

**A HISTORY OF THE PILGRIM WESLEYAN MISSIONARY
SOCIETY IN CHOMA DISTRICT, 1930 – 1990**

BY

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**A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement of the degree of
Master of Arts in History**

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**THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA
LUSAKA
2003**

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DECLARATION

I, *James Habukoko Naali*, declare that this dissertation represents my own work and that it has not previously been submitted for a degree at this, or another University.

Signed: 

Date: *6th June 2003*

APPROVAL

This dissertation of James Habukoko Naali is approved as fulfilling part of the requirement for the award of the Master of Arts degree in History by the University of Zambia.

Signatures:

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my mother Namayanga, my wife Lwiindi and our children, Maimbo, Hanchoko, Malungo and Namayanga. And also in memory of my late father Maimbo Wilson Mapiki who did not live to see me grow into what I am today.

ABSTRACT

This dissertation reconstructs the history of the Pilgrim Wesleyan Missionary Society in Choma District of Southern Province. It covers the period between 1930 and 1990. The study takes both the chronological and thematic approaches. It consists of four chapters. The first chapter examines the dynamics of Tonga religion before the coming of Christianity. It discusses Tonga cosmology and also illustrates the rituals and rites which formed it. The chapter presents an argument that the Tonga had their own religion even before the coming of Christianity. Chapter Two provides a narrative of the establishment and the growth of the Pilgrim Wesleyan Missionary Society in Choma District and into other areas even beyond the Southern Province. In the third chapter we examine the theme of conversion among the Tonga. It argues that the Society's strategies for conversion centred on the provision of western education, health services, material rewards and evangelism through pastoral training and use of women. The chapter also defines the concept of conversion in the context of this dissertation. The last chapter examines the relationship between the Society and the State in areas of politics, education, health and agriculture.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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I wish to emphasize, however, that the errors of omission, judgement and view points in this dissertation are entirely my responsibility.

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James Habukoko Naali

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

IFS	-	Improved Farmers Scheme
LMS	-	London Missionary Society
PHC	-	Pilgrim Holiness Church
PWMS	-	Pilgrim Wesleyan Missionary Society
UNIP	-	United National Independence Party

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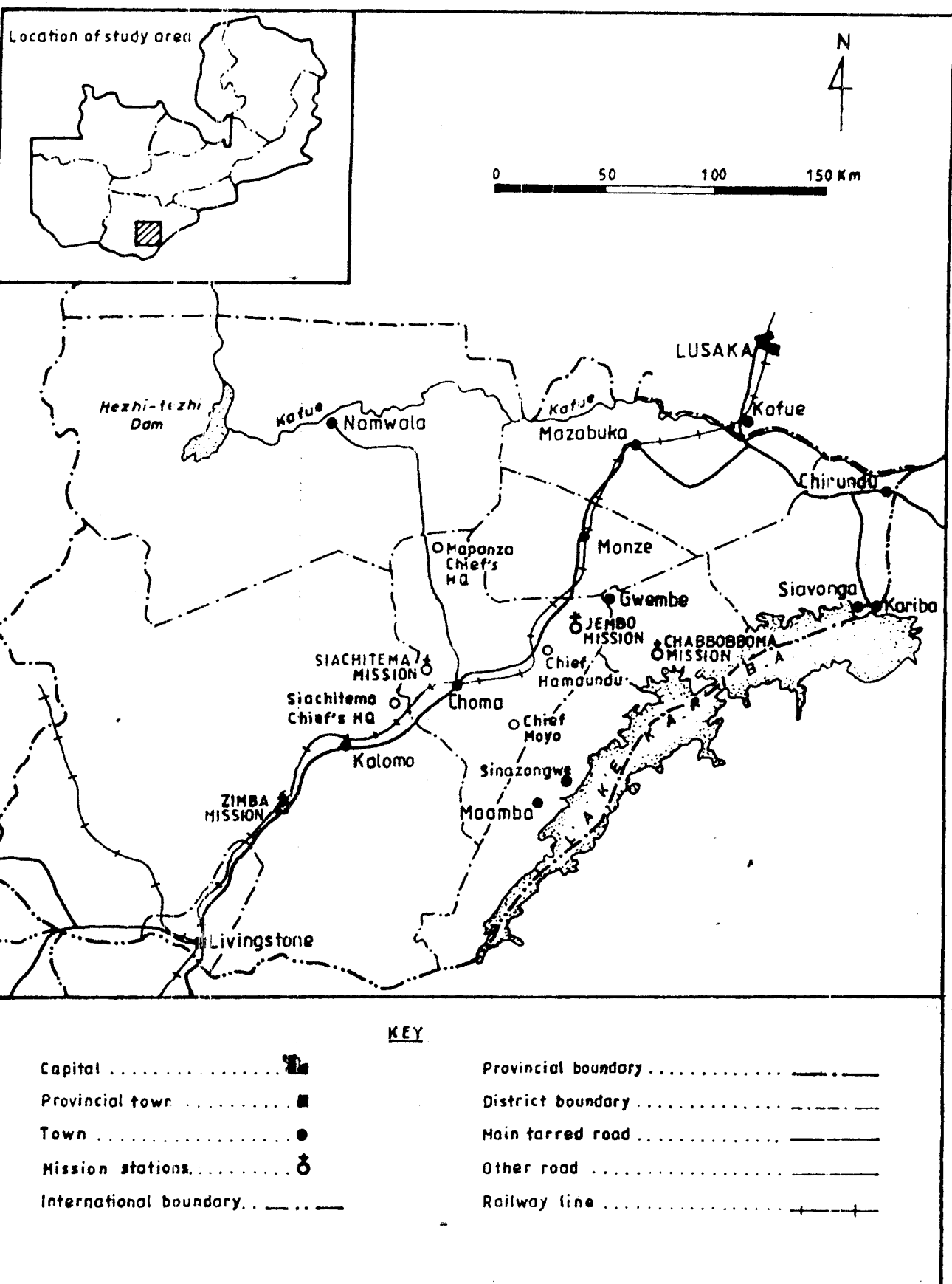


FIG.1. PILGRIM WESLEYAN CHURCH MISSION MAIN STATIONS BY 1958.

