

THE ROLE OF AFRICANS IN THE ESTABLISHMENT
AND GROWTH OF THE SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST CHURCH
IN ZAMBIA'S LUAPULA PROVINCE FROM 1921 TO 2021

By

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A Dissertation Submitted to the University of Zambia in Partial Fulfilment of the
Requirements for the award of the Degree of *Doctor of Philosophy in Religious Studies*

The University of Zambia
Lusaka

2025

Declaration

I, Mwansa Chama George, do hereby declare that this study is my own work and it has not been submitted to the University of Zambia before or, indeed, any other institution for similar purposes.

Signature

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Certificate of Approval

This dissertation of Mwansa Chama George has been approved as partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Religious Studies by the University of Zambia.

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Dedication

I dedicate this work to my Saviour and Lord Jesus Christ whose strength, grace, motivation, protection and guidance I relied on for the pursuit of this dream. To Him be honour, glory and majesty.

Acknowledgements

I wish to convey my gratitude to the following individuals for their significant contributions to my pursuit and final completion of this PhD dissertation:

- my Principal Supervisor, Dr. Melvin Simuchimba and Co-Supervisor, Dr. Farrelli. Hambulo for their excellent academic guidance and direction,
- the various authors whose works I have quoted in this study; their insights have greatly enriched this research,
- my wife Helgar for the steadfast support and encouragement she gave me throughout this project,
- the various participants in the one-to-one interviews and focus group discussions,
- Ms. Judy Mwinga for assisting me navigate through archival materials at the Southern Zambia Union Conference,
- staff at the National Archives of Zambia (NAC), the University of Zambia's serials section, and Faith and Encounter Zambia (FENZA) for their invaluable assistance throughout my study,
- Mr. Morgan Kasanga of Mansa and Mr. Harrison Muyeba of the USA for their invaluable assistance in collecting crucial data that would have been inaccessible without their contributions as key informants.
- my employers, Woodlands Conference of the Seventh-day Adventist Church for the financial support they rendered during my period of study.

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List of Abbreviations

SDA	:	Seventh-day Adventist
NZF	:	North Zambia Field
NAC	:	National Archives of Zambia
FGD	:	Focus Group Discussion
L C	:	Luapula Conference

Abstract

This qualitative study examined the contribution of Africans to the growth and development of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Luapula Province, Zambia, over the period 1921-2021. The study documented the church's history, explored the role of local Adventists, identified challenges faced, and extracted valuable lessons for future church growth. The study targeted Adventist Church leaders and members in Luapula Province's districts. It used purposive and snowball sampling to select 57 participants. Data collection methods included interviews, focus group discussions, document analysis, and field observation.

The study revealed that the SDA Church first established its presence in Luapula in September 1921 at Chimpempe near Kawambwa. In 1926, the Chimpempe mission station became the headquarters for the North-Eastern Rhodesia Mission Field, overseeing SDA churches in present day Luapula, Northern, Muchinga, and parts of Eastern Province (Mwami Mission and Chipata). This arrangement went on until 1943 when the Mission Field was absorbed into the Northern Rhodesia Field. In 1964, when Zambia gained independence, the Northern Rhodesia Field was renamed the Zambia Field. In July 1972, the Zambia Field was upgraded to a Union Mission, and divided into three mission fields: South, North, and West Zambia. The North Zambia Field, headquartered in Mansa, covered three provinces: Northern, Luapula, and Copperbelt. In 1988, the territory was reorganized, with Copperbelt Province being removed, leaving the North Zambia Field to cover only Northern and Luapula provinces. In 2006, the North Zambia Field was divided, with Luapula and Northern provinces becoming separate entities. Luapula was then renamed the Luapula Field. In 2016, the Luapula Field was upgraded to a Conference status, and became the Luapula Conference. Since 1972, the Conference has been managed by local Zambians except for a period (1972-1983) when White missionaries held the executive-secretary-treasurer position. The study found that local converts played a crucial role in establishing and growing the SDA Church in five key areas (Chienge, Luapula Valley, Mansa, Loshi and Chifunabuli). They contributed as lay evangelists, pastors, teacher-evangelists, and literature evangelists, driving the church's growth through various soul-winning activities. The study also found that local converts faced numerous challenges as they shared their faith in their communities. These challenges included administrative issues such as disputes over office locations, inadequate financial and personnel resources, and the emergence of splinter movements. The study highlighted a number of key positive lessons from the SDA Church's history in Luapula: Local business leaders played a crucial role in establishing and growing the church. Emphasizing Adventism as God's true movement was essential. Strict adherence to Christian standards was vital for the church's growth and development.

The study recommends that the SDA Church in Luapula finds a permanent solution to its long-standing issue of self-sustainability, a challenge it has faced since its establishment in 1921. The SDA Church's three key pillars (self-governance, self-support, and self-propagation) are unstable, with self-support being the weakest link. While churches have been growing numerically, the number of pastors to nurture and shepherd the growing numbers, one hundred years later, remains very small.

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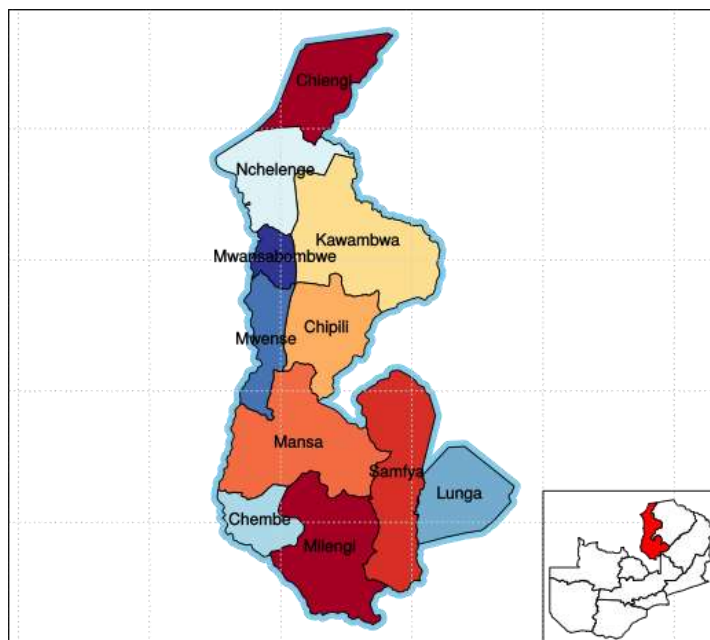
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.0 Overview

This chapter introduces and describes the study topic. It explains and sketches the background to the study. The chapter also elucidates the purpose of the study, research objectives, research questions, significance of the study and delimitation of the study. The chapter further explains the theoretical framework to be used for the study and ends with definitions of church terms and key terms associated with the study.

1.1 Study Area: Geography and Demographics

Luapula Province is one of the ten divisions that make up the nation of Zambia. According to the Government of the Republic of Zambia 2022 Census of Population, Luapula Province has 1, 514, 011 people spread across 12 administrative districts namely Chiengi, Chifunabuli, Chipili, Kawambwa, Lunga, Mansa (provincial headquarters), Milenge, Mwansabombwe, Mwense, Nchelenge and Samfya. The province, which shares borders with the Democratic Republic of Congo and the Copperbelt Province on the West, and Northern Province to the North, covers a land mass of 50, 567 square kilometres. The main ethnic groupings in the province include the Ushi (Mansa, Chipili, Chembe), N'gumbo (Samfya, Lunga and Chifunabuli), Lunda (Mwense, Mwansabombwe), Chishinga (Kawambwa), Bwile and Tabwa (Chiengi). The province's population density stands at 29.94/km while the annual growth rate is at 3.6%.



https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Districts_of_Luapula_Province_Zambia.svg

1.2 Background

Most studies on the establishment, development and expansion of Christianity in Africa are lopsided in that they focus more on the evangelistic efforts of European missionaries at the expense of those indigenous evangelists and helpers who were especially instrumental in spreading Christianity in Africa. Ogbu Kalu (2007) challenges this narrative by highlighting the crucial role of African converts and indigenous evangelists in the growth of Christianity on the continent of Africa. This perspective emphasizes the need to re-examine the history of Christianity in Africa and give due recognition to the contribution of African Christians. This is especially true in Zambia where the role that Africans played in the spread of Christianity has either been downplayed or, in some instances, even completely ignored. A good case in point is that of the Lubwa Mission which was founded by David Julizya Kaunda under the auspices of the Free Church of Scotland. A book published in 1934, titled *A History of the Livingstonia Mission* attributes the founding of Lubwa Mission to Robert MacMinn, a Church of Scotland missionary, who was sent to Lubwa nine years after Kaunda, the father of Zambia's founding president, Dr. Kenneth Kaunda, had established the mission station there (Verstraelen-Gilhuis, 1982). Mwanakatwe (1994) clarifies that, contrary to the limited information in pioneer missionaries' diaries, David Kaunda was indeed the first Church of Scotland gospel worker to initiate missionary work in Chief Nkula's area in modern Zambia's Chinsali district. The mission historian Lamin Sanneh has also observed that the

contributions of the indigenous people of Africa to Christianization of their own continent has been relocated to the periphery of mission history.

There is evidence that apart from David Kaunda, other Africans were instrumental in the spread and development of Christianity in colonial Zambia and beyond. Francois Coillard, who was the first missionary to evangelize in the Lozi kingdom toward the end of the 19th Century and beginning of the 20th Century, acknowledged the crucial role indigenous Africans played in spreading Christianity among the Lozis. According to Coillard, both Lewanika, the Lozi king and two African helpers enabled him to plant the faith among the Lozi people. The two helpers identified by Coillard were Sotho Christians who had accompanied him to the Buluzi plain toward the end of the 19th century (Weller & Linden, 1984). Given that the Sotho evangelists spoke a language understood by the Lozi, it can be argued that the Lozi encounter with Christianity was largely shaped by the two African Christians. Yet, as Weller and Linden rightly observe, the important role the two African evangelists played has not been fully acknowledged as Coillard himself and later historians accorded them a 'subordinate status' (1984: 30).

Recent studies are beginning to highlight more and more the crucial role of local people in the development of Christianity in Africa. This is because, as Chidester & Tobler (1997: 2) argue, "the story of Christianity in Africa is an African story." Verstraelen-Gilhus (1982) agrees with them, explaining that Africans reacted and responded to the Christian message and took a personal responsibility toward sharing it within the African web in order to allow it to survive. According to Gray (1990: 80): "The whole thrust to recent research has exposed the extent to which the growth, expansion, and development of Christianity south of the Sahara has depended on, and has been distinctively moulded by African initiatives." Frederick Quinn (2002: 4) adds:

Conventional wisdom tied the spread of Christianity in Africa to Western missionary-driven initiatives. But church growth was always the result of African Christians converting other Africans, and the exponential spread of the church in Africa came in the post-independence era, when a generation of [Western] missionaries either died out or went home.

The significance of indigenous Africans to the establishment, and growth of Christianity can therefore not be overemphasized. In this context, the development and growth of Christianity in general cannot be fully comprehended without understanding the role that Africans played in the establishment and growth of Christianity.

Among the churches through which Africans spread the gospel in colonial Zambia was the SDA Church. The coming of Adventism into Zambia is traced back to the establishment of a mission post at Rusangu, Monze, by the American missionary W. H. Anderson in 1905. Anderson had been a principal at Solusi Mission near Bulawayo in Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) before moving to Rusangu. The idea to venture north of the Zambezi to establish a mission was to a large degree attributed to Lewanika who, as king of the Lozi, urged Adventist missionaries to move “into his territory, [so] that his subjects might have the blessing of the gospel, which had meant so much to the white man” (Anderson, 1919: 168).

According to Matandiko (2001), the Adventist Church’s official footstep in Luapula for purposes of establishing a mission station happened in September of 1919, when two White missionaries named W. E. Straw and F. R. Stokiel arrived in Chief Sompindi Kabanda’s area in the Kawambwa District and asked for permission to open a mission station close to the Chimpempe Waterfalls. Chief Kabanda who longed to have a school in his area was more than happy and willing to donate one thousand acres of land that the missionaries had asked for. Although the site was identified earlier, missionary work began in earnest in September 1921, when H. J. Hurlow and two African assistants, Lawson Endaenda and Isaac Gawele from Nyasaland (now Malawi), arrived at Chimpempe (Kaoma, 2009).

After the establishment of a mission station at Chimpempe, missionary work expanded to many areas within Luapula and parts of Northern province. In the Lake Mwelu area, Mukonkoto, Kaseke, and Ponde were among the earliest recipients of the Adventist message. In Chief Kabanda’s area itself, Adventist missionaries sent local Christians to spread the gospel at Chiwele, Lobola, Kabanda, Kabonde, and Muyabi. In the Luapula Valley, African Adventists were instrumental in penetrating Lukwesa, Lifuka, and Chishinshi. Similarly,

they spread the gospel in Munkanta's chiefdom of the Kawambwa District, where their work expanded to Chisale, Chisheta, Mutepa and Munkanta (Kaoma, 2009).

Foremost among the earliest Africans to have received the gospel and converted to and spread Adventism in the Luapula Province was James Kaluba Muyeba. Muyeba, whose father was reportedly a witch doctor in Chief Sompindi Kabanda's area, was educated at Chimpempe Mission School and Solusi Mission in Bulawayo in colonial Zimbabwe. Kaoma (2009) notes that Muyeba, the first indigenous Adventist evangelist in Luapula, was ordained in 1942. He played a leading role in the spreading of the Adventist faith in Zambia and later became the first indigenous leader of the Adventist Church in the country in 1972. Others who played pioneering roles in the spreading of Adventism in Luapula were Alwart Muyeba (brother to James Muyeba), Laban Rain Ndaiseka, Jonathan Damson Mwesa, Abner Curp Mpamba, Samuel Mulombe and Titus Kiana. (telephone interview with Lydia Cheembo on 13th May, 2020).

The Seventh-day Adventist Church has a presence in all the districts of the Luapula Province of Zambia. This presence has largely been through the efforts of the local SDA pastors and lay people. However, notwithstanding the role the local African converts have played in the establishment and growth of the Church, there has been no major academic study undertaken to highlight the role and the challenges they faced in the pursuit of their evangelistic thrusts. This present study was an attempt to fill this academic gap.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

The role of Africans or local people in the establishment and growth of the SDA Church in the Luapula Province has received very little academic attention compared to that accorded to Western missionaries who came to Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) in the early 1900s. The effect of this omission is that the role played by local people in the spread of the Church in the country has not been fully understood. This study therefore sought to fill this knowledge gap by investigating and documenting the role African Christians played in the planting and development of the Adventist Church in Luapula Province from 1921 to 2021. If this study is

not carried out, the role played by Africans or local people in the establishment and expansion of the Adventist Church in Zambia, particularly in Luapula Province will remain unknown and the history of the Adventist Church in the country will be incomplete. This situation may further lead to failure by the current local leaders to take initiatives that would lead to further development of the Adventist Church in Zambia.

1.4 Purpose of Study

The purpose of the study was to investigate, document and explain the role indigenous African people played in the establishment and growth of the Adventist Church in Luapula Province.

1.5 Research Objectives

The study had four specific research objectives:

1. To document the establishment and growth of the SDA Church in Zambia's Luapula Province from 1921 to 2021,
2. To investigate the role of indigenous Adventists in the establishment, and growth of the SDA Church in Luapula Province,
3. To describe the challenges related to the establishment and growth of the SDA Church in Zambia's Luapula Province from 1921 to 2021, and
4. To identify lessons from the last one hundred years of the SDA Church's existence in Luapula Province which may be used by current and future leaders to enhance the development of the Church in the province and beyond.

1.6 Research Questions

The study was guided by the following main research questions:

1. How was the SDA Church established in the Luapula Province of Zambia?
2. What role did the local people play in the establishment and growth, of the Adventist Church in Zambia's Luapula Province from 1921 to 2021?
3. What challenges did the indigenous Adventists face in the spread of the Adventist message in Zambia's Luapula Province from 1921 to 2021?
4. How can the experiences and lessons of the SDA Church in the last one hundred years of existence in Zambia's Luapula Province be used to enhance further development of the church in the province and beyond?

1.7 Significance of the Study

The significance of the study was that it sought to highlight the role played by indigenous Africans in the establishment and growth of the Adventist Church in Luapula Province thereby rectifying the omission in existing literature of the important contribution made by the local people. The findings of the study will contribute to the body of knowledge and literature on contemporary African Christianity in general and the Adventist Church in Zambia in particular. Further, it is hoped that this study will be a catalyst to spur scholarly interest among students of religion on the role played by indigenous Africans in other Christian denominations. This study is also of great value to the Adventist Church's leadership as it provides insights on roles the early pioneers in Luapula Province employed not only to spread the gospel of Christ but to tackle the challenges they faced. It is hoped that these lessons may help in policy formulation that could enhance the Church's evangelistic thrusts which in turn could lead to more gains in membership.

1.8 Delimitations of the Study

In September, 1921, the Adventist Church set its footprint in Luapula province when three of its missionaries—H. J. Hurlow, Lawson Endaenda and Isaac Gawele established a mission station at Chimpempe near Kawambwa. The study was, therefore, restricted to the period from 1921 to 2021 which is one hundred years. The justification for this time frame was to avail the researcher ample opportunity to see the growth of work in that set frame of time. Moreover, this period, given the resources available to the researcher, was manageable.

1.9 Limitations

Creswell (2014) defines limitations as potential weaknesses or constraints in a study that may impact the results or generalizability of the findings. One of the limitations the researcher encountered was the dearth of the earliest African converts who pioneered Adventism in Luapula, as many of them have since passed away. Another related challenge was that the surviving informants were not able to remember some information useful to this study probably due to old age. Indeed, as McDowell (2002: 62) has pointed out, “recollections are always partial because only a selection of events will ever be recalled.”

As I embarked on my research, I encountered significant gaps in the historical records, particularly between 1921 and 1972. This scarcity of information hindered my ability to construct a comprehensive narrative. To fill these gaps, I had to rely heavily on oral interviews and secondary documentary sources, which although valuable, had limitations, particularly compared to primary sources, which offer more direct and reliable evidence. Oral interviews and secondary sources provided useful insights but they were not as robust as original primary materials. This study aimed to investigate the pivotal role African converts played in the establishment and growth of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Zambia’s Luapula Province from 1921 to 2021. One key objective was to document the church’s history in Luapula Province, necessitating a journey back to the church’s inception in 1921. During its formative years, the church adopted various governance structures. Notably, Luapula did not exist as a separate province until Zambia gained independence in 1964.

Initially it was part of the broader northern region. Interestingly, the SDA Church's territorial divisions did not align with the government's territorial patterns until 2007. To provide a comprehensive account, this study considered the evolving configurations and alignments, weaving them into a historical narrative that showcases the church's development in Luapula Province.

Other limitations were those posed in the archives at the North Zambia Field where some relevant documents had been destroyed on account of the fact that there was no space to keep some of the earliest records. These factors obviously affected the quality of the data that were collected. However, attempts were made to overcome these challenges by interviewing a broad spectrum of Adventists, including descendants of people who pioneered the Adventist faith in the province. Furthermore, to ensure accuracy and gather more detailed insights, all focus group discussions (FGDs) were repeated at two separate intervals, allowing for fact-checking and further clarification on key aspects of the discussions. Oral testimonies were cross-verified with other available evidence to ensure the accuracy and reliability of the findings.

1.10 Theoretical Framework

Miles and Huberman (1994: 18) define a theoretical framework as “a systematic and coherent set of ideas that explains a particular phenomenon.” Strauss and Corbin (1998: 24) add that a theoretical framework is a necessary element in research because it “provides a systematic and logical approach to understanding and analysing data.”

This study was inspired partly by the scholarship that espouses the three-self principles propagated by Henry Venn (1797-1873) and Rufus Anderson (1796-1880). Venn, an Anglican missionary theorist and Anderson, an American minister who worked for many years organizing overseas missions sought to explain and clarify the main aim of mission and the best way to achieve it (Shenk, 1981). They came to the conclusion that the concept of the indigenous church was the central construct of mission theory. Chief among their concerns was the problem that plagued mission-funded churches which depended entirely on

missionaries for their operations. They argued that in order for the church to be termed indigenous, it had to be self-propagating, self-supporting, and self-governing (Shenk, 1981). Venn and Anderson taught that for missionaries to establish enduring congregations there was a need to desist from carrying all the evangelistic workloads on their shoulders. Accordingly, the principal duties of missionaries would consist in teaching the word of God, converting souls to Christ and preparing the local people to take over the work in all of its aspects as they, themselves, looked forward to moving to other unentered territories.

Self-propagating as espoused by Venn and Anderson meant that the indigenous churches would be responsible for evangelizing their communities with little or no dependency on foreign missionaries. The evangelistic thrusts of the churches would be the sole responsibility of the local believers, not missionaries. Thus, an indigenous church is one that is self-extending.

Self-governing was understood to mean that the indigenous church was one that had developed sufficient trained manpower to run its own ministries and programmes. Those leading the church had to be drawn from the pool of local membership. As long as congregants looked to outsiders for the furnishing of leadership, they would neither feel entirely responsible nor have a sense of ownership of the work (Shenk, 1981).

Self-Supporting as taught by Venn and Anderson, meant that the members of the indigenous church were responsible for financing the programmes of the church. The mission historian David Bosch (1991), has added self-theologizing as a fourth “self.” While Bosch’s addition is valid, this study did not extend his argument to the Adventist Church in Luapula as the church there has not reached the level of self-theologizing.

The theoretical framework of this study is, therefore, informed by the three-self principles of self-propagating, self-governing, and self-supporting. This “three-self” approach is appropriate for this study because as Stephen Neill (1986: 385) rightly points out, “A church cannot become genuinely independent unless it has local leaders capable of replacing the missionary on every level of thought and activity.” This means that the indigenous church must cut off the umbilical cord of missionary support in some measure and cease to rest its arms on the shoulders of the missionaries in so far as self-governance, financial support of its operations and propagation of its evangelistic work is concerned. As Soltau (1994: 20) also

rightly observes, the indigenous church cannot be “truly indigenous until it becomes native to the country and grows there naturally as part and parcel of the people among whom it has been planted.” Soutau’s view stimulates thinking about how Africans in Luapula and beyond have indigenized Adventism to make the faith their own.

The topic: “The Establishment, and Growth, of the Adventist Church in Zambia’s Luapula Province From 1921 to 2021,” reveals a thread of movement from a starting point (1921) to an end point (2021). This thread has shown how the Adventist Church started, and grew into an organization that can now be said to be in the mature stage of living out the fundamental tenets of an indigenous church, namely self-supporting, self-propagating, and self-governing. The way the three “self” principles operate can be likened to the growth that takes place in a human body. The growth of a human body is a three-stage process made up of the infancy, youth, and adult stages. At the point of birth, the human being, in their infancy stage, is totally dependent upon the parent for everything. Similarly, at the point that the missionary enters a territory to spread the word of God among none believers, the infant church depends on the foreign “mother” church for much of her operations. However, as time goes on, weaning slowly takes place as the converts begin to take on some roles in the youth stage of the indigenous church’s existence. As growth continues, the converts assume most responsibilities in the adult stage until finally the days of the missionary come to an end. The national church that has been carried on the shoulders of the missionaries gradually matures to become self-supporting, self-propagating and self-governing.

The study, operated on the theoretical framework of the indigenous church construct (self-supporting, self-propagating, and self-governing) to show how the Adventist Church in Luapula Province has grown. These three-self principles became the barometer or lens through which the establishment, and growth, of the Adventist Church was viewed and explained.

1.11 Definition of Church Terms

In this section, Important church terms in this study are defined to ensure clarity and consistency of usage. The terms are as follows:

General Conference: This, being the highest organisational office in the Seventh-day Adventist Church, is the coordinating body of all SDA Church work. Below it are thirteen administrative offices around the world known as Divisions. Apart from its global oversight operations, it also supports a number of educational, medical, and media institutions and humanitarian agencies. Its offices are located in Silver Spring, Maryland USA.

Division: A part of the General Conference as an organizational entity but covering a regional or geographical section of the world. For example, Zambia and Zimbabwe belong to the Southern Africa-Indian Ocean Division.

Union Conference: A smaller entity of the Division territory (usually a country, although in some instances several such entities may be found in the country. For example, Zambia has two union conferences: Northern and Southern Zambia Union conferences) comprising a number of fields or conferences.

Mission/Field/Conference: An entity consisting of a number of local churches in a defined territory within a Union.

Church: A group of baptized believers united by a common faith which meets regularly in a designated place for fellowship and worship and are formally organised by a conference or field. The number of congregants must be twenty-five or more.

Company: A group of believers organised for fellowship and worship, but too small in number (less than twenty-five) to be a church.

1.12 Operational Definition of Key Terms

As well known, every research study has terms that need to be operationally defined in order to focus properly on what the study is all about. Accordingly, the following key terms derived from the topic of study are defined as follows:

Role: The relevant dictionary meaning of this term refers to position or purpose that someone or something has in a situation, organization, society, or relationship; thus it refers to duty or specific functions or part played by someone. Accordingly, in this study the term will be taken to apply to specific functions the indigenous converts may have played in relation to the growth of the SDA Church in Luapula province.

Africans: According to the Oxford English Dictionary (1989) the word ‘African’ describes someone who is native to or resides in Africa. In this study this word refers to indigenous or local people who upon conversion became (national) church workers and lay leaders and (who) therefore played a part in the birth, transmission and growth of the SDA Church in Luapula Province.

Establishment: ordinarily, ‘Establishment’ means setting up, starting or opening something. In this study the word is taken or understood to mean the beginning of Adventism in an area where previously the faith did not exist or if there were a few members formal organization had not taken place.

Growth: The Oxford English Dictionary (1989) defines growth as the process of increasing in number. In this study growth is used with reference to both statistical (increasing in number of adherents to the faith) and institutional growth.

1.13 Summary

The chapter began by establishing the contextual background to the study by highlighting the following: origins of the SDA Church in Luapula, the statement of the problem, purpose of study, research objectives and research questions. The chapter further laid out the significance of the study, delimitation and limitation of study, theoretical framework, definition of church terms and lastly spells out its operational definition of key terms.

CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.0 Overview

Creswell (2012) defines literature review as a written summary that describes the past and current state of information on a topic that is being researched. In reviewing literature, the researcher gains an understanding of research designs others have used in studying a similar topic (Johnson & Christensen, 2012).

In line with the foregoing, this chapter reviews the literature that had some bearing on the role played by Africans in the establishment and growth of Christianity in Africa and Zambia and the obstacles missionaries and converts encountered in its spread. The review is done under the following six headings: ‘Studies on the Beginnings of Christianity to Africa,’ ‘Studies on the Beginnings of the SDA Church and its Spread to Africa,’ ‘Studies on the Role of Africans in the Spread of Christianity in Africa,’ ‘Studies Highlighting Obstacles Faced in Spreading Christianity in Africa,’ ‘Studies on the Role of Traditional Rulers in the Establishment and Development of Christianity in Africa,’ and ‘Studies on the Role of Africans in the Transmission of Christianity in Zambia.’

2.1 Studies on the Beginnings of Christianity to Africa

As perhaps well known, Christianity, the world’s largest religion (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2021) was founded by Jesus Christ, a first century religious teacher and leader who was born in Bethlehem, Judea, a colony of the ancient Roman Empire during the reign of Caesar Augustus (Luke 2:1 NKJV). This was “sometime between the years we now call 8 and 4 B.C. and He was crucified probably in A.D. 29 or 30 in the reign of Tiberius” (Brinton et al., 1984: 96). While the story of Jesus is absent from the historical records of his time (Brinton et al., 1984), yet, even the gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, the Acts of the Apostles and Paul’s letters to the Corinthian Church which tell his story narrate it long after his death.

The introduction of Christianity to the African continent has a rich and complex history. Initially, Christianity took root in North Africa, specifically in Alexandria, Egypt during the apostolic era (Hastings, 1994; Mugambi, 1998). From this northern foothold, Christianity gradually spread westward to West Africa and eastward to Ethiopia (Sanneh, 1983), where it became the official religion in the 4th century AD under King Ezana's rule (Hastings, 1994). However, the Islamic invasion of North Africa in the 7th century significantly hindered Christian expansion (Mugambi, 1998).

In the regions south of the Sahara, including much of the continent's interior, indigenous African religions predominated until the 19th century. This period saw a surge in Christian missionary activities and European colonisation, which profoundly impacted the religious landscape (Mugambi, 1998).

In his essay *Towards an African Church: A Critical Assessment of Alternative Forms and Structures*, Waruta (1998) submits four major types of churches that emerged out of the Christian evangelisation of Africa namely: dominant, popular, distinctive, and indigenous types.

Dominant types are churches with strong ties with their 'mother' churches like Catholics, Anglicans and Lutherans. "They are characterized by centralism, formalism and a commitment to influence civil order claiming a mandate as the 'conscience' of the general society to be involved in the secular affairs of the state" (Waruta, 1998: 34).

Popular types are churches which cut their ties from or changed certain ways of doing things in the dominant churches in which they were originally a part but continue holding to orthodox doctrines of historical Christianity. "They are characterized by incredible enthusiasm and a very strong sense of mission. They tend to reject the formalism and centralization of the dominant type and encourage more spontaneous and participatory forms of worship" (Waruta, 1998: 35). Pentecostal churches represent this category.

Distinctive type churches are usually small in numbers but quite successful in their outreach endeavours employing witnessing methods unique to them. Examples of such churches include Salvation Army and Seventh-day Adventists. “These churches tend to have their own distinctive traditions such as special uniforms for the Salvation Army, worship on Saturday for Seventh-day Adventists...” (Waruta,1998: 36). The distinctive type churches’ appeal is mainly based on their distinctive characteristics and consistency, but they also tend to have impressive social, medical, and educational programmes (Waruta,1998).

Indigenous types, also known as independent churches, broke away from the historical churches that birthed them or in some cases from earlier indigenous ones. These churches took issue with the domineering and paternalistic spirit exhibited by the missionaries and their lack of respect for African culture and decided to break away. They are “characterized by their creative blending of African beliefs and cultural norms with Christian teachings” (Waruta,1998: 37). They emphasize on dreams, healing, prophecy and communication among the community of faith. “The majority of these churches still remain small and relatively obscure and their importance lies in their collective rather than individual impact on African Christianity” (Waruta, 1998: 37). Waruta’s categorization of churches in Africa provides a useful framework for understanding the diverse ways in which Christianity has taken root on the continent. This study, however, specifically explored the pivotal role of African agents in the establishment and expansion of the SDA Church in Luapula.

Turner (1967) conducted a seminal study on the evolution of African Christianity, shedding light on its development within the complex contexts of colonialism and the rise of Independent African Churches (AIC). His research on the Church of the Lord (Aladura) demonstrates how AICs emerged as a response to colonialism and the rigid demands of European missionaries, who imposed Western values and practices on African Christians. Harold Turner’s ground breaking research on African Independent Churches offers profound insights into the intricate dynamics of Christian movements in Africa. By emphasizing the significance of local context, cultural subtleties, and African agency, Turner’s work illuminates the ways in which these factors shape and influence Christian expression across the continent. Building on Turner’s work, this study examined the history of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Zambia’s Luapula Province, focusing on its cultural and social

adaptations, the role of African agency and leadership, and the challenges and opportunities that have influenced its establishment and development.

2.2 Studies on the Beginnings of the SDA Church and its Spread to Africa,

The beginnings of the SDA Church can be traced to the Millerite Movement which brought the religious landscape of the United States of America under its grip during the period of the Second Great Awakening in the 1830s and 1840s (Schwarz, 1979). Miller and those associated with him such as Dr. Josiah Litch, Charles Fitch and Joshua V. Himes had come to believe that “Christ’s second advent was imminent; that it would be a literal, visible event, and would precede His millennial reign” (Schwarz, 1979: 42).

To reach as many people as possible with their message, Miller and his associates preached not only in churches but used such fora as tent meetings, advent conferences, camp meetings, and publications. Their effort created a huge religious stir and interest in the nation and “broke down sectarian barriers and drew Methodists, Baptists, Congregationalists and others together in bonds of Christian fellowship” (Schwarz, 1979: 40). Miller, and his associates predicted that the second advent of Christ would take place on October 22, 1844. Unfortunately, Christ never came on that date! The Millerite Movement never recovered from that disappointment even though most of its leading men believed that despite the great disappointment, “their reckoning of the prophetic dates was correct. They had only misunderstood what was to take place on October 22, 1844” (Schwarz, 1979: 54).

Seventh-day Adventism grew out of the ashes of the Great Disappointment of 1844. It began as one of the splinter groups trying to understand what happened on October 22, 1844 and was referred to in advent circles as the “Sabbath and Shut-Door brethren” (Schwarz, 1979: 58). Schwarz further (1979: 58) observes that this group mainly composed of lay people, “gradually through prayer, extensive Bible study and what they saw as divine encouragement worked out a series of doctrines that explained their disappointment in 1844 and eventually became the largest of all the advent bodies.” In 1863, the body was formally organized.

Notable among its early pioneers were Frederick Wheeler, Hiram Edson, Joseph Bates, J. N. Andrews, James and Ellen G. White.

The Church embarked on a global outreach programme targeting Europe, Australia and Africa. According to the *SDA Encyclopedia*, (1976) as early as 1878 there were Adventists in South Africa. In Malawi Adventist missionaries entered in 1893 while in Ghana and Zimbabwe Adventist missionaries established their presence in 1894.

Emerging from its modest roots in the United States in the mid-19th century, the Seventh-day Adventist Church has grown significantly, with the following summary of statistics, as reported by the Seventh-day Adventist Office of Archives, Statistics, and Research as at 31st December, 2021 and shown in Table A below:

Churches and Companies	95, 297 churches and 72, 975 companies worldwide
Membership	21, 912, 161, with 1, 069, 234 new members joining in 2021
Growth Rate	0.87% in 2021, slightly higher than the 0.78% growth rate in 2020
Employees	20, 924 ordained ministers and a total of 322, 120 active employees , including full-time, part time and casual workers.
Education	9, 419 schools worldwide, including 118 tertiary institutions, 2, 640 secondary schools, and 6, 623 primary schools with a total enrolment of 2, 023, 844 students
Healthcare	229 hospitals and sanitariums, 129 nursing homes and retirement centres, and 1, 475 clinics and dispensaries, with over 1 million inpatient visits and 21 million outpatient visits annually.
Publishing and Media	57 publishing houses and branches, 22, 258 literature evangelists, and 18 media centres, broadcasting in 313 languages

Table A: Global SDA Church Statistics adapted from the Office of Archives, Statistics, and Research, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 2022.

Table A: Global SDA Church Statistics adapted from the Office of Archives, Statistics, and Research, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 2022.

The above mentioned literature is of great import to the present study because it provides a background overview of the beginnings of the SDA Church from a global perspective. However, the current study sought to address the beginnings of the SDA Church and the role that African converts played in its spread in the Luapula Province of Zambia.

2.3 Studies on the Role of Africans in the Spread of Christianity in Africa

While it is true that some scholars and historians such as Kalu (2007) and Hastings (1996) have given some attention to the role that Africans played in the establishment and growth of Christianity in Africa, literature on this topic is rare. This is because not many African scholars have attempted to write a full story of Christian missions from the perspective of the role that Africans have played in the establishment and growth of Christianity in Africa and Zambia in particular. This, as Comaroff and Comaroff (1991) lament, has drowned the African voices on the landscape of Christian missions in Africa. Similarly, in bemoaning this sad state of affairs, Nigerian historians, Ajayi and Ayandele, note that: “A bitter pill which the majority of writers on Christianity and missionary activities in Africa should swallow is that they have not been writing African church history” (Ajayi & Ayandele, as cited in Verstraelen-Gilhuis, 1982: 15). Verstraelen-Gilhuis also agrees with them when she writes that “The African *dramatis personae* in the establishment and growth of the church in Africa, together with the social and cultural context, [have been] neglected, if not left out completely” (1982: 15). Verstraelen-Gilhuis (1982), and Masondo (2018), further argue that it was the local Christians who not only opened and staffed mission outposts but also preached the gospel in local languages with which their congregations were familiar. Moreover, these Christians helped to translate the Bible into vernacular languages and, therefore, profoundly influenced local understanding of the Christian faith.

The Christian evangelisation of Africa, as Masondo (2018) further argues, was not a solo effort by White missionaries but a collaboration with the Africans who embraced the new faith. Numerous examples abound concerning the assertion that Africans were instrumental in the growth and development of Christianity in Africa as a whole. For example, according to a 1968 report cited in Shewmaker (1969), Africans played a crucial role at Rusangu Mission in Monze, Zambia. Between December, 1963 and December 1967, the SDA Church in Monze recorded an 18.3 percent growth rate representing “a growth rate far exceeding that of any of the other missions” (Shewmaker, 1969: 70). This remarkable rise in membership

was attributed to the fact that “most of the evangelism is carried on by the national elders and eight paid African evangelists who itinerate widely among the churches” (Shewmaker, 1969: 70).

It seems obvious, therefore that African evangelists played a pivotal role in the spread of Christianity in Africa. Shewmaker (1969) asserts that although European missionaries found it difficult to believe that African Christians could do the work of God, it was these very Christians who helped missionaries in many ways. For example, early African Christians provided lay leadership, and from among them, and their descendants, emerged the earliest pastors, teachers, elders, deacons, and lay evangelists. Moreover, the indigenous Christians helped in translating the Bible and biblical concepts into vernacular languages. Coupled to this was the important role they played as interpreters for the early missionaries. Shewmaker (1969: 5) further observes that local interpreters “became perpetual crutches upon which the missionary continued to support his message and ministry.”

While the role of Africans in the development of the Church in the continent has received lamentably poor scholarly attention, much ink has been spilt on Africa’s political liberators. For example, Meredith (2006) has documented the political ideologies that informed such leaders’ struggles against colonialism and their role in shaping the economic destiny of their countries after independence. Meredith’s study is valuable for understanding the political and economic environments under which Christianity grew. Christianity in Africa did not sprout out of virgin soil but as Adrian Hastings (1979: 17) has observed, “The churches were so much part of this world, and even of its political structures and motivation, that it could certainly not be properly described without them.” Gifford (1998: 2) concurs with Hastings noting that “the functioning of African churches” (1998: 2) must be viewed against the backdrop of the socio-political setting. After all, as Verstraelen-Gilhuis (1992) observes, mission, economic and political histories are interwoven. Sanneh and Carpenter (2005) also agree by noting that Christianity in Africa is an active player in the globalisation process.

The failure by some historians to highlight the important role Africans played in the establishment and growth of Christianity in Africa echoes the stance taken by many Western

missionaries who saw African gospel bearers as mere helpers. Yet, as Frederick Quinn (2002: 4) ably argues, the transmission of Christianity in Africa cannot be attributed to “Western missionary-driven initiatives,” but is rather “the result of African Christians converting other Africans.” Kalu (2008 as cited in Masondo, 2018: 213) similarly, argues that, “the irony in nationalist historiography is that while condemning missionaries, the authors fail to see that their own people, the Africans, were the real agents who spread Christianity.”

It has been rightly observed that, “missionaries were extraordinarily slow to recognize and trust the gifts of indigenous Christians. Even when ordained to the gospel ministry, Africans were still regarded as no more than “assistants to the missionary” (Neil, 1964: 384) or “native agents” (Chuba, 2000: 83). This reflects the unequal power relations that prevailed between European missionaries and Africans. Verstraelen-Gilhuis (1982) notes that the dominating face of the missionary in both Catholic and Protestant evangelistic missions tended to eclipse the African co-labourers even though they were the ones responsible for spreading Christianity. She, however, notes that in the recent years, there has been a slight shift in emphasis on the role played by Western missionaries who were earlier almost exclusively credited with the spread of Christianity in many parts of Africa. However, important as Verstraelen-Gihuis (1982) study is, its focus is on the Reformed Church in Zambia while this study focussed on the role played by African converts in the growth and expansion of the SDA Church in Zambia’s Luapula Province.

Notable among the historians and academics who have highlighted the role Africans have played in the establishment and transmission of the gospel of Christ in Africa is Bengt Sundkler (2000). Sundkler has explored the development of Christianity in South Africa, focusing on the role that African converts played in the establishment of Protestant Christianity in South Africa. He notes that “the Mfengu congregations represented a dynamic factor for Christian outreach in the Southern part of South Africa” (2000: 70). Foremost among these Mfengu Christians was John Boyana Radasi, who after obtaining theological training in Scotland and having been ordained to the gospel ministry, worked in Zimbabwe as a Free Church of Scotland minister. According to Sundkler, Radasi, another South African not only opened a school at Ingwenya in colonial Zimbabwe in 1904 but also

became active in spreading the message of Christ in the Ntabazinduna area among the Ndebeles.

Unlike Sundkler whose focus was on local South Africans' initiatives in the process of Christianisation, Jasper Bilima (1993) examined a Malawian Seventh-day Adventist minister, James Malinki (1893-1982) whom he described as "probably the most outstanding early cross-cultural worker in the Adventist Church in Central Africa" (1993: 4). Malinki's illustrious calling to the gospel ministry spanned nearly fifty years in Malawi, Congo and Zambia where he worked as a teacher, preacher, evangelist, church planter and community leader. As Bilima remarks (1993: 4), James Malinki's life and illustrious ministry "show how an African worker participated in the early planting and development of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Africa."

Bilima rightly observes that "the story of Malinki shows that overseas missionaries who planted the church in Africa did not work alone. Malinki is an example of the many unsung African heroes who worked in concert with others in establishing the church in Africa" (1993: 10, 11). Bilima's study is of fundamental value to the current study because it suggests the different roles an indigenous African played in the establishment of Christianity in Africa. However, while Bilima's effort is directed at the life of one pioneer in the early growth of the Adventist Church in Malawi, Congo and Zambia as a region, the current study looked at indigenous players in the early formation and later development of the Adventist Church in Zambia's Luapula Province *per se*.

Tiberondwa (1978) and Koschorke et al. (2007) have also ably highlighted the pivotal role played by the many Bagandas who converted to Christianity and not only became its witnesses as teachers and evangelists, but also accounted for its expansion and, in some cases, even died as Christian martyrs. Foremost among them was Charles Lwanga, "an evangelist who is remembered for baptizing some Catholic catechumen before their execution" (Tiberondwa, 1978: 39). Tiberondwa goes on to generally dismisses missionaries as mere agents of colonialism. His study is, nevertheless, relevant to the current study in that it highlights some of the shortcomings of the White missionaries who came to spread Christianity in Africa. These shortcomings in a way contributed to the negative light in

which Christianity was viewed by some indigenous people which is in line with a major research objective of this present study that highlights the obstacles missionaries and early converts faced in the establishment and growth of Christianity in Africa.

2.5 Studies Highlighting Obstacles Faced in the Spread of Christianity in Africa

Most studies on Christianity in Africa attribute the planting and subsequent growth of Christianity in Africa to European missionaries. However, as many studies show, European missionaries encountered numerous obstacles in their bid to establish and transmit the gospel of Christ on the continent of Africa. Consequently, most of them came to rely on local people to spread the gospel. As Hastings (1996) argues, pioneering missions in Africa often found it difficult to thrive because of their lack of prior information and knowledge relating to the languages, culture and religion of the indigenous communities the missionaries sought to evangelize. This perspective is endorsed by McGrath and Gregoire (1997), who observe that early missionary work was hampered by the slave trade, and the conflicting religions, cultural and political ideologies between missionaries and the people they sought to draw to Christianity in Africa.

Mwansa (2017) identifies key underlying beliefs that facilitate the spread and acceptance of witchcraft in African cultures. These beliefs include the presence of evil powers everywhere, the existence of spirits of the dead and the perceived ability of witches to exert control and influence over events. By highlighting these deeply engrained beliefs, Mwansa shed light on the cultural context that sustains witchcraft and narratives in African societies. The pervasive presence of witchcraft beliefs in African cultures posed a significant challenge not only to missionaries but to early African converts who sought to spread Christianity. Mwansa's article enriched this study by offering valuable insights into the complex cultural, spiritual, and contextual challenges that African converts encountered while spreading Adventism in Luapula Province.

In the chapter "Traditional Beliefs and Practices" in *Seventh-day Adventism in Zambia*, Matandiko (2001) explores traditional death-related beliefs and practices among various

Zambian ethnic groups. For instance, among the Bemba speaking people, the ritual of *ukuwamya*, or cleansing, involves a sexual encounter to ward off the spirit of the deceased. Until the surviving spouse undergoes this ritual, they are deemed unclean and remarriage is not permissible. These beliefs, rooted in superstition and ancestor worship, remain deeply ingrained and pose significant challenges to Christian converts, particularly in sharing their faith with others. This strong attachment to traditional beliefs that bordered on superstition was not easy to dismantle by both Western missionaries and African converts in their quest to share their faith. African evangelists faced stiff opposition from traditional local leaders and their subjects who saw Christianity as a threat to their way of life. Matandiko's views are in agreement with the broader literature on the subject. While Matandiko's study provides a general overview of the challenges faced by African converts in spreading Christianity in Zambia with a focus on traditional beliefs and practices, this present study focuses on the challenges faced by African converts in the spread of Adventism in Luapula Province with a defined time frame (1921-2021).

Mwansa (2009) identifies significant challenges to self-reliance within the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Africa. He highlights five key areas of concern: insufficient pastoral care due to low pastor-to-member ratio, inadequate local funding, relying heavily on foreign donations, inability to construct churches for the growing membership, difficulty providing fair compensation for employees, and dependence on foreign support, hindering the development of self-sustaining conferences. Mwansa's analysis underscores the need for the African SDA Church to address these challenges and strive towards self-reliance, reducing its dependence on external support. His article resonates with this current research as it highlights significant challenges to self-reliance within the SDA Church in Africa, which aligns with my objective to investigate the challenges faced by African converts in spreading the SDA message in Zambia's Luapula Province. The researcher is particularly interested in exploring how the challenges identified by Mwansa, such as reliance on foreign donations manifest in the specific context of Luapula Province. However, although Mwansa's article provides valuable insights into the challenges faced by the SDA Church in Africa, it does not specifically focus on the experiences of African converts in Luapula Province. This gap in existing research is what this study sought to address.

Early missionary efforts also faced as much stiff opposition from Africans and, in some cases, from fellow whites. Hastings (1996) and De Gruchy and De Gruchy (2005: 2) have highlighted the negative attitude and open hostility of the white settlers in the Cape Colony in the 19th Century toward white missionaries whose teachings they felt threatened “the theology and authority of the church . . . and social life of the settler community.” They cite the example of a Moravian missionary named Georg Schmidt who settled among the Khoikhoi in the Cape Colony, but failed to convert the local people because “the Dutch white community made him uncomfortable” (Hastings, 1996: 157).

For Sanneh, (1990: 58) the “multiplicity of languages” created another major challenge in the missionary efforts to spread the gospel in Africa. This challenge partly arose from the incongruity in meanings between African and Christian concepts. He observes that early missionaries were of the view that Africans were completely ignorant about the existence of God because African concepts conveyed no notion of the existence of a higher being. This language barrier led to endless misunderstandings between Christian missionaries and Africans. However, through contact and enquiry with the local people, missionaries discovered that the notion of a higher being was prevalent among the Africans. Missionaries handled this dilemma by picking the local name for the higher being in the local community. On the other hand, Hillman (1993), notes that the introduction of Christianity among indigenous societies proved very problematic as the new faith was exported to the colonial periphery as part of the Western cultural baggage. He insists that missionaries did not only export Christianity to Africa but also other cultural aspects of Western culture as well. His view is echoed by Mugambi (2002), Hinfelaar (2004), and Masondo (2018) who have rightly observed that the Western missionaries were convinced that God had ordained them to the duo task of spreading Christianity and European civilization on the African continent. They exhibited a detestable attitude toward African culture which they deemed ungodly while encouraging their converts to adopt a Western lifestyle thereby turning them into copies or duplicates of missionaries. This obviously impacted negatively on the African converts who were left sitting on the fence as they could neither identify themselves entirely with the White missionaries nor their African brothers and sisters. This dichotomy presented a challenge to the evangelisation process for both white missionaries and African evangelists.

Hillman (1993) also highlights a rather subtle challenge in the evangelisation process that perhaps even missionaries were not aware of. He quotes Bernard Lonergan who argues that, “In so far as one preaches the gospel as it has been developed within one’s own culture, one is preaching not only the gospel but also one’s own culture” (cited in Hillman, 1993: 7). Thus, according to Sannel (1990), and Kalu (2007) colonial and missionary enterprises share a lot in common in so far as their history is concerned. They were both foreign projects that sought to change fundamentally the worldviews of Africans. However, the insistence by white missionaries that African converts abandon their culture in order to avoid syncretism lacked merit. As De Gruchy and De Gruchy’s (2005: 45) show “White dominated churches were in fact captive to European culture,” and “the church cannot escape from the culture in which it is set” (2005: 45). This missionary double-standard notion that viewed Western culture as superior to African culture was counterproductive as it created resentment against missionaries and led to the rise of African Initiated Churches (De Gruchy and De Gruchy, 2005; Quinn, 2002), where they could “interpret the Gospel without foreign paternalism” (Mugambi, 2002: 9). As Adrian Hastings (1994) maintains, Africans who broke away from mainstream churches under European control did so to preserve their cultural values and customs.

Oger, (1991) a Catholic missionary, admits that the African converts were instrumental in popularizing the Christian faith. According to him, these people were at the front line of its promulgation and were often viewed by the masses as not only sell-outs to the missionaries but as having turned their allegiance away from the religion of their ancestors. At Ilondola Mission in the Chinsali District of Zambia, African priests particularly came under intense local opposition in the 1950s as political agitation for independence intensified. Labelled as turncoats (*bachisanguka*), these African priests “attracted more hatred than the Whites” (Oger, 1991: 143). Similarly, in South Africa, those who converted to Christianity were labelled as traitors because of turning their backs on their forefathers (Masondo, 2018). This was, without doubt, a big challenge to the African evangelists who sought to share with their fellow Africans a faith that was seen as foreign and espoused by the colonisers.

The foregoing indicates that missionaries could not have successfully spread Christianity in Africa on their own due to various obstacles, not least of which were cultural and language

barriers. In this context, the role played by African converts in planting the Christian faith in Africa was critically vital. However, even local converts sometimes faced opposition from fellow Africans depending on prevailing social, economic and political conditions. The current study will go further by unearthing the challenges indigenous converts to Adventism in the Luapula Province of Zambia encountered in their quest to spread their faith in the area.

Sundkler and Steed (2000) argue that the success of any evangelisation project in Africa hinged on a number of factors. Among indigenous African groups like the Ngunis with a propensity for constant migration, setting up mission stations for the purpose of propagating the gospel was not easy. They further note that even among ethnic groups like the Tswanas, the process of evangelisation could be hampered by unforeseen circumstances. Among the Tswanas, that were compact and lived in permanent settlements, the presence of water was crucial to determining where they settled. Whenever their springs dried up, they moved to new locations where there was water. In such instances, missionaries also had to pack up their bags and follow the people. The second hurdle that posed a serious threat to the evangelisation process among the Tswanas was the presence of menacing and war-mongering Mfecane crusaders. This was especially true in the 1820s and 1830s. Sundkler and Steed (2000) observed that this campaign of destruction of villages by the Zulu warriors slowed down tremendously the pace at which evangelisation took place. Villages that were threatened by the Mfecane war mongers became displaced as security and shelter were compromised. The third factor upon which hinged the reception of the gospel among the Tswanas, according to Sundkler and Steed (2000) was the position taken by the chief toward Christianity. “Any possibility of missionary activity depended on the local king or chief whose attitude was dominant in Tswana society” (2000: 427).

