THE CHANGING ROLES OF WOMEN IN THE SEVENTH-DAY
ADVENTIST CHURCH IN MONZE DISTRICT,

by

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DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA IN
PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS IN GENDER STUDIES

THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA

LUSAKA

2000
DECLARATION

I MAHUBA WESLEY HALUBOBYA HAZEMBA, 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.

Signed: Mahuba WSH Hazemba

Date: 10th July 2007
This dissertation of MAHUBA WESLEY HALUBOBYA HAZEMBA is approved as fulfilling part of the requirements for the award of Master of Arts in Gender Studies at the University of Zambia.

Examiners

1. B. Carmody

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The introduction of the Women's Ministry in 1996 was encouraged by the Church's leaders as a result there is tension in the Church between the Women's ministry and the Ministry.
ABSTRACT

This study is an historical enquiry into the changing roles of women in the Seventh Day Adventist (SDA) Church in Monze District of Southern Zambia from 1905 - 1998. We argue that before the penetration of Christianity women in Tonga society were playing leading roles in Tonga traditional religion. The penetration of Christianity diminished belief in Tonga traditional religion. Christianity brought with it a structure of written and unwritten policies that subordinated women. It was only female teachers who were given leadership roles as evangelists in the out schools they taught. In all other structures of the Church’s organisation there were no women leaders until the late 1980s.

The Dorcas Mothers Society after 1955 became the basic unit in which the women in the SDA Church expressed themselves. We further argue that after the 1985 General Conference Session gender struggle in the SDA Church became evident in the developed world. Women now began to fight for rights to preach, lead and be ordained in the Church. In Zambia a class of women is slowly emerging that questions the denial of these rights, which women have enjoyed in the developed world.

The research also reveals that the Church has generally failed to send women for theological training and where it did so, it failed to retain these in it’s ranks. This failure by the Church has further denied women leadership positions of decision making in the Church’s various structures as these are dominated by qualified pastors.

The introduction of the Women’s Ministry in 1996 was mishandled by the Church’s Leadership and as a result there is tension in the Church between the Women’s Ministry department and the Dorcas Mothers Society.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This research took me to several places in Monze District and in these areas I enjoyed the hospitality of several households too numerous to mention individually. I however, wish to particularly mention the families of Pastor and Mrs Clifford Hachoona at Rusangu mission and Mrs Vide Mugwagwa in Monze for providing me with free accommodation and free meals in their homes for the whole period of my research in the District. I can only say God bless you abundantly.

To Pastor Job Kooko and his fellow retired Pastors, I thank you all for the interest in the subject and availing me with your own collections. In Lusaka I extend my thanks to the staff at Zambia Union, National Archives of Zambia and University of Zambia Library for the hospitality readily and kindly extended to me.

I also thank all my informants in Monze, particularly Mrs Edith H. Muchindu, and those at Rusangu mission and Bweengwa areas for sparing time from their busy schedules to discuss with me.

I pay particular gratitude to the Government of Norway for granting me a scholarship through NORAD during the first part of my M.A. programme. To Ms Monica Munachonga, I say thank you so much for providing me with opportunities to enable me earn some income to pay for my tuition. I value your contribution dearly. To my late Uncle Mr Fine Chilomo it’s a pity he left this world before seeing the fruition of this work after generously contributing stationary and moral support.

Many thanks also go to Mrs M. Imbula and Ms Inonge Likezo who together painstakingly typed the material. Lastly I owe Dr Fay Gadsden a debt of gratitude for supervising this study from conception to it’s final fruition. I found her advice, guidance and inspiration invaluable. Her firm grasp of history and penetrative critiques made me sit up and do a good job.
DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my wife Makumbi, daughters Princess Diana and Kubota and son Komana for their love, patience, understanding and encouragement.
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<td>Purifying/cleansing</td>
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<td>10. Lwiindi</td>
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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The Tonga Plateau was an area that attracted a number of missionary societies at the dawn of colonisation of Northern Rhodesia. Women were at the beginning less attracted to Christianity than men. But later on women became more attracted to Christianity than men. The Tonga Plateau therefore becomes a crucial area for study of the changing roles of women in the Christian Church. It is curious that this subject has received very little attention from gender analysts and historians alike. There has, however, been some very important historical, anthropological and educational work written on the area\textsuperscript{1}, but nothing specifically on women’s participation in the Church. In this study I attempt to fill in at least a part of this wide gap in Zambia’s religious history with a study of the changing roles of women in the Seventh Day Adventist Church during the colonial and post colonial periods from 1905-1998.

The Tonga’s religious beliefs centered on ancestral worship at homesteads, on a daily basis and at community and territorial shrines known as Malende on occasions of need. Ritual leaders, who were mostly women, performed all the religious rites. These leaders who performed these roles belonged to the same matrilineal clan, except at homestead rituals.

The advent of Christianity slowly diminished Tonga traditional religion, as Christianity gained converts. There was a large concentration of missionary settlements along the Batoka plateau\textsuperscript{2}. Monze district our main area of study, shared two of these many missionary societies, the Catholic Mission at Chikuni and the Seventh Day Adventist (SDA) Mission at Rusangu.
The SDA Church had a wide impact in the District. It attracted both females and males but males became more dominant in all aspects of Church life. It transformed people’s beliefs from ancestral worship to the worship of Jesus Christ.

During the formative years of the SDA Church, women were brought into the Church as a way of keeping the enlightened new male converts in the Church. The missionaries did this through persuasions and encouragements to enrol in school. Later a few women began to play roles of teacher evangelists at their out schools or stations. The hand over of Adventist Schools to government in 1955 and deliberations of the 1985 and 1995 General Conferences accelerated the rise of women’s greater involvement in Church activities.

This study covers the period between 1905 and 1998. We start in 1905 because this was the time that the SDA Church became operational in what is today Zambia. From 1921, the Church was administered under the Zambezi Union head quartered in Bulawayo Zimbabwe up to 1972, when Zambia became a Union. The Adventist operational hierarchy is divided into five segments. These are the ‘General Conference’ which is the world body, the ‘Division’ which is the Regional grouping; the ‘Union which is the National Organisation; the ‘Field/Conference’ which is the provincial organisation and the ‘Districts’ are the Local Church Organisations. Our concentration in this study is on the Local Church Organisations that form mission districts within the South Zambia Field under the Monze district political boundary. The study will highlight the important roles women played in the evangelisation of the area and in providing leadership to the Church and how these have changed over the years. It also assesses how the Church has met women’s needs and how women have used the Church to further their interests. Attitudes of male and female members of the Adventist Church towards female leaders and clergy in the Church are investigated.
LITERATURE REVIEW

Literature on the role of women in the SDA Church in Zambia is scanty. However, there are studies on women in traditional religion and other Christian Churches in Zambia and parallel studies of women in Christian Churches in Tanzania, Malawi and Sierra Leone.

Women played major roles in traditional religions. Hinfelaar shows that married Bemba women were in charge of all domestic ritual and led in the veneration of the dead at the house shrines and public remembrance services to the ancestors who were guardians of the land. These women began to lose their priestly roles with the centralisation of the Bemba Kingdom from about 1700 A.D.5. With the coming of the Catholic Church, changes continued and women lost leadership positions. Women now became active in new movements like the cult of Mary the mother of God, which became prominent among Bemba women.

Elizabeth Colson argues that in Tonga traditional religion, both women and men exercised equal religious powers at the time of the arrival of the missionaries5. Evidence from my research however suggests that it was women who had more powers except for Monze who had more authority at the Gonde shrine. Tonga women did not suffer any particular restrictions on their activities and were not regarded as ritually impure. Colson shows that women played leading roles at all Malende rituals. When they died shrines on their behalf were constructed, thus women as well as men became mizimo7. Both women and men were the priests and prophets who spoke under possession by spirits that dealt with rain and other communal affairs.

There have been studies in both Zambian and Malawian Christian Churches showing women’s roles in Church growth. Winfridah Chileshe gives insights for this study in showing that roles of women in the Catholic Church have increased since Vatican II7. They have put off their passiveness and have become zealous, active participants through their lay
organisations. Some of these lay organisations comprise women only members while others comprise both males and females. Chileshe further points out that women’s activity has considerably contributed to the growth of the Church by way of attracting new members particularly women. She has also shown that education made women in the Catholic Church realise their potential and has given them self confidence to enable them take up leadership roles when chance allows.

In a study of women in the Presbyterian Church in Malawi, Isabel Apawo Phiri shows the important roles that the Chigwiridzano Women’s Organisation played in the Presbyterian Church. She shows that this Organisation is the moving factor in Church growth in that women were seeing themselves as co-workers with the Lord Jesus Christ. They now realised that knowledge in Christ Jesus gave them the confidence that as women they could do God’s work. This aspect is investigated in this study. Phiri’s discussion of whether women could become clergy has striking similarities with the findings of my research. Though women are encouraged to train as ministers of religion, they have not been accepted by the Church at the grass roots.

A further insight on what women’s organisations can do is given by Filomona Steady’s study of the Protestant Churches in Free Town, Sierra Leone. She argued among other things that the significance of these associations lies in their functions as institutions promoting pattern maintenance rather than social change. She shows that these associations tend to promote conservative female ideology such as the involvement of women in pious and charitable duties and at times encourage male dominance by preferring the leadership of men to that of women. My research has found that this is not the case for women in the Adventist Church.

Positions of Leadership and preaching are issues that bring frictions in many Churches. Jules Rosette’s study of the Apostolic Church of John Maranke in Zambia found
that women had an informal and subtly defined position in the Church’s hierarchy. Women here held limited positions of direct powers and are hence not decision-makers. However it is interesting to note the fact that women as prophets exerted a lot of power and could challenge decisions made by the male council of elders. Only men assumed positions of preachers and leaders.

In another parallel study on the role of women in the Church conducted in Tanzania by Swantz, it was found that the degree to which women were accepted as leaders in the Church depended on how the founders of missions had looked at women in their Churches. The missionaries’ attitude towards women in the Church was thus an important factor in their acceptance to play roles in the Church. These attitudes about the early missionaries are well highlighted in my study. I must however hasten to point out that it is not only the missionaries’ attitude that is of importance for this study but also that of the whole Christian community of a particular Church.

Isabel Apawo Phiri highlights the frustrations trained women ministers under went in the Presbyterian Church due to the negative attitudes held against women in the Ministry and leadership. This negative attitude is exhibited inspite of the Church policy on the education of women Clergy.

Like Anderson and Rotberg, Swantz in the 1970s did show that girls only became members of congregations when the missionaries saw the need to have them taught as wives for the newly converted young men. This was aimed at sustaining the men in the Church and at preventing the young men from going back to ‘heathen ways.’ One other cardinal point she makes which is also important for this study is the fact that the conservatism found in the Church has not affected the work of women in Church growth.
Literature on the Adventist Church in Zambia does not deal specifically on the roles women have played in the Church but is important in that it reveals areas which these writers did not touch concerning women’s participation in the Church.

William Anderson reveals that the mission’s policy on the education of girls was on preparing them for home management and marriage to a cadre of emerging Adventist young men\(^\text{15}\). When parents forced girls into marriage, Anderson with a group of boys, went round the villages to rescue them from these early marriages and put them back in school. This study reveals that there were brides who fled to Adventist Missions for shelter, just as Gaitskell found in her studies of the Methodist Church in Natal\(^\text{16}\).

Both Harold Peters\(^\text{17}\) and Absalom Mhoswa\(^\text{18}\) have shown the Adventist contribution to the development of Education in Zambia. While Peters looked at the production of elites, Mhoswa pointed out that the mission produced teacher evangelists who were to run the out schools while assuming the responsibility of a Church leader for the villages and pupils. What both studies fail to show is whether women were part and parcel of these elites and teacher evangelists.

My study of the Seventh Day Adventist Church and state in Zambia reveals that in the late 1970s and early 1980s there was a wave of Zambianisation of leadership in the Church\(^\text{19}\). There were however no women appointed to positions of decision making except to the lower ranks of the Church Organisation.

Ordination of women is an issue that arouses a lot of interest in any Church. Ellen White, regarded as a prophet in the SDA Church worldwide did not make any explicit statement\(^\text{20}\). Though she did not address ordination directly as an issue, she however recognised and cited important contributions women could make in various leadership responsibilities in the Church such as labouring in the Gospel Ministry and ministering to the sick and afflicted.
Samuel Bacchiochi, a world renowned Adventist scholar, in 1987 wrote a book on the Role of Women in the Church in which he shows that the SDA Church was deeply committed to the normative authority of scripture for defining beliefs and practices. He argues that scripture excludes women from the appointive representative roles of elders and pastors. Calling for the ordination of women was to radically change the structure of female and male relationships not only in the home and Church but also in society at large and so he opposed it.