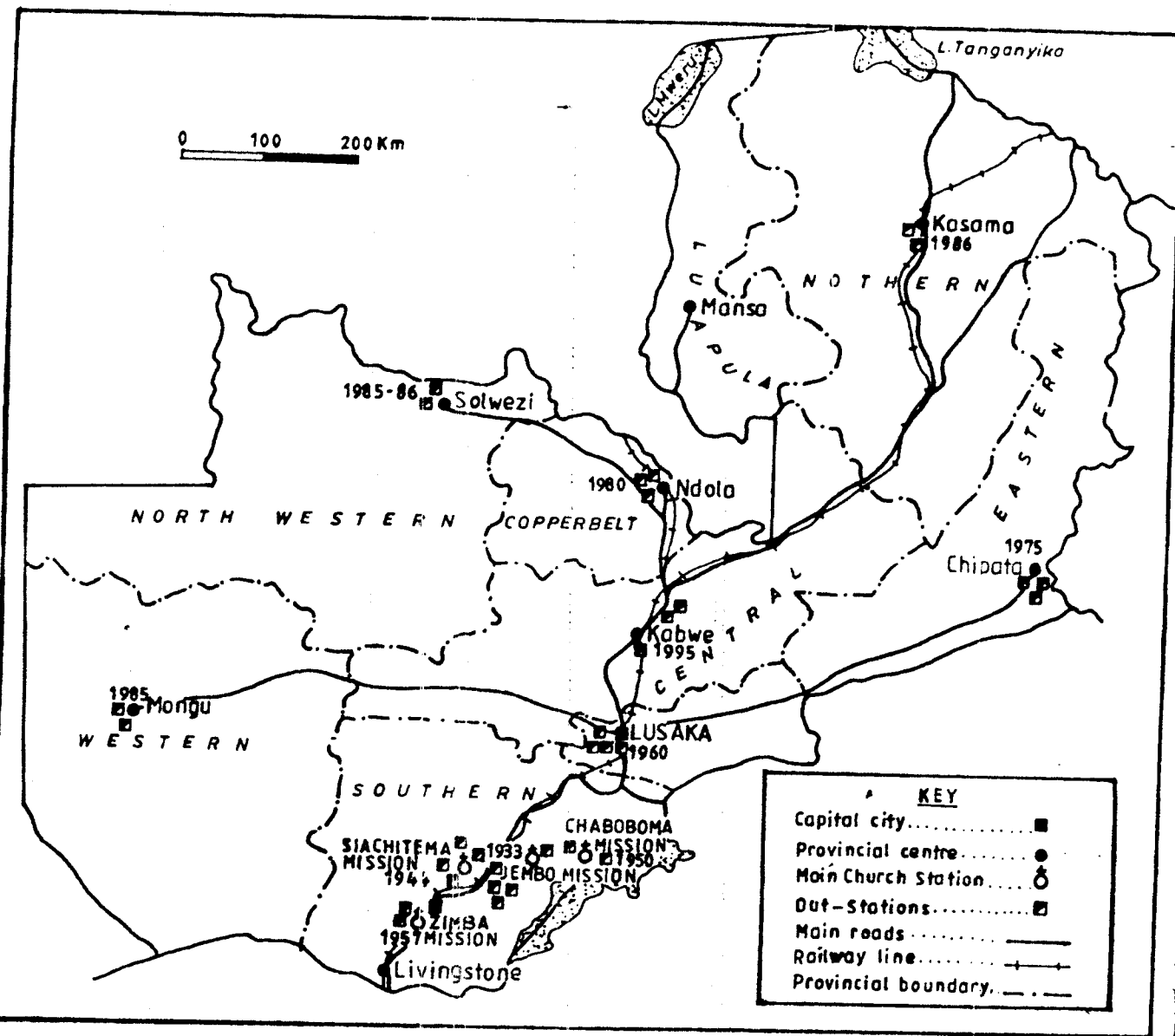


FIG. 2. EXPANSION OF THE PILGRIM WESLEYAN MISSIONARY SOCIETY, 1930-1990

INTRODUCTION

The Pilgrim Wesleyan Missionary Society (PWMS) is a member of the Wesleyan World Fellowship which is sponsored by the North American General Conference of the Wesleyan Church.¹ It centres on the scriptural truth concerning the doctrine and experience of holiness and the entire sanctification of Christian believers.² It emerged from the gospel outreach of the Pilgrim Holiness Union in the United States of America (USA) and came into effect as a result of the Revivalist Movement of Scriptural holiness in the last half of the 19th Century.³ A number of organisations that believed in true holiness formed the Pilgrim Holiness Church (PHC) through the union of the former Apostolic Holiness Union of Ohio, the Holiness Christian Church of Pennsylvania the Pentecostal Rescue Mission of New York and the Pilgrim Church of California.⁴

The Society opened its first mission station in Zambia at Jembo in Choma District in 1930. It spread to Siachitema in 1944, Chabbobboma on the Gwembe Valley in 1950 and Zimba in 1957. It opened its first mission station outside the Southern Province at Kabwata in Lusaka in 1960 which became the centre of thrust to other parts of the country. The Society provided education, health services, agricultural skills and evangelism to the people that lived in its areas of influence.

The Objectives of the Study

The present study aims at reconstructing the history of the Pilgrim Wesleyan Missionary Society in Choma District between 1930 and 1990. The study examines the establishment and development of the Society among the Tonga of Choma District. The study also traces and examines the strategies the Society used to convert the Tonga.

Further, the study attempts to investigate the relationship between the State and the Society in politics, education, health and agriculture.

Review of Literature

Little academic work has been done on the Pilgrim Wesleyan Missionary Society. However, studies by E. Colson⁵, P.D. Snelson⁶, R. Kemp⁷ and R. Henkel⁸, mention the Society in its provision of education and medical care in the Southern Province. Works of many other scholars have been consulted to give us an insight reading on Christianity. Rotberg, for example, argues that, missionary work was a training ground for indigenous leadership.⁹ He further attributes African material and intellectual enrichment to missionary work. Henkel¹⁰ echoes Rotberg's views and notes that mission stations were centres of western civilisation among Africans. Snelson¹¹ argues that missionary education was a vehicle of western civilisation and that the Tonga were the most proselytised people in Central Africa as there were many denominations which strove to extend their work among them through schools. Though these works, are not about the PWMS, they show some pertinent issues applicable to the Society.

John and Jean Comaroff¹² argue that missionary services to Africa were inevitable in that missionaries continue to evangelise, teach conservation and moralism. J.A. Nyeko¹³ argues that mission policy on female education was influenced by their priority of using education as a tool for evangelisation of Africans, such as the training of mothers and housewives. She further observes that mission educational facilities for women were inadequate and their contents and scarcity reinforced women into subordinate position to men. Mhoswa¹⁴ compares Rusangu and Chikuni education but makes no mention of our

study area inspite of its close location to the two stations. Chisenga¹⁵ points out that mission education was responsible for the transforming the Lala people in Serenje.

L. Samundengo¹⁶ argues that western medicine failed to replace traditional medicines and concludes that western medicines mostly attracted those that suffered from curable diseases. T.W. Burns¹⁷ argues that the combination of healing and preaching was the best method of evangelism. This work give us some of the implications of healing on conversion to Christianity.

The only work done on the PWMS was that written by Strickland in 1948.¹⁸ The work gives a brief historical narrative of the Society up to 1948. The study also gives invaluable information for our study. Shewmaker¹⁹ discusses some of the problems the Society faced in its evangelical work. The work does not, however, explain how the Society survived inspite of the difficulties it faced. Bedford's article²⁰ echoes Shewmakers' as it highlights the hindrances to effective evangelism and notes that the paucity of spiritual power in the lives of missionaries and their narrowness of vision affected evangelism.

E. Colson²¹, E. Machila²² and M. Schoffeleers²³, examine African traditional religious institutions and beliefs. The works give some insights into the dynamics of African traditional religion. Colson's work gave the basic source of information on Tonga religion before the coming of missionaries. Machila discusses the transformation and changes that occurred when the institution of *malende* (shrines) encountered colonialism and western religion between 1890 and 1960 among the Tonga. Schoffeleers discusses African religions by examining the Chisumpi and inbona cults in Malawi. Carmody, on conversion at Chikuni, argues that before the coming of missionaries, the Tonga already knew the concept of God, *Leza* or *muzimo mupati*, as the chief spirit.²⁴

According to Carmody the Tonga accepted Christianity on the basis of their traditional religious belief in God. Carmody's work is important to our study because it tells us a lot on Tonga conversion to Christianity to be explored in this study.

