

**THE HISTORY OF THE CONGO EVANGELISTIC  
MISSION/COMMUNAUTÉ  
PENTECÔTISTE AU ZAÏRE FROM 1915 TO 1982**

**VOLUME ONE: THE COLONIAL YEARS 1915-1959**

by

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## SUMMARY

This thesis is a study of the History of the Congo Evangelistic Mission and the Church which it founded – *La Communauté Pentecôtiste au Zaïre*.

Chapter one contains a background of the origins of the Mission, its founders, and the establishment of the first Station at Mwanza in Central Katanga.

In Chapter two I describe the development of the Mission, outline the expansion of its work up to 1960 and look at some of the most important doctrines and practices of this Pentecostal Mission. I also view the place of education in evangelism and the particular form of the government of the Mission on the field and at home.

Chapter three is concerned with the background to the people among whom the missionaries worked. I outline the state of the society when the missionaries arrived in 1915 and survey Luban religion.

Chapter four is concerned with relationships, or the lack of them, between the Mission and the Belgian Government, Catholics, Kitawala, and religious societies.

Chapter five looks at the 'healer-prophets' in the Church before Independence.

Chapter six expands this 'prophetic' aspect as it examines the phenomena surrounding the appearance of the new prophets, better known in Shaba as the *Balombi*. This movement is one of the most significant developments in the Church during the postcolonial era.

Chapter seven looks at the Church since 1960. After the 'troubles' of the 1960s there is remarkable growth and expansion. I also note the changing role of the missionary, the place of the *Eglise du Christ au Zaïre* in local church policies, and trends toward centralisation, and regionalism. The centralisation is evident in the introduction of a written constitution (*Règlement d'Ordre Intérieur*) in 1982.

In conclusion, I note that the growth of the 1960s has levelled off and that the Church has become increasingly bureaucratic and remote as far as the member is concerned. I suggest that the Church is going to have to change its strategy if it wishes to maintain its place as a relevant organisation in today's Zaïre.

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## **PREFACE**

### **To Digitised Edition**

I have had many requests for copies of the original dissertation which was presented to the University of Aberdeen for the degree of Ph.D. in 1983. Because that research was presented at a time prior to the day of the computer it was no simple matter to make copies available and because of the considerable length of the work it has never been published.

Several attempts were made to scan the dissertation but for a number of reasons none of them were satisfactory. Finally, with much encouragement from Mattersey Hall I have been persuaded that it was time to make this work available for a wider readership and especially for those who are interested in Mission and Central African History.

Because of the lapse of time I have been given the choice of undertaking a radical overhaul of the entire work in the light of present day changes or to present it as it was originally with minor changes in punctuation and other stylistic matters in the presentation. I have opted for the latter because this is meant to be a representation of the original thesis and not a revision of that presentation. A new edition is certainly needed but that will have to await an ensemble which includes the intervening years since the end of the period covered by this work, something which I am presently working toward.

This means that I have changed the style in things such as the plural 'we' but have not changed names such as Zaïre for today's Democratic Republic of Congo. Shaba remains just that rather than the reversion to Katanga. Pagination has had to change in this new edition and is separate in each volume. I have also moved some material from the footnotes to the Appendices where it has been judged necessary to do so. This means that the numbering in the Appendices will be different from that which was used in the original presentation but the contents in the overall work has not been changed. Any obvious errors have been corrected in things such as names. The declarations necessary in the university's copy of the original have been omitted but the summary has been maintained.

I wish to underline the fact that the length of the dissertation which, even when I first presented it, was beyond the University's limits, was due to the expressed will of my adviser –Andrew F. Walls - who maintained continually that 'if I did not write it no one would'. This was mostly due the fact of my presence in the Katanga (previously Shaba) and my facility with the languages involved in the research (French, Kiluba, Kisongye\*, Swahili and English) as well as my personal involvement in the ecclesiastical scene of a significant part of the post-Independence life of Zaire at the time.

The reason for the copious footnotes and their content was that much that was used from archival sources was very difficult to find and I anticipated even at that time their total loss. Most civil servants in Zaire at the time I was doing my research were certainly not aware of the value of the archives they held. They often threw out large amounts of material to make room for new. It was not uncommon to find materials outside in the dustbins or blowing in the streets. Since that time the country has been through a civil war and much of what was available in the 1980s has been destroyed. Based on this fact alone my inclusion of much of these relevant papers has, in my estimation, proven to be wise and hopefully researchers on this and parallel subjects will, in the future, be able to benefit from the inclusion of this extra material even if it adds considerably to the word count. The portions in French are for the most part not translated while the significant documents in Kiluba have been so that researchers will not have the task of struggling with that language.

For clarification's sake the two volumes have been named separately to indicate the distinct character under review in each as well as the chronology of both.

David J. Garrard Mattersey, January 2008

\* I do not speak Kisongye but it is close enough to Kiluba that I have been able to read documents and profit from the help of Songye translators where it has been necessary.

## PREFACE To Original Typed Edition

Soon after my arrival in Zaire in 1973 I became interested in the history of the CEM/ZEM and the Church which it had founded. Although I did not anticipate writing a study of the present kind, I nevertheless, gathered information continually until 1980 when it was decided to undertake this present work. Although there are books which have been written about the CEM and its pioneers there is no research at all on the history of the entire period, which includes a study of the Mission and the Church. In addition to this, nothing has been written which presents the views of the Africans involved. There is also nothing which presents the point of view of the other sides involved in the history of the period. For this reason this present study is unique.

I have depended heavily upon oral sources for much of this history and although I realise that oral sources tend to be subjective I also know that history is also made up of realities at different levels. I have been fortunate in having many sources and so have been able to question different people about the same events. I have also been able to speak to most of the informants in their own language except for a few who did not speak Kiluba. Only at Kabinda did I have to use an interpreter who spoke to me in French. I acknowledge all who spent time giving me their version of events past and views of the present.

Some parts of the study rest heavily upon the writings of W.F.P. Burton and Harold Womersley. I do not need to apologise since both men played an important part in the history of the CEM and both men were unique in the way they recorded so much of what had taken place. Although Max Moorhead compiled the reports and letters of Burton and Salter in: *Missionary Pioneering in Congo Forests*, I have regarded this as being Burton's work. He read the manuscript and there are annotations made by him in the text. Womersley received much of his information about the earlier years from Burton. Other written sources belonging to Burton which were used by Womersley are no longer available. I thank Harold Womersley for the time he spent with me talking about the colonial years. I spent a week at Bedford in 1918 and have questioned him on other occasions since then. He has also written me a number of letters in reply to questions I have had.

David Womersley has also been a great help since he helps span the years from the old to the new and is an important link with the colonial years living in the present. He knows many of the reasons for the way things are done in the Church today because he has been in conferences and committees when matters were discussed. He knows the reasons for the minutes that were passed. Ngoy wa Kyulu is one of Lubaland's wise old men. He has been able to explain to me much of the organisation of the *bulopwe* (kingdom, kingship) since he is of the royal line of the Bunda chiefs and should have been the *Mulopwe* himself had he not rejected the position.

I need to note the difficulty of spelling. Because Kiluba and Kisongye were first reduced to writing by missionaries there is no one correct way of spelling certain words and names. There is no literature available in these languages other than in books published by the missions. The Catholics write 'lightning' – *nzazi* – while the Protestants write it – *nzaji*. The Belgian Government officials left off the nasals in the front of most words so that Ngoy became Goy and Nkulu became Kulu. There is also a difficulty of the vowels. Ngoy can also be written Ngoie, Ngoi or Ngoy. Sometimes the same person will spell his own name different ways on different occasions. I have tried to be consistent but sometimes the context has forced me to use the Belgian spelling where there is also a Luban or Songye way.

Kikondja appears on the map (if it is a good one) but the correct name is Kinkondja. I have called the *Mulopwe* (King, chief) Kinkondja while I have written the place as Kikondja. Also in connection with spellings and names is a matter of people's names in Zaire. During the colonial days most people had Europeanised names as well as African names. Sometimes the Europeanised names are written as they were pronounced i.e. Ephraim as Efaladimi or sometimes they were written as a cross between the two i.e. Efraim or Efrayim or even Efrayimi. People are known by different names in different places so that you can think you have found another man only to find later that it is the same person. When Mfumu Mulwila goes home to Kikondja he is Henri. If you were to ask where Mfumu Mulwila was they would not know who you were talking about. It is not uncommon for a person to

change his or her name even when they are adults or to add another which is liked and used more frequently. There is no such thing as a family name among the Baluba.

During the research on the section which involves the Catholics and the CEM I first consulted the archives of the Episcopate at Kamina. This was the area previously served by the Franciscans. There was little in the archives in the way of documentation on the period so that most of the information on the Catholics has come from the archives of the Pères du Saint Esprit held at Cheveilly La rue outside Paris. One might be tempted to think that this will present us with an unbalanced picture of the CEM-Catholic relations during the colonial period, but this is not correct. From evidence gleaned in other places I had discovered that what was true of the strategy of one order was generally true of another. It was only a matter of detail in policy that differed. In addition to this, the Spiritans were the order with which the CEM had most to do during the earliest years of the work in the Congo.

I am deeply grateful to Pastor and Mrs. Alwyne Pearson and their family for their open house. It was they who lodged my wife, son and I during the duration of our stay in Aberdeen and without them I would not have been able to undertake this research. Our thanks are due to the congregation of King Street Assembly of God, Bethshan Tabernacle and the 'Nook' for their support while we have been in Britain and for their interest in this entire project. Roy and Marion Leeming kindly lent me the negatives to a number of the photographs which I have used in this thesis. David Syson helped with two of the maps and the graph on statistics of the CEM. My wife Ruth has been an endless source of encouragement throughout this research and had the thankless task of typing most of the manuscript. My sincere thanks go to her and to my son Gregory who has had to do without a father while this work has been in preparation. I acknowledge my debt to Ronald E. Wright, our friend and former mentor, who taught me the little I know about thinking critically and to Professor Andrew F. Walls for his provocative questioning and probing throughout his guidance of this work.

## ABREVIATIONS

AABruxelles	Archives Africaines: Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, Bruxelles
AAOG-OMCNottingham	Archives Assemblies of God Overseas Missionary Council, Nottingham [Now Donald Gee Archives-Mattersey Hall, Mattersey]
AB	Administrative Board
ABFMS	American Baptist Foreign Mission Society
ACPZ	Archives of the Communauté Pentecôtiste au Zaïre
ADRBJSaba	Archives Division Régionale Bureau de Justice, Saba
AIMO	Affaires Indigènes et de la Main d'œuvre
AMLSBukavu	Archives de la Mission Libre Suédoise, Bukavu
AOG	Assemblies of God
APCM	American Presbyterian Congo Mission
ARBAPShaba	Archives Régional Bureau d'Affaires Politiques, Shaba
ARS	Archives de la Région, Shaba
ASp.	Archives des Pères du Saint Esprit
ASRHLKamina	Archives de la Sous-Région du Haut Lomami, Kamina
ASRKabinda	Archives de la Sous-Région du Kabinda
AZEMKamina	Archives of the Zaire Evangelistic Mission, Kamina
AZEMPreston	Archives of the Zaire Evangelistic Mission, Preston
AZKamina	Archives de la Zone Kamina
AZMNKulu	Archives de la Zone Malemba Nkulu
<i>BJI</i>	<i>Bulletin des Juridictions Indigènes du Droit Coutumier Congolais</i>
BMS	Baptist Missionary Society
<i>BTC</i>	<i>Bulletin des Tribunaux Coutumiers</i>
CEM	Congo Evangelistic Mission
CEPSI	Centre d'Etude des Problèmes Sociaux Indigènes
CEPZA	Communauté des Eglises de Pentecôte au Zaïre

CFL	Compagnie du Chemin de Fer des Grands Lacs
CMA	Christian and Missionary Alliance
CPC	Conseil Protestant du Congo (Congo Protestant Council)
CPZ	Communauté Pentecôtiste au Zaïre
CKS	Comité Spécial du Katanga
DGPP	David Garrard Private Papers
DWPP	David Womersley Private Papers
EC	Executive Council
ECZ	Eglise du Christ au Zaïre
ed. eds.	editor (s), editions(s)
EPCO (CEM)	Eglise Pentecôtiste du Congo (Congo Evangelistic Mission)
ft. nt.	Footnote
GACB	Genral Act of the Conference of Berlin
GEM	Garenganze Evangelical Mission
GFC	General Field Council
GRRPP	G. Robert Raymond Private Papers
HWPP	Harold Womersley Private Papers
IAI	International African Institute
<i>IRM</i>	<i>International Review of Mission(s)</i>
JEPP	John Emmett Private Papers
KHPP	Keneth Herschell Private Papers
LIM	Livingstone Inland Mission
Mgr. et T.R.P.	Monseigneur et Très Révérend Père
MJPP	Mary Jacques Private Papers
MMSC	Mission Méthodiste du Sud Congo (American Episcopal Congo Mission)
MPMU	Minutes of the Pentecostal Missionary Union
MS	Manuscript
MSS	Manuscripts

NKPP	Ngoy wa Kyulu Private Papers
NMPP	Ngoie Mpanya Kaputula Private Papers
NT	New Testament
OT	Old Testament
OUP	Oxford University Press
PAOC	Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada
PC	Personnalité civile (Civil Recognition)
PMU	Pentecostal Missionary Union
P.V.	Procès-Verbal
RC	Representative Council
RDJK	Revue de Droit et Jurisprudence du Katanga
<i>RFBWFPB</i>	<i>Report from Bro. W.F.P. Burton</i>
RMPP	Ronald Monot Private Papers
SMAPB	Société des Missionnaires d'Afrique (Père Blancs)
SMF	Svenska Missions Förbundet
UP	University Press
ZEM	Zaire Evangelistic Mission

## MAPS, PLATES AND TABLES

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## CHAPTER ONE

### ORIGINS OF THE CONGO EVANGELISTIC MISSION

#### A) The Background.

The Congo Evangelistic Mission<sup>1</sup> has its roots in the Pentecostal movement which spread across North America and Europe during the early part of the 20th century. It is from this Pentecostal awakening, which usually dates itself from the revival of glossalalia at 312 Azusa Street in Los Angeles California on the 9 April 1906 that most of the large Pentecostal denominations trace their origins.<sup>2</sup> The growth of the Holiness movement and the fanning of the Evangelical flame during the days of the Welsh revival had already gone a long way to prepare the ground.

One of the forerunners in the earliest days of the Pentecostal or "Tongues" movement as it was better known: was T.B. Barratt, an Englishman by birth who had grown up in Oslo, then Christiania. He had become well-known pastor in the Methodist Church.<sup>3</sup> Barratt had gone to America on a fund raising tour, which in fact turned out to be a thorough failure; however, while he was there he heard what was going on at Azusa Street and decided to investigate for himself. In November of 1906 he experienced an "infilling of the Holy Spirit" when he spoke in tongues. It was this infilling that inspired him with renewed vision so that when he returned to Norway he soon became the medium by which the Pentecostal movement was broadcast across much of Scandinavia and Great Britain.<sup>4</sup>

Alexander Boddy, the vicar of all Saints Anglican Church, Sunderland, had been much attracted by what he had heard in reports coming out of Norway. He decided to go to Oslo to visit with Barratt and to find out more details of this revival of tongues. Seemingly he was greatly impressed by what he saw and managed to persuade Barratt to visit his church at Sunderland. This visit took place during August of 1907.<sup>5</sup> Thus it was that Sunderland became an important centre in the spread of the tongues movement during its earliest days in Britain and Boddy one of its leading exponents.