Raymond Holmes, another Adventist scholar, also opposed the ordination of women. He does affirm too that the SDA Church was theologically conservative and had always been so and believes that it is still basically conservative at the grassroots level today. Women's Ordination and the call to Biblical Fidelity, written by a Ghanaian SDA scholar Koranteng-Pipim warns the world-wide Church that it cannot take lightly the issue of women’s ordination as there seems to be a spirit of turmoil looming in the Church as well as the threat of division and congregationalism on this issue. He argues that there is a need for the Church to understand what the theological issues are and what they are not. Koranteng-Pipim is one of those scholars that oppose the ordination of women.

The interest of this researcher is to investigate whether the SDA Church in Zambia has moved away from this conservatism in relation to the roles of women. The study will also reveal views of women members of the Church on ordination of women.

**METHODOLOGY**

This dissertation is based on historical research into written and oral sources. It involved Libraries, Archival and field research and one on one and group interviews done
between August 1st 1999 and 30th January 2000. Documentary and oral materials used in the preparation of this study complemented each other.

My archival work was done in three main centres. The Zambia Union Headquarters in Lusaka for literature and documents on the Church’s background, and its programmes and activities, minutes of meetings and statistics on membership and literature sales. The South Zambia Field Headquarters at Rusangu Mission also for literature and documents on the Church’s background activities and information on minutes of meetings and operations of the Dorcas society.

There is quite a poor state of record keeping in the SDA Church. This negligence led to the destruction of vital documents for the early part of the Church’s history by termites at Rusangu Mission. At Zambia Union, there is no proper filing system all documents are just piled up in cabinets. An attempt is however being made to have a proper system of keeping records in the new Library being set up. However, I got some documentary evidence from manuscripts kept by individuals. These documents proved useful for the Church’s early history.

At the National Archives of Zambia in Lusaka, it was to look at the Mission, District and Education reports. These documents though not quite plenty were very helpful for information on the early history and operations of the Church.

My field research also involved getting oral evidence from key informants in five chosen areas. The choice of these five key areas was dictated by the fact that these were the earlier settlements of the Church. Oral evidence from key informants filled up some of the gaps that emerged from documentary evidence. Interviews provided me with information on the past and current attitudes of Church members on issues like women leadership and the ordination of women in the SDA Church.
END NOTES


Map on pp.72-73.


CHAPTER TWO

WOMEN IN TONGA RELIGION 1890-1905

This chapter discusses the roles and positions of women in Tonga traditional religion in the period 1890-1905. A large majority of the Tonga during this period were adherents of traditional Tonga religion. Missionaries variously designated it as heathenism, paganism and spiritualism\(^1\). The chapter begins with the Tonga concept of God and then looks at the roles women played in rituals and shrines.

THE TONGA CONCEPT OF GOD

The Tonga believe in a divine being or chief spirit that was more than distant from them\(^2\). This chief spirit was envisioned as a kind of disembodied spirit who moved within the wind\(^3\). The belief in this chief spirit known to the Tonga as *Leza* is at the centre of the Tonga religion and dominated all its beliefs. It is not known how the Tonga began this belief in God. What is known however is that this belief is an ancient one. The wonder of things gave the Tonga the sense of a power, which is everywhere. This belief was from a feeling that was round about them and in them before coming to a reasoning that there is a maker who makes them move.

The Tonga also looked upon *Leza* as a person, though the idea of what ‘person’ is may not be very clear in the mind of the Tonga as of many Africans\(^4\). The Tonga questioned whether this power is a ‘he’, ‘she’ or ‘it’\(^5\). They therefore did not visualise *Leza* as a male or female but as a being who was capable of being either.

Smith argued that “Africans do not make use of the words ‘he’, ‘she’ or ‘it’, but have a belief in a force that though unseen its effects are seen working in substances such as traditional musamu medicine used in witchcraft”\(^6\). Persons employed the musamu while the
effects of the *musamu* was through a force which is not a person. Since the Tonga’s idea of a person quality is not clear, they looked at this power as already noted as a person. *Leza* is therefore taken to be a man. The Tonga today thus fairly commonly refer to *Leza* as a father watching over the interests of his human children (a function that can be performed by females too). Possibly in doing so, they were unconsciously influenced by the Christian beliefs that were making itself felt.

The Tonga characteristics of God are not clear as they can be attributed to both males and females. What is clear however is the fact that *Leza* is thought to be directly connected with every experience and event, whether great or small, of every day human life.

*Leza* is called *Hikabumba*-creator or potter. The word ‘bumba’ is widely used of a man forming clay cattle or a woman forming a pot with her hands. It is also used equally of the operation of making earth and everything there is, hence the Tonga say *Leza Waabumba - ‘Leza made’*. Since women do not only mould children but also the whole society and its outlook, it can be argued that this characteristic can equally refer to God as a female.

*Leza* is *Hatwakwe* - ‘owner of his/her things’. Certain things are in God’s hands to do with as pleases him/her. Though *Leza* may be at a great distance from people, *Leza* keeps certain things under control. Anything that people are not able to give account of in other ways is certainly the act of God.

*Leza* is also known as *Chivuna* (deliverer). In referring to *Leza* as *Chivuna* the Tonga like other African peoples look upon God as a father of a family and themselves as his children. Though a mother could do the same, she is not accorded the same respect. This characteristic brings about a closer relationship between people and God. *Leza* has therefore the responsibility of protecting and providing for all their needs. When such has not happened the Tonga approached *Leza* through mediums that were either female or male living dead ancestors. The use of female mediums to approach *Leza* and to deliver messages
from Leza to the people, makes the characteristic of Chivuna more appropriate to a female God than a male God.

Other names for Leza are Munamazuba (ancient of days); Namakungwe mutalabala (omniscient - limitless one and Keemba (angry one). None of these characteristics show that God is either a male or a female.

THE PARCITIPATION OF WOMEN IN ANCESTRAL (MIZIMO) WORSHIP

In Tonga religion, it was believed that God was so great and very distant and hence could not be spoken to. Being so far away also made God seem to be un concerned with people's problems. Because of God's being far away, the Tonga could not pray to Leza directly as Leza could only be reached through the Mizimo - ancestral spirits and by making offerings and sacrifices so that God could address their petitions.

The Mizimo are spirits of dead ancestors who were believed to be constantly impinging on the life of the living and so it was important to keep on good terms with them for they possessed considerable power both for good and ill.

There were three important places of ritual for the Tonga religion. These were the homestead, communal and the territorial Malende where women were very active. Within these places, there were special sacred groves or shrines where offerings were given for both personal, family needs and communal needs. Ancestral worship among the Tonga was conducted through the matrilineal clan at the community and federal levels. Only members of the same clan could inherit ritual leadership.

Every homestead had its own home shrine where families used to make offerings to the Mizimo spirits. Here personal and family offerings to the Mizimo spirits were made. It has been shown that this was also the case in Bemba traditional religion. At the homestead,
individuals and families remembered their living dead by pouring out parts of their drinks and leaving bits of food for them from time to time. The living dead did also visit their surviving relatives through dreams or visions or even openly to make their wishes known.\textsuperscript{13}

Both the women and men conducted rituals at the homestead. But it seems later women took over towards the end of the Nineteenth century as evidenced by Machila's work in Chief Hanjalika's area.\textsuperscript{14} Here, beer was first poured into a small clay pot. The Tonga from west of Monze did it at the doorpost while those from the east at the bedpost. Incantations were said by their women or men to the living dead spirits to protect and provide for them in the home. In the Bweengwa area, the ritual was performed at the central pole of the hut. This pole, known as \textit{Musemu} in Tonga signifies the central importance of women's primary role in ancestral worship and power to approach spirits on behalf of their community.\textsuperscript{15}

Another homestead ritual which involved women was the last funeral rite of a deceased member of the family. Women brewed a special kind of beer known as \textit{Kabelelezyi}. Women poured this Kabelelezyi beer on the grave at sunset. It was believed that ancestral spirits became more active as from sunset. This ritual was always performed before the \textit{Mweesho} (last funeral rite) to send away the spirit of the deceased in a high mood. Men only partook in the drinking of the rest of the beer known as \textit{Mantabe}.\textsuperscript{16} (beer that is not fully ready).

The pouring of beer was done almost on a daily basis and could only be done by the mothers of the tribe. Beer brewing had religious significance in the performance of these rituals. The purpose of this ritual apart from remembering the living dead, it was meant to seek for the ancestor’s protection by keeping away evil from them and provision of all their social needs.\textsuperscript{17}
At the community level, rituals were conducted to appease the spirits for the suffering that people were undergoing in their everyday life. Offerings and sacrifices made were communal and were done at special groves to draw the attention of Leza to their needs. The occasions for making these offerings and sacrifices were always punctuated by religious singing accompanied by clapping and dancing. Women led in the singing and dancing calling upon the Basangu spirits to hear their pleas. It was the women who also cleared the site of grass and prepared all the instruments of the ritual. Early in the morning the women took beer to the Malende shrines on the day of the ceremony and took over the proceedings of the day. In this way they were able to participate emotionally and physically in the act of worship.

During this occasion, sacrifices involved the shedding of blood of animals and fowls such as goats, cattle and chickens. Offerings as already noted involved the giving of beer, foodstuffs, hoes or anything acceptable. Ritual leaders usually women, sometimes ate the sacrifices and offerings. These were also at times shared out among those present. As for sacrifices, these were mostly made when lives of many people were in danger as already noted. It was believed that these sacrifices were of help in saving many other people.

Rituals at territorial cults were also done at special groves as well. The Monze cult is an example of the federal cult. The Malende grove at Gonde was usually visited during times of droughts when people prayed for rain. During prayers for rain at the Gonde Malende shrine of Monze, delegates from far away places used to attend prayers for rain when their own shrines failed to bring rain. The same happened during the Lwiindi ceremony in which people celebrated the good harvests of the communities for that season. This gave it a territorial status as people came from as far as the Ila and Sala country of present day Namwala and Mumbwa districts, the people of Mapanza and the We of the valley (valley Tongas).
During the prayers for rain, sacrifices involved beer, animals and fowls. The fowls and animals had to be black symbolising and attracting dark rain clouds. Sacrifices and offerings given during this time were left on the sacrificial spot to be consumed by wild animals or to rot away.

It was again the women who led in the dancing and singing rain songs calling upon the Basangu - to hear their pleas. It was always a possessed woman among two men who led in the ritual. These were the possessors of the spirits of Monze and were tasked to find out what illnesses were likely to come in future.

As the case is at the community rituals, the women here also did the clearing of the site of grass and prepared all the instruments of the ritual. Early in the morning the women took beer to the Gonde Malende shrine on the day of the ceremony and took over the proceedings of the day as well after the male Monze had done his part at the grove.

Smith also attributed worshipping of Mizimo to the Tonga’s strong group feeling based on the family, in the tribe and in other groupings. This therefore applied to those living out of the body-the Mizimo. The Mizimo acted as a link between the living and Leza the Great Spirit that was evoked during great festivals like Lwiindi. Prayers were said and offerings and feasts were made in their honour as appeasement. These Mizimo were believed to be present at these occasions and took part in these feasts (as discussed later in this chapter) and would intercede on their behalf to Leza who would provide their requests.

In times of sickness of any member of the family and during pestilences, consultations were made by a medicine man/woman as to which Mizimo was injured. Upon getting the answers, offerings and prayers were made so that the ill person could be well again and that the pestilence or illness be removed. The importance of Mizimo worship was that it held together the fabric of Tonga society. It gave them direction in their daily activities, which
involved food provision (agriculture and hunting), health and continuous deaths in a family and in the community.

Women played leading roles in rituals to appease Leza through Mizimo worship and in prophecy. Women who were possessed with Basangu (possession spirits) played the roles of intercessors between the people and the spirits and the people.

Towards the last quarter of the nineteenth century, there seems to have emerged a cadre of women Prophets. Society consulted these Prophets on issues of health and fertility of both humans and livestock and intercession, on prophecies of drought and epidemics. They thus spoke under possession of issues that involved the well being of the community. When these died like in the case of Nangoma, regarded as prophet in Nampeyo Chief Chona’s area, they acted as the community’s intercessors with Leza. New women took their places and inherited their names as well.

There is no evidence of the existence of male prophets at the close of the nineteenth century. Machila discusses the role of Nangoma in her area as a prophet. Colson discusses Nangoma in her role as a priest and a spirit at her shrine in Nampeyo, Chief Chona’s area. Nangoma of Chief Chona protected not only people but also cattle against rinderpest in 1893. It is said that only a few cattle of the many she treated died from this epidemic. Nangoma was also involved in every aspect of ritual to be conducted by the people of Chona. When she died, her spirit entered another woman who took over her role. This spirit had invoked the spirit of Nangoma by offering sacrifices at the grove of Nangoma.