Holmes's²⁵ work highlights the missionary perception of African traditional culture, which he concludes was alien to cultural values of the African traditional way of life. He adds that missionaries condemned African traditional values as being atheistic. They, for example, condemned bride price that it made a woman a chattel to her husband. This work gives us some understanding of the missionary perceptions of African traditional values and besides the work has helped us to trace the process of Christianisation. Other scholars like J. Weller and J. Linden²⁶ have argued that the church in general has interacted with the entire state especially in issues that affected rights of their members and the citizenry. They observe that the Church opposed the amalgamation and Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. They further state that the church criticised the one party system of government. Dougall²⁷ states that missions also interacted with governments in many areas because they realised that they could not obtain a hearing for the gospel if they had nothing to say about the struggles, fears, ambitions and evils of which men were most conscious. It is worth to note that most of the literature reviewed does not contain much on the Society but we have used them to give us more understanding about Christianity. W.R. Johnson²⁸ argues that African led churches also opposed discriminatory government policies. This valuable literature suggests that the Christian Church faced antagonistic and sometimes harmonious relationship with the state.

These works reviewed are very important to our study because they provide us with some insights into the dynamics of missionary societies and their operations in

Zambia. They provide a challenge to the analysis of the colonial and post colonial Church- State relationship in Zambia. They also help us understand the changing roles of the PWMS in the period under review.

Sources and Methodology

Our study is based on archival, oral interviews and library sources. The initial phase of data collection involved research in the University of Zambia Library. There followed research in the National Archives of Zambia where a number of sources which included District Notebooks, Annual Reports, Tour reports and many other files were consulted.

The next phase of the research was conducted at the Pilgrim Wesleyan Missionary Society's headquarters where administrative files, newsletters and conference journals were consulted. More data were collected at Jembo and Siachitema missions where oral interviews were conducted.

Organisation of the Study

This study consists of four chapters. Chapter one provides an account of the Tonga religion before the coming of Christian missions in the Southern Province of Zambia. It argues that the Tonga were a religious people even before the introduction of Christianity. Chapter two traces the establishment of the PWMS among the Tonga between 1930 and 1990. Chapter three focuses on evangelism and conversion. It argues that mission clinics attracted people seeking western medicines and that such people became communicants. The chapter also argues that education became the vehicle for

conversion. The fourth and last chapter looks at the Church-State relationship in the colonial and post colonial period. This is followed by the conclusion.

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CHAPTER ONE

TONGA RELIGION BEFORE THE COMING OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS

Introduction

This chapter examines Tonga religion before the coming of the Christian Missions in the Southern Province of Zambia. It discusses the Tonga cosmology and illustrates Tonga rituals and rites that formed the basis of their religion. The basic argument of the chapter is that the Tonga had their own religion even before the coming of Christianity. The chapter is divided into three sections. Section one deals with the Tonga concept of macrocosm in relation to their religion. It shows that the Tonga believed in a supernatural being who functioned at a communal level such as the clan, neighbourhood or society at large. In this section we show that the shrine rituals and rites played an important role in uniting the Tonga. The second section examines the concept of microcosm in relation to Tonga religion. It covers Tonga beliefs in ancestry worship at domestic and individual levels. It demonstrates that there existed shrines through which individual specialists tried to enhance their successes in skills such as dancing, rain calling and hunting by reference to ancestors associated with a skill. Section three discusses the Tonga spirit world. It discusses their beliefs in divination, magic, sorcery and witchcraft. The section, also, discusses burial and funeral rites practised by the Tonga from their religious perspective.

The chapter has applied Horton's theory to simplify the understanding of the Tonga religious cosmology. The theory proposed that:

Traditional African cosmology included two tiers... the microcosm and macrocosm. Microcosm included cults, rituals and beliefs endemic to local village and focused on the spirits who were understood to control the local environment while the macrocosm on the other hand, included the wider society where a supernatural being as opposed to local spirits had overcharging power.¹

For this reason it is important to note that although the two concepts applied to the Tonga religion, it remained uncompartimentalised and was woven into the fabric of every aspect of society; it was believed that a Tonga drank, ate and slept his religious life.²

Tonga Macrocosmic Religious Beliefs

Societal needs influenced the nature and character of religion that prevailed in the Tonga society. The Tonga conception of the composition of the highest stratum of their cosmological order hinged on the belief in the existence of a supernatural being (*Leza*),³ whose character and nature were associated with his powers as shown in the praise names which included the following: Creator (*Chilenga*), Ancient of days (*Munamazuba*) owner of everything (*Syatwakwe*), the Limitless one (*Mwalabala*), Changer of seasons (*Namampinde*) Collector (*Ciyobolola*), Deliverer (*Chivuna*) and the angry one (*Keemba*).⁴ The concept of *Leza* was also commonly used in Tanzania and the upper Congo.⁵

Leza was revealed to the living through various terrestrial and extra-terrestrial occurrences of awe-inspiring nature such as epidemics, thunder, lightning, shooting stars and torrential rains. The Tonga believed in both the natural and supernatural world with the *Leza* cult as their core, as was the *Nyambe* cult among the Lozi and the *Mwari* cult among the Shona.⁶ Through prayer and manipulation of the supernatural forces, the

Tonga believed that their different goals would be achieved with the help of ancestral spirits.

At macrocosmic level the Tonga religion, like in many other African societies, functioned more on a communal rather than on individual basis since the community held the belief of the individuals. Public performance characterised communal common occupations such as hunting or planting. However, there were many variations in the communal performances due to the differences in the physical environment and the events that brought peoples' religious beliefs to focus on the communal God who served the entire society. In fact the main concern of Tonga religion was the preservation of the family, clan and the territory.⁷

The second order of cosmology was the congregational ancestral cult or the ancestral spirits. The spirits of the lineage founder and the successive lineage leaders possessed divine qualities which placed them closer to the supernatural being or God.⁸ The spirits interceded on behalf of the living who were concerned with the welfare of all the lineage members. The Tonga spirits were classified into general *Mizimo*, guardian *Mizimo*, house *Mizimo*, inherited *Mizimo*, and own *Muzimo*. The *mizimo* cult was second to the *Leza* one.⁹

These spirits were sacred and helped sustain the welfare of the society. They were generally grouped into two tiers: the good spirits (*Basangu*) which assisted society achieve its goals and the ghosts or evil spirits (*Zyeelo*) which tormented society and sanctioned bad omen or retribution (*malweza*) for acts that endangered society.¹⁰ Retribution was averted through performance of rituals of protection, good will and eventual cleansing of the entire society.

The supernatural being was depicted by the great works of nature such as rocks, anthills, rivers, extra-ordinary trees, thickets and hotspots. These features acted as centres of worship known as shrines (*Malende*) where spirits dwelt. The shrines were controlled by shrine controllers, *BaSimalende*, who were held in high position because of their mythical powers, although no organised hierarchy existed.¹¹ Shrines dealt with public matters at a wider societal level in communal activities like praying for rain. However, they ceased to be shrines when they lost their sacredness and could not instigate any positive or negative religious activities in the participants.¹²

Congregational ancestral rites such as *Lwiindi* were performed. The *Lwiindi* was categorised in two; seasonal and critical.¹³ The seasonal *Lwiindi* involved sacrifices and libations to appease God and spirits so that they became interested in the welfare of their descendants. Before the onset of the rainy season, for example, the Tonga held the pre-rains *Lwiindi* which was designed to "ask" God to provide rain and a good agricultural season. This was also evidenced among the M'bona cult of the Mang'anja who possessed chiefly shrines.¹⁴ The pre-rains *Lwiindi* also acted as an advance notice for ancestral favours for a good rain season and harvest. At this performance, sample seed grains were presented to *BaSimalende* who appealed to God through *Basangu* to bless the forth-coming rain season and crops. At the shrines, small huts were constructed in which items associated with cultivation, for example, axes, hoes and seed grain, were stored for prayers.¹⁵ This practice was also common among the Venda of South Africa. At the time of sowing, for example,

The chief of the Venda called all his friends and neighbours to till his field first, first grain was symbolically cooked and the mixture placed on a sacred axe and hoe. The chief spewed the water on the ground saying, here is food for you all our spirits; we give you every kind of grain which you may eat. Bring to us also crops in plenty and prosperity in the coming season.¹⁶

These agricultural rites were punctuated with singing, ululating and dancing.

