau', p.460.

authorities. As such, the leaders of the Congress were advised to help the local authorities in non-political matters as individuals.³⁰

The government's refusal to accord the Congress official recognition can be seen as its attempt to protect local authorities against the sentiments of the emerging class of new elites. The mission adherents were regarded as subject to local authorities and were expected to express their interests through them. The leaders of the Congress were reluctant to oppose the government's verdict and disbanded voluntarily.³¹

However, the Congress was not totally a failure. The admission of the Keemba Hill farmers into the Maize Control Board in 1942 was partly because of the pressure exerted on the colonial state by the Congress. In view of this, the state attempted to meet the demands of the African farmers with regard to equal market opportunities with white farmers.³² In addition, the colonial state wanted to encourage African farmers to grow enough maize and cotton which were in demand during the Second World War. It, therefore, decided to get rid of or relax the discriminatory agricultural policies it pursued hitherto the outbreak of the War in September 1939.³³

But the Congress of 1937 failed to show resilience even in the midst of colonial oppression and restrictive environment. It also failed to emerge as a territorial political party. One of the founder members, Samuel Sibanda, attributed the failure of the Congress to emerge as a territorial political party to both government action which denied it official recognition and internal problems. The party was divided within its ranks and this affected its resistance to government interference. The proposition to have the Congress defy government rule was opposed by its leadership who preferred to abide by its edicts. In addition, the Congress was

³⁰ Dixon-Fyle, 'The Seventh-day Adventists in the Protest Politics of the Tonga Plateau', p.460.

³¹ Mhoswa, 'Educational Contribution of the Jesuits and the Adventist', p.202.

³² Mhoswa, 'Educational Contribution of the Jesuits and the Adventist', p.200.

³³ Tembo, 'The Colonial State and African Agriculture in Chipata District', p.67.

faced with the problem of communication which hampered its efforts to spread itself to other parts of the territory. Before it disbanded, the Congress recruited additional officials. These were Job Mayanda, Peter Mwiinga, Peter Habumbu, Simon Milindi and Job Michelo who made attempts to open branches in Chikankata, Mazabuka, Monze, Choma and Namwala. Job Hamazila, Matthew Ndunda and Frank Kaluwa, the younger brother of George Kaluwa, were recruited as officials of the Congress in Central Province and tried without success to establish branches of the Congress in Kafue and Lusaka. Where the branches of the Congress existed, they were poorly coordinated.³⁴ It can, therefore, be argued that the activities of the 1937 Congress were confined to the African farming areas of Mazabuka and Monze districts.

However, although the Congress failed to gain territorial recognition, it nonetheless laid a foundation on which latter political activities came to hinge. In 1946, one of the founder members of the defunct Congress, George Kaluwa with Dauti Yamba tried to create the Federation of African Societies which was intended to unite welfare societies in Kitwe, Luanshya, Broken Hill, Monze and Mazabuka.³⁵ This was an attempt by one of the past officials of the Congress to re-establish an avenue through which African protests would be expressed. The federation met resistance from the Department of African Affairs which rejected the demand by Kaluwa and Yamba stating that the movement did not represent Africans generally and that its leaders had not been chosen by the people.³⁶ The Federation of African Societies subsequently provided the milieu for the emergence of the first territorial political party, the Northern Rhodesia African Congress under Godwin Mbikusita Lewanika.

However, the Adventist farmers in Monze continued to practice protest politics throughout the district. In 1947, Ellison Malambo, the ex-President of the defunct Congress formed the

³⁴Mhoswa, 'Educational Contribution of the Jesuits and the Adventists', p.203.

³⁵ David C. Mulford, *Zambia: Politics of Independence 1957 – 1964* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), p.14 – 15.

³⁶ Mulford, *Zambia: Politics of Independence*, p.14 – 15.