Another leader of considerable importance in the then growing movement in Britain was Cecil Polhill, of the China Inland Mission, one of the famous 'Cambridge Seven'. He had made a trip to Los Angeles to find out if the phenomenon was really of God, and it was while he was visiting in a home near Azusa Street that he too received a Pentecostal baptism.<sup>6</sup> Both Polhill and Boddy played a direct part in the formation of the Congo Evangelistic Mission.<sup>7</sup> Both these men were influential in the founding of the Pentecostal Missionary Union, which was for a long time the missionary organ of the

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<sup>1</sup> Hereafter called the CEM. When the Congo changed its name to Zaire in 1972 the CEM became the Zaire Evangelistic Mission. For this reason when I mentioned the mission after the name change I will call it the ZEM : cf. Walter J. Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals*, English translation by R. A. Wilson, London: SCM, 1972, pp. 22-26, 63

<sup>2</sup> The major Pentecostal denominations today are: the Assemblies of God (USA, Britain, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and elsewhere); the Apostolic Faith Church (with branches on several continents); the Church of God (especially in the USA); The Elim Church (Britain and Ireland); Foursquare Gospel Church (USA and Canada); the Free Churches of Norway and Sweden; the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada; the Pentecostal Holiness Church (USA with missionary churches in many places); this is not meant to be a complete list and does not include the Pentecostal churches in Third World countries, Africa, India, Asia, Japan, South America, Central America, and Oceania which in many cases were missionary churches, or independent charismatic churches which are often larger than the parent body. For a clear look at the commencements of the Pentecostal church during the 20th Century consult: Walter J. Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals*; Donald Gee, *Wind and Flame* incorporating the former work: *The Pentecostal movement*. With additional chapters, Nottingham: AOG Publishing House, 1967; Alfred Missen: *The Sound of a Going: The Story of Assemblies Of God*. Nottingham: AOG Publishing House, 1973; Zelma Argue, *Contending for the Faith*. Second ed. rev., Winnipeg: Messenger of God Publishing House, 1928; Gloria G. Kulbeck, *What God Hath Wrought*, Toronto, The Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, 1958; Ethel Goss, *The Winds of God*, New York: Comet Press Books, 1958; Stanley Frodsham, *With Signs Following*, Springfield, Missouri, Gospel Publishing House, 1946; Frank Bartleman, *Another Wave Rolls In*, Northridge, California: Voice Publications, 1962; cf. T. B. Barratt, *In the Days of the Latter Rain*, London, Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co., 1909.

<sup>3</sup> A. Missen, *The Sound of a Going*, p. 2; cf. D.Gee, *Wind and Flame*, p. 14.

<sup>4</sup> Missen, *op. cit.* p. 2; Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals*, pp. 63, 64.

<sup>5</sup> Missen, *op. cit.* p. 2; D.Gee, *op.cit.* pp.20-23.

<sup>6</sup> Missen, *op. cit.*, p.2; D.Gee, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

<sup>7</sup> This was because of their role in the Pentecostal Mission Union (PMU) and their contacts with Burton and Salter who later left the PMU to start their own work evangelistic Mission.

independent Pentecostal churches that were growing up all over Britain.<sup>8</sup> It is this organ which was later incorporated into the missionary arm of the Assemblies of God of Great Britain and Ireland in 1925.<sup>9</sup>

One cannot get very far into a history of the Congo Evangelistic Mission without mentioning its cofounders, William F. P. Burton and James Salter. It has been easier to find sources that tell of Burton's earlier life, than it has of Salter's. Apart from a few passing mentions there is little available on the early years of the cofounder of the CEM. Nevertheless, for many the CEM was Burton. Often, it was spoken as of Burton's mission.<sup>10</sup> William F. P. Burton, son of a ship's captain who was, Commodore of the Cunard fleet,<sup>11</sup> was born at Liverpool on 24 March 1886 while his father's ship was in dock.<sup>12</sup> He was raised in the Reigate-Redhill area of Surrey under the godly example of his mother and family who were all evangelical Christians.<sup>13</sup> Burton was brought up in an evangelical Anglican church where he was later confirmed by the Archbishop of Canterbury.<sup>14</sup> At an early age he showed interest in Africa; first this was the result of reading a book about Bishop Hannington's work in Uganda but later this interest was developed through a friendship with an old African by the name of Thomas L. Johnson. The latter had been a slave in America who after his release became an evangelist.<sup>15</sup> Burton recalls that the friendship with Johnson, even though at the tender age of six, had influenced him considerably. "I well remember the old fellow placing his hands on my head, and asking God to send me to his people in Africa".<sup>16</sup>

In spite of his upbringing, Burton claimed that he lacked spiritual commitment as a youth.<sup>17</sup> After a public school education at Ramsgate in Kent, he studied at Redhill Technical College and later took up a post with an electrical engineering firm at Preston, Lancashire.<sup>18</sup> This appointment took him to Batley, Yorkshire on a new tramway construction. It was while he was residing in Batley that Burton made a visit to London where he attended meetings held by the evangelists R.A. Torrey and Charles Alexander.<sup>19</sup> He apparently was considerably moved by what he heard and writes that he came under great conviction of sin which upon his return to Batley caused him to kneel beside his bed and pray.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>8</sup> The PMU was formed on 9 January, 1909 with Cecil Polhill as its first president; cf. A. Missen, *op. cit.* p. 60; D. Gee, *op. cit.*, p.46.

<sup>9</sup> A. Missen, *op.cit.*, p.61; D. Gee, *op. cit.*, p. 46; The Assemblies of God in Britain (AOG) was founded by leaders of Pentecostal churches throughout Britain when they saw the need for closer cooperation between the independent groups, which, for the most part, had been ostracized by the mainline denominations. This took place in 1924.

<sup>10</sup> 'MPMU-12/1/1923, No.7' bears the title "Mr. and Mrs. Richardson and Mr. Burton's Mission"; Burton was from a family of some note. His grandfather had been a Colonel in the Indian army and had later spent a number of years preaching to negro slaves in America; the same man was also one of the leading figures in establishing the 'Open Brethren' assembly at Shrewsbury Hall near the White House. Burton's mother, née Padwick, was of the Marlborough house, and his aunt had spent twenty years as a missionary with the China Inland Mission; cf. H. Womersley, *Wm. F. P. Burton: Congo Pioneer*, London, Victory Press, 1973, pp. 21, 22.

<sup>11</sup> H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, p. 22; cf. Max W. Moorhead, Compiler, *Missionary Pioneering in Congo Forests: A Narrative of the Labours of William F. P. Burton and his Companions in the Native Villages of Luba-Land*, A compilation of letters and reports, Preston, n.pub., 1922, p. 2.

<sup>12</sup> H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, p. 21; Missen, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

<sup>13</sup> Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, p. 22.

<sup>14</sup> W. Burton, *My Personal Experience of Receiving the Holy Spirit*, Luton, Bedfordshire, AOG Publishing House, n.d., p. 2.

<sup>15</sup> Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, pp. 2,3; cf. on this released slave his own autobiography: Thomas L. Johnson, *Twenty-Eight Years a Slave: or the Story of my Life in Three Continents*, Bournemouth, W, Mate and Sons, 1909; It is interesting to note that Johnson was for some years a missionary; he was involved with the American Baptist Missionary Union (ABMU) in the Congo; he was also involved with the African Mission; cf. p. 230.

<sup>16</sup> W.F.P. Burton, *My Personal Testimony*, Published cassette recording, Bedford, Bunyan Recordings, n.d., side one; in this recording Burton mentions this same event and says that from the time that he was just a young boy he knew he had been called to Africa.

<sup>17</sup> Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p. 4; cf. H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, pp. 24,25.

<sup>18</sup> Burton went to public school at St. Laurence College Ramsgate, Kent and left there at the age of seventeen in 1903. He then went to Redhill Technical College and worked for Dick, Kerr and Company at Preston, now part of General Electric. He also spent some time doing part-time courses in electrical engineering at the University of Liverpool. This information has been given me by H. Womersley, Letter, Bedford, 8:12/1982 to author. I have not been able to verify this information from other sources. A visit to St. Laurence College Ramsgate was unfruitful because records only commenced after this date. Redhill Technical College has been reorganised several times and does not have records going back to that date. cf. H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, p. 25.

<sup>19</sup> W. Burton, *My Personal Experience*, p. 2; cf. H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, p. 25.

<sup>20</sup> In Burton's letter reproduced in Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p. 5, Burton gives the date for his conversion as 3/8/1905, but in his recording *My Personal Testimony*, side one, he says it was on 18/8/1905.

I'm only a lost undeserving sinner, O God, but I take the Lord Jesus to be my Saviour, and please take me to be thy servant. I ask this in Jesus' Name. (Moorhead, *op. cit.*, p. 5)

Burton soon got involved in testifying and preaching under the tutorship of one James Gilchrist, an evangelist from Bradford who was holding a campaign at Batley.<sup>21</sup> Some months after his conversion, while studying the Bible he became more and more convinced that baptism for the Christian was to be upon confession of faith in Jesus Christ alone. Again he believed that if one were to follow through with the Scriptural imagery of death, and resurrection that this baptism would have to be by immersion.<sup>22</sup> Burton had been baptised by sprinkling as an infant in the Anglican Church but decided that he would be rebaptised. This rebaptism generated considerable criticism from some members of his family although presumably others who were of the Brethren persuasion would have been happy enough.<sup>23</sup> Years later when he spoke of his confirmation in the Anglican Church he called it "a confirmation in sin".<sup>24</sup> Infant baptism was, as we shall see later in connection with the Pentecostal Missionary Union, to become a real bone of contention as far as Burton was concerned.

Harold Womersley, a pioneer missionary of the CEM and one of Burton's close associates for many years, mentions that at this stage of his life Burton was as "impetuous as Moses" and wanted immediately to rush off to the furthest ends on the earth, yet he was not to leave the shores of England for another eight years.<sup>25</sup>

Once his work at Batley was terminated he was transferred back to Preston where Burton says that he united in Christian fellowship with a group which wished "to be known by no other name than those given in the Bible - Christians, brethren, children of God, saints, believers, etc." <sup>26</sup> It is not clear exactly what affiliation this group of Christians might have had but it would seem that they were inclined to the position of Open Brethren more than anything else. They gathered together under the leadership of Thomas Myerscough who was an estate agent by profession.<sup>27</sup>

During the time that he attended these meetings Burton says that he had an insatiable desire to be filled with the power of God as had been promised to the disciples in Luke 24:49 and elsewhere.<sup>28</sup> He began to attend all the well-known conventions of the day including Keswick but he says in retrospect: "Soon I was as dry as before".<sup>29</sup> He must have been motivated somewhat in his search by his fellows in the Preston assembly since it was during this time that, as a group, they seem to come to the decision that there must be more to the Christian life and experience than was theirs. Of course, by this time news of what was going on at Sunderland and elsewhere began to filter through to them.<sup>30</sup> A delegation was dispatched to find out what it was all about and upon the return disclosed that they were certain that this was a genuine movement of God. Nevertheless, since not all were convinced it was decided that the only way to decide the question was to undertake a thorough study of the Person and work of the Holy Spirit in the Scriptures; the search took them over year.<sup>31</sup> Finally, they concluded that it was only as a result of unbelief and a total failure on the part of Christians to follow the teaching of the Scriptures that the gifts of the Holy Spirit had dropped out of use. Within a

<sup>21</sup> Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p. 5; H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, p.26.

<sup>22</sup> W. Burton, *My Personal Experience*, p. 3; H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, p. 27.

<sup>23</sup> *Supra*, ft. nt. 22.

<sup>24</sup> W. Burton, *My Personal Experience*, p. 2.

<sup>25</sup> H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, p. 27; Burton in Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p. 5 says that he could not leave immediately because of commitments to an invalid mother and a sister.

<sup>26</sup> Burton in Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p. 5.

<sup>27</sup> In an interview with H. Womersley at Bedford on 25/7/1980 he stated that although Burton had an Evangelical Anglican background, he later became involved in the Preston group which tended to be more along the lines of the Open Brethren. This would be in accord with what John carter wrote to the author when he said that Thomas Myerscough came into the Pentecostal experience from a Plymouth Brethren assembly; Letter, Mattersey Hall, Mattersey, Yorkshire, 8/7/1980; Burton's ordination certificate from the "Preston Christian Assembly" is dated on 18/6/1911 and is signed by Thomas Myerscough (Overseer), AZEM [now CAM] Preston; A. Missen, *The Sound of a Going*, p.15 says that the work at Preston had its beginnings in 1908, this may have been later than the actual commencement; Burton, in Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p. 6 says that he was privileged to sit at Myerscough's feet for five years continuously, but this does not help us establish the date since we do not know if he included the time after he left Preston for full-time ministry although he would not have counted this as 'continuous'. If we count five years from the time he resigned his job that would date his going to Preston in 1906 since he left Dick, Kerr and Co. in 1911. However, this would then conflict with Missen's date of 1908.

<sup>28</sup> H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, p. 5.

<sup>29</sup> W. Burton, *My Personal Experience*, p. 5; Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p. 5

<sup>30</sup> D. Gee, *Wind and Flame*, p. 54.