BaSimalende addressed the spirits, thus:

Send us rain and good crops and health. We have done all the things you told us to do. We still are living in the same way you showed us. We have not forgotten you. Send us rain. Help us *Leza*.¹⁷

After such prayers, the offerings were considered to have been blessed and ready to give a good crop and harvest. They went into farming with full hope for a good agricultural season.

The Tonga also performed the ceremonies of the first fruit soon after the crops were ripe and before people could partake of them. These were rites of primogenitor because if the spirits were denied their priority in the hierarchy, they took revenge by threatening the harvest and even the health of the people.¹⁸ The *Lwiindi* of harvesting was also performed to offer sacrifices and libations to the ancestral spirits for the impending harvest.¹⁹ Prayers were conducted to appeal to the ancestors and God for better harvests in future. Annoying the spirits entailed a failed harvest and hunger and for this reason, spirits played an important role in agricultural success.

During bad times the critical or crisis *Lwiindi* was performed which involved desperate situations such as drought, epidemics and war.²⁰ The *Lwiindi* of drought, for example, was performed to offer libations to the ancestral spirits to supply rain to sustain crops and livestock. The *Lwiindi* of epidemics were performed to eradicate epidemics such as smallpox, influenza and plagues which were largely believed to be a curse from

God and the ancestral spirits. In 1893, Chief Siachitema of Kalomo district, for instance, during an outbreak of smallpox, went to the Kalomo river with his subjects where they dipped themselves in water and threw their clothes into the water and went back home without looking behind.²¹ This could be likened to the Bible story of Lot and his family leaving the city of Sodom and Gomorra who were not allowed to look back to avoid bad luck. This ritual, during bad times, was not uncommon among many other African Societies. During war, for example, the Tonga performed the *Lwiindi* of war. The Leya, a Tonga related group of chief Mukuni in Livingstone, for example, led the warriors to a sacred war shrine where ritual performances were conducted to ensure victory at war. During the Lozi and Ndebele raids of the 1880s and the early 1890s, the Leya warriors, for example, were taken into the shrine hut from where they crawled out on their knees passing between the legs of the priestess, called Bedyango who stood in the entrance of the shrine hut with her legs firmly thrust apart.²² Warriors were called to fight a brave and spirited war against the invading enemies. Defeat in war meant that some stages in the ritual performances had been flouted much to the annoyance of the ancestral spirits who were believed to cause defeat.

Nevertheless, a general feature concerning shrines among the Tonga and other people in Zambia was that in virtually every area, there existed more than one type of shrine, each type manifesting its own features relating to the material lay-out and attributes; associated ideology; organisation of the cult; and nature of the associated group.²³ These were some of the communal religious activities which were performed at societal level. There were also some religious activities which were conducted at the microcosmic level such as individual family and levels as discussed in the section below.

Tonga Microcosmic Religious Beliefs

The microcosmic Tonga religious beliefs dealt with ancestral worship at local and individual levels. Colson observes that each individual had ancestral spirits which guided his/her life and conduct in the day to day life.²⁴ These spirits performed specific functions for individuals because they were believed to contain power which sustained the living. These were considered to be spirits of the dead ancestors who continued to dwell among the living members of the clan.²⁵ The prosperity of individuals was determined by their relationship with the spirits. Even when an individual made an offering at the behest of a particular spirit, he still had to appropriate

all the spirits concerned with him, he called first, the house spirit, then the guardian spirit, his inherited spirit if any, any spirit which endowed him with a special skill, the spirits of his parents if they were dead and usually added three or four names which were important when making offerings and requested them to bring all other *mizimo* names he has forgotten.²⁶

Each of these spirits played a vital role in the life of an individual.

Sacred events, such as rites of passage which marked the stages of life in an individual's life were performed. These rites included the rituals of birth, adolescence, marriage and death. Birth rites concerned the parents of the child especially the mother. The physical facts of conception were known but the blessings of the spirits were believed to be very vital in making it operative. Child bearing among the Tonga was sacred and as such:

there was a great desire to have children, no wife felt her marriage secure till she had borne a child and no man felt his family continuity and his own funeral rites ensured till a son was born. Barrenness was a common cause of divorce while the desire for children led to polygamy. At death a barren person was buried with charms and charcoal pushed into the anus and told never to come back in spirit form.²⁷

These charms put in the anus prevented the spirits of the dead from entering another living person for it was believed that they could destroy fertility in the body and would cause barrenness as was the case with the dead person from whom they had come. When an expectant mother went into labour, for example, traditional midwives called out names of different *mizimo* such as; *Chimuka*, come out, *Nchimunya*, come out, *Mainza*, come out, come forth and when the appropriate spirit name was called out, the baby was born with ease thereby signifying the spirit that had held the delivery.²⁸ Even so, the act of naming during delivery was not common at all child births, as some babies were named long after birth. The Tonga believed that child delivery was impossible unless the spirits of fertility had been propitiated and any child delivery that took place was associated with appeasing the spirits.

The Tonga like other people in Zambia lived in a spirit-filled world as their community extended to include a spirit population. At birth, for example, a child was given two birth *mizimo*, that of the paternal and another of the maternal parents. The *mizimo* decided which of their kin received their names and became their special charges.²⁹ If one *mizimo* was not named to the child, it got angry and caused sickness to the child. Then a diviner, *mung'anga*, was called to identify the right *mizimo* to name the child. A traditional prayer accompanied with pouring beer or water, to propitiate the *mizimo*, followed. The Toka-leya, for example, offered such prayer through a spirit filled elderly person who prayed as exemplified below:

I understand your demand. leave the child alone, leave him in peace.
Your name has been revealed. Look after your child so that he/she may
live longer.³⁰

If the name had been accepted in the spirit world, then the child ceased to cry and the name was given to the child.

It must be borne in mind that child naming was also associated with the circumstances under which a child had been born such as likeness to parents and ancestors and to a lesser extent through choice of divinity by an oracle.³¹ Tonga children, therefore, received names which both the living and the spiritual world accepted. Religious rituals and performances were used at child naming for the spirits to confer the names upon the child to guarantee its security and prosperity.

While child naming was accompanied by special ceremonies in many African societies, the Tonga held no special naming ceremonies for their children and they did not take naming of children after their dead to mean reincarnation or the return of the dead to their family. They instead denied the reincarnation of the guardian spirit in the child and generally believed that their dead either went underground or somewhere to the east, or hovered in the vicinity of the grave, or lived in the houses of the living.³² The dead became animals or ghosts, *Zyeelo* or divinities *mizimo*, that were worshiped by society. Ranger and Kimambo called such spirits as cultures of democratic spirit possessions which existed in East and Central Africa.³³ Even so, some people like the Ila of Naniwala held the view that all people were reborn, except the evil who became ghosts or bad spirits.³⁴

Contrary to this Ila belief, the Tonga gave ancestral names to the newly born simply to mean that the child had been given praise names or terms as were those possessed by the dead ancestor when still living. The praise names were given to several children regardless of sex. This strengthened the Tonga denial of reincarnation as female babies, for example were given not only female but also male names, who could not

reincarnate into females and vice-versa. Therefore, the Tonga spoke of a person as having a *muzimo* in the sense of a part of consciousness and personality. A person's successes and failures were not his or hers alone, but belonged to the groups which had supplied him or her with the guardian *muzimo*. If a child died before being given a name:

there was no mourning because no *mizimo* were involved. The mother was told to hush her wailing, saying that this was only a ghost, (*Ceelo*) or an ordinary person, *muntu buyo*, and mourning was curtailed. But if the child died after being named, someone was chosen to inherit the *muzimo*.³⁵

This rite exalted the religious significance of naming children with the ancestral spirit names and this perpetrated ancestral worship.