African Farming Association which spearheaded the protest politics. The African Farming Association did not establish contacts with the Department of Agriculture but simply continued to revive political consciousness among the rural communities.³⁷

The ex-members of the 1937 Congress also played a crucial role in strengthening the structures of the new African National Congress (ANC) under Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula who was its President. The initial Adventist leaders of the redundant 1937 Congress featured prominently as regional leaders of the new political party. Among them were Ellison Malambo, Job Michelo, Job Mayanda, who in the mid-1950s was elected Deputy National Treasurer of the ANC, Peter Mwiinga, Peter Habumbu, Simon Milindi, Nathan Kabunda and Samuel Sibanda.³⁸

From the foregoing, it is clear that African agents of the Adventist faith played a pivotal role in spreading political consciousness among the Plateau Tonga. Although they did not succeed in growing their party beyond Southern Province, they nonetheless laid a foundation for subsequent political agitation in the region. By joining the Federation of Welfare Societies, NRAC and later ANC, Adventist adherents were among the forerunners of political activism in Northern Rhodesia. The political role of the Seventh-day Adventists in Monze district also indicates that they were more responsive to political agitation than their Jesuit counterparts. This observation is only true if confined to the Tonga Plateau, because ex-Chikuni students equally took active political roles in urban centres. The difference between the two mission-educated groups can be understood in the context of the curricula offered by the two church organisations. The Adventists mainly produced students who took up agriculture as their main economic activity while the Jesuits, besides training farmers, produced artisans who took up employment in urban centres.

³⁷ Dixon-Fyle, 'The Seventh-day Adventists in the Protest Politics of the Tonga Plateau', p.465.

³⁸ Dixon-Fyle, 'The Seventh-day Adventists in the Protest Politics of the Tonga Plateau' p.465.

Although Adventist African agents were able to participate in politics, the Mission generally took an apolitical stance. In its document dubbed “*Our Relationship with Government and Politics*”, the church outlined its strong stance against indulgence in political activities. Its stance was anchored on scriptural injunction found at Matthew 22: 17-22 in the Holy Bible in which Jesus said that every man should “render to Caesar the things that are Caesar’s and unto God the things that are God’s”.³⁹ Thus, even in the midst of severe abuses such as extortion, intolerance and grinding cruelty, Adventists were not to embroil themselves in politics just like Jesus never attempted any civil reforms while here on earth.⁴⁰ The mission’s stance was also anchored on the verses from the Holy Scriptures found at 1Peter 2:13-17 which states that “Submit yourself to every ordinance of man for the Lord’s sake whether it be to the king, as supreme, or unto governors....”⁴¹ As such, they were to discharge every obligation, even if it were beyond what the law of the land required.

The Seventh Day Adventist Church, therefore, forbade its members from getting involved in political activities. The Mission stated that:

We are to recognise and respect human government as an ordinance of divine appointment and teach others to obey... we are not required to defy authorities.... When it comes to any act on our part which would lead to our becoming involved in the political entanglements of our time our duty is clear. Christ has never given a political commission to his followers. The responsibility of giving the gospel to the world is sufficient to occupy completely the energies of his people.⁴²

The above guidelines contained in the publication by the SDAs South African Division had first been stated by Ellen G. White, one of the key founder members of Adventism. She observed that:

³⁹ The Holy Bible, *New King James Version: Red Letter Edition* (n.t: Remnant Publications and Thomas Nelson Inc., 1982), p.719.

⁴⁰ Seventh-day Adventists South African Division, *Our Relationship to Government and Politics* (Cape Town: General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, n.d.), p.4.

⁴¹ The Holy Bible, *New King James Version*, p.815.

⁴² SDAs, *Our Relationship to Government and Politics*, p.9.

If anyone shall seek to draw the workers into debate or controversy on political or other questions, take no heed to either persuasion or challenge.... Those who are Christians indeed will not wear political badges, but the badge of Christ.

While the SDA Church did not encourage its members to be involved in politics, African agents of the mission did not observe such a stance. Their involvement in protest politics is a demonstration that Africans were not passive recipients of Western Christian ideas. They defied the teachings of the church which attempted to command obedience to the colonial state even in the midst of racial discrimination. Therefore, African agents did not always operate within the paradigms stipulated by the white missionaries. When faced with problems that threatened their way of life, as did the discriminatory agricultural policies, local adherents acted in defiance of the teachings of white missionaries concerning the church's involvement in politics.