According to Oliver (1952) a number of factors had the potential to affect the transmission of the gospel of Christ in the early chapters of its establishment: Middle-men, slave traders like the Yao in Nyasaland (now Malawi) who benefited from slave trade, inter-ethnic fighting, famines, royal succession wrangles and migrations resulting from “shifting cultivations” (1952: 65) all played their negative role in the establishment of Christianity in its pioneering days. Others included multiplicity of languages, and expanse and size of territory where missionaries sought to operate. Hinfelaar (2004) contend that the lack of communication

infrastructure, adverse weather conditions, tropical diseases and the presence of dangerous wild animals like lions also posed a real danger to the spread of the Christian faith in Africa.

Tiberondwa (1978), Taylor and Lehmann (1961), and Jenkins (2002) have observed that White missionaries who came to Africa to spread Christianity were often viewed in a negative light because of their close association with the White settlers. They argue that in the minds of many Africans the white settlers and the white missionaries were one and the same people. Tiberondwa, for example, observes that “it was not easy for the Baganda to believe that these Europeans could have made such long and hazardous journeys to spread Christianity. The missionaries were suspected of having political and economic motives” (1978: 31, 32).

Taylor and Lehmann (1961) note that even Africa’s most celebrated missionary/explorer, David Livingstone’s motives for coming to Africa, have in some circles become a subject of negative scrutiny. Livingstone’s mission to Africa, after all, was not just to bring the light of the gospel of Christ but to open the continent to civilization and commerce. Taylor and Lehmann speak of “a new myth which has developed around the name of the great missionary pioneer, in which he features as the archetype of European duplicity, arriving with the Gospel to disarm the African before the advance of colonists settlers and industrialists” (1961: 157). This negative perception by Africans that associated white missionaries with white settlers, to some degree, hindered the smooth transmission of the gospel of Christ in Africa. However, Hastings (1979) has noted that it was not every missionary that lent support to the white settlers’ agenda in every aspect. Some like Livingstone and Colenso often held different views from those held by the settlers.

Jenkins (2002) argues that the influence of the nationalist movements in pre-independence Africa, to some degree, hampered the work of the white missionaries because missionaries were viewed not only as sympathizers of the white settlers but also as collaborators who acted as their front men. Jenkins (2002) cites the example of the late Jomo Kenyatta, founding father and first president of Kenya, who once said: “When the missionaries arrived, the Africans had the land and the missionaries had the Bible. They taught us how to pray with our eyes closed. When we opened them, they had the land and we had the Bible” (2002: 40). Jenkins also cites the example of the late renowned Nigerian novelist Chinua Achebe

whose views were somewhat similar to those of Kenyatta. Achebe was of the view that, “the White man, the new religion, the soldiers, the new road—they are all part of the same thing” (Jenkins, 2000: 40). Masondo agrees with Jenkins when he argues that, “the main aim of colonisation and evangelisation was to alter the consciousness of African converts” (2018: 226). In the same vein, Beidelman (1982: 5) provides one of the most devastating criticisms of white missionaries when he writes:

Christian missions represent the most naïve and ethnocentric, and therefore the most thorough-going, facet of colonial life. Missionaries invariably aimed at overall changes in the beliefs and actions of naïve people, at colonization of heart and mind as well as body. Pursuing the sustained policy of change, missionaries demonstrated a more radical and morally intense commitment to rule than political administrators or businessman.

On the other hand, in an article entitled, “*Christianity is black with a Capital ‘B’: The Religion and Politics of Kwame Nkrumah*” Simms (2006), argues that while Great Britain employed Western Christianity as a tool in the spreading of its imperialistic philosophies in the Gold Coast’s early history (1800 - 1915), African leaders like Kwame Nkrumah utilised it for the emancipation of the oppressed people in Ghana’s early struggle for independence between 1947-1966. Other African leaders who used the Christian religion to dismantle colonialism were Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, Hastings Kamuzu Banda of Malawi, Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, Leopold Senghor of Senegal and Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya (Simms, 2006). Christianity, in this sense and paradoxically, proved an effective tool in the dismantling of colonialism. Masondo (2018) comments that during the post-independence era, pressure was exerted on the church to show an African face in order to become relevant to the prevailing time and mood.

The foregoing works are critical to the present study in that they highlight, on the one hand, the challenges Christianity encountered from radical nationalist movements (which is also one of the objectives of this study) and yet on the other hand, some elements within the nationalist movements used it as a tool for the emancipation of Africans from colonial domination further as it sought not only to highlight the challenge Christianity encountered from radical nationalist movements (which is also one of the objectives of this study) and yet on the other hand some elements within nationalist movements used it as a tool for the emancipation of Africans from colonial domination. However the current study goes further

as it sought not only to highlight challenges faced by African converts in their quest to spread Adventism but also the roles they played in the context of the SDA Church in Zambia's Luapula Province.

2.6 Studies on the Role of Traditional Rulers in the Establishment and Development of Christianity in Africa

This section reviews literature on the role traditional rulers, as part of the local African people, played in the spread of Christianity. When missionaries came to Africa, they found people who were living in ethnic groupings led by chiefs, headmen, elders and other governing structures that provided cohesion. Naturally, the missionaries had to seek the permission of these chiefs before they could embark on their activities.

Kaoma (2009: 52) describes local chiefs and headmen as part of the stakeholders or powerbrokers whose "position in matters that affected the general running of the church could not be ignored." Oliver (1952: 67) also asserts that missionaries recognized the important role chiefs played in the establishment and spread of Christianity and therefore sought to "secure the goodwill of the chief" before anything else was done. Sundkler and Steed (2000) agree but also note that the positive attitude of the chief was not everything. Among the Tswanas, for example, the attitude of traditional priests and the people themselves was equally critical. The chief was a chief "by the grace of the people" (2000: 429).

Domwachuku (2000), Anderson (1919) and Garvey (1994) point out that African chiefs played an important role in the allocation of land for the establishment of missions as well as granting of permission to carry out evangelistic thrusts in their chiefdoms.

While Mainga (1973) acknowledges the important role played by Lewanika in the establishment and subsequent growth of Christianity in the Buluzi kingdom, she notes that Lewanika wanted to keep Coillard's team of missionaries under his control because of "the economic, educational and diplomatic benefits" (1973: 165). She further notes that it was Lewanika's view that Christianity would be of no good if it didn't benefit his people

materially. Thus: “What have I to do with a bible which gives me neither rifles nor powder, sugar, tea nor coffee nor artisans to work for me?” (1973: 180). Garvey (1994) agrees with Mainga and cites the example of Chief Makasa of the Bemba people whose warm reception of the Catholic missionary, Bishop Dupont was based on perceived commercial gains his association with the missionary would bring to him and was rather disappointed when Dupont did not bring guns and consequently moved his chiefly village away from Dupont’s area of influence (Garvey, 1994).

Hinfelaar (2003) observes that the role of traditional leaders was more encompassing than that of just giving permission to plant mission stations or giving pieces of land. Missionaries understood the power of winning the hearts of traditional rulers as this often led to winning the hearts of their subjects. He cites the example of Bishop Joseph Dupont who operated by the Clovis Model which basically holds: “Persuade the King and the population will follow.” Tiberondwa (1978), whose views resonate with those of Hinfelaar notes that it was a common practice of both colonialists and missionaries “to deal with kings or tribal rulers first, and through them, to influence the opinions of the people” (1978: 32).

Studies by the above cited scholars give credence to the important role played by traditional rulers in the birth, transmission and growth of Christianity in Africa and are therefore of great worth to the present study. As stated earlier, Christianity did not sprout out of dry ground in Africa. There already existed an indigenous infrastructure upon which the bearers of the Christian religion rolled its transmission. That infrastructure included not only the indigenous people but their rulers as well. The above scholars provide a backdrop of resources from which this current study drew critical contextual background information relating to some of the factors that either accelerated the birth and growth of Christianity in Africa or its hindrance. However, the current study, among several other objectives, narrows its focus on the role played by the early converts in the establishment and spread of Adventism in Zambia’s Luapula Province.

2.4 Studies on the Role of Africans in the Transmission of Christianity in Zambia

After reviewing some studies on the role of Africans in the establishment and growth of Christianity in some parts of Africa, in the foregoing sections, this segment narrows the focus to studies on the role of Africans in the establishment and growth of Christianity in Zambia. One such study is that of Verstraelen-Gilhuis's (1982) who focused on the role that local leaders played and the initiatives they brought to bear on the transmission of the gospel in Protestant churches in Zambia. While Verstraelen-Gilhuis' study takes a broad approach and encompasses Protestant thrusts, the current study took a narrow approach and focuses mainly on the role of the indigenous people in the spread of the Seventh-day Adventist faith and its development in Luapula Province. Nonetheless Verstraelen-Gilhuis's study is especially useful because it provides a broad backdrop from which the current study drew valuable insights in the roles that African leaders have played in the establishment and development of Christianity in Zambia.

Chuba's *Mbeleshi in a History of the London Missionary Society* (2000) is another laudable attempt to highlight the role played by African actors in the history of Mbeleshi Mission in Luapula Province and other mission outposts belonging to the London Missionary Society. Chuba, however, bemoans the absence of records in some of the London Missionary Society's establishments regarding names of some key Africans who worked tirelessly and pushed the work forward. These Africans, he notes,

carried the missionaries across the rivers, through jungles and tall grass. They pushed them on bush cars or carried them shoulder high across fast running rivers . . . not to mention the many loads they carried of food stuff, bedding, medicines and merchandise used by missionaries to exchange with other goods for mission use (2000: 68).

Chuba himself takes a keen interest in identifying the Africans who played some roles in the establishment and expansion of Mbeleshi Mission in Luapula. He shows that these Christians ranged from carpenters to school teachers and preachers of the word of God. According to Chuba these pioneers were active preachers at both mission stations and in local

communities. He identifies David Kawandami who served as head teacher at Mbeleshi Mission Station, as a leading Christian pioneer. Others were Shilengwe, Sawe Palakata and Laban Sumbukeni a junior teacher. Chuba insists that these players need “to be mentioned in the annals for later generations to remember and emulate their faithfulness” (2000: 68). Although Chuba’s study does justice to the cry for African voices in the establishment and transmission of Christianity in Zambia, its scope however is limited to the London Missionary Society’s mission station at Mbeleshi. The current study on the other hand, sought to explore the role played by African converts in the establishment and transmission of the Adventist message in the Luapula province.

Studies by Bolink (1967), Taylor and Lehman (1961), on the Union Church on the Copperbelt in pre-independence Zambia, reveal a phenomenon of growth among the African labourers in the 1920s “without missionary supervision or support” (Bolink, 1967: 178). An interesting and unique feature of this church was its robust evangelistic fervour and momentum in the African compounds and nearby villages. On the Copperbelt, African workers who had previously encountered Christianity in their home areas took the initiative to start their own church, driven by the absence of existing churches, and ensured it was entirely African-led and self-sustaining. Since the missionary’s face is absent in its formation and much of its growth, this church which was a mix of many Zambian tribes and others who came from Nyasaland (now Malawi), provided a good case study for indigenous growth. A good number of those who came from Nyasaland to work on the mines were educated in mission schools and enjoyed the privilege of holding what were considered as good jobs for the Africans at that time. Taylor and Lehmann note that this class of mission school educated employees were “now faced with an unprecedented situation and with no guidance from their missionaries . . . made their own responsible answer to the call of God” (1961: 33).

Bolink, Taylor and Lehmann’s studies are of great value to this study because they focus on the indigenous African carriers of the gospel and seek to understand the factors at play in the growth of the church among the Africans in the mining towns of the Copperbelt, which was also one of the concerns for this current study in the context of the Adventist Church in Luapula. Their respective studies provide useful insights on the dynamics of church growth that is wholly carried out by indigenous African people for their fellow Africans. However,

the present study directed its focus on a rural population in the Luapula Province and how it was impacted by the missionaries of the SDA Church and the role converts played in the Church's establishment and growth.

Oger (1991), Garvey (1994) and Hinfelaar (2004) note that during the early formative years of the Catholic Church in Bemba land, the key carriers of the gospel of Christ were trained lay evangelists known as catechists. These lay evangelists, who were placed in designated outstations were responsible among other things for teaching Catholic doctrines and leading out in prayers. From their outposts they went on regular tours of the surrounding villages teaching the gospel of Christ. These catechists were in effect the life blood of the Catholic Church in the early pioneering days. For example, Oger (1991: 187) notes:

In 1934, 35, the Catholic Church looked very much like a lay church in Chinsali District with 118 lay leaders, of whom 42 were catechists, helped by 26 prayer leaders, 41 official baptizers who assisted the sick and the dying, 8 helpers to memorize the catechism . . . the catechists totaled 2256 days of touring and religious instruction while the priest had only 75. (1991: 187)

Oger, Garvey, and Hinfelaar's studies are useful to the present study because they highlight the important role played by the lay people within Catholicism in the transmission of the gospel and go on to prove the point made by Masondo (2018) that the rooting and expansion of Christianity in Africa was as a result of the indigenous infrastructure that was in place. However, much as these studies are useful to this study, they fall short in scope in that their focus was the Catholic Church among the Bemba speaking people in the then Northern Province of Zambia (which at that time also included Muchinga Province). This current study on the other hand, places emphasis on the role played by local believers in the birth, and growth of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in the Luapula province as a whole.

Oger (1991) and Hinfelaar (2004) have also highlighted the fierce challenge and opposition the Catholic Church faced from two fronts. The first was the internal breakaway movement of Emilio Mulolani's Mutima Church which drew away a large number of adherents. The second was Alice Mulenga Lenshina's Lumpa Church which also impacted negatively on the membership of the Catholic Church especially in areas like Chinsali, Mpika, Isoka, Lundazi and Kasama where Lenshina's church was strong. Oger and Hinfelaar show that even though

both Mulolani's Mutima and Lenshina's Lumpa's churches were at loggerheads on a number of doctrinal issues with the Catholic Church, yet their odd positions go to show in a subtle way the impact of churches that were wholly led by Africans in the spread of a native brand of Christianity. Oger and Hinfelaar's studies in this sense provide useful insights in some of the internal challenges mainline or mission churches faced from breakaway movements. While this has been well researched in the Catholic Church, the current study goes further by extending the focus of research to the Adventist Church in Luapula Province.

Furthermore, while Oger and Hinfelaar's studies on Lenshina tilt towards the frustration the Catholic Church leadership endured under Lenshina's cult, Hudson's studies (1999) focus on Lenshina is on the issues that created a rift between Lenshina's church on the one hand and the United National Independence Party and the colonial government, on the other. Lenshina was opposed to members of her church involving themselves in politics and this irked radical UNIP members. UNIP courted the hand of every African to register as voters in order to take part in the 1962 elections that would usher in the independence of Northern Rhodesia. On the other hand, the Catholic Church was deemed as holding on to wrong doctrines like wearing of rosaries which Lenshina insisted had to be thrown away. Missionaries were branded as "sinners" together with sorcerers and "anyone who was not in the one true [Lumpa] church" (Hudson, 1999: 21). Hudson's book is important to this study because it highlights the tension that existed between Lenshina's church and the Northern Rhodesia government prior to independence and beyond. As Hastings (1979) has ably argued, in some African countries, the relations between church and state slowed missionary activities. This is especially true in the post-colonial period where "the state felt more and more the need to demonstrate rather loudly that it was the master" (1979: 188). The Adventist Church in Luapula has been in existence for almost one hundred years from the time of its inception in 1921 and has operated under different civic and traditional structures. Among other things, this study sought to unearth some of the challenges and obstacles the SDA Church in Luapula may have encountered under these authority structures in the districts where this study was carried out.

Snelson's (1974) *Educational Development in Northern Rhodesia 1883 to 1945* is a laudable effort to trace the beginnings and growth of education in Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) from

1883 when the missionaries arrived up to 1945 when the Second World War ended. Snelson goes at length to show that early Christian missionaries' approach to evangelisation was through the establishment of schools where they taught pupils the rudiments of reading and writing. Missionaries contended that the spread of Christianity was largely dependent on education. Snelson writes:

There were two main motives for the missionaries' zeal to educate the people. In order that the people might receive and understand the gospel message, the people must be able to read the Bible. In order that the Good News might spread to those whom the missionaries themselves were unable to reach, African teachers must be trained who could preach the Word of God and teach others to read. This education was an essential element in evangelisation and in pursuing Christian leadership (1974: 11).

Snelson's work is critical to this study because it explores at length one of the most successful strategies missionaries used in their attempt to spread Christianity. This present study also sought to identify methods missionaries and their local counterparts deemed crucial to the evangelisation work and process.

Studies by Kanondo (2020), Chimoga (2020) and Chiyokoma (2020) have highlighted the establishment and growth of the Adventist Church at Rusangu Mission, the birth place of Adventism in Zambia and home to Rusangu Secondary School, South Zambia Conference, and Rusangu University. Their works, collectively, serve as a springboard for launching any studies on the SDA Church in Zambia as they provide useful information on the establishment, growth and expansion of the SDA Church at Rusangu Mission, Monze, from its inception in 1905 to the present. However, my study is different as its focus is partly to find out and explain the role played by indigenous people in the one hundred years of growth and development of the Adventist Church in the Luapula Province.

Matandiko's *Seventh-day Adventism in Zambia* (2001) is a general overview of the establishment and growth of the SDA Church in all the four corners of the country from its inception in 1905 to 2000. The book also examines the critical role crusades conducted by lay workers played in the rapid growth of the Adventist Church in Zambia. Interestingly, the method was developed by James Mainza Hikabasa in Bulawayo where it was used

extensively. By 1922 the method was embraced in Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia) where it hit instant success and has arguably been the most preferred public evangelism method since the church got established in 1905. Matandiko's book is of critical import to the present study because it gives a bird's eye view of the establishment and growth the SDA Church in Zambia. The present study, on the other hand, zooms in on Zambia's Luapula Province to establish how the Adventist Church has grown from its inception in 1921 to 2021 and the critical role that Africans have played in its establishment, and growth.

Daka's *A History of the Church of Christ in the Southern Province of Zambia, 1910 to 2015* (2020) is a good attempt by an indigenous historian to document the history of the Church of Christ in Southern Province. Daka provides a three-pronged focus of the Church of Christ's mission in Southern Province while spreading the gospel of Christ: development of education, health care and care for the orphans. Daka's study shares similar concerns with this study in that both deal with the spread of different brands of Christianity in two different provinces of Zambia, yet the current study's focus tilts toward the establishment and growth of the SDA Church in the Luapula Province.

2.7 Gaps in the literature

Across the broad landscape of African scholarship in contemporary African Christianity, this literature review reveals that although there has been a slight attempt to get Africans tell their own story in the spread of Christianity and the role that the local people or Africans themselves played in that pursuit, that attempt leaves a lot of room for further inquiry. On the Zambian landscape itself, scholarly literature to do with the role the local people played in the growth of the SDA Church in Zambia's Luapula Province from its inception in 1921 to 2021 is almost non-existent. Much of the literature reviewed in the categories highlighted has shown a bias toward roles played by Western missionaries in spite of the fact that much of the work of evangelisation itself in Africa was carried out by African converts. This uneven trajectory extends not only to the witnessing process but to the challenges that African witnesses encountered. African converts suffered a major blackout! The trend identified in this review of literature has further strengthened the significance of the current study that sought to highlight the role played by indigenous Africans in the establishment and growth of the Adventist Church in Luapula Province thereby rectifying the omission in

existing literature of the important contribution made by the African converts. Clearly, there is a yawning research gap that needed urgent filling and this study sought to do that.

2.8 Summary

This chapter has reviewed the literature that has some bearing on the role played by Africans in the establishment and growth of Christianity in Africa and Zambia and the challenges they encountered in the spread of Christianity. The review was done under the following six headings: ‘Studies on the Beginnings of Christianity to Africa,’ ‘Studies on the Beginnings of the SDA Church and its Spread to Africa,’ ‘Studies on the Role of Africans in the Spread of Christianity in Africa,’ ‘Studies Highlighting Obstacles Faced in Spreading Christianity in Africa,’ ‘Studies on the Role of Traditional Rulers in the Establishment and Development of Christianity in Africa.’ ‘Studies on the Role of Africans in the Transmission of Christianity in Zambia.’ The chapter has also briefly highlighted the existing gaps in the literature on this subject.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

3.0 Overview

This chapter presents and explains methods and procedures deployed in this study. It explains in detail the study's research design, population, sample size, sampling procedure, data collection methods and instruments, data analysis techniques, and the credibility and trustworthiness of the study findings. The chapter concludes by examining the ethical implications and considerations pertinent to the study.

3.1 Research Methodology

According to Kothari and Garg (2014), methodology refers to the systematic approach a researcher uses to tackle the research problem. It involves several things, including identifying, selecting, processing and analysing information about a topic.

3.1.1 Research Paradigm and Methodological Approach

A research paradigm is a philosophical framework guiding the research approach. It shapes how we understand reality, design research, and choose methods. According to Cohen et al. (2000) and Creswell (2013), it is about perceptions, beliefs, and understanding of theories, and practices in research. A research paradigm is crucial as it informs design and methodology (Creswell, 2013), maintains consistency in assumptions (Morgan, 2014), and boosts validity and reliability (Kuhn, 1962).

Being historical in nature, this study falls under the interpretive research paradigm. According to Schwandt (2000) interpretivism is a research paradigm that emphasizes understanding the meaning, and interpretation of social actions, behaviours, and phenomena from the perspective of the individuals or groups being studied. Interpretivism assumes

reality is subjective, complex, and shaped by social factors. This means that understanding someone's reality requires exploring their personal experiences and perspectives, which can vary greatly from one individual to another due to their unique historical and social contexts. The interpretivist paradigm seeks to understand the world through individuals' subjective experiences, analysing culture, norms, and values to grasp the meaning behind actions and events (Pascale, 2011; Schwandt, 2003). According to Schwandt (2003), understanding social actions requires grasping the meaning that constitutes those actions. Pascale (2011) emphasises considering participants' behaviour and context for comprehensive understanding. Additionally, researchers' own thoughtfulness and philosophical positions influence their interpretation (Cottrell, 2014).

The Interpretivist paradigm utilizes meaning oriented methodologies which include interviews and participant observation, that rely on a subjective relationship between the researcher and the subject. This paradigm suggests that reality is socially constructed. This is in line with the aim of this study, which is to create an understanding of knowledge as it is constructed by those who experience it. The aim of this approach is to ensure that a researcher relies on the views expressed by the participants regarding the phenomena being studied, in order to create a contextual approach and knowledge in line with the purpose of this study.

In line with the interpretivist paradigm, this study was qualitative in approach. Qualitative research involves collecting data through face-to-face interactions in natural settings (McMillan & Schumacher, 2006). It aims to uncover patterns of meaning and interpretation underlying social actions (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Qualitative researchers interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them, studying things in their natural settings (Yin, 2014). Thus, interpretivism and qualitative research have a shared affinity, in that interpretivism furnishes the philosophical substructure for qualitative research methods, stressing the importance of comprehending and interpreting social conditions through contextual, subjective, and experiential data. This relationship is well summarized in the table below.

INTERPRETIVISM	QUALITATIVE RESEARCH
As a research paradigm it emphasizes comprehending and interpreting social reality.	As a methodological approach, it involves non-numerical data collection and analysis methods.
It focuses on the meanings, interpretations, and experiences of individual groups	It aims to explore, describe, and gain insight into social phenomena
It assumes that reality is subjective, context-dependent and constructed through social interactions	It is characterized by in-depth interviews, focus groups, content analysis, observational studies, and case studies

3.2 Research Design

A research design describes how a particular study is conducted and summarizes steps taken for that undertaking. It deals with questions of when, whom, and conditions under which data will be collected (McMillan & Schumacher, 2006; Msabila & Nalaila, 2013). In other words, a research design “constitutes the blue print for the collection, measurement, and analysis of data” (Kothari & Garg, 2014: 29). Furthermore, the research design is a necessary tool in that “it provides a series of sign posts to keep one in the right direction” (Msabila & Nalaila, 2013: 27).

This study adopted the case study design. Stake (1995) and Yin (2014) explain that in a case study, the focus of study may be a person, a group of people, an organization or a unit. This study adopted the case study design specifically based on the historical-organizational model. According to Stenhouse (1985) and Bogden and Biklen (1982), a case study based on the historical-organisational model involves the tracing of the establishment, development and growth of an organisation or unit over a period of time. This model relies on the gathering of data through interviews with people with the knowledge of the organisation being studied but also from its written records from the archives. Therefore, the primary sources of historical data this study employed were the records of the church and information from converts who helped to spread the Adventist faith in the Luapula Province. The historical-organizational

model was found to be suitable and in line with the aims and objectives of the topic at hand: “The Role of Africans in the Establishment, and Growth, of the Adventist Church in Zambia’s Luapula Province, From 1921 to 2021.” As may be seen, in order to adequately state and explain the issues involved in such a topic, the historical-organisational model with its thorough data collection methods and procedures was perhaps the most appropriate.

3.3 Research Site

Research site, according to Msabila & Nalaila (2013), refers to the area where the investigation will be carried out. Accordingly, this study was carried out in the Luapula Province with special focus on the following places: Chienge, Mwense, Mansa, Loshi and Chifunabuli. These districts were selected because they host centres where African converts to the SDA faith helped to establish the SDA Church. Chienge lies at the northern end of Luapula. Mwense, which covers congregations that formed a part of the research sites for this study, lies in the central region while Mansa-Loshi and Chifunabuli lie in the southern part of the province. This geographical positionality presents a fairly balanced picture of the spread of Adventism in Luapula. Thus, the researcher had the opportunity to interview a good number of informants associated with the pioneers of the Church in different parts of the Luapula Province.

3.4 Population

A research population is a carefully defined collection of individuals, objects, or events with common characteristics to which the results of research apply (Msabila & Nalaila, 2013, McMillan & Schumacher, 2006). The target population of this study was the leadership and membership of the Adventist Church in the districts of the Luapula Province.

3.5 Sample Size

According to Creswell (2014: 145) “a sample size is the number of units (e.g., people, organizations, events) selected from a population to participate in a study.” Kothari and Garg (2014) state that when designing a study, care should be observed to ensure that the sample size is neither too large nor too small. They further advise as follows: “An optimum sample is one which fulfils the requirements of efficiency, representativeness, reliability, and flexibility” (2014: 55). Accordingly, the sample size for this study was fifty-seven (57) informants broken down as follow: five (5) officers who once served as presidents of the Adventist Church’s regional office in Mansa, seven (7) pastors currently serving in the Luapula Conference of the Adventist Church, four (4) retired pastors, three (3) workers who once served as secretary-treasurers at the Adventist Church’s regional office in Mansa, five (5) children of pioneers, nine (9) selected lay people, three (3) widows who were once married to pastors, and twenty-one (21) respondents from focus group interviews conducted at Lukwesa, Chishinshi, Chafwa, Loshi, and Mansa. The foregoing information may be summarized as shown in the table below, while next table (3.1) shows the codes used for the different categories of respondents.

Table 3. A: Breakdown of Respondents

Respondent Category	Gender		Total
	Male	Female	
Presidents	5		5
Pastors	7		7
Retired pastors	4		4
Secretary-treasurers	3		3
Children of pastors		3	3
Lay people	24	6	30
Widows		3	3

Table 3. B: Codes Used for Respondents

PST 1-8	Pastors
RSP 1-15	Lay people
RTD 1-4	Retired pastors
PRE 1-5	Former presidents at Luapula Conference
ST 1-3	Former secretary-treasurers at Luapula Conference
PKS 1-4	Pastors' Kids
SHP 1-2	Shepherdesses/pastor's wives
FGD 1-5	Focus Group Discussions

3.6 Sampling Procedure

Sampling is a plan a researcher uses to obtain a sample from a population before data collection (Msabila & Nalaila, 2013). Kerlinger and Lee (2000) add that a good sampling procedure ensures the following key elements: representativeness, generalizability, reliability, and validity. This study employed two methods of sampling, the purposive and snowballing sampling techniques.

3.6.1 Purposive Sampling

In the purposive sampling method, the researcher deliberately and purposively selects informants based on their knowledge of the subject at hand. For this study thirty-one (31) respondents were purposefully sampled. These were district pastors (active or retired) who had served seven (7) or more years in three or more mission districts, Conference officers (active or retired), pastors' wives and pastors children. The sampled respondents were interviewed individually using face-to-face interviews. The interviews were conducted in the preferred language of the interviewee (English or Bemba) to allow for free and candid expression.

3.6.2 Snowballing Sampling

The snowballing sampling technique, “entails a researcher choosing one or two persons first and then asking them to start nominating others that they think can provide the required information” (Msabila & Nalaila, 2013: 38). For this study thirty three (33) people were sampled using the snowballing technique. The researcher contacted district pastors in each research site to identify reliable and knowledgeable people for group focus discussions and face-to-face interviews. Those sampled were met at selected churches in each research site. All the respondents were selected on the basis that they were important informants with relevant knowledge of the subject matter under investigation. The following categories of informants were considered for interviews: 1. Retired ministers who had worked in any of the following districts of Luapula Province: Chienge, Mwense, Kawambwa, Chifunabuli and Mansa. 2. Active Adventist church workers in the Luapula Province. 3. Lay leaders who had served as elders or evangelism leaders and led out in the establishment of companies and churches or were associated with the early Adventist pioneers in the Luapula Province or any church member or community person identified by members of the local Adventist church as

having adequate knowledge of the history of the local Seventh-day Adventist church in the period under review. 4. Living children of pioneers. 5. Widows once married to pastors who once worked in Luapula Province.

It is of worth to note that even those who appear to be least qualified and relevant to the study such as pastors' children had to be those who were old enough to remember something about their parents' ministries. The ages of these particular respondents were therefore of great import in determining their legibility. In the case of pastoral respondents, care was taken to ensure that only those who had served a minimum of 7 years and had the experience of serving, at least, in three mission districts were allowed to participate. These requirements were necessary in order to protect the integrity of the outcome of the study.

3.7 Data Collection Methods and Instruments

Punch (2009) describes data collection as a process of gathering information which helps the researcher answer research questions. This study drew its data from both primary and secondary sources. Primary data were collected from the documents of the Adventist Church at both the Luapula Conference in Mansa and the Southern Zambian Union Conference in Lusaka. In the province itself and beyond, data from informants were obtained through face-to-face interviews, focus group discussions (FGD) and field observation. The researcher's focus in the archives were the SDA's statistical reports, minutes of the meetings of Administrative and Executive Committee, mid-and yearly minutes and reports of the meetings of various church departments at the Luapula Conference in Mansa. While these documents threw light upon the SDA's origins and growth in the province, interviews and focus group discussions showcased the contributions to the spread of Adventism in Luapula.

The researcher also spent some time looking through materials in the National Archives, seeking primary sources and documents that could shed light on the historical development of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Luapula Province. These archival materials, including colonial-era records, government reports, and correspondence, provided valuable insights

into the church's interactions with colonial authorities, missionary activities, and impact on local communities, thereby enriching the study with contextual and empirical evidence.

Regarding the collection of secondary data, the researcher spent some time at the University of Zambia's Main Library looking at published and unpublished materials such as dissertations to familiarize himself with current scholarly debates on the diffusion of Christianity in Africa in general and Zambia in particular. The researcher also spent hours at the Catholic Church owned library at the Faith Encounter in Zambia (FENZA) in the Bauleni area of Lusaka, which has a fairly good amount of literature in form of books, journals, and magazines on the coming of Christianity to Zambia. Questia.com, an online library which provides a wealth of academic information in books, journals, and magazines on the birth, growth, and expansion of Christianity in Africa as a whole was also utilized. These studies provided significant understanding of the historical factors that influenced the growth and development of Christianity in Africa, with specific insights into Zambia and Luapula Province.

3.7.1 In-depth Interviews

In research, interviews are an attempt to understand the world from the point of view of the person being interviewed (Kvale, 2007). In addition, Kothari and Garg (2014: 93) note that "the method of collecting information through personal interviews is usually carried out in a structured way . . . through the use of a set of predetermined questions and of highly standardized techniques of recording." Accordingly, the interviews in this study were crucial because they helped to unearth material relating to the role Africans played in the establishment and growth of the Adventist Church in Luapula Province over the past one hundred years. As McDowell (2002) has observed, the import of oral evidence lies in its power to assist the researcher in understanding undocumented events and the provision of fresh perspectives on past events which could reveal new areas of enquiry. He further explains:

Written sources alone cannot provide us with a full understanding of the impact of historical events on the lives of ordinary people. Many historical events were never documented and so oral history does have something useful to contribute, particularly if we allow for the tendency of individuals to

remember mainly recurrent events and situations which were especially significant or interesting for them. (2002: 61)

However, McDowell also accepts that there are limitations with oral evidence gathered through interviews. He notes, for example, that the interviewee may have lapses in memory which could lead to misremembering of events or taking them out of context or mistakenly linking them with unrelated events. There is also a possibility that the interviewee could deliberately twist their remembrance of past events “to make them consistent with their own preconceived ideas, motives, attitudes and values” (2002: 61). He further notes that, “the precise chronology of events is an aspect which is difficult to ascertain by relying primarily on evidence derived from oral traditions” (2002: 61). The consequent result of all these distortions, according to McDowell, is the reduction in the “reliability of the evidence obtained” (2002: 61). However, despite these weaknesses McDowell highlights, the researcher combined interviews with other data collection methods such as document analysis and field observation to create a tight triangulation trajectory that enhanced validity and reliability.

The study adopted a qualitative criteria-based interview approach to tackle the research topic. According to Kvale (2007), a criteria-based interview technique is one in which the researcher uses a structured or semi-structured approach to gather in-depth insights into participants’ experiences, perceptions, or behaviours related to specific research criteria. This approach ensures that the data collected is relevant, consistent, and comparable across participants.

3.7.2 Focus Group Discussion (FGD)

Krueger and Casey define focus groups as “a carefully planned series of discussions designed to obtain perceptions on a defined area of interest in a permissive, non-threatening environment” (2015: 2). In a focus group discussion or interview, “a purposefully sampled group of people is interviewed, rather than each person individually” (McMillan and Schumacher, 2006: 360). This method was used in this study to collect information from lay people with a knowledge and background relating to the beginnings and growth at of the Adventist Church in the Luapula Province. The method was useful to this study because it allowed participants to cross-check their responses and created more angles from which

participants were able to share their views. Furthermore it allowed for faster collection of data as many respondents were able to respond to various questions by contributing to the discussion at once in the same session. Five focus group discussions took place at separate locations, specifically, Samfya West SDA Church, Loshi SDA Church, Mansa Main SDA Church, Lukwesa Main SDA Church, and Chafwa SDA Church.

Respondents who participated in the focus group discussions were chosen on the following criteria: They were either there during the pioneering days or knew early pioneers and had taken time to interact with them. For example, one participant who may have been in his mid-thirties found himself in the group because he once interviewed one early pioneer who shared with him how the Adventist church grew in his area. Even though he was much younger than most of the participants in the group, he contained information obtained from a source who was regarded by all the group members as the man responsible for introducing the faith of Adventists in the village.

3.7.3 Document Analysis

Document analysis is a research methodology that entails a systematic and rigorous examination of documents to gather data, extract meaning, and contextualize the information within the broader research context (Bowen, 2009, Prior, 2003, Rapley, 2007). The study employed this method because in the historical-organizational model or research design adopted for this study, a study of written records is a necessary and important tool for data collection. This research drew on a diverse range of sources, including archival materials from the Luapula Conference, Southern Zambia Union Conference, and the National Archives of Zambia. Secondary sources were gathered from the University of Zambia main library, Faith Encounter Zambia (FENZA) library, in Lusaka's Bauleni area and various online resources. The integration of primary and secondary sources provided a rich and comprehensive understanding of the Adventist Church's history and development in Luapula.

3.7.4 Field Observation

Field observation, according McMillan and Schumacher (2006) is a technique in qualitative research where a researcher observes and takes notes or records events, people, actions and objects in settings. In this study, field observation and archival research were essential

components of the researcher's field trips, enabling a deeper appreciation of oral history and historical context. Through field observation, the researcher gained valuable insights during focus group discussions and face-to-face interviews, while archival research provided access to primary sources and historical documents that complimented and contextualized the oral testimonies. During the field observation and archival research, I visited and examined the following sites and documents:

Historical Sites:

1. Ponde Primary School: A historic school established by the SDA Church during the pre-colonial era, now operated by the government.
2. Old church buildings: Located at Ponde, Loshi, Lukwesa and Chimpempe. These structures provided insight into the architectural and historical significance of the SDA Church in Luapula.
3. Chimpempe Mission: The first SDA mission station in northern Zambia, established in 1921, offering a glimpse into the early missionary work and its legacy.
4. Mulyato: A historic site and former residence of the *abena Ng'oma* clan, marking the place where the Adventist message was first shared among the Ushi-speaking people under sub-Chief Kale of Mansa District.

Archival Documents:

1. National Archives of Zambia: Provided access to historical records and documents relevant to the study.
2. Luapula Conference and Southern Zambia Union Conference archives: Offered valuable insights into the development and history of the SDA Church in the region.
3. Magazine articles and reports: Published in the *African Division Outlook*, *Southern Division Outlook*, and *Trans-Africa Division Outlook*, spanning from 1921 to 1972, these articles provided valuable insights into the historical context and development of the SDA Church in the region.
4. Congo document (1948): Sourced from Kinyanta SDA Church, Kasenga, DRC, this document shed light on the establishment of Chishinshi SDA Church in the Luapula Valley.

These sites and documents collectively contributed to a deeper understanding of the history and development of the SDA Church in the region.

3.8 Data Analysis

According to McMillan and Schumacher (2006), data analysis is a process by which a researcher organises his information to make sense out of it through a process of coding and identification of patterns. In this study, collected data were subjected to a rigorous process of analysis which employed the Inductive Data Analysis method. McMillan and Schumacher (2006) have noted that Inductive Data Analysis “is an on-going, cyclical process that is integrated into all phases of qualitative research” (2006: 364) and has five critical stages namely: field work, data, coding and interpreting, patterns (where themes or/and concepts emerge) and finally the narrative.

Accordingly, from the codes or categories of data generated in this study, the researcher identified emerging themes and trends which were then grouped in line with the research objectives to tell the story of the role that African converts played in the establishment and growth of the Adventist Church in the Luapula Province from 1921 to 2021. The presentation of these findings is done in chapters four and five while the discussions of the same is done in Chapter six.

3.9 Credibility and Trustworthiness

According to Polit and Beck (2012), credibility of the study refers to the veracity of the data or participant views and how the researcher interprets and represents them, while trustworthiness refers to the degree of confidence in data interpretation, and methods used to ensure the quality of study. Historically, qualitative research has been viewed in negative light with some scholars arguing that it does not meet the rigorous and demanding standards associated with quantitative research which employs experimental and objective methods (Mays & Pope, 1995). However, Vishnevsky and Beanlands (2004) note that qualitative

research has to be viewed and understood by employing rules or standards that apply to its execution. It is thus worth noting what McDowell (2002: 37) points out when he writes::

Past events are unique because the combination of factors which interact to produce the characteristics of a particular event at a specific period in time cannot be repeated. Scientific experiments may be capable of being repeated, but in the study of history no such experiments can take place. This is why historians state that scientific study concentrates on similarities, patterns, and common characteristics, whereas history focuses much more on differences and on the uniqueness of events.

Kombo and Tromp (2006: 97) agree by noting that “no two interviewees, for example, are alike and an interviewee may provide different answers to different interviews.” Therefore, to ensure the credibility and trustworthiness of the study, the researcher employed the triangular method of data collection. Cohen and Manion (2000: 254) define triangulation as an “attempt to map out, or explain more fully, the richness and complexity of human behaviour by studying it from more than one standpoint.” Triangulation as a strategy of data collection in qualitative research was necessary because as Altrichter et al. (2008: 147) point out, “[it] gives a more detailed and balanced picture of the situation.” To achieve this, the researcher employed the following data collection methods: In-depth interviews, Focus Group Discussions (FGD), Document Analysis, and Field Observation.

3.10 Ethical Considerations

In conducting this study, the researcher did his best to adhere to the ethical requirements and standards set by the University of Zambia such as clearance by the institution’s Ethics Committee. Care was taken that the rights and welfare of the informants were taken into account. This was done by ensuring that before any interview took place appropriate permission was sought. Furthermore, it was made clear to the informants that the purpose of the study was academic and personal confidentiality was assured. Furthermore, respondents had the freedom to participate or not to. In line with this, a consent form was provided so that respondents who agreed to participate could sign it (see Appendices).

3.11 Summary

The chapter has discussed the study's research methodology giving attention to the various elements necessary in conducting research: These included research site, population, sample size, sampling procedure, data collection methods and instruments, data analysis, credibility and trustworthiness, and ends with ethical considerations. These aspects have been explained in detail and the methods used and decisions made justified fully. The findings of the study are presented in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4: PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS--A

4.0 Overview

Divided into two parts, this chapter presents the findings on how the Seventh-day Adventist Church (SDA) was established in Luapula Province. Part One of the chapter lays out the history of the Luapula Conference with emphasis on the programmes and actions leaders sought to implement in a bid to steer the constituency of faith to achieve the mission of the church in the face of the numerous challenges and obstacles they encountered. The chapter outlines some important milestones in the birth and growth of the SDA Church when the first missionaries arrived at Chimpempe, Kawambwa District in 1921 up to 1972 when the North Zambia Field was born, its realignment in 1988, the formation of the Luapula Field in 2007, and its attainment of a Conference status in 2016 to 2021 when it cloaked one hundred years.

Part two of this chapter presents the findings on how the SDA Church was established in five sites of the Luapula Province namely Chienge (Ponde), Mwense (Luapula Valley: Lukwesa, Lifuka, Chishinshi, and Chafwa), Mansa, Loshi and Chifunabuli (Ng'umbo). It explores the role that the local people played in the establishment and growth of the SDA work in the identified sites in the midst of great odds.

In terms of presentation, the chapter is organized around the following main research questions which are also used as main headings: i) How was the SDA Church established in Zambia's Luapula Province? ii) What role did the local people play in the establishment, growth, and expansion of the Adventist Church in Zambia's Luapula Province from 1921 to 2021? iii) What challenges did the indigenous Adventists face in the spread of the Adventist message in Zambia's Luapula Province from 1921 to 2021? and iv) How can the experiences or lessons of the SDA Church in the last 100 years of existence in Zambia's Luapula Province be used to enhance further development of the church in the province and beyond?

4.1 How was the SDA Church established in the Luapula Province of Zambia?

Part I: Outline History of the SDA Church/Conference up to 2021

This segment partially addresses the first research question and objective of the study by outlining the establishment and growth of the Luapula Conference of the Seventh-day Adventist Church from 1921 to 2021. Data presented here are derived from archived materials at the Luapula Conference, Southern Zambia Union Conference, National Archives of Zambia, and face to face interviews with Conference officers, pastors and lay leaders.

4.1.1 History

The Luapula Conference's history can partly be traced to the establishment of a mission station at Chimpempe, Kawambwa in September 1921 by Adventist Missionary H.J. Hurlow and his African counterparts Lawson Endaenda and Isaac Gawele who accompanied him from Matandani Mission in Malawi. In the same year (1921) the Northern Rhodesia Mission field was formerly organized, encompassing the Caprivi Strip, Rusangu Mission, upper Zambezi, Musofu, and Muchenje areas. At that time the territory comprised four churches with a total of 588 members, under the supervision of Superintendent K. J. Wilson, whose headquarters were located in Lusaka, Northern Rhodesia. In 1926, the North-Eastern Rhodesia Mission was formally established, overseeing the regions of Kawambwa and the Chimpempe Mission Station. However, before H. J. Hurlow and company arrived at Chimpempe, there were other people who had gone there to secure the land for SDA missionary work (Matandiko, 2001).

According to Branson (1925) the first White Adventist missionaries to set their feet at Chimpempe and secure it for missionary purposes were elders, W.E. Straw and J. N. de-Beers. Elder W. E. Straw was at the time Superintendent of the Zambezi Mission Field, Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) while his counterpart Elder J. N. de-Beers was for many years a pioneer missionary from South Africa serving in Southern Rhodesia at Somabula (now Lower Gwelo) and pioneered the work at various mission stations such as Shangani, Selukwe (Shurugwe) and Que Que (now Kwekwe) (Adventist Encyclopedia Online, 2022). Matandiko (2001) states that F. R. Stockiel, Superintendent of Rusangu-Barotse Mission, was also part of the group. According to Branson (1925), local Chief Kabanda and his headmen warmly received the Adventist missionaries, expressing their eagerness for a mission station and schools to be established in the area. Speaking about the experience of that trek from

Matandani Mission in Nyasaland to Chimpempe in Northeast Zambia, H. J. Hurlow had this to say:

It was the 19th of July before we were able to close our work at Matandani Mission, Nyasaland, and begin our thousand-mile journey across Central Africa to our new field. On all this journey the only modern means of conveyance we had was the steamboat on Lake Nyasa, which carried us three hundred sixty miles or the entire length of the lake. The rest of the journey had to be made on foot or in the machila. Mrs. Hurlow rode the machila most of the way, while I preferred to walk a great deal of the time, as I found this easier than the continual jolting of the swinging hammock. We travelled early in the morning and late in the afternoon, resting in the middle of the day on account of the heat. Our furniture also and our personal effects had to be carried by the native porters.

It was really a curious-looking caravan that might have been seen winding its way along the little narrow native footpaths in the early morning, and that camped under the shade of some friendly tree as the day advanced and the sun became hot. We finally arrived at our destination on September 22, a little more than two months after we had left our home at the Matandani station, Nyasaland.

We found the site that had been selected by brethren Straw and de-Beer, and heaved a sigh of relief as we realized that we could have made our camp for the last time and not have to plan to move on again in the morning The site is so beautifully located on the bank of the Chimpempe River and near a great waterfall. We set about at once to do what we could to provide temporary quarters before the rains came on, as it was almost time for the rainy season to set in (Branson, 1925: 108-111).

Several years later, Hurlow recounted in the *African Division Outlook* of April 1, 1926 his journey from Nyasaland (Malawi) to Northern Rhodesia (Zambia), describing his interaction with the local people and his aspiration to establish a school:

Mrs. Hurlow and I trekked over from Nyasaland in October 1921, and opened up work in North-Eastern Rhodesia. We travelled across from East to West, taking twenty-five days for the trip, at the rate of twenty miles a day, and were impressed with the magnitude of the work before us. We passed over hundreds of miles without seeing a Protestant school. Work is being carried on by Protestants around the borders of the country, but in the centre amongst the great Abemba tribe, only the work of the Roman Catholic Church is seen. But there was not one evangelist in the whole of North Eastern Rhodesia to

preach the Third Angel's Message. We are now established on the south bank of the Kalungwishi River about forty miles east of the Lake Mweru.

The birth and growth of Adventism in Luapula was influenced by the colonial context in which it developed. Specifically, the colonial system imposed by the British in Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia) shaped the environment in which Adventism took root. Under this system, district commissioners played a key role in administering districts, enforcing laws, collecting taxes, and overseeing local governance, all of which impacted the local population and the spread of religious movements like Adventism (National Archives of Zambia). During the British colonial era in Zambia, the Native Authority (similar to modern district or city council) played a significant role in local governance. Under its system, chiefs were recognized by the British colonial administration as having authority over their local areas. The Native Authorities were responsible for maintaining law and order, resolving disputes, and overseeing local administration in their areas. On top of that they were expected to implement colonial policies and directives, such as collecting taxes, enforcing labour laws, and promoting agricultural development. The Native Authority, with its limited powers, was a key component of the British policy of indirect rule, which aimed to govern colonies through existing traditional structures and authorities (National Archives of Zambia).

According to Snelson (1990) rural life in pre-colonial Zambia was characterized by traditional education which was informal, with knowledge passed down through generations via oral traditions, apprenticeships, and initiation ceremonies. Skills, such as farming, hunting, and craftsmanship were taught within families and communities. Agriculture was the backbone of rural life, with communities practicing subsistence farming. Crops such as maize, millet and sorghum were grown, and livestock like goats and chicken were raised. There was limited industrialization in pre-colonial Zambia. Communities engaged in small-scale industries like ironworking, textiles and food processing through smoking, drying, and fermenting. Rural life was largely self-sufficient, with communities relying on their own resources and skills to meet their needs. It is against this backdrop that Adventism was born and eventually grew in Luapula.

Records of the Adventist Church in Luapula during the colonial era and early 1970s are sparse, with most documentation focusing on the Chimpempe Mission Station. These records primarily consist of written reports by Western missionaries stationed at Chimpempe

or by high-ranking leaders from organisations such as the Northern Rhodesia Mission Field at Chisekesi, near Monze, or the Zambezi Union Mission, in Bulawayo, Southern Rhodesia, under which the Northern Rhodesia Mission Field operated. These records primarily detail the expansion of the Chimpempe mission and its surrounding villages, highlighting evangelistic efforts, camp-meetings, and educational initiatives. To explore the establishment and growth of the SDA Church in Luapula from 1921 to 1972, the following key areas will be examined:

1. Expansion of Chimpempe Mission
2. Evangelistic Efforts
3. Camp meetings
4. Evangelism Through Mission Established Schools

1) Expansion of Chimpempe Mission

Prior to the early 1970s, the SDA Church in Luapula had limited pastoral presence and lacked a central administrative office within the province. Luapula was part of the vast Zambia Mission Field, headquartered at Chisekesi near Monze in Southern Province. Although Chimpempe Mission once served as a regional office for the North-East Rhodesia Mission Field, it later became part of the larger Northern Rhodesia Mission Field, which spanned the entire country. Despite losing its oversight role, Chimpempe Mission remained a key hub for pastors to operate from, dispatching them to visit the scattered churches in the region. In a March 4, 2022, interview at her Mansa home, RSP-4 recalled that during the early 1960s, pastors would occasionally visit from Chimpempe, although she did not see them often. Indeed, due to their limited numbers and extensive responsibilities, pastors were rarely visible in the early days of the work, often covering large territories. A. W. Austen shared in the *Australasian Record* of March 13, 1943, about a letter from Pastor James Muyeba the African director of the Kalungwishi Mission District and acting general field secretary in North-East Rhodesia. Pastor Muyeba wrote: “I have just arrived from the Luapula Mission District to hold the Lord’s supper. There were many people who came to the meeting. The work at Luapula is growing.”

As the sole Seventh-day Adventist (SDA) mission station in the northern region, Chimpempe Mission played a pivotal role in shaping perceptions of the SDA Church. It served as a central hub for missionary activities, with visits to other northern centres often originating from there, thereby amplifying its influence. In 1924, F. E. Thompson, Superintendent of the

Northern Rhodesia Field, visited Chimpempe Mission, which had been established several years earlier by H. J. Hurlow and his African colleagues, Lawson Endaenda and Isaac Gawele, in 1921. Thompson's observations were later documented in the January 1, 1925, issue of the *African Division Outlook*:

The work at Chimpempe is moving forward. This month marks a new sign-post on the road of progress for the first two out-schools at that place are being opened. Because of the shortage of help, Brother Hurlow will have to teach the station school. Chimpempe Sabbath school has now passed the one hundred mark in attendance.

Basil Burton, reporting about the progress of the work at Chimpempe Mission had this say in the *African Division Outlook* of March 1, 1926:

Our usual attendance at the Sabbath morning meeting is about one hundred and ten, but today, being the day for our monthly offering, it was much larger. There were a hundred and fifty-two present. Our people here seem to attend best on the collection days. The offering last month, amounted to six shillings and eleven pence. This was a larger offering than usually is received. The offering this morning amounted to three shillings and a penny, which represents the current price of the things brought to meeting. Here is the list: Cassava meal, 20lbs; beans, 11b; eggs, 8; pumpkins, 20; mealies, 76; cash 2d; pledges 3d. The Lord looks at the heart, and loves a cheerful giver. These natives brought the best of what they had, and this is what the Lord asks each one of us.