<sup>31</sup> W. Burton, *My Personal Experience*, p. 7.

very short time Thomas Myerscough and a number of others had received their 'baptism in the Spirit' with its accompanying tongues and other phenomena.<sup>32</sup> In spite of this, Burton remained at first somewhat sceptical, at least inwardly so. He says that he had had a couple lay hands on him for the 'baptism' but that he was not filled.<sup>33</sup> He had heard tongues speaking during the Welsh revival but had not understood it nor was he greatly impressed by it,<sup>34</sup> and so the gnawing doubts persisted.<sup>35</sup> At Lytham, not far from Preston, there was another small group of Pentecostals that gathered regularly for worship and Burton decided to pay them a visit.<sup>36</sup> He was greatly impressed by what he saw, especially the genuine love for the Scriptures and for one another exhibited in practical sharing in the needs of the members. Even so, he was a little troubled by some of the manifestations he saw which included among others: people falling to the floor, trembling, groaning, and laughing. He would have written them off but decided that Acts 2 might shed some light on the matter. When he read that even the apostles had been accused of being drunks as a result of this Holy Spirit baptism, Burton felt that perhaps the things that he had seen were nothing over which to be unduly worried.<sup>37</sup>

For a long time he sought after this baptism but it seemed to always evade him. Burton says that he went through a time of deep soul-searching during which confession of all known sin was made.<sup>38</sup> Finally, one day when he was waiting upon God in prayer, he began to praise God in other tongues. This took place during the Preston convention in February 1911.<sup>39</sup>

Burton had always been an active witness to his faith but from this point he spent all his free time preaching in open-air meetings all over Preston and in surrounding villages.<sup>40</sup> Nelson Parr, the well-known Pentecost leader from Bethshan Tabernacle and Manchester, and one of the founder members of what became the Assemblies of God, tells how that once while Burton was walking from Preston to Manchester, so as to harden himself up for missionary life, "...he led a young man to accept the Lord Jesus as his personal Saviour and immediately he baptised him in water in a pond".<sup>41</sup> It was also at this time that Burton, who throughout his life held an aversion for ecclesiastical titles, began to look upon himself as "just a tramp preacher" for the Lord. Womersley says that this was the title that stuck with him for the rest of his life.<sup>42</sup>

T. Myerscough and his group met twice weekly for study in Bible doctrine and practical Theology. During these times of discussion they would talk about the burden on the Christian to go into all the world and to preach to the non-Christian nations. Many of the members felt more and more that they were responsible to spread the gospel themselves.<sup>43</sup> Preston Assembly soon became known amongst the Pentecostal churches as a church with a missionary vision. Myerscough was an extremely capable Bible teacher and for this reason, the Pentecostal Missionary Union decided to send their male trainees to Preston for their preparation. The PMU had been founded by Polhill and others in 1909, specifically for the needs of the Yunnan field in China but later sent missionaries to many fields.<sup>44</sup> For this reason some of the better-known names in British Pentecostal circles including: George Jeffreys, E.J. Phillips, William Burton, James Salter, Teddy Hodgson, F. Johnston, James McNeil and Francis Jensen were trained at Preston.<sup>45</sup>

Burton felt more and more committed in terms of missionary work in Africa. He recalls how:

<sup>32</sup> Thomas Myerscough received his 'baptism in the Spirit' at the Sunderland Convention in 1909.

<sup>33</sup> W. Burton, *My Personal Experience*, p.5.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 7,8.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.9,10; cf. Missen, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

<sup>37</sup> W. Burton, *My Personal Experience*, p. 11.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p.12; Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p. 5; W. Burton, 'My Fiftieth Anniversary 1914-1964'. *CEMR*, No. 333 August 1964, p. 1

<sup>40</sup> H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, pp. 29, 30.

<sup>41</sup> J.N. Parr, 'Foreword' in *Congo Pioneer*, p. 11.

<sup>42</sup> H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, p.29.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 29.

<sup>44</sup> Missen, *op. cit.*, p. 15; 'MPMU-19/4/1912' No. 3, speaks of Burton in the men's training school at Preston; 'MPMU-20/11/1913', No. 16 indicates that Myerscough was seeking added finances for each student in the school; John Carter, Letter, Mattersey, 8/7/1980 to author; cf. D. Gee, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

<sup>45</sup> Cf., H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, pp. 30,31; A. Missen, *op. cit.*, p. 15; D. Gee, *op.cit.*, pp. 54,55, 68; George Jeffreys with E.J. Phillips were co-founders of the Elim movement in Britain; W. Burton, J. Salter, F. D. Johnstone and E. Hodgson were all members of the CEM in Congo; James McNeil was a well known leader from the independent church at Kilsyth (near Glasgow) and Frances Jameson went to South America as a missionary. Not all of these men were at Preston at the same time.

Often in the night, in my own room, my pleadings in the Spirit for the heathen became almost intolerable sometimes a sad African native, with a yearning look and a white growth over his eye, drew near my bed as I lay longing and praying. He gazed so long at me, and looked so beseechingly that I could not mistake the meaning of the vision. (Burton in Moorhead, *op. cit.*, p.17)

Later when he was in Basutoland (Lesotho), he saw this very man in one of his meetings.<sup>46</sup>

We have already seen how eager Burton was after his conversion to rush off to the mission field-any mission field.<sup>47</sup> He tells the story himself of how he contacted several missionary societies<sup>48</sup> and in his recording entitled: *My Personal Testimony* remembers the frustration and disappointment at being told by a missionary society, which remained unnamed, that he was not what they were looking for.<sup>49</sup> Since Burton believed that his first goal was to the 'black man' and not at this point to Congo, he was not concerned too much about any specific area of Black Africa.<sup>50</sup>

At one point Burton contacted C.E. Hurlburt of the African Inland Mission. Hurlburt had previously been approached by the PMU to see if there was any way that the AIM could take a number of their own missionary candidates from the Preston Training School.<sup>51</sup> Burton had also been to see Dr. Karl Kumm of the Sudan United Mission while he was in Liverpool, but neither of these contacts planned out<sup>52</sup> and in his communications with the PMU Burton mentions the possibility of working with a certain J. Young in West Africa and of getting down to the study of Hausa. However, it would appear that his close friends T. Myerscough and J.N. Parr were against this idea and managed to talk him out of going there. This is probably because the mission was antagonistic to the Pentecostal doctrine.<sup>53</sup>

It would appear that initially Burton was reconciled to the idea of being sent out to Africa under the auspices of the PMU; he was in the PMU training school and he attended the PMU Council meeting in April 1912 to "ascertain what arrangements had been made for his going forth as a missionary".<sup>54</sup> In fact it had been proposed at the Sunderland convention in 1913 that Burton work with the Congo Inland Mission, which at that time was interdenominational.<sup>55</sup> In 1913 Mr. Claudon, the Secretary of the CIM, informed Burton and F. Johnstone, another PMU candidate, that they had been accepted as missionaries to work with the CIM.<sup>56</sup>

However, something seems to have bothered Burton about the way in which the PMU Council made their decisions. In October 1913, after he had been provisionally accepted as a missionary of the PMU seconded to the CIM, he wrote a letter to all the members of the Council in which he scathingly attacked Boddy for the way in which he continued in his Anglican teachings, especially criticizing them for his baptism of infants by sprinkling.<sup>57</sup> Burton concluded his letter to the Council by stating:

<sup>46</sup> Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p. 7; H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, p.33.

<sup>47</sup> See *supra.*, ft.nt. 43; C. Irvine, *The Church of Christ in Zaire: A Handbook of Protestant Churches, Missions and Communities, 1878-1978*, Indianapolis, Division of Overseas Ministries, Christian Church, 1978, p. 68.

<sup>48</sup> Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p. 5; W. Burton, 'My Fiftieth Anniversary 1914-1964' *CEMR*, No. 333, August 1964, p. 1.

<sup>49</sup> W. Burton, *My Person Testimony*, side one; H. Womersley, 'Congo Pioneer', pp. 28, 33 underlines this eager spirit when he writes that Burton "applied repeatedly to various evangelical mission working in Central Africa".

<sup>50</sup> W. Burton, 'Recorded Notes' n.pl., n.d.[c.1954]; These are typewritten notes taken down by H. Womersley as he interviewed Burton during their voyage from England to Capetown; Letter, Bedford, 8/12/1982 to author; these notes contain some of the highlights of Burton's early life and call to Africa as well as details of events during the first few years of his work in Congo. Some of the details are found nowhere else in any of his writings.

<sup>51</sup> The contact between Burton and Hurlburt was planned for sometime after the latter's return from Africa in 1913, but it is not certain when it actually took place; 'MPMU-19/4/1912' No. 3; Burton, 'Recorded Notes' p.1; H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, p. 33.

<sup>52</sup> W. Burton, 'Recorded Notes', p. 1; H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, p. 33.

<sup>53</sup> 'MPMU-19/4/1912' No.3 Burton said that "he had strong leadings to join Mr Young who is working alone in S. Africa" (as reported by the secretary of the meeting); however, there seems to have been an error here in reporting Burton's plans since Burton in 'Recorded Notes', p. 1 spoke of going to West Africa with J. Young. This would tie in better with him learning Hausa. It is not known who this J. Young was, but I do know that was a John Makenzie Young working at Bukuru, south of Jos in Nigeria, at about this time and that this same man returned for his second tour of service with the Sudan United Mission in November of 1908; cf. H.K. W. Kumm, *Knont-Hon-Nofer: The Lands of Ethiopia*, London; Marshall Bros., 1910, p. 43; Karl Kumm, *The Sudan, A Short Compendium of Facts and Figures about the Land of Darkness*, 2ed., London, Marshall Bros., n.d., p. 215.

<sup>54</sup> 'MPMU-19/4/1912', No. 3.

<sup>55</sup> 'MPMU-25/6/1913', No. 10.

<sup>56</sup> 'MPMU-4/9/1913', No. 7; Fred D. Johnstone was a man about whom we shall see more since he eventually joined the CEM after a term of service with the Congo Inland Mission (CIM) at Djoka Punda in the Kasai Province of the Belgian Congo; cf. D. Gee, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

<sup>57</sup> 'MPMU-20/11/1913', No. 14; W. Burton, 'Recorded Notes', p. 1; H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, pp. 32, 33.

If a policy of rule and dominion be indulged in individual guidance is set aside. . . . Am I to be led by what God tells me or by what the PMU propose to plan? (W. Burton, *Letter* 16/10/1913 n. pl. , cited in PMU minutes, number 14, 20/11/1913, AAOG-OMC Nottingham)

The Council resented this questioning of its authority and demanded that Burton write a letter of apology to Boddy. It pointed out to him that the spirit in which he had written the letter was contrary to the word given in 1 Timothy 5:1 where Paul states that a younger man is not to rebuke an elder but to treat him as a father. In addition to this, not only was Burton to submit himself to Boddy as an elder but also to the PMU as a group of elders responsible before God for his welfare.<sup>58</sup> It is not known exactly what Burton wrote in his reply to this communication but it is apparent that after the Council had considered his further letter they passed the following resolution:

. . . it was unanimously resolved that the Council could not under the existing circumstances consent to his [Burton's] being sent down by the P.M.U. as one of their Missionaries. (PMU Minutes, No.2, 10/2/1914)

Even Myerscough who had been like a father to Burton felt that he could no longer support Burton against men like Boddy and Polhill. For this reason to show his solidarity with the PMU it was he who had made the above proposition deciding that they could no longer express their confidence in what H. Womersley calls, "this young firebrand".<sup>59</sup> Burton's independence and his unorthodox ways had become too much for the Pentecost leaders of the day so that even J.N. Parr who was considered as somewhat of a rebel himself, lost interest in the man for some time.<sup>60</sup>

This left Burton completely on his own; however, C.T. Studd, who was considering starting a new work of his own in the Congo, got to hear about him. Perhaps this was through Polhill his friend from Cambridge days. Studd, according to Burton, invited him to join him "tongues at all".<sup>61</sup> Burton was not convinced that this was the right thing to do and believed that he could best serve God were he to go out to the mission field on his own. On several occasions when he later spoke of missionary policy and support he would repeat the adage: "The man who pays the piper calls the tune". By this he meant that he had no desire to look to any society which would in turn order his every move. He wanted passionately to be led by God alone.<sup>62</sup> At this time Burton was no longer part of the Preston training

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<sup>58</sup> 'MPMU-20/11/1913, No. 14; William Burton was very strong in his belief that each individual must be guided according to the will of God for him. He believed that at no time could any other pretend to having authority over him as far as divine direction was concerned other than to validate an already known call. For this reason he tried, and the CEM tried as much as possible, to leave room for all missionaries to be led and provided for on the faith principal. Perhaps this is one reason why it was so much of a diversity of action on the part of the CEM missionaries; this is highlighted by the different policies on every station. However, there is one seemingly glaring contradiction of this principle in: [ZEM] 'Guiding Principles Concerning the Government of Missionaries on the Field', typewritten document, n.pl., n.d., AZEMPreston, No. 10 declares: "All missionaries shall acknowledge the senior missionary on the station". Again in the ZEM 'Constitution' n.pl., n.d. AZEMPreston, Article 2 states that all new missionaries must sign an agreement that they will be subject to those placed over them. Perhaps it was that experience taught him that everyone cannot be a law unto themselves. Practical experience proves that there must be a certain amount of cooperation, and that generally, those who have been on the field longer than the others are in a better position to guide younger missionaries and help them to avoid needless pitfalls. Today the ZEM tries to keep a happy medium between individual guidance and group control. Wherever possible the individual's call and burden are taken into consideration when a decision is made by the Missionary Council, the ruling body of the ZEM. cf. W. Burton, 'My 50th Anniversary 1914-1964', *CEMR*. No. 333 August 1964, p.2: "On the Field...where missionaries are dependent one upon another, and all stand or fall together, it is blessed to see them in humble submission to each other".

<sup>59</sup> 'MPMU-20/11/1913' no. 14; H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, p. 33.

<sup>60</sup> H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, p. 33; on J.N. Parr and his unconventional manner cf. A. Missen, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

<sup>61</sup> Burton, 'Recorded Notes', p. 1; H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, p. 33.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. 'A Matter of Policy' typewritten article, n.pl., n.d., AAOGOMCNottingham. This article is unsigned but it clearly bears the stamp of Burton. It has to do the work of the PMU in the Kalembelembe field of the Belgian Congo; in this article not only does the author repeated his oft used phrase: "The man who pays the piper calls the tune", but he calls to question the entire organization of the PMU. He also writes about a "Church of England clergyman, who still continued to make babies into members of Christ with a few drops of water, a London solicitor who knew practically nothing of Africa, an ex missionary from China, where conditions were vastly different from those in Africa" as those who are trying to run the affairs of the PMU in Africa. These men in the order stated were: A. Boddy, Mundell and C. Polhill; cf. D. Gee, *Wind and Flame*, p. 46; there is no date attached to the article, but it was written in connection with problems experienced by Miss Noad on the Kalembelembe Field. Burton's whole thesis in this article was that because these people were responsible for the finances of the work they wanted to direct everything without knowing the real needs. He advocated that the people on the spot should be left to get on with the job as they saw best without having their hands tied by the decisions made in the PMU's council rooms in England.

centre. His mother had died in March 1911 leaving him free to decide about his future. He resigned his job and stepped out into full-time ministry at Bracknell in Berkshire and later at Lytham in Lancashire.<sup>63</sup> Nevertheless, he maintained his ties with Preston and struck up a warm friendship with James Salter.<sup>64</sup> Salter was one of the students in the training centre when one day Burton spoke to him in the street at Preston and asked him the question:

Jimmy did you think of God's command to go into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature? And did you ever consider Africa's need of the gospel message? (Burton in Moorhead, *op. cit.* p.6)

Salter states that he had thought about this challenge and that he was ready to go to Africa.<sup>65</sup> Although both men were of completely different temperament they nevertheless complemented each other remarkably. Burton had been brought up in relative wealth while Salter who was an orphan had known from the earliest what it meant to suffer deprivation; Burton enjoyed a public school education while Salter who was largely a self educated man had to leave school at the age of 12 to work an eleven and a half hour day in a cotton mill; Burton was headstrong while Salter was cautious. Burton generally spoke his mind while Salter was more withdrawn and harder to get to know.<sup>66</sup> Salter was at this point still in the Preston Bible School where he continued until the end of 1914; yet, both men felt that they were to go out to Africa together.<sup>67</sup> Three months after their discussion on the street at Preston the two men met once again in a public park in Shewsbury where they made a powerful pact that they would work together for God in whatever part of Africa to which they may be led.<sup>68</sup>

On June 5, 1914 Burton sailed to South Africa on the *S.S Galeka* bound for Durban; with the sale of several of his black-and-white sketches he had managed to get together the fourteen pounds that the third class ticket cost him.<sup>69</sup> It is interesting to note that in spite of the considerable differences that existed between Burton and the PMU, Myerscough was totally behind Burton in this missionary project. Nowhere is there record that there was any financial commitment on the part of Myerscough or the assembly at Preston or for that matter any other assembly in Britain, but this venture was given the prayerful support of the man who had been his mentor. Myerscough also promised to forward any finances to Burton that may be given to his work.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>63</sup> H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, p. 32.