4.5 Manpower Development

African agents of Rusangu Mission also helped in the development of human resource in Zambia. It was the aim of the Adventist Mission wherever it was established to develop human resource. This was revealed very early by Anderson who noted that "we hope by education we can produce students who, by their diligent study and research can add something to the great fund of human wisdom".⁴³ Hitherto the 1990s, Rusangu Mission was dominated by white missionaries. However, when the policy of Zambianisation was adequately realised in the 1990s, Adventist local adherents at Rusangu became more involved in the administration of the Mission than had been the case before. It was out of these circumstances that Rusangu University was established in 2003.

The university, under the auspices of African Adventist leaders, contributed to the development of human resource especially in the area of teacher training at a time when there

⁴³Mhoswa, 'Educational Contribution of the Jesuits and the Adventist', p.63.

were few universities in the country. For instance, according to the 2011 Annual Progress Report on the Sixth National Development Plan, there were only 17 registered universities in the country in 2010 which increased to 19 in 2011.⁴⁴ Out of this number, three were public universities and these were the University of Zambia, Copperbelt University and Mulungushi University.⁴⁵

From 2007, Rusangu University began to produce graduate teachers. Between 2007 and 2012 the number of graduates from Rusangu University is given in the Table III below.

Table III: Number of Rusangu University Graduates, 2007 – 2012

Year	Number of Graduates
2007	80
2008	95
2009	142
2010	168
2011	273
2012	159

Source: Seventh Day Rusangu University Graduation Speeches, 2007-2012.

From the table above, it is clear that Rusangu University steadily contributed to human resource development in the country. From its humble beginning with less than a hundred students to its state in 2012 of almost double the 2007 number, the university showed considerable progress especially at a time when competition was growing among institutions of higher learning. This was also revealed by Earlymay Chibende, the University Registrar, who stated that:

⁴⁴Government of the Republic of Zambia (hereafter GRZ). *2011 Annual Progress Report on the Sixth National Development Plan (SNDP)* (Lusaka: Government Printers, 2012), p.7.

⁴⁵ GRZ, *2011 Annual Progress Report*, p.7.

The University started on a low note but we have steadily developed to have enrolments of around 150. Today we can boast of having graduated over 2000 teachers who have contributed to the educational development of this nation. We are particularly proud that we were the first institution to introduce a programme in Family and Consumer Sciences at degree level. This shows you that we are slowly becoming competitive.⁴⁶

However, it is also true that the university failed to attract a large student population over the years despite being the first institution of higher learning to offer degree programmes in teaching in the Southern Province. One of the reasons for this slow development is attributed to the nature of the programmes that were offered in the first four years of its operation. The university was offering a course in Theology and Religious Education. It therefore, failed to attract a considerable number of students outside the Adventist faith.⁴⁷

In addition, the institution was first coined as *Adventist University* and to some prospective students; it was an institution to be attended only by Adventist adherents. This was coupled with the Mission's insistence that all the university students should follow Adventist rules of behaviour regarding dress and hair styles. Jericho Malambo, a graduate of Rusangu University, observed that:

Administrators at Rusangu University were strict with regard to how students dressed and other moral issues. Female students were not allowed to put on trousers or mini-skirts. I think that regulation of dress code in this era of global culture could have prevented prospective students from other denominations to enrol at the institution.⁴⁸

Further, the location of the university could also have contributed to the low enrolment of students. Situated about 16 kilometres south of Monze town, the institution is surrounded by

⁴⁶ Interview with Earlymay Chibende, Rusangu University, Monze District, 8 May 2019.