We now have sixty members in the bearers' and probationers' classes. We are studying the Ten Commandments. Just a few years ago, most of the natives in this territory had never heard of the gospel, but now they are keen to know more and more of this grand Truth, and are eager to take in each new phase, as it is given to them.

E. C. Boger, Superintendent Congo Mission Field, accompanied S. Marx, the newly appointed superintendent of the North-East Rhodesian Mission Field, to Chimpempe and shared a report of their visit in the April 15, 1927 issue of the *African Division Outlook*:

We arrived at Chimpempe at about 10 o'clock, having had a good wetting on the way. Here, we found Brother Basil Burton taking care of the mission, running the school, and doing the many other duties of the mission station director. Brother Burton has been on this station alone since Brother and Sister Hurlow went on furlough in 1925. He was well and seemed to be enjoying his work.

We had some good meetings with the believers. On Sabbath, there were 217 people out to service. A good-sized baptismal class was examined, and after eighteen were baptized on Sunday morning. The service was held in the clear waters of the Kalungwishi River on the mission property. In the afternoon, we organised a church of twenty-six members, and elected officers. The people were very happy to have an organised church.

In 1951, A. Bristow, president of the Northern Rhodesia Mission Field visited Chimpempe and submitted the following report in the *Southern African Division Outlook* of February 15, 1951:

Brother and Sister Ellingworth and Bess and Jenifer compose the European staff of this far-away station. We were happy to find Pastor Mulombe still faithful to his post. Teachers Eli Mulenga, William Kasongamulilo, Ulio Mutono, and Pardon Mwape carry the teaching load of the mission.

Chimpempe is our only large station for the Bemba people. There is a great work to be done. The need for more evangelists was impressed upon us more than ever before. The harvest is truly ripe awaiting the reapers. This fact of the need of workers came home to us still more forcefully when we visited a company of believers two hundred miles away from Chimpempe and conducted a small camp-meeting there. These dear believers do not have the privilege of seeing a pastor every Sabbath to encourage them. A European missionary had not visited them for many years, and yet we found those people faithful to God's last message.

2) *Evangelistic Efforts*

According to articles and reports in church periodicals like the *African Division Outlook* and the *Southern African Division Outlook*, public evangelism, also referred to as efforts, was one of the earliest methods employed by the SDA Church to propagate its teachings and win people into its fold. Matandiko (2001) observed that the evangelistic campaigns, characterized by outdoor gatherings, often spanned several weeks, with pastors and lay evangelists delivering public doctrinal presentations. Writing in the *Australasian Record* of March 15, 1948, A. W. Austen says: "I have been greatly encouraged to hear some experiences from time to time of the work and progress along the Luapula River in North-East Rhodesia. An interest was certainly aroused along the river by pastors Robinson and Christensen with the African staff in 1943."

R. P. Robinson documented a detailed account of evangelistic efforts he, W. W. Christensen, and African helpers conducted in Kawambwa and Lifuka, North-Eastern Rhodesia, in the March 1, 1944 issue of the *African Division Outlook*:

The method of evangelism which has been followed in this field has been to send out two teachers to a previously selected village where they would preach for four weeks doing personal work during the day. We have had enough teachers to conduct five to seven efforts in June every year. This work has brought in as high as seventy-five new converts each year.

Last year the brethren gave us the funds and asked us to conduct one large effort at Kawambwa where there are several large villages near each other. We have had a two-teacher school at Kawambwa for a number of years. But the evangelistic efforts we have had there have never been successful. The evangelists have complained that they could not get the people to attend the meetings. When the brethren asked us to concentrate all our efforts in one big effort in Kawambwa we were convinced that only such an effort would succeed there.

With an African staff of fifteen, I opened the Kawambwa effort on Friday evening, May 28, 1943, in our own school-house. The attendance at the first meeting was not satisfactory. As we got out more and more among the people, however, doing personal work, the attendance increased. Our plan of work was as follows:

Early in the morning we all spent forty to fifty minutes studying personal work—its importance and how to do it. After a short recess we studied very carefully the topic to be presented in the evening meeting of that day. We especially studied how to present and apply the truth of the lesson by the use of illustrations and customs familiar to the native. After this study twenty to thirty minutes were spent in an experience meeting. We urged the African workers to seek out special cases of serious sickness, and tell the sick one, or his people, that if they wished them to so they would call the European worker to come and pray for them. Needless to say several very interesting cases came to light. We were deeply impressed by what we saw in those filthy heathen huts. After thirty years' experience in Central Africa, I have never seen anything worse. How I longed for the Master's healing touch. The filth, ignorance, hunger, and suffering are utterly unknown except by only the few Europeans who go into those heathen huts.

During the two-and-a-half hours of study and experience meeting each day we took time for two periods of earnest prayer asking for special help to understand God's word and how to present it to the people. We asked most earnestly for God to bless our efforts and He did bless us with eighty-seven persons who responded to our earnest work. In some parts of Africa eighty-seven would not be considered very successful, but for Kawambwa it is very good. In the villages where we did our work four different denominations have a strong work. Two of these have big schools only a quarter of a mile

from ours. So, we were much encouraged, and sincerely thanked God for His great help.

Beginning on September 8, 1943, Brother W. W. Christensen and I, with six African helpers, opened a six-weeks' effort down on the Luapula River in the village of Lifuka at our school there. At the end of the two weeks I had to leave, and at the same time Brother Christensen received a telegram that called him away. So, we arranged for the African workers, with Pastor James Muyeba, and Evangelist Samuel Mulombe in charge to carry on the effort two weeks longer. At the end of the first two weeks over 100 had taken their stand. At the close of the effort the African workers reported a total of 157 who had responded to the call.

Chimpempe Mission director G. A. C. Ellingworth, shared his report in the July 1, 1951, issue of the *Southern African Division Outlook*:

We have planned for three efforts in each district during this year, that is nine efforts. There are, however, several more materializing. I have two lists of names of converts before me at present. At Kazembe's village there are thirty-five people listed as converts. The district leader and eight lay members took part in this effort. Also, at Mukonkoto, the district leader of that area held an effort and has sixteen names to report.

Two of our workers have gone to Abercorn (present day Mbala) at the southern tip of Lake Tanganyika where there are two companies that have arisen as a result of the work of one man that went over there from the old Katanga Mission near Elisabethville (Lubumbashi). We had the pleasure of visiting these two companies during 1950 and found that each had a neat little house of worship. We have sent these workers to help our believers there and to encourage them and train them to be more fruitful. They will also hold an effort while there.

S. C. Palvie, Director of Chimpempe Mission in the Northern Rhodesia Mission Field, who had succeeded Ellingworth after his tragic death by drowning in Lake Mweru while attending a camp meeting at Ponde Village in 1952, reported in the October 1, 1953, issue of the *Southern African Division Outlook* on a 10-day workers' institute held at the mission in early June 1953. The institute, attended by 24 African workers, was led by Pastor Brandt, education department secretary of the Zambezi Union Mission, and Pastor Bristow, president of the Northern Rhodesia Mission:

Immediately after the institute the workers all returned to their respective districts and engaged in a three-week evangelistic effort. Satan was surely active that time and we faced much opposition, but the Lord helped us to find

seekers after truth and 162 souls were added to the Bible class as a result of the four efforts.

3) *Evangelism Through Schools*

Early Adventist missionaries in Zambia established schools mainly as evangelistic tools to disseminate the SDA message. These schools functioned as missionary hubs, drawing in local communities and offering a platform to share Adventist teachings. Additionally, these schools helped build relationships with local communities, demonstrating the value of Christian education. In 1901 William H. Anderson, a pioneering missionary in Africa noted that “All missionary societies laboring in Africa are agreed that the best way to reach the natives is through schools (1919: 143). Upon arriving at Chimpempe in 1921, H. J. Hurlow’s primary goal was to establish a strong Adventist presence in the region. To achieve this, he founded a school that served a dual purpose, educating local children and training African converts to become gospel ambassadors, tasked with spreading the message to neighbouring areas. As a result, Chimpempe emerged as a strategic hub for missionary endeavors in northern Zambia. As reported in the *African Division Outlook* of April 1, 1926, Hurlow wrote:

We were received gladly by the people, who wanted schools and all the temporal advantages, real and otherwise, which they had associated in their minds with the coming of missionaries amongst them. . . .School work was started when we had acquired a working knowledge of the language and now, we have a live school doing good, progressive work. The scholars built their own school house, working an hour or so each day before classes commenced.

On his second visit to Chimpempe Mission, J. V. Wilson, Superintendent of the North Rhodesia Mission, described meeting with local people to discuss plans for opening a school at the mission and another school in the chief’s village, located six miles away, according to the *African Division Outlook* of September 15, 1923:

More than one hundred interested ones came and the whole situation was thoroughly canvassed. We told them we were going to open school. All responded that they did. We then proposed that they build the school house free of cost and furnish all their own supplies and we give the teacher. This was something new and took some explaining, as they had always been paid for their work. Working for nothing—even if it was for their own benefit—did not at first appeal to them. However, sixty or more scholars said they would cut and bring in the poles, grass, etc., and erect the school-house.

Bright and early next day poles began to come in. There must have been nearly fifty prospective scholars hard at work. Soon the school-house will be erected and the school in full swing. Progress should be very rapid once they start school as the natives in this part appear quite bright.

We also had a meeting with the chief and his headmen, and they promised to begin on their school-house at once. Thus, we are making a good start, and look forward to a good strong work being built up at this station.

Brother and Sister Hurlow surely need our prayers and encouragement in their isolated position and the many trying experiences through which our pioneers have to pass.

According to Akombwa (2021) in 1923, a school was opened at Chimpempe Mission. In 1951, Chimpempe Mission director G. A. C. Ellingworth reported in the *Southern African Division Outlook* of July, 1951:

We have at present one European dwelling, one small workshop, a school building, a well-built church, and a commodious, two-ward dispensary which the community helped to build. There are two three-roomed boys' dormitories and four teachers' houses as well as a new six-roomed house with cement floors in which the African pastor lives.

According to a school inspection report from the National Archives of Zambia (1955), the Adventist Church operated a school at Lukwesa through its Chimpempe Mission. The school, which went up to Standard 2, was managed by Mr. Palvie (Chimpempe Mission director) and had a staff consisting of Head Teacher Mr. William Kasongamulilo, teacher Mr. Paul Kanyembo, and woman helper Phoebe Ndaiseka. This elementary school had a student population of 131 boys and girls. The report also revealed that the SDA Church operated another elementary school at Lifuka, managed by Mr. Palvie from Chimpempe. The school's head teacher, Rabbon Mulengela, was assisted by teacher Opher Chiba, and the student body consisted of 115 boys and girls. A 1953 school inspection report in the National Archives of Zambia indicates that the Chimpempe Mission operated a school on its premises, offering classes up to Standard 4, with a total enrollment of 161 boys and girls. The teaching staff included Abner Curp, Enock Mukuma, and Ishmael Chaiwa. Education officer J. P. Hetherington praised the school, describing it as "a pleasing school, well administered."

4) Camp Meetings

Matandiko (2001) notes that the first SDA camp meeting in Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia) took place at Rusangu Mission in August 1920, chosen for its status as the headquarters. In Luapula, where Adventist missionary work began at Chimpempe in September 1921, camp meetings likely started in the early 1930s. This estimate is based on an account by Mirriam Mweemba Maimbo, who recalled attending a 1929 camp meeting at Rusangu with attendees travelling from as far as the Northern Province (Matandiko, 2001). According to Matandiko (2001), the Church utilized camp meetings as a strategy to unite scattered members, fostering a sense of belonging among them and helping new believers connect with others who shared their faith. RTD-2 shared during an interview on March 14, 2022, that camp meetings played a significant role in the SDA Church's work in Luapula, serving as a key aspect of its identity. Initially, these meetings were held at Chimpempe, Ponde, Lukwesa and Loshi. Later, Isoko near Mbala (formerly Abercorn) became another camp meeting centre. RTD-2 added that the speakers at camp meetings were typically White missionaries who travelled from places like South Africa, the Zambezi Union Mission in Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), and Chimpempe Mission. One of the earliest camp meetings to be held at Chimpempe is the one reported by J. F. Wright in the *Southern African Division Outlook* of November 1, 1933. Wright observed that the camp meeting drew a record attendance of just over 400 people, the largest gathering at the station for an annual meeting. The event culminated in the baptism of 41 individuals on Sunday morning.

Milton Robison, Field Secretary of the Southern African Division, reported in the September 15, 1951, issue of the *Southern Africa Division Outlook* about his visit to the Chimpempe Mission District, where he participated in four camp meetings held in different locations. According to Robison's report, Ellingworth oversaw the work at Chimpempe Mission and its vast district, assisted by Pastor J. Mulombe. During their camp meeting tour, Robison was accompanied by Pastor James Malinki and Brother Ellingworth. The team visited four camp meetings, with notable baptisms and attendance: At Isoko near Mbala, 20 candidates were baptized. Their next stop was Ponde, where Sabbath attendance was 175 and 12 people were baptized. At Chimpempe camp meeting, there were 435 attendees on Sabbath and 32 were baptized. Robison continued his report by describing their final camp meeting at Lukwesa in the Chimpempe Mission District:

We were greatly surprised as we rode along the Luapula River to Lukwesa to see the dense population on its bank. There is one continuous village for many miles and the African houses are the best we have seen anywhere. . . . There are a number of companies in this area and the message is making good progress Seventeen were baptized in the Luapula but two other baptisms were to be held the following week. 382 were present.

J. D. Mwesa, MV department secretary, Northern Rhodesia Field, writing in the *Southern African Outlook* of September 15, 1961, noted that the Luapula Valley near the Chimpempe Station in Northern Rhodesia was one of the most densely populated areas in the mission district. Specifically, the Lukwesa Church was located in the heart of this densely populated region, where several denominations were also present. Mwesa highlighted the significant role music played in soul-winning, particularly during camp meetings. He shared about the Lukwesa Youth Choir's impactful performance at the camp meeting, noting that their impressive singing drew in many young people and adults from outside the faith. The choir's soul-stirring music kept attendees engaged throughout the entire event, and several individuals gave their hearts to the Lord after being touched by the choir's singing.

According to RSP-2, who was interviewed at his Nkumbi home in the Mwense District on February 8, 2021, although the Adventist Church officially established its presence in the province in 1921, small pockets of Adventists existed in some areas along the Luapula Valley, Mansa, and Loshi—a small village about 21 Km east of Mansa town. During the pre-colonial era, Adventist work remained largely underdeveloped. RTD-1, reported that Hurlow's primary objective upon arriving at Chimpempe was to establish a school through which he would not only teach children the rudiments of education but train African converts to become gospel ambassadors, tasked with spreading the message to neighbouring areas. Schools were a top priority in the mission's strategy, serving as key drivers of the evangelisation process. As a result, Chimpempe emerged as a strategic hub for missionary endeavors in northern Zambia.

A few years after its set up, Chimpempe Mission became the headquarters of the North-Eastern Rhodesia Mission Field which was organized in 1926. The new Mission Field's territory was the North-Eastern portion of Northern Rhodesia which included Mwami Mission and Fort Jameson (Chipata). The territory was administered by the Zambezi Union Committee under the South-East African Union Mission (Malawi) (Akombwa, 2021). Progress in Eastern Rhodesia Field was hindered by the vastness of the area and a severe

shortage of workers. Notably, indigenous pioneers like James Muyeba and Jonathan Mwesa played a crucial role in establishing churches and opening new schools. James Muyeba would later make history as the first local worker to lead the Zambia Field. This arrangement went on until 1943 when the Eastern Rhodesia Field became a part of Northern Rhodesia Field. The Barotseland Mission Field which had its headquarters in Mongu also became a part of the Northern Rhodesia Field in 1958 (Akombwa, 2021).

According to Matandiko (2001), prior to 1940, the Adventist Church's focus in Northern Rhodesia was on establishing schools, which served as crucial contact points for training local evangelists. After the 1940s, the emphasis transitioned to setting up mission stations and districts. As graduates from Rusangu and Chimpempe went on to establish more schools, literate students were then deployed as teacher-evangelists, further expanding the Church's reach.

When Northern Rhodesia became independent in 1964 and assumed the name Zambia, the Northern Rhodesia Field name was changed to Zambia Field and continued to operate under the auspices of the Zambezi Union in Bulawayo, Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe). Pastor James Muyeba was elected as President of the Zambia Field. Prior to his appointment Muyeba had been appointed as Vice President of the Northern Rhodesia Field in 1961 (Akombwa, 2021). According to Harrison Muyeba, a grandson of James Muyeba, Muyeba was born in 1902 at Muyeba Village in Kabanda's chiefdom. At the time of the arrival of the pioneer missionary, H. J. Hurlow in 1921, James Muyeba was an adult aged 19 and was among the earliest pupils to be enrolled at Chimpempe Mission Primary School. Muyeba became trained as a Bible worker, and also served as a translator. He attended Solusi Mission Boarding School in the early 1930s. After his return from Solusi, he taught at Chimpempe and later became the school's first indigenous headteacher. He made history in 1942 when he became the first indigenous African to be ordained to the gospel ministry in Northeast Rhodesia (Kaoma, 2009). His young brother Elwart (Edward) Muyeba also went through the halls of Chimpempe and later became a teacher and taught at Kaseke and Lifuka before he became a pastor in the SDA Church.

4.1.2 Luapula Incorporated in the North Zambia Field Structure

According to Akombwa (2022), the Zambia Union was formed on June 1, 1972, following a vote by the Trans-Africa Division Executive Committee in Blantyre, Malawi, on May 23, 1972. This vote marked the end of Zambia Field's administrative control under the Zambezi Union in Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe). The Zambia Union would initially operate from Chisekesi, near Monze, before relocating to its new headquarters in Lusaka once the office was completed. Pastor Albert Bristow was elected as the first Zambia Union Mission President with W. M. Webster serving as Secretary-Treasurer. S. Shapa took the Administrative Secretary's position.

To improve administrative efficiency due to its vast territory, the church divided the country into three Mission Fields when it became a Union Mission. These included the South Zambia Field, covering Southern, Central, Lusaka and Eastern provinces, the North Zambia Field, encompassing Copperbelt, parts of North-Western, Luapula and Northern province and the West Zambia Field, comprising Western and parts of Northwestern provinces. (Matandiko, 2001)

In July 1972 the North Zambia Field was born. The purpose of this new office was to provide oversight on the operations of all the Seventh-day Adventist churches in Luapula, Northern, and Copperbelt provinces and parts of Northwestern and Central provinces with Mansa hosting the Regional office. The office was built in 1974 on land donated by the Mansa Municipal Council, as per RSP-6, thanks to the efforts of Mr. Nkhata, a surveyor and member of the Mansa Main SDA Church, who facilitated the acquisition.

i) Mpamba Elected President

Matandiko (2001) notes that Pastor Abner Curp Mpamba was elected as the first President of the North Zambia Field. Mpamba had been a teacher at Chimpempe and had also served in several districts as a pastor before he ascended to this position. The Committee further elected Pastor Albert Kawila to coordinate the departments of Sabbath School, Lay Activities, Youth, Temperance, Stewardship and Church Development. The North Zambia

Field Executive Committee Minutes (1973) show that Pastor Rabbon Mulengela was elected to the position of Sabbath School, Stewardship and Church Development to help alleviate Kawila's workload. Due to financial constraints, the Field President Curp Mpamba, also served as the Ministerial Secretary and Department of Education director. Mpamba's tenure as president consisted mainly in learning how to run the Field office and coordinating departmental work while at the same time travelling across the territory's landscape visiting congregations and performing both pastoral and administrative duties. Work was still in the infancy stage in almost all the areas of operations including membership gains. In Luapula's capital town of Mansa, for example, there was only one church in 1972. This was Mansa Main SDA Church located in Senama, north of the town.

According to the Executive Committee Minutes (1973), the Secretary-Treasurer's report revealed that Luapula Province comprised five mission districts with the organized churches listed in the accompanying table.

Table B: Names of Districts and Their Churches in 1973

DISTRICT	ORGANIZED CHURCHES
Kalungwishi	Chimpempe, Muyeba, Kabonde, Mushota
Kawambwa	Munkanta, Ntenke, Chipakila, Kasheta
Mweru	Kabole, Kaseke, Ponde, Chipipya
Luapula	Kazembe, Lukwesa, Lifuka, Lubunda, Chishinshi, Chafwa
Bangweulu	Mansa, Mpandika, Chibende, Samfya, Chembe, Kankomba

Source: Secretary-Treasurer's Report, 1973

Further Table B below shows the names of mission districts and pastors in charge at the time of the creation of the North Zambia Field which included Copperbelt Province as well.

Table C: Names of Mission Districts and Their Pastors 1973

DISTRICT	NAME OF PASTOR
Ndola	B. Mulomba
Kitwe	A. V. Kaite
Mutaba	E. Chintabante
Mweru	A. J. Lusani
Kawambwa	J. Kanjelesa
Kalungwishi	D. Chende

Source: Secretary-Treasurer's Report, 1973

It is not stated in the two tables why two of the mission districts in Luapula Province were left out. The two were Luapula and Bangweulu.

ii) Lufungulo Ascends to North Field Presidency

Mpamba was succeeded in 1974 by Diamond Lufungulo who served until 1978. According to Cheembo, (2020), Lufungulo was once a pupil at Chimpempe where he completed Standard 4 (Grade 7). He also went to Musofu Mission and later Rusangu, Monze where he completed his Standard 6 Upper. He did a two-year ministerial training course at Solusi College in Bulawayo, Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe). Prior to this appointment, Lufungulo had served as a teacher at Lupele, Mukonkoto and Chilange primary schools. He also served as a pastor at Isoko in Mbala (1958), Kasama (1959) and Kaseke, Mununga in Mweru (1960-1961), and Chimpempe (1962). Lufungulo served as assistant Chimpempe mission station director in 1964 and in 1965 to 1971 as its director. He further served as Rusangu Mission director, lay activities department leader, South Zambia Field before moving to Mansa as president of the North Zambia Field in 1974.

According to Matandiko (2001) and Cheembo (2020), Lufungulo ascended to the North Zambia Field leadership at a time of agitation for a Central field at Musofu by some Lamba/Swaka dominated SDA churches in Mutaba and Ndola mission districts. Tensions arose when the North Zambia Field's Executive Committee chose Mansa as the site for its office, diverging from the perceived better option of Musofu. The nine dissident

congregations had resolved to run a parallel structure independent of the main body. Those nine churches were eventually disbanded.

During Lufungulo's presidency of the North Zambia Field, the Executive Committee Minutes, 1977 show that extensive discussions were held regarding the future of Chimpempe. The days of Chimpempe, as a centre of Adventist mission strategy and thought in the northern section of the country were fast fading into obscurity and leaders had to find something for the mission station to stand for. With the creation of a new centre of administration in Mansa, Chimpempe found itself standing in an awkward position. It stood like a mission post that had no mission at all. To compound the situation, the Ministry of Education had resolved to close the boarding section of the school and had written to the Church to quickly facilitate its closure.

To move forward on the Chimpempe issue, the North Zambia Field's Executive Committee engaged with His Royal Highness, Chief Kabanda, his counsellors and members of the Kalungwishi Mission District with a proposal to open up a secondary school at Chimpempe and also create a hub there where ministers and other church workers could be trained in order to mitigate the serious lack of trained manpower in the Church. Chief Kabanda, members of his court and the community assented to the proposal. Riding on the good will of these key stakeholders, the Executive Committee resolved to open the school in January 1979 "provided requirements, government, financial, buildings and others can be worked out by that time" (Executive Committee Minutes, 1977). As these intentions could not be effected without government approval, the Executive Committee further voted to "notify the District Governor and education officers concerned with regard to plans for a proposed secondary school at Chimpempe and moving of the primary school to Mukuma Village" (Executive Committee Minutes, 1977).

iii) Kaite Elected President

After Lufungulo left to join the Zambia Union as its lay activities and Sabbath School leader in 1978, Pastor Arnold Victor Kaite was appointed president of the North Zambia Field. According to PRE-2, Kaite did his primary education at Chimpempe and later attended Solusi College where he trained as a pastor. Prior to this appointment he served as a departmental director in charge of lay activities at the North Zambia Field. Kaite also served as a district

pastor in Kitwe, Mununga, and Lukwesa. A South African Missionary named Steve de-Lange served as secretary-treasurer of the young Field.

Kaite continued serving as president of the North Zambia Field after he was re-elected at the Third Session of the Zambia Union of Seventh-day Adventists held at Rusangu, Monze in 1980. At that Session, the North Zambia Field Secretary-Treasurer, Steve de-Lange, reported that the number of mission districts in the Field had reached 18 while that of organized churches stood at 90. The membership of the Field was 12, 738 (North Zambia Field Report 1980). The report to the Session did not indicate a further distribution of these figures according to provinces. Thus, it is not known, for example, how many of the 90 organized churches belonged to Luapula or the Copperbelt. It is also not known how many of the 12, 738 members belonged to Luapula, Northern or the Copperbelt provinces.

During Kaite's presidency, this researcher, who served under his administration, recalls a renewed emphasis on developing Chimpempe into a vibrant secondary school. A man named Stebbins Mutale from Chililabombwe was engaged to go around the Field's cities, towns and villages urging members to give towards the transformation of Chimpempe from a small mission primary school to a secondary school. Church members were asked to contribute in cash and kind. The chorus to transform Chimpempe into a secondary school was especially strong in Luapula and Northern provinces where the mission station had long been revered as the birth place of Adventism in the northern territory of the country. There was great expectation among members who felt a need for the Church to have a credible secondary school of its own. This effort, however, did not translate into the great transformation members had hoped to see at Chimpempe. RSP-7 recollects:

Mutale, as promoter of the Chimpempe project did extremely well. He traversed the entire territory of the North Zambia Field urging church members to contribute in cash and kind so that a secondary school could be built at Chimpempe. He worked tirelessly week after week moving from one town to another and succeeded in not only raising the awareness concerning the plight of Chimpempe but getting people give significantly to the project. Unfortunately, what came out of that aggressive promotion did not translate into real tangible results on the ground. Not much changed at Chimpempe even after that promotion. No one can explain what happened (interview with RSP-7 on August 19, 2022).

Mutale was dedicated to the promotion of the Chimpempe project and his impact so visible in the North Zambia Field territory that at the end of his assignment the North Zambia Field Executive Committee voted “to write a letter of appreciation to him for his dedication to the cause of God and for the promotion of Christian education and for his ability to raise funds for the construction of school buildings at Chimpempe” (Executive Committee Minutes, 1984). Kaite worked with Steve de-Lange who was the Field’s secretary-treasurer until 1983 when he went on permanent return to his home country, South Africa. De-Lange was succeeded by Elder J. M. Sinjela who worked in that capacity until the end of 1984.

During Kaite’s tenure, the conflict that had led to the disbandment of seven churches in Mutaba Mission District and two in Ndola was resolved. Through his engagement with the dissident leaders, the court case was withdrawn and a reconciliation took place between the nine disbanded churches and the North Zambia Field. PRE-2 recollected that:

Pastor Kaite together with the then leader of the Adventist Church in Zambia, Dr. Ken Thomas, worked tirelessly with leaders of the disbanded churches to bring about a reconciliation between the two warring parties. Their efforts paid off. The breakaway churches withdrew their court case and this led to them being accepted back into the fold (interview held on June 21, 2021).

It was also under Kaite’s administration that the Field began sending young people for ministerial training to Solusi College, which at that time had started offering degree courses in theology and business studies. Bryson Mulenga Katele and his wife Ireen pioneered the group, with Katele pursuing a theology degree and his wife studying business administration. They were followed by this researcher and Pardon Mwansa, who both enrolled in theology studies.

iv) Kawila’s Reign Ushers in Realignment

Kaite’s reign as leader of the North Zambia Field came to an end in December 1984. Pastor Albert Musansha Kawila succeeded him in 1985. According to Changwe and Kawila (2020), prior to that appointment, Kawila served in different departmental portfolios at both the North Zambia Field and Zambia Union Mission. Kawila also served as a district pastor in Mupapa of Ndola, Mansa and Mbala. He attended Ponde Primary School and Chimpempe before going to Rusangu where he received his ministerial training. He also received further ministerial training at Solusi College in Bulawayo, Southern Rhodesia. Daniel Chinyoka was

elected as secretary-treasurer taking over from Elder J. M. Sinjela. The following were elected to departmental positions as recorded in the North Zambia Field Executive Committee Minutes (1985): D. Chende was assigned to Sabbath School and lay activities, B. Katele to stewardship and church development, A. Kambaki to Adventist Youth and health and temperance, and W. Mukoma to publishing.

Giving his report to the Zambia Union Third Session that took place at Riverside Farm Institute, from the 18th to the 19th of November 1985, Kawila said that despite the numerous challenges and problems the Field had faced, there had been some growth in a number of areas. The number of districts had increased from 18 in 1980 to 25 in 1985. Church membership had also risen from 12, 738 in 1980 to 21, 588 by September 1985. Kawila reported that during the period under review 95 evangelistic meetings had been conducted by lay people and had resulted in 9971 new converts (North Zambia Field President's Report, 1985).

Although the fires of the Musofu fiasco were ultimately put out, talk of creating a Field on the Copperbelt separate from the one in the North surfaced from time to time. The North Zambia Field was a large territory that spanned from Solwezi in Northwestern Province to Mbala in Northern Province. It was envisioned that as work grew there would be a need for further realignment of the territory. On May 1, 1988, Zambia Union was reorganized into six mission fields at the Session of the Zambia Union that was held in Lusaka, namely South Zambia Field, West Zambia Field, North Zambia Field, East Zambia Field, Copperbelt Field and Central Zambia Field (Akombwa, 2022).

Reorganisation led to Copperbelt Province being detached from North Zambia Field and paired with North-Western Province to create Copperbelt Field, while Luapula and Northern provinces stayed together as North Zambia Field. Pastor Albert. M. Kawila was elected as president of the newly re-organized North Zambia Field with R. P. Musonda replacing Daniel Chinyoka as Secretary-Treasurer. According to the North Zambia Field Executive Committee Minutes of June 1988 the following departmental leaders were elected: Cornelius C. Matandiko (church ministries director) and Mumba Makesa (youth, Sabbath School and communication).

Table D below, extracted from the President's report (1988), shows the names of mission districts in 1988 and the district pastors manning them.

Table D: Names of Mission Districts and Their Pastors in 1988

NAME OF DISTRICT	NAME OF DISTRICT PASTOR
Bangweulu	A. Kanjelesa
Chembe	J. Tambe
Kalungwishi	S. Mpondela
Kawambwa	L. Lubala
Kazembe	W. Sampa
Kaputa	K. Mweo
Luena	D. Chileshe
Mansa	J. Chitebeta
Mwense	D. Musonda
Mweru	F. Mufunda
Nchelenge	C. Kunda
Ng'umbo	E. Mwewa

Source: North Zambia Field President's Report (1988)

Table D, extracted from the President's report, below shows the names of the mission districts and the distribution of their churches in 1988.

Table E: Names of the Mission Districts and Organised Churches in 1988

DISTRICT	ORGANISED CHURCHES
Bangweulu	Mwamfuli, Mpanta, Kapela
Chembe	Chembe, Kankomba, Matanda, Mumbotuta
Kaputa	Kaputa, Kasongole
Kazembe	Kazembe Main, Kazembe Central, Mununshi
Kawambwa	Munkanta, Kawambwa Central, Ntenke, Kalamba, Lusambo, Senga, Chisheta
Kalungwishi	Chimpempe, Kabonde, Mukunsa
Mwense	Lukwesa, Lifuka, Lubunda, Mwense, Chishinshi, Chafwa
Luena	Mushota, Kalama, Kapepelesha, Kalonga
Mansa	Mansa Central, Mansa Main, Chibalashi, Muchinka, Loshi, Mpandika, Namwandwe
Mweru	Kabole, Kaseke, Chipaya, Kalobwa, Mukunga, Mukunta
Nchelenge	Chipakila, Kasheta, Kashikishi, Nchelenge, Kambwali
Ng'umbo	Lubwe

Source: North Zambia Field President's Report. (1988).

Table F below, extracted from the President's report, shows the names of the mission districts and their membership in 1988.

Table F: Names of the Mission Districts and Their Membership in 1988

DISTRICT	MEMBERSHIP
Bangweulu	1286
Chembe	1174
Kalungwishi	527
Kawambwa	922
Kazembe	916
Nchelenge	1131
Luena	611
Mansa	1753
Mwense	1411
Mweru	1906
Ng'umbo	206
Kaputa	848
TOTAL	12, 691

Source: North Zambia Field President's Report (1988).

The total number of baptized members in the 19 districts of the North Zambia Field (comprising Northern and Luapula provinces) at the re-alignment of the Field in 1988 (which before that also had Copperbelt and parts of North Western provinces) stood at 16, 522. Of this number 12, 691 were from Luapula while Northern had 3, 831 members. The total number of organized churches in all the districts of the re-organized North Zambia Field (comprising Northern and Luapula provinces) stood at 77 out of which 56 were from Luapula while 26 belonged to Northern Province.

v) Chende's Presidency and Fiscal Reforms

Kawila's reign at the helm of the North Zambia Field came to an end in December 1990 when he retired. He was succeeded by Pastor Dimas Chende in January 1991. In a June 4,

2021 interview at his home in Ndola, Chende stated that he received his ministerial training at Rusangu Ministerial Training School in Monze. Prior to this appointment he served as president of the Copperbelt Field of Seventh-day Adventists. Chende's other appointments included district pastor at Chimpempe, Bangweulu and Mununga. He also served as a departmental director in charge of Sabbath School and lay activities at the North Zambia Field. Chende's right hand man was Moses Mwenya who was elected as secretary-treasurer taking over from R. P. Musonda. Those in departmental positions at the office included J. M. Chapi, A. Kambaki and E. Mwewa.

Chende took over an institution that had become almost insolvent because of debts owed to Zambia Union in Trust Funds and a printing house in Ndola. He had been directed by his superiors at the Zambia Union to bring fiscal sanity to the institution he had been elected to lead by either selling some of its assets (houses) or laying off some workers. Chende effected none of the directives but instead pushed for a strong stewardship agenda in all the mission districts of the North Zambia Field and implemented some harsh financial measures like "paying workers at 50% of the K70, 000 (un rebased) wage factor and that the remainder be put on the workers account until such time as funds were available" (Executive Committee Minutes, 1994). Growth was slow but the measures Chende's management put in place resulted in the institution paying off some of its debt to the Zambia Union and the printing house in Ndola. ST-6 noted that, "The organization was moving in the right direction but a lot more needed to be done" (interview held on 20 December 2022 in Mansa). After NZF Secretary-Treasurer Moses Mwenya left in March 1995, Ronny Mulenga was elected to replace him in 1996.

vi) Katele's Tumultuous Reign

Chende's tenure as leader of the North Zambia Field came to an end in December 1995. Bryson Mulenga Katele was elected as its new leader and took over the reins in 1996. Prior to his election, Katele served as Zambia Union Education director. In an interview with this researcher on March 4, 2021, Katele stated that before going for his theology studies at Solusi University in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe, he worked as a pastor for Mweru Mission District but afterwards was moved to the North Zambia Field office where he worked in the accounts' office and later as Stewardship Director. After his studies at Solusi, he worked as a chaplain at Rusangu Secondary School, and district pastor in Monze before he moved to Rusangu Ministerial School as its director.

During Katele's presidency, the organization defaulted on remitting Trust Funds to the Zambia Union of Seventh-day Adventists in Lusaka because the local administrative unit's salary obligations took priority, leaving insufficient funds for remittance. Seeing this negative trend in the management of its resources by the North Zambia Field management, leaders at the national office in Lusaka directed that harsh restructuring measures be undertaken by management of the North Zambia Field in order to pay off the debt. These harsh measures would include laying off some pastors and other workers. The North Zambia Executive Committee under Pastor Katele's leadership went ahead and implemented the decision to lay off some pastors. This action resulted in a lawsuit against management by some of the affected workers.

Despite all these odds, Katele reported some positives at the December, 1997 Field Session. From its 12 mission districts, the number of organized churches in Luapula had grown to 74 and under the world Seventh-day Adventist quinquennial theme: *Saturation 2000*, 6, 122 souls had been baptized by December 1997 (Executive Committee Minutes, 1997). Katele's tumultuous reign at the top came to an end in December 2000. He was succeeded by Pastor Wellington Supuni Chapi. However, Chapi's presidency did not last long as he left for further studies to the United States.

vii) Ndatoya Elected to Top NZF Position

In December, 2001 during the 10th Session of the North Zambia Field that was held in Mansa, Pastor Bednical Ndatoya was elected as Field president. In an interview with this researcher on May 20, 2020 Ndatoya stated that prior to his appointment he served as stewardship and youth director of the North Zambia Field. Ndatoya had also previously served as a pastor in a number of districts in the Central Zambia Field and as president of the Central and East Zambia fields respectively.

Ndatoya was at the helm of the institution from 2002 to 2004. George Brywell Siamuzoka, who was elected secretary-treasurer had taken over from Samson Mulenga. By the time Ndatoya left in December 2004, there were 167 organized churches and 388 smaller congregations (referred to in church circles as companies). Membership of 49, 480 was served by 14 district pastors. Between January and November 2004, a total of 8, 427 souls

had been baptized into the churches of the North Zambia Field (Executive Committee Minutes, 2004).

viii) Chansa Replaces Ndatoya

After Ndatoya left, the Session of December 2004 elected Pastor Rogers Chansa as president of the North Zambia Field. Chansa was a graduate of Solusi University where he obtained a BA degree in theology. He further attended the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary at Andrews University in the USA where he obtained a Master of Divinity (Mdiv) degree. Prior to holding this position, he served as a district pastor in a number of mission districts in Luapula and the Copperbelt provinces. Others who were elected to serve under his administration included, Isaac Chungu Kaputo (secretary-treasurer), Samuel Sinyangwe (stewardship/ministerial), B. C. Mwenya (personal ministries/Adventist Youth/Education), and Mulenga Malitino (publishing/communication).

Chansa's administration faced escalating financial pressures, which not only persisted but also intensified over time. His administration addressed the deteriorating fiscal space by voting to implement certain stern measures which yielded positive results. The Field became debt free as every money that had been owed to the Zambia Union was paid (Executive Committee Minutes, 2005). During the Mid-Year Executive Committee meeting held in June 2006, the Secretary-Treasurer, Mr. Isaac Chungu Kaputo reported that the liquidity level had increased from 89% in 2005 to 102% in 2006 and that the institution had managed to spend within the budgeted income (Executive Committee Minutes, 2006).

4.1.3 Luapula and Northern Split

During Chansa's tenure as head of the North Zambia Field, the voices from Northern Province calling for a separate Field had grown too loud to be ignored. Management itself had come to the conclusion that the creation of a separate Field in Northern province was an absolute necessity. A North Zambia Field Survey Commission (2006) established to look into the issue of separating the two provinces had recommended a re-alignment of the North Zambia Field. The following were cited as the reasons for the recommendation:

1. The territory was very big. Northern Province at the time was the largest province in Zambia.

2. Travel costs to Northern Province were too high compared to Luapula, making it financially difficult to provide needed services to members in Northern Province.
3. Northern Province was a sparsely populated area and although the population was higher than that of Luapula, the church membership was smaller.
4. A separate Northern Field would make it easier for close participation and monitoring of districts by pastors.
5. Collection of reports such as bank statements and monthly tithe/offering reports took longer to reach the office in Mansa. This consequently led to the late production of reports such as financial statements.
6. There was no direct mail communication or post services between Northern and the office in Mansa.

According to the secretary-treasurer's statistical report of December 31, 2006, Luapula Province had 183 churches and 426 companies with a membership of 55, 742.

4.1.4 Luapula Field Born

On July 1, 2007, Luapula Field was born (Executive Committee Minutes, 2007). The two provinces that had hitherto been together into what was known as North Zambia Field were now split with each having its own office. Luapula retained the Mansa office while Northern created a new office in Kasama. Pastor Samuel Sinyangwe was elected as president with Pastor Moses Mwenya as his secretary-treasurer. Prior to this appointment, Sinyangwe served as stewardship director and ministerial secretary of the North Zambia Field. A Solusi University alumnus with a BA in Theology, Sinyangwe's experience included serving as district pastor for Mansa South Mission District.

i) Move Toward Conference Status

Talk about a new status higher than that of a Field characterized Sinyangwe's tenure as president of the Luapula Field. The Zambia Union, the parent body of Adventist institutions in Zambia, had itself been granted a Union Conference status in 2012. To be granted a Conference status at either Field or Union Mission levels meant several things. It implied autonomy for the entity to choose its own leaders and reaching self-support level (Griffin, 1993). However, it meant more. Griffin explains:

Conference status is more than this. It signifies that a field or union has achieved maturity that grants its leaders a larger share of responsibility for management of resources, policy development, setting direction and tone for the organization, and providing a level of leadership that will move the organization toward the goal of fulfilling the great commission of Christ to give the gospel to every person within its territory, thus preparing a people to meet the Lord (1993: 15).

Conference status not only places a demand upon the leaders of the Field but the members as well. Members “take on a new accountability and responsibility for the progress and management of the work of God in their territory” (Griffin, 1993: 15). Griffin further notes that:

The major constituency responsibility is to elect officers who have the ability to manage affairs of the organization and who can provide spiritual leadership that will achieve success in reaching goals for progress and achievement by uniting workers and members in the various functions of the church (1993: 15).

ii) Builders of Luapula Initiative

To qualify for Conference status, Luapula Field needed to create a health financial base to support its mission agenda and to pay salaries without depending on any outside entity. The Field continued its slow but steady growth toward self-support. In his report to the Mid-Year Executive Committee Meeting that took place in Mansa on the 15th of June 2009, Luapula Field President, Samuel Sinyangwe noted that the Field held a field-wide Festival of the Laity in Mansa themed: “Toward Conference Status: Waiting and Working.” The meeting was attended by more than 240 delegates. At the conclusion of that meeting an initiative called ‘Builders of Luapula’ was born (Executive Committee Minutes, 2009).

Builders of Luapula concept was built around the Bemba proverb that *Umunwe umo tausala nda*. This proverb essentially says that one person cannot do what many people are able to. The Builders of Luapula initiative was an enterprise through which management sought to fund its projects by appealing directly to the constituency. It was argued that the reason why many church members were not contributing toward the Lord’s work in Luapula was that no one had told them about the needs in the province. It was further argued that Adventists residing outside the province could not avail the resources to help Luapula because there was no organized, well-articulated and promoted vision of what they were to support. People

who contribute to causes want a clear project toward which they could give their support (Executive Committee Minutes, 2009).

After launching the Builders of Luapula initiative, the Field distributed envelopes throughout its territory encouraging members to contribute financially to support the Church's infrastructure development. They outlined several upcoming critical capital projects requiring church members' financial participation and appealed for their support. A 2012 Year-End Executive Committee Meeting report by the Secretary-Treasurer, Moses Mwenya, revealed that not much had been achieved through the Builders of Luapula initiative. "We continue to grapple with the issue of envelopes we distributed two years ago. Our target was K300 million but we have so far only received K35 million. We definitely require your wisdom on this matter because we have done all but to no avail." (Executive Committee Minutes, 2012).

Although the ambitious 'Builders of Luapula' initiative did not produce the results management had hoped to achieve, the Field had made notable strides in its quest to attain self-support status. Giving a report during the 2012 Year-End Executive Committee meeting, the Field President, Samuel Sinyangwe reported that Luapula Field was now debt free. The institution was not only up to date with remitting Trust Funds to Zambia Union but Central Salaries as well (Executive Committee Minutes, 2012). Membership had also grown from 65, 430 in 2010 to 75, 811 by September 2012 (Executive Committee Minutes, 2010 and 2012).

During the same year-end committee meeting, the secretary-treasurer reported that at the time of the organization of the Luapula Field in July 2007 membership had stood at 57, 702 and by September 2012 it had leaped to 75, 811. This increase of 18, 109 translated into 31.38% of growth in five years (Executive Committee Minutes, 2012). The number of organized churches stood at 215 while those of smaller congregations (companies) was at 443 (Executive Committee Minutes, 2012).

4.1.5 Luapula Field Attains Conference Status

Luapula Field was elevated to Conference status during an organising session held at Teja Executive Lodge in Mansa from December, 20 to 22, 2016. Officers and directors of

Luapula Field, which was now transitioning to Conference status, reported on their progress to a gathering of almost 300 delegates, reviewing activities from 2010 to October 2015. In his report to the Session, Luapula Field secretary-treasurer, Daniel Mwansa reported that there had been growth in a number of areas. In 2010 membership which was at 69, 972 had grown to 88, 079 in 2015. The number of congregations (churches and companies) which in 2010 were 653 grew to 674 by October 2015. Tithe income had increased, while liquidity, working capital and self-support percentages had also been rising consistently during the period under review. However, despite the rise in these financial indicators, the stewardship director reported that members' participation in the stewardship programmes of the church during the period under review was lower than 40% (Luapula Conference Organising Session Reports, 2016).

The education director reported about the existence of schools in the Field that were either privately owned by church members or grant-aided by the Government. These institutions included Chimpempe Primary and Secondary Schools in Kawambwa and Sunshine Secondary School in Mwense. While the Church played a key role in staffing, they received government funding and operated as grant-aided schools. Other schools that the director reported on were Fordinah Pandeli, and Pearl Gate located in Mansa. These schools operated on the Adventist philosophy of education, but were privately owned. The education director also reported that during the period under review, six church workers had graduated with Bachelor of Theology degrees while one worker had obtained an MA degree. The education director's report, however, did not indicate whether these graduates were sponsored by the church or not (Luapula Conference Organising Session Reports, 2016).

The personal ministries leader reported that 480 lay people had been trained in soul winning methods in the period under review. The leader further reported that 124 crusades had been conducted by the laity while pastors conducted 105 crusades in the same period resulting in 8, 921 baptisms. Through the Voice of Prophecy (VOP) Bible Correspondence School, 12 graduation ceremonies had been conducted in a number of districts leading to 1171 students graduating. Further, 559 people were baptized in the period under review after studying the Bible course (Luapula Conference Organising Session Reports, 2016).

The Adventist Youth leader on the other hand reported that 750 souls had been baptized through the Annual Youth Weeks of Prayer over the last five years. He further reported that

23 districts in the Conference conducted youth crusades in the period under review and that more than 300 young people had participated in evangelism activities each year (Luapula Conference Organising Session Reports, 2016).

Dr. Silas Chabala was elected as president of the newly organized Luapula Conference. Chabala shared his background in an interview on March 4, 2022. Before his current appointment, he held roles including ministerial secretary at Lusaka Conference and director of personal ministries and Sabbath School at Central Zambia Conference. He also pastored churches and districts such as Lusaka Central Church and several others. Chabala holds a BA in Theology from Solusi University, an MA in Pastoral Theology, and a Dmin in Leadership from the Adventist University of Africa.

Pastor Chanda Mwenya of Bangweulu Mission District was elected as executive secretary but served only briefly and was replaced by Pastor Kenfield Sindolo who had been serving as a district pastor in Mansa Central Mission District. Ruth Changwe was elected as chief financial officer. Prior to this appointment Changwe served as Luapula Field Auditor.

4.1.6 Luapula Conference Holds First Session

The Luapula Conference held its First Session in Mansa at Teja Executive Lodge from 4 to 7 December, 2018. As noted in the Luapula Zambia Conference First Session Reports (2018), the session served three key purposes: reviewing the past three years' progress, planning for the next three years (2019-2021), and electing conference leaders.

President Silas Chabala reported that there was a steady but moderate growth in membership, tithes and offerings, evangelistic activities, infrastructural projects and staff development during the period under review (2016-2018). In 2016 membership stood at 93, 757 but in 2017 when there was a membership audit, 27, 457 members were dropped from the records because they could not be traced. They were deemed missing. This deduction of "non-traceable 'members' from the records in 2017 brought the number of members to 71, 526 in 2018.

On self-support actualization, Chabala said that a lot more needed to be done. He reported that members' contributions to tithe income in December 2016 stood at more than K4, 680, 000 while in 2017 tithe contributions rose to more than K4, 900, 000. By August 2018 the figure stood at slightly more than K4,000,000. He went on to say that tithe participation percentages by members were not impressive. In 2016, the figure stood at 38%, in 2017 at 42% and in 2018 at 43%. While liquidity levels consistently soured higher than 100% during the three years under review, the working capital wasn't impressive. In 2016 working capital stood at 75.39%, in 2017 at 62% and by August 2018 at 73.5%.

Chabala reported that from the 13th to the 21st of April, 2018, Luapula Conference hosted a General Conference sponsored Stewardship Holy Convocation in Mansa for all the pastors in the Conference. This initiative was intended to improve the stewardship fortunes of the area but Chabala's report seemed to suggest that the financial picture of the Conference had not changed much by the time of the Session in December. He noted that the percentage growth of stewardship faithfulness was still below 50%.

On evangelism activities, Chabala reported that in the period under review one hundred and ten (110) evangelistic crusades had been conducted throughout the Conference resulting in more than seventeen thousand five hundred baptisms (17, 500).

On infrastructure development, Chabala reported that Lunzua Company had financed the construction of admission wards at Chimpempe Clinic and two-one-by three classroom blocks (one each at the primary and secondary school). Further the Company had also put up a girl's dormitory and teachers' houses. Chabala also reported that Beit Trust of the United Kingdom had financed the building of a new clinic at Chimpempe.

In his report in the Luapula Conference First Session Reports (2018), Executive Secretary Kenfield Sindolo stated that the number of churches in the Conference by December 2018 stood at two hundred and seventy-eight (278) while those of Companies stood at four hundred and nineteen (419). He further reported that the Conference had twenty-four (24) mission districts which included Kaputa, Nsama and Chilubi which were part of Northern Province. He also reported that more than thirteen thousand (13, 000) members had been uploaded on the newly introduced Adventist Church Management System (ACMS).

Sindolo who also directed the Global Mission office lamented the lack of support from the higher organizations for the Global Mission projects in Luapula. He noted that the Conference only hosted one Global Mission Pioneer at Milenge who was being sponsored by a couple in Kafue. Sindolo said that there were still a number of unentered areas in parts of Ng'umbo, Bangweulu Swamps and Kilwa Island.

Luapula Conference personal ministries and Sabbath School director Teddy Kaunda reported that during the period under review (2016-2018), three hundred (300) lay people had been trained in soul-winning methods. He further reported that Dorcas Society workers conducted thirty-eight (38) crusades that resulted in more than one thousand four hundred (1, 400) baptisms. He also reported that one hundred and ten (110) crusades had been conducted between 2016 and 2018.

A new leadership team was elected at the Second Session in December 2018. Dr. Silas Chabala was replaced by Pastor Emmanuel Mwewa. Before this appointment Mwewa served as Bangweulu Mission District leader. Mwewa, a holder of a BA in Theology from Rusangu University, had also served as a pastor in the following Mission Districts: Kawambwa, Mansa North, Mporokoso, Nchelenge and Ng'umbo. He had also served as a director at the office in charge of Stewardship at several intervals. Other elected leaders included James Mpapwa Chapi, executive secretary, and Samson Mulenga, Chief Financial Officer.

4.1.7 Luapula Conference Holds Second Session

The Luapula Conference's third session was rescheduled from December 2021 to January 24-26, 2022, and held at Sali Resort in Mansa. Executive Secretary James Chapi presented the president's report in place of President Emmanuel Mwewa, who had taken a new role.