Muunzya was another of these important female Prophets. She lived in Mungolo area of Chief Mwanza east of Monze. Her Malende were so effective that she became famous in the neighbouring chieftdoms. Her people heeded her warnings of impending calamities. She gave remedies for avoiding them as well. In all rituals performed at Mungolo village she was the centre of attraction.
By the close of the nineteenth century, foreign invaders had affected the Tonga traditional religion. They had been affected by the wars of the *Ngwaltungwalu* (Ndebele); *situkumba* (the Kololo/Lozi) and the *Basimalungu* ((Portuguese/Chikunda)\(^{20}\). During these wars men were either killed or many captured. This is one of the reasons why women took active part in the traditional religion. Though women were also captured, most women escaped by hiding in caves, mountains and bushes while the wars ensued. It is these women who together with the men who managed to escape that managed to continue the Tonga form of worship until the dawn of colonialism. The arrival of the British colonialists had an effect on the Tonga traditional mode of worship too in that they allowed missionaries from their home country to settle in these new areas. Missionaries introduced a new form of religion they called Christianity. This Christianity was at variance with the Tonga traditional religion and hence missionaries worked hard to replace it with their own Christianity.
14. E. M. Machila ‘A History of Malende Among the Tongas, pp. .25,26,50
15. Bina Himaluba Hamusonde (96 years old) interview Bweengwa 14/10/99; Sarah Lubaba (82 years old) Interview (17/11/99) and Bina Lasamu (80 years old) Interview 27/12/99. All verified this aspect for the Tonga of Bweengwa.
CHAPTER THREE
THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SEVENTH DAY ADVENTIST (SDA)
MISSION 1903-1930

This chapter discusses the situation that existed in Monze at the arrival of the Adventist missionaries. This is of paramount importance as it demonstrates how women lost their focal positions in the Tonga traditional religion. It will also reveal the missionaries' attitude towards women in the Church.

The SDA Church began in the United States of America around 1844. This Church was a Millerite Movement which looked to proclaim the blessed hope of the second coming of Jesus Christ at an unspecified time as the solution to the World's ills. The SDA Church affirmed the Seventh day of the week and the fourth commandment Saturday as the true Sabbath of the Lord.¹

The SDAs first established themselves in Kimberley and Cape Town in South Africa in the early 1890s. By 1894, they were well established and began to expand their work northwards when William Anderson opened Solusi Mission near Bulawayo in Zimbabwe².

The coming of the Adventists to Northern Rhodesia was guided by the 1874 worldwide mission programme of evangelising the international community based on the Adventist faith³. As a result of this programme American male missionaries together with their wives were sent to all parts of the world to spearhead the Gospel. The missionaries' wives were supposed to serve their husbands and to serve the Church in a subordinate form. It is from this background that William Anderson with his entourage of black assistants from Southern Rhodesia arrived in Tongaland in 1903⁴.

Monze was convinced to give the Adventists a large portion of his best land because of the presence of Jacob Detcha who could speak the Tonga Language⁵. Mhoswa (1980)
suggests that he learnt the language from the Tonga migrant workers in Kobulawayo\textsuperscript{6}. The presence of Detcha eased Anderson’s communication with Chief Monze.

Chief Monze gave the Adventists some land twelve km away in Headman Muchelemba’s village. Anderson pegged a 5.436 hectares farm in a land that was suitable for agricultural purposes\textsuperscript{7}. What is of interest is the fact that Anderson pitched his tents three hundred metres from the famous \textit{Tinti Malende} grove. \textit{Tinti} is a natural spring, which is in existence to this day and is the source of water for Rusangu mission. When this author visited \textit{Tinti} in April 2000 he found the cluster of tall fig trees of the \textit{Tinti Malende} still in existence.

It is at this \textit{Tinti} grove that the people of Muchelemba worshipped \textit{Leza}. This \textit{Tinti} grove is where the \textit{Mizimo} spirits dwelt and was highly revered by the local community. Mhoswa indicates that one of the Monze’s special assistants used to go to the cluster of trees at \textit{Tinti} to conduct rituals in request for rain\textsuperscript{8}. Anderson’s settlement near the \textit{Tinti Malende} therefore seems to have had some religious implications in that Anderson desired to preach from the core of the locals’ religious centre and hence the mode of the people’s worship was bound for change. By his personal effort Anderson began to evangelise the surrounding villages and those along the railway line. Men were more easily converted to Christianity than women as Anderson had come with African male assistants who acted as role models for the local African men. Also the teaching of cattle rearing and introduction of ox ploughing attracted more men to the Mission.\textsuperscript{9} We thus see Christianity coming to Rusangu as a male dominated religion as was the case in the other Christian denominations that settled on the Tonga plateau.

Anderson perpetuated this by working through the African secular leadership dominated by men. He did not attempt to spread Christianity from the African women religious leaders point of view as he witnessed it at the \textit{Tinti} grove. He condemned the Tonga
traditional religion as heathen worship which needed to be eradicated. In his new emerging Church, men began doing roles that women were doing in the traditional Tonga religion. Western culture valued men more than women and so the western missionaries found it easier to convert men as African men found it easier on the other hand to accept the cultural and material values of Western Christianity.

The school at Rusangu was used as a means of conversion to the Adventist Church by the early missionaries\textsuperscript{10}. Men and boys became the first pupils at Rusangu. Likewise, they became the first converts to the Church as already mentioned. There is no evidence of early conversion of women to Adventism. The western style of education introduced by the Church aimed at creating an ideal self-made man who was going to be dominant in religious affairs too.

When women joined the school later on in 1907, the interest in them was to serve men as wives and assume roles culturally accepted as those of women. So even in Church the females continued to be subordinated. The Missionaries did not approach the Africans from traditional religious affairs point of view in which women were more active participants than men. By avoiding this approach, they looked at Tonga and indeed African religion as evil\textsuperscript{11}.

In rejecting Tonga religion, Anderson and the other missionaries associated it with spiritualism and heathenism\textsuperscript{12}. Anything that was not brought by missionaries was thus categorised and was unacceptable to them. That is why in the SDA Church to day, “there is no portion of Africanism in it”\textsuperscript{13}. This negative approach denied African women the opportunity to stamp their authority on Christianity in these formative years.

**GIRLS EDUCATION AND CONVERSION TO CHRISTIANITY**

Girls first attended Adventist schools in 1907\textsuperscript{14}. Their acceptance at school was not aimed at provision of equal opportunities for girls and boys, but to train girls to become good wives for the newly converted African men. It was most appropriate for the new convert to
marry ‘enlightened’ girls who would not lead their husbands back to ancestral worship. Anderson hoped that they would fit into the roles of good wives and mothers of the new enlightened generation who would play meaningful roles in bringing fellow Africans to Christianity.

Anderson indicates that by the end of 1905 he had baptised fifteen converts all males. In 1907 he had seven girls at his Rusangu mission. These were daughters of locals who were impressed with Anderson’s use of persuasive methods like the training of their sons to enspan oxen and how to plough. Education for girls at Rusangu closed in 1912 due to a strike.

The 1912 strike at Rusangu was sparked off by Anderson’s refusal to include English in the school curriculum, which had become by then a prestigious subject in the sense that it was a symbol of being educated. Anderson regarded the teaching of English as counter-productive in that it imparted foreign culture to students. When the students presented their petition, Anderson responded by whipping and thrashing them. The students in turn picked up their luggage and went to their villages.

Anderson indicates that after the 1912 strike figures in the out schools began to decline too. This is the reason for his concentration on preaching to villages around the mission farm. As for girls, he indicates that they were intermittently removed from school for marriages. He would then go with his boys to their villages and rescue the girls and bring them back to school. It was easier for Anderson to convert girls once in school than out of school. This is the reason why he followed them up to their homes once they dropped out. Baptism figures for this early part of history under discussion are unavailable.

From the 1920s a new deliberate move to preach to women was employed by the Church. Local Tonga women were encouraged to join the Church together with their families. Anderson believed that in every newly opened area, change came only when girls
and women are lifted from the evils of ancestral worship. People are what they are because of the initial teachings from their mothers. If mothers are enlightened and see the values and virtues of living Godly lives, then they would play a meaningful role in society. He therefore put much emphasis on newly converted Adventist women’s cleanliness in the home with their food, clothing and body.

Meanwhile the issue of girls’ education and their role as wives for the emerging cadre of educated African men was not only an issue for the SDA Church only but for the other Christian denominations as well. It was certain that Africa was never going to be won for Christ until her women were won. Edwin Smith of the Primitive Methodists in Namwala said in 1925:

“Their sorrows, which are many call relief. Their influence as wives and mothers are paramount. A wise strategy would seek to enlist them for the Christian mission. Gain the women and you will gain the men. The reverse is not certain.”

These views were further highlighted at the General Missionary Conference of Northern Rhodesia in 1927 at which the SDA Church was in attendance. After this conference girls education at Rusangu was re-opened in 1927. From then on to the war years, the syllabus prepared girls to perform roles of good mothers and good teachers of hygiene. The teaching of Bible knowledge was emphasized in order to replace the worship of spirits with that of the true God. Subjects such as hygiene, housecrafts, weaving, needlework, and cookery were taught to enable them know how to take care of their families.

The focus of Anderson’s message to the girls and to the women was on forsaking ancestral worship and taking on the faith of Jesus Christ. He taught them that diseases did not come from *Mizimo* or the *Balozi* - witches (as generally believed by African people), but that it came from exposure to the elements or to filth, or from contact with disease.
Anderson urged the Tonga converts to forsake the worship of *Mizimo* and *Basangu* spirits and the use of black magic\textsuperscript{22}.

Even though Anderson employed this double strategy of evangelising women, it was difficult for him to convert many women to Christianity. This was due to the many pressures they faced from their families. This pressure was a result of fear that these Christian girls and women would alienate themselves from the social behaviour and norms of their community\textsuperscript{23}. What the Tonga feared was their loss of traditional values in marriage as ordered by the Tonga society. Marriage and good motherhood was the ultimate for Tonga girls.

This fear arose from the fact that missionaries as already noted forbade the new converts from marrying more than one wife and from having anything to do with *Mizimo* worship and their rituals. They were also forbidden to make consultations with Witch finders and to believe in *Balozzi* (witches) and *Zyeelo* (ghosts). This simply meant that women were to do away with their important roles in traditional Tonga religion and turn to the new Christian religion\textsuperscript{24}.

The Christian missionary expected such conversion of the Tonga men and women, yet they denied the transfer of roles that women had been playing in Tonga religion. Had the missionaries not done this, women might have played more leadership roles in the Church. This missionaries' attitude towards women in the Church is thus an important factor in women's absence from leading roles in the Church today.
ENDNOTES


4. William H. Anderson. *On the Trail of Livingstone*. 1919. For detailed accounts of how the Adventists settled in Tongaland see also:


22. *SDA Encyclopaedia* Vol. 10 p. 1640

23. Job Koko Interview 17/11/99. is one of the remaining early students and early pastors and teachers at Rusangu aged 86 years;
   Elijah Muchindu Interview 20/11/99 (retired teacher) educated at Solusi and Rusangu aged 82 years old).

CHAPTER FOUR

EXPANSION: THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE SDA CHURCH 1930-1980

The SDA Church was entrenched in many parts of the Southern Province by 1930, more so in what was then known as Mazabuka district. This chapter aims to show the many roles that women played as the Church grew in the period 1930-1980. It will highlight how these have changed over the years and how women have reacted to the Church’s policies that tend to prevent their advancement. The chapter will also highlight how women have used the Church over the years to further their interests.

The Adventist missionary policy on Church growth was to regard every school as an evangelistic centre¹. The Church therefore made capital out of the African desire for education by marrying it to conversion. As a result both boys and girls were baptised into the Church.

The SDA Church in Zambia in terms of organisation was in 1920 still at its formative stages. In 1921 Zambezi Union mission was divided into the Southern Rhodesia Mission and the Northern Rhodesia Mission Field including the Nyasaland Mission Field². Northern Rhodesia was therefore administered from the Zambezi Union Mission Headquarters in Bulawayo with a Field office at Rusangu.

The sound central organisation of the Zambezi Union Mission is attributed by the Church to the growth of mission stations in the twenties and thirties in all the three Mission Fields³. Rusangu contributed to the growth by establishing out stations in the Country and the Province as a whole. By 1925 Rusangu mission had seventeen out schools and in the same year the newly formed Department of Native Education⁴ selected Rusangu mission as a teacher-training centre. The Adventists embarked on this programme only in February 1928,
with an initial intake of twelve trainee teachers four of whom were girls⁵. The mission had twelve missionaries together with their wives at Rusangu while the total number of adherents in the country was 2450⁶. Adherents include non-baptized members of the Church.