<sup>64</sup> Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p. 6.

<sup>65</sup> 'By Faith, Jacob, When he was a Dying...Worshipped', ... his *CEMR*, No. 431, October 1972, p. 8; J. Salter, 'They Two went on', *CEMR*, No 85, pp. 559, 560.

<sup>66</sup> H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, pp. 34,35; David Womersley, 'The End of an Era: An appreciation from the Field', *CEMR*, No. 431, 1972, p. 4.

<sup>67</sup> It appears that Burton and Salter knew each other prior to the latter's admission to the Bible school at Preston. Salter did not leave for Africa with Burton because he was continuing with his studies; 'MPMU-22/11/1914', No. 9; 'MPMU-10/12/1914', No. 4; Burton, 'Recorded Notes', p. 1 says: "Led to go with J. Salter"; Salter wrote to the PMU from the Training school toward the latter part of 1914 expressing his desire to join Burton in South Africa. The Council replied that there was no possibility of him being sent out by the Council and requested he informed them of his final decision; 'MPMU-22/11/1914', No.9; in Salter's reply he confirmed his departure and requested to know by when he was expected to leave the school. The Council replied that he would be expected to "terminate his connection" with the centre by the end of the year, which was in effect that very same month; 'MPMU-10/12/1914', No.4.

<sup>68</sup> W. Burton, 'Recorded Notes' p.1; H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, p. 35; J. Salter, 'They Two Went on', *CEMR*, No. 85, pp. 559, 560.

<sup>69</sup> Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p. 7; H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, p. 36; some sources indicate that Burton sailed from England in May 1914, but it was in May that he felt free to leave and arrange his departure; cf. Missen, *op. cit.* p. 68; 'William Frederick Patrick Burton' a printed sheet at the funeral of W.F.P. Burton at Fairview Assemblies of God Church in Johannesburg, South Africa in January 1971, AZEMPreston (hereafter 'WFPB-Funeral') says that he sailed to S. Africa in May 1914; Philip Johns, Interview, Preston, 12/9/1983 says that as a boy growing up in the AOG church at Bury in Lancashire he had been told that Burton had been given the finances in which to purchase his ticket by one of the businesswomen in the assembly; Salter, 'They Two Went on', *CEMR*, No. 85, p. 559 says that when W. Burton left Preston he was "spiritually isolated and not permitted a farewell meeting in his own assembly". He intimates that he had the same thing happen to him when he left; *loc. cit.*, p. 560.

<sup>70</sup> H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, p. 36 says that J.N. Parr and Myerscough were behind Burton in prayer. They possibly were but it is still difficult to understand the relationship between Burton and Myerscough in the light of what Salter says when he says that he went off to South Africa without so much as a farewell meeting at Preston; cf. *supra* ft. nt. 69; Ruth Slade, *English-speaking Missions in the Congo Independent State* (1878-1908). Brussels: Duculot, 1959, p. 390 is not correct when she writes that Burton and Salter were "sent out by the British Pentecostals". They were not sent out by any group nor did they have promises of any financial backing at any time. They later became affiliated with the AOG and the Elim movements and this is probably why Ruth Slade said this.

## B) The South African Connection

It would appear that Burton had intended to become involved in missionary work in South Africa on a full-time basis. However, after he had been there only a short time he concluded that there were already too many missionaries in the country.<sup>1</sup> This feeling of his about missionary work being overdone in the south of the continent is underlined when four years after his arrival in Africa he wrote inviting helpers to become involved in the Congo. In his letter he wrote that there were vast tracts of the CEM field that were "as big as Zululand, as big as Swaziland, as big as Basutoland" without as much as a single missionary. He said that those who spoke of South Africa as a needy field were just not aware of the reality of the situation. For Burton the needs of the Congo were incomparable.<sup>2</sup> He went on to say that, once when he had preached at the mines on the Rand, he had been hard put to finish before another Protestant preacher began his meeting. In all it happened that there were five Protestant groups that had held meetings in the same compound on the same Sunday.<sup>3</sup> For this reason it was not very long before Burton began to look further afield for active service.

In spite of this apparent change of plans, this first step to South Africa turned out to be important for a number of reasons. Burton soon recognised his lack of experience. With this in mind he wrote to Myerscough of a proposed trip to Swaziland:

This will be a blessed experience for me, as I understand the new-comer makes a lot of bungles, which are apt to cause much trouble afterwards. Consequently it will be better to gain experience from other people's bungles than from my own. (Morehead, *op. cit.*, p. 11)

Many of the ideas that Burton held with regard to missionary evangelism policy must have been formed while he was in South Africa. Before he ever set foot in Congo he mentions the problems of the 'Ethiopian spirit' or the doctrine of 'Africa for the Black man', and unsupervised native evangelism.<sup>4</sup>

It was in this connection that Burton wrote of the dangerous pitfalls that so often follow a successful ministry, especially in the case of African workers. This, according to him, was due to lack a scriptural formation. He said it was aggravated by the lifeless and powerless teachings of the white man who did not teach what the Bible actually had to say. For this reason Burton adds that thousands of Africans are turned away from traditional Christian religion and become the nucleus of the Ethiopian movement.<sup>5</sup> He goes on to say that these people often outdo the Anglicans and the Catholics with their ornate robes and flamboyant ceremonies and prophesy "as to the shape of beard to be worn, or the manner in which food is to be cooked".<sup>6</sup> Burton indicates that often enthusiastic white missionaries are persuaded to adopt these 'Ethiopians'. Yet, as soon as finances have been forthcoming the leaders of the Ethiopian movement make it clear that they want nothing more to do with them. Burton says that even John G. Lake of the Dowie group had been duped in this way.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Burton, 'Recorded Notes', p. 1; Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, pp. 110-113; Edgar H. Brookes in his 'Preface' to Bengt G.M. Sundkler's, *Bantu Prophets in South Africa*, 2ed. London, OUP for the IAI, 1961 p. 3 says that South Africa is "the most over-denominationalized missionary area in Africa".

<sup>2</sup> W. Burton, *Report from Bro. W.F.P. Burton*, (Hereafter *FRWFPB*) No. 13, Bukama, 21/7/1918 published privately, pp. 3,4.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, pp. 11,12; It seems that the term Ethiopianism or Ethiopian, was first coined by Manghena Mokone an ex Wesleyan pastor who started his own indigenous church and called it 'The Ethiopian Church'. He did this to show that there was an apostolic succession from the new church to the Church of Ethiopia and its tradition. In this way he wanted to emphasize the African flavour of this new black Christian Church; cf. M. Leenhardt, *Le Mouvement Ethiopien au Sud de l'Afrique de 1896 à 1899*, Paris, Académie des /Sciences d'Outre-Mer 1976 (First published, Paris, Cahors, 1902) pp. 41-43; although I realize that these classifications are not present in Burton's day, for the clarification of this Ethiopian spirit and the Zionist independent churches in South Africa, cf. B.G.M. Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets*, pp. 45-64. Sundkler distinguishes between the Ethiopian and the Zionist movements in the following way: "theologically the Zionists are now a syncretistic Bantu movement with healing, speaking with tongues, purification rights, and taboos as the main expression of their faith"(p.55); Ethiopians are those "independent Bantu churches as have (a) seceded from wide mission churches chiefly on racial grounds, or (b) other Bantu Churches seceding from the Bantu leaders classified under (a)" (pp. 53,54).

<sup>5</sup> W. Burton, *When God Makes a Pastor*, London, Victory Press, 1934, pp. 83,84; cf. W.J. Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals*, p. 65 believes that many of the mission churches under people like J. A. Dowie, became independent too quickly.

<sup>6</sup> W. Burton, *When God Makes a Pastor*, p. 84.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 84; cf. B. Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets*, p. 48 where Lake is one of the three Americans of the Apostolic Faith who is mentioned; Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals*, pp. 65,120.

Burton believed that there were a number of reasons why too much authority should not be handed over too quickly to churches under African leadership. First, the churches of this independent type turned out to be what he called: "breeding grounds for anti-European political propaganda". By this he meant that instead of keeping to the scriptural doctrine of freedom from the chains of sin and bondage, they were apt to major on the theme of freedom from the bondage of the white man. He said that these Ethiopians would sing excitedly of "Africa for the Africans" and "drive the white man into the sea".<sup>8</sup> Burton said that many a gifted leader had been inclined to think that he was superior to all other Christians. Some exalted their position so much that they ended up being revered more than the Saviour.<sup>9</sup> To prove this point he tells of Edward Lyons from Basutoland (Lesotho) who became a hero prophet. He preached to thousands and would pray for the sick from morning to night; he finally became so convinced that he was some favoured person that he demanded almost divine reverence. It was not long, however, before he fell into immorality and disgrace and was imprisoned before he was banished from Basutoland.<sup>10</sup>

It would be therefore, naïve to say that his stay in South Africa did not greatly colour Burton's thoughts on indigenous church government in the Belgian Congo in the years that followed. Yet from what we are able to ascertain he was far more liberal in his thinking than many of his contemporaries in the CEM. He believed that responsibility must be placed upon the shoulders of the Congolese Church leaders as soon as it was practically feasible.<sup>11</sup>

We have already seen that when Burton arrived in South Africa he was on his own without official backing. This did not stop him from becoming involved with groups of Pentecostals in the Transvaal and elsewhere. Through these contacts he worked with existing churches and missions, and especially those set up under the Apostolic Faith Mission and the Full Gospel Church.<sup>12</sup> Another was the Pentecostal Mission which had been started by George Bowie from Bethel Pentecostal Assembly, in Newark, New Jersey. This Mission which had been incorporated in the Transvaal made its headquarters in Johannesburg.<sup>13</sup> It later agreed to Burton and Salter entering the Belgian Congo under its auspices.

As Burton worked with the different Pentecostal fellowships so he became well-known as a man who loved to teach from the Bible and a man that was being used of God to perform signs and healings. On one occasion a young boy who suffered from ulcerated sores on his face was healed instantaneously after prayer; another time Burton prayed for a boy with a special boot. The boy cried out in pain, causing considerable anxiety until it was realised that the foot had returned to normal and the constrictions were causing the problem.<sup>14</sup> Another time Burton, along with several others, was called to the aid of a dying man. Apparently, the man was raised up immediately after prayer.<sup>15</sup> It is evident that the contacts Burton made during his years in South Africa were very important especially in the early days of the CEM work in Congo when again and again he returned to South Africa for times of refreshment. It was during these visits that he was able to paint in such vivid terms, the needs

<sup>8</sup> W. Burton, *When God Makes a Pastor*, p. 84; cf. Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets*, p.54; cf. G.C. Oosthuizen, *Post-Christianity in Africa: A Theological and Anthropological Study*, London, C. Hurst & Co., 1968, pp. 32-34.

<sup>9</sup> W. Burton, *When God Makes a Pastor*, p. 85.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 85-87; cf. G.M. Haliburton, 'Edward Lion of Lesotho', *Mohlomi Journal of Southern African Historical Studies*, 1 1976, pp. 64-70.

<sup>11</sup> Yumba wa Nkulu, Interview, Mwanza, 14/12/1980. This man is now dead.

<sup>12</sup> It was not long before the arrival of W. Burton on the Rand that the Pentecost revival had taken place under men like Overseer Bryant, John G. Lake of Doctor Dowie's Church in Zion City, USA, and Tom Hezmelhalch of California; W. Burton, *When God Makes a Pastor*, pp. 30-40; H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, pp. 36, 37; it was these men that founded the work which later became known as the Apostolic Faith Mission; cf. W. Burton, *When God Makes a Pastor*, p.90; B. Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets*, p. 48; on the roots of the Zionists at Zion City, USA. cf. Oosthuizen, *Post-Christianity*, p. 34.

<sup>13</sup> The Pentecostal Mission which had been started by Bowie (not to be confused with Dr. Dowie) was very active in several of the provinces of South Africa. There is some confusion as to Bowie's affiliations since several sources mention that he came from Rochester, or that he was sent to South Africa from Rochester, New York. However, according to the letter written by Louis B. Heath, the treasurer of the Bethel Pentecost assembly in Newark, New Jersey, to the Belgian Consul in New York City on 22/5/1916, AABruxelles, Bowie was a founder member of Bethel and his work was supported by the Bethel; cf. Morehead, *Congo Forests*, p.15; C. Irvine, *The Church of Christ in Zaire*, p.55.

<sup>14</sup> Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, pp. 15,16.

<sup>15</sup> All of these incidents are mentioned in Max W. Morehead, *Congo Forests*, pp. 16, 17. I cannot find any other confirmation of these reports elsewhere, but it must be remembered that these letters in their published form appeared in 1922 and they would most certainly have been rejected at that time had they not been considered correct. There would have been those in Johannesburg who would have remembered what had taken place only seven years before this.

of the work in the Congo and to look for suitable recruits for the new mission.<sup>16</sup> It is also in South Africa that he met and made friends who remained friends for life and who remained just as dedicated to the work of the CEM as they did to its founders.<sup>17</sup> It is possible that the work in Congo may never have continued had it not been for this South African connection. During the earliest part of the work much of the financial help, though not all, came through the channels of friends there.<sup>18</sup> In other ways Burton was able to benefit from his time in South Africa. He was able to visit many different places and gave himself wholeheartedly to language study.<sup>19</sup> The languages were not the same as those he was to employ in the Congo but this background in Sesutu and Zulu was to prove of inestimable value when it later came to the study of Kiluba. This was because the grammatical construction of these Bantu languages is similar. It is clear that the linguistic ability of this man, who later recorded over 1,700 Luban proverbs, and who wrote a scientific treatise on Luban culture and religion, was considerable.<sup>20</sup>

Another matter arose while Burton was in South Africa and that concerned personal faith and practice; this was to do with a question of taking quinine as a preventative against malaria.<sup>21</sup> The crisis had been reached among the Pentecostal missionaries themselves because the doctrine of divine healing was central to their faith. The claims that the sick had been healed were what had created a stir in South Africa. The established churches were sceptical about these claims. Nevertheless, many were convinced of the genuine nature and widely publicised what they believed God was doing.<sup>22</sup> Yet in spite of these healings missionaries were dying from malaria. Many of the sick believed right up to the last that they would be healed and adamantly refused to take any antimalarials; for them to take quinine would be tantamount to denying their faith in God.<sup>23</sup> Nevertheless, the Pentecostal Mission and the Apostolic Faith Mission alone could, by 1914, count 33 graves of their workers who had died as a result of malaria.<sup>24</sup>

So devastating had been the result of malaria that outreach in some of the worst affected areas had been curtailed and a number of the most outstanding and gifted missionaries had lost their lives.<sup>25</sup> Burton was personally acquainted with many of those who had died and after the death of a young friend wrote, "I feel just heartbroken over it all. I feel it was all a horrible defeat".<sup>26</sup> He added that if the power of God were not upon him he would be the first to acknowledge it but that the Lord had been using him to pray for the sick who were recovering, yet some of these victims of malaria had been prayed for and had died. Again some of the "Spirit filled" believers were taking quinine "and they don't die, and they asked me which gives God most glory? To take this stuff and live, or to refuse it and die?"<sup>27</sup> He realised that God could support lives with or without what he called, "the little tabloids", and said he would rather die than disgrace God's cause. At the same time he was anxious for the millions who had not heard the gospel and added "I *must* live to carry the gospel to them".<sup>28</sup> Apart from this desire to preach to the evangelise millions to the north, Burton felt very much responsible for Salter who had not yet arrived in South Africa; he did not feel that he could "leave him in the lurch". For this

<sup>16</sup> There are numerous references to the conventions at which Burton spoke as well as to the series of studies presented by him to groups throughout the Transvaal; cf. Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, pp. 11, 15, 16; it is also interesting to note that the first missionaries to the new Pentecostal work in the Congo, apart from Burton and Salter were recruited from South Africa until 1920 when Salter returned from furlough in Britain with new helpers.