Teething was another religious aspect in the life of a child. The Tonga believed that normal teething in children started on the lower jaw. If the child first began teething on the upper jaw, it meant that the ancestral spirits had not welcomed the child in the family and would be cast out of society. It also meant that the *mizimo* had either been angered by the parents of the child or merely protesting against the name given to the child³⁶. In such incidents, purification rites were performed so that the child's membership with both the family and the spirit world was normalised.³⁷ But, generally, cases of children beginning teething on the upper jaw were scarce and for this reason the matter had little impact on Tonga traditions.

Twins in Tongaland were held with contempt. Nevertheless, those born from families which were already known to produce twins were accepted in society whereas those from family lines which were not associated with bearing twins, were either killed or the family in which they were born offered sacrifices to appease the *mizimo*. This guaranteed their survival in the spirit world. Ritual performances were done to purify the family and the society of the misfortune which had befallen them with the birth of twins.

Families which were known for series of multiple births were believed to have been fated and so, it was pointless to destroy the twins.³⁸ The fertility *muzimo* were then appeased so that they prevented future multiple births and there after the family was considered to have been purified.

Divination, Magic, Sorcery and Witchcraft in Tonga Religious Beliefs

We have so far demonstrated that, Tonga traditional life was based upon the welfare of the community and concerned itself with communal beliefs. At the same time the Tonga lived in a spirit-filled world in which divination, magic, sorcery and witchcraft were believed to exist. The concepts of divination, magic, sorcery and witchcraft were considered to be inter-related with the central figure, the diviner, *mung'anga* who was believed to have power to manipulate the supernatural forces in order to achieve the desired ends.³⁹ The *Bang'anga* detected the causes of illness and death and also effected cures using medicines and magical herbs and powers. However, the Tonga did not make powerful and famous *Bang'anga*, although they paid handsomely for their services despite the disturbances in society that the *Bang'anga* caused through witchcraft accusations to members of the society. In desperation a Tonga consulted a *mung'anga* who ordered to change or introduce innovation in the ritual where supplicants were regarded to be asked to present a black chicken or goat to the shrines so as to solve society's problems.⁴⁰

It can be argued that magical acts among the Tonga were religious because they involved spiritual powers in order to invoke powers which manipulated material apparatus. Parrinder, for example, observed that most of the magical powers among many African societies were impersonal and demanded for immediate action, unlike

religion which implored action.⁴¹ Magic was public or personal, protective on one hand and offensive on the other as charms were worn on the body, hung over the entrance of the house or put in storage bins, rings, bracelets, armlets, necklaces, girdles, anklets and *tatoos*.⁴² There was a strong belief among the Tonga that amulets or charms were used to avert evil and mischief as would be demanded by evil spirits.

Bad magic also existed and was regarded as being anti-social. It was in fact associated with sorcerers who worked to harm society as was the case with witchcraft practised by the witches who were believed to devour peoples souls.⁴³ The Tonga, like the Lozi, the Mbunda and Luvale, believed that witchcraft and sorcery were explanations which accounted for instances of illness, death or misfortune.⁴⁴ The attributes of magic, sorcery and witchcraft remained inconceivable and incompatible to Tonga society though to some extent were used to instill discipline in society's misbehaving members. Like the Azande of the Sudan, the Tonga were not interested in witchcraft as a theory, but only in witch activity, that was why they were solely interested in the dynamics of witchcraft during particular situations.⁴⁵ Consequently, the main concern was to find protection against witchcraft which would be achieved only by the detection and discovery of the 'witch'.

Death remained a mystery in Tonga society. Many myths were told about the coming of death. The Tonga myths, like those of the Zulu of South Africa, blamed the chameleon for delivering of the message late, that men would not die while the lizard which was given the message of death arrived earlier than the chameleon and forced people to accept its message of death and death came along.⁴⁶ The Ila of Namwala argue that God offered the first man and woman two bags, one holding life and the other death; unfortunately they chose one which contained death.⁴⁷ These myths show that the Tonga

associate death with religion as they believed that God had a hand in its creation. The Tonga also believed that death came from sorcery, witchcraft, evil magic, curse, broken taboos, and some natural causes.⁴⁸ It was also believed that death came as a result of the guardian *mizimo*'s refusing to protect an individual and more so, the Tonga believed that the paternal *mizimo* had authority to cause death of an individual.⁴⁹ Death was followed by funeral rites which involved the use of charm or medicines and pre-burial mourning or funeral.

Funerals were coupled with rites which sent off the departed soul and body peacefully to sever links with the living and to ensure that normal life among the living continued undisturbed. After burial, mourning and periodic remembrance of the departed were conducted to fulfill their belief in the after world and for this reason they buried their dead with belongings such as tools or weapons which the departed used in life to facilitate life in the world beyond. Parrinder observes that this practice of burying the dead with ornaments, tools and weapons were also common among many other African societies.⁵⁰ The soul left the body and it demanded to be accommodated properly so that it remained where it belonged and not cause havoc to the living.

After burial, many funeral rites were conducted. The Tonga were particular about going through rituals correctly at the time of death to avoid the danger of misfortune believed to be caused by the displeasure of the deceased's soul which could be averted as it was among the Akan of Ghana.⁵¹ The guardian *muzimo* which had been given to a person at birth was accommodated through inheritance,⁵² so that the *muzimo* did not wonder about and trouble the living by causing illness and misfortune. Thereafter followed the succession of the name, (*Kulya zina*) so that the name could not die, like those of the babies whose names were not inheritable.⁵³

It was common in Tonga society that when a person died, the members of the deceased's family went through a cleansing ceremony by bathing in water mixed with charms which chased away the evil spirits from the family to avoid bad omen. A married partner who lost a spouse went through a common purification ritual, cleansing, performed by an opposite sex member of the surviving spouse. Most common was having sexual intercourse, although in the case of cleansing a widow, the man cleansing the widow was not allowed to ejaculate his sperms inside the vagina because it was a taboo and could annoy the *mizimo* which in turn would cause more deaths in the family.⁵⁴ In some parts of Tongaland, however, ejaculation inside the woman's vagina was allowed.

The final funeral ritual *mwesyo/malilila* which included beer brewing and drinking and final cleansing of the village of the deceased was also done to mark the end of human life in transit to the world beyond. At this event the paternal representative would lead the prayers and sprinkling beer around, would call the deceased to joined the other dead who had died earlier and implored the *muzimo* to stay in the person who had inherited the *muzimo* of the deceased.⁵⁵ In all of these activities belief in the powers of the ancestral spirits remained a primary concern. Wilson, sums up our discussion that traditional religion among many people including the Nyakusa of Tanzania, the Nguni of South Africa, the Bemba, Ndembu and Tonga of Zambia, rested on four elements, the cult of shades, the belief in god, the manipulation of medicines and the fear of witchcraft.⁵⁶ The Tonga however, principally offered to ancestors in the female line.