By 1931 Rusangu mission had twenty one out schools with a total enrolment of 770 pupils⁷. It is not known what the ratio of girls to boys was from this number since only a block figure is given. Figures for the whole country are also not differentiated. Below are enrolment figures and number of SDA Schools in Northern Rhodesia up to 1954:

**Number of SDA schools and Pupils in Northern Rhodesia 1925-1954.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1925</th>
<th>1935</th>
<th>1945</th>
<th>1954</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Schools</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pupils</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>2983</td>
<td>7004</td>
<td>9,874</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Native and African Education Department. Annual Reports 1925-1954.⁸

Research findings show that there were quite a good number of girls attending school in the period after 1927 when girls education resumed at Rusangu. The reason for this development being that the Tonga as cattle keepers kept boys at home to look after cattle and girls had nothing much to do at home if not married.

In 1930 Church membership was not large as there were only 83 baptized members at Rusangu⁹. As for the whole territory of Northern Rhodesia, there were only 500 baptized members and a total membership of 2800 adherents of the SDA Church¹⁰. A sizeable number of the members were females due to the 1920 policy of targeting women in the Church evangelisation work.

Female Church membership was in the process of growing through the Advent Missionaries' persuasion of parents to send their girl children to school from the late 20s to the 1940s. These were to become role models for many African girls. These mission educated girls exhibited Christian behaviour and European manners in dress and cleanliness¹¹.
Girls that went to school in 1927 when Rusangu re-opened to girls were pioneers in women converting to the Adventist faith. The girl students came from the many out-schools that fed Rusangu and were daughters of ordinary Church members and of course some were daughters of teacher-evangelists. These girls introduced new values and standards to those converting to Adventism. They played an indirect influence on women’s dressing and cleanliness in their villages. The Department of Native Education in 1936 appreciated what Rusangu Mission was doing. They indicated that Rusangu Mission had one of the largest girls schools in the territory\textsuperscript{12}.

Some of these girls trained as teacher-evangelists at Rusangu and were deployed to out-schools upon completion of their teacher training. We thus see the growth of the Adventist Christian community mainly coming from schools. The role that female teacher evangelists trained at Rusangu played cannot be over emphasized. They taught and evangelised villages surrounding their out schools to win converts to the Adventist faith\textsuperscript{13}.

The table below shows us the number of females that served as teacher-evangelists in the many Adventist schools in Southern Province from 1930 up to 1956 when they handed over schools to government.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Number of Female Teachers</th>
<th>Highest Academic Qualification</th>
<th>Highest Professional Qualification</th>
<th>Lowest Academic Qualification</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1930-1940</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>Standard V</td>
<td>T.4</td>
<td>STD IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940-1950</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>STD VIII</td>
<td>T.4</td>
<td>STD IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950-1960</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>STD X</td>
<td>T.4</td>
<td>STD IV</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: NAZ SP4/8/7 - Inspection Reports.

The number of female teachers in the first ten years was quite small. Teacher training at Rusangu only began in 1928\textsuperscript{14} as already noted. There was some marked increase in the number of female teachers from 1939-1955. The increase was due to the war in which some
men who would have become teachers were enlisted. It is assumed by the SDA Church that by this time parents had seen the value of sending the girl child to school. Moreover Howell seems to indicate that Church membership was increasing rapidly in favour of females while there was an increased number of males apostatising.15

Dixon-Fyle attributes the increasing number of male apostasy to polygamy and the rise in political consciousness among the Tonga Adventist farmers who were seeing the missionaries as agents of colonialism.16 Dixon-Fyle further indicates that the first political party in Zambia was formed in 1937 at Keemba Hill area west of Monze occupied by retired teachers from Rusangu mission. This distraction pulled men away from the Church and it left a vacuum that led to the increase of women’s activities in the Church. The 1950-1960 figures show an increase in the number of female teacher evangelists, meaning their involvement in evangelism increased. Mrs L. Ndhlovu a teacher at Kaumba school east of Monze notes that at one of her evangelistic meetings in the area in 1950s forty people converted to Christianity and Adventism, the majority of whom were women. The Adventists regard conversion as a highly individual matter based on the personal knowledge and acceptance of Bible and Adventist truth by the convert.17

Jane Miyoba Handia a teacher-evangelist at Hufwa, west of Monze in 1948 revealed that they used to go from village to village preaching the word of God and doing errands of mercy amongst the old and young alike. Their messages were easily accepted because the women preachers were of good standing and they lived what they preached.

Speaking on the practicality of their messages, she recalls an incident that happened at Hufwa in 1948. They were called to a neighbouring village where a headman had collapsed after dancing to Bamooba (evil spirit possession) and was taken for dead. The community members tried all they could to revive the civic leader, but could not bring him back to life. Contact with the ‘Church people’ was made for them to come and pray for the man. On
arrival, they encircled the man and prayed for him for about thirty minutes. Immediately after prayers the man woke up. This amazed the audience such that many repented there and then and joined the Adventist Church. She recalls that fifteen women and about seven men joined the Church. The large number of female converts suggests that messages delivered by fellow women were more attractive than that of men.

Conversion to Adventism at this time heavily weighed on matrilineal lines in that children are more inclined to follow what mothers are doing than fathers. This meant that family members and relatives were persuaded to become Christians just like their mothers. The new Tonga converts regarded the Church gathering as a new type of Mukowa-clan in which allegiance to Jesus Christ was paramount as opposed to the old type of Mukowa which emphasized on blood relationships\textsuperscript{19}.

Among the Adventist Church members, this new Mukowa was most welcoming to females as it offered them new opportunities of learning and leadership and it stressed the equal value of men and women. The new Mukowa functioned as Mrs Handia has shown us in this chapter teaching children how to read and write as well as the community on cleanliness and hygiene. SDA female and male teachers effectively played the role of ‘health assistants’ among the surrounding villages by teaching the villagers how to look after their homes; clean the surroundings; look after children and prepare nutritious food including teaching personal hygiene to avoid communicable diseases. They also further refined the art of courteousness in welcoming visitors and strangers in their homes. As a result of this SDA homes were easily noticed for both modernity and hospitality. This fact was noted by both colonial Education Administrators\textsuperscript{19} and the Mazabuka District Commissioner\textsuperscript{20} in 1937 and 1948 respectively. Colson in 1950 commented in similar fashion. She described adherents of the SDA mission as progressive people who were trying to live like Europeans. In contrast, the Catholic villages were more conservative and still adhered to ancestral worship\textsuperscript{21}. 

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From the above discussion we see that women were effectively playing the role of teacher evangelists in the areas that they were posted to. It is an undeniable fact that they were helping a number of people convert to Adventism. The women’s activism, however, at times met with a number of obstacles which threatened the continued growth of the Church. One such problem involved persecution of girls and women who were trying to make independent decisions by parents and relatives, when such happened girls used the Church to strengthen their choices.

At such times missionaries did, however, defend women’s rights when the question concerned their independent opportunity to become Christians and thereafter follow the Christian way of life. Jane Handia cited an experience that occurred to her friend in Bweengwa in the late 1930s. This girl was given in marriage to an old man as a small girl and went to live with him without knowing that she was given in marriage. When this young girl converted to Adventism, she decided to start school at Bweengwa. The family quickly whisked her away from school and hurriedly organised an initiation ceremony for her and told her the truth that they had married her off to the old man.

The Church met the need of this young girl when she approached the Church for protection after running away from this old man. Pastor Bristow at Rusangu Mission kept the girl. When the old man followed to retrieve his wife at the mission, Pastor Bristow refused to release her as she had made a choice to follow Jesus Christ as her personal saviour and to learn. He reminded the old man that he was already dead and should stop spoiling young children.

Pastor Kooko narrated similar cases at Munenga in Mazabuka area in 1942. In Munenga alone he dissolved twelve such marriages. He believes that this was one way in which the devil was trying to deny women the chance of being saved. The Church kept such girls and paid for their school fees from the sale of produce from the school farms. These are
some of the incidences that show how missionaries and local clergy fought for the abolition of some of the traditional customs that hindered women’s development. They also demonstrate that girls knew that the Church would protect them from unwanted marriages.

THE DORCAS MOTHERS SOCIETY: ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT

The SDA policy document, the Church Manual, provides for the establishment of a women’s organisation in the Church\textsuperscript{35}. These organisations are known differently in the various parts of the world. They are also functioning in different ways. The only similarities are that of bringing people to Christ through the society’s work and providing guidance to women in the Church\textsuperscript{36}. Their establishment also differ from country to country.

In Zambia the forerunner to the Dorcas Society was a women’s housewifery and housecraft club for mission workers’ wives\textsuperscript{37}. Mrs R M. Mote an American Missionary’s wife started it in 1936. The emphasis was on healthful living to avoid communicable diseases. In the 1940s Mrs Mote was replaced by Mrs Fairchild who, together with two African lady teachers at Rusangu, Mrs Muimo and Mrs Kanundwe, tried to spread the club’s tentacles to nearby schools teaching the traditional female activities. It seems this club died a natural death after the white missionaries left as there is nothing heard of it after 1946.

The crisis in the education sector that began in 1953, with the colonial government’s implementation of the Unified Teaching Service (UTS) Regulations Scheme\textsuperscript{38}, was to give birth to the Dorcas Mothers Society in later years. The introduction of the new regulations led to tightened government control of appointments, movement of teachers, discipline and control of the payment of salaries and complaints\textsuperscript{39}. The Church interpreted this as State interference in the running of schools. The State was therefore seen as encroaching on the
principles of separation of Church and State, whereby the Church should have freedom to run its own schools.

The Church saw that its schools' marriage with government was falling apart and in July 1955 it handed over its schools to government and the Local Education Authorities (LEA)\(^3\). The teaching staff in these schools were left in a quandary wondering where to go. Most of the teachers without government recognised teaching qualifications, and some of those with teaching qualification, left, as they did not wish to join government. The Church lost a number of teachers who had served as evangelists in the areas that surrounded their schools. Many female teachers abandoned the Church and concentrated on their government jobs, which were more financially rewarding. Others opted for office work, which was equally well paid\(^11\). This scenario was however not unique to Northern Rhodesia as the same kind of situation prevailed in South Africa where women opted for better paying jobs than that of being Bible Instructors\(^12\). So this led to a shortage of teacher-evangelists and the Dorcas Mothers Society, born out of this crisis, filled the gap.

Mrs Kanundwe, Muimo and Ngwenya organised a new movement they called Dorcas named after Dorcas of the Bible in the book of Acts 9:36-43. This Bible woman was involved in community service of always doing good and helping the poor, apart from making robes and other clothing which she gave out to the poor. With the help of Pastor and Mrs Searle, they organised the society and spread it to nearby Churches and throughout the territory of Northern Rhodesia\(^13\). The Society aimed at transforming the evangelisation methods to make the SDA Church more attractive to the society. The Dorcas Society also aimed at transforming the traditional female roles assigned to them by the Church through the Lay Activities Department\(^14\).

Membership of Dorcas Mothers was, as it is today, made open only to baptized members of the Church in good, regular standing. A membership fee determined by each
individual Church was charged upon joining. Research findings show that both male members of the Church and non-members alike encouraged their women to join the Dorcas Society because of the good values that women gained from it³⁵.

During its formative period, the society began to mobilise women to be actively involved in the work of the SDA Church and the community. They began to conduct Crusades, Efforts (two week evangelistic meetings) and Rallies in what SDAs refer to as unentered areas (areas where the SDA Church does not exist) for long periods ranging from two to four weeks. During the evenings at such meetings the women took turns to teach and preach to congregations that gathered to hear the Word of God. During the day, they divided themselves into various smaller groups, which went out from village to village to teach and perform community work for the aged, sick and disabled. They harvested crops, ground maize meal and collected firewood for them. As a result of these good works, many people converted to Adventism and the Dorcas Mothers Society became well grounded in Monze district. The figures below shows Churches and dates of some of the successful campaigns.

**Crusades/Efforts held for two Churches in Bweengwa Mission District.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place/Church</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>No. Converted</th>
<th>No. of Crusades Held</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nyamba</td>
<td>1960-1970</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1970-1980</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1980-1990</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bweengwa</td>
<td>1960-1970</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1970-1980</td>
<td>339</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1980-1990</td>
<td>525</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above sample of two Churches in Bweengwa Mission District helps to show what picture one can find in Churches where records are well kept. The table shows the names of Churches only instead of places where they conducted crusades due to the fact that these places are just too many to be named individually.
The explanation for the decrease in number on Nyamba Church could be attributed to people migrating to Chief Muchila’s and other areas for better farmland whereas the large increase in Bweengwa in the last decade is attributed to the people’s taking God seriously after most of their herds of cattle died from denkete corridor disease. They no longer had what made them proud and forget God. They felt this was one way God was trying to make them turn back and leave their sinful ways.