<sup>17</sup> There are and were many who had been lifelong friends of Burton; I mention only the Heatley and Saunders families; cf. H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, pp. 36, 38.

<sup>18</sup> Finance was forwarded from time to time to the missionaries at Mwanza through Bowie in Johannesburg; cf. Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p. 119; friends like W. F. Dugmore, *Circular Letter*, Johannesburg 11/11/1916 requested help for Burton and Salter concluding: 'shall we not continue to share in this glad sacrifice, and do what we can to strengthen the hands of the dear ones?' AZEMPreston.

<sup>19</sup> Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, pp. 11-13.

<sup>20</sup> W.F. P. Burton, compiler, *Proverbs of the Baluba*, Elisabethville, Editions de la Société d'Etudes Juridiques du Katanga, 1959, 259pp.; W.F.B. Burton, *Luba Religion and Magic in Custom and Belief*, Tervuren, Musée Royal de l'Afrique Central, 1961.

<sup>21</sup> Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p. 12; Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets*, p. 227 reports Dowie's view on medical help; he frowns upon hospitals.

<sup>22</sup> H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, p. 29 says that there was much opposition to the laying on of hands and praying for the sick after the manner of the Pentecostals.

<sup>23</sup> Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, pp. 14, 15; cf. Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets*, p. 227.

<sup>24</sup> Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p. 12; cf. Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals*, says that the apostolic Faith Mission was founded with Thomas Hezmalhalch as first president (p.120); Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets*, p. 228 mentions the refusing of quinine in the Zulu Zionist churches.

<sup>25</sup> W. Burton, *When God Makes a Pastor*, pp. 74, 75.

<sup>26</sup> Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p. 14.

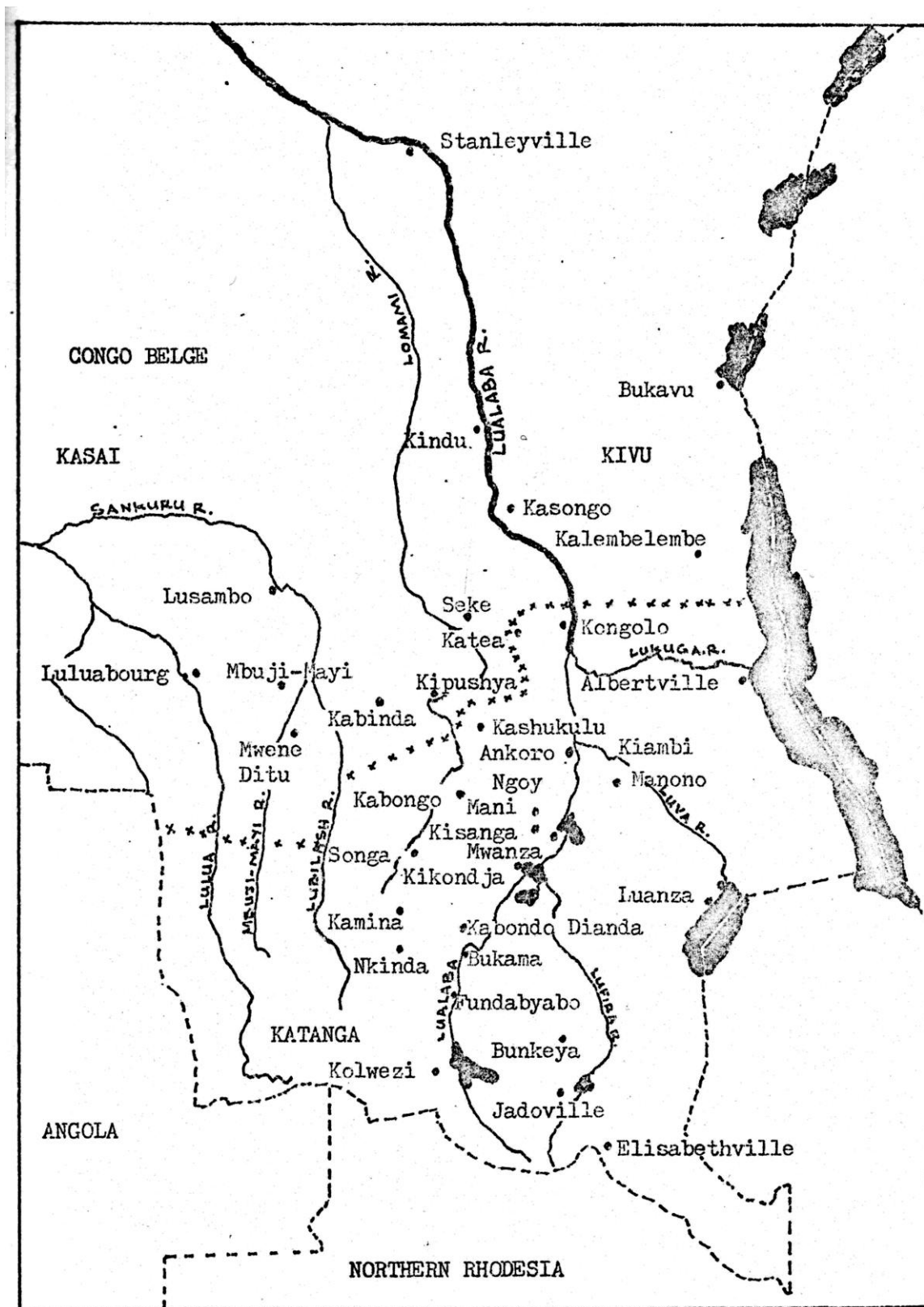
<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 15.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 15, 16.

reason he finally decided to take quinine; this was a course which he followed throughout his days in Congo.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16; cf. H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, p. 45; William Rew Snr. of the Garanganze Evangelical Mission who was an acquaintance of Burton's, once told me that Burton took quinine while some of the other members of the CEM did not.



S.E. CONGO IN 1915

### C) North to the Belgian Congo

The opening up of the Congo Basin is a story in itself. I repeat those parts which help give cohesion and background to the history of the CEM. In this way I shall place the history of the CEM in the larger perspective of missions in the Congo as a whole and of Protestant missions in particular.

It was in 1482 that the Portuguese Diego Cão discovered the mouth of the Congo River which he called the Zaire, a corruption of the Kikongo word *nzadi* meaning river.<sup>1</sup> Although there was a Catholic missionary work introduced at San Salvador as a result of this discovery there was little in the way of penetration by Europeans into the heart to the Congo basin until the late 19th century.<sup>2</sup> As Ruth Slade points out, any contact between Europeans and Congolese was confined to where most of the Europeans were traders and more often than not, slave traders.<sup>3</sup> In 1818 the English sea captain James Tuckey was responsible for an expedition up the Congo River when an attempt was made to find out if the Congo was in any way connected with the Niger Delta. Tuckey did not get very far before he was stopped by the impassable rapids on the lower Congo and he died soon after from malaria.<sup>4</sup> In 1858 Englishmen Richard Burton and John Speke discovered Lake Tanganyika<sup>5</sup> while between 1869 and 1871 the famed missionary explorer, David Livingstone, made his way through the Maniema to the Lualaba at Nyangwe.<sup>6</sup>

It was the reports of Livingstone, H. M. Stanley, who later himself led in an expedition from Stanley Falls to the mouth of the Congo, and others that really gave impetus to the opening up of the Congo Basin.<sup>7</sup> These men had given concise details about the nature of the atrocities perpetrated by the slave traders, but at the same time indicated that there was great potential in the resources of the hinterland. This information sparked the interest of geographic, philanthropic and missionary societies in Europe and in North America leading to considerable activity on their part.<sup>8</sup>

The 19th century was one of expansion and colonisation for the European powers and Leopold II of the Belgians did not want to be left out. He had been looking around for some time for a colony or colonies in the East but nothing had ever materialised.<sup>9</sup> Neither did the African Association<sup>10</sup> hold the key to the door of his ambitions and he felt he had to look elsewhere if his dreams were to be fulfilled. So it was that not long after Cameron made a journey across Africa, Leopold convened an international geographical conference from 12 to 14 September 1876.<sup>11</sup> It was at this conference, under the guise of philanthropic intent that he proclaimed:

Le sujet qui nous réunit aujourd'hui est de ceux qui méritent au premier chef d'occuper les amis de l'humanité. Ouvrir à la civilisation la seule partie de notre globe, où elle n'ait point encore pénétré, percer les ténèbres qui enveloppent des populations entières, c'est, j'ose le dire, une croisade digne de ce siècle de progrès et je suis heureux de constater combien le sentiment public est favorable à son accomplissement : le courant est avec nous. (*Encyclopédie du Congo Belge*, p. 14. cited in E.M.

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<sup>1</sup> cf. Ruth Slade, *King Leopold's Congo: Aspects of the Development of Race Relations in the Congo Independent State*, London, O U P, 1962, p. 1; Diego Cão is also called Diego Cam; *ibid.*; on the date cf. René Cornet, *Sommaire de l'Histoire du Congo Belge*, Brussels, L. Cuyper, 1948, p. 29; on the Kikongo word cf. EM Braekman, *Histoire du Protestantisme au Congo*, Brussels, Librairie des Eclaireurs Unionistes, 1961, p.14.

<sup>2</sup> Slade, *Leopold's Congo*, p. 20; Braekman, *Protestantisme au Congo*, pp. 14, 15, 45, 46; There is what John R. Crawford calls a "Hint" that apart from the earlier Catholic presence at San Salvador, there were Protestant soldiers who were primarily engaged in trade, but also found time to engage in evangelism during the early part of the 17th-century; J. R. Crawford, *Protestant Missions in Congo 1878-1969*, English translation, Kinshasa, Librairie Evangélique au Congo, n.d.p.1; cf. E.M. Braekman, *Protestantisme au Congo*, pp.32-41.

<sup>3</sup> Slade, *Leopold's Congo*, pp. 18, 20.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 16, 17; Cornet, *Sommaire*, p. 13; Braekman, *Protestantisme au Congo*, p. 14.

<sup>5</sup> Cornet, *Sommaire*, p. 8.

<sup>6</sup> Horace Waller, *The Last Journals of David Livingstone in Central Africa from 1865 to His Death*, II London, John Murray, 1875, pp. 32-150.

<sup>7</sup> Cornet, *Sommaire*, pp. 12, 13 and 34 where he records the arrival of Stanley at Boma on 9/8/1877; Verney Lovett Cameron had earlier crossed Africa from East to West passing through the Katanga in 1873-75; cf. Verney L. Cameron, *Across Africa*, London, Daldy, Isbister and Company, 1877 especially volume II for the area which concerns the study; cf. Cornet, *Sommaire*, p.9; Tshimanga wa Tshibangu, *Histoire du Zaire*, Bukavu, Zaire, Ceruki, 1976, p. 183.

<sup>8</sup> J. Crawford, *Protestant missions*, pp. 1,2; Slade, *Leopold's Congo*, p. 141.

<sup>9</sup> J. Stengers, *Textes inédits d'Emil Banning*, Brussels, Académie Royale des Sciences Coloniales, 1955, p.13.

<sup>10</sup> Cornet, *Sommaire*, p. 30; this association had been formed in London in 1788.

<sup>11</sup> Slade, *Leopold's Congo*, p. 36; Braekman, *Protestantisme au Congo*, p.16; Cornet, *Sommaire*, pp. 10, 33.

This conference gave birth to the African International Association with Leopold II as its president and Baron Greindl as its Secretary General.<sup>12</sup> In the meantime, H. M. Stanley had completed his historic descent of the Congo River and the possibilities for the opening up of the region became more real.<sup>13</sup> Leopold managed to persuade Stanley to lead an expedition of his newly formed *Comité d'Etudes du Haut Congo*. The purpose of this purportedly international team, was the study of trade possibilities in the Congo as well as the construction of a railway around the rapids on the lower river to the Stanley Pool.<sup>14</sup> The *Comité* soon fell apart, but the King continued to use the name since by this time the entire enterprise had taken on a political flavour. Leopold realised that he was not alone in the field since a number of other nations were looking interestedly at the Congo; he knew that he had to be astute in his handling of the entire project.<sup>15</sup> The *Comité* became the International Association of Congo in 1882, but as Ruth Slate points out, it was far from being international, and the truth of the matter was, that its chief executor, Stanley, was answerable to no one but the king.<sup>16</sup> Although it was evident that the king wanted his own colony, Leopold who was a master politician, managed to persuade the Europeans that his ambitions were totally philanthropic.<sup>17</sup> France and Portugal, however were not convinced and Germany had her eyes on parts of the Katanga and Kasai, but Stanley had already secured treaties with tribal chiefs throughout the Congo. According to Leopold, this gave them sovereign rights over large tracts of the Congo.<sup>18</sup> The *coup de grace* as far as the other contenders were concerned came when America saw in Leopold a friend, and accepted the Association's flag and authority over the Congo.<sup>19</sup> This took place at the Berlin Conference held in 1884-85 and more or less

<sup>12</sup> Cornet, *Sommaire*, pp. 11, 33; on p. 11 he shows how Greindl was soon replaced by Strauch, *Protestantisme au Congo*, p.17; Slade, *Leopold's Congo*, p. 37; on the religious side of the expedition sent out by the Belgian's cf. Auguste Roeykens, *La Politique religieuse de l'Etat indépendants du Congo, Documents I, Léopold II, le Saint-Siège et les Missions catholiques dans l'Afrique Equatoriale (1875-1885)* Classe des Sciences morales et politiques N.S. 32 (1), Brussels, Académie Royale des Sciences d'Outre-Mer, 1965, pp. 97-112.