Conclusion

The chapter has demonstrated that there existed among the Tonga, unity between the supernatural being and ancestral spirits which cultivated the character and nature of Tonga religion. It has also shown that the Tonga had macrocosmic or territorial religious beliefs which they expressed through performing public rituals such as the pre-rains, *Lwiindi* which benefited the entire society. In this sense the supernatural being, *Leza* was seen to have overcharging power over the local ancestral spirits. The chapter has further highlighted the Tonga belief in microcosmic or domestic religious beliefs in which the local spirits controlled the local environment. Each individual person possessed the guardian, house, inherited, and own ancestral spirits which interceded on their behalf between the supernatural and the spirit world.

The chapter further argues that divination, magic, sorcery and witchcraft played an important role in Tonga religion as they were believed to cause fortune and bad-luck. We have also claimed that Tonga religion was concerned with the welfare of the society and communal life which emphasised the preservation of the family, the clan, the neighbouring and the entire territory. On the whole, the chapter concludes that the Tonga had their own religion before the coming of Christian Missions which formed the basis for their Christianisation.

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CHAPTER TWO

THE ESTABLISHMENT AND GROWTH OF THE PILGRIM-WESLEYAN MISSIONARY SOCIETY, 1930-1990

Introduction

This chapter provides a narrative history of the establishment and development of the Pilgrim Wesleyan Missionary Society in Choma District in the Southern Province between 1930 and 1990. It shows how the Society managed to pull through its major problems that beset it in the formative years. The Pilgrim Wesleyan Missionary Society resulted from the merger of the Pilgrim Holiness Church and the American Wesleyan Methodist Church in 1968. The term "Society" is used throughout this dissertation to refer to the Pilgrim Wesleyan Missionary Society.

The Chapter is divided into three sections. Section one deals with the establishment and the growth of the Pilgrim Wesleyan Missionary Society between 1930 to 1938. Section two sets out to state how the Society continued to expand during the World War II period between 1939 and 1945. The third section discusses the merger of the Pilgrim Holiness Church and the American Wesleyan Methodist Church. It also highlights the localisation of the Society's leadership in the period after 1964 and also discusses the extent to which the Society spread to many parts of the country.

From the United States to Zambia, 1930-38

A scriptural revivalist movement swept across the United States of America between 1850 and 1895. This movement led to the formation of many religious revivalist organisations concerned with the conservation and propagation of true holiness.¹ The

first organisation was formed in Cincinnati, Ohio.² This organisation emphasised on holiness, evangelism and opening of foreign missions.³

The Board of Administration in the United States of America sent its first missionary, Rev. William Hurst, to South Africa in 1904 to establish the Holiness Church.⁴ Owing to its good doctrinal teachings of holiness and sanctification, the Church quickly established itself in Cape Town where it grew numerically. This encouraged the 1924 union of churches. After many transformations, the Pilgrim Holiness Church (PHC) was formed by the union of the Apostolic Holiness Union of Ohio, the Holiness Christian Church of Pennsylvania, the Pentecostal Rescue Mission of New York and the Pilgrim Church of California.⁵ The new Church's primary objectives were: to convert sinners and sanctify believers and to publish the full gospel to every nation in order to prepare souls for the pre-millennial coming of Christ.⁶ With these objectives, the Church spread outside the United States of America to various continents including Africa. This expansion to far afield lands was based on the mission's strong policy on outreach.

Coupled with successes in expansion within South Africa, the Society sent Rev. Ray Miller and Mrs. Ruth Miller to reconnoitre the Southern Province of Zambia in 1930.⁷ This was the first attempt to establish the Society north of the Zambezi. The Millers were accompanied by Miss. Ethel Jordan, an ordained minister and Miss Mary Loew, a teacher.⁸ The expedition arrived in Choma where it kept up with the Brethren in Christ missionaries at Sikalongo mission station for two years before finding its own station.⁹ The relationship between the Brethren in Christ and the PHC resulted from their common background in the United States of America as they shared many doctrinal beliefs.

The expedition searched for a site which was not under any missionary influence to establish its own station. The expedition found itself engulfed in a denominational battle with the Seventh Day Adventists at Rusangu and the Jesuits at Chikuni who founded their stations in 1905.¹⁰ The Seventh Day Adventists and the Jesuits did not want to lose their areas of influence and converts to the Pilgrim Holiness Church. The other churches that evangelised Choma District included the Brethren in Christ who opened Macha Mission in 1906, the Universities Mission to Central Africa who established themselves at Mapanza in 1910¹¹ and the Primitive Methodists at Masuku whose work started in Namwala in 1893.¹² Missionary groups often found themselves in arguments over, very often, ill-defined spheres of influence.

In spite of these conflicts, Rev. Miller managed to obtain permission from the Mazabuka Native Authority to establish a mission in the Pemba area of Choma District. The Millers, however, did not stay long in the area due to poor health. They abandoned their work and returned to the United States of America in 1931.¹³ The Millers' mission work was carried on by Miss Jordan and Miss Loew who remained behind. The two ladies found their work too difficult to accomplish because the local people did not accept women evangelism as there were no model female missionaries seen evangelising in the area among the Jesuits at Chikuni or the Seventh Day Adventists at Rusangu, who had established themselves earlier. However, this does not mean that women failed in evangelical work. The Brethren in Christ at Macha for example, had flourished with its medical care under missionary ladies led by Miss Frances Davidson.

In spite of their brief stay, the Millers succeeded in locating a good mission site and area on which later missionaries successfully established their first main station in Zambia. However, in 1932, little or no expansion in mission work was achieved because

Miss Jordan and Miss Loew found it difficult to sustain the fragile mission station. In 1933 the General Board of Administration of the PHC sent Rev. Harry Reynolds to carry on with the work that had been left by the Millers.¹⁴ Rev. Reynolds was accompanied by Revs. P.W. Thomas, Secretary for Foreign Mission, and A.G. Schoombie, Field Superintendent of the PHC missionary work in Africa.¹⁵ The party arrived in Choma via South Africa and went to Mwala village in Pemba. From here, William Kazoka guided them to headman Jacob Sikwale's village where the mission station was to be established.¹⁷ In 1929 Headman Sikwale had asked the Mazabuka Native Authority to send a Christian mission to his area because he admired the evangelical, educational and medical work conducted by the Jesuits and the Seventh Day Adventists in the adjoining areas of Chikuni and Rusangu. Thus, the party was welcomed into the village and pitched their tents under a fig-tree, thereby heralding the establishment of the Society's first mission station in Zambia. The missionaries were also welcomed by other village headmen in Sikwale's neighbourhood.

The only dissenting voice against the establishing of a mission station in this area came from headman Sichibunde who feared that the establishment of a mission station would lead to his loss of power over the control of the rain shrine, *Malende*.¹⁸ Sichibunde argued that the presence of the white missionaries in the area would annoy the ancestral spirits and would cause some calamities such as drought and diseases.¹⁹ Sichibunde's reaction signified the earliest religious conflict between the Society and the Tonga. In spite of the protest, the missionaries went ahead to establish the mission station at Jembo in 1933.²⁰

Within the first four years of founding Jembo Mission, the Society also managed to open outstations at Maambo, Mwala, Japi and Jalila, within a radius of about twenty

kilometres from Jembo, the main mission station.²¹ Unfortunately the mission faced a tragedy in 1937 when Rev. Reynolds died of Black water fever.²² Once more the mission faced a period of stasis in its work as the mission work was again left in the hands of the two ladies, Miss Jordan and Miss Loew who did not make much progress.