Taking the Bweengwa figures as samples, the period is marked by increased freedom for women’s participation in the Church’s affairs. Through the Dorcas Society women began to speak in public in many SDA meetings and gatherings such as Camp meetings, which they never did before then. Camp meetings are one week spiritual gatherings held at special camps away from their Churches for spiritual revival. It is a period in which the seed of leadership training planted in the preceding period blossomed into vibrant plants. Women gained sufficient confidence to take up leadership roles not only in affairs that concerned women’s issues but also in the Church as a whole. For example in the early 1970s, their cry was to have a structure that would allow women to express themselves and to lead in the Church.

This cry was heard by the Church leadership who set up a Dorcas Federation in each Mission District in the mid-1970s. The Field Federation leader was the overall overseer of all Federation leaders in each Mission District. The Federation leadership comprised of women only who looked into issues that concern women only. These leaders were in decision making positions and collectively are influential in changing policies that work against women. For example at Camp meetings the duty of women used to be to just sit, sing and
listen but now they have begun to teach, preach and lead in various sessions of the Camp meetings.

From the 1970s the Dorcas Mothers’ Society began to spread rapidly to become the largest and strongest women’s movement in the SDA worldwide Church. The remarkable rise of the women’s movement in Zambia can partly be explained by the fact that in 1972 the Church in Zambia became independent of administration of the Zambezi Union in Bulawayo, Southern Rhodesia. Because of this, there was a lot of enthusiasm in the indigenous Zambians to excel.

In order to be effective in its community and personal ministry work the Society embarked on a major evangelisation programme to bring more members into the Church and the Society. To do this they needed to be easily noticed and so they introduced the present uniform in about 1974. The uniform is made up of sky blue dresses with white folds on the arms, blue belt and black shoes. The white headscarf was voted for in 1986. These colours are symbolic of service to mankind. Blue signifies love and care – community service; white for purity of heart or light evangelisation; blue belt with overleaf for unity – God’s work needs people who are united and black signifies overcoming forces of darkness by stepping on them and living pure lives in the light of God.

Uniforms are only worn by members of the Society and not by all women members of the Church. They are only worn during special programmes involving Dorcas, funerals of baptized members of the Church and during community service activities. Putting on the Dorcas uniform signifies one’s willingness and readiness to take up the mission of selfless service to human kind.

Every first Sabbath of the month is Dorcas day and on this Saturday they present their programmes the whole day to Church members throughout all Churches in the country. It is these programmes that inspire other women to join the Society.
(Excommunicated) members are not eligible to put on the Dorcas uniform, as they are no longer registered members of the Church.

The Church employed a new expanded female leadership evangelisation programme in the 1970s. According to retired Pastor Joseph Benson Mukakanga, women leaders began to take the Gospel to new areas. He gave an example of Dorcas mothers of Bweengwa Mission District who in 1976 became the second group to Jim Mainza (1914) to spread the Adventist message to the Ila country of Namwala. This was during his tenure as Pastor for the area. Jim Mainza had earlier on established an SDA station at Kantengwa in Chief Mungaila’s area\(^2\). The Bweengwa group of women comprising of Federation leaders Kezia Ngolwe, Naomi Hazemba and Esther Hing’umba among others, in the company of Pastor Mukakanga, ventured further a field into Basanga the heartland of the United Church of Zambia. Basanga is the capital of Chief Musungwa in present day Itezhitezhi district. It is close to the former Primitive Methodists’ Nanzhila mission founded in 1895\(^3\).

A three week Effort was conducted producing forty seven converts, twenty six of who were females. The work was a success and today there is a large SDA presence in the area and those surrounding it. Pastor Mukakaanga regards these mothers as very highly committed and confesses that he had never before worked with such a powerful team of ladies that was always ready to go and serve mankind\(^4\). This was regarded as a very big achievement as Namwala was an unentered area by the SDA Church.

Charles Shingalili, son of Chief Musungwa, in whose area the Crusade was held, described the Bweengwa Dorcas Mothers as God sent. Basanga has not been the same since the blue and white uniformed ladies planted their message in the area. He says these Adventist ladies ‘taught our mothers cleanliness and hard work in order to provide not only enough food for healthful living but Christian standards as well’\(^5\). He too converted to Adventism during the same Effort.
These impressions speak for the many that have encountered the work of the SDA mothers in the District and outside. It was partly due to such work by the Adventist Dorcas Mothers that the Church grew very rapidly. From 1974 to 1983 the SDA Church was the fastest growing Church in Zambia with an annual increase of ten percent (10%)⁴⁶. The table below shows the growth of the SDA Church in Zambia since 1974. These were the only available figures located.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>No of members for Zambia</th>
<th>Membership for SZF</th>
<th>Ratio of women to men</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>23,237</td>
<td>8,501</td>
<td>5:3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>54,00</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>269,647</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8:2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>297,179</td>
<td>45,000</td>
<td>10:2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


NOTE: These are figures of baptised members only and do not include figures of adherents.

The ratios show that there are more women than men in the SDA Church and that they are more active and accommodating to new converts than males. Today, the Dorcas Mothers Society has gone beyond community service and evangelism into issues that deal with the plight of women such as HIV/AIDS and sexual cleansing.

The Society is teaching women against being sexually cleansed as Tonga tradition demands because such traditions can lead to contracting diseases such as AIDS. They also protect fellow Church members by firstly dispelling fears that those who are not cleansed would suffer from a madness disease known as Chibinde. Church members are secondly protected by dressing them in Dorcas uniforms during the funeral period. What is interesting is the fact that when this happens, the traditionalists respect such a stand and do not bring up the issue of sexually cleansing the widow. For such women, even the other forms of
cleansing do not apply. Most respondents implied that non-members of the SDA Church are attracted to the Church because of such strong stands taken by the Dorcas Mothers Society.

In addition to these roles, they deal with the disabled, destitutes and orphans. The society runs an orphanage in Livingstone entirely on their own. As for the destitutes and street kids, they organise days on which they go into the streets and gather them, give them a thorough bath and provide them with better clothing and good food. At one such occasion, one woman confessed that she was actually not a mad person but that it was poverty that had led her to lead such a life of a tramp⁷. She was so impressed with the Dorcas mothers’ love for human kind that she vowed never to return to such a dirty life.

As for caring for the sick, the society has adopted certain wards in hospitals and rural health centres where they clean the wards on a weekly basis. For example Monze township Churches of Tagore, Central and Manungu do this at Monze Hospital while Bweengwa do so at the Bweengwa Rural Health Centre and Keemba at Keemba Rural Health Centre. All the utensils used come from contributions by Church members. So far it has been observed that there is no non-governmental organisation that has identified itself with the noble work these women are performing in the community.
ENDNOTES.


5. NAZ SP 8/14/3. Inspection Reports of April 1931.


8. The period from 1954 – shows large enrolments and yet fewer schools than the period 1945-53 due to the establishment of larger boarding central schools. Many small out schools were abandoned as a result of this new development.

9. ZUM Executive Committee minutes and Session minutes. 1921 - Feb. 1931.


12. NAZ SP 8/14/3 Inspection Reports, 1936.


22. *The Tonga of Monze west in Chief Choongo and Hamusonde’s areas had a system of marrying off young girls to old men who admired them. Half the dowry is paid there and then. The rest is paid when the girl came of age. All this time she was not told of her true situation. In those days people of Bweengwa used to give as much as 30 head*
of cattle and a minimum of 12 head as bride wealth. The author’s paternal grand mother was married in such a way.

37. These sentiments were expressed by a cross section of the Monze District community. They speak highly of the Dorcas Society’s work in the community.
38. R. Simankobela (Pastor). Interview 30/04/00;
39. Hachoote Halwiindi. Interview 7/01/00;
40. Enoch Museenteka. Interview 7/01/00;
41. Mason Chiboola. Interview 8/08/00.
42. SDA Outlook Vol. 3 No. 4. 1976.
45. Agnes Chirwa (ZU. Women Ministry Director) Interview 1/6/00.
46. The Interpretation of the Dorcas Uniform is part of the Dorcas teachings and is known by all members.
50. Charles Shingalili, Interview 08/01/00.
CHAPTER FIVE


In this chapter we attempt to show women in leadership in the hierarchy of the Adventist Church in Zambia from 1905 - 1998. It aims to bring to light what problems hindered women from attaining positions of leadership as well as highlighting the leadership areas in which they have been involved. The chapter will also discuss the attitudes of men and women towards women leaders. This aspect will help us see reasons why, inspite of women being in the majority in all SDA Churches one can go to, they are not in many leadership positions of decision making.

Women in the Adventist Worldwide Church had been playing leadership roles since the Church’s inception in the nineteenth century. In 1905 for example, women held 20 out of 60 Conference treasurer positions. The number of women heading Conference departments was even more remarkable¹. In 1915 approximately two thirds of the Conference educational department leaders and more than 50 of the 60 Sabbath school department leaders were women². Fewer women gained prominence in leadership after the death of Ellen Gould White in 1915³.

Ellen G. White was regarded as a prophet, model and spokesperson for her Adventist women contemporaries. As one of the founder members of the Church, she encouraged and called upon fellow women to stand up and take leadership roles in the Church. She observed that:

“Our sisters have been too willing to excuse themselves from bearing responsibilities which require thought and close application of the mind; yet this is the very discipline they need to perfect Christian experience”⁴.
In Zambia, this was generally true before the 1930s. It is also true that the Church excluded women from leadership other than evangelism. During the formative years of the Church, lack of education further hindered women from being leaders until women teacher evangelists came on the scene in the 1930s. The male oriented Church leadership during the Church’s formative years did not heed Ellen G. White’s call that:

“No man has any more right to take these rights from us than to take life itself. God has given us freedom to think, and it is our privilege and duty always to be a doer of the word, and to follow our impressions of duty. We are only human beings and one human being has no jurisdiction over the conscience of any other human being”.

Had there been women missionaries perhaps the situation would have been different from what it was and is today in Zambia. Though aware of Ellen G. White’s writings, women in the SDA Church in Zambia are only now slowly awakening to her clarion call to take up leadership roles in the Church. She called upon all women who aspired to be leaders in the SDA Church to be women of firm principle and decided character. To day we are slowly beginning to see such women in the Church. A look at the SDA Church’s structure will be of help in discussing this issue.

**STRUCTURE OF THE SDA CHURCH IN ZAMBIA**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GENERAL CONFERENCE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DIVISION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIELD/CONFERENCE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MISSION DISTRICT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOCAL CHURCH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BRANCH</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The highest organ of the Church in Zambia has been the Union since June 1, 1972. Above this organ is the Division and General Conference. The Zambia Union has no powers to implement policy without ratification by the Division and the General Conference. Before then Zambia was part of the Zambezi Union with Headquarters in Bulawayo. It was governed under the Northern Rhodesia Mission Field created in 1921. There has never been any woman leader at this level from 1921 up till 1995 when Priscilla Handia was appointed Union Publishing Director. She was one among 10 men. The male leadership of the time did not see the need to share leadership roles with women because this is how they had been socialised. The other argument used was that leadership positions at that level were a reserve of ordained ministers only.

In 1972 when Zambia became a self-governing union, three Fields were created to ease the administrative structures of the Church. The Union office was moved to its present sight in Lusaka and the former offices at Rusangu in Monze became Field offices. From June 1972 there had been no woman in an administrative position until 31st October 1989 when Priscilla Handia became the Field Publishing Department Director. When she left in 1995, there has been no woman leader on full time Church employment. The one in charge of women's ministry is a full time government employee and only does part time work for the Church. Because of this there is no woman representative at that level of decision making.

The thinking at the time and indeed as of today is that the Church has not as yet seen it fit to employ full-time women in departments that they can serve. As a result of such attitudes, there has been a uniform discrimination against women who could serve Fields and Conferences in Zambia and at Union level.

A majority of women respondents feel that it is appropriate for women to serve in most capacities within the denominational employment structure. But the male dominated
leadership will always pay lip service while protecting their positions by giving excuses of financial constraints as though women get paid more than men.