<sup>13</sup> Slade, *Leopold's Congo*, p.37; Cornet, *Sommaire*, p. 13 says of this event: 'Cette randonnée sans égale, ce grand geste d'énergie humaine, va susciter, dans le monde entier, un intérêt enthousiaste et platonique, et va faire naître aussitôt, dans un cerveau royale, des projets grandioses et pratiques.'

<sup>14</sup> Upon his return from the Congo, Stanley had been met Marseille by a delegation from Leopold, but at that time he still hoped to be able to convince Britain to become involved in the Congo basin. For this reason he did not accept the invitation to see the King. However, later when he found that the British government had no interest in his ideas he agreed to become the executive officer of the King of the Belgians in the Congo; cf. Cornet, *Sommaire*, pp. 13, 14; Ruth Slade, *Leopold's Congo*, p. 37; Leopold's plans for the Congo and the mission with which he hoped to entrust Stanley are clear and the letter which he wrote to Baron Solvyns on 17/11/1877:

Nous devons être à la fois prudents, habiles et prompts à agir. Je voudrais m'exposer ni à mécontenter les Anglais, ni à échapper une bonne occasion de nous procurer une part de ce magnifique gâteau africain. Je me résume : 1) je voudrais voir Stanley dès qu'il aura été applaudi à Londres. 2) Si Stanley me plaît, je lui procurerai de l'argent pour qu'il fasse explorer complètement quelques contrées sur le Congo et des affluents et y fonder des agences. 3) Selon les circonstances, je tâcherai de transformer ces agences en quelque 'établissement belge ou en quelque station soit flottante soit terrestre qui nous appartiendrait.... Je crois que si je chargeais de but en blanc Stanley de prendre en mon nom possession d'un point quelconque de l'Afrique, les Anglais m'arrêteraient. Si je les consulte, ils m'arrêteront également. Je pense donc confier à Stanley une tâche d'exploration qui n'offense personne, nous donnera là-bas des agences et leur état-major dont nous tirerons parti dès qu'on sera habitué en Europe et en Afrique à nos prétentions sur le Congo. Les agences de Stanley seraient mises gratuitement à la disposition de l'Association International qui je tiens à voir se développer ». (cited in Tshimanga wa Tshibangu, *Histoire du Zaïre*, p. 39 the original being found in the Archives du Palais, Brussels).

<sup>15</sup> Slade, *Leopold's Congo*, pp. 38, 39; Brazza the French officer-explore ahead had by this time planted the French flag on the northern bank of the 'Stanley Pool' (on 10/9/1881) and the Portuguese were also making claims that the Congo belonged to them due to their earlier occupation of the region; cf. Cornet, *Sommaire*, pp. 15, 35.

<sup>16</sup> Slade, *Leopold's Congo*, p. 38; Cornet, *Sommaire*, p. 15.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Marvin D. Markowitz, *Cross and Sword: The Political Role of Christian Missions in the Belgian Congo, 1908 to 1960*, Stanford, California, Hoover Institution Press, 1973, p. 3, ft. nt. +; Slade, *Leopold's Congo*, p. 39.

<sup>18</sup> H. M. Stanley, *The Congo and the Founding of Its Free State*, II London, Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1885, p. 379:

The association were in possession of treaties made with over 450 independent African chiefs, whose rights would be conceded by all to have been indisputable, since they held their lands by undisturbed occupation, by long ages of succession, by real divine right. All of their own free will, without coercion, but for substantial considerations, reserving only a few easy conditions, they had transferred their rights of sovereignty and of ownership to the Association.

On the Portuguese, French and German interest in the Congo cf. Cornet, *Sommaire*, p. 17.

<sup>19</sup> Cornet, *Sommaire*, p. 18.

forced the other powers to acquiesce thereby excepting the International Association's sovereignty over the Congo.<sup>20</sup>

Slade indicates that British trading interests and English-speaking Protestant missionaries had both played an important part in contributing to the acceptance of the final declaration recognising the Association and its rights. Those interested in trade were worried about the high tariffs that would be imposed by the other contenders, France and Portugal. The Protestant missionaries were concerned that the strong Catholic influence which would be consequent to any handing over of authority to the same powers would be detrimental to their evangelism.<sup>21</sup> For this reason they were strongly in favour of Leopold and his plans.<sup>22</sup> In July of 1885, after the powers had agreed to Leopold's proposals, Sir Francis de Winton, governor at Banana, proclaimed the foundation of the Congo Independent State, a regime which lasted until 1908.<sup>23</sup>

At this point it is necessary to mention something of the content of the General Act of the Conference of Berlin since this is of considerable importance later when there were Mission-State confrontations over its interpretation. The following is a summary of the main items: there was to be freedom of trade for all nations;<sup>24</sup> freedom of movement up and down the waterways;<sup>25</sup> suppression of all slavery and the slave trade including purchase of and transport of slaves in the entire region;<sup>26</sup> there were to be restrictive measures with regard to the traffic of alcoholic liquors,<sup>27</sup> and finally, most important of all as far as the study is concerned, there was to be religious liberty. The last statement meant that there was to be protection and favour given without distinction to: "all religious, scientific, or charitable institutions, and undertakings created and organised for the above ends, or which aim at instructing the natives and bringing home to them the blessings of civilization". All "Christian missionaries, scientists and explorers" were to be accorded special protection while freedom of conscience was to be granted to the 'natives' in religious matters.<sup>28</sup> As far as the majority of Protestant missionaries in the Free State, and later in the Belgian Congo, were concerned, it was this clause in the Act that was subject to a great deal of different interpretation and abuse by the Administration. This resulted in much antagonism between the Protestants, the Catholics and their protégés the

<sup>20</sup> A. Berriedale Keith, *The Belgian Congo and the Berlin Act*, Westpoint, Connecticut, Negro Universities Press, 1970 (original at Oxford, Clarendon, 1919), p.302; Cornet, *Sommaire*, pp. 18, 19; Slade, *Leopold's Congo*, p. 43.

<sup>21</sup> Ruth Slade Reardon, 'Catholics and Protestants in the Congo', in *Christianity in Tropical Africa*, Ed. C.G. Baëta, London, OUP for the IAI, 1968, p. 85; Ruth Slade, *Leopold's Congo*, p. 39; Ruth Slade, *English-Speaking Nations in the Congo Independent State 1878-1908*, Brussels, Duculot, 1959, pp. 66-71; M. D. Markowitz, *Cross and Sword*, p.5; in the Markowitz 'The Missions and Political Development in the Congo', *Africa*, 40 (3) July 1970, p.234 says: "there can be little doubt that the aid of the Protestant missions had been helpful, if not instrumental, in obtaining the establishment of Leopold's dominion in the Congo under the Berlin Act of 1885".

<sup>22</sup> Slade, *Leopold's Congo*, p. 39; Markowitz, *supra*, ft. nt. 21; in the latter conflicts between Leopold/the Catholics and the Protestant missionaries, the part that the Protestants played in the establishment of the free State and the way in which they backed the King is seldom remembered; A. Roeykens, *La Politique religieuse*, pp. 37-50, 55, 56 shows how Leopold had been trying since 1876 to form Belgian Catholic orders which would be responsible for the evangelism of the Congo, but this did not happen quickly enough to prevent English-speaking Protestants getting to the Congo before the Catholic-Belgians.

<sup>23</sup> *General Act of the Conference of Berlin* (hereafter GACB) cited in a Berriedale Keith, *Berlin Act*, Articles I-IV, pp. 302-304.

<sup>24</sup> GACB Articles, *supra*.

<sup>25</sup> GACB, Articles XIII and XVI, in Berriedale Keith, *Berlin Act*, pp. 302-322.

<sup>26</sup> GACB, Articles VI and IX, in Berriedale Keith, *Berlin Act*, pp 302,305, 318.

<sup>27</sup> GACB, Articles XC-XCV, and Convention Respecting Liquors in Africa, signed Brussels, 3/11/1906 in Berriedale Keith, *Berlin Act*, p.320.

<sup>28</sup> For reference I reproduce the entire Article VI of the Berlin Act as cited in Berriedale Keith, *Berlin Act*, p. 304:

Article 6.-*Provisions relative to the Protection of the Natives, of Missionaries and Travellers, as well as relative to Religious Liberty.*

All the Powers exercising sovereign rights and influence in the aforesaid territories bind themselves to watch over the preservation of native tribes, and to care for the improvement all the conditions of the moral and material well-being, and to help in suppressing slavery, and especially the Slave Trade. They shall, without distinction of creed or nation, protect and favour all religious, scientific, or charitable institutions, and undertakings created in organized for the above ends, or which aim at instructing the natives and bringing home to them the blessings of civilization.

Christian missionaries, scientists, and explores, with their followers, property, and collections, shall likewise be the objects of especial protection.

Freedom of conscience and religious toleration are expressly guaranteed to the natives, no less than to subjects and to foreigners. The free and public exercise of all forms of Divine worship, and the right to build edifices for religious purposes, and to organize religious missions belonging to all creeds, shall not be limited or fettered in any way whatsoever.

Administration for many years.<sup>29</sup> While the vying for territory was going on between the European powers, the Livingstone Inland Mission had been founded in 1877. In 1878 it sent Henry Craven and J. Ström to Palabala at the mouth of the Congo River. These were the first Protestant missionaries of the new epoch.<sup>30</sup> Reinforcements came out to help but many lost their lives during those early years from malaria.<sup>31</sup> Nevertheless, step-by-step new posts were established and other missionary societies were added to the groups that were already there. Initially most of these societies were engaged in missionary evangelism in the area of the lower Congo but they gradually worked inland using the waterways as their line of communications and supply. By the time that the Congo Free State came into being there were already four Protestant missionary groups and one Catholic order in the Congo.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Marvin D. Markowitz, *Cross and Sword*, pp. 25-30.

<sup>30</sup> Braekman, *Protestantisme au Congo*, pp.59-61; C. Irvine, *The Church of Christ in Zaire*, p. 87; although the Baptist Missionary Society (BMS) had sent Comber and Grenfell to reconnoiter the area of the Lower Congo during the early part of 1878, they returned to the Cameroon and for this reason H. Craven is considered to be the first Protestant missionary to establish himself on Congo soil; cf. George W. Carpenter, *Les Chemins du Seigneur au Congo: Commemorant soixante-quinze ans de Missions Protestantes 1878-1953*, Leopoldville, Librairie Evangélique au Congo, 1953, pp. 4,5.

<sup>31</sup> Braekman, *Protestantisme au Congo*, pp. 61-65.

<sup>32</sup> The following is a list of Protestant and Catholic missionary societies in the Congo by 1920. I employ the names by which they were known in the Congo:

1) Protestant Missionary Societies: (a)

<u>Mission</u>	<u>Date</u>
Livingstone Inland Mission	1878
Baptist Missionary Society	1882 +
American Baptist Foreign Mission Society	1884
Svenska Missions Förbundet	1884
Garenganze Evangelical Mission	1886
Bishop Taylor's Mission	1886 +
Christian and Missionary Alliance	1888 + (b)
Congo Balolo Mission	1889
American Presbyterian Congo Mission	1891
Westcott Mission	1897
Disciples of Christ Congo Mission	1899 +
Africa Inland Mission	1912 +
Congo Inland Mission	1912 +
Heart of Africa Mission (WEC)	1913
Mission Méthodiste du Sud Congo	1913 +
Mission Méthodiste du Congo Central	1914 +
Congo Evangelistic Mission	1915
Svenska Baptist Missionen	1919

+ In some cases the foundation of the mission or the establishment of its first post was later than its entry to the Congo. The entry of the founder could have been some years before the date I have given.

- (a) These figures are taken mostly from E.M. Braekman, *Protestantisme au Congo*, pp. 349-354 and compared with other sources such as C. Irvine, *The Church of Christ in Zaire* (information on each mission). Nevertheless, I have not included two missions named by Braekman – The American Mennonite Brethren Mission, and the Mission Baptiste Norvégienne – since as far as I can tell his figures are incorrect as they only entered the Congo after 1920.
- (b) The Simpson group of missionaries arrived in 1885, but they later left the Congo. In 1888 a fresh start was made; cf. J. Crawford, *Protestant Missions in the Congo*, p. 2.

2) Catholic Missionary Societies: (c)

<u>Order</u>	<u>Date</u>
Pères Blancs (Missionnaires d'Afrique)	1880
Pères de Scheut	1893
Jésuites	1893
Trappistes	1894
Pères du Sacré-Coeurs	1897
Prémontrés	1898
Rédemptoristes	1898
Pères de Mill-Hill	1905
Pères du Saint-Esprit Nord Katanga	1907
Bénédictins	1910
Capucins	1910
Salésiens	1911
Dominicains	1911
Franciscains	1920
Croisières	1920

Often in the early years the agents of the Association, and later the Free State, collaborated closely with the missionaries in the opening up of their posts and mission stations respectively.<sup>33</sup> So it was that when George Grenfell made his maiden voyage in his steamer the *Peace* during July of 1884, the head administrator of the International African Association, Sir Francis de Winston, was on board with him.<sup>34</sup>

Wherever it was possible the Protestant missionaries tried not to duplicate the work of another Protestant society and there was considerable comity between them all.<sup>35</sup> After all, the country was so vast and the population innumerable, so it was felt best to extend oneself rather than infringe on the work of others. There were those societies like the Baptist Missionary Society which believed that it was their task to press on as quickly as possible and thereby cross the entire continent. In practice it is probably true to say that the BMS later realised that there were many problems involved in rapid extension, not least, those of working amongst different language groups, and communication between their own missionary posts.<sup>36</sup>

Most of the other societies became occupied with evangelism in only one area where they could limit themselves where possible, to one single tribal language group. In this way, societies spread out over the hinterland so that by 1900, Protestant missionaries were found in all the areas, later known by the Belgian administration as: Léopoldville, Equateur, Orientale and the Katanga.<sup>37</sup>

Of the 11 Protestant missions in the Congo by 1900 there was only one in the Katanga: the Garenganze Evangelical Mission. I will say more about missions in the Katanga than I have about missions in the other provinces since this is the area which directly interests this study. It is the area in which the CEM became actively engaged in missionary evangelism. In 1896 Frederick Stanley Arnot of the Plymouth Brethren, a Scotsman by birth who had gone to school with Livingstone's children, came to live at Bunkeya. At that time this was the capital of the Kingdom of Garenganze, a large portion of what was later known as the Katanga.<sup>38</sup> It was here at Bunkeya that Msiri or Msidi as he was otherwise known, a slave trader from Tanganyika had usurped the throne and set himself up as absolute potentate over a number of peoples.<sup>39</sup>

Msiri carried on a continual trade in slaves whom he sold to traffickers who came to Bunkeya from the Portuguese post at Bié in Angola. These slaves, for the most part, were those who had been taken prisoner during the many raids of his army on unsubmitive peoples. Others were the 'tribute' given by friendly chiefs to Msiri in order to remain in his good books.<sup>40</sup> For the slaves and ivory sold to the Portuguese, Msiri received guns and powder as well as other goods. It was by way of these firearms that he managed to force his will upon the people and to buttress his kingdom.