⁴⁷ Rusangu University, Student Handbook, (Monze: Rusangu Mission, 2012), p. 5

⁴⁸ Interview with Jericho Malambo, Chikonga Village, Monze District, 10 May, 2019.

villages with low population density. This isolation acted as a barrier to the enrolment levels among local community members. In view of this, informant Ignatius Ncube noted that:

As Rusangu University, we are at a disadvantage in terms of location of the institution compared to our counterparts in urban centres where the population is high. In the early days of the university, most of the students we had were those of the Adventist faith. This is slowly changing following the introduction of other courses such as Family and Consumer Sciences and the appreciation of what we have been able to offer thus far.⁴⁹

It was also observed that the inability of the university to provide scholarships to students as well as high tuition fees militated against its numerical growth. While public universities such as University of Zambia and Copperbelt University enjoyed the status of being national institutions of higher learning as well as receiving government grants, Rusangu University largely relied on students' tuition fees to meet its operational costs. In 2010, for instance, Rusangu students were paying about K10,000 while those at UNZA in the School of Education, for example, were paying about K4,000 per academic year.⁵⁰

The low enrolments experienced at Rusangu University were, therefore, due to a combination of both internal and external factors. The Mission's insistence on students adhering to moral teaching of the Seventh Day Adventists acted as a deterrent to other prospective students to join. Despite the challenges encountered, African agents tried to make the University more attractive by introducing courses that were unique to the institution.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter has examined the impact of African agents in the provision of education. It has demonstrated that local Adventist adherents and teachers played a significant role in spreading literacy and industrial training among the people of the Tonga Plateau. From the

⁴⁹ Interview with Ignatius Ncube, Rusangu University, Monze District, 15 May, 2019.

⁵⁰ Interview with Chibende.

time of Jim Mainza, the first local evangelist, to the 1950s, African agents opened and operated schools among their people. Lay teachers were equally involved in the opening up of schools which were subsequently recognised by the colonial state. African agents did not target young people only, but the elderly as well through adult education. The chapter has further revealed that mission-educated SDA members helped spread improved farming methods among the Plateau Tonga people. From the first settlement scheme at Mujika in Monze district, to Keemba and Kanchomba in Mazabuka and Pemba respectively, African agents of Rusangu Mission were trendsetters in livestock keeping and the growing of cash crops.

Further, it has been established that it was local Adventists adherents who took a lead in raising political consciousness among the Plateau Tonga people, by establishing the 1937 Congress. They organised protest politics in response to the discriminatory policies pursued by the colonial state with regard to agriculture. The African agents, therefore, created a foundation for political movements in the Southern Province. In addition, it has been demonstrated that although the local Adventists adherents were involved in politics, they were not permitted by the mission to do so. The SDA preached non-involvement of its members in politics, but African agents defied such dogma, an indication that they were not passive recipients of Western ideas of Christianity. They sifted the teachings and discarded what may have been a hindrance to their progress as Africans.

Finally, the chapter observes that African agents contributed to the development of manpower in the country. By establishing Rusangu University, African agents helped in the training of teachers. However, during the early years of its existence, the university experienced low enrolment of students as a result of the limited number of courses and the dislike of the Adventist moral teachings on dressing by prospective students.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 CONCLUSION

In the historiography of missionary enterprise in central Africa, evangelism and education have been seen as two sides of the same coin. In line with this view, the present study set out to examine African agency in evangelism and education at Rusangu Mission. It specifically aimed at analysing the development of Rusangu Mission from 1905-2012. It also set out to examine the role played by African agents in evangelism at Rusangu Mission. Finally, the study sought to investigate the impact of African agents in the provision of education at Rusangu Mission.

From the study, it has been revealed that African agents played an important role in evangelism and spreading of Western education among the Tonga people of Southern Province of Zambia. This is contrary to earlier studies that tended to portray Africans as passive recipients of Western ideals. From the beginning of the Seventh Day Adventist (SDA) mission in colonial Zambia, Africans worked as porters, pathfinders and interpreters for Western missionaries. Men such as Jacob Detcha and Jim Mainza, who were trained at Solusi Mission in Southern Rhodesia, helped break the communication barrier between Western missionaries and Africans in Monze and its periphery. By being in the company of local evangelists, Western missionaries shielded themselves against hostility from the indigenous people and in turn received good reception from the latter.