The chart below gives the leadership levels at Field levels with particular emphasis on the South Zambia Field our main area of study.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zambia</td>
<td>Union</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Zambia</td>
<td>Field</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copperbelt Zambia</td>
<td>Field</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Zambia</td>
<td>Field</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Zambia</td>
<td>Field</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Zambia</td>
<td>Field</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Zambia</td>
<td>Conf</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The four women in full Church employment in the various Fields were in the fields of the treasury as treasurers (3) and Publishing department (1) as director. Of the 8 women only one is employed on a full time basis, as a medical officer at the Adventist Clinic at Zambia Union Headquarters while the other is a lay person on part-time employment. The other six are also lay persons employed by other organisations who only do part-time work with the Church. These have experienced problems in their work. They are firstly not trained in Church work and secondly being part-time volunteer workers, they don't have as much authority with which to perform their duties in the way they would like to. The Copperbelt Field's Kitwe district is one such example where there is a lot of infighting over women in leadership.

All men that have held positions in decision making areas from 1972 have qualifications in either Theology or Business Administration. There is so much emphasis on these two areas such that the Church is badly limping in the fields of Education, Health and
Administration. The Church had not trained its own members and is heavily dependent on government paid and trained personnel. In the Education sector the Church has trained only a handful of men since 1955 when it handed over its schools to government. The current crops of teachers at the Church-run school were trained by and are paid by government. This makes it difficult for the Church to carry out certain important decisions against such teachers without entangling itself with government regulations in favour of such teachers.

Looking at our table again we see that the only woman leader at Field level in the ten year period from 1982 to 1992 was in the Publishing Department. Women from 1972 had dominated this department when Zambia became a Union. Literature Evangelists also known as Colporteurs sell books on commission basis. The aim of this ministry is to sow the first seeds through literature before Pastors and Evangelists come in to preach and reap.

One such successful female Literature Evangelist in Monze District was Priscilla Handia. A holder of a secondary school teacher’s diploma in Home Economics, she resigned her job at Mazabuka Girls Secondary School after working there for twelve years on 31st October 1989 to take up the male dominated literature ministry at the time.

Since taking up this decision, Priscilla Handia has scored firsts (as we already saw) by becoming the first woman in the Adventist Church in Zambia to head the Publishing Department at the Field offices. She is also the first woman in the History of Zambia and the eight Nation Eastern Africa Division to head the Publishing Department at Union level and the Women’s Ministry at Division level.

Most women doing literature ministry are self-employed. Some have resigned their jobs to take up the literature ministry like Mrs Elector Mudenda of Choma who was a banker. In 1999 alone she sold books worth K18,943,240.00. The South Zambia Field at Rusangu has had more than thirty-five Literature Evangelists in the period 1980 - 2000. The table
below shows the total numbers of leaders and Literature Evangelists in Zambia and sales for
the past two years, to just emphasise the point.

**Literature Ministry Statistics for Zambia**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Leaders</th>
<th>Literature Evangelists</th>
<th>Books sold</th>
<th>Baptism</th>
<th>Sales in Kwacha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>19498</td>
<td>2331</td>
<td>531,849,855</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>218</td>
<td>34447</td>
<td>1705</td>
<td>729,365,940</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Apart from the monetary benefits as already mentioned, the literature ministry is a
major avenue for winning people to Adventism as shown by the above figures. Figures are
for those who convert as a result of the convictions they obtain from books.

Even though women have excelled in the ministry, none of the other Fields have
elected any woman to the Publishing Directorship positions nor have they done so for any
other positions. The South Zambia Field has however been a disappointment for after being
so positive with the appointment of Priscilla Handia in the 1980s, they have not repeated this
positive aspect. For the moment in the Adventist Church in Zambia, she has been the first
and only woman who has managed to beat and overcome the male domination of leadership
positions in the Church.

**WOMEN IN LOCAL CHURCH ADMINISTRATION**

Women at local Church level have at least held a number of decision making
positions except that of Church Elder in big organised Churches. The table below shows us
what leadership positions women have played since the Zambia Union Mission was set up in
1972.
Leaders in Five selected Churches in Monze District.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>M</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Church Elders</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deacons</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church Clerk</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sabbath School Superintendents</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health and Temperance</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication Secretaries</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sabbath School Teachers</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baptismal Class Teachers</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>07</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The above statistics shows the general trend of leaders found in the SDA Church since 1972. Certain positions like that of Church Elders and Baptismal class teachers are held by ordained elders. Since women cannot be ordained, they are not eligible for these positions. As for communications secretary, this is a relatively new position, which has been in existence for the past ten years. Women can also hold this position. The fact that there is no woman holding this positions in our statistics is a result of ignorance perhaps in members who nominated candidates for such positions.

Deacons are always elected in equal numbers and serve for one year. Male deacons are ordained while female ones are not. Among their many duties is to cooperate with Pastors and Elders for the smooth functioning of the meetings conducted in the Church and to visit Church members in their homes. The most important of their duties is to assist in the celebration of the ordinances of the Church. Women have never been marginalised in this area since the inception of the Northern Rhodesia Mission Field in 1921 for the Church Manual, the Church’s policy document is very clear about it. Recommendations by the deaconess’s board made to the Church board are usually passed without any problems. Recommendations may include those to do with Church administration and disciplining of Church members. Even though women are subordinated, this is one area in Church administration that empowers women with decision-making roles.
Women at Church level have also achieved leadership roles in Health and Temperance. Evidence from informants show that most of the women elected to these positions have a health training background such as Clinical Officers and Nurses. Health and temperance is the department that promotes healthful living among Church members such as abstinence from harmful foodstuffs, alcohol and tobacco. Nowadays this department also teaches members of the Church dangers of HIV/AIDS.

Most of the informants and Church members alike appreciate that women have taken a leading role in this department, as they know better the issues of healthful living and temperance. It also teaches Church members self-reliance by using their time positively for their own families and communities at large.

The above figures also show us that women have been elected to the position of Church clerk. It is however noted here that some Churches have not and are not electing women to this position because of an understanding that in the absence of a Church Elder, the Church Clerk acts as Elder and thus they wouldn’t want to see a woman being acting Church Elder\textsuperscript{21}. This explanation is just one of the many biases the Church has against women. At Field and Union level, the excuse given is that one has to be a trained theologian to hold this position. This is done while knowing very well that as a Church the policy of training women in the field of theology, though encouraged, has not been successfully fulfilled by the Church.

**CHURCH ELDERSHIP**

Since the Church’s organisation in 1921, there had never been a woman Church Elder until the late 1980s and early 1990s when one or two women were elected to these positions. This is irrespective of the 1975 March meeting of the General Conference, which approved
women’s ordination as deaconesses and elders if the ‘greatest discretion and caution’ was exercised\textsuperscript{22}. This policy was contested at the 1985 General conference session but no nullification was approved\textsuperscript{23}.

The Church in Zambia and indeed in the whole Eastern African Division had hidden this fact from it’s members when in America this had been going on since the policy was passed in 1975. As a result of this lack of information, records show that women have always been sidelined from holding positions, which require the laying of hands. Women cannot therefore even chair the Church’s three important bodies, the Church Board, District Council and the Field Sessions. The heads of these institutions have always been trained Pastors or ordained male elders.

The reasons for this bias are due to the Church’s encouraging male dominance while relegating women to non-decision making positions\textsuperscript{24}. Another reason is culture. Women have been socialised to accept that men are always supposed to lead in higher positions of responsibilities because they are superior to women\textsuperscript{25}. Thus even though women are the main participants in these institutions, they can’t lead because of such hinderances.

Church reports, however, show that between 1988 and 1998 there have been women Church Elders\textsuperscript{26}. Such women are called Church Leaders while literally doing the same type of work\textsuperscript{27}. Women do have the necessary experience and qualifications and can therefore preside at any of the Church meetings such as the Church Business and Field sessions. The question of ordination though bars them from administering Church ordinances like the Lord’s Supper or Holy Communion.

Kakubi Church in Dimbwe Mission District had a woman Church Elder in the early 1980s while Mrs Naminda of Chilumbwe Church in Mbabala Mission District and Mrs Chiboola at Neiko Church in Kabulamwaanda Mission District also served as Elders in the
late 1980s. Others have come from Sinde Church in Livingstone and Namakube Mission Districts.

These women proved very capable. The women leaders at Sinde Church in Livingstone and Ndema in Namakube Mission Districts were leading in tithes and offerings and were challenging the male-led Churches in their respective areas. The reasons for these achievements again point to the commitment and honesty of women in their work. Pastor Bwantu, the President of the South Zambia Field in Monze, sees these as welcome developments and an encouragement to the women folk who would wish to take up the challenge. He also sees this as proof of the fact that females are as capable as any one else of leading the worldwide church.

Though only a small percentage of women respondents had indicated that women should be given the chance to be Church Elders, a majority of them consider it inappropriate for women to serve in leadership positions. These positions include those at Church and Field levels that is within the denominational employment structure.

Women in urban Churches no longer tend to look up to men to do everything for them, neither do they want them to decide and to lead them in areas where they can also do well. One informant said:

"Women are capable of holding leadership roles in the Church because they are committed to God’s work, their Works are well blended with even deeds and are generally United, faithful and honest." 29

Ten percent of the 40 women interviewed feel that the decisions of the Church which bar women from becoming Church Elders should be changed. They feel because of these negative attitudes by men, the women at the moment seem not to be part of the kingdom and are looked down upon as having no qualities of entering heaven.

On the other hand, about ninety percent of the 60 informants feel nothing should be changed in terms of attitudes towards the role of women in the Church because things were
just all right the way they were. They further argued that a woman has always been under the care of man since creation, and that the Bible says a woman’s desires shall be to her husband and the husband shall rule over a woman (Genesis 3:16). As such there is no need for a woman to question what God has instituted.

The Church leadership at Rusangu does acknowledge that women in the district and indeed the whole South Zambia Field are divided on the question of leadership. Many women have opted to follow the traditional conservatism while the enlightened ones are crying to be elders but their cries are not heard. What is true for the South Zambia Field and the whole Adventist Church in Zambia is the fact that the Adventist Church has not yet reached a point where the Church can freely have women Elders. Reasons for the above fact is that seventy five percent of the Church is rural and people are grounded to their culture and socialisation and are highly conservative.

It is unlikely that such a change is forceable in the near future. Pastor Muloongo further argued that even for those in urban areas seventy-five percent of their lives and thinking are guided and determined by their home culture. For such a change to go through in the SDA Church today can only be through God’s ‘providence’.

SABBATH WORSHIP

In the SDA Church forms of Sabbath worship, women play leading roles during Sabbath school time in the mornings and during afternoon programmes. Women have taken up leading positions and actively take part in the teaching of Sabbath school classes. The Sabbath school department gives a lot of freedom for women to expose their potential. Here women lead as superintendents and Sabbath school class teachers. There is even a Sabbath school council in which women have always been active participants. This trend has been so since 1921 except that from 1985 this prominence has been more pronounced.
From 1921 to about the time women began to raise issues that affected them in the Church in the 1980s, women were not allowed to preach, offer prayers or stand at the pulpit in Church as this was/is regarded as a Holy place\textsuperscript{31}. This is today being questioned by women and in some SDA Churches women now on rare occasions do preach at the pulpit on the Sabbath. Forty percent of the 40 female respondents argued that the Church’s regard of the pulpit as Holy does not hold water. Their arguments are based on two facts. The first one being that when dedication of a Church is done, it is for the whole building and not the pulpit only. Secondly, they see this hindrance as being unreasonable as it is they who sweep and clean the whole Church including the pulpit itself. They wonder whether when they perform this function of sweeping and cleaning the pulpit is not also Holy\textsuperscript{32}.

The President of the Zambia Union of Seventh Day Adventists, Pastor Hachalinga, explains that resistance to women standing at the pulpit was and continues to be a question more of tradition than of Church policy. The Church leadership at both the Field and Union argue that Church policy does not forbid women to preach at the pulpit. Because of such resistance, discussions were held in November 1998 that Churches be encouraged to use women at the pulpit\textsuperscript{33}. The Church was reminded that the Holiness of the pulpit was just a matter of the many unwritten Church regulations, which need not be adhered to. Pastor Hachalinga further pointed out that the Church has a big task before it to convince the traditionally conservative-minded Church members to use women at the pulpit.

Some Churches have already used women’s services at the pulpit and he gave an example of Mrs Agnes B. Chirwa, the Union Women’s Ministry Director, who has preached in a number of Churches in Zambia on the Sabbath. Those that are not doing so in Monze argue that forbidding women from using the pulpit is Biblical. In the Israelite’s form of worship during the exodus, the Holy place in the tabernacle or Sanctuary was a place where
only the priest performed his functions. No women were allowed to go anywhere near the Holy place.

Women have as from 1985 started leading in the song service during Sabbath worship. They are also now able to make announcements in the Church. However though they aren’t allowed to preside over the Lord’s Supper, (because of not being ordained) they have always done the arrangements for the communion service. They prepare the bread and wine, provide clean linen and set the Communion table.