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(c) This list has been taken from : Alfred Corman, *Annuaire des Mission Catholiques au Congo Belge*, Première Année, Brussels, Librairie Albert Dewit, 1924, p.7.

<sup>33</sup> J. Crawford, *Protestant Missions in Congo*, p. 2.

<sup>34</sup> Braekman, *Protestantisme au Congo*, p. 71.

<sup>35</sup> R. Slade, *Leopold's Congo*, p. 146.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 142-144 and pp. 78,96 where we see how Robert Arthington the wealthy supporter of the BMS held the philosophy that a missionary should only preach once in any given place and that by preaching the Christian message in all of Central Africa the BMS would thereby hasten the return of Christ. There is no evidence that his philosophy was very influential, but the BMS founded some thirteen posts between the Lower Congo and Stanley Falls; cf. Braekman, *Protestantisme au Congo*, pp. 78, 158, 194.

<sup>37</sup> Braekman, *Protestantisme au Congo*, pp. 349-352 ; LIM was later taken over by the SMF and the ABFMS. It has been in the following Provinces: Léopoldville, Equateur. I list the Provinces in which some of the other Protestant missions were located: BMS-Léopoldville, Equateur, Orientale; ABFMS-Léopoldville; SMF- Léopoldville; GEM-Katanga; Bishop Taylor's Mission-Kasai, Léopoldville; CMA in Léopoldville; CBM- Equateur; APCM- Kasai; Westcote Mission-Kasai; Disciples of Christ-Equateur.

<sup>38</sup> F.S. Arnot, *Garenganze or Seven Year's Pioneer Mission Work in Central Africa*, new ed. London, Frank Cass and Company, 1969, pp. vi, 171, 231; The Luanza Mission which was also Brethren was started by Dan Crawford at Launza on Lake Mweru in 1893 but it later amalgamated with the Garenganze Evangelical Mission; Katanga gets its name from the Katanga or Balamba king. There is still a village of Katanga where he resided. This is not many miles from the town of Likasi on the shores of the lake formed by the Lufira River; cf. Braekman, *Protestantisme au Congo*, p. 85.

<sup>39</sup> A. Verbeken, *Msiri, Roi du Garenganze : l'Homme Rouge du Katanga*, Brussels, L. Cuypers, 1956, pp. 27,42 ; Arnot, *Garenganze*, p. 231 ; Braekman, *Protestantisme au Congo*, pp. 84,85; Msiri was born near Tabora of the sub-tribe of the Wasumbwa, a name which was changed in Congo to BaYeke, or hunters, as an indication of their occupation. Msiri was also known as Mushidi, Mshidi and Msidi; cf. Verbeken, *Msiri*, p. 34, 50-59 on his usurping the power of the local tribes.

<sup>40</sup> Verbeken, *Msiri*, pp.130,131 ; On the opening up of the slave trade between Bié and the Katanga cf. Arnot, *Garenganze*, p.233.

Arnot must have believed that he could bring about some change and perhaps even manage to convert Msiri, but this was never achieved. Arnot had been well received by the king and even managed to arrange for other missionaries to join with him, but their influence over Msiri was limited and they were hindered in the work as they were not free to travel as they pleased.<sup>41</sup> The missionaries were grieved by what they saw at Bunkeya, especially by the sacrifice and summary execution of humans. As well as this there was the slave trade, but it seemed that their hands were tied and there was little that they could do directly.<sup>42</sup>

However, Msiri was finally killed after he had been involved in an argument with a delegation sent by the forces of the Free State. They had tried to force the king to recognise the Free State flag and he would not, preferring to play the Belgians and the British against each other. An officer by the name of Bodson pulled a revolver and shot the sovereign before he himself was mortally wounded. This precipitated the break-up of the Kingdom of Garenganze and Bunkeya was abandoned for a number of years. The Brethren missionaries who had been there left to start work on the eastern side of the Lualaba. Others moved to the highlands of the watershed between the Congo and the Zambezi all the way West to Angola where work had already been planted at Bié.<sup>43</sup>

Dan Crawford, one of the young missionaries who had been at Msiri's court, left for Luanza in the East where the highlands overlook Lake Mweru and it was there that he established his Luanza mission in 1893. Many of those who had been at Bunkeya joined Crawford in one of the first 'Christian Villages' of the era in what was to become the Belgian Congo.<sup>44</sup> It should be remembered that until the death of Msiri the Free State had no right or authority over the Katanga even though it had been established for considerably longer in other parts.

Bunkeya, which as I mentioned, had been abandoned, was later reopened while new stations were commenced at Mount Koni and Mulongo. Since Mulongo is important in the history of the CEM it is necessary to say more about it now. M. Zentler, was German born but had spent most of his life in England. Both he and J. A. Clarke had left Mount Koni to preach in many of the villages along the Lualaba. It was while the two men were on this journey that Zentler saw the need to establish a permanent post at Mulongo on the eastern bank of the Lualaba.<sup>45</sup> He was not, at first, encouraged by the GEM missionaries but decided that he could not afford to neglect this densely populated area.<sup>46</sup> The population which follows the Lualaba is still one of the most dense in Zaire today. Mulongo Mission, founded in 1911, was the very first missionary post in the entire area. It was in 1912 that the Catholics, pursuing their normal strategy, tried to forestall any Protestant advances by opening a

<sup>41</sup> Arnot, *Garenganze*, pp. 171-230, 266; Charles A. Swan and Faulknor joined Arnot in December 1888; Arthur G. Ingleby, *Pioneer Days in Darkest Africa*, London, Pickering and Inglis, n.d., p.45,46; cf. Sharpe's Letter to Johnston, 8 IX 90, in Johnston to Foreign Office 3 V 91, F. Office correspondence e 8 4/2114 cited in Slade, *English-Speaking Missions*, p. 113 says that Swan and Faulknor were not able to do anything without asking Msiri's permission and were almost his slaves. cf. R.J. Cornet, *Katanga: le Katanga avant les Belges et l'expédition Bia-Francqui-Cornet*, 3ed., Brussels, L. Cuypers, 1946, p. 53; Verbeken, *Msiri*, p. 164.

<sup>42</sup> This is evident from *supra* ft. nt. 41 and Arnot, *Garenganze*, pp. 193, 205, 240; cf. James J. Ellis, *Dan Crawford of Luanza or, 37 Years' Missionary Work in Darkest Africa*, London, Hulbert Publishing Company, n.d., p. 55.

<sup>43</sup> R. Anstey, *King Leopold's Legacy: The Congo Under Belgian Rule 1908-1960*, London, OUP for the Institute of Race Relations; Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, pp. 47, 198, 199; W.F.P. Burton, *God Working with Them; being Eighteen Years of Congo Evangelistic Mission History*, London, Victory Press, 1933, p. 38 where Burton mentions the released slaves from Angola all of whom were converted in Bié.

<sup>44</sup> Braekman, *Protestantisme au Congo*, pp. 126,127; C. Irvine, *The Church of Christ in Zaire*, p. 81 both give the date of 1894 for the opening of the Luanza Mission, but I have evidence from the Archives of the *Bureau Régional des Affaires Politiques*, Shaba in Lubumbashi that the correct date is 1893; cf. "Table de Statistiques, Luanza Mission: Liste des missionnaires resident la Province de Katanga" n.d.,; This is in accord with what James E. Ellis says, *Dan Crawford*, pp. 81,82; cf. R. Slade, *English-Speaking Missions*, pp. 126,127.

<sup>45</sup> J.A. Clarke is mentioned in the 'Casement Report', p. 47 cited in R. Anstey, *Leopold's Legacy*, p. 8, ft. nt. 1; H. Womersley, 'The Man Who saw the place' *CEMR*, No.329 April 1964, pp. 15-17 contains extracts of a letter from M.F. Zentler to H. Womersley in which he mentions his contacts with Bowie and the start of the work at Mwanza; W. Burton, *Honey Bee: Life Story of a Congo Evangelist*, Preston, CEM, n.d., p. 10.

<sup>46</sup> Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p. 25; H. Womersley, 'The Man Who saw the place', *CEMR*, No0. 329, pp. 15-17; W. Burton, *God Working with Them*, p. 3; The date for the founding of the Mulongo mission is not clear. Braekman, *Protestantisme au Congo*, p. 350 says it was in 1911, but in a letter: Vice-Gouverneur General du Katanga, Letter, Services des Terres, Katanga, No. 415, Elisabethville, 15/7/1916 AABruxelles, the Governor says he had received a letter from Zentler on 8/7/1912 informing him of his desire to install himself and his work at Mulongo.

mission at Malemba Nkulu on the opposite bank of the Lualaba. This Catholic mission came under the direction of the Holy Ghost fathers who had their headquarters at Kongolo.<sup>47</sup>

By the time that these events had taken place the Congo Free State no longer existed. Considerable pressure had been put on Leopold to change his policies. This was because of the harsh measures taken by the king in order to force the population to produce rubber in sufficient quantities to keep his enterprise above the water line. So severe and inhumane were his methods that there were many lives lost and not a little blood spilt. It was for this reason that in connection with the Free State one spoke of 'Red Rubber'. More than once the king turned a blind eye to what was going on and actively sought to deny any of the accusations brought against him. It was only the eventual pressure of groups in England and America that finally forced the Belgian parliament to take stock of what was happening in the Congo and this they did most reluctantly.<sup>48</sup> Amongst those who had been most aggressive in their condemnation of the agents of the Free State had been a number of Protestant missionaries. This together with the fact that England and America, both English-speaking Protestant nations, were foremost in their accusations against the king of the Belgians, caused much open resentment on the part of many Belgians. For many years in the Belgian Congo, this earlier criticism of Leopold by the Protestants was used as a tool against Protestant missions by both the Catholic Church and the Administration.<sup>49</sup> Finally, after much heated discussion and a great deal of pressure from within and without, the Belgian parliament voted on the 20th of August 1908 to annex the Congo which thereafter became the Belgian Congo.<sup>50</sup>

From the earliest times the Katanga had been an object of keen interest; even as early as the Arab slave trading days reports of the country's riches in copper had made their way to the coasts of the continent. For this reason before the Free State had established its presence in the Katanga the Administration was extremely anxious about what the British would do in the region. The British were looking very interestedly at the potential in the Copperbelt which is the copper bearing area that commences near Ndola in today's Zambia, and continues through to Kolwezi. Alfred Sharpe, an emissary of Cecil John Rhodes, had been to Bunkeya during the days of Msiri to try and persuade him to sign a treaty with the British. This would allow them to take up residence in his kingdom.<sup>51</sup> Msiri refused to sign. Later he changed his mind and attempted to recall Sharpe, but his efforts were foiled when his message was intercepted by the Free State agents. Not long after this Msiri was killed in the shooting incident which I have already mentioned. However, even when the Free State had established its presence in the Katanga its agents continued to suspect every move of the British to the South of its borders.

Because of the vastness of the country and the impossibility of trying to police and develop its resources on their own, the Free State decided to employ methods similar to that which had worked well enough with the British. The latter had incorporated private companies like the British South Africa Company to accomplish their purposes in the South of the continent.<sup>52</sup> However, the companies incorporated by the Free State were not governing bodies and they were not autonomous; they were answerable to the Free State Administration. The Administration hoped that these companies would develop and prepare the country for stable government. In the Katanga the private enterprises formed included: the *Compagnie du Katanga*, the *Comité Spéciale du Katanga*, the *Compagnie des Chemins*

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<sup>47</sup> The Holy Ghost Fathers (Pères du Saint Esprit) had opened their work at Kindu in the Maniema in 1907, but soon afterwards, in 1909 they moved most of the administration to Kongolo. It is at Kongolo that the CFL built their ship-yards for the steamers which plied the Lualaba. In 1912 the Spiritans opened a station at Malemba Nkulu on the opposite bank to Mulongo and the GEM. In 1921 they commenced a mission at Ankoro (properly Hanga Nkolwa), at the confluents of the Lualaba and the Luvua, the river which drains Lake Mweru; cf. Alfred Corman, *Annuaire des Missions Catholiques*, pp. 284, 285; I will treat Catholic policy elsewhere, but it is evident from Corman, pp. 182, 183 that what I say about Catholic strategy aimed at the holding back of the Protestants is correct.

<sup>48</sup> Slade, *Leopold's Congo*, pp. 207, 210; Cornet, *Sommaire*, p. 23; R. Anstey, *King Leopold's Legacy*, pp. 6, 7; Markowitz, *Cross and Sword*, pp. 6, 7.

<sup>49</sup> Slade, *Leopold's Congo*, pp. 200, 201; On the role of the Protestant missionaries Murphy, Sjöblom, Hinde and Morrison cf. Slade, *Ibid.*, pp. 181-192; Cornet, *Sommaire*, p. 24; R. Anstey, *Leopold's Legacy*, pp. 8-18, 33; R. Slade, *English-Speaking Missions*, pp. 242-257, 268-286.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. A. Stenmans, *La reprise du Congo par la Belgique*, Brussels, Editions Techniques et Scientifiques R. Louis, 1949, pp. 435-455; Slade, *Leopold's Congo*, p. 209.

<sup>51</sup> Verbeken, *Msiri*, pp. 166-170; R. Slade, *Leopold's Congo*, p. 126.

<sup>52</sup> Slade, *Leopold's Congo*, pp. 130, 132-134; Cornet, *Katanga*, pp. 199, 200.

de Fer des Grands-Lacs (CFL), the *Union Minière du Haut-Katanga*, and the *Compagnie du Chemin de Fer du Bas-Congo au Katanga* (BECEKA).<sup>53</sup>

This brief introduction gives some idea of what things were like in 1915 when Burton was in South Africa contemplating missionary work in the Katanga. It is not all clear just when it was that Burton made the decision to go to the Congo but it would seem that he must have been greatly influenced by the findings of the exploration party sent out by the Pentecostal Mission in 1914. He had also been studying maps of the Congo and had come across some of the names of former rubber collecting camps in the Katanga including those of Fundabyabo, Nkinda and Kisengwa. Maps were not always accurate and often place names were completely wrong or they were wrongly located.<sup>54</sup> Burton had somehow decided that Fundabyabo was the point from which they would launch their work in the Congo.<sup>55</sup> This point, which turned out to be of very little consequence, is not found on modern maps and is located on the Lualaba not far from Munanga which lies on the main road from the coal mining centre of Luena to Kolwezi.