In 1938 the General Board of Administration appointed Rev. Romey E. Strickland, formerly of the Bible Class Mission at Siachitema, to succeed Rev. Reynolds.²³ Rev. Strickland's first assignment was to rebuild the once shattered hopes of the mission caused by the death of Rev. Reynolds. Strickland's first move was to purchase 3,200 acres of land and to shift the mission to the new site where it stands today.²⁴ The Reverend revived the village visitations and opened new outstations at Nachibanga, Chilundu, Nkandela and Simwendengwe, within a radius of about thirty kilometres from Jembo.²⁵ A school was opened at each of these outstations to intensify the evangelisation process.

The Society's expansion during the War Period, 1939-45

The Society was not badly affected by the war related problems such as the loss of African elites who had been recruited for war. The Society benefited from the increased Government provision of revenue for social services.²⁶ It therefore continued with the same pace of development during the war in spite of reduced funding from the General Board of Administration in the United States of America which had been occasioned by the demands of war. However, with the help of the Government of Northern Rhodesia the Society struggled on. In 1944, for example, it acquired Siachitema Mission, located about 120km from Jembo²⁷ from the Bible Class Mission which had operated in that area under Miss Claudia Peyton since 1930²⁸. And to ensure a complete

take over of Siachitema from the Bible Class Mission, the Society obtained a renewable five year land lease in 1945 and Siachitema Mission became the second main station of the Society.²⁹ Simukanga, Sialubala, Nakabanga and Chifusa, all former outstations of the Bible Class Mission which were within a radius of fifty kilometres from Siachitema station, also became part of the Society's stations. This increased the number of communicants under the influence of the Society. At Siachitema mission, for example, church services on Sundays were attended by an average of between fifty to one hundred worshippers.³⁰ There was also a corresponding increase in the number of schools run by the Society; thus from three in 1938 to eleven in 1945 while the number of pupils receiving Government assistance also increased from eight three in 1938 to six hundred and twenty six in 1945.³¹ By the end of the War in 1945, the Society had established itself among the Tonga as it recorded a high growth in number of schools and pupils and converts. The years after 1945 saw the Society consolidate itself.

The Period of Consolidating the Society, 1946-1964

The post Second World War period was characterised by African demand for self-rule. This demand gained support from both Christians and non-Christians. As nationalism gained much ground, the Society was filled with a lot of uncertainties about its future work and existence in Northern Rhodesia which reduced the holistic church planting programme which the Society had previously embarked on. However, by 1945, at the end of the war, the Society was running eleven schools with six hundred and twenty-six pupils and twenty teachers.³² In fact, the Society had recorded a higher growth rate than some missions which had been established much earlier, like the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society since 1885 which was running only three schools with

six hundred and nine pupils and eight teachers.³³ This was so because the Society adopted an educational and medical ministry from which people benefited. The Society continued to spread into new areas.

Rev. John Blann, for example, opened Chabbobboma mission station in the Gwembe Valley in 1951.³⁴ Six other stations and preaching centres were opened in the Valley. Of the six stations, Chiabi, located about sixty kilometres away from Chabbobboma, was the furthest situated.³⁵ The Society became the third missionary group to evangelise the Gwembe Valley besides the Jesuits at Fumbo in Chief Munyumbwe's area and the Methodists at Kanchindu in Chief Mweemba's area who had been there since 1903. By 1957, it had won itself some converts among whom were the future leaders and Evangelists of the Society.³⁶ Rev. Simon Syabbamba who later became the National Superintendent of the Society was one of these converts.³⁷ The Society continued with its expansion work into new areas such that in 1958 Rev. C.G. Keith established Zimba Mission and opened Nakowa School.³⁸ From Zimba main station, four outlying preaching points were opened in Kalomo District and Zimba became one of the Society's four main stations in Zambia.

From the Southern Province the Society spread to some other parts of the country. In 1960, for example, the Society established Kabwata station in Lusaka, in the then, Central Province.³⁹ From here the Society expanded into other areas of Lusaka although its membership remained predominantly Tonga speaking. The Lusaka station became the pivot for the Church expansion to other parts of the country besides its being a revival centre for the church members who had defected to other churches before the opening up of Kabwata station.

In 1962, Rev. Dr. Bursch, the Field Superintendent of the Society, reported that: the Society had fifty-seven churches with forty-four preachers, two thousand two hundred and fifty five members with eleven permanent church buildings in all of its mission districts".⁴⁰ In the same year, the Society had forty-two schools, one secondary school, 6,394 pupils and one teacher training college at Livingstone.⁴¹ The Society also built clinics in its areas of operation. In the same year, for example, four clinics at each of the main stations of Jembo, Siachitema, Chabbobboma and Zimba had been built.⁴² These clinics became centres of the evangelisation process as patients and those nursing them were introduced to the word of God and sometimes converted to Christianity. Tape recorded gospel ministries were conducted at the clinics every morning, noon and evening as a means to reach out to the hospitalised.⁴³

Church merger and the Localisation of Leadership, 1964 - 1990

As Zambia approved independence, the year 1963 brought a lot of anxiety among the white missionaries because they were uncertain about their future in independent Zambia. As a result, many missionaries went back to the USA, either forever or on furlough. Because of the departure of the white missionaries, funding from the mother Church in the USA was reduced, making it difficult to run the Society on the pre-1964 levels. The lack of adequate funding tremendously reduced the Society's activities.

In order to replace the white missionaries who left, the Society's staffing policy changed from that of dependency on white labour to self-sustenance using Africans. This change was influenced by the thinking of Henry Venn, the one time, Secretary of the Church Missionary Society in London, who emphasized "self-governing, self-supporting and self-propagating churches and the euthanasia of a mission for missions abroad".⁴⁴

Venn called for autonomous church societies led by African leaders in the mission field. The Society thus strove to create a self-supporting and self-propagating church. The General Board of Administration in the USA, however, continued providing financial assistance.

Following the adoption of the new policy, the Africa missionaries began occupying positions of leadership previously held by white Missionaries. The composition of the Field Council, the Supreme policy making organ of the Society, for example, changed. Whereas in 1962, the Council had one African member out of the total membership of seven⁴⁵ by 1966 there were four Africans sitting on it.⁴⁶ The number of ministerial and ordained ministers also increased from two Africans, against thirty-three whites in 1962⁴⁷ to five against thirty-one in 1966.⁴⁸ The number of delegates to the Conference also increased from thirteen African leaders against thirty-two whites in 1962 to twenty-seven Africans against thirty-two whites in 1966.⁴⁹

In addition the adoption of this new policy seems to have necessitated the need for churches to merge in order to strengthen their workforce and to put their resources together. As such in 1966 a combined General Conference of the Pilgrim Holiness Church and the Wesleyan Methodist Church of America was held at Winona Lake in Indiana in the USA. This Conference voted for the merger of the two churches because of their common doctrinal background of holiness and sanctification of Christian believers.⁵⁰ The two merged on 26 June 1968.⁵¹ The merger entailed change of the name of the Society in Zambia from Pilgrim Holiness Church to Pilgrim Wesleyan Church of Zambia while elsewhere the new church was called the Wesleyan Church.⁵²

The merger and change of name was intended to achieve ultimate objectives of the Society which included:

Designing and administering an effective church planting ministry within and outside Zambia to produce strong Wesleyans with distinctive of self-propagating, spiritually growing and expanding, self supporting both materially and financially, self sustaining congregation, and self governing congregations so as to produce spiritually qualified leadership that related the Christian faith to their native cultural settings.⁵³

To achieve these objectives, the Society embarked on finding ways to achieve self-sustenance both in material needs and leadership. The need to establish an indigenous led, contextualised and functioning church in Zambia, became a prime factor. The indigenisation process was also taking place in the Roman Catholic Church and the United Church of Zambia which had been formed in 1965.⁵⁴