ATTITUDES OF MEN AND WOMEN TOWARDS WOMEN LEADERS

When the SDA Church was formally organised in Northern Rhodesia in 1921, the teachings of the time excluded women from positions of leadership. In the 1930s and 1940s when indigenous Pastors were trained male dominance in the Church was in place in both form and practice. The missionaries that came from America and Europe were all male and they trained males and used them in all forms of worship. With this kind of socialisation, women were rather pushed into less central activities. This, they did without using the Church Manual which does not discriminate against women on this aspect. Ever since then men have dominated in Church leadership.

Men in the Church have thus used this unwritten ‘Church policy’ to continue subordinating women. During Church elections, Churches with no female elders never even brought up the subject for discussion at their nominating committees for doing so was a taboo. Most of the Churches today are still not comfortable discussing issues of women’s leadership in the Church. Eugene Durand gives three reasons for this attitude that are true of the International Church. The first being that the Pastors are personally not comfortable with
the idea; the second is that some Church members are “too conservative”, and thirdly that there is no need for a female to serve as elder because there are sufficient males available.

There are leaders and scholars in the International Church who hold conservative ideas about women’s participation in the leadership roles of the Church. Samuel Bacchiocchi is one such scholar. He believes that most Adventists are “Biblical Feminists” or reaffirmists, who reaffirm the “teachings of the Bible regarding a divinely established functional hierarchy in the home and in the Church”36. Raymond C. Holmes is another. He too believes that the SDA Church is still basically conservative at the grassroots level today. Women’s exclusion from offices of leadership has nothing to do with culture or time-bound conventions but are theological and timeless37. This kind of thinking is true of many of the Church members in Monze district.

What is meant is that the Bible has enumerated functions that can be done by females and those that can be performed by the males. They are timeless in that though the Bible is an old book, what it said at the time it was written still stands today irrespective of the new developments in Gender relations. Advocates of this Biblical argument refer to the writings of the Apostle Paul on Women in the Church. They also argued that Paul clearly explains why women should not be appointed as elders or Pastors in his first letter to Timothy. Paul says women are not to “teach”, speak or to have authority over man38, as leaders of congregations.
ENDNOTES

2. Kitt Watts. ‘Moving away from the Table’. p.11.
11. Michael Kabalo. Interview 16/11/99; Passmore Hachinga (Zambia Union President) Interview 01/06/00
12. Pastor Kapungwe. Interview 25/03/00 Itimp, Kitwe.
A. Bbwantu Interview. 17/11/99;
31. Church policy does not prohibit women from standing at the pulpit or preaching from it. There is no where such a rule is written down in the Church Manual. The pulpit is a raised platform in the front part of the Church where men preach from.
33. Passmore Hachalinga. Interview 1/06/00.
34. Exodus 39 and 40. The Holy place became sacred because of God’s presence there usually through a cloud. Only the priest could minister in the Holy place.
CHAPTER SIX

WOMEN IN MINISTRY

The question of women's ordination and women preaching in Church raises a lot of questions among many Churches. This is an issue that can threaten to divide the SDA Church if not handled carefully. This chapter aims at giving a background to policy on women's ordination and preaching in the worldwide SDA Church. It will further discuss how this issue has been treated in Zambia today and will show the reaction of the Church towards increased demands by women in the SDA Church to play more positive roles.

We saw in chapter four how women took their places as Pastors, evangelists and Church administrators in the early Church in America. In Zambia only the role of evangelists was well taken by women from the 1930s. Women in the SDA Church in America were first licensed as ministers in 1878. Sixty-three women were licensed as ministers between 1878 and 1975. Most were licensed in the USA but some were licensed as ministers in Finland, New Zealand, China and South Africa. Twenty-eight of these women were granted these licenses in the 31 years period between 1884 and 1915.

There was however a dramatic decline in women's involvement in Ministry and Licensing after the death of Ellen G. White in 1915. However the 100-year policy of granting women ministerial licences continued until 1975 when the March spring meeting ended it. This meeting instead approved women's ordination as deacons and elders. Licensing is authority conferred upon certain men and women to represent and speak for the Church as ministers and gospel workers. This authority is represented by the granting of credentials, which are written commissions, properly dated and signed by the officers of the
Union. By the time this practice ended in 1975 there was no Zambian woman who was licensed. This also goes for the whole Eastern Africa Division except for missionary's wives.

Ordination of women in the International Church was made possible by the 1881 General Conference Session, which considered ordaining women. Ordination is a credential given to a minister through laying of hands to perform ordinances of the Church like baptism, marriage, Holy Communion and ordaining others. The government of the country of abode gazettes an ordained minister. Ordaining one to ministry does not require a theological training. In the 1881 meeting, it was resolved that women could be ordained after examining their suitability. Once they met these qualifications "with perfect propriety, they were to be set apart by ordination to the work of the Christian ministry". Many women were ordained to the ministry as elders and deacons but not as Ministers or Pastors. In the years that followed the issue was buried until the 1985 G.C. Session when it was revisited but could not resolve on women's ordination as pastors. It instead passed "affirmative action" of placing qualified women in leadership positions that do not require ordination. No criteria for qualification were given however.

The 1990 G.C. Session in Indianapolis revisited the issue, and a decision was made not to allow the ordination of women as Pastors in the worldwide Church. It was argued that such a decision of ordaining women would not meet with approval in most of the world Church because the provisions of the Church Manual and the GC working policies would not allow it. These policy documents provide only for male ordination.

The issue of ordination of women to the Gospel ministry seemed to have been settled by the 1995, 56th Session of the General Conference held at Utrecht Holland, which voted 1, 481 to 673 in a vote denying the North American Division permission to ordain women Pastors. The reasons for this action were that firstly, there was no Biblical basis for it as the
Bible does not allow a woman to be ordained. Secondly they did not want to allow one division to break ranks with the rest of the World Field\(^\text{10}\).

It however seems that the General Conference did not speak against ordaining women as observed from the 1985 and 1990 Sessions, but only on whether one division should start ordaining women before all World divisions were ready to follow suit. Once the General Conference spoke then it is seen in some quarters as being an 'act of rebellion' for one Union to proceed on their own. What is expected now is that once one conference 'breaks ranks' others will follow suit and it will follow as natural progression on around the World as various cultures are ready for it.

The women's organisations in Africa have never pushed their own Unions neither have they done so to the General Conference to pass legislation allowing the ordination of women like their counterparts in North America and Europe are currently doing. The Church in Zambia is quiet about it except for 'small voices' in individual Churches. This lack of aggressive activities is perhaps as a result of lack of information on GC resolutions by the Church at the grassroots level. Those who attend GC meetings keep information to themselves, probably for fear that women may take over all leadership roles in the Church.

In Churches where this issue of ordination is raised, the male leaders always talk of lack of guidance on this issue from the Spirit of Prophecy. Ellen White regarded as Prophet in the Church, did not address herself on this issue. She only vaguely touched on it when discussing the issue of rights without being categorical on the issue of ordination.

This lack of clarity gave the male missionary a leeway to socialise the Church in the belief that men were more important than women in Church affairs. As a result most Church members in the South Zambia Field and indeed in the Zambian Church have always been opposed to the idea of female ordination.

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Research evidence shows that most SDAs in Monze including some Pastors support the GC in not doing something that, while not prohibited, was neither commanded nor practised in the Bible, nor advocated by the Spirit of Prophecy. The feeling before 1995 was that to take such a giant step would need a direct command from God. To ordain women as ministers would mean yielding to modern social pressures, rather than to new light from the Bible. The practice of ordaining women as Pastors and Church Elders is viewed by a large majority as out of harmony with the roles God assigned to men and women.

Another argument put forward is the fact that those that are officially appointed by the Church through the laying of hands are to serve as representatives of the spiritual father and shepherds of the congregations. If a woman were ordained, it would be like assigning them the role of fatherhood in the family. This, they argue, is not found in the New Testament, which perceives ordination as a function of spiritual fathers and not spiritual mothers.

About 85% of the women interviewed in Monze district indicated that if the Church offered to ordain them as elders and Pastors, they would refuse to take up the challenge. As already stated, they base their arguments on that restriction about women preaching in Church without taking into consideration the cultural context Paul faced as he said these words.

However, a new breed of women in Monze District is ready to take up the challenge of ordination if the Church was to give it to them. This group comprise about fifteen per cent of the SDA women in the district. These are the well-educated women of the Church. They at the same time believe that even if men have refused to ordain them, they are not worried because the ordination done by God is more important than the laying of hands by men. They refer to Jeremiah 1:4-5 which says God ordained and sanctified them as prophets before they came forth out of the wombs of their mothers.
In these women, we see a new breed of women who believe that ordination of women will strengthen the Church’s mission of soul winning as women would be empowered without looking towards an ordained Pastor or elder.

A mixture of old generation and new Pastors and laymen who are strong believers in the top-bottom approach of the Church’s structures regarded these arguments as dangerous to the unity of the Church. However, those that have had the opportunity of studying in North America and Solusi University in Zimbabwe have liberal views. They feel women Pastors can complement their efforts more especially on issues that pertain to women’s intimate issues.

WOMEN IN MINISTERIAL TRAINING

The Adventist Church Manual and working policy do not forbid women from training as ministers even though they cannot be ordained. The Church in Zambia seems not to see the need to train women as ministers, because of the conservative idea that this is an area where men only should train. Apart from that, it is there within the women that fellow women cannot deliver the message hence they shouldn’t train.

Pastor Hachalinga, the President of Zambia Union, agrees that the Church in Zambia is on the conservative side. He looks at this attitude as a problem of lack of exposure. Church members are preserving Church tradition the way the expatriate missionaries socialised them. He believes that this attitude is in any case changing in the Division and other places. The Zambia Union has not issued a statement to compel Churches to allow women to go for theological training because the Church needs to assess where it has come from and where it is going. The Church has to be cautious of the decisions it makes in order
to avoid divisions. The Church in Zambia however needs to take a leaf from the Botswana and Zimbabwean Church where women work as Pastors though not ordained. In Botswana, a woman is one of the high-ranking officers in the Church.

The same could have been the case for Zambia had the initiative taken in the early 1980s succeeded. From 1983 to 1985, three women trained at the Rusangu Ministerial Training School. These were Lenny Simbweeda, Jolly Simpande and Liseli Mbangweta.

Upon graduation in 1985, they were deployed to various Mission Districts as District Pastors (Leaders) but were rejected by communities as they did not want to be served by women. Faced with this predicament, the Church failed to find workable solutions to make them acceptable to the Church.

Jolly Simpande was deployed to the Voice of Prophecy (a Bible correspondence School for the Church) for two years. Not being able to achieve what she set out to do, Jolly quit her job and went into a polygamous marriage in frustration. That too, unfortunately did not work out either. After reorganising her life she went for teacher training and is now a single teacher in one of the schools in Chibombo district. She however rejoined the Church.

The other two ladies were left to fend for themselves without any support from the Church. They hence joined the literature ministry and served as Literature Evangelists for a number of years. Lenny Simbweeda is said to have apostatised though she later rejoined the Church and has continued as a Literature Evangelist some where in Choma. Liseli Mbangweta married a fellow Literature Evangelist who eventually was promoted to pastorship. She continued her work as a Literature Evangelist.

The Church failed to take care of these ladies after training them for the ministry. They abandoned them at a time they needed all the encouragement from the Church. In disappointment and great frustration they found themselves in situations they could have avoided. The three women are a good example of the failed policies of the Church in
accommodating women who wish to serve their lord as Pastors. If women in the developed World and indeed our neighbouring Zimbabwe and Botswana are doing well as ministers, our Church leadership in Zambia ought to have learnt something from them.

According to the Church leadership at Rusangu there has been no other woman sent for theological training since then though the leadership claims to have no problems in having women ministers as colleagues, they have not taken any affirmative action to make this a reality. Pastor Bbwantu, the President of the South Zambia Field, indicated that this was quite a controversial issue not only in the SZF but also in the Zambian Church as whole. He believes there is need to resocialise the Church in order for it to accept women ministers. One wonders when this reorientation is to take place. It is time, as the women of Monze put it, to move forward and give the women the pulpit to do the work which men are failing to do.

Pardon Mwansa the new President of the eight nations strong Eastern Africa Division (EAD) is of the view that “women are as free to share the Gospel from the pulpit as are their male counterparts”. As President of EAD he has a great task ahead of him to give this freedom to carry out these important tasks in the Church.