According to the Luapula Zambia Conference Third Session Reports (2022), Chapi reported that the number of mission districts grew from 24 in 2018 to 25 in 2021, representing an increase of only one district over the 2019-2021 period. These also included Chilubi, Kaputa and Nsama which geographically speaking belonged to Northern Province. They were attached to Luapula Conference for administrative convenience.

Chapi reported that there was a steady growth of tithe income, with working capital and liquidity percentages soaring higher than 100%. He, however, noted that the increase in tithe income was “still not enough to sustain ministry” (LC Third Session, 2022: 4). This meant that the Conference still depended “on appropriations from the higher organization” (LC Third Session, 2022: 4). Despite the restrictive financial picture obtaining in the Conference, Chapi reported that the Conference gave assistance to twenty-nine (29) churches to help them with construction works amounting to K172, 693.

The chief financial officer, Samson Mulenga, reported a steady growth in tithe income in the period under review. Other areas that revealed a positive financial turnaround were self-support, working capital and liquidity percentages. Mr. Mulenga however said that despite these growth indicators “very few members participate in returning tithe (less than 25%) in most of the churches” (LC Third Session, 2022: 35). Mulenga frowned on the habit of some churches and companies of remitting Trust Funds late to the Conference and failure by most districts to reach their monthly goals. This, Mulenga said, had a negative effect on Luapula Conference budget and the mission of the church.

Mulenga also reported that non-tithe funds were not promoted in the churches resulting in the Conference not having money for capital projects which were funded from non-tithe funds. He concluded by saying that while the indicators “show that we are improving, yet it is not at the level where we are supposed to be” (LC Third Session, 2022: 36).

The Covid-19 pandemic severely impacted church operations, according to departmental leaders. The publishing and children’s ministries were particularly affected due to closures and restrictions (LC Third Session, 2022, pp. 42, 46). Tithe and offering collections also suffered. The chief financial officer noted uncertainty about the pandemic’s long-term financial impact.

The Adventist Youth leader Henry Sinyangwe reported that the annual senior youth and pathfinder weeks of prayer conducted in the period under review resulted in 520 baptisms. Sinyangwe who was also Personal Ministries and Sabbath School director reported that in 2019, eighty-one (81) evangelistic campaigns conducted by ten pastors and seventy-one (21) lay evangelists resulted into 6, 908 baptisms. Sinyangwe further reported that despite Covid-19 restrictions forty-one (41) evangelistic campaigns were held throughout the territory in

2020. Sixteen pastors and twenty-five lay evangelists led out in the campaigns which yielded 4, 397 baptisms. In 2021, noted Sinyangwe, 71 evangelistic campaigns involving nine pastors and sixty-two lay evangelists resulted in 5, 243 baptisms. Pastor Sinyangwe who also directed the departments of communication, chaplaincy and music, reported that 997 lay workers were trained and certified in evangelism methods in 2020 and 2021.

Sinyangwe, however, lamented the lack of participation in evangelism by the majority of the church members in the Conference adding also that the evangelism fund was not enough to support evangelistic thrusts in the Conference.

At this Third Session of the Luapula Conference new leaders were chosen. Teddy Kaunda, who formerly led out in Mwense South District as a district pastor was chosen as the new president. Henry Sinyangwe took over from James Chapi as executive secretary, while John Chitakwa became the new chief financial officer.

4.1.8 Summary

This section has presented the findings of the study on how the SDA Church was established in the Luapula Province. It has traced the history from its inception at Chimpempe in 1921, the formation of the North Zambia Field in 1972, its realignment in 1988, the birth of the Luapula Field in 2007 and its eventual organization into a Conference in 2016. The thread of its history runs from 1921 to 2021 marking 100 years of its existence. The focus of this particular section was the Central Office and its oversight of the territory in the areas of policy implementation, planning and other matters pertaining to the running of the Church. The next section presents the findings on how the SDA Church was established in Ponde, Luapula Valley Corridor, Mansa, Loshi and Chifunabuli.

Part 11: History of Selected Main Centers

Part two of this chapter completes presentation of the findings on question and objective of the study by detailing how the Seventh-day Adventist Church was established in five sites of the Luapula Province namely Chienge (Ponde), Mwense (Luapula Valley corridor: Lukwesa, Lifuka, Chishinshi, and Chafwa), Mansa, Loshi and Chifunabuli (Ng'umbo). It further

highlights a few names of the key people that were instrumental in the spread of the SDA message in the identified sites amidst great odds.

4.1.9 Establishment of the SDA Church at Ponde

This section presents the findings on how the SDA Church was established at Ponde in Senior Chief Puta's Village in Chienge District of Luapula Province. It highlights some key personalities and methods employed by the indigenous people in their quest to spread the message of the SDA Church. Data presented here are derived from face-to-face interviews with respondent RSP-5 at Chienge on the 23rd and 24th of February, 2021.

The first footprint of SDA missionary work in the area stretching from Kashikishi to Chienge may have been Ponde in Chief Puta's area in the mid-1930s where a school was opened. Around the same period another school was opened at Mukonkoto among the Tabwa speaking people.

The idea of opening up a school at Ponde was the brainchild of Mr. Chansa Chipili who was Chief Ponde's retainer. Chipili had visited Chimpempe Mission in 1934. Impressed by the education system that he saw at the mission and the manner in which missionaries conducted their prayers, Chipili asked one of the teachers there to consider setting up a school in his village since there was none there. The missionaries agreed to set up a school at Ponde as a way to take the message of the SDA Church to the area. Evangelism through schools was standard practice among the early missionaries that came to Central Africa in the 1900s.

On the 15th of May in 1937, two teacher-evangelists from Chimpempe—Stanley Mwesa and Simon Kabemba—opened up a school at Ponde. This event effectually meant the beginning of the SDA missionary activities in the area. On the 30th of September, 1950 Ponde SDA Company was organized into a Church by the then Chimpempe Mission Station Director, R. P. Robinson. Those elected to lead out in the work at the newly organized church included L.V. Chibalange (church elder), Boston Mwaba (second elder), Lazarus Chitule (clerk) and his vice Mwape Luyemba.

Ponde SDA Church was dedicated on the 17th of November, 1973 by Pastor Abner Curp Mpamba. Other ministers present at the occasion were W. Sampa and R. Mulengela. Mr. Samuel Chikanda and Mr. Catchwell Mutono were elected as elders while Mr. Lazarus Chishimba and Mr. Evans Mwansa Kapompo served as church clerks.

At Ponde, the missionaries opted to try evangelization through the establishment of a school. Thus, they established a school in 1937. This school was to be run by teacher-evangelists. The earliest names of teachers sent from Chimpempe to Ponde Primary School were those of Abner Curp Mpamba, Jonathan Mwesa, and Mr. Kabasa from Tabwa land.

Though education was brought right at the door step of the village, it was not entirely embraced by the community. The European system of education which focused mostly on teaching children how to read and write came into conflict with the community's expectations imposed upon the children. Children were expected to help their parents in their subsistence farming and fishing occupations. The white man's education system, on the other hand created a system where children were expected to go to school for most of the day to learn things that did not show immediate benefits to the family and the community. As a result, only a few got educated, among whom were Mr. Hannaniah Chongo, Mr. Oswald Mwenya and Chief Ponde's child. Hannaniah Chongo later became a minister in the United National Independence Party (UNIP) led government of late president Kenneth David Buchizya Kaunda. Oswald Mwenya also held a position in government after independence.

Winston Nsabila, a leading figure among the early workers in the Chiengwe area of Senior Chief Puta, played a pivotal role in the early establishment of the SDA work at Ponde. He used to visit people from home to home sharing the faith of the Adventist Church in the area. At that time, it was difficult to gather big crowds for purposes of sharing the Adventist message. The chief occupation of the majority of the people in the area was fishing. The message of the church that forbade the eating of certain types of fish did not resonate well with the people. Nsabila, thus, went from home to home conducting Bible studies.

Another leading figure in personal witnessing was Mr. James Chitendwe who was a peasant farmer. Noting the important role education played in bringing people to Christ, Chitendwe made a habit of going around the village urging boys and girls to go to school. He understood that once these children went to school, they had an opportunity to hear messages

that would draw them to Christ. Chitendwe, was a practically oriented man who used to teach children simple farming methods and how to make crafts like *imyono* (fish traps) and *imiseke* (long baskets made of reeds) as a way to help them become self-reliant. The missionaries from Chimpempe paid him a small stipend for his work.

After gaining church status, members of the Ponde Church initiated efforts to establish new congregations in nearby villages that had not yet been reached with the SDA message. Companies were opened which later became churches. These new churches also helped to plant new congregations in unentered areas. Notable among the churches that grew out of Ponde Church's evangelistic thrusts were Chipungu Main (1954), Kalobwa, Mukunta, Mutapa (1960), and Kanyangala. A retired teacher from Ponde Primary School named Kabaso Chilufya went to settle at Kalobwa by the shores of Lake Mweru where he opened up a Company which for many years operated under the umbrella of Ponde SDA Church. Other Companies opened included Chitofwe at Luabu, Chipungu Central and Kamfilu. From the church at Kaseke, Mununga, where missionaries also opened a school, more congregations were born. Notable among them being Kabole and Chipipya.

In the early 1980s public evangelism took centre stage. Churches began to organize big public meetings in places where they sought to open up work. These meetings often ran for three weeks or more and were conducted either by pastors or lay evangelists. At the end of the series a call would be made for those non-SDA members who had been attending the nightly meetings urging them to join the SDA Church. From such a nucleus of believers the church that sponsored the meetings would then establish a new company at that place.

4.1.10 Establishment of the SDA Church in the Luapula Valley

This section presents the findings on how the SDA Church was established along the Luapula Valley in the Mwense District of Luapula Province. It focuses on areas where small pockets of Adventists existed whose initial contact with the SDA Church's message was not the SDA mission post at Chimpempe but either the Democratic Republic of Congo or other areas. It highlights some of the key lay people who were instrumental in either establishing or consolidating the message and mission of the Church. Data presented here are collected from the following sources: respondents RTD-1 (21st February, 2021 in Kawambwa), RSP-2 (8th

February, 2021 at Nkumbi in Mwense district), RSP-3 (12th March, 2022 at Mwense), GFD (15th June, at Lukwesa in Mwense District), and the unpublished Congo Document (1948).

Along the Luapula Valley, small pockets of Adventist believers existed in a number of villages whose contact with the SDA message was not Chimpempe Mission but either Congo or other Adventist mission centers around the country such as Musofu near Mkushi. These small loose clusters of believers existed at Lukwesa, Lifuka, Chishinshi, and Chafwa. It is to these villages that the Adventist mission station at Chimpempe sent its missionaries and teacher- evangelists in the early establishment of the SDA Church in the Luapula Valley.

i) Lukwesa

The earliest recorded penetration of missionary effort from Chimpempe along the Luapula Valley took place at Chisale in Lukwesa's chiefdom in 1927. Adventist missionaries Lawson Endaenda and R. P. Robinson arrived at Chisale with the intention of opening up a mission outpost and a school. Chisale, a peripheral section of Lukwesa chiefdom, was located north of the main village with only a few houses dotting its landscape. However, notwithstanding this reality, the missionaries decided to establish a church and build a school there.

When Chief Lukwesa, whose name was Mukwampa, heard of the missionaries' intention to build a school there, he urged them instead to consider relocating to Katopwa in the main village where there were many people. Work started slowly at Chisale and never seemed to pick up. The missionaries from Chimpempe thus decided to relocate its operations to Katopwa in 1931. The small company that was opened at Chisale, however, was never closed down. Work continued in its stunted shape under the leadership of Mr. Petros Matipa but suffered another blow in 1947 when a number of believers migrated to Mwansabombwe.

The arrival of the Adventist missionaries, Endaenda and H. W. Hurlow, at Lukwesa was to help grow or expand the work there as a number of Adventists were already living there. Their intention was to consolidate the little gains that had been made by the few believers who were living there. Their other interest was to open a school where they hoped to not just teach the three Rs of reading, writing, and arithmetic but the word of God as a way to evangelise the area. Missionaries were keen to establish schools for purposes of evangelisation, especially to the young people who were not as entrenched into questionable cultural practices as the adults.

In 1931 the missionaries' intention to open a school became a reality. A school, named Chimpempe, was opened at Katopwa which offered two progressive classes; Subs A and B. From Katopwa (Chimpempe) the pupils proceeded to Kalenda Government School at Mumpolokoso for their Standards I and II. In 1968 the Adventist operated Chimpempe School at Katopwa was shifted to Kasonge by order of the government to give an opportunity to the villages spread from Lukwesa to Kawama where there was no school to have access to education as well. Chimpempe School at Katopwa and Kalenda School were not too far apart and were both domiciled in Lukwesa's chiefdom. The once Seventh-day Adventist operated Chimpempe school has since been taken over by the government and has grown into a secondary school and is known in the local community as Kasonge Secondary School.

The strategy used by missionaries from Chimpempe then was to open schools where they would send teacher-evangelists who would then run those schools. At each of those schools they would establish a church as well. So, teaching and evangelisation went hand in hand. Teacher-evangelists were sent to such schools to teach and spread the message of Christ.

The earliest teachers associated with the Adventist school at Katopwa in Lukwesa's chiefdom were the headmaster, Mr. William Kasongamulilo and teacher Polo Kaniembo. Both were sent from Chimpempe. Others were Mr. Newstone Chinyungi and Mr. Abner Curp Mpamba. Some of the early young people who passed through its corridors included Mr. Dimas Mutobola, Mr. Albert Lukwesa Chipendano, and Mr. Lazarus Chitula. The last head teacher at Chimpempe School at Katopwa before it shifted to Kasonge was Mr. Chayuwa. His deputy was Mr. Peter Mutale.

The opening of the school at Katopwa coincided with the organization of Lukwesa Company. The earliest leader associated with the newly established congregation at Katopwa in Lukwesa's chiefdom was Mr. London Kasanda. At nearby Chisale where the missionaries first opened a congregation Mr. Petros Matipa led out.

In the early days of their penetration and engagement, missionaries from Chimpempe like Enda enda and Job Mabuti from Tonga land would visit the people for a number of days teaching them the word of God and providing other pastoral services. Once the days of visitations were over these missionaries would go back to their base at Chimpempe. After

some time, they would again visit the area for a number of days before going back. The first pastor to have been sent to Lukwesa to shepherd the flock was Laban Ndaiseka. RSP-2 noted that in 1955 when he came to Lukwesa, he found Ndaiseka as the pastor for Lukwesa Mission District. After Ndaiseka left Pastor Arnold Victor Kaite came. After Kaite left, Pastor Mwila Mwesa took over.

For many years Lukwesa was the hub of Adventist activities along the Luapula Valley. Believers came for worship from the surrounding villages every Sabbath before churches were opened in other villages. It was also at Lukwesa where the house of the pastor was built. From that center, the pastor walked or cycled to the villages north and south of the corridor. Before other centers like Chafwa started hosting camp meetings, they were always held at Lukwesa. It is thus common to see names of key lay leaders that used to leave outside Lukwesa being associated with the work at Lukwesa because that used to be the ‘Jerusalem’ of Adventist worship in the Luapula Valley. It is also worth noting that the Luapula Valley corridor was one big territory known as Lukwesa Mission District which in the 1970s stretched from Mwansabombwe to Musonda Falls.

During the formation era when people came from far-flung centers like Chafwa, Chishinshi, Lifuka and other areas for worship every Sabbath (Saturday) at Lukwesa, a few names of lay people that stood out are those of Mr. Alfred Muma, Mr. Shamenda (bashi Musampa), Mr London Kasanda, and Mr. Wilfred Chisuku, among others. Mr. Alfred Muma lived in Mwense Town where he owned a bakery which he named Tweshe. At that time there was no church at Mwense and Mr. Muma and his family used to go to Lukwesa for their Sabbath worship. These few individuals stood out as being key figures that led out in the formation and growth of the SDA Church at Lukwesa in the Mwense district.

i) Lifuka

From Lukwesa, the missionaries’ next stop over was Lifuka. Lifuka already had a few adherents to the Adventist faith. However, these few used to go to Lukwesa for Sabbath worship where there was a church as their number could not justify a separate congregation. A Mr. Aluneti, who heard and embraced the message of the SDA Church from Congo and had settled at Lifuka, may have been the first person to spearhead the preaching of the message there. Other prominent names at Lifuka were those of Mr. David Kabwebwe, his brother Mr. Bates Kabwebwe and Mr. Patment Mwale Chipumbu. Others were teacher-

evangelist Elwati (Edward) Muyeba who used to teach at the mission school at Lifuka, and Mr. Chiluya, a teacher who came from Chimpempe and headman Lifuka.

After it became organized into a church Lifuka became the mother church for Chishinshi Company. Lifuka was closer to Chishinshi than Lukwesa. In the early beginnings and eventual development of the work at Lifuka, lay evangelists who were influential in taking the message of the SDA Church to different places were Mr. Jameson Musonge who also served as an elder, Mr. Hezekiah Mpundu and Mr. Kasolwe Nsemiwe. They were instrumental in taking the SDA message to such areas as Musalango, Musashi, Kabongo, and Chembe in the plateau area. These leaders throughout the 1980s were very active in personal and public evangelism.

ii) Chishinshi

It is not known precisely when the SDA message reached Chishinshi but it must have been before 1932. Chishinshi had an Adventist presence and existed as a Company for many years. Growth at Chishinshi, however, appears to have been slow despite receiving the Adventist message earlier than many places along the Luapula Valley. For many years some of the Lifuka Church members were those who came from Chishinshi. Excerpts from the document “Pa Kasenga” (March 1948), sourced from Kinyanta SDA Church, Kasenga, DRC reads in part:

In 1932, we used to congregate at the home of Kabambula and his wife whose name was Mumba Sala. Hatred started and the enemies of the gospel reported us to the authorities and we were arrested and locked up in police custody for three days before we appeared in court. This setback, however, did not bring the work to a standstill. We continued meeting. We used to cross over to Rhodesia (Zambia) from 1932 to 1948. The total number of years this happened was sixteen years.

In a focus group discussion at Chishinshi, one respondent spoke of the time when three congregations used to meet at Chishinshi every Sabbath.

Many years ago, here at Chishinshi there was a time when people from Chafwa and Chinyanta Church in Congo used to meet here every Sabbath for worship until we split at some point. Those from Chafwa started meeting on their own and those that used to come from Congo also stopped coming (FGD, June 15, 2022).

RTD-3 also remembered that during the 1970s when he served as the district pastor for Lukwesa Mission District, Adventist congregations at Kasenga in the Democratic Republic of Congo used to cross into Zambia during the annual camp meetings while those in his district would also cross into Congo for camp meetings once in a while (Interview with RTD-3, February 22, 2021).

From the Congo document we can deduce that the Adventist message at Chishinshi may have come in the 1920s. If this is true, Chishinshi Village may be the first point of entry of the Adventist faith in the Luapula Valley or among the earliest. It is also possible to deduce from the Congo document that work at Chishinshi may have been introduced by those who lived in Congo in the period when there was a free movement of people between the two countries. If it is true that people from Kasenga in Congo brought the message to Chishinshi, it could partly explain why congregants there started coming to Chishinshi after the church there got into trouble with the government.

Prominent among the early believers at Chishinshi were Mr. Pats Chile, Chafwa Makesa, ba Chifunda, bana Chifunda, ba Wayenga and his wife, ba Bulungu, ba Kapata, Mr. William Kabati, and Nelly Kalusha (FGD held at Chishinshi, June 15, 2022).

iii) Chafwa

Chafwa became established as a meeting center of worship when its membership grew and members thought of having their own worship at home. Prior to the establishment of the church at Chishinshi, members used to walk every Sabbath to Chishinshi for worship. The organization of a company took place in 1963 with Mr. Chafwa Makesa being the first Company leader. Later the Company was organized into a church with Mr. James Kunkuta being elected as the first church elder. Kunkuta hailed from Mwansabombwe but married a woman from Kashiba's village. He came into contact with Seventh-day Adventism during his stay in Congo. Kunkuta also once lived on the Copperbelt.

Like other early centers of Adventism, Chafwa also had a nucleus of believers who came into contact with Adventism either from Congo or other mission stations like Musofu, near Mkushi. According to Mumba Makesa, son to Mr. Chilufya Chafwa Makesa, this nucleus consisted of people like Mr. Chilufya Chafwa Makesa, Mr. Field Kankoloto, Mr. Bulungu, Mr. Saini, Mr. Roman Kabesa, bashi Lazalo and Mr. Chipende. Others were Mr. Chibale,

Mr.Nsemiwe, Mr. Musama, Mr. Mulewa, Mr. Shamenda, and Mr. Nkomba (Titus Chiputa). These people used to attend Sabbath worship services at Chishinshi which was a Company under Lifuka SDA Church.

4.1.11 Establishment of the SDA Church at Loshi

This section presents the findings of the study on how the SDA Church was established at Loshi in the Mansa District of Luapula Province. It also highlights some names of pioneers during the establishment phase. Data was collected from the following sources: respondents RSP-1 (10th June, 2022 in Mansa), RSP-4 (10th March, 2022 at Loshi), FGD (10th May, 2022 at Loshi).

Loshi, lies 40 km east of Mansa town. The area is known as Kabende and is under sub-chief Kale who is a subordinate of Chief Mibenge. The area is predominantly Ushi with the Abena Ng'oma clan being the largest in number.

Foremost among the key people identified in the establishment and growth of the Adventist Church in the Mansa district in its early stages was Mr. Samuel Chiposo who arrived from Congo in 1929 and settled at Chambula in Mibenge's chiefdom. While in Congo, Chiposo came into contact with the message of the Seventh-day Adventists at the Katanga Mission and embraced it. Chiposo's wife hailed from the abena Ng'oma clan of the Ushi speaking people that had settled at Mulyato in Chief Mabumba's area of Mansa district. In his frequent visits to Mulyato, where his wife hailed from, Chiposo discovered a few people in the area who had also embraced the faith of the SDA Church. It is this small nucleus that Chiposo organized into what was essentially the first Seventh-day Adventist congregation in the Mansa area around the time of his arrival in 1929 or 1930.

In 1933, the *abena Ng'oma* clan that had settled at Mulyato decided to move to a new location near the Mansa-Samfya Road where they established their new village. The group retained its old name of Chibende. Bernard Kabengele Yalila, who was chosen as headman of that group, was himself a member of the small Adventist congregation that Samuel Chiposo was the leading organizer. Other members of the pioneer nucleus group of Adventists that settled at Chibende included Timothy Chila (elder brother to Bernard

Kabengele Yalila), David Chitomfwa, Davison Mwansa, Aaron Mulongwe, Rabson Chapa, Harry Mela, Abraham Kwilwa, bana Mwila Rabson, Robina Mela, Ruth Mela, Lucy Chileyana and Mweni Matuuka.

With the relocation of the majority of the pioneer members of the company that started at Mulyato to Chibende, the new congregation became the centre of Adventist influence for many years to come in the Mansa District. Although Samuel Chiposo was one of the leaders in the new congregation at Chibende, he, however, continued living in his home village of Chambula where he was also a village headman.

Church records are blank about activities at Chibende from its inception in the early 1930s to 1953. While the work of evangelism must have been going on, there are no written records that highlight any important activities. Only oral tradition or the word of mouth from a few survivors from the stock of the pioneers and those who once interacted with the pioneers exists. However, the silence in terms of the lack of written records is not surprising, given that Chibende Church (now Loshi) was a rural congregation with very few people who knew how to write, let alone keep records.

Chibende SDA Company was largely a “family” church as it was planted among the abena Ng’oma clan. Indeed, a number of people were either blood relatives or were connected one way or the other in social networks. Headman Chibende (Bernard Kabengele Yalila) was a blood brother to Timothy Chila. Samuel Chiposo, who himself used to come from his village at Chambula for worship services at Chibende was the husband to Kabengele Yalila’s niece who was herself a sister to Abraham Kwilwa. Abraham Kwilwa was a close business partner to Samuel Chiposo. The two often travelled together to Congo on their business trips.

During the early period and beyond, Chibende SDA congregation built a reputation as the center of Adventism not only in the Mansa District but in Samfya and Chembe districts as well, reaching as far as Matanda chiefdom. It is not known exactly when camp meetings were introduced but RSP-1 recalled attending a camp meeting that was held at Chibende in 1942. At that time, he was aged 15. RSP-1 also remembered that the first time he met Adventist missionaries at Chibende was in 1938 when they came to look for a place to establish a school. So, it is possible that camp meetings may have started around that time or a few years before 1938. For many years during these annual camp meetings ‘pilgrims’ came

to Chibende (now Loshi) from Samfya, Mpanta, Mansa, Mpandika, Muwan'guni, Chembe, and Matanda for revival and fellowship. Chibende was deemed as the Mother Church from which lay leaders went to the surrounding areas opening up new work and encouraging those churches that were still young.

The influence of white missionaries and their African counterparts from Chimpempe Mission in Kawambwa was evident as way back as 1942 and even before. RSP-1 remembered that in 1942, while living at Chibende, the Adventist Church was then known as 'ba Chimpempe' (people belonging to Chimpempe). "The name Seventh-day Adventist," observed RSP-1, "was adopted much later; at the beginning we were all just known as ba Chimpempe, (or those who worship God on Saturday)." It is not known at the local church, which today goes by the name Loshi, how the missionaries from Chimpempe discovered this small pocket of Adventist believers located 21 km east of Mansa town. However, the local leaders the researcher talked to explained that missionaries from Chimpempe became aware of the church at Chibende through the efforts of Mr. Samuel Chiposo who used to take contributions of tithe and offerings given by the members of Chibende Church to the Chimpempe Mission which at that time was the headquarters of the Adventist Church's work in Northern and Luapula provinces. Samuel Chiposo's frequent trips to places of business interests created opportunities that made him such a versatile and skillful lay evangelist. He is perhaps the foremost leading lay leader among the pioneer patriarchs in the establishment and growth of the SDA Church in the Mansa District. In 1953 the congregation that had been running from the early 1930s as a Company was finally organized into a Church by Pastor Jonathan Mwesa from Chimpempe Mission.

As the church grew and expanded, the idea of changing its name from Chibende to another name arose. At a District Council meeting that took place on an unknown date in 1974, at Chibende SDA Church, members voted to change the name 'Chibende SDA Church' to 'Loshi SDA Church.' Since its inception the Chibende congregation had gone by the name that identified it with the local village which also happened to be Chibende. For all intents and purposes this was a good name as it identified the church with the area where it was located. However, there was one major issue that made the name undesirable. Chibende Village was predominantly populated by the abena N'goma clan. It was the feeling of the Council that this particular name gave the impression that the church itself was a property of the abena N'goma clan. It was, thus, viewed by some as a family church. In this sense the

name worked against the propagation of the SDA message to those outside the abena N'goma clan. It was therefore decided that a neutral name be adopted. The Council thus voted to rename the church after a local stream known as Loshi. The Church was dedicated to the Lord by Pastor Diamond Lufungulo, North Zambia Field President on 3 June 1974.

In the line of employed denominational workers who were posted by the Adventist Church to Loshi by 1974, the following names have been recorded: Jonathan Mwesa, Job Mabuti, Abner Curp Mpamba, Albert Kawila and Island Sinyangwe. These were ministers of the gospel, who not only led out in the preaching of the Word of God to the members, but also provided pastoral care, administrative leadership and engaged in evangelistic activities that led to the winning of more members into the Loshi SDA Church.

4.1.12 Establishment of the SDA Church in Mansa

This section presents findings on how the SDA Church was established in Mansa and also sheds light on the key figures that were instrumental in the early establishment and growth of the work in Mansa Town. The sources of these data are the following: respondents RSP-1 (February 15, 2021 and June 10, 2022, in Mansa), RSP-6 (March 14, 2022, in Mansa), RSP-7 (February 14, 2021 and August 19, 2022 in Mansa), RSP-8 (February 14, 2021 and August 19, 2022, in Mansa), RSP-9 (February 14, 2022, in Mansa), An unpublished history document from Mansa Main SDA Church.

It is not known precisely when the Adventist Church became established in Mansa but scanty information provided by respondent RSP-1, a patriarch from the early period of the church's establishment in Mansa, indicate that by 1952 there existed in Mansa Town a small SDA congregation that used to meet in the welfare hall near the Buntungwa Clinic opposite Chakopo Primary School. Seventh-day Adventist work in Mansa Town may have started in the 1940s though adherents to the faith itself may have been there as way back as the early 1930s. Mr. Alaka Chiposo, one of the earliest names associated with the SDA work in Mansa Town may have arrived from Congo in the early 1930s where he originally embraced the faith of the SDA Church.

Although work was not yet in its organized form in Mansa, there was a small presence of Adventists as way back as the 1940s. The few people that held to the faith of the Adventist Church around Mansa used to congregate at Chibende Church (now called Loshi), 21 km east of Mansa. According to RSP-1, the leaders of the work at Chibende and those who led it out informally in Mansa used to meet from time to time for consultations and planning. But Chibende seemed to have been a better place to settle for the weekly Sabbath meetings because it had a stable leadership and had more members.

This lack of a strong leadership coupled with a weak church structure among the few Adventist members resident in Mansa Town led them to be going to Chibende every Sabbath until in 1950 when they established a small branch in town. Congregants first started meeting in a classroom at Chakopo Primary school but later shifted to the welfare hall near Buntungwa Clinic. As the Mansa nucleus grew, it was felt that a company be established in town as Chibende, after all, lay very far and church members who went there either walked or cycled. After the congregation was established in Mansa, it became a company of Chibende Church.

According to an unpublished church history document found in the archives of Mansa Main Church, some of the earliest names associated with the company of believers that used to meet at the welfare hall were those of Mr. Alaka Chiposo, Mr. Henry Zimba, Mr. Denwell Munshimbwe and his wife Royce, Mr. and Mrs Simon Mulonga, and Mr. Perrious Munshimbwe and his wife Jennifer. These were later joined by others like Mr. David Musama Kalebaila who became a major player in the early establishment of the Adventist Church in Mansa. Others who joined them included Mr. Reuben Kaushi, Mr. Abel Kauseni, Mr. and Mrs. Luka Chinga, Mr. and Mrs. Bwalya, Mr. and Mrs. Silombe, Mrs. Annie Chikontwe, Mr. and Mrs. Luka Mumba, Mr. and Mrs Filippo Kaunda, Mr. J. Kapiya, Ms Hilda Mwansa and Ms Mbulo.

During this time there was no pastor in Mansa but pastors came regularly from Chimpempe Mission in Kawambwa to visit the members. However, during the late 1950s the first pastor who was sent to Mansa, Elwart Muyeba, was also responsible for Samfya and the wide mission field was known as Bangweulu Mission District. He was stationed at Chibende (Loshi). Although the area was extensive, the number of congregations, nevertheless, was small. For the next ten years, the congregation struggled to find a suitable place of worship

opting instead to be meeting in members' homes until suitable land was found in Senama village opposite the Mansa District Council. Mr. Perrious Munshimbwe and Mr. Stalen Kaushi approached His Royal Highness Chief Chimese and asked him to give the church the land that it had identified near the Mansa Township Council. The chief agreed. In 1961, Mansa congregation became organized as a company of Loshi SDA Church. Mr. David Musama Kalebaila was chosen as the company leader.

As the number of people kept growing, the little structure the members were meeting in became small. Several extensions took place before a new permanent building was constructed. Foremost among those who contributed significantly to the building project were Mr. and Mrs. Luka Mumba, Mr. David Musama Kalebaila, and Mr. Abel Kauseni. With the church building complete in 1961, the focus of the members shifted to the winning of souls to Christ and His church.

i) Leading Lay Leaders (Mansa)

a) David Musama Kalebaila

Mr. David Musama Kalebaila was a member of the Christians Missions in Many Lands (CMML) Church before he converted to Adventism. After his conversion, Kalebaila became a leading lay leader who contributed immensely to the establishment and growth of the Adventist Church in Mansa. His influence as a leader in the early formation can be seen from the many times he was elected to serve as an elder. After converting to Adventism, Kalebaila formed the Laodicea Quintet which became a household name among Seventh-day Adventists in Northern, Luapula, and Copperbelt provinces and beyond. Through his influence, the Laodicea Quintet was invited to sing at the 1968 United National Independence Party's (UNIP) General Conference at Mulungushi Rock of Authority in Kabwe. The group sang the song titled, "Mwe Mitundu, Tuli Bena Zambia Bonse." This song made such a positive impact on the gathering that the group was invited by President Kaunda to sing at State House in September, 1971. The group also sang before cabinet ministers, members of the Central Committee and diplomatic corps. With the Laodicea Quintet, Musama sang at funerals, camp meetings, in churches, and many other occasions. The quintet travelled to places like Mununga, Kasama, Monze, Ndola, and other areas. (Interview with RSP-7 on February 14, 2022).

Musama Kalebaila, was known for his liberality towards the Lord's work. At the time of the construction of the first permanent church structure at Mansa Main Church, Kalebaila was the second single big contributor of finances after Mr. Luka Mumba. He also made a contribution of bricks for the construction of the church. During camp meetings, Mr. Kalebaila was always handy to use his resources to buy food for campers and also used his truck to ferry people from different villages to the sites where camp meetings were held. Kalebaila, who was born in 1921, died on the 15th of May 2013.

b) Lizzie Musonda Mumba

Lizzie Musonda Mumba was a pioneering figure among women in the establishment and growth of the SDA Church in Mansa, particularly prominent during the 1970s and early 1980s. Her husband, Luka Mumba was a business magnate who at his peak used to run a hotel in Mansa, shops in Samfya and the Bangweulu islands of Mbabala, Chishi and Chilubi. He also had a boat that used to transport people from Samfya to Mbabala, Chishi and Chilubi.

Mumba led efforts to mobilize church women for evangelism and community service in the 1970s. She was instrumental in the establishment and growth of the Dorcas Society at Mansa Main Church and other congregations that grew up in Mansa. At the time of her death in 1984, she was the Mansa District Dorcas Federation leader. She not only contributed financially to the movement of the Dorcas Workers, but travelled with the women in the various villages they sought to establish the Adventist Church's presence.

Respondent RSP-9 remembered Mumba, who died on April 1, 1984, as a down-to-earth person who mingled with everyone freely and did a lot to help the poor:

We remember Mrs. Mumba as a great woman who led the Dorcas Society with distinction. To this day we mourn the loss of such a selfless woman who exhibited no partiality. She was there for both the rich and the poor, never boastful, never one who gave the impression of someone with money, though she had money. Anything we were lacking as Dorcas, she always provided. She was also a woman of wisdom who gave very good counsel whenever there were issues that needed sorting. She spoke without fear or favour. Whenever we went out in villages and if it so happened that we found some poor soul, no matter how dirty such a person was, she always got down to the business of ministering to such a person thereby giving us a beautiful example of Christian service. We would bath that individual together, give her clothes, cook food and then eat together with that dirty and despised person. There is a marked difference between the Dorcas of the time when she was around and

what it is now. Today, there is a lot of partiality (Interview with RSP-9 February 14, 2021).

c) Esther Mwansa (bana Mwansa Jonathan)

One of the leading lay workers instrumental in the spread of Adventism in Mansa and areas beyond was Esther Mwansa of Mansa Main SDA Church. Esther served as a Dorcas Society leader both at her local church at Mansa Main and at the district federation level for many years. The Dorcas Society at Mansa Main in the early establishment and spread of the Adventist Church in Mansa often went out on mission trips. It was during those trips that Mwansa's gift for evangelism blossomed. Esther Mwansa was often called to preach to big non-Adventist crowds as the Dorcas went on those mission trips.

Esther became converted to Adventism in 1968 at a camp meeting at Chibende. She had been a leading and influential women's leader in her former church of CMML. Upon conversion to the Adventist Church, she joined the Dorcas Society at Mansa Main Church. Esther remembered that before she could even find her feet in the church, "I was chosen as leader of the Dorcas Society."

The Dorcas Society at Mansa Main Church in the 1970s and 1980s used to travel a lot on evangelistic missions. Esther remembered travelling with the Dorcas to Milambo, Matanda, Chembe, Mwenda, Chisunka, Chisembe, Chofoshi, Mpandika, Bukotelo and many other places to preach the word of God.

On a number of evangelistic trips, Esther Mwansa served as the speaker. She remembered a mission trip to Chisunka's chieftom where the elder who accompanied them declined to speak and instead asked her to.

I expected Mr. John Kombe to open the meetings but he refused and instead asked me to do so. I, however, rose to the challenge through the grace and help of God. I spoke on the love of God to an audience that included Chief Chisunka himself. After preaching, Chief Chisunka called me by the side and blessed me and then asked me to give him a Bible. I ended up surrendering my Bible to him. During our mission trips as Dorcas, I remember two chiefs who gave themselves to the Lord; chiefs Chisunka and Chimese.

4.1.13 Establishment of the SDA Church in Chifunabuli

This section presents findings on the establishment of the SDA Church among the N’gumbo speaking people of Chifunabuli District of the Luapula Province. It focuses on the work of Mr. Kasolwe Nsemiwe, who established the Adventist Church’s presence at Kasuba Village in Mwansakombe chiefdom. Nsemiwe worked as a Head Master at Kasuba Primary School.

The Ng’umbo area covers five chiefdoms namely Mwewa, Mwansakombe, Chitembo, Mbulu, and Mulongwe. Three of these chiefdoms, Chitembo, Mwewa, and Mwansakombe are on the mainland while Mbulu and Mulongwe are islands on Lake Bangweulu. The focus of this research is the mainland chiefdoms that stretch from Mundubi in Chief Chitembo through the villages under Senior Chief Mwewa to Kasaba under Chief Mwansakombe. Previously these chiefdoms fell under Samfya but in 2018 President Edgar Lungu split these villages from Samfya thereby creating a new district called Chifunabuli after a local lake.

The establishment and partial development of the SDA work in the Ng’umbo area can be traced to the arrival of Mr. Kasolwe Nsemiwe who was sent to Kasuba Primary School as head teacher in 1973. Prior to that, Nsemiwe had served for ten years as head teacher at Lubunda Primary School in Mwense District. During his stay at Lubunda, Nsemiwe had been a key lay leader at Lukwesa and Lifuka where he congregated for many years before helping to establish a congregation at Lubunda of which he was one of the early leaders.

Nsemiwe had requested the visiting Provincial Education Officer from Mansa for a transfer to another school after serving at Lubunda for ten years. “I felt that I had been in one place too long and needed a transfer to another school.” But the transfer that came a few months later to Kasuba, in the Ng’umbo area of Samfya District was something he least expected.

My wife who was sickly didn’t want to go to a place we didn’t even have any idea where it was located. But I felt that it was probably a thing coming from God because how could all the nearby schools be skipped only to be posted to a school in a place we all didn’t even know? So, for me I was determined to go even if my wife decided to remain behind. Fortunately, after further reflection on the matter, my wife agreed to come along (interview with Mr. Nsemiwe March 12, 2022).

Mr. Nsemiwe and his family of nine arrived at Kasuba in April, 1973 when the school was on recess. As a Seventh-day Adventist, he was eager to know whether his church had a presence in the area. But people told him that such a church of people who don't eat certain foods wasn't there and "I concluded that truly God had a reason for bringing us to that place."

Nsemiwe recounted that on the first Sabbath of his arrival at Kasuba, he and family had worship in his house:

On that first Sabbath with our six children we gave ourselves roles to play and conducted a full Sabbath service beginning with Sabbath School all the way to the divine service. My wife played the role of the Sabbath School superintendent while our second born daughter Mwaba played the role of the Sabbath School secretary. I taught the Sabbath School class and also preached the sermon. That is how we spent that first Sabbath and people who heard us singing were just wondering which Christian group we were (interview with Mr. Nsemiwe on March 12, 2022).

The following Sabbath when they were about to start their service, Nsemiwe's children informed him that there were some friends of theirs who wanted to worship with them. When he went outside, he found a group of young people who had shown up and were ready to participate in the worship service. "Our house was too small to accommodate all those young people. So, that's how we went to the school and used one of the classrooms. The people that came that day were all non-Adventists. We were about sixteen in number."

RSP-13, who at the coming of Mr. Nsemiwe was a Grade Four pupil at Kasuba Primary School narrated that first Sabbath's experience:

On that Sabbath day, I went to school with my friends Barnabas Katonya, Samuel Kapungwe, Evans Katanga, and Moses Mwape and we were received very well. Inside the classroom where the meetings were being held, we found that Mr. Nsemiwe had hang picture rolls on the wall. I remember seeing Jesus with little children on one of the picture rolls. We were a bit scared because we had heard that this man was teaching the religion of the Jews, the very ones who were responsible for killing Jesus. Almost everyone in the village was Catholic including at the school where we were learning. So, we thought we might be killed. Mr. Nsemiwe started sharing the Word of God. After the service the man escorted us and treated us kindly to the point that we became interested and thought of coming back the following Saturday (interview with RSP-13 on March 5, 2022).

RSP-13 also remembered that when Mr. Nsemiwe came to Kasuba Primary School, he first spoke to the teachers about his faith and later went to talk to the learners. It was during that talk that the invitation was extended to the school pupils to attend the worship service the following Sabbath.

On the second Sabbath, we were a lot that came because we had been asked to bring our friends along the first Sabbath we attended. What had happened is that on that first Sabbath when we met, the Ndemiwes gave us food to eat and we went to tell our friends about the experience. So, on the second Sabbath, many friends came along. The class was almost full. People came to eat and to witness what was going to be happening.

After a year of witnessing in the local community, people started saying that this man will take all our people because a number of us from the Catholic Church had moved out to join Mr. Nsemiwe's church. The people started telling us that the reason why you have gone to that man's church is that you want to eat and also want him to make you pass your examination. So, we will go and tell the educational authorities in Samfya about what is happening here so that this man can be taken away from here. Five people walked to Samfya to tell Mr. Masesa, the Education Officer, who was himself a staunch Catholic, that something needed to be done urgently as the Catholic Church was rapidly losing ground in Kasuba village (interview with RSP-13 on March 5, 2022).

That Monday, of the first week when school opened, Nsemiwe noticed something that disturbed him. Even though the school was a government one, pupils from Grade One to the upper classes were all reciting 'Hail Mary, Full of Grace' as if this was a Catholic school. True, noted Nsemiwe, Kasuba area was predominantly Catholic but the school was a government one. "Catholics had no right to turn the school into a place for teaching their doctrines to unsuspecting pupils." Nsemiwe went on:

Then I started thinking of how we were going to remove Mary from the school and put Christ there. It was going to be a hard thing. So, I decided that I would start teaching Religious Education (RE) in all the classes as a way to remove Mary from the school. During a staff meeting I told the teachers that I was going to be teaching at least one subject in each of the classes, and that that subject would be RE because I loved the subject. I also told them that I would start teaching music and all but one teacher agreed. The Grade Six teacher who did not approve of my intentions was a staunch Catholic who also knew something about the faith of the SDA Church. He told me that he was willing if only I got a different subject than RE. But I also refused and reminded him that I was the head of the school. However, there was a general consensus among teachers and I started teaching (interview with Mr. Nsemiwe on March 12, 2022).

Unhappy with the turn of things, the Catholic teacher went on to carry a smear campaign in the community against Mr. Nsemiwe whom he painted as a bad person whose influence at the school was detrimental to the Catholic faith. Nsemiwe recollected that:

There was now a conspiracy to eliminate me. The school children who used to come to our Sabbath meetings were the ones telling me about the plans this teacher and others were hatching in order to kill me. One day, they came to tell me that they had only about an hour of learning and the whole time the teacher was just talking about plans to kill me. That's how I put that matter before God in prayer. I saw that our work was going to be greatly hindered if that teacher's plan came to fruition. Clearly that teacher had become a stumbling block in the work of the Lord.

Then one day I was in my office when I heard the sound of a vehicle. That vehicle stopped right in front of my office. And somebody knocked on the door and I invited them to come in. After exchanging greetings, that person handed me a letter which he said was from the District Education Officer. That letter was a transfer letter for Mr. Mulenga, the same teacher who had been conspiring to kill me, being transferred to another school. I couldn't believe my eyes, I just thanked God for working out something like that. I then took that letter to him and when he read, it was saying he was on a transfer to a school in Lubwe. Then he complained about the fact that he had never made any request to the authorities to transfer him to another school and was therefore puzzled how that letter came. I also told him that it was not me who asked the authorities in Samfya. Since the truck was already outside to pick him, I organized the upper grades to help him load his things on the truck. And that was the end of our problem though his plans to kill me were never aborted, especially when they saw that our numbers were increasing (interview with Mr. Nsemiwe on March 12, 2022).

A plan to poison Mr. Nsemiwe flopped as his deputy head teacher who overheard a conversation at a shop in Lubwe where a plan was being hatched to poison him tipped him.

In October of the same year (1973) Pastor Lufungulo from Mansa went to conduct an evangelistic campaign at Kasuba. Those who accompanied him were, Pastor Island Sinyangwe, Mr. Mulongwe from Loshi, Mr. Longwani from Mwamfuli Church in Samfya and Mr. Muwile. The campaign ran for three weeks and twenty people accepted Christ and decided to join the SDA Church but their baptism was pushed to the camp meeting at Mwamfuli in Samfya which took place the following year (1974). During that same period the crusade was running a number of Adventists were discovered in some of the villages of the mainland Ng'umbo area. These were Teacher Phillip Chibwe at Shikamushile, Kalungwe

at Munkwanga, Mr. Chama at Miponda, Mr. Muwile in Senior Chief Mwewa's village and Mr. Rogers Chansa at Miponda. Rogers Chansa later became a pastor and served for many years in different positions including that of President of North Zambia Field before retiring. These people were told by Pastor Lufungulo that now that there was a presence of Adventists at Kasuba, they needed to start congregating there. And the following Sabbath all of them showed up for the Sabbath service at Kasuba.

After the camp meeting of 1974 where twenty-one people from Kasuba got baptized, a company was formerly organized. Some in the number were chosen as deacons while a few others were chosen as Sabbath School teachers for either the baptized members or those in the baptismal class. Mr. Nsemiwe was elected as company leader. As a way to make sure work would not be disrupted once he left Kasuba for another place, Nsemiwe thought of building a church at Kasuba.

I started thinking that since we worshipped in a class room, should I be transferred somewhere and since people here don't like our church, the members might be chased from the classroom. So, it was important that we build a church. And that's how I took my money and gave it to the school so that they could make bricks for us and also cut grass to use for roofing. I also found a builder who started building the church.

One day the builder told me that at Sashi where he lived, there was a court assessor who was also a catechist in the Catholic Church. This man asked my builder where he had been going in recent weeks. He told him that he had been going to Kasuba where he was building a church for Mr. Nsemiwe. That's how this assessor exclaimed wondering that 'this Nsemiwe is still alive? I thought he died a long time ago.' This assessor then told my builder to inform me that he would be coming to Kasuba on Friday to come and eliminate me. The man was known in his area for his witchcraft activities and killing of people through the same. But I just took it easy since God was my Protector. I started waiting for his arrival.

On Friday, we waited the whole day but the man never showed up. His failure to come, I was to learn later, was because of what had happened to him as he was on his way. After just doing a short distance, the man fell from his bicycle after suffering from a stroke!

The following morning, some people came to our house to ask for help to transport a patient to the hospital since I had a vehicle. I was informed that Mr. Chapman, the man who planned to pass through to come and eliminate me needed to be rushed to the hospital. But strangely that morning I noticed that one of the tyres to the vehicle had gone flat and the vehicle thus could not be

driven. And that's how the people used a canoe to take him to the hospital at Kasaba.

Coincidentally, it was also at Kasaba, where I had engaged a carpenter to make doors for the church we were building. That same Friday I asked the deputy head teacher to escort me to Kasaba so that I could check how far the carpenter had gone on making those doors. We reached Kasaba and I met the carpenter and I was very happy with the progress he had made. Then the deputy head told me that it was right there in Kasaba by the hospital that Mr. Chapman had been brought after he suffered from a stroke. He suggested that we check on him at the hospital. We went to the hospital and found him seated on a chair. The deputy headteacher introduced him to me since I had never met him before. Just as our eyes met, he lost consciousness and gave up the spirit and slumped on the chair he sat! And that's how Mr. Chapman, who had intended to eliminate me died (interview with Mr. Nsemiwe on March 12, 2022).

By January 1975, the church was completed and the then district pastor for Samfya, Dimas Chende, came to officially open it. Nsemiwe's work as a head teacher did not last long for in 1975, he was transferred to another school in Kawambwa. In January of that same year, a few months before Nsemiwe left for Kawambwa, a new teacher by the name of Benjamin Kalwa, who was an Adventist was brought at Shikamushile. He was also a preacher of the good news. He became the face of the believers at Shikamushile and always organized people for Sabbath worship and made sure he brought those who were able to Kasuba for Sabbath worship. Unfortunately, noted Nsemiwe, Kalwa didn't last long at Shikamushile as he was later transferred to Chembe. Nsemiwe left Kasuba Primary School in May 1975. Before he left, he asked a believer from Shikamushile by the name of Filipo Chibwe to lead out in Sabbath worship. He also got a man by the name of Chilonge from Sashi to help Filipo Chibwe. "Since Chilonge knew how to read I bought him a book from Mansa titled, *The Bible Explained*, which had many topics explained well. This book was to help him do his work" explained Nsemiwe.

Although smaller centres like Kasuba, Shikamushile, Munkwanga, and Miponda had a small presence of Adventists, Lubwe the most developed centre had no members. For Nsemiwe, this was a great source of concern. Lubwe was strategic and centrally located in the Chifunabuli area, yet the Adventist Church didn't have a presence there. Admittedly Lubwe had largely been taken by the Catholics who entered the area in 1905 and built a mission station with an infrastructure that boasted of a big cathedral and a hospital. That

notwithstanding, it was important that the SDA Church have a presence there. Nsemiwe reflected:

One day in 1974 while passing through Lubwe, I saw a large group of Catholics coming to attend the Palm Sunday at the Mission church. The group was so huge in number that I couldn't believe what I was seeing. Since I was driving, I stopped my vehicle by the side as I continued looking at the crowd as it marched toward the Catholic Church. Overwhelmed by the huge crowd, I bowed my head in prayer. The issue I had on my mind was why God would allow so many people to be lost. I literally prayed to God to cut me into two so that one part of me would remain at Kasuba where I used to teach while the other half could come to Lubwe so I could share the good news with the people I was seeing right there (interview with Mr. Nsemiwe March 12, 2022).

Nsemiwe believed that God answered that prayer, though not in the literal manner he prayed it would be. Not long after that prayer, a Mr. Kalasa who once visited Kasuba and congregated there one Sabbath had come to settle in Lubwe. Kalasa had been living in Chingola on the Copperbelt but had now come back to his home village in Mwewa's chiefdom. However, instead of settling in Chief Mwewa's village, for personal reasons, he decided to settle in Lubwe.

And through the efforts of that man a company grew up in Lubwe and because Lubwe was bigger and there was a hospital and a school there, the congregation there grew bigger, and faster and soon got organized into a church. And even when a pastor was sent to the Ng'umbo area, he was stationed at Lubwe. Many years later I got a report that the message had spread everywhere in the Ng'umbo area. People didn't know the name of the church and just used to call it Nsemiwe's Church. The message to the Ng'umbo area got there in May 1973. I worked there exactly two years and then left (interview with Mr. Nsemiwe on March 12, 2022).