It has further been established that although the Seventh Day Adventists' Mission at Rusangu was largely dependent on education as a tool for evangelism, there were other strategies that were used as means of conversion. From its establishment in 1905, the Mission set up a number of schools in Monze and the surrounding areas which acted more as centres of conversion than as institutions of learning. This is because evangelism was given a top

priority as the foremost objective for the Mission. Education was, therefore, regarded mainly as a tool for enabling Africans to read and write. This was in turn essential for effective evangelism and translation of Christian liturgy. To achieve this, the Mission heavily relied on African teacher-evangelists who set up numerous out-schools in Southern Province. As a result of this, literacy levels among the locals increased. It is, therefore, safe to argue that local Adventist adherents were among the forerunners of modern education in the Southern Province of Zambia.

Furthermore, it has been observed that to supplement evangelism through education, the SDA at Rusangu Mission deployed other strategies to win African converts. African evangelists proselytised the local people through working in groups called societies which consisted of men, women and the youth. The societies offered community services to the people as a way of meeting some of their material needs. This is an indication that the Adventists heavily relied on the cooperation and service of African agents in reaching out to the local people. In addition to community service, the Mission used camp meetings or crusades methods of evangelism. African preachers camped in given localities for several days entreating the local people to join the Adventist ranks. Camp meetings were observed by teachers, evangelists and pupils. During such meetings, Adventist schools closed so as to allow all to attend. This, however, did not go well with government authorities who viewed such programmes as a disturbance to the school calendar. Camp meetings became popular after schools were handed over to the government in 1956, thus reducing the Mission's use of education as a weapon of evangelism.

Following the increase in technology in post-colonial Zambia, the SDA used the media as another method of winning African converts. This became the fastest way of disseminating the Gospel to the local people. Two Adventist programmes were aired on the Home Service

of Radio Zambia of the Zambia Broadcasting Service (ZBS) which later became Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC), in Tonga and Lozi while the other on television was in English language. The use of different methods of conversion suggests that the Mission was not static in its approaches to evangelism. It varied its methods in tandem with prevailing political and social environments. In all this, credit is given to African agents who spearheaded the growth of the Mission in Southern Province and beyond.

The response of Africans to missionary enterprise at Rusangu was initially poor but improved over time due to immense benefits that came with Western education. Africans did not only view Western education as an enablement for evangelism but also as a tool for acquiring professional and artisan skills. Such skills accorded them with opportunities of permanent employment as teachers, agricultural and veterinary officers. Trades training in food growing, bricklaying, carpentry, and tailoring taught to Africans resulted in job creation and improved livelihood for them. It can be said that the favourable response of Africans to missionary enterprise at Rusangu was a consequence of perceived economic and social gains that Western education offered. In post-colonial Zambia, Africans of Adventist faith played a major role in the development of manpower in the country. By establishing Rusangu University, African agents helped in the training of teachers in various courses among them food science.

In addition, it has been revealed that mission-educated SDA members helped the spread of improved farming methods among the plateau people. From the first settlement scheme at Mujika in Monze district, to Keemba and Kanchomba in Mazabuka and Pemba respectively, African agents of Rusangu Mission were trendsetters in livestock keeping and the growing of cash crops. New methods of farming that included plough and drought oxen, crop rotation and use of kraal manure, learnt at Rusangu Mission, improved maize yields for farmers who

in 1942 were admitted to the European system of Maize Control Board. The enhanced agricultural skills among the Tonga society produced some of the first African commercial farmers in the Southern Province of Zambia.

Finally, it has been established that it was local Adventist adherents who took a lead in raising political consciousness among the Plateau Tonga people by forming the 1937 Congress. Through this organisation, Adventist adherents were forerunners in the organisation of protest politics against the colonial state which had pursued discriminatory agricultural policies in favour of white settlers. When the Northern Rhodesia African Congress (NRAC) was formed in 1946, some of the founder members of the 1937 Congress joined the organisation. They also helped to open up branches in Southern Province for NRAC which had by 1951 changed its name to African National Congress (ANC). The African agents, therefore, created a foundation for political movements in the Southern Province. Although the local Adventist adherents were involved in local politics, the SDA preached non-involvement of its members in it. The fact that the local people defied the teaching of the church regarding politics is a further testimony that African agents were not passive recipients of Western ideas of Christianity.

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