**CREATION OF WOMEN’S MINISTRY**

Though women in the Adventist Church in Monze District are divided on the issue of ordination, they are united in rejecting the General Conference imposed Women’s Ministry. The Women’s Ministry department was born out of the 1995 GC Session. The department is an attempt by the Church to meet the needs of women. Its birth was aimed at setting up a homogeneous women’s organisation in all divisions of the World Church. In this way the Church felt that they would adequately tackle all issues that concern women in ministry from
a central point as they minister. All women’s organisations found in the various Unions and Divisions would be under the umbrella of the Adventist women’s ministry.

In introducing this department in Zambia, the Church leadership at National and Field levels grossly mishandled the whole affair. The Pastors were not brave enough to fully explain the function of the ministry amid fears among women that the Church was imposing this ministry on them so as to render the powerful Dorcas Mothers Society powerless in its functions.

The Church leadership visited all Churches and asked Churches to choose what appealed to them between Women’s Ministry and the Dorcas Society. Not knowing what this ministry was all about, all Churches rejected it and opted to remain with the Dorcas Society organisation\textsuperscript{16}. Both male and female Church members united in rejecting Women’s Ministry. The issue raised so much emotion in both female and male Church members that the Church leadership at the South Zambia Field and indeed the Zambia Union found it appropriate to drop the debate\textsuperscript{17}. But instead of letting things remain so, they imposed the Ministry on the Zambian Church. Because of this, there are now a lot of frictions, which have divided some congregations\textsuperscript{18}.

This author experienced bitter and angry reactions from both women and men in Monze District while collecting data. They accused this author of trying to revive an issue that had raised bitter debates and exchanges with the Church leadership in 1996.

The negative reaction of the Church on this issue is understandable in that they feel frustrated with the Church’s tendency to at times impose issues and not listen to the Church’s grassroots. Apart from this they fear that women’s ministry will diminish the work and authority of the popular and powerful Dorcas Mothers Society. They argued that if the Church leadership is so keen about imposing women’s ministry, they should set up new women’s organisations to rival the Dorcas Mother’s Society instead of working to destroy it.
In reaction to these fears the Church leadership have defended themselves by pointing out that the ministry aims at nurturing women spiritually, addressing their unique needs and guiding them toward wider Christian service. They further point out that “the office will also focus on dialogue which brings women’s perspectives to leadership, thereby bringing greater balance to decision making”\textsuperscript{19}. They further explain that there is no ulterior motive behind the imposition and women should just support the Ministry.

Whatever the case, chances of a split in the Church over this issue are evident, as there is a lot of uneasiness in the Church. The Church would do well to listen to what women want. What makes it more interesting is the fact that men have united with women on this issue rather than on ordination. This alliance could be based on the fact that the Dorcas Mothers Society does not threaten any position held by men. Another reason could be that the men would want to use women to tell the Church leadership that they are fed up with the Church’s imposition of issues on the Church at the grassroots without giving them a chance to also formulate policy which the Church leadership at the top can accept.

In explaining the advantages of having the Women’s Ministry, the Union leadership is saying the Dorcas Society in Zambia will remain a society and operate the way it has always been operating in doing community service and evangelism. Other groups of women who may see a need to form another specialised Ministry which the Dorcas society may not be meeting, can form and also work side by side with the Dorcas society under the Adventist women ministry department\textsuperscript{20}.

Opposition also emanated from the fact that the Dorcas leader at Church level was to serve as Women’s Ministry department co-ordinator instead of choosing an independent person. Such is opposed as it is seen as one way of pulling down the work of the Dorcas Society. Perhaps the main fear is that having a Women’s Ministry would bring the
organisation in line with other Women’s organisations in other Churches like the Catholic Church\textsuperscript{31}.

Agnes Chirwa, the Zambia Union Women Ministry’s Director dismisses the above allegations as false. She meanwhile was accused of receiving a Mercedes Benz from the Vatican, which she used to persuade women in the Adventist Church to join the Women’s Ministry\textsuperscript{22}. Mrs Chirwa points out that her duty is to make the women understand that Women’s Ministry is a department of the Church and has not come to destroy the Dorcas Society but to enlarge it and empower it more. She further points out that:

\begin{quote}
“We have so many women in the Church whose spiritual talents are not identified and we want to bring these to the fore so that they can also work for the lord using their Talents”\textsuperscript{23}.
\end{quote}

The above is the sort of explanations the Church should have used to put across the idea of setting up this organisation if it was to be accepted by the Church in Zambia. As it is now, the ministry is doomed to failure if nothing is done to correct the situation.
ENDNOTES

16. Interview. Passmore Hachalinga. 01/06/00 and Albert Bbwantu, 17/11/99.
17. Adventist Dorcas Mothers Societies in Malawi and Zimbabwe did as well reject the introduction of Women’s Ministry basically for the same reasons. The Dorcas Society is much stronger in these three countries than any other in the Division.
22. Agness B. Chirwa. Interview 1/6/00.
23. Agnes B. Chirwa. Interview 1/6/00.
CONCLUSION

From the material presented in this study, we see the roles that women have played in both Tonga and Christian religions in Monze District.

Women played leading roles in Tonga religion. We see them playing the roles of prophets at a time of no evidence of male prophets. Their prophecies were accepted by the people as they became realities. Women also played leading roles in the rites and rituals of the people. These included times for petitioning in line with their connection to God and nature. These festivals and rituals were a unifying force that strengthened their social ties and were held from time to time according to need. In these festivals and rituals women played the roles of priests.

During the first two decades of missionary settlement in Monze District, Western Education and the Christian religion was man oriented. Western Education and Christianity marginalised women firstly from being members of the Church and later from being active participants up to about 1930. This change of role was a result of the missionaries’ realisation of the potentialities of women in the evangelisation process. Thereafter trends began to change as those women exposed to education began to be assertive in Church and this led to the birth of female teacher evangelists in the late 1930s. During the early decades of the Church’s formation in Northern Rhodesia (1920-1940), the Church’s growth largely depended on these male and female teacher evangelists. These apart from their daily routine duties of teaching evangelised the areas surrounding their stations. It is these that formally organised the Church in these areas.

The handover of mission schools to government in 1955 by the SDA Church, created a crisis for Adventist female and male teacher evangelists who found themselves out of employment as most did not wish to work for government. The women reacted by forming
the now powerful Dorcas Mothers Society towards the end of 1955. This organ became the
mouthpiece for women in the SDA Church.

Through this society, women are provided with a scope for developing their leadership talents as they work side by side with men in furthering the Global Mission of the SDA Church. These are committed women Christians who want to identify their gifts and use them to the full as they work with other women to the glory of God. We thus see women in spite of the discriminatory unwritten man made policies affecting them, quickly adopting avenues that would provide them with leadership roles in the various departments of the Church.

It is observed that in all the Church’s decision-making structures women have been subordinated from the Church’s inception. It is further observed that the women in the SDA Church in Zambia have as from 1985 started to question their subordination and under utilisation in leadership roles of the Church which are not based on the Church Manual, the official policy document of the Church. This is in the area of preaching, praying and making announcements at the pulpit during the Sabbath service. This discrimination is a result of people’s socialisation and not a result of Church policy.

This research has also revealed that the Church has failed to send women for theological training and where it did so, it failed to retain these in its ranks.

The SDA Church in Zambia has also not made any moves towards ordaining women to the ministry inspite of the 1975 General Conference resolutions that women could be ordained as elders and deacons. The Church has instead quickly implemented the 1995 General Conference resolutions for the creation of the Women’s Ministry in all Unions of the World Church.

This implementation has been grossly mishandled by the Church leadership and now threatens to divide the Church. If properly handled, this is an avenue that can be fully utilised
by the Church to persuade those conservative minded Pastors, male and female members of
the Church to accept women’s ordination to leadership positions in the Church.

The introduction of women’s ministry has also showed positive reactions from both
females and males in rejecting the Church’s imposition of decisions without carrying out
properly defined consultations with the Church at the Grassroots. This unity of purpose if
properly nurtured would in the long run help the Church leadership see the need to have
Churches at the grassroots formulate policies that they easily understand and appreciate for
the Church to grow.
1. **UNPUBLISHED PRIMARY SOURCES.**

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Munsaka, J.D. (Pastor); Namwala: 10/02/00.
Munyati, Bina Lasamu (82 years old); Lubaba village 17/11/99.
Munyumbwe, E.S.; Rusangu Mission, 15/11/99.
Mwenteke, Enock. Bweengwa, 7/07/00.
Mweeka, Habbenga (over 100 years old); Chisesei, 17/11/99.
Shingalili, Charles, Namwala. 08/01/00
Stalubala, Mrs; Rusangu Mission 14/11/99.
Simankobela R.; (Pastor) Bweengwa, 30/04/00.

2. UNPUBLISHED SECONDARY SOURCES

2.1 Manuscripts and Project Papers

Coyne, J. 1970; ‘History of Jesuits in Zambia’ (Typescript).
2.2 Unpublished Dissertations and Theses


3. PUBLISHED PRIMARY SOURCES:

3.1 Magazines

Adventist Review and Sabbath Herald. December 12, 1878.
Adventist Outlook XXIX. April 1931. Supplement.
SAD Outlook. LIX, February 15. 1956.

4 PUBLISHED SECONDARY SOURCES

4.1 Articles and Papers.


4.2 Books


General Missionary Conference of Northern Rhodesia. 1927. Lovedale Institute Press.


APPENDIX ONE

BRIEF BIOGRAPHIES OF SELECTED KEY INFORMANTS

1. Bwantu Albert (Pastor). Aged 45. Did his Theological Training at Solusi University in Zimbabwe. Pastor Bwantu is the President of the South Zambia Field Headquartered at Rusangu Mission. He has been a Pastor for the past 18 years and is an advocate of Women Leaders in the Church.

2. Chunca Nellie. Aged 47. A Leader of the Dorcas Mothers Society in Monze. She is one of the few women that advocate for the ordination of Women. She is employed as a school teacher.

3. Hachalinga Passmore (Pastor). Aged 38. Educated at Rusangu Mission and Solusi University in Zimbabwe. He serves as the Zambia Union Mission President making him one of the youngest Presidents in the world wide Church. Passmore is one of the liberal young Pastors who advocates for increased Women Leaders in the Church.

4. Hamusonde, Bina Himaluba. Probably aged a 100 years old or more. She remembers that she was born a few years after the Last Ndebele raid on the Tonga. She is sister to late Chief Hamusonde who died in 1999 aged 119 years. A sharp and alert old lady who had a lot of knowledge on Tonga traditional religion.


7. Kooko, Job, M. (retired Educationist/Pastor) Aged 83. The first Zambian Adventist to obtain a degree in Theology at Solusi in early 1960s. He began school at Rusangu in the late 1920s. He went to Bethel College in South Africa and Solusi Mission in the 1940s and 1950s. He trained as a teacher and Pastor. He has worked in Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and various parts of Zambia in Mission work. Pastor Kooko has seen the Church to what it is today.

8. Kooko, Elina Mweemba. Aged 79 (died April 2000). Daughter of teacher-Evangelist Samuel Mweemba who was one of the first converts of ‘Haminya’ Anderson in 1905. She started school at Rusangu Mission in 1927 when Rusangu reopened to girls. She briefly worked as a teacher-evangelist before getting married to Job Kooko.

9. Muchindu Edith H. Aged 35. An active member of the Dorcas Mothers Society. Mrs Muchindu serves as a Treasurer and Sabbath School Superintend at her Church. Mrs Munchindu is employed as a school teacher in Monze. She is an upcoming leader in the SDA Church who favours women assuming leadership positions of decision making.

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10. Muchindu Elijah H. Aged 76. Started School at Rusangu in 1938 and proceeded to Solusi Mission from 1944-1947 where he did his higher Secondary and Teacher Training Education. He joined government in 1956 after the hand over of Mission Schools to Government. He retired as education officer in Monze.

11. Mukakanga, Joseph Benson. Aged 70 years. Educated at Bweengwa and Rusangu Mission in the 1940s. He did his higher education and teacher training at Bethel and Solusi Missions in South Africa and Zimbabwe respectively. He served the Church as a teacher and Pastor in several parts of the country. He retired as Pastor after he lost use of one of his eyes in a serious road accident.

12. Munyati, Bina Lasamu. Aged 82 years. One of the early girls to attend school at Rusangu in 1927 at the encouragement of her friends. She vividly remembers those early days at Rusangu Mission.

13. Muloongo, Fred (Pastor). Aged 42 was educated at Rusangu Mission and Solusi University in Zimbabwe. He is currently the Ministerial Secretary (Pastor of Pastors) and personal Ministry and Sabbath School Director of the South Zambia Field. He is an advocate of Women Leaders in the Church.
### APPENDIX TWO

#### SELECTED LIST OF WOMEN TEACHER

**EVANGELIST 19 37 - 1955**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
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