Many years later a pastor who worked in the Ng'umbo Mission District was able to testify about the positive impact Mr. Nsemiwe exerted in the area. In an interview Respondent PST-3 on 13th April, 2021 had this to say:

In the Ng'umbo Mission District where I once worked as a district pastor, the name Seventh-day Adventist Church never existed. There was only one name that the local people associated the church with, that of Elder Nsemiwe who once worked at Kasuba as head teacher in the mid 1970s. Elder Nsemiwe, because of his good standing in society, I found the people referring to the SDA Church as Nsemiwe Church. Together with his family, Mr. Nsemiwe kept the Sabbath and his worship ways were different from those of the

Catholic Church which at that time dominated the religious landscape in the Ng'umbo area. After doing his work in the area, the Adventist Church came to be known as "Nsemiwe Church." I started explaining to the people that the name they associated our church with wasn't the real name. It was God's church and its right name was Seventh-day Adventist Church. I also explained the meaning of the name itself.

According to RSP-13, after Mr. Nsemiwe left in 1975 a new leader in the name of Ashell Muwile appeared on the scene:

After Mr. Nsemiwe left in 1975, Elder Ashell Muwile who used to work for the Council was transferred from Samfya to Mwewa. Muwile started looking for the Adventist Church in the area and he was told that such a church was found only at Kasuba village. Muwile joined the Kasuba company and later served as its leader after Mr. Nsemiwe left (interview with RSP-13 on March 5, 2022).

Some of the early church members at Kasuba RSP-13 remembered are those of Webby Mwalikosande who once served as a Sabbath School superintendent, and Timothy Chola Mayani who served as company leader at Kasuba. Others are Barnabas Katonya who once served as a deacon, Samuel Kapungwe, elder brother to RSP-13 who once served as Sabbath School secretary and Rodrick K. Mwewa who once served as a company leader.

4.1.14 Summary

This section has presented the findings of the study on how the SDA Church was established in five sites of the Luapula Province namely Chienge (Ponde), Mwense (Lukwesa, Lifuka, Chishinshi, and Chafwa), Mansa, Loshi and Chifunabuli. It also highlighted a few names of key lay people who were instrumental in the establishment and growth of the work in the identified sites.

CHAPTER 5: PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS—B

5.0 Overview

This chapter is a continuation of the presentation of findings of the study. Having dealt with the first question and objective of the study in the previous chapter, this second chapter presents findings on the second, third and fourth research questions and objectives of the study. As earlier stated, for clarity and coherence, the findings are organized and presented under the main research questions as the main headings.

5.1 What role did the local people play in the establishment and growth of the Adventist Church in Luapula?

The primary objective of this study was to investigate the role of African agents in the establishment and growth of the SDA Church in Luapula Province, rather than the methods they used. However, specific examples of their methods are included to illustrate their impact and clarify their contributions. For instance, local agents utilized community service as a means of evangelism and organized camp meetings not only for internal outreach but also as a way to share their faith with others. The role of African agents in the SDA Church in Luapula have remained relatively consistent from 1921 to 2021, largely due to the rural nature of the constituency and the slow pace of life. While the execution of these roles may vary slightly from one location to another, they generally fall into the same categories: lay evangelists, vocational missionaries, and literature evangelists. However, the role of teacher-evangelists has been disrupted due to the Church's inability to financially sustain mission-operated schools, leading to its discontinuation.

In line with the above stated research question, this section presents findings on the role that the local people played in the establishment and growth of the Adventist Church in Luapula Province, particularly in the early and foundational years of the Church in the province. In order to address the question, various relevant respondents, including RTD-1, RSP-2, RSP-3, and GFD-3 were interviewed at different times and places. The findings are reported under the following sub-headings: vocational missionaries, active business people in the Lord's vineyard, lay evangelists, personal witnessing agents, district pastors, lay crusaders, literature evangelists, teacher/evangelists in mission schools, ordinary members distributing literature, and other soul-winning initiatives (church planting, auxiliary church groups evangelism,

witnessing through community service, camp meetings, alternating Sabbath worship, and harvest in-gathering).

5.1.1 Vocational Missionaries.

Vocational missionaries were skilled lay leaders, including healthcare professionals and educators, who integrated their faith into their work. A notable example is Mr. Kasolwe Nsemiwe, the headteacher of Kasuba Primary School, who served among the N'gumbo ethnic group in Chifunabuli District from 1973 to 1975 and played a pioneering role in introducing Adventism to the area.

5.1.2 Active Business People in the Lord's Vineyard

The few who had money in the early formation of the work counted it their joy and privilege to expend some of it in the cause of God. Business people along the Luapula Valley corridor such as Mr. London Kasanda, Mr. Alfred Muma, Mr. Shamene, Mr. Wilfred Chisuku, and the Nkomba brothers used their means to help the cause of God. Others were Mr. and Mrs Luka Mumba and Mr. Musama Kalebaila in Mansa who demonstrated their faith in the message by funding church projects and sponsoring mission related trips. Among many things, they willingly provided their vehicles to ferry people to camp meetings and other church related meetings. They also helped pastors with transport as they visited church members and did their evangelistic meetings. In many instances, they provided funds for constructing churches and other important facilities.

5.1.3 Lay Evangelists

Because of the low numbers of trained pastors, the church sought the help of its laity in spreading the message in the various villages and towns of the Luapula Province. Members who showed willingness to spread the message were taught how to conduct public evangelistic campaigns. After a basic training in lay evangelism they were certified and sent to various unentered areas to conduct public evangelistic meetings which resulted in a number of people becoming Adventists. The crusades they conducted often lasted three to

four weeks. Prominent among those who fit into this category were Mr. Hezekiah Mpunda at Lifuka, and Mr. Nsemiwe at Lubunda who carried the message of the SDA Church to the plateau region and established an Adventist presence at Musalango, Museshi, and Kabango. Others were Mr. Chikonde and Mr. Mwangilwa at Chishinshi who held Bible studies in their localities and also went in neighbouring villages conducting evangelistic campaigns through which many people were won to Christ and His Church.

5.1.4 Personal Witnessing Agents

Personal witnessing players were those who engaged in one-to-one witnessing and often conducted Bible studies that touched on doctrines. These witnesses sometimes went in pairs or in groups visiting those in the neighbourhood who were not Adventists. Their visitations often took place on the Sabbath day in the afternoon. Sometimes these visitations involved all members of the local congregation who were organized into groups on Sabbath afternoon for door-to-door witnessing. Through these regular visitations some people from the community became attracted to the Adventist Church and ultimately joined the Church. Those who represented this category of witnesses included Mr. Winston Nsabila and Mr. James Chitendwe of Chienge. Nsabila used to visit people from home to home sharing the faith of the Adventist Church and also conducted Bible studies. His counterpart, James Chitendwe had the habit of going around his village (Ponde in Chienge) urging boys and girls to attend the mission school. He understood that as these children went to school, they had the opportunity to hear messages that would draw them to Christ and His Church.

5.1.5 District Pastors

District pastors not only provided oversight in the general running of the work but also led out in conducting evangelistic crusades that resulted in many people believing the message of the SDA Church. Men like Job Mabuti, Curp Mpamba, Elwart Muyeba, Diamond Lufungulo and Albert Kawila played leading roles in the spread of the SDA message in the early years of the work in Luapula.

5.1.6 Lay Crusaders

Public evangelistic campaigns became a common phenomenon from the mid 1970s in the province. Although the people that tended to get credit for the success of these events were those who acted from front role positions like pastors and lay evangelists, there were also those who acted from “back bench” positions who were nevertheless critical to the success of the work. These were lay crusaders that supported both lay evangelists and pastors by inviting people to crusades and making follow-ups on those who showed interest in the message of the Adventist church. Pastors and lay evangelists depended on these helpers to get much of the ground work ready before the actual meetings and later work after the crusades were done. Their names may not be cited but they played pivotal roles in public evangelistic thrusts.

5.1.7 Literature Evangelists

One of the most successful evangelistic methods Adventists employed to share their faith in Luapula and beyond was through the printed page. From its inception in 1972, the Church’s regional office in Mansa has maintained an office that directs its publishing work through which hundreds of Christian literature is sold by “foot soldiers” known as literature evangelists. These recruits who include both men and women are first trained in Christian salesmanship and evangelism and then deployed in various districts to sell Christian literature in homes, offices and schools and conduct Bible studies. Their efforts have resulted in many accessions to the faith of the SDA Church.

Respondent P-7, Publishing Director at the Luapula Conference has for most of his employment life in the Adventist Church been a literature evangelist and was publishing director at the time of this interview at the Luapula Conference. During my interview with him, he emphasized the role literature ministry has played in the Church’s bid to spread the gospel of Christ. Chilufya said:

Literature ministry has been the backbone of evangelistic thrusts in Luapula. A good number of long serving ministers and those that have retired can trace their entry into the gospel work through literature ministry. Names such as

Pastor Muwile, Kanjelesa,, Mweo, Tambe, Sampa, and Kalembe all started as literature evangelists before they eventually joined the ministerial workforce (interview with P-7 on April 15, 2021).

5.1.8 Teacher-Evangelists in Mission Schools

Missionaries used education as a key evangelism method, particularly from the 1920s to the 1950s. The SDA Church, therefore, established primary schools at Chimpempe, in Kawambwa, Kaseke in Mununga, and Ponde in Chienge. Others were established at Lukwesa and Lifuka in Mwense and several other places in the province. Teacher/evangelists who were sent to these schools were trained at Rusangu, Musofu or Solusi in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe. These teachers were instrumental in not only teaching the rudiments of the three Rs but leading learners to accepting Christ and to join His Church. Foremost among the teachers of the early dispensation were Stanley Mwesa, Simon Kabemba, William Kasongamulilo, Polo Kaniembo, Newstone Chinyungi, Abner Curp Mpamba and Elwati Muyebe. These teachers were sent from Chimpempe Mission to the various schools the Church had established in the province.

5.1.9 Ordinary Members Distributing Literature

Literature has played a very significant role in the mission of Seventh-day Adventists. Members participate every year in the distribution of the book of the year as a way to reaching out to many who have not heard the message of the Adventist Church. Every year a day is set aside for a mass distribution of the book of the year. Although numbers are never known of those who join the church through this method, this approach has brought many people to the knowledge of Christ and His Church in Luapula and beyond.

5.1.10 Other Soul-Winning Initiatives

Other than the roles local people played in the spread of the Adventist message in Luapula, there were also a number of initiatives the Church implemented that resulted in the winning of many people to the faith of Seventh-day Adventists. Attention will now be directed to such initiatives.

i) Church Planting

According to an interview with PST-3 on March 4, 2022, new congregations were established in unentered areas through public crusades led by pastors and lay evangelists. Often those who accepted the message of the Adventist Church under this method were not in sufficient numbers to warrant establishing a new church. In some instances, in villages where churches were already established, a few of their members were asked to join the smaller congregations in places where the work was not yet established in order to establish new ones in those places. This was done for two reasons: to encourage and nurture the new members and to provide the necessary leadership in those new centres.

Churches were also expected to plant congregations in unentered areas by organizing a few well-grounded members to start congregations where there was none especially where the distance was not much of a factor. This was especially common along the Luapula Valley where villages lie in close physical proximity. As these smaller congregations grew into organized churches, they were expected to adopt the same church growth strategy, replicating the model by establishing new congregations.

ii) Auxiliary Church Groups Evangelism

PST-3 also noted that once work became established, churches began to form auxiliary groups that not only fostered fellowship but became effective agents of spreading the message in the local communities and places far. These church groups like Dorcas, Adventist Men's Organization, and Adventist Youth conducted crusades in towns and villages through which many people accepted Christ and joined the SDA Church. Singing groups were also instrumental in extending the borders of the Kingdom of God especially during such events as funerals, camp meetings and evangelistic crusades.

iii) Witnessing Through Community Service

Witnessing through community service initiatives was a popular method churches employed to share its message in a subtle way. Through auxiliary societies like Dorcas, Adventist Men's Ministries and Adventist Youth Ministries the Church conducted community service tasks that often resulted in baptisms. RTD-3 remembers that during his tenure as pastor of Lukwesa Mission District in the mid 1970s membership at Lukwesa Church started dwindling.

We sat down and asked ourselves what we were going to do to help win people to Christ and grow in membership. Dorcas workers started helping fellow villagers clean their homes and those homes that required floor polishing, they used the traditional clay soil to do that. Men started making wooden handles for hoes and gave to those neighbours who needed them. At times they helped with the cultivation of fields for those needing help. Through these methods we created a positive impact in the community leading to many accepting the faith of Adventists. That is how God opened the way for us (interview with RTD-3 on February 22, 2021).

iv) Camp Meetings

Camp meetings were annual events that were organized under the auspices of the regional office (North Zambia Field, Luapula Field and later Luapula Conference). Although these meetings were organized mainly to nurture members and rekindle the spirit of revival, they also became important times for sharing the message of the SDA Church with non-church members. One respondent during a focus group discussion at Lukwesa noted that:

Camp meeting times create excitement not only among our members but others in the community as well. Every time we have a camp meeting, we have people who don't belong to our faith who simply come to listen to the proclamation of the gospel and singing of songs by the different singing groups that attend these meetings. A good number get converted and become members of the church (FGD held on June 15, 2022)

v) Alternating Sabbath Worship

In the Luapula Valley around Lukwesa's chiefdom, SDA Church members devised a system of worship where they made weekly rotations from village to village. Since Sabbath worship was conducted in open spaces, non-SDA members were also invited. One respondent during a focus group discussion at Lukwesa Main SDA Church noted that:

If, for example this week's Sabbath was spent here at Katopwa, we made sure we also invited non-Adventists. Our meetings were conducted like open crusades. The following Sabbath we would congregate at Mumpolokoso where a similar meeting took place. We would always invite other people who were not members of the church. Another time we would meet at Kasonge or Kapena, just like that. Thus, the message was taken from place to place and our numbers kept growing. (FGD held on June 15, 2022).

vi) Harvest in-gathering

Harvest in-gatherings were annual fund-raising initiatives where church members approached their non-Adventist neighbours and asked for donations towards community projects. Through such initiatives church members got to interact with their communities and some contacts ended up converting to Adventism. PST-3 noted that although he could not remember when this method of evangelism came into effect, it was employed every year and became not only a fund-raising strategy for community projects but a soul-winning one as well.

5.2 What challenges did the Indigenous Adventists face in the spread of the Adventist Message in Zambia's Luapula Province from 1921 to 2021?

The challenges faced by the SDA Church, as its members sought to share their faith in Luapula, have remained relatively consistent over time, largely due to the province's rural nature. Despite improvements in road infrastructure, some areas remain inaccessible, and vast territories continue to be covered by a limited number of pastors. Additionally, beliefs in witchcraft and superstition persist, much like they have since the Church's inception in the 1920s. Given these enduring challenges, the researcher did not find it necessary to distinguish between pre-colonial and post-colonial periods.

As outlined in the third research question, this section presents findings on the challenges the indigenous Adventists faced in the spread of their faith in Luapula Province from 1921 to 2021. The section is divided in three segments. The first segment deals with challenges the institution of the Luapula Conference (formerly North Zambia Field and Luapula Field) has faced since it was established in 1972 up to 2021 as it sought to provide oversight over the SDA churches in the province. The second segment deals with the general challenges lay people have faced in their quest to spread the message of the SDA Church in the five identified sites of the Luapula Conference. The third and final segment deals with challenges pastors and those associated with them like their spouses and children faced as they went about sharing the message of the SDA Church in the churches and communities within the Luapula Province. Data presented here are derived from Minutes of the Executive Committee of the North Zambia Field, Luapula Field, Luapula Conference, focus group discussions, face-to-face interviews with lay people, pastors, their spouses and their children.

5.2.1 Challenges faced at the Conference Level

The Luapula Conference serves as the administrative organ under which all the churches in the province and several attached mission districts in Northern Province are administered. Its office is located in Mansa. The Conference is manned by three officers (president, executive secretary and chief financial officer), departmental directors (youth, stewardship, health, children, women, personal ministries and Sabbath School) and other supporting staff (secretaries, and other office workers). The challenges faced at the Conference are discussed under four sub-headings namely: structural, financial, administrative and off-shoot movements.

a) Structural Challenges

i) Agitation for a Provincial Field Office at Musofu

In July 1972 the North Zambia Field was born. The purpose of this new office was to provide oversight on the operations of all the Seventh-day Adventist churches in Luapula, Northern, and Copperbelt provinces and parts of Northwestern and Central provinces. Chimpempe Mission in Kawambwa was chosen to host the new office but the decision to locate the office there was, however, not well received by a certain section of the people in Central and Copperbelt provinces who felt that the new office should have been built at Musofu Mission near Mkushi. According to Matandiko (2001) some of the reasons those who advocated for a Central Field at Musofu were the following:

1. The Adventist message reached Musofu first before Chimpempe.
2. Musofu was deemed central and its close physical proximity to major industrial towns on the Copperbelt gave it more advantages over Chimpempe that was located in a remote rural place.
3. Membership in the SDA churches in both Central and the Copperbelt was higher than that of Luapula and Northern provinces combined.

After further consideration of the matter by the North Zambia Field Executive Committee, it was agreed that the new office be established in Mansa rather than Chimpempe. Matandiko (2001) adds that the decision was also met with opposition from supporters of the Musofu Mission location. Despite numerous meetings initiated by Pastor Diamond Lufungulo, the

then President of the North Zambia Field, those opposed to the establishment of the office in Mansa stood adamant. According to Cheembo (2020) the protracted hostility by the Musofu party was so sharp in some Adventist churches in Ndola and Mutaba that certain pastors were barred from visiting those churches and a position was taken to withhold tithes and offerings. The party further resolved not to allow annual camp meetings to take place in the rural areas of the Copperbelt and Central provinces.

Matandiko (2001) states that the dissident group appealed to the governor of Ndola Rural who sought intervention in the matter. The governor requested a meeting between Adventist Church leaders and the group to resolve the longstanding issue dating back to 1973. The North Zambia Field convened a special meeting on March 3, 1976 to discuss the issue of a Central Field creation on the Copperbelt. The Adventist Church was represented by the Zambia Union officers: A. Bristow, W. M. Webster, S. Shapa and D. Brenneman. The North Zambia Field contingent, led by D. Lufungulo, consisted of S. W. de-Lange, A. Kanjelesa, I. Sinyangwe, and S. B. Kapotwe. Others were S. W. Kamusa, N. L. Mumba, W. M. Sampa, A. V. Kaite and J. Chondwe. The dissident group consisted of F. Mafuta, B. P. Chitente, A. D. Matowe, K. N. Chilukusha, and Edward Munyama (Special Meeting Minutes, 1976).

The matter was discussed back and forth by members from both camps. However, despite the many hours the discussions took, no compromise was reached. Mr. Mafuta the group leader of the dissident faction, put it before the committee that “they only had one request and desire, and that was for the creation of a Central Field. There was no desire to break away from the organization” (Special Meeting Minutes, 1976: 43). Brother Kamusa, an executive member of the North Zambia Field argued on the other hand that for many years “the work had gone forward without a Union or Fields and that what was needed were leaders and members willing to work for God whatever the circumstances” (Special Meeting Minutes, 1976: 43). He further urged the committee not to waste any more time discussing a matter that had already dragged too long (Special Meeting Minutes, 1976).

Pastor A.V. Kaite buttressed Kamusa’s argument by reminding the committee that the subject had been discussed by church representatives from the highest level—the General Conference—to the local church level for many years and that much time had been wasted and seeing that the conclusion had always been the same it was time to consider putting that

meeting to be the final and the subject closed until the Spirit of the Lord indicated otherwise (Special Meeting Minutes, 1976).

The meeting therefore resolved not to be involved in further meetings of that kind which arose from agitation and discontent of either individuals or groups. Communication with the dissident groups on that subject was closed as it had, thus far, resulted only in unnecessary expense, ill will and misrepresentation of the facts by dissident leaders. A recommendation was made to the Zambia Union to put a closure to the matter of a Central Field. The Church party made it clear before the dissident group that while the Church was not opposed to the idea of a new Field or even the re-alignment of present boundaries, they were not in a position to consider such a proposition at that time for a number of reasons, prominent among which was the lack of finance, and the lack of trained manpower.

The Committee's decision was read and explained to the dissident group, with an appeal for them to cooperate, work within church policies, and return to their churches to share the decision with members. The Committee further put it to the dissident group to 'wait on the Lord,'

If it is His will that a Central Field should be established, He will lead the powers that be in His own good time. If, however, you feel that the counsel given you by the Division, the Union and the Field is not of the Lord, then the only course open to you is to withdraw from the Seventh-day Adventist Church in peace, and organize your own church under a different name. We may add that many have followed this course in past years, but God's blessing did not rest upon their work and today most of these breakaway movements have ceased to exist (Special Meeting Minutes, 1976: 45).

Matandiko (2001: 164) writes:

The ultimatum to cooperate with the Church was given, that by March 31st 1976 the affected churches work with the resolutions of the Church or be disbanded. As more and more chaos was reported in various places of the Field, it became evident no amicable solution would be reached. There was only one alternative left for the Church leadership, that of disbanding the dissident churches. Finally, a Field Session was called. The Session disbanded the churches that were known to be rebellious to the organization.

The leaders of the group on the Copperbelt then decided to sue the Church. They desired the court to rule in their favour and declare that they were still

members of the church in good and regular standing. The court, however, threw their appeal out.

ii) Cry for a Separate Field by the Northerners

In 1988 there was a realignment of Fields in the Zambia Union of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. The Copperbelt and Northwestern provinces were separated from the North Zambia Field to become Copperbelt Field. Luapula and Northern provinces, which at that time included Muchinga, continued their association and retained the name North Zambia Field. Pastor Albert Musansha Kawila was elected as the new leader of the realigned North Zambia Field which continued to host its regional office in Mansa. At the 1991 North Zambia Field Session Pastor Kawila was replaced by PST-1 who until recently had been president of the Copperbelt Field.

Not long after his ascension to leadership PST-1 was confronted with an issue that arose from the northern section of the North Zambia Field. Some people from Northern Province started agitating for a separate Field in Northern Province. PST-1 explained that some church members from Northern Province had done a secret analysis of tithe in-flow from Northern Province in comparison with the in-flow from Luapula Province and saw that Northern Province was contributing more money to the treasury than Luapula. These individuals were now going around in some of the churches in Northern Province lobbying for support toward the creation of a new Field in the province. PST-1 further went on to narrate how he was asked to travel to Mbala by a group that was agitating for a separate Field to go and answer ninety-five questions related to the matter.

I travelled to Mbala in the company of some departmental directors from the Field to address the concerns of those members. One by one I answered all the ninety-five questions they posed. However, despite answering all the questions they asked me somehow the matter never died. After we left, they sent another request demanding this time that the Zambia Union President, Pastor Makeleta address them on the same issue. The meetings were held in Mbala and Kasama. Pastor Makeleta took time to explain to the people the process of creating a new Field emphasizing the point that it all depended on how hard they were willing to work. But he also made it clear that if the process turned into a political struggle it would make the actualization of their demand very difficult to achieve (interview with PST-1 on September 27, 2018).

The pressure from Northern Province for a realignment of North Zambia Field may have led to the decision by management of the North Zambia Field to form a Committee to look into the feasibility of realigning the North Zambia Field territory. The Committee dubbed Re-alignment Survey Committee was established by an available members' committee on the 19th of July, 1994 and composed of members from both Northern and Luapula provinces. The following were the members: J. M. Sinjela, S. C. Siulapwa, F. B. Chanda, M. Chiponda from Northern Province while those from Luapula Province were, S. Mulenga and P. Kauseni (Executive Committee Minutes, 1994)

PST-1 left Mansa in 1995 after he was replaced by PST-2. PST-1 left the issue of a separate Field in Northern Province hanging as there were many logistical challenges that needed addressing. During PST-2's tenure as President of the North Zambia Field an action was taken in 1996 at a meeting of the Administrative Committee (ADCOM) held on February 15, "to accept the Eastern Africa Division (EAD) Commission to study the realignment of North Zambia Field" (Executive Committee Minutes, 1996). The Commission was composed of two leaders from the Eastern Africa Division (Associate treasurer and Education director), the President of Malawi Union, Zambia Union officers and a layman by the name of Blastone K. Sampa from the Copperbelt Field. It is not known what the findings of this particular committee were regarding the matter of realigning the North Zambia Field.

In 2002, PST-3, who had previously served at the North Zambia Field as a youth and stewardship director became the new leader of the North Zambia Field. PST-3 recalls that at that time the realignment song from Northern Province had grown louder. PST-3 remembered an incident of people visiting his office from Northern Province:

I remember receiving a delegation from the North. They came specifically to enquire about the setting up of a new Field in Northern Province. We tabled that matter and told those members that there was no one who was against the idea of dividing the territory because it would bring growth to both Luapula and Northern provinces. Elder George Siamuzoka was our chief financial officer. So, we made a recommendation in 2005 through our executive committee to the Union for them to consider the request that was coming from Northern Province. Because of the recommendation we made that Luapula and Northern be split, we saw growth in the area of finances because the Northern region was competing with Luapula to show that their income was higher (interview with PST-3 on February 12, 2019).

b) Financially-Related Challenges

i) Misappropriation of Funds by Local Churches

The financial challenges in the North Zambia Field assumed different faces at different points of its history. In the early 1980s, for example, some local church leaders fell into the habit of misappropriating money for local church programmes and trust funds that were supposed to be sent upwards to the higher organization (North Zambia Field). This resulted in the Executive Committee of North Zambia Field to take the following corrective measures:

Whereas large sums of money directly connected with trust funds and local church funds have been misappropriated throughout the field, VOTED that no member be elected to church office who does not return the Lord's tithe with special emphasis on treasurers and elders, and further that any treasurer or church officer misappropriating trust funds be disciplined immediately by censure and if no spirit of repentance is shown further disciplinary action be taken leading to the removal of name of the affected individual if necessary (Executive Committee Minutes, 1980).

ii) Lack of Financial Resources to Adequately Fund Operations

ST-1 who served in the North Zambia Field's treasury office in the late 1980s, recalled that the Field was in severe financial distress during that period. Financial challenges plagued it from every side. Pastors salaries were low resulting in most of them living on salary advances from the office. Repayment of these advances to the office was slow resulting in the institution accruing a high level of receivables. On the other hand, the institution itself was failing to pay salaries from its own resources resulting in using money that was supposed to be transmitted upwards to the head office in Lusaka. This money, known as Trust Funds, accrued in a huge debt.

During the alignment of the North Zambia Field in 1988, a financial report presented by newly elected secretary-treasurer Rashford Posa Musonda revealed an institution that was sinking financially. Musonda reported that there had been a high level of receivables from 1986 to 1988 caused by employee advances which accounted for 40% in 1986, 62.5% in 1987 and 40% in 1988. The secretary-treasurer also reported that K24, 000 had been paid to a private printer to print Sabbath School Study Guides but unfortunately not a single copy of those study guides had been sold though efforts were underway to secure collection of the amount (Executive Committee Minutes, 1988).

Musonda further reported that there was a looming financial crisis created by the lack of payment of trust funds to the higher organization of K119, 121. 00 in 1987, and the first four months of 1988. The treasurer also reported on a sum of K93, 092 owed to the Adventist Book Centre. This staggering amount had to be paid from the institution's limited resources, R. P. Musonda said (Executive Committee Minutes, 1988).

Musonda went on to paint this grim picture of the financial situation obtaining in the North Zambia Field:

It has also been noticed that due to the very high level of debt obligations and the scarcity of immediate cash currently being held in unidentified funds, our liquidity strength to pay off debts outrightly only account for 6.1% at the end of April 1988 and 22.99% at the end of 1987. This situation indicates that we have failed to cover 93.9% of our debt obligation at the end of April 1988. It also signifies that we were not able to cover 77.01% of our debt obligations at the end of December 1987 (Executive Committee Minutes, 1988).

In an interview at his home in Ndola on 27th September 2018, PST-1, who had taken over the leadership of the North Zambia Field in 1991 from Pastor Albert Kawila who had gone on retirement, had this to say:

When I arrived at the Field office in Mansa, I found an institution that was heavily indebted to the Zambia Union office in Lusaka. For two years the office had not been remitting trust funds to the Union. To compound the situation the office was also owing huge sums of money to a printing company that used to print Study Guides for our churches in the Field. I was instructed by my superiors at the Union office to immediately work on dismantling the huge debt. Two suggestions were advanced. One was to lay off five of our workers. The other was to sell two of the houses belonging to the Field. It was up to me to decide which option I would take. Whatever option I would undertake, the money that would be saved could then go toward clearing the debt.

When I got to Mansa, I didn't think the option of laying off workers was the right one because those pastors had done nothing wrong. Even the selling of the houses was not an option I was willing to carry out. I remembered that three of the houses that were on the Field compound were built from funds donated by a white person from a country I can't remember. What would the donor think if they heard that we had sold the houses? So, I told the Union to give me one year in which to try out something. If I failed then I would communicate what my other plan would be. Fortunately, the Union agreed. We then organized a workers' meeting at which I explained to the pastors the predicament that faced us. Before leaving Ndola, where I was serving as

president of the Copperbelt, I talked to my friends in Lusaka and the Copperbelt to help with the purchasing of bicycles that I thought of giving to pastors in remote rural districts. I carried these bicycles with me to Mansa.

At the workers' meeting I asked the pastors to share their thoughts on what we could do to dismantle the debt without sacrificing some of our workers or selling our houses. No one came up with any solution. In the end I told them what was on my mind. I told the workers that in view of the challenge that faced us there would be no more salary and travel allowance increments until the debt was cleared. In order for this to happen, my team and I at the office will be going around all the districts and explain to our members our current predicament and solicit their support and help. I will also give fifteen bicycles freely to pastors in remote rural districts that they will use to go to all their churches and collect money that could be lying there.

We then embarked on a tour of all our districts in Northern and Luapula provinces. We spent a week in each district. During the day we visited our members in their homes encouraging and praying with them. In the afternoon we would explain to the people the financial challenges we were facing and appealed to the business people for financial help. People responded. Some brought money while others brought items like their land produce, chickens, goats which we sold in Mansa and then deposited the money in the bank account of the Zambia Union. With the help of God, we were able to dismantle all the debts we owed the Union and the printing company within one year.

ST-1, who served as secretary-treasurer of the North Zambia Field between 1991 and 1995 in a telephone interview on September 6, 2022, described the financial picture he found in 1991 as "quite bad." So bad that "we took an action as a committee to cut down salaries by 50% for six months until there was an improvement in the flow of funds into the Field treasury." ST-1 attributed this negative financial situation to "little participation on the part of members in the stewardship programme of the church." This trickling flow of cash in the Field coffers led to the combining of some districts making the areas of operations even bigger. "The negative effect of this action was that it slowed the flow of cash as there were few ministers to promote stewardship in the churches," ST-1 said.

At the 9th Session of the North Zambia Field which took place on December 11, 1997, in Mansa the Secretary-Treasurer Ronnie Mulenga reported that at the 8th Session that took place in 1995 the Field had a debt of K250, 000 owed to Zambia Union through unremitted Trust Funds. The amount was shared between the Northern and Luapula province churches. By Session time in 1997, only a paltry K8, 509. 33 had been paid back. The treasurer was, however, happy to report that the Field had paid an additional K12, 827. 905.67 out of the

operational fund. The debt had, thus, been reduced to K3, 663,161.00 which he hoped the institution would clear in the first quarter of 1998. According to Mulenga, tithe returns showed little improvement, with most members not participating. (Executive Committee Minutes, 1997).

During the 1997 Session (9th Session), PRE-2 was re-elected as president of the North Zambia Field while Secretary-Treasurer Ronnie Mulenga was replaced with Samson Mulenga. The financial woes of the institution had grown to even higher levels. PRE-3, who had been elected as stewardship director of the North Zambia Field observed that at that time the office faced the challenge of raising funds in order to run the Field in both Luapula and Northern provinces.

We went into those churches that had the potential to do very well and promoted stewardship very aggressively. Things started to improve but not to the level where we could pay salaries to all the workers. One problem was that we had more pastors than the payroll could support (interview with PRE-3 on February 12, 2019).

PRE-3 noted that there was also pressure from the parent organization—the Zambia Union in Lusaka—which directed the North Zambia Field to downsize its workforce by laying off some of the workers.

After PRE-2 left, Pastor Wellington Supuni Chapi took over as president of the North Zambia Field. However, his presidency did not last long as he left for further studies to the United States. The North Zambia Field's financial woes continued under Pastor Chapi's administration, according to the May 17, 2001, committee minutes:

Whereas, some camp meeting sites were reduced to cut off camp meeting expenses, and whereas church members in some areas have requested to allow them hold their camp meetings due to long distances and transportation problems,

Voted to authorize districts to conduct self-sponsored camp meetings and further that members pay travel expenses for the speakers and achieve the camp meeting goals (Executive Committee Minutes, 2001)

During the 2001 North Zambia Field Session that was held in December, ST-2 was elected secretary-treasurer of the North Zambia Field taking over from Samson Mulenga. In a

September 6, 2022, phone interview, ST-2 recounted inheriting a financially insolvent institution. He noted that North Zambia Field workers were among the lowest paid in the Adventist Church, with liquidity at 17% and working capital at -197 in 2001. He explained that this dilapidated financial situation was caused by a number of factors:

People were not faithful to their stewardship obligations. The number of members who participated in giving tithes and offerings was very low. We also discovered that many of our members, especially those in the deep rural areas, were very poor people who did not have disposable incomes.

I also found out that we, as an institution, were owing the Union a lot of money in unremitted trust funds. Money that was supposed to be sent to the Union once we received it from our members was deviated to pay salaries. These trust funds were also low, meaning that what we received from our members was very little.

However, by October 2003, the financial picture was looking bright. “Our liquidity by October 2003 stood at 141% while our working capital rose to 197%.” Asked what brought about this transformation ST-2 said that the office put a plan in place:

How did we change the picture? Knowing that there were no factories in our territory we had to identify key areas from which we could raise our income. These were small scale businesses, civil servants, and peasant farmers. Having identified these areas, we embarked on a programme of self-support education across our constituency. We went around educating our members on the principles of self-support at family level. We asked them to identify available opportunities by which they could make a living.

We divided our territory into four zones: Mansa/Samfya/Chembe/Milenge for example was one zone and Mwense/Kawambwa/Nchelenge/Chiengi was another zone. We then embarked on serious quarterly evaluations to monitor progress in the self-support program we had launched. During these quarterly evaluations we gathered elders, stewardship leaders, pastors and church treasurers and made the necessary evaluations together. By 2003 we saw a great change in the financial picture of the Field.

ST-2 also said that his team worked to bring unity in the Field. “We had this issue where the northern section of our Field was agitating for a Field of their own, but we told the people that it was important that we first work on unity before we could separate.” At about the same time the Field received an appropriation from the Eastern African Division in Harare that boosted its financial position. “With that appropriation from the Division, we bought several properties across the Field,” ST-2 recollected.

ST-2 went on to say that after the financial picture changed, management decided to increase the travel allowances of pastors as a way to motivate them. Around the same time the Zambia Union came up with the concept of central salaries which allowed all the pastors to be on a uniform wage scale across the country. “It was basically the concept of equal pay for equal work,” ST-2 said. In 2003 ST-2 left for another appointment.

Respondent PRE-3, who was once stewardship and youth director of the North Zambia Field had now been elevated to the position of president after Wellington Supuni left. He guided the institution from 2002 to 2004 after which he left for further studies to Uganda.

Despite a promising financial outlook in 2003, the North Zambia Field’s audited statement for December 2004 revealed a dire situation. The executive committee was alerted to a severe financial crisis, with liquidity plummeting to 69.30% by December 2004 (Executive Committee Minutes, 2004).

After PRE-3 left, the Session that took place in December 2004 elected Pastor Rogers Chansa as President of the North Zambia Field. During Pastor Rodgers Chansa’s tenure as leader of the North Zambia Field, financial pressures in the entity increased rapidly in intensity. By April 2005 the liquidity had dropped to 11%. The Southern Africa-Indian Ocean Division under which Zambia Union and its lower entities like North Zambia Field lay had a policy that stipulated that in cases where the liquidity dropped below 60%, the management of that institution must be subjected to review “for their continuity by the next higher organization” (Executive Committee Minutes, 2005). To address severe liquidity decline, the North Zambia Field executive committee implemented drastic measures at its May 2005 mid-year meeting, making wide-ranging recommendations to restore fiscal stability (Executive Committee Minutes, 2005).

Apparently, the measures that were put in place to address the financial situation of the Field yielded immediate results. At the January 1996 executive committee meeting in Mansa, the secretary-treasurer announced that the North Zambia Field had cleared its debts. The Field had paid off all dues to the Zambia Union, including those related to the ‘Kabaso and others versus the SDA Church’ case, and was up to date with trust funds and central salary remittances (Executive Committee Minutes, 1996).

iii) Lean Work Force at Secretariat

The perennial financial challenges at the Regional Office in Mansa has had a negative effect on other operations of the church. A fully-fledged secretariat is supposed to have thirteen officers and departmental directors namely: President, Chief Financial Officer, Executive Secretary, Ministerial, Stewardship, Women's Ministries, Health Ministries, Family Ministries, Personal Ministries and Sabbath School, Youth Ministries, Publishing, Children's Ministries and Communication Department. PRE-3 submitted that "due to financial constraints, the Regional Office has never at any one time filled all the positions" (interview with PRE-3 on February 17, 2019).

iv) Lean Work Force in the Territory

Another challenge occasioned by lack of sufficient funds is the lean work force in the territory of the Luapula Conference. According to the December 2021 Statistical Report the Luapula Conference had 25 Mission Districts. A Mission District is made up of churches and companies and is run by one pastor. Chembe Mission District for example by December 2021 had 20 churches and 46 companies (smaller congregations). As inconceivable as this appears, there was only one pastor who superintended over all of these churches and companies. Ideally each church is supposed to have its own pastor.

According to the 2010 Year-End president's report a lean work force in the Luapula Conference had also resulted in high apostasy figures, and missing of members due to inadequate pastoral care and slow rate at which companies were being organized into churches (Executive Committee Minutes, 2010).

v) Laying off of Workers

On June 22 1999, the North Zambia Field executive committee met to address financial challenges. After analyzing tithe inflows and worker distribution, they discovered that insufficient income hindered paying workers a livable wage. To address this, the committee decided to restructure mission districts from 24 to 13, adjust workforce accordingly, redirect some workers to the publishing department as literature evangelists, and lay off others, as noted by PRE-2, the president. On December 29, 1999, the North Zambia Field executive committee meeting, chaired by Pastor Passmore Hachalinga, president of the Zambia Union Mission, ratified the decision to terminate the services of six workers effective December 31,

1999: Mpondela Samuel, Kabaso Daniel, Mukupa Patrick, Mweo Kingston, Mwila Mwesa, and Mulenga Muonga (Executive Committee Minutes, 1999).

PRE-2, the then North Zambia Field president, gave the following explanation to justify the laying off of some workers:

The laying off of some of our pastors was a directive from the Zambia Union office. A number of institutions had found themselves in financial problems; the East and the South fields together with ourselves at the North Zambia Field had been directed by the Union to lay off some workers as we could not afford to pay salaries for all our workers ‘simply because there wasn’t enough money in the treasury for everyone to have something. We also took a common action and established a small committee with terms of reference. We requested the treasury and the stewardship director to give us progress financial reports of each district.

Afterwards, I was furnished with the data outlining the performance of each district. We looked at which districts were performing well and those that were not doing well. We then decided to lay off workers from districts that were performing poorly. We visited the affected districts and told the people that once the financial situation improved, we would deplore the affected workers back in the field. But of course, this never happened because by the time there were some improvements some of the affected workers had reached retirement age. Of course, those that were affected were very bitter and took it that it was the president who didn’t want them and yet it was the committee and we had the backing of the Union. (interview with PRE-2 on March 24, 2019).

This matter took an ugly turn as the affected workers decided to take the matter to court for arbitration. On the 6th of March, 2000, the North Zambia Field Administrative Committee (ADCOM) acknowledged receipt of “a WRIT OF SUMMONS from the Ndola High Court between Daniel Kabaso and others (Plaintiff) and Seventh-day Adventist Church North Zambia Field (Defendant).” A vote was taken “to accept, record, and respond to the summons immediately and further to inform Zambia Union (ZBU) and Eastern Africa Division (EAD) about it” (Executive Committee Minutes, 2000).

That this matter had a huge cost implication on the NZF is reflected in the minutes of the Available Members Committee of the North Zambia Field that met on the 7th of April, 2000:

Whereas North Zambia Field (NZF) got a loan of K15 million from Zambia Union (ZBU) to pay termination benefits and whereas at the same time NZF is

owing ZBU in Trust Funds and on the Regular Account and whereas NZF paid a huge amount of money on termination benefits and whereas the affected workers have sued NZF to the Ndola High Court and whereas NZF is still paying for the Court case,

Voted to request ZBU Committee to consider writing off K15 million as a way of helping NZF (Executive Committee Minutes, 2000).

Some of the affected workers accused leadership of being biased and therefore looked for a legitimate way to throw them to the chopping board. Said Respondent RTD-4:

In August of 1999 we were made to stop work by the president of the North Zambia Field. There were ten of us. The reason advanced was that there wasn't enough money coming from my district to support me. The case became so sensitive that it even reached the courts. But me and my friend did not join that group. So, we stopped and started waiting for retirement. Unfortunately, during that time we were never paid any salary until 2003 when I reached my years of retirement. (interview conducted with RTD-4 on February 22, 2021).

Respondent RTD-3, who was one of the affected workers said that "the leader of that time came up with the agenda to stop some people from work. I was among those that the committee decided to terminate their employment. I know that there was undue pressure from a named leader to ensure that I was among the workers who had to be dismissed" (interview with RTD-5 on February 22, 2021).

Another affected worker RTD-5 spoke of the suffering he went through during this period. He was of the considered view that one of the leaders at the Field who didn't like him wanted to make sure he was frustrated so that he could leave his job. He spoke of a ploy to deplore him to another district where the leaders hoped he could get discouraged and quit out of frustration. "Things that were due me were denied me and I could tell that I was not wanted but some church members rose to my defense including a top leader from Zambia Union and that is how I survived. In the work of the Lord we will pass through many hardships but we should not give up" (interview with RTD-5 on September 25, 2018).

Reflecting on this fiasco many years later, PRE-3 who at that time was the stewardship director of the North Zambia Field had this to say:

The general perception among the laity in the Field was that the Executive Committee that implemented this decision was cruel. They had not done the

right thing to lay off workers. There was also a feeling among the pastors that a more humane solution to the problem should have been sought than to dismiss workers.

The action to dismiss workers had a negative impact on their families because of the loss of their incomes. It was therefore understandable that there was an uproar in the Field but unfortunately that was the way it was voted.

Unfortunately, the church didn't have the money to pay the dismissed workers. Naturally the workers felt mistreated and therefore decided to take the matter to court. I happened to have been one of the witnesses that gave evidence in court. Unfortunately, in the committee we didn't have any legal minds to advise us on what to do. Maybe we were just focusing on increasing our income. The matter dragged long to resolve. The Union came in to assist us pay and that of course meant that we were now indebted to the Union. (interview with PRE-3 on February 12, 2019).

c) Administrative Challenges

i) Advisory Committee Confronts NZF Leadership

Pastor Arnold Victor Kaite took over the mantle of leadership from Pastor Diamond Lufungulo who was called to serve the Church at the national office—the Zambia Union—in 1978. Barely two years in office Kaite's administration was challenged by a group of lay people who were not happy with certain happenings at the North Zambia Field. The group that was calling itself, Advisory Committee, came into existence in the wake of leaked information by some whistle blowers working at the North Zambia Field and members' observations of things going on at the office. Information had leaked about the conditions of service for the workers in the North Zambia Field and the low salaries they were subjected to. Respondent RSP-7, a member of the long defunct Advisory Committee I talked to on August 19, 2022 informed me that, "those that leaked the information were workers from the office itself," and that "their words were that the secretary-treasurer—a white man from South Africa—had been heard saying that he had no faith in the African." The people that created this committee did so "because we saw that there was a lack of concern on the part of the Field President to address the concerns of the workers." This committee comprised twelve members from four churches in Mansa: Mansa Main, Mansa Central, Mpandika, and Loshi.

According to minutes provided by RESP-7, the Advisory Committee met at Mansa Main SDA Church on November 9, 1980 to discuss critical agenda items necessitating prompt action by North Zambia Field management.

1. Conditions of Service for the ministers in the North Zambia Field's mission districts

2. Need for the Field to assist churches with construction of churches
3. Confusion at the North Zambia Field office
4. Evangelist Bwalya Mulongwe
5. Secretary/Treasurer Steve de-Lange
6. Ordination of ministers and church officers

(1) Condition of Service for Ministers

The Advisory Committee made a recommendation to the North Zambia Field officers that salaries of workers be increased in view of the fact that they were very low. It was noted in the meeting that the in-flow of tithe into the treasury from January to September stood at K71,000 and the projection was that by the end of the year the figure could rise to K115,000. The lowest paid worker in the North Zambia Field received a monthly salary of K52 while the highest received K136. It puzzled the Committee that “while tithe in-flows had increased, the salaries of workers were significantly low.” The Committee proposed that the lowest paid employee’s salary be pegged at K104 while that of the highest be increased to K272.

The Committee calculated that the amount of money paid as salaries to all the workers of the North Zambia Field amounted to K55,000. The Committee wanted to know where the remainder of the amount of tithe collected went. The Committee further wanted to know the salary at the entry point for those with bachelor of arts degree in theology training from Solusi, Form III diploma holders, Form V diploma holders from the ministerial training school at Rusangu and those with Form III certificates and a two-year diploma education from Rusangu Ministerial Training School. The Committee also wanted to know the remuneration of the new recruits who didn’t possess any training at all. The Committee further recommended that an annual increment of salary for all workers. “If the said recommendations are not implemented, the churches will withhold all tithes and offerings.” The office was given up to December 1980 in which to sort out all the issues related to the remuneration of workers.

The Committee also recommended that the North Zambia Field office acquire motor bikes for pastors to partly address their perennial challenge of transport to help them in their visitation programs. “The Field should buy motor bikes and then give them to the ministers who will then pay back the money slowly.” It was further recommended that the Field

purchases a truck to be used for the transportation of pastors on transfer and to help transport needed items at the Chimpempe farm and even building projects that would be undertaken in the Field.

(2) Need for the Field to Assist Churches with Construction of Churches

The Committee noted that the North Zambia Field territory was experiencing rapid numerical growth, with many new churches being established, which necessitated the construction of additional church buildings to accommodate worshippers. It was further noted that “while the Field office had been promising to offer financial assistance to churches for the construction of churches, this money had not been accessed at all.”

(3) Confusion at the Field Office

The Committee noted that churches out there needed to know who the leader of the North Zambia Field was. An impression had lingered long in the minds of the members that the people who held power at the North Zambia Field were the Secretary/Treasurer and his wife and not the Field President. It was further observed that departmental directors especially the Sabbath School director did not relate well with the people. “The office looked like a police station where people are arrested.”

It was further alleged that the Field President looked like a puppet to his Secretary/Treasurer whom the Committee painted as “a selfish individual who does not care about the plight of the workers.” His attitude had consequently brought down the morale of his fellow workers leading to low productivity among workers. When people complained about the Secretary/Treasurer, the President simply kept quiet giving the impression that “*nabacepelwa maka*” (the man has no power). The president needed to take time to listen to the plight of his workers and address them instead of just keeping quiet. It was clear to the Committee that the Field President had lost his grip on the work as a leader. As a result, “churches had lost confidence in his leadership.”

During that time, the Field used to receive second hand clothes that were being sold to help solve liquidity problems. It was the Committee’s considered view that “the selling of secondhand clothes was not being done transparently.” It was observed that some sales were made without customers being given sales receipts. It had also come to the knowledge of the

general membership that there were certain items that used to be set aside and sold only to those known by the leaders.

(4) Evangelist Bwalya Mulongwe

A worker named Bwalya Mulongwe had been sent for ministerial training at Rusangu and after training was deployed to Mpika where, according to the Committee, “he helped to push forward the work of the Lord leading to an increase in tithe and offering in-flows in the Field.” It was, however, disheartening to note that the Field had moved Mulongwe from his pastoral position to do other types of work for which he was never trained. “From being a pastor, he was asked to sell books and later pushed to the position of office orderly responsible for cleaning offices and toilets.” It was further noted that despite going through all these trials Mulongwe had not been discouraged but was doing his work faithfully and had shown loyalty to the organization. The Committee, thus, made a recommendation to the North Zambian Field to consider deploying Mulongwe back to the district in January 1981 so he could start doing work he was trained for.

(5) Ordination of Ministers and Other Church Officers

The Committee lamented about the prevailing situation in the vast territory of the North Zambian Field where only a few ministers had been ordained to the gospel ministry resulting in work moving slowly. Since ordained ministers were the only ones allowed by church policy to baptize those who were responding to the gospel invitation, it was imperative that this number be increased to allow baptismal candidates to be baptized whenever they were ready. It was further observed that once there were many ordained ministers in the North Zambian Field the men chosen to those positions that require ordination like elders and deacons would not take too long to ordain as was the current situation where the number of ordained ministers was small.

The board responsible for the approval of names for the ordination of pastors—the Zambia Union—was accused of being biased and only listened to the voice of the Secretary/Treasurer despite recommendations coming from the Field Committee. “This shows that the Committee is powerless. Names that are voted by the Field Committee are vetoed by one man and the Union listens to his voice just because he is white.”

(6) Secretary-Treasurer, North Zambia Field

The Committee, speaking on behalf of the churches, said that the secretary-treasurer had to go back to his home country, South Africa on Permanent Return (PR) due to the following reasons:

- i. Failure to pay workers the following allowances: Book and equipment, insurance, and camp meeting.
- ii. The man did not want to work with his fellow workers. He was a man who showed partiality and didn't want to work with Africans. He had been heard to say: 'I have no faith in black Africans.'
- iii. The man wasted money that was paid to the Church by God's children. "Often he carries away checks belonging to the organization because he is a signatory."
- iv. Although the Field Committee voted that cheques were to be signed by three signatories, the man did not follow this instruction. "He does this in order to withdraw money from the bank. The Committee also wondered why there were two accounts offices at the North Zambia Field office. The Committee alleged that there was an accounts office at the secretary-treasurer's home with the other one being at the Field office. "All work related to finances have to be done at the office," the Committee argued.

Because of the above-mentioned reasons, the Committee voted that they didn't want the secretary-treasurer. "We don't want him. He needs to go back immediately."

The minutes of the meetings were copied to the presidents of North Zambia Field, the Zambia Union of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, the Eastern Africa Division respectively as well as all the four churches that had representatives on the Advisory Committee.

In an interview with RSP-7, one of the members of this committee, the researcher wanted to know whether the Committee's objectives and voted actions had yielded any results. He gave this response:

After the Advisory Committee meeting at Mansa Main Church, we met the president of the North Zambia Field and informed him that as members we were not happy about the way the office was running the affairs of the church. We told the president that he, together with his team, had failed to give a good example as far as good leadership was concerned.

The meeting resulted in the leaders of the Zambia Union to travel from Lusaka to address our concerns since they had received minutes of our meeting. The leaders also met the North Zambia Field committee. They gave advice on the best way to run the affairs of the church. They were told to explain things to the members so that no one remained in the dark as to how the Adventist Church's system operates. The leaders from the Union spoke of the need for transparency. People needed to know what was going on and why. It was important to explain to the people clearly how the Adventist remuneration system operates and what happens to all the tithe and offerings members contribute. It was also important to explain clearly the levels of faithfulness on the part of God's people so that people might argue from an informed point of view rather than ignorance. We were counselled to work together as a team.

As a result of the recommendations we made as the Advisory Committee we observed a few positive changes. Our working relations improved greatly. The Secretary/Treasurer's attitude improved greatly. We saw that the man was a very practical person who did quite a lot in infrastructure development. During his tenure the North Zambia Field office was completed and he also helped with the construction of the Mansa Central Church. (interview conducted with RSP-7 on August 19, 2022).