After 1972 the Society stressed the need to develop indigenous priesthood. This transformed the role of the indigenous clergy from that of being assistant clergy to executive or full-time clergy.⁵⁵ During this period the Government of Zambia embarked on the policy of promoting Zambians to positions of influence. The Society, therefore, merely responded to the changing political climate. As a result, the position of Field Superintendent was for the first time in the forty-two years of the existence of the Society in Zambia, taken up by an indigenous Zambian, Rev. Jack Slaught Munsaka, in 1972, while Rev. Jones, the last white Superintendent assumed the newly established position of the Mission Co-ordinator. The localisation of leadership was not unique to the Society but also to other churches like the Dutch Reformed Church.⁵⁶

This period, therefore, saw church administration fall under a dual system; the Field Office under the Field Superintendent which dealt with the administration of the entire church while the Mission Co-ordinator under a missionary, dealt with the finances and affairs of white missionaries. In principle, the Field Superintendent was senior to the Mission Co-ordinator but in terms of responsibility, the Mission Co-ordinator handled

more crucial issues which even controlled the office of the Field Superintendent. Although Africans rose to positions of power, they had inadequate training and experience and for this reason the Zambianisation of the positions did not achieve immediate results. In fact Rev. Jones bemoaned the situation when he remarked that the church had not developed local leadership to sufficiently run it once the white missionaries left Zambia.⁵⁷

However, once the African leadership had settled in their positions, they embarked on extensive church expansion. The 1972 Zambia Field Conference, for example, reported that it was running fifty-nine local churches in the four mission districts of Jembo, Siachitema, Chabbobboma and Zimba.⁵⁸ By 1978 more preaching points had been opened in Jembo mission district, in Namwala District, Siachitema mission district and Zimba mission district.⁵⁹ The Society continued to spread into other provinces through out Zambia. In 1978, for example, the Lusaka Mission District was created and it opened with six churches.⁶⁰ In 1980 Sister Saria Mumbwali opened the mission's first station in Ndola on the Copperbelt.⁶¹

In 1982 Superintendent Munsaka died and Rev. Simon Syabbamba succeeded the throne and carried on with the work of expanding the Society. The Society, however, faced some financial crisis in the 1980s and found it difficult to fund its expansion work.⁶² The financial situation of the Society worsened with the decline of the country's economy which characterised this period. The financial crisis was, according to Rev. Syabbamba, compounded by the members' failure to give faithful tithes and offerings.⁶³ He further argued that the pioneer leaders of the Church had failed to set the Church on a true biblical foundation of tithing and generous giving because they became educators,

health workers and even government administrators and lost touch with the Society and its evangelical assignments.⁶⁴

The financial problems notwithstanding, the Society embarked on a programme of Theological Education by Extension (T.E.E) in 1982 to train lay pastors. In the same year "several seminars to train lay leaders were conducted which yielded a total of 168 students taught, *"What Wesleyans believe"*, while fifty five students were taught, *"Bringing people to Jesus."*⁶⁵ These lay leaders joined the spreading of the gospel and as such many people were converted. These extension services contributed to the significant growth of the Church membership. In 1984, for example, the Church had three thousand, six hundred and forty four members but the number increased to four thousand, four hundred and sixty three in 1988 while the number of Churches also increased from one hundred and ten to one hundred and forty seven in the same period.⁶⁶ By 1985 more Churches had been opened in Mongu in the Western Province and in Kasama in the Northern Province.⁶⁷ In 1986 the Society opened its first Church in the North-Western Province at Mumbezhi in Solwezi,⁶⁸ and continued to grow into new areas in the 1990s.

Conclusion

The chapter has demonstrated the establishment and expansion of the Society in Zambia. It has shown that during the formative-years, the Society experienced many problems in its work. Nevertheless, the Society continued to grow. In the same period the Society managed to win a number of converts who helped to expand its area of influence. The expansion was coupled with the transformation of the Tonga traditional Society as Christianity took root. The chapter has also discussed the merger of the

Pilgrim Holiness Church and the American Wesleyan Methodist Church to form the Pilgrim Wesleyan Missionary Society. It has also shown that the merger did not have any negative impact on the growth of the Society. The chapter concludes that in fact from the time the Society was established in Zambia, the white Missionaries dominated leadership until 1972 when a Zambian became the Field Superintendent. We can conclude that the Society increasingly expanded to many parts of the country under the leadership of Africans.

NOTES

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3. The Pilgrim Wesleyan Church, *The Discipline of the Pilgrim Wesleyan Church*, 5.
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5. Snelson, *Development of Education*, 183.
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9. The Pilgrim Wesleyan Church, *The Discipline of the Pilgrim Wesleyan Church*, 6, and N.A.Z., KSP 3/1 Brethren in Christ Church 1906.
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12. R. Henkel, *Christian Missions in Africa*, (Berlin: Dietrich Reimerverlag, 1989), 43.
13. The Pilgrim Wesleyan Church, *The Discipline of the Pilgrim Wesleyan Church*, 5.
14. Interview with Nelson Chitenge, Sikwale Village, Chief Siamandu, Choma District 24-07-99.
15. The Pilgrim Wesleyan Church, *The Discipline of the Pilgrim Wesleyan Church*, 6.
16. Interview with Nelson Chitenge 24.07.99.
17. N.A.Z, SP1/14/1. Letter from Mazabuka Native Authority to Pilgrim Holiness Church, 20.04.30.
18. Interview with Nelson Chitenge, 24.07.99.
19. Interviews with Nelson Chitenge, 24.07.99, Rev. Noah Bulongo 24.07.99; Mrs. Bulongo 24.07.99; Nzila Jenalla 24.07.99 and Rev. Keembe, 27.07.99 Jembo Mission, Chief Siamandu, Choma district.
20. Snelson, *Development of Education*, 183.

21. R.E. Strickland, *Over Livingstone's Trails in Northern Rhodesia: Foreign Missionary Study course*, (Indianapolis: Pilgrim Holiness Church Publishers, 1948), 27.
22. Inscription on the Tombstone of Rev. Reynolds at Jembo Mission in Chief Siamaundu, Choma district. See The Pilgrim Wesleyan Church, *The Discipline of the Pilgrim Wesleyan Church*, 7.
23. The Pilgrim Wesleyan Church, *The Discipline of the Pilgrim Wesleyan Church*, 7.
24. Strickland, *Over Livingstone's Trials*, 33.
25. L.H. Gann, *A history of Northern Rhodesia: Early days to 1953*, (London: Chatto and Windus, 1964), 331.
26. Strickland, *Over Livingstone's Trials*, 28 and 29.
27. N.A.Z., SP.1/14/1 No.03 Application to acquire Siachitema Mission by Rev. R.E. Strickland, 5 February, 1944.
28. N.A.Z., SP1/11/11. Circular 23 from Provincial Commissioner for Southern Province to Rev. R.E. Strickland at Jembo, 25 July, 1944,
29. C. Peyton, *From Darkness into Light: Forty-six years in Africa*, edited by N. McMellon, (Chattanooga: B.I.M.I. Publications, 1976), 42.
30. Interview with Rev. Mwiikisa, Village Mudobo, Siachitema Mission, Chief Siachitema Kalomo district, 26.10.99.
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33. N.A.Z., MH1/2/50. Circular Minute no. 4572/M1/D Health Department, March, 1945.
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38. N.A.Z., SP2/5/2 Rev. C.G. Keith's application to the Tonga - Ila Native Reserve to open Zimba Mission, 27 June, 1956.
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