The holding of this meeting is confirmed in the Executive Committee meeting minutes of January 23, 1981. This high-profile meeting that took place in Mansa was attended by officials from both the North Zambia Field and those from the national headquarters, Zambia Union, in Lusaka. The purpose of the meeting was to give audience to the Advisory Committee which wished to express certain grievances they had in connection with the NZF administration. Despite the many hours of discussion allotted to the process, there was no conclusive evidence or proof of the allegations labelled at the North Zambia leadership. The meeting was, thus, adjourned without reaching any definite conclusion. Those present were: A. V. Kaite, S. W. De Lange, B. M. Katele, D. Chende, R. P. Goma, K. Mweo, S. Mutale, J. M. Sinjela, I. Sinyangwe,, J. Mwansa, J. S. Mulendema. Those from the Union were: K. E. Thomas, D. Lufungulo, A. E. Harms, A. M. Kawila, B. Mutshiya (Executive Committee Minutes, 1981)

ii) Attacks on Leadership by Unknown People

Pastor Arnold Victor Kaite was not the only administrator at the North Zambia Field who received altercations from members. PRE-1 also met the wrath of some church members in Mansa during his tenure as president. During the period of the financial melt-down in the

early 1990s, PRE-1's attention was distracted by a clique opposed to his leadership. A three-page letter was written by anonymous people purporting to be members of the Mansa Main SDA Church detailing his weaknesses and lack of leadership capacity. He elaborated on this matter:

I remember receiving a three-page anonymously written letter by some people in Mansa in which they spelt out my weaknesses and stuff like that. It must have been written by one of the directors at the Field who wanted me out of my position so that he could take over as president of the North Zambia Field.

When I received that letter, I was very angry and I approached Pastor Kawila, the one I had succeeded after he retired and showed him the letter that people from Mansa Main Church had written to me. Pastor Kawila analyzed that letter and after a day or so came to my office and told me that the letter was not authored by people from Mansa Main Church. 'The author of this letter is right here at the office. I am just saddened that the author of this letter is not the one who will be elected leader of the church here after you are gone. A different person will be chosen,' Pastor Kawila told me.

Then I called a meeting of all the workers at the office to address them about that letter. I told the workers that the authors of that letter were not people from Mansa Main Church but someone right here at this office. The one who wrote this letter wants to take over from me. True, my term of office will come to an end in 1995 and I will go elsewhere but the author of this letter is just fighting God. They will never become the president because they want to assume the office from their own cunning, they don't want God to put them there. And that is how the meeting closed. The Session came at the end of 1995 and I was called to go to the Union office in Lusaka where I became the Church Ministries director. The one who took over from me was Pastor Bryson Katele (interview with PRE-1 on September 27, 2018).

d) Off-shoot Movements

i) Seventh-day Reform Movement

In the early 1970s during the period that Pastor Kawila was the district pastor in Mansa, a rift took place between some members of the Mansa Main Church and the rest of the congregation. Respondent RSP-9 from Mansa Main Church, highlighted several factors that accounted for the rift. The principal architect of the rift was Mr. Perrious Munshimbwe.

Munshimbwe, a carpenter by trade, hailed from Mutiti village in Mansa and was one of the earliest pioneers of the congregation that used to meet at Buntungwa Welfare Hall near Chakopo Primary School in the early 1950s. He was also part of the early Adventist

believers that used to congregate at Loshi before a congregation was formally established in Mansa. His elder brother Dennis Munshimbwe and his wife also belonged to the party of the early believers. Respondent RSP-7, a young contemporary of Mr. Munshimbwe, described him as a gifted teacher and preacher who handled the word of God with rare clarity. Unfortunately, remembered RSP-9, Munshimbwe and his sympathisers were not in good terms with the then district pastor Albert Kawila:

Pastor Kawila was a man they never respected at all. For whatever reasons, they found his leadership distasteful and openly criticized him. Their other concern was on tithes and how it was used. Munshimbwe and team contended that it was not fair that pastors were the only ones who benefited from tithes which members contributed. These are some of the things that led Munshimbwe and his followers to leave the church (interview with RSP-9 on February 14, 2021).

RSP-9 also remembered that Mr. Munshimbwe had a disciplinary case that he, and his sympathizers, felt was not handled with fairness by those in leadership at the time. This led him and his supporters leave the church and join the Seventh-day Reform Movement which for some time he had associated with through the literature he used to receive from South Africa. The respondent remembered how Munshimbwe and group left the church:

The day they left, they just came to church as a group and after service said to the rest that, 'now we have left your church!' Munshimbwe and the people that followed him had this conviction that someday, they would draw away every member of the Mansa Main Church to their movement. Of course, this never happened (interview with RSP-9 on February 14, 2021).

But in a separate interview respondent RSP-6, a long-time member of the Seventh-day Adventist Reform Movement and one who was there in its early formation stages but later returned to the SDA Church, cited three reasons why his group left the SDA Church. In the interview that was conducted at his house in Mansa on March 14, 2022 RSP-6 shared the following account:

Mrs. Dora Mumba who used to work for the Ministry of Education here in Mansa once took a trip to Australia where she met a group that came out of the Adventist Church which used to go by the name, Seventh-day Adventist Reform Movement. When she came back, she brought some tracts from that group which she shared with some of the members at Mansa Main Church. Out of curiosity Mr. Munshimbwe and I wrote to the group in Australia asking for more information. Not long after that we received a letter from those

brethren in Australia linking us to the Seventh-day Reform Movement in South Africa. We didn't want to leave the church because we were not sure of these people and what they were up to. We just used to receive their literature and continued talking to our leaders and sharing what we used to receive with those who were interested. Of course, our leaders used to warn us to be careful because it was at that time when the Field office had just been established. Our leader by then was Mr. Musama Kalebaila.

One day, Mr. Munshimbwe received a letter from W. Smith, the leader of the Reform Movement in South Africa where he expressed his intention to travel to Zambia to visit Mr. Munshimbwe and his group. Smith came to Mansa in the company of a black colleague and met Mr. Munshimbwe at his house. Their intention was to open a branch of their church in Mansa. And that is how Mr. Munshimbwe walked away from the SDA Church and joined the Reform Movement against the advice of leaders like Pastor Kawila. The movement started to grow with its tentacles reaching as far as Mufulira on the Copperbelt. They tried to register the new church but their efforts drew a blank.

Regarding the issues that were at the core of the breakaway from the SDA Church, RSP-6 gave three reasons.

At the beginning, controversy arose from the way the Adventist Church kept two of the Ten Commandments: the fourth and sixth commandments. The fourth talks about keeping the Sabbath day holy while the sixth forbids murder.

The problem with the Sabbath Commandment had to do with how members of the Adventist Church prepared for the Sabbath. The Church taught that the Sabbath was a special day and that preparations had to be done on Friday. Things like cooking were to be avoided. Israel of old had been instructed to prepare for the Sabbath on Friday so that the Sabbath could not be desecrated. But the General Conference of the Seventh-day Adventist Church appears to have made a shift regarding cooking on Sabbath. They now teach that people should not eat cold food on Sabbath. So, cooking has now been sanctioned. The Seventh-day Reform Movement on the other hand teaches that cooking should not be done on Sabbath.

Then on the point of commandment number six which says that you shall not kill, the SDA Church has made another shift. They have a book titled: 'Seventh-day Adventists in Time of War.' That book says that Adventists are non-combatants. They can't handle guns. However, when there is a war, they allow these non-combatants to help the wounded and to take them food. They also cook for those who are fighting. The Reform Movement argues that, that is not acceptable theologically speaking. How will those people keep the Sabbath? These two points are key issues the Reform Movement has raised

against the position taken by the General Conference as far as Commandment number six is concerned.

RSP-6 went on to give the example of Jesus who expressly forbids the use of a sword to take away even the life of an enemy as the one who lives by the sword shall perish by the sword. “How can the church argue that the church can participate in war activities”? RSP-6 wondered. RSP-6 went on further to speak about another contentious issue that led to the separation.

Among us, as Seventh-day Adventists, we teach that members should not eat animal flesh. But the health message has been abandoned by the General Conference to the point that people are now free to eat chickens including broilers. Even some of our pastors eat these chickens. But the Reform Movement were teaching that anybody who eats animal flesh cannot be baptized. Of course, this hard teaching in the Reform Movement has led many to walk away from the church here in Mansa. You can hardly find any members in that church. People have left.

The three issues that led to the separation, according to RSP-6, who left the SDA Church in 1970 and associated with the Reform Movement for thirty years were, failure by the SDA Church to observe the Sabbath strictly, watering down of the sixth commandment by allowing members to join the army and serve in non-combatant roles and a casual approach to the issue of the health message which forbids the eating of flesh meats.

ii) Mpundu Mweshi's Free-Seventh-day Adventist-Laymen

Under the leadership of PRE-2 as president of the North Zambia Field, Mpundu Mweshi, a lay worker, was employed as a pastor. Mweshi had previously conducted successful evangelistic campaigns in Samfya and the Bangweulu Swamps, his home area, leading to numerous conversions to Seventh-day Adventism. However, Mweshi later resigned from his position, resulting in a division between the group he had founded and the Adventist Church. PRE-2 explained what happened:

Mpundu Mweshi was employed at the time I was president of the North Zambia Field. Before he was employed, he had actually conducted many crusades in Samfya and the Bangweulu islands. He was very good. So, we employed him. After working for a number of years, Mweshi even became ordained to the gospel ministry. At some point I left the office after being appointed to another position. After working for seven years Mweshi decided to stop work. News reached me that he was telling people that when he was

called to the ministry, he had talked to the Lord that he was only going to be in the ministry for seven years. After that he would leave and form his own ministry (interview with PRE-2 on March 24, 2019).

Efforts by the North Zambia Field leadership to dissuade Mweshi from resigning proved futile. During the 2001 Year-End Executive Committee meetings of the North Zambia Field held on December 11, an action to accept Mweshi's resignation was, therefore, taken:

Whereas, Pastor Mpundu Mweshi has applied for resignation from employment, and whereas effort has been made to dissuade him, and whereas he has not heeded to the advice, and whereas he has persistently requested us to accept his application for resignation.

Voted to accept his resignation from employment. And further voted to withdraw the Ministerial Credentials as ordained pastor effective 1st January, 2002 (Executive Committee Minutes, 2001).

Among other things he could no longer conduct weddings or baptize people. "Strangely," remarked one respondent at the focus group discussion held at Samfya West Church, "Mweshi held the view that if there was no local pastor to conduct baptisms, he could do that himself despite his ministerial credentials having been revoked" (FGD held February 16, 2022).

Mweshi, who used to work as a district pastor in the Luapula Valley, was received into the fellowship of Samfya West SDA Church on December 31, 2001 (FGD on March 5, 2022 at Samfya West Church). This was after he resigned from active service in the SDA Church. In 2002, he conducted an evangelistic effort at Samfya West SDA Church that resulted in a number of people joining the Seventh-day Adventist Church.

RTD-4, a former district pastor in the Bangweulu Mission District who later became Mweshi's pastor after Mweshi's resignation and relocation to Samfya, observed that Mweshi's teachings frequently deviated from or contradicted those of the Seventh-day Adventist Church.

He mixed truth with concoctions of error and his influence was bad to the general membership. His movements became secretive as the fires of his wild teachings continued to attract members' attention. Mweshi had this subtle

tendency of undermining the church's leadership and presented himself as a know-it-all messiah. His influence tended to create disunity in the district (interview with RTD-4 on September 25, 2018).

Mweshi's destabilizing influence in the district got to the ears of the leaders of the North Zambia Field. In a bid to prevent further escalation of his negative influence in the district, the then president of the North Zambia Field Pastor Dimas Chende travelled to Samfya to meet the elders of all the congregations in the district. He was accompanied by the Ministerial Secretary and Mansa North district pastor Emmanuel Mwewa. The meeting, which was convened at Mwamfuli SDA Church, was also attended by respondent RTD-4, who at that time was the district pastor for Bangweulu Mission District. The President explained how the church organization conducted its affairs in relation to service requests and the movement of its evangelists. He pointed out that no man was law to himself and that the district pastor was the official representative of the Field as far as church operations were concerned and, thus, that no one was above him. All the members present agreed to abide by the policies of the church and employ the right methods and protocols in relation to service calls and resolution of conflicts.

According to RTD-4's September 25, 2018 interview, the North Zambia Field administration, after meeting with the Bangweulu Mission District, resolved to restrict Mweshi's evangelistic activities to Samfya West SDA Church. Mweshi was instructed to report to the office for a discussion and to limit his ministry to the official teachings and practices of the Seventh-day Adventist Church.

At the Samfya West SDA Church where Mweshi's membership was, a vote was taken to allow him travel wherever he was invited to preach. Mpundu conducted a crusade at Samfya West Church in 2005. In 2007, he travelled to Nsamba Island in the Bangweulu Swamps and conducted another crusade. Mweshi was slowly building a reputation in the area and regions beyond as an effective soul winner. His influence among people in both Luapula and the Copperbelt kept growing.

According to another respondent, during a focus group discussion on February 16, 2022 at Samfya West Church, Mweshi's problems started when he went to Kitwe where he conducted a crusade at Luangwa SDA Church. Apparently, he did not follow the procedure

when he travelled. There was no service request to his church (Samfya West) from Luangwa SDA Church which invited him. Moreover, the two sister institutions—the Copperbelt Conference and the Luapula Field—under which the two churches fall were not informed about this trip and thus, according to the rules that governed such trips, Mweshi had no right to travel to Kitwe to conduct those meetings.

This development did not go down well at the North Zambia Field office in Mansa. “So, here at Samfya West Church we were summoned by the office in Mansa to go there and explain why Mweshi travelled to Kitwe without any authorization from the local church.” The then president of the North Zambia Field, Pastor Samuel Sinyangwe travelled to Samfya where he had a meeting with the Samfya West Church board members for him to have an appreciation of what transpired.

On January 4, 2007, at a sitting of the Field Year-End Executive Committee, the matter of Mpundu Mweshi came up for discussion. The committee took the following action:

Whereas Mr. Mpundu Mweshi resigned from employment as a gospel minister of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, whereas Mr. Mpundu Mweshi has held meetings and preaching on the Copperbelt which has apparently proved chaotic, whereas the North Zambia Field restricted his preaching and church activities to his local church, whereas he defied this restriction, whereas Copperbelt Field has written letters of complaint for non-compliance to the properly constituted church order and his association with a dissident group on the Copperbelt where he was one of the guest speakers in August 2006, whereas his presence in the Copperbelt Field is causing disturbances in the churches, whereas North Zambia Field Administration wrote a letter to call him to the office to exculpate himself, and whereas he has failed to show up to the office,

Voted: to restrict Mpundu Mweshi’s activities for the 2nd time to his local church and bar him from conducting meetings, preaching and all church activities in other local churches, and Fields/Conferences and further request the North Zambia Field administration to inform all the churches in the Field and Copperbelt Field of its action (Executive Committee Minutes, 2007).

Apparently, this action on the part of the North Zambia Executive Committee did nothing to deter Mweshi from the war path he had taken toward the SDA Church. He continued disregarding the terms stipulated in the North Zambia vote taken against him in January of

2007. During an Administrative Committee Meeting that took place on May 22, 2007 at the North Zambia Field office in Mansa, the following action was taken:

Whereas Mr. Mpundu Mweshi has held meetings and preaching outside North Zambia Field and Copperbelt Field in particular without approval by the North Zambia Field Committee, whereas the meetings have proved chaotic causing disorder among church members, whereas North Zambia Field restricted his preaching and church activities to his local church, whereas, he defied this restriction, whereas Copperbelt Field has written letters of complaint for non-compliance to the properly constituted church order and his association with a dissident group on the Copperbelt and whereas North Zambia Field administration wrote a letter to call him to the office to exculpate himself, whereas he has failed to show up to the office, and whereas all efforts and dialogue have failed,

Voted: to recommend to Samfya West SDA Church to take disciplinary measures on Mpundu Mweshi (Executive Committee Minutes, 2007).

One respondent during a focus group discussion at Samfya West Church on February 16, 2022, talked about another problem that arose:

Mweshi went behind the back of serving elders and asked the head deacon to write a letter of transfer for him which he intended to use on a trip to Malawi where he claimed he wanted to settle. That letter was written and Mweshi used to move with it in his pocket wherever he went. The Conference heard about it and summoned the church leadership to explain how we allowed such an anomaly as the head deacon had no authority to write such a letter.

P-1 who served in the Bangweulu Mission District from 2010 to 2012 at the time Mpundu Mweshi was a church member at Samfya West SDA Church gave his side of the story:

When I arrived in Samfya, I found Mweshi living in Samfya. At that time, he had resigned from the ministry. In 2010 Mweshi used to congregate at Samfya West SDA Church. He was loyal to the organization and the local church to the point that he was even elected as the personal ministries' leader at Samfya West. In June, 2011, Mweshi conducted a two-weeks' crusade in Lunga District which yielded 34 souls whom I went to baptize since his ministerial credentials had been withdrawn by the office.

During the time I was in Samfya, Mweshi told me that it was his desire to form an independent ministry. He narrated the ordeal he went through at the hands of the pastor I took over from whom he accused of repeatedly frustrating his efforts to work for the Lord. It was his view that no one had the right stop him from going wherever God led him to preach the gospel of Jesus

Christ. He felt that it was not necessary to get authorization from the church or the Field for him to go anywhere in his quest to win souls for Christ.

The pastor I took over from, who is now late, explained to me during the handover that there is this issue of Mpundu Mweshi who wants to make his own church. You will see how you will deal with the whole matter (interview with P-1 on March 10, 2022).

In mid-June of 2011, P-1, the then district pastor for Bangweulu Mission District received a phone call from the Secretary-Treasurer of the Luapula Field who wanted to know the whereabouts of Mpundu Mweshi. P-1 explained:

Unknown to myself, after our trip from Lunga where I had gone to baptize the people that were won to the Adventist Church, Mweshi, without telling the local church or even me who was his pastor, travelled to the Copperbelt for a series of crusades. I called the leaders at Samfya West to find out about the whereabouts of Mweshi. One of them told me that he had heard that Mweshi had travelled to Luanshya to conduct a crusade. I then wanted to know who had authorized that trip. So, I phoned Mweshi and he told me that he had been invited by people on the Copperbelt towns of Ndola, Luanshya, Kitwe, and Chingola to conduct evangelistic meetings.

He further informed me that like he had told me in the past, he was now working as an independent minister, no longer bound by the rules and the regulations of the system. 'This has become necessary because I am tired of situations where committees have to sit time and again to authorize my movements. I am now on my own, independent from the system,' Mweshi said. He went on to add that he would only be back from the Copperbelt after his work there was done.

I told him that things were now becoming complicated and further reminded him about the counsel from my two predecessors who had also tried to help him not take the course he was now agitating for. I reminded him that the trips he had undertaken had not been authorized by the local church as well as the Conference (interview with P-1 on March 10, 2022).

A church board was called where it was resolved that Mweshi be called back and be advised to desist taking matters in his own hands. In his response Mweshi told the church that he could not come back regardless of the charges the church would slap on him due to his dissident activities. Another board meeting was called which P-1 chaired:

We called him on the phone and he told me to put the phone on loud speaker to allow everyone to hear what he had to say: 'You don't need to wait until I come for you to decide what to do as I will not come. My ministry has taken

so long to take off. I am tired of having these endless meetings where I have to explain myself all the time. I am therefore asking you to disfellowship me.’

Mweshi further informed the board that he knew that the Conference had voted to deny him the right to do what he was doing but that didn’t matter. He continued on to say that ‘I will not stop. I will continue working on my own. I don’t want to follow church order regarding service calls and I don’t want the church to hold my membership because you will always want to be calling me to explain myself every time I flout your rules.’

This happened in 2011. We waited for some time for him to come back but to no avail. Finally, that is how we took the matter to the attention of all our members for them to discuss it. The matter was discussed at length with some insisting that we wait until he comes back. But others insisted that we listen to his recorded voice note on the phone. People were, thus, given the opportunity to hear his views on the matter of following church rules and protocol. What I remember is that the church did not remove his name but a recommendation was made to put him on censure for nine months.

When the matter was communicated to Mweshi regarding his being on censure for nine months, he told the church clerk that the church was simply wasting its time. He had already explained what was on his mind. He wanted his name to be removed. He made it clear that he would not be tied to the rules of order regarding service calls but wanted to be free to work according to the dictates of his conscience (interview with P-1 on March 10, 2022).

P-1 went on to narrate how difficult that meeting had been:

Great confusion arose because many people were not able to appreciate the issues related to service requests. In their view the matter was simple and didn’t need to be blown out of proportion. As far as they were concerned everyone was free to take the message of Christ wherever they wanted to go and it was not necessary to get permission from anyone to do so. Some people felt that Mpundu Mweshi’s reasoning on the matter made more sense than the position espoused by the church.

The majority of the people in the meeting, however, felt that since Mweshi, himself, wanted his name removed from church records that his wish be respected. The name was finally removed from the church register. After it was removed, confusion ensued with one faction of elders, deacons and church members opting to follow Mweshi thereby creating a sharp division. Mwamfuli SDA Church being the biggest congregation in Samfya suffered the biggest number of defections to Mweshi’s camp. Other defectors came from Samfya Central, Samfya West (where his membership was), extending all the way to churches in the Bangweulu Swamps. It was a sad thing after all the efforts to dissuade him by many people (interview with P-1 on March 10, 2022).

As recorded in the minutes of the Samfya West SAD Church Board meeting on July 10, 2011, Mpundu Mweshi 's membership was removed from church membership due to two reasons:

1. Not following established order.
2. Conducting baptisms when he didn't have the authority to do so.

Mweshi had travelled to Luanshya to conduct a crusade without following the laid down Church procedure. The local church leaders at Samfya West talked to him and asked him not to continue what he was doing but he refused and snubbed their counsel. Furthermore, after the end of that particular crusade, even though he no longer carried denominational credentials that should have allowed him to perform that rite, he did not listen but went ahead and baptized the people. In response the Church Board made a recommendation to the body of believers for Mweshi's name to be dropped from Church membership and members approved the recommendation.

During a focus group discussion March 5, 2022, at Samfya West SDA Church respondents highlighted the following views about Mweshi:

Mweshi lacks the spirit of humility. He is one person who cannot bring himself down in order to promote peace and unity. He is one person who cannot admit his wrongs. Mweshi does not want to be led. He wants to lead all the time.

Mpundu Mweshi's family, his wife and children were never happy with the decision he made. They did not embrace the decision he made, beginning with the decision to leave work. They never embraced his decision to leave the church and form his own church. Because of his persuasive tongue, his family was persuaded against their will to join him.

The division that resulted from his name's removal persisted for almost a quarter but normalized afterwards. All who followed him were given an opportunity to make known their position before their local church boards. Those who insisted on following Mweshi were then removed from church membership. This helped to bring stability and calmness, the respondents said. P-3 went on to recount that:

Mpundu Mweshi shook the Adventist Church in Samfya and beyond. Negative ripples of his work spread to the Copperbelt towns of Kitwe, Luanshya and Chingola. The people in those places felt that the

administration of Pastor Samuel Sinyangwe under whose leadership all these things happened was heavy handed and unfair. I received many calls from the Copperbelt from people who wanted to know what had happened and why Mpundu Mweshi's name was removed. And I took time to explain. There were also rumblings of disaffection from churches in Mansa, Mwense and Kawambwa where new congregations had sprung. Although the pockets were small, it was evident that Mweshi had quite a following in a number of places.

In September 2012, the church in Samfya invited Pastor Josephat Hamoonga from Lusaka for a three-week evangelistic campaign. This crusade helped quite a good number of those who left the church to join Mweshi come back. Two hundred people were baptized. About fifteen of those whose names had been dropped from our books came back. When I left Samfya in 2013 for another posting, it was relatively calm and things had returned to normal (interview with P-3 on March 10, 2022)

The researcher wanted to hear from Mpundu Mweshi himself causes of his disagreements with the Church. He sought an interview with him in Samfya but at the last minute, Mweshi cancelled the appointment alleging that he had just received a funeral message and was therefore unable to make it to the interview.

iii) Mweshi's Contentious Issues

After the researcher's failed attempt to meet Mweshi, he secured an interview with one of his ardent followers in Mansa. The researcher wanted to know what were the contentious issues between Mweshi's and the Adventist Church. Respondent RESP-13 identified the following issues as being at the core of the confrontation between Mweshi and the Adventist Church:

Mpundu Mweshi does not believe in the Adventist Church's position on order in so far as it concerns the movement of preachers of the gospel from one entity to another in any part of the country. Mpundu believes that messengers of the gospel should take the message anywhere they want to go without getting the authorization from anyone. The boundaries the church has created between its entities (for example those in Luapula Conference and those on the Copperbelt) are artificial and should therefore not hinder the free movement of evangelists. If an evangelist from Luapula, for example, has work to do on the Copperbelt, they don't need permission from anyone to make such a trip.

Mpundu Mweshi has issues with the Seventh-day Adventist Church logo that was voted in during the 1995 General Conference in Toronto. That logo is abstract and does not represent the beliefs of the Seventh-day Adventist Church like the old logo which had symbols of the three angels of Revelation.

NOTE: (It is the considered view of this researcher that Mweshi's knowledge about the logo is scanty for until 1995 the Adventist Church has had no official logo).

Mweshi contends that the way the Adventist Church of nowadays observes the Sabbath commandment leaves much to be desired. The Sabbath Commandment is so lightly observed nowadays that it is not uncommon to find people even buying food on Sabbath. There is no seriousness on the part of God's people in the keeping of God's Holy Day.

Mweshi argues that the majority of Seventh-day Adventist members and ministers no longer practice the health message as taught by Ellen G. White. Eating of flesh foods is forbidden in the writings of Ellen G. White and yet members of the church and their ministers' approach to the health message is very casual (interview with RESP-13 on June 8, 2022).

The researcher asked his informant how true the allegation was that Mweshi had no respect for the Adventist pastoral ministry to which he once belonged and that he is in the habit of telling his members that Adventist pastors are fallen and are just interested in getting salaries. The informant refuted that allegation:

He has always preached about the need to give them respect as servants of God. He however condemns the failure of the ministers to uphold the standards of the SDA Church which has led to fallen standards of its members. He says they desire wages but leave members with a form of religion lacking in power.

Mpundu Mweshi feels that there is too much concentration of power at the top in the Adventist Church to the point that lower institutions cannot challenge policies or deliberations that are passed down. The system does not respect its people at the lower rungs of its ladder in the hierarchy.

Mpundu finds the notion of paying tithe as a determinant for one to hold a position in the church wrong. According to Mweshi, this promotes the idea that to get a position in the church one has to return tithe (interview with RESP-13 on June 8, 2022).

After he got disfellowshipped, Mweshi continued his dissident activities taking his message to many places in Luapula and regions beyond. In 2013, for example, he conducted a three-week evangelistic campaign at Mansa's Kaole Stadium that shook the Adventist Church in Mansa to its core. Respondent RESP-15 gave his impression of the event in an interview conducted at his house in Mansa on October 5, 2022:

It was a very well-organized campaign that drew many Adventists from the churches around Mansa. Although, I, myself, did not attend any of Mweshi's meetings, many people including some elders from the local churches used to attend his meetings. A lot of people from the SDA churches in town attended the nightly meetings.

The leaders at the Luapula Field had sent word around the churches in Mansa that Mweshi's campaign had no blessings from the office. Mweshi had resigned from church employment in 2001 and his credentials had, thus, been withdrawn. Said RESP-15 on October 5, 2022:

Mweshi had been going around Mansa telling people that he was in good and regular standing and that only his fellow ministers and the leaders at the Field were not happy with him. They were jealous of him because they couldn't preach like he did and were now trying by all means to pull him down. Unfortunately, the majority of the people in Mansa were not even aware that Mweshi had been disfellowshipped at his local church of Samfya West in 2011.

At the end of his crusade Mweshi sought the help of leaders from the Luapula Field to provide an ordained minister to baptize those who expressed a desire to be baptized. The Field leadership denied him this request according to respondent RESP-13 because he was not a member of the Adventist Church. Moreover, his credentials had been withdrawn when he resigned from the organization in 2001. Notwithstanding the fact that Mweshi's credentials had been withdrawn and further that he had also been disfellowshipped at Samfya West Church where he held his membership, he took it upon himself to baptize the candidates. He went on to assure them that the local Adventist churches where they came from would accept them into fellowship.

In the local churches where these newly 'baptized members' came from there was a sharp division among the leaders and ordinary members. Those leaders who were sympathetic to Mweshi's teachings were of the view that the baptism Mweshi conducted was legitimate and that those he baptized were to be received into the fellowship of believers. Others who took a different view stood their ground. They argued that since Mweshi had resigned from the Adventist Church and had formed his own church and registered it under the name Free-Seven-day Adventist-Laymen Movement, the people he had baptized could not be imposed upon the church. The only logical thing was to let them join his church.

P-8, a pastor in one of the mission districts in Mansa, remembered that there was a lot of pressure from some leaders and members at one of his congregations for him to accept into fellowship the people Mweshi had baptized. “But I put my foot down and stood my ground. One evening as this theological wrangle was going on, some members came to my house and threatened to harm me if I refused to accept into membership the people Mweshi had baptized” (telephone interview with P-8 on September 21, 2022).

P-9, who was also serving as a district pastor in Mansa shared a similar encounter. While Mweshi was conducting his crusade at Kaole Stadium, P-9 was out of town for several weeks. When he came back, he found the dust arising from Mweshi’s controversial evangelistic campaign not yet settled. The three-week campaign had left a trail of confusion and division in many of the Adventist churches around Mansa. He remembered that at one of his congregations in the district where he went to preach, he failed to do so because of the hostile reception he received from both leaders and members. “The minds of the people had been poisoned by Mweshi’s messages during those three weeks at Kaole Stadium. When I arrived at the church, I failed to address the people” (telephone interview with P-9 on July 3, 2022).

At another church he pastored, members had voted into fellowship the names of the people who had been baptized during Mweshi’s crusade at Kaole Stadium though the message not to do so from the Field had been clearly stated and communicated. One of the leaders who had said no to the illegality had his name removed from membership though his position was in perfect harmony with that of the Field. “When he appealed to my office, I tabled the issue before the church board which unfortunately threw it out,” P-9 noted.

Another time, at that same congregation, during holy communion, a member stood up and started abusing me. Pointing his finger in my direction, and showering insults at me, he let it be known before everyone that he could beat me if he so wished. My presence at that church created a lot of negative scenes (telephone interview with P-9 on July 3, 2022).

At Chakopo Church one of the two respondents who had been a part of the leadership team during Mweshi’s 2013 three-week evangelistic crusade at Kaole Stadium in Mansa, spoke of a church business meeting that was held to remove the names of those who had elected to

follow Mr. Mpundu Mweshi as not only being the most well-attended but also the most emotionally tense as far as they could remember.

We, the board members, fasted for three days asking for God's guidance before we held the meeting. As a board we had recommended the removal of the names of those who had decided to follow Mr. Mpundu Mweshi. The ratification of that recommendation could only be effected by a vote of the entire sitting of the baptized members of Chakopo Church. The meeting took long to debate the motion. But after a long time of discussing the issue back and forth, it was put to a vote and the recommendation of the board carried the day. One member from the audience rose and challenged the result insisting that rigging had taken place and demanded that a recount be done. For the sake of being transparent we allowed a recount to be taken which, fortunately, vindicated our earlier count. The man who challenged the earlier vote just laughed and remarked in Bemba that "*twapona*" (we have lost) (interview conducted on October 5, 2022 in Mansa).

Mweshi's crusade at Kaole Stadium resulted in a number of defections. Those who sympathized with him and left the church to join him were disfellowshipped while those he baptized could not be received into the fellowship of the Adventist Church. The biggest casualty, however, in all of Mweshi's dissident activities in Luapula was Kasoma Lunga SDA Church in the Bangweulu Swamps which was disbanded during the Second Session of the Luapula Conference held December 2018 in Mansa. In an interview with the then Conference President, PRE-5, the reasons that led to the disbandment of the Kasoma Lunga Church were the following:

Members of the Kasoma Lunga Church had resolved to embrace the dissident teachings and leadership of Mpundu Mweshi despite the numerous counsels from the Field/Conference for over five years by the time the church was disbanded in 2018. Moreover, the church had also resolved to be remitting their tithes to the dissident independent ministry run by Mweshi thereby defying policy provisions and administrative directives (interview with PRE-5 on November 4, 2022).

PRE-5 noted that during these years that Mweshi has preyed on the Adventist members scattered across the Conference, administration has been active in implementing certain measures intended to shield the members from his influence. The Conference has gone to the extent of "distributing documented evidence showing that Mweshi had resigned from the Adventist Church and formed a separate organization that is registered with the Registrar of Societies as a religious organization different from his former denomination" (interview with

PRE-5 on November 4, 2022). Other measures taken by administration and pastors in the local churches included the following:

1. Pointing out to the members that Mpundu's activities and teachings were in direct contravention of church order as stated in the Church Manual and Working Policy and that Mpundu's followers tended to be fanatical and delusional.
2. Pointing out to the members that Mweshi usually sought and actually obtained personal financial and material benefits without being accountable to his followers.
3. Visiting some of the congregations Mweshi had targeted for enticement in order to counteract the propagation of dissident teachings.

5.2.2 General challenges faced by the indigenous people in the spread of Adventism in Luapula Province

In this section, the researcher shall enumerate the challenges lay workers have encountered in their bid to spread the message of the SDA Church in Luapula.

a) Infrastructure and Transportation Limitations

The issue of carrying the message from places where it had taken root to unentered ones can only be appreciated against a backdrop of a modernized road infrastructure and transport system where movements of people have been improved and greatly eased. In the early years of the mission, from the 1920s to the 1960s, walking was the primary means of travelling to share the message between locations. Lay evangelists and African pastors often walked long distances along narrow paths in order to bring the message of salvation to the areas where it did not exist. In some rare cases, bicycles were used.

Respondents in all the four focus districts of Mansa, Chifunabuli, Mwense, and Chienge and pastors attested to this reality. "Pioneers either walked or in some rare cases used bicycles to do the work of evangelism. The roads that we see nowadays did not exist then" remarked one respondent during a focus group discussion at Lukwesa Main SDA Church in Mwense district, September 21, 2022. RESP-10, an elder who once worked with late Pastor Kawila, a prominent figure in the church's early development in Luapula during the 1950s and 1960s, remembered the vast areas the pastor often traversed:

Pastor Kawila used to ride his bicycle going to Mpanta near Samfya because Mansa was a very big mission district. He would often take up to three months just doing visitation rounds, away from home, reaching as far as Matanda. Pastor Kawila went through a tough time (interview with RESP-10 at his home in Mansa, 14, 2021).

Respondent RESP-8, who was once a member at Mansa Main Church, also remembered that “transportation in those days was a big challenge as we used to walk to Loshi with luggage on our heads. Mr. Kalebaila used to help those from Matanda and other villages by ferrying them to the camp site using his own vehicle” (interview with RESP-8 in Mansa, February 14, 2021). Respondent RESP-3 shared a similar experience: “we used to walk on foot to the camp meeting site at Lukwesa. We, as ladies, would carry mealie-meal on our heads and the men who had gone out fishing always brought bundles of fish as food for the camp” (interview with RESP-3 on March 12, 2022).

In a report in the *African Division Outlook* of September 15, 1923, J.V. Wilson, superintendent of the North-East Rhodesia Mission writes about a trip he undertook to Chimpempe Mission Station with the station’s director Brother Hurlow describing the road as very bad in many places. “It made me think we were riding over a corrugated iron roof; only the corrugations were more pronounced.”

b) Lack of Remuneration for Lay Evangelists

Lay leaders who carried out the message of the SDA Church to far-flung areas never received any stipends from the church. They did the work purely from personal sacrifice and commitment to duty. A notable lay worker during the 1930s and 1940s, “Mr. Alaka Chiposo of Loshi village in Mansa, not only participated actively in evangelism, but also took the offerings that were collected at his local church to Chimpempe in Kawambwa at his personal cost” (interview with RESP-4 at Loshi, March 30, 2022).

c) Rudimental Understanding of the Church and its Doctrines

The majority of lay people that participated in the spreading of the SDA message only had a rudimental understanding of the church and its doctrines. They had no formal theological training. They guided the work from the little knowledge they had. This view was highlighted by the participants of the group focus discussions at both Loshi and Lukwesa Adventist churches. One participant noted, “Here at Loshi, all the leading brethren during the

formation period never had any theological training. They were just ordinary folk who had a love for the message and wanted it spread far and near,” a view that was unanimously shared by the group (Focus Group Discussion held at Loshi SDA Church March 29, 2022). These sentiments were echoed by several people at Lukwesa Main SDA Church during a focus group discussion. They noted that leading lay figures never had any structured knowledge of the SDA Church and its doctrines. While they were not totally ignorant of its teachings they, nevertheless, were not trained workers (Focus Group Discussion, March 13, 2022).

d) High Poverty Levels

Along the Luapula Valley and indeed most of rural Luapula, membership largely consists of poor people whose chief occupation is small-scale fishing or farming. While establishment of work has been swift, the building of churches has not been correspondingly easy due to high levels of poverty among the people. The researcher was made aware of this reality at a number of church sites where building projects had either stalled or were moving at a snail’s pace. Members are building bigger churches to accommodate the swelling numbers. At Loshi, Chishinshi, Lukwesa and Ponde building works have been going on for a long time. When the researcher asked why it had taken them so long to complete their building projects, all claimed lack of financial resources as the main problem. “This building project has been going on for the past five years now,” noted RESP. 5 “The progress is slow due to lack of financial resources on the part of church members” (interview held at Ponde, February 23, 2021). Similar sentiments were echoed by one respondent at Lukwesa Main SDA Church during a focus group discussion:

We have failed to make improvements to this standing structure which was built many years ago. As you can see it has visible cracks in a number of places but we have felt that doing repair works on it will not help much due to its state. Our membership has grown big necessitating the building of a new church which is currently under construction on the Western side. Progress, however, has been very slow due to lack of finances on the part of our members (Focus Group Discussion, March 13, 2022).

At Loshi SDA Church, membership has been swelling for the past few years. Members voted to build a new church. This researcher found the structure under construction at roof level. “The man who used to be a Member of Parliament here promised to help us with roofing sheets,” noted one member during a focus group discussion, “but he died and since then the project has stalled. We have asked the Conference to come to our aid but we haven’t

heard from them yet. Most of our members here are just poor people who live by small scale farming” (Focus Group Discussion, March 23, 2021).

e) Teaching on Food

Luapula Province is endowed with lakes and rivers. It is the home to two big lakes (Bangweulu and Mweru) and a number of rivers one of which is Luapula after which the province is named. Fishing is one of the major occupations of the people. Using Leviticus 11, Adventists have taught that it is not every living thing that is suitable for food. Certain fish, for example, cannot be eaten because God declares them unclean.

These you may eat of all that are in the water: whatever in the water has fins and scales, whether in the seas or in the rivers—that you may eat. But all in the seas or in the rivers that do not have fins and scales, all that move in the water or any living thing which is in the water, they are an abomination to you. They shall be an abomination to you, you shall not eat their flesh, but you shall regard their carcasses as an abomination. Whatever in the water does not have fins or scales—that shall be an abomination to you. (Leviticus 11:9-12 NKJV).

Teachings such as the one above always presented problems to a people whose chief source of protein is fish—all types of fish for that matter. At Chishinshi, Mwense, Lukwesa, and Ponde churches, respondents highlighted the food issue as one obstacle that early workers had to contend with as they spread the message of the SDA Church in Luapula.

“Fishing has always been the main source of occupation along the Luapula River. During evangelistic crusades now and in the past, the issue of what to eat in this SDA Church has been a source of concern for many who want to join the church,” said a participant in a focus group discussion held on February 8, 2021 at Nkumbi in Mwense district. Similar views were shared by RESP-5 at Ponde SDA Church in Chienge. “One of the significant challenges faced by the early pioneers of the work here was related to dietary habits. Adventist teachings, based on scripture, prohibit the consumption of certain types of fish, posing a challenge for the early missionaries and continuing to be a consideration for Adventists today” (interview with RESP-5, February 23, 2021).

f) Teaching on the Day of Worship

The church's teaching on the day of worship being Sabbath (Saturday) as opposed to Sunday was in many instances a hurdle toward bringing people in its fold. Adventists were the only Christian denomination that presented a different view about the day of rest mentioned in Exodus 20:8-11. All the mainline Christian denominations that participated in the evangelisation of Luapula and the rest of Zambia taught that Sunday was the authorized biblical day of worship. To the contrary Adventists taught that Saturday, and not Sunday, was God's sanctioned day of rest and worship. RESP-2 remembers:

How could the rest of the Christian denominations be wrong and only one minority group be right was a question that was often posed by those who questioned the message of the Adventist Church I sought to spread in an area where there was no Adventist presence. The entire area of what is known as Chifunabuli district today was originally a Catholic stronghold who had set up a mission station at Lubwe. (interview with RESP-2, March 12, 2022).

People interpreted this stance on the part of Adventist evangelists and pastors as religious arrogance, bigotry and self-righteousness which, unfortunately, did not help matters as far as the spreading of the SDA Church message was concerned. RESP-1 noted that the slow development of the Adventist work in Mansa, compared to Loshi, was partly due to the limited number of male Adventists in Mansa who observed the Sabbath, hindering the growth of a strong local presence. A good number of men were what they referred to as 'half Sabbath keepers.' RESP-1 further observed that "the Adventist emphasis on the Sabbath as a day of rest faced opposition from other Christian denominations, making it particularly challenging to win over individuals who had already been introduced to Christianity through other traditions" (interview with RESP-1, February 18, 2022).

g) Illiteracy

Illiteracy was rife in the early days of the work. Even in villages like Lukwesa and Lifuka in Mwense, where missionaries from Chimpempe opened up schools, the majority of the people remained largely illiterate. RESP-3 observed that "the school that was set up by missionaries at Lifuka did not take in many children because it was a very small school and there were very few teachers assigned from Chimpempe" (interview with RESP-3, March 12, 2022).

At Kasuba where RES-2 opened up a company of SDA believers, the majority of the adult people who became converted to Adventism were illiterate, only the young people had a

knowledge of reading. “This created a problem for us and it delayed the process of company organization because the majority of adult converts were illiterate. And the young people who knew how to read were still young and could, therefore, not assume any church positions” (interview with RES-2, March 22, 2022).

h) Lack of literature

According to one respondent at a focus group discussion at Lukwesa Church in the Mwense District, lack of literature on the doctrines and governance of the church proved a formidable challenge in the infancy stage of the work. “There were very few people who had access to any church literature. The majority of the people simply listened to the few who had access to the scanty literature that was available at that time” (Focus Group Discussion, March 12, 2022).

i) Entrenched Traditional Beliefs that Bordered on Superstition and Witchcraft

The message of the Adventist Church was in many respects at war with some of the long-held beliefs of the local people. In the local worldview, death was not seen as a complete severance, but rather a transition to a spiritual existence where the deceased continued to exert influence over the world of the living. In stark contrast to the prevailing local beliefs, Adventists proclaimed that the dead were truly lifeless, devoid of any influence or power over the living. However, this concept proved difficult for many to accept. Witchcraft was also rife. People could relate to the power of witchcraft, spells, charms, and fetishes. The new faith taught something that totally contradicted the principles of witchcraft. Adventism sought to decimate this edifice of traditional and superstitious beliefs that contradicted the teachings of the Bible.

Kasuba Primary School Headmaster and pioneer gospel lay worker in Chifunabuli District, RESP-2, noted that witchcraft presented a two-fold challenge. Those opposed to his evangelisation work sought to use witchcraft to eliminate him. RESP-2 further noted that witchcraft was also prevalent even among those who came to believe in the message of the Adventist Church:

In 1975, there was a man whose wife was baptized after being converted to Adventism but her husband was a witch doctor and could therefore not be accepted into church membership. When Pastor Dimas Chende came to Kasuba to officially open the church this witchdoctor expressed desire to be

baptized claiming that he had now forsaken his former way of life and wanted to lead a clean life. He asked Pastor Chende to pass through his home on Sunday so that he could surrender all his instruments of “trade” and hopefully be baptized. But on Sunday when Pastor Chende went to his house, he did not find him. Apparently, he wasn’t just yet ready to surrender his paraphernalia. However, a month later after Pastor Chende was gone, this man asked us to go and collect the things he had been using as a witch doctor to do his work. He said he was now ready for baptism.

On Sunday in the afternoon I went to see him at his home. I found him together with his wife. He had a 50kg bag that had contained fetishes and other items associated with witchcraft. He had removed all these things and they were lying in plain view. This man originally came from Mpweto in Congo. When he came to Zambia, he first settled in Puta village where he lived for a number of years. From Puta he went to Kawambwa and then Luwingu. After Luwingu he went to Bangweulu where he practiced ‘African’ medicine. After a stay in Bangweulu, he went to Ng’umbo where the gospel found him.

After the man surrendered his items of trade it meant an end to his lucrative way of life. His wife who was our church member, asked how her family was going to survive since it was through that business that their livelihood had been sustained. But I assured her that God would find other suitable means of sustaining them. Then I asked them if we could pray. After prayer, I assured them that the power of those items lying on the ground had been neutralized and that no harm could come upon them. Then I started picking the items one by one putting them in that 50kg sack. When the local people saw me do that, they started saying that I was also a witch doctor for such a thing could only be done by someone with similar power. They didn’t think I was a teacher. Anyway, afterwards I drove back to Kasuba where I lived.

Back home, as church members saw these things, some of them started coming out confessing that there were things they were still holding on to. One by one they brought their fetishes and charms and I took time to pray with each one.

One day I decided to drive to Mwamfuli Church in Samfya with all these things I had collected from those who once practiced witchcraft. I wanted the church members to see how people were being converted to the faith as demonstrated by the things they were now willing to surrender. When I got to Samfya, I was asked to preach on Sabbath and I told the people that the good news had reached the Ng’umbo area. I reminded the people about the twenty-one people from Kasuba who had been baptized at a camp meeting in 1974, ‘right here at Mwamfuli.’

I told them that people from the area had kept on joining the faith and were now surrendering their tools of wickedness so that they can worship God in spirit and truth. Then I put my hand in the bag that contained charms, fetishes and other paraphernalia and one by one I showed the items to the people. Some of the people in the congregation who themselves practiced witchcraft

felt very uncomfortable when they saw me do that. But I showed them everything. And then I told them that I would leave all that stuff at the local church at Mwamfuli so that the leaders in turn could take these things to the Field office in Mansa for them to see the power of God at work (interview with RESP-2, March 12, 2022).

RESP-13 of Kasuba also confirmed that witchcraft was rife even among church members. He remembered an incident during which some Adventist members were caught in the dragnet of witchcraft:

Another thing that caused a tremor in the church was the issue of witchcraft. When some elderly members of the church were caught practicing witchcraft, it caused them a huge embarrassment to the point that they never wanted to come back to the church again despite repeated attempts to woo them back. And many died outside the church (interview with RES-13, March 5, 2022).

RTD-4 who worked as a pastor at Chimpempe in the 1990s recollected how utterly shocked he was to encounter witchcraft activities even in the church.

After I arrived at Chimpempe I found a situation where a witchfinder had been going around our churches identifying those who practiced witchcraft. As if that wasn't bad enough some of our members had even gone to consult the witchfinder. A lot of our people in our churches at Chimpempe, Muyeba, Kabanda and the place near the pontoon had fallen away from the teachings of the Bible. For all the people who had fallen in this manner, I instituted a process of removing their names from church membership. This didn't go well with many people. Even the local chief wasn't happy. He summoned me to his palace so he could give me the background to what had happened so that, hopefully, I could understand and appreciate what was going on.

He told me that many of our members in the SDA Church had been practicing witchcraft. A witchfinder had thus been invited in the village to cleanse it from all these bad elements. He was even willing to show me what was going on. He was, therefore, not happy as a chief that I had instituted such stern measures when it was clear in the church that we had many witches and wizards. I told the chief that since the church was God's property, it was better that we allowed God Himself to direct the process and that the path I had taken was in line with the teachings of the Bible. We went ahead and removed the names of all those members who had tainted their names by consulting the witchdoctor. This was a very difficult time for me as it took a bit of time for this fire to be put out (interview with RTD-4, September 25, 2018).

Giving a background to this fiasco Baxton Mwangilwa, the then headteacher at Chimpempe Primary School in an unpublished manuscript, wrote that during the period that the Adventist Development and Relief Agency (ADRA) of Australia sponsored the Chimpempe ADRA Agricultural Institute (CAAI), a lot of developments had taken place in terms of food security with “poverty and hunger greatly reduced.” Mwangilwa was of the view that the improved state of affairs at Chimpempe led to a spiritual lull where many “believers departed from God and began quarrelling and accusing one another of being witches.” Things got bad leading the chief “to invite a witchfinder to come and cleanse all his villages including our mission station of witches.” Mwangilwa further noted that, “nearly everyone in the camp accepted the move by the chief.” Mwangilwa went on to give this graphic account:

When the day for cleansing Chimpempe by the witchfinder came, I was at home. The secondary school headteacher Mr. Mununga Mumba had gone to Mansa to attend the Annual Executive Committee Meeting at the North Zambia Field office. My daughter Mercy came to inform me that the witchfinder was approaching the mission compound. I rose to meet him before he could start his work. Upon meeting him, I shook his hand and then asked him why he had come to Chimpempe. He couldn't give me a straight answer to that question. Although the man had the authority from the chief to perform his work, I stopped him from doing that. I urged him to go to the chief and report to him anyone he knew who practiced witchcraft so that the chief might in turn summon that person.

Following my confrontation with the witch finder, the chief summoned me to the palace to confirm whether any individual at the mission station had a history of involvement in witchcraft. It was unfortunate to see many believers in the villages disfellowshipped or put on censure for permitting the witch finder to enter their homes and practice their evil work. There was great antagonism between those who were disfellowshipped and those of us who were against the witch finder especially me for having stopped the witch finder from performing his acts in the mission compound. I was called all sorts of names and even labelled as a witch. (Mwangilwa, n.d.).

P-4, a gospel worker in the SDA Church, talked of the challenge of traditional beliefs that run counter to the teachings of the Bible and went on to illustrate his point:

It's common where a member will suspect another that this person has bewitched me. I dreamt that this person visited me and the following day the issue is brought before the church board. Others have ended up going to witch doctors to find out about those they suspect. Those who go to witchdoctors even use charms they have been given by witchdoctors (interview with P-4, March 7, 2022).

Respondent P-7, another SDA minister outlined the following challenge:

One of the big challenges I have faced especially working with those who eventually become members of the church is the role tradition plays in their lives. We have situations of people in local church leadership who have sick children and then pray for God's intervention. If God fails to answer them, the temptation overwhelms them and they go to witchdoctors for help. This has weakened a number of people when they discover that those to whom they look for spiritual guidance have gone to consult witchdoctors for help. Many of our people believe that going to witchdoctors is normal as long as you don't go there to get charms to attack other people. Just as praying to God is Ok, it is also Ok to get help from witchdoctors as long as you don't go there to obtain charms to kill people (interview with P-7, March 7, 2022).

P-3, an old experienced SDA Church pastor, shared what he saw as challenges being faced by young ministers coming to join the work force in Luapula:

For the new ministers that are coming to Luapula, it's not easy. Most of these new entrants are afraid to go to far-flung areas like Mununga because of the stories of witchcraft they have heard about these places. When a minister is sick, they quickly write to administration to send them to a safer area because they are afraid to lose their life through witchcraft. In the last few years we have had a number of pastors who have requested to go elsewhere—other conferences and fields because they were scared to die (interview with P-3, March 7, 2022).

j) Opposition from Catholics

The message of the Seventh-day Adventist Church bears certain unique features that go against the doctrinal beliefs of other Christian denominations. One good example is the Sabbath doctrine. Seventh-day Adventists teach that Saturday is the biblical day of worship. On the contrary, the Catholic Church and many other Christian denominations teach that Sunday is the Sabbath day. From the early formation of the work to this day, Adventists in their public evangelistic campaigns in Luapula have always taught this apparent controversial doctrine. RESP-3, a member of the first company of believers that was set up at Mwense Boma remembered how her members often clashed with Catholics because of doctrinal differences:

We often got into trouble with other churches especially the Catholics because of the messages we preached. Often in our preaching we avoided being too open because it got us into trouble. Reports about us would reach the police that we were preaching about other churches and as such we would always be sensitive so as not to offend other churches. There were times when we ended

up at the police station and we had to explain ourselves about falsehoods peddled against us. Our men would get their Bibles and explain that they were just preaching what the Bible taught and they would be freed. The Catholics were the first to set up their mission here in Mwense. We and CMML arrived later (interview with RES-3, March 12, 2022).

RESP-13, one of the earliest converts to Adventism in Chifunabuli District shared an experience from the early years when RESP-2 the pioneer lay worker established a company of believers in Kasuba village of Chief Mwansakombe. Kasuba village, like most villages in Chifunabuli was predominantly Catholic. RESP-13 remembered that RES-2 endured a lot of scorn and insults from the Catholic community:

Many of us young people left the Catholic Church to join the SDA Church. He had such a positive influence in the community as a head teacher at Kasuba because of his good works. He established rapport in the community by his frequent home visitations. Almost the entire Catholic community rose against him and often verbally abused him because he was seen as a threat to the existence of the Catholic Church in the area. Those Catholics who weren't happy would go to the bar and get drunk and then go to the school to start insulting RESP-2 (interview with RESP-13, March 5, 2022).

The problem of ridicule, scorn and rejection, according to RESP-13 also extended to those who embraced the message of the Seventh-day Adventist Church which RESP-2 had championed. Those who believed in his message had their share of opposition, especially the young people:

We who believed and embraced the message of the SDA Church together with our parents, after RESP-2 left in 1975, were invited to the Catholic mission at Lubwe and were slapped with charges. We were told that since we had renounced the vow of faithfulness to the Catholic Church we took at the beginning, we were to make amendments to the church. Each time the priest came, our parents would be the ones to provide for his upkeep. They were to contribute eggs and chickens. They were to continue doing this for a prescribed number of months determined by the authorities at the mission centre.

We were also told never to go back to the faith of the SDA Church and those young people whose hearts failed them renounced Adventism and went back to the Catholic Church. As for me, of course, I refused to budge. But we were told that since you followed RESP-2 so that he could help you pass your examinations, so for you that's the end. You will no longer attend RE classes. What happened is that when RESP-2 came here as a headmaster, he changed the syllabus for RE. He taught different things from those taught by the Catholic catechists. And even the catechists who used to teach at school

stopped coming during his tenure. RESP-2 had instructed us not to attend those lessons taught by the catechists. Each time they came, we left the class. This was a real challenge until the education system became firmly under the control of the government (interview with RESP-13, March 5, 2022).

k) Confusion over Name

The confusion arising from the use of a name that was only known locally created another challenge. Because the white missionaries who set their camp at Chimpempe came to be known as “*ba Chimpempe*,” as opposed to their real name, “Seventh-day Adventists,” that created an identity problem. It came to be that the location of the mission—Chimpempe—became the name for all the people who worshipped God on Saturday. The new name, thus spoke more clearly about the missionaries’ location than the core theological beliefs they espoused such as the second coming of Christ to the earth and the keeping of the fourth commandment of the Decalogue. “Ba Chimpempe,” a church from Chimpempe could not give justice to the meaning of the name Seventh-day Adventist Church. Speaking about this challenge RESP-2 observed that “the name ‘ba Chimpempe’ often created multiple confusion. To many this name spoke negatively about a religious sect whose members did not eat “*isabi lyabula amamba*” (fish without scales) like “*imilonge*” (barbel fish), while to some it referred to the sect whose members went to church “*pachibelushi*” (on Saturday). Both perceptions were negative” (interview with RSP-2, March 22, 2022).

l) Internal Squabbles

Although most challenges faced by the conveyers of the message of the Adventist Church in Luapula emanated from external forces, there were some that had their root in the internal administration of the work. In the small village of Chishinshi in Mulundu’s chiefdom, the Adventist Church had an established congregation known as Chishinshi SDA Church. This church had a company it superintended over at Mwense boma. RESP-3, shared the problem they had with their Mother Church at Chishinshi:

Although we were a company of Chishinshi, we had issues with them in the manner they did certain things. After worship, these leaders would always go away with the offerings we had contributed but then when we had problems, they never showed willingness to help. It’s like all they were interested in was the money we contributed. The only time we saw them here was on Sabbath but the rest of the week they were nowhere to be seen. That’s how Mr. Tweshe (Alfred Muma whose bakery was called Tweshe) who had a bakery here in Mwense, together with other leaders went to Lubunda SDA Church to complain to the leaders there. They asked the leaders there if Lubunda Church

could become the Mother church to the Adventist flock at Mwense. The leaders took the matter to the church and an agreement was made for Lubunda SDA Church to take over. Lubunda people started coming here to conduct worship services and helped us in many other ways and they were very consistent in their approach. For communion service, we used to go to Lubunda with Mr. Tweshe providing the transport to and from (interview with RESP-3, March 12, 2022).

After the whites left Chimpempe Mission and blacks began to assume leadership roles, there was an unwritten rule among the local people that leadership at the mission station and for those who would pastor the Chimpempe Mission District was a preserve of the mature pastors who had served the Church for many years. Respondent PRE-1 recollected that when he was sent to be the district pastor for Chimpempe Mission District the local people did not accept him. The members at the mission church interpreted this move by the North Zambia Field that sent PRE-1 as an insult. They were very upset with the whole move.

When we arrived at Chimpempe in February or March of 1973, I remember that on the first Sabbath I was the one who preached. At the time I was called to the ministry, there was no stressing on the importance of wearing suits or jackets as we do today. As long as one dressed properly that's what mattered. During that time, I used to have a slumber jacket which on that particular Sabbath I wore to church with a tie of course. When I preached that Sabbath in that mission church, I didn't know that I had offended the local people. After the service was over, I went home for lunch. Without my knowledge the church held an urgent church board meeting. The item on the agenda was me! The congregation felt that I was too young for a congregation of Chimpempe's stature. Those who brought me there had made a big mistake and needed to immediately rescind that decision and transfer me to another place.

A letter was drafted and sent to the North Zambia Field president Abner Curp Mpamba who at that time was in Kawambwa. They asked Pastor Mpamba to take me to another district noting that this person you have brought us is just a mere young man who should not have been brought here in the first place. This person doesn't even wear jackets. Chimpempe needs a mature person like Pastor Mulengela (the then mission director) (interview with PRE-1, November 12, 2018).

Pastor Mpamba came after two weeks and had a meeting with the leaders whom he reprimanded and warned of severe consequences should such contempt ever be shown to the pastor the Field had sent them. "Oddly, I only came to know of this matter the following year when I was on transfer to Samfya," noted PRE-1. The next time this happened again was when respondent RTD-3 was sent to Chimpempe to take over from a senior pastor who was the district pastor for Chimpempe Mission. RTD-3 noted that:

The senior pastor who was there stood like a stone, he didn't want to leave the place. He organized people and moved them against me saying 'the one who is coming is just a young man.' There was literally physical fighting, blows were thrown. That senior minister had been transferred to another district but he didn't want to go away from Chimpempe. But as luck would have it one influential villager who wasn't even our member rose to my rescue. He gathered the people and said, 'This is the reason I don't go to church, do Christians fight?' He was very angry. He commanded the senior minister to start packing 'otherwise we will fight.' A few people helped that senior pastor to pack his things, and that is how he left and I moved into the house (interview with RTD-3, February 22, 2021).

The threat upon RTD-3's life did not, however, end with this unfortunate incident. He went on to explain what happened afterwards:

Another leading figure in the village organized people who were bent on killing me. The office in Mansa will then bring us somebody older, they reasoned. But again, as luck would have it, my mother-in-law overheard what was being planned and she became angry and told them that, 'if you kill him, I will also kill you. I will also do exactly what you are planning to do.' That's how their plan was foiled but the tension continued. People did not accept me. Fortunately, I only stayed for a year at Chimpempe (interview with RTD-3, February 22, 2021).

At Kasuba Village in Chief Mwansakombe of Chifunabuli District an internal wrangle arose that led some old members to leave and form their own congregation. The Adventist work in Chifunabula (N'gumbo area) was first established at Kasuba in 1973. The work grew so slowly that it was not until 2012 that the small congregation was organized into a church. For almost forty years, the congregation existed as a Company. On the other hand, at Lubwe where the Catholic Church had established its presence in 1905, Adventist work only started in 1980. Barely a year later (1981) the Lubwe company was organized into a church. This move angered some old members at Kasuba who felt that the interests of justice had been trampled upon. They wondered how a company that had only been in existence for a year could be organized into a church while theirs which had been in existence much longer was still just a company. As a result, some members elected to leave the church and form their own church while others joined the United Church of Zambia. RESP-13 in an interview conducted at his home in Kasuba village on March 5, 2022 shared this story:

This caused a big problem in the church. The older members of the congregation at Kasuba could not understand how a younger congregation could attain church status before the older one did. It didn't matter how we tried to explain, the older members refused to listen. A number of these members ended up joining the United Church of Zambia (UCZ) at Kasaba which had been started by one of the teachers there.

m) Dissident Movements

Dissident movements in Luapula have not only had a negative effect at the Conference level but also in the various mission districts of the territory. Some like Mpundu Mweshi's *Free-Seventh-day Adventist-Laymen Movement* have had a wider range of influence across the Conference while others like the *Seventh-day Adventist Movement* and David Wilson's *Davidian Movement* have had only little influence and have either disappeared from the religious landscape or are no longer a force to reckon with.

Respondent P-3's view on offshoot movements such as Mpundu Mweshi's *Seventh-day Laymen Movement* was that it was very detrimental to the growth of the work. "Targeting far-flung areas, Mweshi and his disciples start teaching people that returning tithe to the church is a waste of money. Once such a thing happens in a big district of 19 churches and 28 companies it gets very difficult to counteract their influence" (interview with P-3, March 7, 2022).

P-9, an old minister who was on the verge of retirement at the time of the interview and had served the church in many mission districts, shared similar views when he observed that he faced a big challenge when he first entered ministry. He was posted to Nchelenge where he found many members whose names had been removed from membership. There had been a teaching at the time he got to Nchelenge that kneeling was the only acceptable posture through which prayer could be offered. Members were taught that it was an offence in the eyes of God to pray while standing. The pastor who P-9 took over from had made it clear to the members that all those who subscribed to that notion were to have their names removed from the church register. P-9 found more than a hundred members whose names had been removed through the influence of the former pastor.

I faced another doctrinal challenge when I was transferred to Mwense-Kazembe district, where I took over from a fellow minister who had just resigned. This former minister had been teaching members in the district to

refrain from eating such foods as fish, chicken and meat which apparently were an important source of protein, as doing so was tantamount to sinning since these were flesh foods. The former minister's influence among the people was so strong that some of his followers had even gone to the extent of believing that it was better to eat nshima with salt mixed with water than to eat meat. When they saw that I took a different approach and stance some members plotted openly to poison me and some of the elders who appeared to support the stance I had taken (telephone interview with P-9 August 5, 2022).

P-5 echoed similar words when he said that in two of the districts where he previously worked (Chembe and Mwense,), the influence of Mpundu Mweshi had been very strong. Mweshi had been teaching people not to give their money to the church because it was simply wasted. He used to tell church members that pastors were wasteful and didn't deserve the financial support they received. "Every year Mpundu Mweshi conducts meetings in Chembe as well as Mwense in his churches. Those who follow him came out of the Adventist Church" (interview with P-5, March 7, 2022).

RESP-7 talked about the trouble they had at Mansa Main Church in the mid-1990s when one of the elders who had been a follower of David Wilson formerly of Light House Ministries started conducting prayers and Bible studies in Adventist congregations in Matanda, Chisembe, Mpandika, Chofoshi and Kundamfumu.

We had a member at our church whose name was Gershom Kapalaula who was at that time also serving as an elder. We started hearing rumours about him conducting prayers and Bible studies in some of the churches far from Mansa Main like Matanda and Kundamfumu. We were concerned given the fact that at that time he was one of the serving elders. So, we had a meeting with him to try to understand what was going on. We asked him about those rumours whether it was the church sending him on those missions. (interview with RESP-7, August 19, 2022).

Kapalaula informed the group of fellow elders that he was conducting the prayers and Bible studies because Mansa Main, where he had his membership, never offered a platform to do so. He went on to say that even prophecy wasn't being studied at the local church and that is what compelled him to be going out to those churches so that he could teach members prophecy and conduct Bible studies.

So, we asked him as a serving elder at the church why he wasn't doing that at the local church for no one had stopped him from doing that. So, we counselled him to follow the laid down procedure so that the church knew

exactly where he was going and what he was doing. Unfortunately, he never listened but continued with his work (interview with RESP-7, August 19, 2022).

Seeing that there was no change in attitude and behaviour on the part of Kapalaula, the church called him together with his followers and counselled them on the need to follow laid out procedure to avoid creating confusion. RESP-7 recollected that:

We, as leaders, then wanted to know how many of those who had attended the meeting would be willing to abide by the rules by raising their hands. Some raised while others didn't. So, we took the names of all those who didn't want to live by the church's established rules to the board and business meeting where their names were dropped from church membership. "The impact of this movement wasn't as big as that of the Adventist Reform Movement. This was a short-lived episode as Kapalaula relocated to Lusaka and his followers scattered. There in Lusaka, Kapalaula came back to the church and even got rebaptized. A few people though did come back to the church. (interview with RESP-7, August 19, 2022).

Kapalaula later repented and came back to the church. Although this incidence occurred in Mansa, some of Kapalaula's disciples left for Mwense and their influence on the local scene disappeared with them.

n) Conservative Membership

Luapula Conference being a rural constituency moves at a rather slow pace in as far as embracing new ideas and innovations is concerned. Respondent P-5, a young minister who has worked in a number of mission districts in Luapula, gave the following account: "Being a rural Conference, the people are very conservative. It hasn't been easy for me to introduce new ideas. It's hard to get the people to move at the pace you desire them" (Interview with P-5, August 20, 2022) P-3, an old minister whose years of service were quickly drawing to their close agreed with P-5: "In some churches especially those deep in the rural areas the use of technology gadgets like laptops and mobile phones is frowned upon. People don't think that it is theologically correct to read from a Bible application from a phone" (interview with P-3, August 20, 2022).

o) Reluctancy on the Part of Members to Support the Church Financially

P-4, a young minister, spoke of the reluctance he had noticed in all the districts he had served in on the part of church members who were not in regular employment to support the Lord's work financially:

There is too much dependency on civil servants to support the work of the Lord. Most members who aren't in formal employment don't feel it their duty to contribute financially to the running of the church. So, they sit back and just depend on civil servants. In local churches where we don't have civil servants, there is a big challenge with the flow of funds. In places where people are fishermen, once there's a fish ban, even giving goes down. People have not learnt other forms of income generation like farming to support the Lord's work (interview with P-4, March 7, 2022).

P-5 shared similar views when he pointed out that, "In the Conference, at least the places where I have worked, you find only a few people who are keen to offer financial support to the organization. The people here have 'short hands' when it comes to giving" (interview with P-5, March 7, 2022).

p) Threat of Wild Animals

From the 1920s to the 1950s, during the Church's establishment and growth, towns and villages were small locations that were often surrounded by bushes and forests. Land masses in Luapula were covered in thick forests that were often sanctuaries to lions and other dangerous wild animals. The work of evangelization was often not safe given that in those days the mode of transport was either on foot or cycling. The major roads that adorn the landscape did not exist then and what was there were just foot paths. RTD-4 remembered that thrice his family encountered lions from which he attributed the hand of God for rescue.

During my time at Chimpempe we resorted to charcoal burning as one means to make ends meet. The area at that time was a game reserve. One day while I was out in the forest cutting a tree near the Kalungwishi River, I raised my eyes towards the river and I saw a lion drinking water. I didn't know what to do but I decided to continue what I was doing with, of course, one eye focusing on the lion. The beast continued drinking water oblivious to the noise coming from my direction. After quenching its thirst, it left. It took me a while to leave the place because I didn't know where the lion had gone or how far it had gone. I wasn't sure whether it was safe for me to leave or not. But after a long wait I picked up my bicycle and started to cycle back home. A combination of fear, panic and anxiety gripped my heart throughout the

long way back home. You can imagine how relieved I was when I finally made it home.

Another time it was my wife who had gone to collect charcoal from *ichibili* where we were burning charcoal. After filling up the bag she had carried with the charcoal she needed, she set out for home while carrying also logs of firewood and a hole on her head. Alone on the narrow path leading home, she had this nagging and eerie feeling that something was following her. When she looked behind to see whether she was safe, she saw what looked like a lion following behind. When the animal saw her, it stopped and stooped down. She wasn't so sure whether to stop there or keep on moving but her instincts propped her to keep going forward. Again, at some point she looked behind and the beast was at a distance following. She stopped to consider what options she had in this dangerous situation. The animal behind also stopped and stooped down. She pressed forward again. Three times she stopped to look behind but on the third check, the animal was nowhere to be seen. Angels obviously had driven it away. When she was almost reaching home, that's when it dawned upon her that a lion had been following her.

The next person to encounter a lion was our son as he was riding his bicycle from Kawambwa to Chimpempe. Just after he passed a place called Musambeshi, a lion appeared from the thicket and started following him. Soon it caught up with him and tried to jump on him but failed because the bicycle was in a forward motion. Each attempt to bring him down failed because he kept cycling on and the lion failed to find a firm grip from which to attack him. As he kept cycling, some of the items he had bought in Kawambwa that were in a box on the bicycle's carrier started falling and this distracted the lion which occupied itself with the items that had fallen off. And that is how the young man escaped (interview with RTD-4, September 25, 2018).

PSK-3 remembered that her late father who worked as an itinerant evangelist and a pastor in the North Zambia Field for many years used to tell stories of lions that used to terrorise villagers in his village. "Dad used to tell us that when he was a little boy lions often used to come to his village to the extent that local people even devised methods to capture and kill them" (interview with PSK-3, March 5, 2019).

J. V. Wilson, Superintendent of the North-East Rhodesia Field, during a trip to Chimpempe in 1923 reported in the *African Division Outlook* that, "there are numbers of elephants in that country which seem to delight in walking along the roads during the wet season."

q) Large Mission Districts

P-1, an old and experienced minister who started work in the early 1980s and has served in many mission districts, singled out two challenges that were common in his early ministry:

mode of transport and large mission districts. He noted that when he started work, there were very few pastors in the North Zambia Field. It was common to find a pastor covering a huge territory with churches scattered over long distances. For example, the whole stretch from Kashikishi to Chipungu and Kaputa was at one point, one mission district manned by one pastor. In the absence of reliable transport coupled with a bad road network work proved really challenging P-1, observed.

One time in the mid 1980s when transport was a perennial challenge, P-1 remembered an incident in Luena Mission District where he served as a pastor. He was on a trip to Musungu village where a crusade had been going on. At the end of that crusade some people had accepted Christ and also wanted to join the SDA Church. Since P-1 was not yet ordained, he could not administer the rite of baptism and therefore requested retired pastor Abner Curp Mpamba to help him carry out that assignment. Other than walking, the only other mode of transport available to the place was the bicycle. The two started off from Mushota on their bicycles with the hope of reaching Musungu along the Mansa-Luwingu Road that day. Unfortunately, along the way Chapi's bicycle broke down. The two, however, agreed that Pastor Mpamba would ride his bicycle ahead, and Chapi would follow on foot. As this was the first time Chapi was using this particular route, he didn't know how far it was to Musungu and how long it would take to get there.

Late in the afternoon, along the way, I met an old woman carrying a load of firewood on her head going in the opposite direction. I asked her how far it was to the next village. The woman suggested that I walk back with her to where she was going and spend the night there and leave the following morning. But I was determined to reach my destination. Between the point where I met the old woman and the next village lay a thicket which was home to many dangerous wild animals. By the time I was getting into the thicket darkness had covered the earth and there was no sign of any village nearby. As I walked through the thicket, I kept singing songs in my heart that spoke of God's ability to protect His own. It was clear that I had made a huge blunder by not following the advice of the old woman.

Alone in the dark forest, my imagination tortured my heart by constantly reminding me of the danger that lurked there; that at any unexpected moment, a wild beast would leap out of the thicket on me and tear me into pieces. After a long, anxiety and suspense-filled walk in the darkness of the thicket, I arrived at a village where a good Samaritan gave me shelter. Early the following morning I woke up and continued my trip to Musungu. I arrived there in good time for the baptismal program. Incidentally, Pastor Mpamba

also couldn't make it that day. He, like me, arrived that same day (interview with P-1, March 7, 2022).

P-3 spoke of the challenges he faced when he just joined the ministry. He talked of multiple ones but singled out lack of transport and pastoring huge mission districts as some of the most challenging hurdles he faced in his early years as a gospel minister. "I often cycled long distances to visit distant churches" (interview on April 13, 2021).

RTD-2, a retiree who once served in Mansa as a district pastor from 1982 to 1983, remembered that the district had seven churches and five companies spread across Chembe, Matanda, Mibenge, Milenge, Mumbotuta and Mansa. "I used to cycle from church to church until at some point I bought a motorbike." He also remembered the inconveniences he used to suffer associated with the frequent trips he made to places:

People during those days never knew how to receive pastors. At night in the homes where I was received, I always slept on reed mats without any beddings. Fortunately, I used to carry my own blankets. In some homes the owners vacated their bedrooms for my use but I always declined such offers (interview with RTD-2, February 20, 2021).

PSK-1, whose father was an itinerant evangelist and pastor in the North Zambia Field in the late fifties and sixties, observed that her father used to travel a lot covering long distances either on bus or a bicycle. She further observed that "my father often took three or more months travelling from place to place preaching the word of God before coming back home" (interview with PSK-1, March 6, 2019).

Retired pastor RTD-3, who belonged to the crop of early ministers who witnessed the establishment of the SDA Church in the early years, recollected the challenges he encountered associated with huge mission districts.

Transport to areas where the church either had companies or sought to open up work was a big challenge in the early formation of the work at Lukwesa. People would leave their homes and it would take long for them to come back because those long distances were covered either on foot or bicycles. Each time there was a need to take reports, I would cycle from Lukwesa to Chimpempe. Work was difficult during those days because most of the times we just used to walk during visitations to the different congregations within the district. If you were lucky to chance a bicycle then you cycled. It didn't matter how far the congregation was located, I always had to walk. At that

time there were ten congregations in Lukwesa Mission District (interview with RTD-3, February 22, 2021).

PRE-4 also cited large territories as one of the challenges he faced in each of the districts he worked. “In Bangweulu Mission District for example, I had 27 churches and 29 companies. In effect these were over 45 congregations manned by one person! It is hard to manage work in large territories like that.” Asked what method he used to carry out his work in such huge territories, PRE-4 said that he trained lay leaders and divided the territories into zones for easy management of the territory. He however said that it still was not easy to do work (Telephone interview with PRE-4, August 5, 2022). PST-2, a pastor’s child, whose late father was one of the towering pioneer figures in the Luapula Valley, shared similar views when she stated that “most of the time dad was out, we just used to be with our mother. He used to cycle from Mambilima to Kazembe visiting churches. He was rarely home” (interview with PST-2, March 6, 2019).

r) Hard and Stressful Times

SHP-1 remembered that pastoral ministry in the 1970s was very challenging financially as pastoral families used to live from hand to mouth. When her husband left for training at Rusangu Ministerial School, SHP-1 started working at the market selling different kinds of merchandise which included fat buns. “At that time, it wasn’t allowed by the mission to do such activities but there was nothing I could do. I had to ignore that counsel in order to take care of the children. That was the only way I could survive” (interview with SHP-1, February 20, 2021). She also remembered the long trips her husband used to make which lasted for many weeks. “My husband often took months visiting congregations and conducting crusades and I remained alone looking after the children.”

PSK-3, a pastor’s kid echoed similar sentiments when she observed that “life was so difficult in those days that we often resorted to doing gardening in order to make ends meet” (interview with PSK-3, March 5, 2019).

All the pastors’ children the researcher interviewed spoke about certain situations they experienced that made them view ministry a calling not to be desired. PSK-6 talked about the frequent “absent father syndrome” which she painfully endured leading her to conclude that “I wouldn’t want to marry a man who is a pastor” (interview held March 7, 2019). PSK-

5 agreed and went on to add that most of the houses she remembered living in were in bad shape. “To me it appeared like ministry was something only associated with poverty and stressful living” (interview held March 7, 2019). PSK-4 complained about the frequent transfers their family was subjected to making it difficult to make permanent friends in any of the places they lived. Other interviewees also shared similar thoughts. PSK-4 also complained about the fact that “rarely did we as children sleep in our bedroom because we had visitors all the time who replaced us. We found ourselves sleeping in the living room.” (interview held March 7, 2019). Other pastors’ children the researcher talked to also complained that this ordeal was a common feature of their lives in all the places they lived.

s) Lack of Proper Medical Facilities

PSK-3 remembered that her large family was often plagued by ill health. She, herself, suffered from a medical condition which could have been easily corrected and treated in today’s world. She stated that “lack of medical facilities coupled with a bad road infrastructure and a bad transport system led many to succumb to illnesses which often ended in death” (interview held March 5, 2019).

t) ‘Family’ Churches Phenomenon

P-4 talked of ‘family churches’ which he said had often proved problematic. Describing these types of churches, P-4 said that at such churches “a number of people that congregate there come from the same family creating difficulties in the administration of discipline.” Another challenge from such churches, P-4 observed, was that they don’t easily accommodate new members “because they act like a family from which new members aren’t welcome” (interview with P-4, March 7, 2022).

u) Bad Reading Culture

P-7 was concerned about the bad reading culture coupled with high levels of illiteracy in the Conference. He noted that materials such as Voice of Prophecy lessons are lying stacked in churches and even homes where no one reads them. “Some of these materials are in English and some people can’t read them because they are illiterate. Translation has to be done” (interview with P-7, March 7, 2022).

v) Working with Volunteers

PRE-4, a senior minister, observed that although the church cannot find any other way of doing ministry, the idea of working with volunteers had serious limitations. Lay leaders were volunteers whose time is split into two. “In the week our lay leaders have to concentrate on doing their work in their work places. They are only available on Sabbath because in the week they are serving elsewhere” (telephone interview with PRE-4, August 5, 2022).

5.2.3 Summary

This chapter has presented the findings of the study on the multiple challenges faced by the carriers of the SDA message in the Luapula Province. The chapter has revealed that these challenges were multi-faceted and could generally be grouped into two categories namely: 1. Challenges related to the organization of the work at the Church’s Secretariat, 2. Challenges related to the sharing of the message of the SDA Church by the indigenous lay workers, pastors, their spouses and children.

5.3 How can the experiences and lessons of the SDA Church in the last one hundred years of existence in Zambia’s Luapula Province be used to enhance further development of the Church in the province and beyond?

History is not just important for learning what has happened in the past but for the lessons such past events teach. From their one hundred years of existence, Seventh-day Adventists in Luapula can learn from both their successes and mistakes of the past. Their past successes can be a means to create a better future while their mistakes can be an opportunity to avoid repeating those same mistakes now and in the future. Thus, the fourth question and objective of this research study was to identify lessons learned from the SDA Church’s history in Luapula in the last one hundred years (1921 to 2021) and see how these can be used by current and future leaders to enhance the development of the work of the Lord in the province and beyond. Relevant informers were consulted through in-depth interviews to shed light on the issue. Additionally, the researcher deciphered from the data collected what could be considered successes and weaknesses.

For the sake of clarity and logical flow of data, the chapter is divided into two sections. The first section deals with what were identified as successes scored by the SDA Church in its

100 years history in Luapula as well as the lessons from such successes for today's leaders and those of the future in enhancing the development of the Church in the province and beyond. The second section deals with what were identified as failures or mistakes that hampered growth and which today's leaders and those of the future can learn from or avoid in the continued development of the Church in Luapula province and beyond.

5.3.1 Successes Scored and Lessons to be Learned

Attention here was given to successes scored and their lessons for the current leadership of the SDA Church and its overall development.

i) Front Row Position by Business People in the Church's Programmes

During the focus group discussion held at Lukwesa Church, mention was made of the critical role business people of the pioneering years played in supporting the church's various programmes. The discussion at Lukwesa highlighted the significant impact of entrepreneurs along the Luapula Valley like Mr. London Kasanda, Mr. Alfred Muma, the Nkomba brothers, Mr. Chisuku and Mr. Shamende in financing church programmes that extended beyond the congregation to the entire community. Respondents during these interviews all agreed that the few rich members who were part of the Adventist Church's family in the early Church took leading roles in supporting God's work. They further observed that if that same spirit among the rich people in the early Church could be emulated and embraced by the rich members in today's Church and that of the future, the work of the Lord would move at a swifter pace than it was currently moving. In the words of one of the participants of the focus group discussion held at Lukwesa Main SDA Church:

Mr. London Kasanda was a very prominent Seventh-day Adventist member here in Lukwesa who used his fortunes to help spread the message. He was a selfless individual who took a front row in the use of his resources to support the Lord's work. Other business people who followed in his footsteps were Mr. Alfred Muma who ran a bakery business in Mwense and Mr. Shamende, who was a successful builder and carpenter in Chief Lubunda's village. Others who come to mind are the Nkomba brothers of Kashiba and Mr. Wilfred Chisuku of Lubunda. These people were great pillars who supported the Lord's work financially and materially. The history of the church in the Luapula Valley cannot be complete without mentioning their names. Unfortunately, the business people of nowadays are not as passionate as those

who toiled during the pioneering stage of the Church's establishment (Focus Group Discussion, June 15, 2022).

In Mansa, several respondents recalled the leading role business people like Mr. and Mrs. Luka Mumba and Mr. Musama Kalebaila played in the early years of the church's establishment. RESP-7 had this to say during an interview:

The Adventist Church in Mansa has grown from the small church we had in the Senama area in the 1970s to the many congregations we have that are scattered in all the four corners of the district today. The church then had two prominent business people; the family of Mr. Luka Mumba and that of Mr. Musama Kalebaila. These two families were pillars in so far as supporting the work of the Lord financially was concerned.

To the question, 'What lessons from the last one hundred years of the SDA Church's existence in Luapula Province are of benefit to today's Church and that of the future?' To me, I think one of the big lessons from the Church of the past is how its few rich people used their resources to support the Lord's work. God gives us means so that we, in turn, can use them to expand His kingdom on earth (interview with RESP-7, August 19, 2022).

At Loshi SDA Church, Mr. Samuel Chiposo, the foremost leading pioneer of the formation stage was also a business man. He bought merchandise from Congo that he later sold in different villages along the Luapula Valley, in Mansa and Samfya. Several respondents at a focus group discussion held at Loshi SDA Church highlighted the leading role Chiposo played in the establishment of the SDA Church at Loshi the birth place of Adventism in Mansa and beyond. One respondent particularly emphasized this role when he said that:

Mr. Chiposo used to travel from Mansa to Chimpempe to take offerings collected at Loshi and may well have been the one who informed missionaries at Chimpempe about the presence of SDA believers in Mansa. Nowadays we rarely see such commitment from the few people with means in the church. Business people of Mr. Chiposo's mindset are needed in the Church today. Their usefulness to the cause will become especially necessary in the difficult years ahead. The Church at the beginning and throughout most of its existence has benefitted from the presence of men and women of wealth. It needs them more today and in the future as the needs in the Church have swelled and will keep on swelling (Focus Group Discussion, February 13, 2021).

ii) Commitment to the Cause

Respondents in various research sites were all united in their view of early members' commitment to the Lord's work. There was a consensus by those who participated in the

interviews that those who carried the work in former times showed passion and commitment rarely seen among believers nowadays. A respondent at a focus group discussion at Loshi SDA Church made the following observation:

I cannot forget how we used to do things here at Loshi in former times. Early in the morning we would wake up around 05h00 and gather at church for morning prayers. After prayers we would then go out to work in people's fields to raise money for church programs. Nowadays, we have become so engrossed in personal activities that it's a struggle to bring people together for a common cause. We as a church have a lot to learn from the spirit that prevailed among God's people in former times. But perhaps one of the problems plaguing the Church today is that there is no written history to remind us of what was there in the former years. Once the few believers who saw the Church at its inception all die, that will be the end of everything for no one will even talk about what was there at the beginning. Our past is slowly becoming a dead past from which nothing can be learned because its records are not preserved for future generations (FGD held February 13, 2021).

PST-1, who was a part of the youth group at his local church, spoke of the spirit of commitment exhibited by the young generation of his time to the Lord's work:

In the past all auxiliary groups at church played some significant roles in the winning of people to Christ. Our Dorcas workers, we as young people and even singing groups always participated in the evangelism programmes of the church. Today these auxiliary groups have to a large degree become self-centered. They have all forgotten that the purpose of their existence is to win people to Christ. I guess one lesson the church can learn from the past one hundred years, especially in the early years of its formation, is that commitment is a necessary ingredient of church growth. The church can experience greater growth where members demonstrate commitment to the Lord's work (interview with PST-1, February 11, 2022).

iii) Evangelism Through Schools

The Adventist Church in Luapula demonstrated a strong commitment to evangelism through schools during its early years, from 1920s to the 1950s. RTD-1 reported that the early missionaries were keen on evangelizing areas they entered by establishing schools.

They built schools at Chimpempe, Ponde, Mukonkoto, Kaseke, Lukwesa, Lifuka, Chishinshi, Chisheta, Kabende and many other places. This method worked very well in winning young people to Christ and His Church. Today, the Church hardly has any schools to brag about. You can imagine the impact the Adventist Church could have in the province if those schools they set up in the past were still running. School evangelism worked well then. I have no

doubt that it can work just as well today (interview with RTD-2, February 21, 2021).

ST-1 shared similar views:

It's a pity to think of the situation the SDA Church finds itself in Luapula today. If the many schools the Church established in the past were still standing, I can just imagine how many people we could be talking about as members of the Adventist Church today. Of course, we could not continue running those same schools because of financial constraints. Our Church in Luapula and even elsewhere in this country has no money to run schools. Our only Church run school in the province (Chimpempe)- which, by the way, is a government grant-aided school- is nothing to sing about (interview with ST-1, September 24, 2018).

Respondent PK-4, a pastor's kid spoke of the sense of unity she experienced going to Chimpempe Primary School:

It was such a thrilling experience going to Chimpempe and meeting many other young people coming from other Seventh-day Adventist families. I loved the family atmosphere that was at Chimpempe to the point that when I went to Samfya Secondary School for my secondary school, I felt disoriented. The Church in Luapula, going forward should think of establishing schools at all levels to create a continuity of this family atmosphere which in a way could help to maintain a strong sense of unity among believers, especially young people (interview with PK-1, September 25, 2018).

iv) Firm Rooting in Doctrines

Participants at research sites were unanimous in the belief that the early church's indoctrination system was very strong and that the leaders of today's church have brought that system down by overly focusing on winning more souls at the expense of quality indoctrination. Said respondent RESP-2:

The emphasis on numbers is grossly exaggerated. While the purpose of the existence of the Church remains to win souls for Christ, yet the emphasis now is no longer on quality of members but quantity. Church leaders are more interested in just winning many people to Christ rather than the quality of those members in relation to their understanding of the Church's doctrines. It's not too late for the Church to change its strategy and go back to the former way of doing evangelism. For me, therefore, the lesson on this for today's Church and that of the future here in Luapula is to relook at the current method of indoctrination which I find troublingly weak. Let's go back to the

way we used to build our membership in terms of indoctrination. Let emphasis be on quality rather than quantity of members (interview with RESP-2, March 12, 2022).

Respondent RTD-3 shared similar views. He said that in the early days of the Church's existence before one became baptized, leaders insisted on fully-baking of candidates by subjecting them to at least two years of intensive teaching of Bible doctrines.

No one was allowed to go to the baptismal pool who did not spend adequate time learning the Church's doctrines. Today, even day-old candidates, people who just accepted Christ during a crusade and decided to become Adventists, as long as such people asked for baptism, pastors gladly administer it to them. In the olden days such a thing would never happen (interview with RTD-3, February 22, 2021).

J. R. Campbell, Superintendent of Schools in the Zambezi Union Mission writing in the *Southern African Division Outlook* of November 15, 1938 confirms the hard line stance taken by the Church in the then Northern Rhodesia Field regarding the screening of baptismal candidates. While on a camp meeting visit to Rusangu Mission in 1938, Campbell wrote:

The attendance at Rusangu camp meeting (Northern Rhodesia Mission Field) numbered 1, 600 and 118 were baptized, out of the large number who were examined. I would like to state that the examination of candidates was very rigid and a number were held back for further examination. Though the baptismal classes are larger than ever, the close examination have caused our baptisms throughout the whole mission field to be considerably less than last year. We feel that though many were disappointed the final results will be manifest in a more faithful membership.

v) Emphasis on Prophetic Themes

The majority of respondents from retired pastors noted that in the early years, pastors and lay evangelists often preached on end-time prophecies from the books of Daniel and Revelation. RTD-1 lamented the lack of "distinctive and recognizable voices in Luapula like that of Pastor Daimon Lufungulo who took time to teach the prophecies of Daniel and Revelation" (Interview held February 21, 2021). PK-2, a pastor's kid, concurred with RTD-1 when she noted that, "the pastors of my dad's generation were heavy on Bible prophecy" (Interview held September 25, 2018). RTD-4 agreed with PK-2's observations and went on to add:

The leaders in today's Church and those of the future in Luapula will do well to emulate the example of their colleagues in the pioneering era especially in view of the fact that the prophecies of Daniel and Revelation are end-time ones and the Church of today is living right in the end-time period of the earth's history when a number of these prophecies have already found their fulfilment (interview with RTD-4 held September 25, 2018).

Respondent RTD-3 shared similar views:

One of the distinguishing things about the Seventh-day Adventist Church is its emphasis on prophetic messages from the books of Daniel and Revelation. I have, however, noticed with disappointment that the crop of pastors in this generation hardly preaches on these prophetic themes. As long as we remain weak on these distinctive teachings, we drop the bar and are, therefore, not different from other Christian denominations. Preaching of these Bible prophecies especially from the books of Daniel and Revelation sets us apart from the other Christian denominations (interview with RTD-3 held 22 February 22, 2021).

vi) Emphasis on Name

One other theme that emerged noticeably among retired pastors (RTD) was the Church's names and the importance attached to the preaching of doctrines imbedded in the two names that identify the denomination: Seventh-day Adventist. Talking about this emphasis by the Church of his generation, respondent RTD-2, noted:

We proudly and emphatically brought to the fore the two names that describe our church. People knew us for our strict observance of the Seventh-day Sabbath. We were very clear on what things you could do and not do on this special day. For example, it was rare to find someone buying or selling merchandise on the Sabbath. But today, especially during our large gatherings like camp meetings and rallies our members openly buy things even on Sabbath days. Today those who regularly break the Sabbath by doing work on it do so with impunity and the Church simply watches. Some of these people are even allowed to sing in the choir while others even hold church positions. During our time, all those who wilfully worked on the Sabbath day were disfellowshipped. I wonder why things are like this today. Can we for heaven's sake return to the old way of doing things? (interview with RTD-2 held February 20, 2018).

RTD-3 on the other hand noted that:

In our generation a lot of time was allocated to preaching and teaching about the Second Coming of Christ which is what the name Adventist is all about. It speaks of one that is waiting for the Second Coming of Jesus. There was this

aura in the air, this anticipation that Jesus was coming to the earth soon. But pastors of nowadays are no longer spending time on these important doctrines that bring out to the fore our Church's names. The Church of today and that of the future should embrace the spirit of the Church to which we belonged which emphasized the teachings imbedded in our name (interview with RTD-3 held February 22, 2021).

vii) Emphasis on Adventism as God's Last Day Church

Lay respondents whose ages ranged from 80 to 90 brought out an issue to do with emphasizing the Seventh-day Adventist Church as God's last day church on earth. It was their view that modern day Adventists no longer emphasize this view of the Church. RESP-1, aged 93 at the time of the interview, for example, noted that:

Adventism in my time was understood in the early formative years as God's last day church on earth tasked to proclaim end-time messages to prepare the world for Christ's Second Coming. Adventists understood themselves as not just being one of the Christian churches around but as the church of the last days to which all must be drawn in preparation for the Second Coming of Christ to the earth. This is what fired them up for global evangelistic thrusts like "Global Mission" or "Harvest 90." Therefore, for me, the Church in the coming years, if not now should recognize this fact and begin to act it out. This is one lesson the church of today and that of the future can learn from the church of the past (interview with RESP-1 held February 6, 2021).

RESP-2 reiterated this point when he pointed out that the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Luapula appeared to have lost its identity in the manner in which it ignored some of the important attributes from its past.

During the time I was growing up and indeed for most of my active service years, the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Luapula was a force to reckon with. We were very proud of our name because we understood ourselves to be God's last day church on earth. We had this understanding that all Sunday worshipping churches were what constituted Babylon. And according to Jesus in the book of Revelation, Babylon had fallen and God was, therefore, calling all His people to come out of her. That message was very clear to us and we made sure that we paraded ourselves before the other churches as God's true church. God is not a God of confusion that He should have all these churches. God has one true Church on earth and that Church is the Seventh-day Adventist. The Adventist Church must not hide its true identity. It is God's true church on earth (interview with RESP-2 on March 12, 2021).

viii) Long Evangelistic Campaigns

Both retired pastors and lay people talked of evangelistic campaigns that took long to be conducted in the early and mid-formations (1930s to 1970s) of the SDA Church in Luapula. For instance, RESP-1 noted that evangelistic campaigns known in those days as efforts took longer to conduct than the evangelistic crusades of nowadays. Late Dr. Raelly, former Zambia Union evangelist in the seventies was cited as one example who conducted crusades that lasted as long as six weeks or more in those days. “Today’s two-week crusades produce weak converts. This explains to some degree why our members are not as strong as those in my time,” noted RTD-1 (interview on 6th February 6, 2021).

ix) Strict Adherence to Christian Standards

Retired ministers were of the view that Christian standards in the Church of their times were high and members found joy in observing them strictly. They further observed that the Adventist Church of today hosts members with compromised Christian standards. RTD-3 observed that:

Today it is impossible to draw any lines of distinction between Seventh-day Adventists and non-believers. In the olden days Adventists maintained high standards of dressing. It was easy to identify them from the crowd. Today all sorts of worldly fashions have found their way into the SDA Church in Luapula. Going forward the Church has to find a way to escape this trap of worldliness (interview with RTD-3 on February 22, 2021).

RTD-4 felt that the Church in Luapula cannot expect to be credible and distinct from the world when it freely provides space for “worldly show.” He further lamented the lack of “political will” on the part of leadership from addressing the rampant worldliness “enjoying its presence in the Church.” He noted that the Church in the past was not like this. “It held to high standards in everything and received the commendation of even non-SDA members.” He said further that the “Church of the future must scrap off the trappings of worldliness and allow itself to be used by God to win more members in its fold” (interview with RTD-4 on September 25, 2018).

5.3.2 Failures, Weaknesses and Lessons to be Learned

i) Too Much Reliance on One Method

There was a view from PST-2, a young minister with more than seven years' experience in three different mission districts who argued that the Church has held far too long tenaciously to one major method of soul winning: crusades.

I personally feel that the Church in Luapula and perhaps all over the country has stuck too long to one method of winning souls to Christ. I am not disputing that it is an effective method but I feel that its overuse has resulted in the Church experiencing a standstill in so far as thinking of other methods that might prove even more effective and productive is concerned. Year in year out, it's the same thing. We are asked to conduct crusades and no one is ever thinking of trying new ways of winning people to Christ. Going forward the Church should encourage pastors and its lay leaders to try new methods of winning souls for Christ. Those in leadership should be willing to fund these new methods of evangelism as readily and as enthusiastically as they fund crusades (interview with PST-2 on March 7, 2022 in Mansa).

ii) Dissident Movements

Another view that came from one of the young ministers, PST-8, was that the Church in Luapula must find a systematic way of dealing with dissident movements. He noted that some of these dissident movements have been there since the establishment of the North Zambia Field in 1972. The more notable ones are Seventh-day Reform Movement, Davidians, and Mpundu Mweshi's Seventh-day Adventist Lay Movement established not too long a time ago.

Strangely the SDA Church in Luapula does not seem to have a solution to these problematic movements. They freely mushroom and get established. A few unlucky ones get choked along the way but those that have found a rich soil are well entrenched and have become a sore in the body of Christ. It is high time that the Church found a permanent solution to this problem (interview with PST-8 on March 7, 2022)

iii) Perennial Financial Woes

Respondents who once served as secretary-treasurers were all in agreement that the Adventist Church's long history in Luapula has been plagued with financial challenges. ST-1 noted, for example, that because of these perennial financial woes, the SDA Church in Luapula has

lagged behind in its manpower development: “When you look at the number of students we have sponsored in the past to Rusangu University to study theology, that number is very small in comparison with other sister Conferences in the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Zambia” (Interview with ST-1 on February 12, 2021). ST-2 lamented the fact that because of low-level financing of church programmes from church members “we have struggled to build a good office structure. We secured land to build new offices but can’t start building due to lack of funds” (Interview with ST-2 on February 12, 2021). Respondent ST-3 spoke about the failure of the SDA Church in Luapula to have any meaningful infrastructure of any kind:

Our situation here is bad. We don’t have schools; we don’t run any orphanages or clinics. Look at our friends, the Catholics. They have St. Clement’s Secondary School here in Mansa and St. Mary’s Secondary at Kawambwa and even operate a number of hospitals. At Kashikishi they have St. Paul’s Mission Hospital, they have a hospital at Lubwe and Kasaba and another one here in Mansa. I always like to look at membership growth trends in our Conference and I see that we are growing at a fairly rapid rate. But strangely this membership growth has not translated into higher trends in giving in so far as tithes and offerings is concerned (interview held with ST-3 on February 12, 2021).

It was the view of the all the former secretary-treasurer respondents that this bad record from the past could be a fire that would ignite the leaders of today and those of the future to find a lasting solution to the problem. They all felt that something urgent needed to be done to help correct this imbalance so that the Church in Luapula may achieve self-support status.

5.3.4 Summary

This chapter presented views gathered from one-to-one interviews and group focus discussions held with various respondents in Luapula. The focus of the chapter was to identify lessons learned from the SDA Church’s history in Luapula in the last one hundred years and see how these can be used by current and future leaders to enhance the development of the work of the Lord in the province and beyond. The one-to-one interviews and focus group discussions have both shown that the Adventist Church of today and that of the future has a lot to learn from the successes and failures of its past.

CHAPTER SIX: DISCUSSION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

6.0 Overview

Building on the three-self principles propagated by Henry Venn and Rufus Anderson and the literature reviewed in chapter two, this chapter interprets the main research findings presented in the two previous chapters. The discussion is guided by the following main headings derived from the four objectives of the study: (1) Establishment and growth of the SDA Church in Luapula, (2) Role played by the local or indigenous people in the establishment and growth of the SDA Church in Luapula, (3) Challenges faced in the establishment and growth of the Adventist Church in Luapula Province, and (4) Lessons from the last one hundred years (1921 to 2021) of the SDA Church's existence in Luapula Province.

6.1 Establishment and Growth of the SDA Church in Luapula

This section interprets and discusses findings under the first objective of the study. As presented in chapter 4, the discussion covers both the establishment and growth of the Church's Secretariat (Luapula Conference) and the five selected areas namely, Chienge (Ponde), Mwense (Luapula Valley), Mansa, Loshi, and Chifunabuli. In the establishment and growth of the Secretariat, emphasis is laid on Early Beginnings, Incorporation in the North Zambia Field, Alignment in 1988, Creation of the Luapula Field, and Establishment into a Conference in 2016. Similarly, the discussion of the establishment and growth of the Church in five selected areas places emphasis on: Personal Involvement of the Laity Through Varied Engagements (crusades, community service, home visitations) including School Evangelism, and Camp Meetings.

6.1.1 Establishment and Growth of the Luapula Conference

The Luapula Conference of Seventh-day Adventists as an oversight institution has grown from its missiologic embryo first planted by H. J. Hurlow and two African assistants, Lawson Endaenda and Isaac Gawele from Nyasaland (now Malawi) in September 1921 at

Chimpempe near Kawambwa. Chimpempe Mission was the first official point of entry into Luapula by foreign missionaries and served for many years as the SDA centre from which teachers and evangelists were sent to surrounding areas as the Church sought to spread its message. In 1926 Chimpempe Mission became the headquarters of the then North-Eastern Rhodesia Mission Field. The catchment area of North-Eastern Rhodesia Mission Field encompassed Northern Province (which also included Luapula and Muchinga), Mwami Mission and Fort Jameson (present day Chipata). This new arrangement meant that apart from a mission post from which school learners, teachers and evangelists were trained and sent to various places to spread the SDA message, Chimpempe also became an oversight institution of administration. This arrangement went on until 1943 when the Mission Field was absorbed into the Northern Rhodesia Field.

At independence in 1964, the Mission Field's name changed to the Zambia Field. The headquarters of the Field was at Chisekesi near Rusangu, Monze. The Zambia Field was under the jurisdiction of the Zambezi Union Mission which had its headquarters in Bulawayo, Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe). Throughout these developmental stages, the administration of the organization was predominantly led by Western missionaries. In July 1972, the Zambia Field was granted a Union Mission status which effectively cut it off from the control of the Zambezi Union Mission in Bulawayo in modern day Zimbabwe. In the same year the Zambia Union was divided into three Mission Fields namely, South Zambia Field (which encompassed Southern, Central, Lusaka and Eastern provinces), North Zambia Field (covering Copperbelt, parts of Central, Luapula, parts of North-western and Northern provinces) and West Zambia Field (covering Western and parts of North-western provinces).

The North Zambia Field to which Luapula Province was assigned created its headquarters in Mansa. The leader of this newly formed oversight entity, Pastor Abner Curp Mpamba was a Zambian national who hailed from Kawambwa. In 1988, there was a realignment of the North Zambia Field. Copperbelt was detached from the arrangement, leaving only Luapula and Northern provinces (which also included the current Muchinga).

The North Zambia Field underwent another reorganization in 2006, resulting in the separation of the Northern and Luapula provinces. This change led to Luapula becoming an independent Field in 2007. In 2016, the Luapula Field was granted a Conference status,

becoming in effect the Luapula Conference, a name it maintains to this day. From 1972 to 2021 the entity has been run by the local Zambians at all levels of its operations (except from 1972 to 1983 when the secretary-treasurer's portfolio was manned by white missionaries).

The Luapula Conference's development from its humble beginnings in 1921 to its elevation to Conference status in 2016, exemplifies two key aspects of Venn and Anderson's three-self principles: financial self-sufficiency (self-support) and autonomous leadership (self-governance) (Shenk, 1981). Although a lot of ground has been covered in its self-support thrust, the Luapula Conference still stands, to some degree, on the legs of its mother institution, the Northern Zambia Union Conference for some of its financial operations. Interestingly the Northern Zambia Union Conference itself has no capacity to stand on its own feet save for the percentage of tithe contributions it receives from its lower entities such as the Luapula Conference. From this "feed" generated by the lower organs under its umbrella, the Northern Zambia Union Conference ploughs back some of that to help some of its struggling institutions. While we recognize the three-self principles as an important tool for determining the indigenous status of a Christian denomination, it is worth to note the argument by the prominent mission academic Roland Allen (1912) who states that these principles and rules should not be arbitrarily imposed as understood by mission scholars but rather be adapted in the local context so as to enable the local converts take ownership and control of their work.

6.1.2 Establishment and Growth in Selected Areas: Ponde, Luapula Valley, Mansa, Loshi, and Chifunabuli

This study has shown that local people pioneered the establishment and growth of the SDA Church in the above selected areas. These local people may have learned about the message of the SDA Church from the Katanga Mission in Lubumbashi, Congo DRC or Musofu near Mkushi whose mission was founded by Samuel M. Konigmacher in 1917 (Matandiko, 2001). Notably, the area spanning from Mulundu's chiefdom to Senior Chief Puta in Chienge District shares a border with the Democratic Republic of Congo. There has been a free movement of people of the two countries along this common border long before the colonial boundaries were drawn.

Once the missionaries at Chimpempe learned of the existence of small pockets of Adventist believers along the Luapula Valley and Loshi near Mansa, they not only sent pastors there to nurture the faith of their members but also opened schools to not only fight illiteracy but to use them as means of evangelising local communities. This strategy is in tandem with Kelly (2010) who notes that “missionaries were motivated to give formal education so that people could read the Bible and spread the gospel message to others. At Ponde, Kaseke, and Mukonkoto, the Church opened new schools. Among the N’gumbo speaking people of Chifunabuli District, work was started by Mr. Kasolwe Nsemiwe in 1973 who served at Kasuba Primary School as its headteacher. Notably, Nsemiwe’s evangelistic efforts were particularly successful among school learners. Nsemiwe strategically deployed the young converts to invite their peers, fellow students, and community members to attend his weekly Sabbath services, effectively spreading the message and growing the congregation. One of the hidden intentions of this evangelisation strategy was to cleanse local communities of bad cultural practices such as witchcraft and other elements deemed by missionaries as being detrimental to the Christian faith. Peel (2000) argues that missionaries were keen on targeting children in order to shape and direct their minds to the Christian worldview

As the work grew in these areas, the oversight institution - North Zambia Field, the forerunner of Chimpempe Mission, which later evolved twice to becoming Luapula Field and Luapula Conference - continued to send pastors and evangelists to these areas in order to nurture the faith of its members. Of significance to this initiative was the fact that these pastors and evangelists were local people who easily spoke the language and understood the culture and customs of the local people. Indeed, as Ranger notes, “the spread of Christianity in Africa was often facilitated by African agents who played a crucial role in translating Christian teachings into local languages.” With the exception of Mansa Town, which developed as a hub of government activity, the other areas of growth were primarily rural villages where residents shared a common language and cultural heritage. Compared to foreign counterparts, local witnesses were better positioned to spread the SDA faith, leveraging their insider status and community connections to facilitate evangelism. As Carmody (1999: 4) rightly observes, missionaries were aware of this outreach strategy that placed emphasis “not so much on the individual but upon the social and structural aspect of conversion.”

Of interest to the study was the confirmation that the principal players in the evangelisation project were local people. This finding ties in very well with the principles of the three-self model (self-propagation, self-governance, and self-support) articulated by Venn and Anderson (Shenk, 1981). In scoring the place of these vital tenets of the indigenous church, Venn made this pointed observation:

In respect of the converts: they naturally imbibe the notion that all is to be done for them. They are dependents upon a foreign Mission, rather than numbers of a Native Church. There may be the individual spiritual life, but there is no corporate life: though the converts may amount to thousands in number they are powerless as a body. The principles of self-support, self-government, and self-extension are wanting, on which depends the breath of life in a Native Church (Warren (ed), 1971: 67).

While self-governance and self-support have been challenging for the churches in the selected areas and indeed the rest of the churches in Luapula, it is of worth to state that these churches do not receive assistance from their foreign mother organization. While their levels of self-support and to some degree self-governance are low, yet they fund their operations from their own meagre resources and choose their own leaders to run their programmes. This suggests that the three-self theory may not be suitable to this study, but as the mission scholar David Bosch argues: “The three-self formula . . . is not a recipe that can be applied mechanically in every situation The question is not whether the church should be self-supporting, self-governing, and self-propagating, but how these principles can be contextualized in different situations” (Bosch, 1991: 345).

It is also of worth to state that even the schools that were established through missionary effort used local teacher-evangelists to run them. Indeed, as Neill (1986: 386) rightly observes, during the early development of missions in the nineteenth century missions and churches themselves were gradually learning that “it was useless to talk about the development of indigenous churches unless far more attention was paid to the training and development of the indigenous ministry” who would ultimately be the carriers of the message to their communities.

6.2 Role Played by the Local People

This section discusses and interprets the important roles played by the local people in the establishment and growth of the Adventist Church in Luapula with emphasis on the following: “Vocational Missionaries,” “Business People,” “Lay Evangelists,” “Church Groups,” “Teacher/Evangelists,” “District Pastors,” and “Chiefs/Traditional Leaders.”

6.2.1 Vocational Missionaries

Vocational missionaries were professional lay leaders, such as healthcare workers or teachers, who shared their faith and expertise while serving in their respective fields. They played a significant role in spreading their message and making a positive impact in the communities they served. These messengers were typically not formally trained in ministry, but rather ordinary individuals who were passionate about sharing their faith with others. Mr. Kasolwe Nsemiwe fits this profile.

Nsemiwe was a trained primary school teacher who headed Kasuba Primary School in Mwansakombe chiefdom of Chifunabuli District. He arrived at Kasuba in 1973 from Lubunda Primary School in Mwense District where he had served as headteacher for ten years. Upon arrival at Kasuba, Nsemiwe discovered that the SDA Church did not have a presence in the area. This led him to establish one. From that humble beginning the SDA Church has spread its tentacles in all the three chiefdoms of Chitembo, Mwansakombe, and Mwewa. Nsemiwe represents a host of other vocational missionaries who were instrumental in opening new frontiers though they were not sent by the establishment. This view of evangelistic outreach is in line with Bediako (2004) who notes that African vocational missionaries, such as teachers and healthcare workers played a vital role in promoting Christianity in African culture.

6.2.2 Business People

During the early establishment years of the SDA Church’s work in Luapula, a few business people within the community of Adventist faith played a very significant role in in-reach and

outreach programs. They used their means to promote the work of God in their localities and rightly deserve attention in this study. Along the Luapula Valley, the most prominent business people were Mr. London Kasanda (Lukwesa), Mr. Shamende (Lubunda), Mr. Alfred Muma (Mwense), Mr. Wilfred Chisuku (Lubunda) and the Nkomba brothers (Kashiba). In Mansa those who actively supported the church with their own means included Mr. and Mrs. Luka Mumba and Mr. David Musama Kalebaila. At Loshi, Mr. Samuel Chiposo stood out as the leading benefactor of the work.

6.2.3 Lay Evangelists

Like their counterparts vocational evangelists, lay evangelists were not employees of the church but were noted to participate in its witnessing programs to the point of being recognized in their local churches. Many of them, because of their love for sharing the gospel, received basic training in lay evangelism. They not only shared their faith in a one-to-one setting but also conducted public evangelistic campaigns through which many were added to the faith of the SDA Church. Winstone Nsabila and James Chitendwe of Ponde in Senior Chief Puta's area represent the many that belonged to this category of informal church workers. The use of lay evangelists in mission outreach by the SDA Church in Luapula aligns with the views of Matandiko (2001) and Walls (1996), who highlight the importance of lay evangelists in founding new churches.

6.2.4 Church Groups (Witnessing Through Community Service).

In this category of witnesses are different auxiliary local church groupings such as Dorcas workers, Adventist Men, and Adventist Youth. These groups occasionally organized mission trips to surrounding villages where there was no Adventist presence or where only a few existed to boost up work there. These groups also organized community service initiatives in places like clinics, hospitals, and other public places which frequently led to new members joining the SDA Church. By providing practical support, the church showcased its values and shared the gospel, making community service a core aspect of its outreach approach.

This approach resonates with Gifford (1998) who highlights the public role of African Christianity, including its engagement in community service and development projects. He argues that such activities have helped to establish Christianity as a significant force in African public life.

6.2.5 Teacher-Evangelists

In areas where the Church established schools, teacher-evangelists played a dual role, teaching not only basic academic skills like reading, writing, and arithmetic, but also sharing spiritual knowledge with the goal of introducing students to Christ and the Church. These teacher-evangelists were local people who received training from either Musofu, or Rusangu missions (Matandiko, 2001). Later Chimpempe Mission began to train teacher-evangelists who were sent out to the locally opened schools scattered in different places across the Luapula Province. Those who belonged to this group of Church workers included men like James Chitendwe of Ponde and Elwati Muyeba of Lifuka.

The approach of establishing schools and deploying teacher-evangelists aligns with the findings of Snelson (1974), Daka (2020), Mwanza (2021) and Mhosva (1980), who observed that missionaries provided formal education to enable students to read the Bible and disseminate the gospel to others.

6.2.6 District Pastors

District pastors were the trained “service” men at the forefront of the work. These individuals provided leadership, pastoral care, and engaged in evangelistic efforts in the areas they were assigned to by the church hierarchy. The employment of local African pastors played a significant role in the spread of Adventism in Luapula. Diamond Chibwe Lufungulo and Arnold Victor Kaite represent many in this group of Church workers. Local pastors played a crucial role in contextualizing the Christian message, facilitating its spread, and establishing new churches and training leaders. By communicating in local languages and cultural idioms, they made the message more relatable and accessible to their communities, as noted by scholars such as Sanneh (1983), Hastings (1994), and Walls (1996).

Indigenization of Adventism in Luapula was, thus, achieved by means of many witnesses. As highlighted above, the common denominator among all of them was that they were indigenous labourers. This reality synchronizes well with one of Venn and Anderson’s Three-Self theory which states that self-propagation is a necessary ingredient in the attainment of the indigenous church status (Anderson, 1869). Commenting on the need to have established congregations where local players took centre stage, Rufus Anderson notes

that the key concern of the foreign missionary is not just to win people to Christ and bring them together into churches, but “to plant and multiply self-reliant, efficient churches, composed wholly of native converts, each church complete in itself, with pastors of the same race with people” (Beaver, (ed) 1967: 23). Additionally, Paul Hiebert (1985: 194) observes:

Moreover, history will show that they (converts) did far more evangelism than we give them credit for. Missionaries wrote copiously about their work, but the national evangelists left few records, even though they did most of the evangelizing and bore most of the persecution that usually comes to the first believers in a community.

6.2.7 Chiefs/Traditional leaders

The spread of Adventism in the Luapula Province was as much an effort of local converts, who enthusiastically shared their faith with others, as it was of local chiefs and other traditional rulers, who provided crucial support and patronage to early missionaries. Chief Kabanda of the Chishinga people in Kawambwa District donated one thousand acres of land to the SDA Church whose missionaries sought to open a mission station in his area (Matandiko, 2001). It was standard missionary practice to seek the help of traditional rulers wherever they sought to open new work (Anderson, 1919; Oliver, 1952; Garvey, 1994). While some chiefs embraced Christianity for its economical and material benefits (Mainga, 1973; Chakanza, 1987), others not only embraced it but actively promoted its promulgation (Chakanza, 1987; Phiri, 1991). Lewanika, the king of the Lozi invited both the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society and the SDA Church to establish mission stations in his kingdom (Cunnison, 1967; Anderson, 1919).

6.3 Challenges Faced by the Indigenous People

This section discusses and interprets data on the challenges faced by the indigenous people in their quest to share the message of the SDA Church in their communities. These challenges are divided between those faced by the administrative unit of the Church (the Luapula Conference) and those faced by the ordinary carriers of the gospel in local churches.

6.3.1 Challenges Faced by the Administrative Unit

This segment will focus on challenges faced by leaders at the administrative unit, the Luapula Conference (formerly North Zambia Field, Luapula Field). The study highlights two challenges faced by the administrative unit namely, financial constraints and off-shoot movements.

i) Financial Challenges

Financial challenges have been a perennial problem since the early establishment of the Secretariat. These challenges have ranged from lack of capacity to pay full salaries and allowances to the workers to funding programmes and projects intended to expand the work. This finding resonates with Mwansa (2017), Baur (2004), Gifford (1998), and Hastings (1994), who discuss the financial challenges faced by African churches, and missionaries, highlighting the need for self-sufficiency, and sustainable funding models.

ii) Offshoot Movements

Offshoot movements are not a new phenomenon nor are they unique to the Adventist Church in Luapula. In the early 1970s a man named Perrious Munshimbwe led a faction from Mansa Main SDA Church to join the SDA Reform Movement. His effort to attract many members from the Adventist Church proved fruitless as only a small fragment of membership followed him. David Wilson of the Davidian Movement was later to appear on the scene but scratched only the surface as his movement did not pose any real challenge to the work. Recently Mpundu Mweshi, a former Seventh-day Adventist minister rose against his church and established what he named, Free-Seventh-day Adventist-Laymen. His movement has generated significant attention and controversy within the SDA Church in Luapula and beyond.

As observed earlier, the offshoot scenario is not a unique phenomenon to the Adventist Church in Luapula. The Catholic Church in Northern Province in the early 1950s and beyond had its own share of offshoot risings. A former student to the priesthood named Emilyo Mulolani Makumbi created a stir within the Catholic Church that led to a schism. Mulolani ended up forming his own church he called the Catholic Church of the Sacred Heart of Jesus commonly known as Mutima Church (Oger, 1991).

In the early 1950s, the Church of Scotland at Lubwa near Chinsali got embroidered in theological wrangles with self-proclaimed prophetess named Alice Mulenga Lubusha, popularly known as Lenshina (Hudson, 1999). Lenshina formed a separatist Church that held a number of teachings inconsistent with those taught by the Church of Scotland (Hudson, 1999). Both Catholics and Church of Scotland suffered massive defections of their members to Lenshina's Church (Oger, 1991; Hudson, 1999; Hinfelaar, 2004).

6.3.2 Challenges Faced by Ordinary Members

The challenges faced by the ordinary witnesses are summarized according to the following categories: long distance/bad road infrastructure, lack of remuneration for the lay workers, high poverty levels, unique doctrines, illiteracy, traditional beliefs and opposition from Catholics.

i) Infrastructure and Transportation Limitations

The carriers of the message of the Adventist Church were often faced with the hurdle of a bad road network and large mission territories that required covering either on foot or bicycle. Bad road networks hampered greatly the transmission of not only the SDA Church's message but Christianity in general. As Dugard (2003) and Hinfelaar (2004) have argued, lack of proper communication infrastructure adversely affected the spread of Christianity in Africa.

ii) Unique Doctrines

The Adventist Church's pioneers in the early years faced a number of unique challenges that other mainstream Christian denominations rarely encountered as they went about spreading their message. The SDA Church's views on the doctrines of the Sabbath, the Ten Commandments and Leviticus 11 (Bible chapter on foods permitted and forbidden) proved particularly challenging to share. Because other Christian denominations that were spreading the faith taught something different, this made the work of Adventist carriers rather difficult. Admittedly African Independent churches like Mulolani's Mutima Church and Lenshina's Lumpa Church faced similar challenges arising from some of the unorthodox doctrines they propagated (Oger, 1991; Hudson, 1999). The Adventist Church is, however, a mainstream Christian denomination with a presence in 215 countries (Ng, 2020).

iii) Traditional Beliefs and the Word of God

The spread of Adventism in Luapula has encountered resistance from entrenched traditional beliefs, practices, and worldviews that often incorporated elements of superstition and witchcraft. Mwansa (2017), Matandiko (2001), Mwanza (2020), Hastings (1996) and McGrath and Gregoire (1997) contend that early missionary efforts in Africa were hindered by cultural and religious differences between the missionaries and the indigenous populations, which limited their success. The issue of reconciling the biblical worldview and that of the local people often posed a big challenge. Hesselgrave and Rommen (1989: 212, 213), for example, argue that:

Worldview colours and shapes all of a person's experiences. It provides the perspective from which he processes all new information. Therefore, even though a person or a people embrace certain truths of the gospel, if their non-Christian worldview is not exchanged for a Christian one, those truths and subsequent experiences will be interpreted from a non-Christian perspective. Consciously or unconsciously they will tend to fashion a syncretistic world view.

It is of interest to note here that although the barrier of traditional beliefs opposed to Christianity caused sharp reactions that led in some churches to the formation of local brands—such as Mulolani's Mutima Church (from the Catholic Church) and Lenshina's Lumpa Church (from the Church of Scotland)—the SDA Church in Luapula and indeed all of Zambia never faced local opposition that led to the formation of an African or Zambian version.

iv) Opposition from Catholics

The Adventist Church's evangelism efforts were often disrupted by Catholics, who often objected to certain Adventist teachings. Adventists observe Saturday as the Sabbath, believing it is a day of rest and worship, while Catholics and many other Christian denominations observe Sunday as the Lord's Day, which they consider also as a day of worship and rest.

Rivalries and animosities frequently arose among missionary groups with competing interests. For example, both Hudson (1999) and Oger (1991) report that the Catholic Church and the Church of Scotland had a strained relationship in the Chinsali District during the

early 1950s. Theological disparities also hindered their relationships with Mulolani's Mutima Church and Lenshina's Lumpa Church (Hinfelaar, 2004). Mwanza (2020) also reports that the Salvation Army in Chikankata, Southern Province, faced opposition from two religious groups in the 1950s: Jehovah's Witnesses, who disputed their eschatology teachings, and the Full-Gospel Mission, which posed a challenge to their work. Carmody (2004) notes that while some Protestant societies made territorial agreements to avoid competition, there was generally little cooperation or agreement on evangelism areas among Catholics, Anglicans, and Adventists.

v) Illiteracy

The early years of the Church's establishment and growth coincided in part with the early history of the nation itself. They were times of beginnings when schools were also very few. Illiteracy was, thus, rife. Foreign missionaries that came to spread Christianity understood the important role education played not only in the spread of Christianity but the socio-economic development of a nation as well. Admittedly the strategy to employ the hierarchically structured Western style of education was a double edged sword which not only aided missionaries to advance their cause but proved lethal in the destruction of the African culture (Mwewa, 2011). Be that as it may, it is hard to take away the credit due to Western missionaries and the critical role they played in the introduction of education in Africa in general and Zambia in particular. As Henry Venn argues:

The great debt that Africa owes to missionaries is that in a situation in which the forces of trade, colonial government and the missions themselves were creating cultural havoc, it was only the missionaries that began to rebuild, and gave them a chance to rebuild. Whatever any individual Westerner may think of the missionary edifice, every African knows that it is to missionaries that they owe the beginning of the African educational system. (Warren, (ed) 1971, as cited in Bohanan, 1966: 216)

One of Venn and Anderson's pillars of their three-self model says that in order for the Church to be considered indigenous, it must be self-governing (Shenk, 1981). One of the theory's assumptions is that those who are elected to positions of leadership should have at least attained basic knowledge in education which allows them to read, write, and solve basic arithmetic problems. At Kasuba where Mr. Kasolo Nsemiwe established an Adventist congregation, there was a problem with electing leaders as the majority of the congregation's adult membership was illiterate. To overcome the scourge of illiteracy most foreign

missionary bodies that sent missionaries to Africa thought of opening schools (Snelson, 1974; Carmody, 2018).

6.4 Lessons from the last one hundred years of the SDA Church's existence in Luapula Province.

This section discusses and explains the lessons learned from the SDA Church's history in Luapula in the last one hundred years (1921-2021) and how the same can enhance further development and growth of the church in the province and beyond. These lessons are divided into two segments. The first segment deals with lessons that are derived from successes the Church scored through the years while the second segment deals with lessons derived from perceived failures or weakness through its long years of existence in Luapula.

6.4.1 Lessons Learned Through Scored Successes

With regard to lessons dealing with the Church's successes through the years, the following items will be highlighted: "Commitment to the work of the Lord by the laity," "Evangelism through education," "Firm rooting in doctrines," "Emphasis on God's Last Day Church," and "Strict adherence to Christian standards."

i) Selfless Devotion to the Lord's Work

One of the most consistent lessons of success highlighted from all the face-to-face interviews and focus group discussions conducted was that the carriers of the SDA message in the early years, and indeed the general membership, exhibited high levels of commitment to the cause rarely seen in the present generation. They faced the hurdles of traversing long distances on foot or cycling with fortitude in their bid to share the message they believed in. Threats of wild animals, and other challenging odds did not deter them from going forward sharing the message. Their means were meagre, their education basic while many of the amenities taken for granted today were unavailable to them. Yet, against all these daunting odds, they continued pushing their witnessing agenda to ensure that the message got to every clan and people, within their sphere of influence. They were truly the champions of self-propagation Venn and Anderson speak about in their three-self theory (Shenk, 1981).

The SDA Church of today in Luapula exists in an atmosphere where some of the challenges that hindered the early Church are no longer present. Building on the legacy of the past, the Church in Luapula can achieve even greater success in self-extension, self-support, and self-governance, key principles of indigenization, surpassing the accomplishments of its early pioneers.

ii) Evangelism Through Schools

As part of their evangelistic efforts, Western missionaries who came to Chimpempe established schools in various locations, using education as a means to reach and engage with local communities. This strategy appears to have been a norm to all missionaries that brought Christianity to Zambia. Snelson (1974), for example, notes that one of the first things missionaries set to do upon arrival in a new area was to start a school. Accordingly, Adventist missionaries opened schools in Kawambwa, Ponde in Chief Puta's area, Lukwesa, Lifuka and other places in the Luapula Valley and beyond.

As stated above Adventist missionaries were not the only ones who employed the system of schools as a means to evangelise local communities. The Church of Christ, for example, employed a similar strategy in Southern Province where much of its early work was centred. Daka (2020) notes that when the Church of Christ opened its mission work at Namianga in Kalomo in 1932, a school was also established the same year. At the height of its glorious missionary days, the Church of Christ boasted of running more than 19 schools (Daka, 2020). Most of its schools were eventually handed over to the UNIP government "as a gesture of goodwill" (Daka, 2020: 4). The Salvation Army successfully established its mission and multiple schools, which also served as key centres for converting locals to Christianity (Mwanza, 2020).

The "old" idea of evangelism through education made notable inroads in the Church's quest to deal with illiteracy and win souls to Christ. Unfortunately, all the schools the Church established, except Chimpempe, were surrendered to the government mainly because the Church did not have the financial capacity to run them. Today, the Church in Luapula only runs one grant-aided school- Chimpempe!

Although many respondents spoke about the urgent need on the part of the Church in Luapula to open new mission schools, no one talked about how such a daunting task could be

achieved by a church that still struggles to climb the ladder of self-support. Schools by their nature require the injection of huge sums of money for their creation and sustenance. Smalley (1978) is right when he notes that self-support as a necessary tenet of church growth is not always possible especially in the not-so-well-to-do regions of the world. He identifies publication, education, medicine, health and Bible translation as areas where “younger churches can usually not be expected to be self-supporting” (Lewis, (ed) 1989, as cited in Smalley, 1978: 363-372).

Admittedly, the constant growing SDA membership in the province, requires that the Church invests in the creation of an educational infrastructure that will accommodate the aspirations and needs of its young people. But facts on the ground don't paint a good picture about the Church's readiness to undertake such a costly venture.

iii) Firm Rooting in Doctrines

One of the key things that helped early Adventist believers in Luapula to remain strong and united was the emphasis and practice placed on indoctrination. Members took time to learn church doctrines in the baptismal classes before they were baptized. Even after going through the period of indoctrination, an examination was conducted to ascertain the readiness of candidates for baptism. Today, things have somehow changed. While the Church continues its legacy of teaching its non-baptized members, the emphasis now is more on numbers the Church is able to baptize even where very little or no teaching has taken place. This has consequently led to having a Church with too many members with little understanding of the Church's doctrines.

A Church whose members know little or nothing about its doctrines may be weak in sharing their faith as their knowledge and understanding of its tenets is shallow. This state of affairs has a negative bearing on two of Venn and Anderson's three-self model: self-propagation and self-governance (Shenk, 1981).

iv) Emphasis on Adventism as God's Last Day Church

In the early Seventh-day Adventist Church, a central focus was the belief that the SDA Church is God's remnant church in the last days. The Church was seen as a unique and singular entity, distinct from other Christian denominations, with a specific purpose: to serve as the instrument of God's salvation for His people, separating them from the world and its

influences. This understanding made the early believers be passionate about sharing their message to their neighbours.

To aid this understanding were a number of unique teachings that the Church picked out of the Bible and emphasized. Among these were the Ten Commandments, the Second Coming of Christ to the earth, the doctrine of the State of the Dead, and the Sanctuary services, to mention a few.

Waruta (1998) in his essay, *Towards an African Church: A Critical Assessment of Alternative Forms and Structures* identifies four major types of churches that emerged out of Christian evangelization of Africa as being (1) dominant, (2) popular, (3) distinctive, and (4) indigenous. Waruta classifies the Adventist Church as falling under the distinctive model. The Adventist Church belongs to this type “having its own traditions” (1998: 36) and worship God on Saturday. This lesson from the past provides an opportunity of growth rightly emphasized in today’s church and that of the future.

v) Strict Adherence to Christian Standards

Christian standards (moral codes, ethics and values) played a significant role in the spread of Adventism in Zambia. Respondents in several sites raised the issue of strict adherence to Christian standards as one of those unique features that identified the Adventist Church in its early establishment period. Unfortunately, noted the respondents, that distinction has become blurred. The Adventist Church of the future needs to recover this dying aspect of its former self, for as Waruta (1998) observes, strict adherence to Christian standards has been one of the fundamental tenets of Seventh-day Adventism. Its gradual erosion could lead the Church to becoming just like any other Christian denomination.

6.4.2 Lessons Learned Through Perceived Failures and Weaknesses

With regard to lessons learned through perceived failures, emphasis will be laid on financial woes or difficulties.

i) Financial Woes

The Adventist Church in Luapula has struggled to stay afloat for most of its existence at both the central administrative unit as well as local church levels. Perhaps one of the reasons why this has been so for such a long period of time is that Luapula is a rural constituency. Poverty levels in the province are high. A key tenet in Venn and Anderson's three-self theory is self-support (Shenk, 1981). A Church cannot be said to be independent or indigenous without securing the important goal of self-support (Shenk, 1981). Self-support is the ability of members to finance the programmes of the Church. The problem however with this understanding of self-support is that by whose standard are we to determine that a congregation is self-supporting? It's like arguing, for example, that Mansa, the provincial capital town of Luapula Province is far. Question is: far from where? William Smalley is on point when he argues that:

I very strongly suspect that the three "selves" are really projections of our American value systems into the idealization of the church, that they are in their very nature Western concepts based upon Western ideas of individualism and power. By forcing them on other people we may at times have been making it impossible for a truly indigenous pattern to develop. We have been Westernizing with all our talk about indigenizing (Lewis, (ed) 1989, as cited in Smalley, 1978: 363-372).

6.5 Summary

This chapter has discussed the findings of the study. Riding on the specific study objectives and the theoretical framework selected for the study, the chapter highlighted the following themes: (1) the establishment and growth of the SDA Church in Luapula at both its administrative unit and local churches in five selected areas, (2) the various roles played by the local people in the evangelization process, (3) the challenges faced by the administrative unit and local people in the spread of the SDA Church in Luapula, and (4) the lessons learned in its one hundred years of existence and how these lessons can enhance further development of the church in the province and beyond. The next chapter draws conclusions and makes recommendations in line with the findings of the study.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.0 Overview

Being last, this chapter draws conclusions from the study and submits a number of recommendations. The chapter first presents a general summary of the thesis, states the overall conclusion of the study, before making general recommendations of the study and recommendations for possible further research.

7.1 Conclusions

In order to effectively conclude the study, it should be recalled that the following were its guiding objectives: to document the establishment and growth of the SDA Church in Zambia's Luapula Province from 1921 to 2021; to investigate the role of indigenous Adventists in the establishment, and growth of the SDA Church in Luapula Province; to describe the challenges related to the establishment and growth of the SDA Church in Zambia's Luapula Province from 1921 to 2021; and to identify lessons from the last one hundred years of the SDA Church's existence in Luapula Province which may be used by current and future leaders to enhance the development of the Church in the province and beyond.

With regard to the first, second and third objectives which are closely connected, the study showed that the history of the establishment and growth of the SDA Church in Luapula can and should be traced with a two-fold focus on its central administrative unit, the Luapula Conference, and five selected growth areas namely Ponde, Luapula Valley, Mansa, Loshi and Chifunabuli. The study also showed that the indigenous people played a pivotal role in the establishment and growth of the SDA Church in Luapula Province. While missionary effort grew around Chimpempe where the first missionaries settled and directed the work from, areas along the Luapula Valley, Mansa, Chifunabuli and Loshi drew their establishment and much of their growth from the personal effort of the indigenous people who likely heard the message from Congo DR or Musofu near Mkushi where the Church had set up a mission in

1917. Foremost among the locals who played a key role in the establishment and growth of the church in Luapula were: vocational missionaries, lay evangelists, teacher/evangelists, pastors, and auxiliary groups in local churches such as Adventist Youth, Dorcas Workers, and Adventist Men.

The study has further revealed that the path to the establishment and growth of the work in Luapula was riddled with many obstacles such as financial challenges, traditional beliefs that were in conflict with the Word of God, a bad road infrastructure coupled with huge mission territories that had to be traversed either on foot or bicycles, difficulty in imparting unique doctrines such as the Sabbath and the state of the dead, illiteracy, and, opposition from Catholics.

This study is grounded in the theoretical framework of Venn and Anderson, which posits that authentic indigenization of the church requires the attainment of three essential elements: self-support, self-governance, and self-propagation (Shenk, 1981). The study's findings affirm the applicability of Venn and Anderson's framework to the SDA Church in Luapula. Notably both the Luapula Conference and its constituent local churches demonstrate significant indigenization, evidenced by:

- I. local financial sustainability, with community-generated funds supporting church operations.
- II. Indigenous leadership, with local individuals holding key governance positions.
- III. Grassroots evangelism, with community members actively sharing their faith.
- IV. While acknowledging some areas for improvement, this study highlights the church's progress toward self-sufficiency and autonomy.

The three-self theory, while relevant, cannot be rigidly applied as a one-size-fits-all model. To this end, therefore, the researcher agrees with the observation made by Paul Hiebert that, "The goal of missions is not to establish Western style churches, but to plant churches that are rooted in the local culture and are self-sustaining (1985: 215). Or as Van Engen (1996: 123) also observes: "The three-self principles must be contextualized to fit the local situation."

Finally, with regard to the fourth objective, the study has identified important success lessons that are of great benefit to the Church leaders of today and those of the future in terms

of enhancing the development of the Church in the province and beyond. These include: (1) commitment and passion exhibited by the early carriers of the message, (2) emphasis on evangelism through education that saw missionaries setting up schools wherever they established their presence, (3) emphasis on firm indoctrination of adherents, (4) emphasis by the early believers that the SDA Church was God's end-time movement through which He was to save His people, and (5) strict adherence to Christian standards by the early believers that gave the Church a distinctive feature. On the other hand, lessons learned through the Church's failures include: (1) failure to achieve self-support resulting in stunted, unbalanced growth, (2) failure to adequately curb the rise of dissident movements resulting in defections of members to these off-shoot organizations.

7.2 Contribution to Body of Knowledge

- I. This study serves as a foundational benchmark for understanding the establishment and growth of the SDA Church in Luapula. By providing a comprehensive framework, it paves the way for future research, enabling scholars to build upon and expand its findings.
- II. Although the first Adventist missionary arrived in Luapula in 1921, Adventism had already established a quiet presence in the region with small pockets of adherents existing in the Luapula Valley whose contact with the message may have been Congo D R.
- III. In Mansa, the seeds of evangelisation were sown by the local people who had been introduced to the message from Congo D R. By the time missionaries arrived, they found an existing foundation of faith which they were able to build on and expand.

7.3 Recommendations

Based on the findings of this study, the following recommendations are made:

1. The Seventh-day Adventist Church in Luapula needs to find a sustainable solution to its longstanding self-support challenges, which have persisted since its establishment in 1921.
2. The Luapula Conference should take steps at preserving its historical sites. A visit by this researcher to Loshi, Lukwesa, Ponde, Chafwa, Chishinshi, and Chimpempe,

which are all important centres of early Adventist history, showed a complete disconnect between these heritage sites and the Conference. At Ponde, the graves of the two white missionaries who drowned in Lake Mweru during a camp meeting that took place there in 1952 lie almost hidden in tall grass. At Lukwesa Main Church, the building has cracks that have necessitated the local people to embark on building a new church. The majority of the rural people at Lukwesa are poor and building a new church is not a simple undertaking. During my interview with some of the church members at Lukwesa Main, there was a cry for help to the Conference towards roofing sheets. Loshi Church in Mansa is another sorry sight. Even though it is believed to be the birth place of Adventism in both Mansa and Samfya, there is nothing there to show that this is where it all started. At Chimpempe Mission, the mission's director's house is in a dilapidated shape and needs urgent attention.

7.4 Recommendations for Further Research

1. While this current study highlights the role played by Africans in the establishment and growth of the Adventist Church in Luapula, similar studies can be done in other Adventist conferences or other Christian denominations within Zambia. This would go a long way in writing the history of the Christian Church in Zambia from the perspective of indigenous researchers.
2. Researchers can conduct studies on key leaders who have helped to shape Adventism not only in Luapula but Zambia. A good example of these men and women is Late Dr. Lassew Dennis Raelly, who once served as President of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Zambia, and the Eastern Africa Division. Raelly was a prolific evangelist who could rightly be described as the father of modern-day evangelism in Zambia.
3. Researchers could also delve into the uncharted waters of off-shoot movements and their impact on Adventism.
4. A detailed research study on Chimpempe, the first Adventist mission in Luapula would also be very helpful in completing the history of the SDA Church in the province.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Consent Form

I am Mwansa George Chama, a Phd student of Religious Studies at the University of Zambia. I am doing research on “The Role of Africans in the Establishment, Growth, and Expansion of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Zambia’s Luapula Province From 1921 to 2021.” I am requesting for your voluntary participation in this project. Please read the information below carefully and ask questions about anything you may not understand before deciding whether to participate or not.

1. There are no risks in taking part in this study. In fact, taking part in will enable you to share information that may help other people to know more about the SDA.
2. Participation in this study is voluntary and you have the right to withdraw at any time if you so wish.
3. All the responses you give will be highly appreciated, treated confidentially and used for academic purposes only
4. If you accept to take part in this study, please sign on the space provided below

Participant’s signature Date:

Appendix 2: Observation guide

Name:Date Time

ACTIVITY	MAIN FEATURES OF THE ACTIVITY	COMMENT

Appendix 3: Interview Guide for Retired Church Workers

- Kindly note that in this interview, the researcher seeks to investigate the role that Africans played in the establishment and growth of the SDA Church in Luapula Province from 1921 to 2021. Your responses will help to trace the crucial role African converts played in the effort to establish the Adventist Church and its subsequent expansion in Luapula Province.
- Self-introductions.
 1. When did you become a member of the Adventist Church?
 2. When did you become a minister in the Adventist Church? Why did you make that decision?
 3. Upon answering the call to ministry which mission district were you assigned to? What was it like to work as pastor in the Adventist Church at that time?
 4. Were there any challenges in your work? If so, how did you try to overcome them?
 5. Are there any standout names of the early African church workers you can remember? How would you describe their work? What influence, if any, did they have upon your ministry?
 6. What are some of the success stories you can share from your time as a gospel minister in the Adventist Church?
 7. In your ministry as a pastor, what methods did you employ to reach those you wished to introduce the message of the Adventist Church? Which of these were more successful?
 8. Upon winning some people to the message of the Adventist Church, how did you make those converts as disciples of Christ who could go about sharing their faith with others?
 9. During your time as a minister, how many congregations did you plant?
 10. How did the Adventist Church of your time relate to the government of the day?
 11. What do you think the SDA Church leadership in Luapula Province today can learn from your experience?
 12. Finally, is there anything we have not mentioned or discussed that you would like to add?

Appendix 4: Interview Guide for District Pastors

- Kindly note that in this interview, the researcher seeks to investigate the role that Africans played in the establishment and growth of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Zambia's Luapula Province from 1921 to 2021. Your responses will help to trace the crucial role African converts played in the effort to establish the Adventist Church and its subsequent expansion in the Luapula Province.
- Self-introductions.
 1. What year was the Adventist Church established here?
 2. Where did the pioneers of the Adventist Church come from?
 3. How was the Adventist Church established here?
 4. Who were the early pioneers in the establishment of the Adventist Church in this district?
 5. Do you remember any names of the first converts to the Adventist faith in this place?
 6. From the initial growth point of the Adventist Church in this area, how did the church grow its tentacles in terms of planting further congregations?
 7. What are the names of the other congregations that have been established since the first one that was planted here?
 8. Among the following church growth methods, which ones were the most frequently used to propagate the Adventist faith in this place: (a) Home visitations and Bible studies, (b) Church planting, (c) Literature evangelism, (d) Public campaigns, (e) Personal witnessing, (f) Camp meetings. Why?
 9. What other Christian denominations were present at the time of the establishment of the Adventist Church in this place?
 10. What was the relationship between the Adventist Church and other Christian denominations at that time?
 11. Were there any challenges faced by the early pioneers as they propagated the Adventist faith in this area?
 12. How did the early pioneers deal with the challenges they faced in the early days of the establishment of the Adventist faith in this place?
 13. What were the internal challenges faced by the early converts to Adventism in this area? How did they deal with those challenges?

14. What were the external challenges faced by the early unit of Adventist believers?
How did they deal with those challenges?
15. In what ways did the Field Office in Mansa assist the local congregations in the early formation of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in this place?
16. What relationship existed between the Adventist Church and traditional and political leaders at the time of the establishment of the Adventist Church in this place?
17. What roles did the early converts play in the growing and expansion of the Adventist faith in this place?
18. What do you think the SDA Church leadership in Luapula Province today can learn from your experience?
19. Finally, is there anything we have not mentioned or discussed that you would like to add?

Appendix 5: Interview Guide for Lay Pioneers: Group Focus Discussion (GFD)

- Kindly note that in this interview, the researcher seeks to investigate the role that Africans played in the establishment and growth of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Luapula Province from 1921 to 2021. Your responses will help to trace the crucial role African converts played in the effort to establish the Adventist Church and its subsequent expansion in Luapula Province.
- Self-introductions.
 1. When did the Adventist Church come to this place?
 2. When did the initial Company of believers get organized into a Church?
 3. Who was the first person that introduced the message of the Adventist Church in this area?
 4. Would you remember the first Adventist pastor who organized the initial Company of believers into a Church here?
 5. How was the first group of converts organized into a Company of believers here?
 6. What is the name of the first congregation that the Adventist Church established in this area? Has the name been maintained or changed over the years? If yes, why was the name changed?
 7. Do you remember the names of the first leaders that were elected to the first congregation that was established here?
 8. How many members constituted the first group of believers that the Adventist Church established here?
 9. What were the occupations of the first converts of the church that was established here?
 10. What methods did the earliest converts to the SDA Church use to propagate its message in this area?
 11. How many other congregations have been established since the first one? Are you able to remember when they started?
 12. How did these congregations get established? Who spearheaded the formation of those new congregations?
 13. What is the number of congregations we have in this district today?
 14. Did the pioneers of the work in this area face any challenges in their bid to establish Adventism?

15. How did the pioneers overcome the challenges they faced?
16. Did the early converts to Adventism face any challenges? How did they overcome them?
17. How did the local church finance its operations and activities over the years?
18. Did the early Adventist Church in Luapula face social, economic and financial challenges? How were these problems and challenges overcome?
19. What do you think the SDA Church leadership in Luapula Province today can learn from your experience?
20. Finally, is there anything we have not mentioned or discussed that you would like to add?

Appendix 6: Interview Guide with surviving sons and daughters of Pioneers

- Kindly note that in this interview, the researcher seeks to investigate the role that Africans played in the establishment and growth of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Luapula Province from 1921 to 2021. Your responses will help to trace the crucial role African church workers played in the effort to establish the Adventist Church and its subsequent expansion in the Luapula Province.
- The researcher proceeds with self-introduction.
 1. What are your full names? When and where were you born?
 2. In which districts of the Luapula Province did your father work? What were his daily activities?
 3. What are the most annoying things you recall about being a pastor's child?
 4. What do you think were the most stressful work activities your father went through during your growing up years?
 5. What challenges do you remember him or your family facing as your late father did his work?
 6. Do you remember your late father description of his work? What things did he often mention?
 7. How would you compare the SDA Church of your youth to that of today?
 8. With the wisdom of hindsight, what advice would you give to the ministers who serve the church today?
 9. Finally, is there anything we have not discussed that you would like to add?

Appendix 7: Interview Guide with Widows

Kindly note that in this interview, the researcher seeks to investigate the role that Africans played in the establishment and growth of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Luapula Province from 1921 to 2021. Your responses will help to trace the crucial role African church workers played in the effort to establish the Adventist Church and its subsequent expansion in the Luapula Province.

Self-introduction.

1. What was your earliest association with the Adventist Church and when and where did this happen?
2. What memories can you share regarding the state of the Adventist Church when you got married to your late husband?
3. What was the first mission district/church in Luapula that you and your late husband worked in after his call to the gospel ministry?
4. How many churches did your late husband superintend over in your first Mission District?
5. How big were the Mission Districts you and your late husband pastored?
6. Did you and your husband face any challenges in your work? Describe these challenges.
7. What roles do you remember playing in the church and community of faith and in society as minister's wife? Do you feel you were adequate and if not, how did you cope?
8. How is the ministry of nowadays different from the one of your times? Share three things that illustrate that difference.
9. How would you compare the SDA Church of that time and that of today?
10. Finally, is there anything we have not discussed that you would like to add

Appendix 8: Interview Guide for former Presidents of the Adventist Church at the Regional Office in Mansa.

- Kindly note that in this interview, the researcher seeks to investigate the role played by African church leaders in the establishment and growth of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Luapula Province from 1921 to 2021. Your responses will help to understand the crucial role African church leaders played in the effort to establish the Adventist Church and its subsequent expansion in the Luapula Province.
 - Self-introductions.
1. How was the situation in the SDA Church in Luapula at the time you became president?
 2. How was the work of the church promoted during your time?
 3. Where there any new initiatives to promote the Adventist Church work in Luapula Province? If so, how where they implemented?
 4. Were any evangelistic thrusts in the Mission Fields funded? What were the levels of funding? How much money was spent on evangelistic work?
 5. What was the average pastor-membership ration in the Luapula Province during your presidency?
 6. What community service programs (health, development and relief, education) did the Church put in place to ensure relevance in the communities?
 7. Were there any programs to train ministers and other supporting staff to ensure that operations in the field and at the office were handled by competent, trained staff?
 8. What was the organization's relationship with the government of the day at that time?
 9. What was the relationship between the Adventist Church and other religious organizations?
 10. What do you think the SDA Church leadership in Luapula Province today can learn from your experience?
 11. Finally, is there anything we have not mentioned or discussed that you would like to add?

Appendix 9: Interview Guide for Former Chief Financial Officers at the SDA Church's Regional Office in Mansa

- Kindly note that in this interview, the researcher seeks to understand the financial challenges the Adventist Church in Luapula faced during its formative and subsequent years of existence from 1921 to 2021. Your responses will help to understand how the Luapula Field strove to create an entity that was self-sustaining and was no longer depending on donations from the higher organizations or missionaries for operations.
 - Self-introductions.
1. How would you describe the financial situation of the SDA Church in Luapula during your time?
 2. According to your understanding, what are the features of a self-supporting church?
 3. Has the Luapula Field of the SDA Church achieved self-support status? If not, what in your opinion are the reasons for this situation?
 4. What have been the major financial challenges you have faced through the years? What have been some of the consequences of those financial challenges?
 5. What steps has the Regional Office taken to ensure that self-support is achieved?
 6. What are the major sources of the organization's income?
 7. How does the office finance its operations?
 8. What have been the major financial challenges you have faced through the years and what have been some of the consequences of those financial challenges?
 9. What do you think the SDA Church leadership in Luapula Province today can learn from your experience?
 10. Finally, is there anything we have not mentioned or discussed that you would like to add?

Appendix 10: Summaries of Demographic Information

Table 1: Summary of Demographic Information for Pastors

PARTICIPANT	QUALIFICATION	NUMBER OF YEARS OF SERVICE	DATE AND PLACE OF INTERVIEW
1	BA Theology	38	11 April 2021, telephone
2	Ministerial Diploma	36	12 April, 2021, Mansa
3	Literature Evangelism Diploma	33	13 April, 2021 Mansa
4	BA Theology	7	15 April, 2021 Mansa
5	BA Theology	8	15 April, 2021, Mansa
6	BA Theology	7	15 April, 2021
7	Literature Evangelism	7	15 April, 2021

Table 2: Summary of Demographic Information for Retired Pastors

PARTICIPANT	AGE	QUALIFICATION	DATE AND PLACE OF INTERVIEW
1	93	Ministerial Diploma	21 March, 2021, home Chimpempe
2	90	Ministerial Diploma	21 March, 2021 Kawambwa
3	92	Ministerial Diploma	21 March, 2021, home, Kawambwa
4	91	Ministerial Diploma	21 March 2021 Home, Mansa

Table 3: Summary of Demographic Information for Lay People

PARTICIPANT	GENDER	AGE	DATE AND PLACE OF INTERVIEW
1	M	94	15 February 2021 and 10 June 2022 at his home, Mansa
2	M	91	8 February, 2021 and 12 March 2022 at his home, Nkumbi, Mwense
3	F	80	12 March, 2022, Mwense Main SDA Church, Mwense
4	F	81	30 March, 2022, home, Loshi, Mansa
5	M	88	23/24 February, 2021, Chienge
6	M	78	14 March, home, Mansa
7	M	77	3 October, 2018, 14 February, 2021, 19 August, 2022, Mansa
8	F	85	14 February, 2021; 19 August, 2022, home, Mansa
9	F	77	14 February, 2021; 19 August, 2022, home, Mansa
10	M	92	14 February, 2021, home, Mansa
11	M	69	16 May, 2022 phone interview
12	M	64	27 May, 2022 phone interview
13	M	62	5 March, 2022, home Kasuba, Chifunabuli
14	F	41	10 February, 2022, home, Mansa
15	M	39	10 February, 2022, home, Mansa

Table 4: Summary of Demographic Information for Pastors' Children

PARTICIPANT	GENDER	AGE	DATE AND PLACE OF INTERVIEW
1	F	65	20 April, 2021, home in Lusaka
2	F	66	20 April, 2021, home in Lusaka
3	F	66	20 April, 2021, home in Lusaka
4	F	67	20 April, 2021, home in Lusaka

Appendix 11: Ethics Committee Approval Letters



THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA DIRECTORATE OF RESEARCH AND GRADUATE STUDIES

Great East Road Campus | P.O. Box 32379 | Lusaka10101 | Tel: +260-211-290 258/291 777 Fax: (+260)-211-290 258/253 952 | E-mail: director.drugs@unza.zm | Website: www.unza.zm

APPROVAL OF STUDY

19th January, 2022

REF NO.HSSREC-2021-NOV-018

George C. Mwansa
The University of Zambia
School of Education
P.O. Box 32379

LUSAKA

Dear Mr. Mwansa,

RE: “THE ROLE OF AFRICANS IN THE ESTABLISHMENT, DEVELOPMENT AND EXPANSION OF THE SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST CHURCH IN ZAMBIA’S LUAPULA PROVINCE FROM 1921 TO 2021”

Reference is made to your submission of the protocol captioned above. The HSSREC resolved to approve this study and your participation as Principal Investigator for a period of one year.

REVIEW TYPE	ORDINARY REVIEW	APPROVAL NO. HSSREC-2021-NOV-018
Approval and Expiry Date	Approval Date: 19 th January, 2021	Expiry Date: 18 th January, 2023
Protocol Version and Date	Version - Nil.	18 th January, 2023
Information Sheet, Consent Forms and Dates	<input type="checkbox"/> English.	To be provided
Consent form ID and Date	Version - Nil	To be provided
Recruitment Materials	Nil	Nil
Other Study Documents	Questionnaire.	

Number of Participants Approved for Study		
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Specific conditions will apply to this approval. As Principal Investigator it is your responsibility to ensure that the contents of this letter are adhered to. If these are not adhered to, the approval may be suspended. Should the study be suspended, study sponsors and other regulatory authorities will be informed.

Conditions of Approval

- No participant may be involved in any study procedure prior to the study approval or after the expiration date.
- All unanticipated or Serious Adverse Events (SAEs) must be reported to HSSREC within 5 days.
- All protocol modifications must be approved by HSSREC prior to implementation unless they are intended to reduce risk (but must still be reported for approval). Modifications will include any change of investigator/s or site address.
- All protocol deviations must be reported to HSSREC within 5 working days.
- All recruitment materials must be approved by HSSREC prior to being used.
- Principal investigators are responsible for initiating Continuing Review proceedings. HSSREC will only approve a study for a period of 12 months.
- It is the responsibility of the PI to renew his/her ethics approval through a renewal application to HSSREC.
- Where the PI desires to extend the study after expiry of the study period, documents for study extension must be received by HSSREC at least 30 days before the expiry date. This is for the purpose of facilitating the review process. Documents received within 30 days after expiry will be labelled “late submissions” and will incur a penalty fee of K500.00. No study shall be renewed whose documents are submitted for renewal 30 days after expiry of the certificate.
- Every 6 (six) months a progress report form supplied by The University of Zambia Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee as an IRB must be filled in and submitted to us. There is a penalty of K500.00 for failure to submit the report.
- When closing a project, the PI is responsible for notifying, in writing or using the Research Ethics and Management Online (REMO), both HSSREC and the National Health Research Authority (NHRA) when ethics certification is no longer required for a project.
- In order to close an approved study, a Closing Report must be submitted in writing or through the REMO system. A Closing Report should be filed when data collection has ended and the study team will no longer be using human participants or animals or secondary data or have any direct or indirect contact with the research participants or animals for the study.
- Filing a closing report (rather than just letting your approval lapse) is important as it assists HSSREC in efficiently tracking and reporting on projects. Note that some funding agencies and sponsors require a notice of closure from the IRB which had approved the study and can only be generated after the Closing Report has been filed.
- A reprint of this letter shall be done at a fee.

- All protocol modifications must be approved by HSSREC by way of an application for an amendment prior to implementation unless they are intended to reduce risk (but must still be reported for approval). Modifications will include any change of investigator/s or site address or methodology and methods. Many modifications entail minimal risk adjustments to a protocol and/or consent form and can be made on an Expedited basis (via the IRB Chair). Some examples are: format changes, correcting spelling errors, adding key personnel, minor changes to questionnaires, recruiting and changes, and so forth. Other, more substantive changes, especially those that may alter the risk-benefit ratio, may require Full Board review. In all cases, except where noted above regarding subject safety, any changes to any protocol document or procedure must first be approved by HSSREC before they can be implemented.

Should you have any questions regarding anything indicated in this letter, please do not hesitate to get in touch with us at the above indicated address.

On behalf of HSSREC, we would like to wish you all the success as you carry out your



study. Yours faithfully,

Dr. J.I. Ziwa

DR. J. I. Ziwa

**ACTING CHAIRPERSON
THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA HUMANITIES AND
SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE - IRB**

cc: Director, Directorate of Research and Graduate Studies
Assistant Director (Research), Directorate of Research and Graduate Studies
Assistant Registrar (Research), Directorate of Research and Graduate Studies