Earlier I mentioned the exploration party sent out by the Pentecostal Mission from South Africa. In 1914 a group of four men from the Pentecostal Mission had left South Africa by boat for what was then German East Africa. Their purpose was to explore the centre of the continent with a mind to finding the most needy tribes so as to be able to start new mission posts at strategic places. The party included George Bowie, Ulyate, Richardson and one other who later turned back.<sup>56</sup> They had not been on their way too long when the war broke out between Britain and Germany and they had to make their way as quickly as possible to the Congo. In spite of considerable risk they managed to cross into the Kivu without being captured. It was during this time in the Kivu that Richardson, who was a missionary with many years of experience, came down with malaria and died. Both Bowie and Ulyate, though suffering from recurring bouts of malaria, managed to walk all the way across the Maniema to the Lualaba at Kongolo.<sup>57</sup> An interesting story is told in this connection by H. Womersley who in 1949 was called as the Legal Representative of the CEM to commence a station for the CEM at Kongolo. One of the Congolese witnesses to whom the land belonged told of the arrival of two white men in 1914. He said they had looked more dead than alive when they stood on the bank of the Lualaba to pray that God would keep that spot for the preaching of the message of Christ. The same man believed that the coming of the CEM was an answer to the prayer made so many years before. Today the CPZ Station stands on that very spot.<sup>58</sup>

From Kongolo the two men caught the CFL steamer bound for Bukama, but by the time they got to Mulongo Ulyate was so ill with malaria that the captain advised he be put off to help his recovery. F.M. Zentler, who has already been mentioned, welcomed them and helped nurse Ulyate back to a measure of health. While Ulyate was recuperating, Zentler and Bowie made a trip to Mwanza on the western side of the Lualaba. Zentler had made several visits to the chieftainship previously, but explained to Bowie that he had more than he could handle on the east side. They met with Chief Mwanza Kajingu and were shown a location on Kayembe Hill where they were told that they could build a mission station.<sup>59</sup> Bowie was obviously impressed by what he saw at Mwanza where there was a population of 10,000 within three and a half kilometres and over 250,000 within 60 kilometres.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>53</sup> The dates for their founding are respectively: 1891, 1900, 1902-3, 1906 and 1906; cf. Cornet, *Sommaire*, pp. 40-46; on CSK cf. Anstey, *Leopold's Legacy*, p. 38.

<sup>54</sup> H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, pp. 40-42.

<sup>55</sup> W. Burton, 'Recorded Notes', p. 1.

<sup>56</sup> W. Burton, 'A Brief History of the Thirty Years of the Congo Evangelistic Mission', *CEMR*, No. 116, 1946, p. 1; W. Burton, *God Working*, p. 4; H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, pp. 42, 43; this party was made up of three Americans and one South African.

<sup>57</sup> H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, p. 43; Burton, *God Working*, p. 4.

<sup>58</sup> This incident was related to H. Womersley, who in 1949 was the Legal Representative of the CEM. He went to Kongolo to make legal arrangements for the transfer of land to the Mission. Included in the delegation which ceded the land to the CEM were a number of chiefs. Presumably, this group would have included the *mwine ntanda* (the possessor of the land) who according to Luban law is the only one who has the authority to grant land to anyone. Even the Paramount Chief does not have authority over the land, but only over the people. One of the men had been present when Bowie and Ulyate had made their visit to Kongolo; cf. H. Womersley, *Congo Miracle: Fifty Years of God's Working in Congo (Zaire)*, Eastbourne, Victory Press, 1974, p. 138; H. Womersley, 'Flashes from the Past, No. 14', *CEMR*, No. 400, 1970, pp. 4, 5; H. Womersley, Interview, Bedford, 21/7/1980.

<sup>59</sup> H. Womersley, 'The Man who saw the place,' *CEMR*, No. 329, pp. 15-17; H. Womersley, 'Mwanza the Place to Begin', *ZEMR*, No. 482, 1977, p. 4; W. Burton, *God Working*, p. 4; H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, p. 43; Lewis B. Heath, Letter, Newark, New Jersey, 22/5/1916 to Pierre Mali (Belgian Consul) New York, AABruxelles Dos. No. P.M. XIV where Bowie's journey to Mwanza is mentioned.

<sup>60</sup> Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p. 20.

Bowie decided immediately that this was the place they had been looking for and left word with the chief that a dwelling be constructed for the missionaries who would be coming to take up residence at Mwanza.<sup>61</sup> H. Womersley writes concerning this event:

Surely God had brought Zentler and Bowie together to choose Mwanza -which actually means 'The Place of Beginning' -as a starting point for tremendous venture for God? (*Congo Pioneer*, p. 43)

The time of this journey had turned out to be crucial since Zentler who was of German descent was soon taken off to be interned as an alien at Stanleyville. This was because his parents had neglected to take out naturalisation papers for him in Britain.<sup>62</sup> By the time that Burton, Salter and the other Pentecostal Mission workers had returned to the Congo in 1915, Zentler was no longer at Mulongo.<sup>63</sup>

After three weeks at Mulongo, Ulyate, the one South African in the party, had recovered well enough to make the homeward journey back to Johannesburg. When they eventually arrived both men were overcome by malaria; Bowie hovered at death's door with a temperature of 104°F, but finally recovered. Ulyate rallied for a time but after several months had a relapse and died shortly afterwards since he refused to take any quinine.<sup>64</sup>

Burton had been joined by Salter in June 1915 and together they decided to team up with the members of the Pentecostal Mission who proposed leaving shortly for Mwanza. This team from the PM consisted of Joseph Blakeney, an American who had come out to South Africa in 1913 and who had spent enough time amongst the Zulu to be of help linguistically,<sup>65</sup> and George Armstrong, a South African. Blakeney was to be the director while Armstrong, better known as 'Daddy' because of his age, was to help with the construction work that would be necessary. Presumably they had in mind that they would launch the project and once there were several buildings erected, reinforcements would be sent.<sup>66</sup>

Bowie and Ulyate must have brought news of Belgian Congo Government requirements for all missionaries wishing to work in the country. Apparently Burton and Salter realised it would be very difficult for them as independent missionaries to meet these requirements and to obtain the necessary PC or Civil recognition.<sup>67</sup> Yet they felt very strongly that God was leading them to the Congo and although they were never at any time members of the Pentecostal Mission they worked out an arrangement whereby they would enter the Congo under the umbrella of their name. Burton and Salter agreed to stay with this first party through the first year and rainy season. They would help to establish something at Mwanza by which time they would have found out more about the Government regulations for commencing their own work at Fundabyabo.<sup>68</sup>

It was realised that there would be considerable delay at Elisabethville with the arrangements that needed to be made by the Pentecostal Mission. Permission had to be granted before they could start work at Mwanza, and for this reason to cut costs it was decided that Burton and Blakeney would proceed. Burton was chosen to accompany Blakeney since he had learned French as a child from his French governess. It was considered important that one of those who was to deal with the authorities, should be able to communicate with the Belgians in their own tongue.<sup>69</sup> Burton intimates that Blakeney was quite jealous of the fact that it was Burton who could speak French and that at times he had been most uncouth in his manner. This was probably because he realised that although he was the director of the Pentecostal Mission, in Congo he was going to be very dependent upon Burton for most of the

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<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 27; in H. Womersley, 'The Man who saw the place', *CEMR*, No. 329, p. 16 Zentler tells how he went to Mwanza with Bowie and that it was immediately decided to erect a building there because of the Catholics designs in the area; cf. Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p. 27.

<sup>62</sup> *Supra* ft. nt. 61 on Zentler, and same article p. 17; H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, p. 43; Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p. 25; In his article, H. Womersley, 'Mwanza the Place to Begin', *ZEMR*, No. 482p. 4 it is noted that Zentler dies at Bebington, England on 13/12/1976 at the age of ninety four.

<sup>63</sup> Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p. 25.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, p.14; W. Burton, *God Working*, p. 4; W. Burton, 'Recorded Notes', p. 1; H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, p. 43; after a short time Bowie was forced by ill health to return permanently to the United States.

<sup>65</sup> Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p. 25; cf. C. Irvine, *The Church of Christ in Zaire*, p. 55.

<sup>66</sup> W. Burton, *God Working*, p. 6; Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p. 19; C. Irvine, *The Church of Christ*, p. 56.

<sup>67</sup> The matter of legal status in the Belgian Congo, better known as *Personnalité civile* (PC) will be treated in Chapter IV A).

<sup>68</sup> W. Burton, 'Recorded Notes', p. 1; Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p. 19; H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, pp. 45,46.

<sup>69</sup> Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p. 19; H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, p. 46.

business that would transpire between the new mission and the Belgian administration.<sup>70</sup> The advance party left Johannesburg on 23 June and arrived in Elisabethville on 1 July 1915.<sup>71</sup> During November of 1914, probably while Bowie and Ulyate were still in Elisabethville on their way to Johannesburg, George Bowie wrote a letter to the *Comité Spécial du Katanga*, the private company responsible for the allocation of all land in the Katanga and the owner of all mineral and forestry rights. In this letter he asked for a parcel of land 40 kilometres west of Mulongo. The *Comité* replied that since the Pentecostal Mission had as yet not received PC and was not officially registered in the country, no help could be given to them and for this reason their request was denied.<sup>72</sup> Later when the Administration realised that the Pentecostal Mission had already located at Mwanza and that they were talking about a *fait accompli* they ordered an inquiry into this unconventional installation; presumably this was after Bowie and Zentler made their exploratory journey and ordered the erection of a small house.

On the same count Callewaert, Apostolic Prefect of the Holy Ghost Fathers at Kongolo wrote a letter to the Vice-Governor General at Elisabethville on 1 December 1914 in which he reported that:

Une mission anglaise avait projeté de s'installer à KAZINGU et exprima l'espoir de voir les missionnaires protestants rester sur la rive droite [sic gauche] du LUALABA. (Vice-Gouverneur Général du Katanga, *Letter*. Pour Département Service des Terres, No. 415, Elisabethville, 15/7/1916 au Ministre des Colonies, London, Archives Africaines, Brussels, Dossier No. P.M. XIV/1)

It was quite evident that neither the Catholics nor the Administration wished to see the PM on the western side of the Lualaba even though the site at Mwanza Kajingu was more than 25 kilometres from the Catholic Mission at Malemba Nkulu.<sup>73</sup> The Vice-Governor General felt that it would be best if the Pentecostal Mission were elsewhere so that they would not overlap the work of another mission, especially when the other mission was of another confession. This is apparently the gist of what the Vice-Governor General wrote in a letter to Bowie. It is not known exactly what Bowie wrote in reply, but I do know that he was quite adamant concerning the location at Mwanza. This the Vice-Governor General underlines when he wrote to the Minister of the Colonies:

Avec quelle insistance M. BROWIE [sic] manifeste le désir de voir rester ses missionnaires à KAZINGU dont les habitants ont déclaré que jamais d'autres missionnaires ne leur avaient offert de les évangéliser. (Vice-Gouverneur Général du Katanga, *Letter*, 15/7/1916)

Perhaps these were some of the matters on his mind when Burton wrote to Preston after his departure from Johannesburg and said: "I can see that we are up against some terrible problems, but I believe that God's Word has a solution to every one".<sup>74</sup> Nevertheless, the tone of the Vice-Governor General's letter is difficult to understand in the light of what Burton wrote from Elisabethville on 16 July 1915 when the missionaries had just concluded their business with the authorities:

At last we are through our official business.... God gave us great favour with the Belgian Officials, Vice-Governor General and his Assistant Minister of Justice, State Secretary, Minister of Finance, and Minister of the Interior.... we are guaranteed leave to settle at Mwanza Kasingu [sic Kajingu] (Moorhead, *op. cit.*, p. 20)

One could consider Burton's report exaggerated or naïve, but when we remember that the Belgian Congo accorded PC to the new PM on 16 September 1915 this seems very unlikely.<sup>75</sup> There were

<sup>70</sup> W. Burton, 'Recorded Notes', p. 1.

<sup>71</sup> W. Burton, 'My Fiftieth Anniversary 1914-1964' *CEMR*, No. 333, p. 2 says that they left Johannesburg on 23 June 1915; cf. Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p. 18; 'W.F.P. Burton: Funeral', indicates that among those to wish Burton and Blakeney farewell were P.L. Le Roux and C. Welsh of the Apostolic Faith Mission. The former is better known to non-Pentecostals in connection with the Zionist churches in South Africa; cf. W. Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals*, p. 120.

<sup>72</sup> Cited by Vice-Gouverneur Général du Katanga, *Letter*, Service des Terres, Katanga, No. 415, Elisabethville, 15/7/1916 au Ministre des Colonies à Londres, AABruxelles Dos. No. P.M. XIV/I.

<sup>73</sup> The correct orthography of this name is KAJINGU although it is variously written in Belgian and other documents: KASINGU and KAZINGU.

<sup>74</sup> Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p. 19.

<sup>75</sup> *Bulletin Officiel du Congo Belge* (1915-1918), ed. M. Hauez, Brussels, Gouvernement du Congo Belge, n.d., p. 358; In his *Letter* mentioned (*supra* ft. nt. 72) above the Vice-Governor General indicates that he had written another letter to the Minister on 17/7/1915 (No. 875) which had to do with the Pentecostal Mission, but there is no record of its contents.

those in the Administration who even after Burton and Salter had been at Mwanza for some time considered making them move away. Yet, the Vice-Governor General, who I believe was at this time was Tombeur, seemed quite resigned to the idea of them continuing on. This is clear from what he wrote to the Minister of colonies:

Je pense cependant, Monsieur le Ministre, qu'il serait difficile d'obliger la Mission précitée [Pentecostal] à s'installer dans une autre région, plus loin de KULU,<sup>76</sup> étant donné que les indigènes eux-mêmes insistent pour conserver les missionnaires protestants à KAZINGU. (Vice-Gouverneur Général, *Letter*, 15/7/1916)

Certainly, when they were in Elisabethville Burton and Blakeney seemed to have been well received by the authorities who went out of their way to be helpful and even accorded them "a permit to shoot all animals excepting elephants".<sup>77</sup> At the same time they were informed of all that was required of them with regards to legal representation and application for land.<sup>78</sup>

On the very eve of their departure from Elisabethville Burton met the manager of the company which was responsible for the construction of the new railway being built toward Bukama. The gentleman was more than happy to help the missionaries and promised to give them a free pass on a wagon as far as Kambove, which was the end of the travelled section at that date. At Kambove they stayed for several weeks with the Roger S. Guptills, missionaries with the American Methodist mission started in 1913 by Bishop Springer.<sup>79</sup> They also managed to visit the nearby Brethren Mission at Mount Koni and gained valuable help and linguistic instruction with James Anton. Kisanga and Kiluba are similar and the Baluba can easily understand the Basanga, their neighbours to the South.<sup>80</sup>

Burton, Blakeney, Salter and Armstrong then caught the first passenger train through to Tshilongo. From there they trekked overland across the Kibara plains for eleven days to Bukama, which is the highest point of navigation on the Lualaba. It is from here that the paddle steamers made their way more than 1000 kilometres downstream to Kongolo in the North.<sup>81</sup>

At Bukama there was another hitch, since the steamer which normally carried passengers had been requisitioned to carry supplies to the troops in Tanganyika. The missionaries were told that there was no possibility of them travelling with the steamer.<sup>82</sup> Again it was the dry season and the steamer had been hung up on a sandbank one day's journey down the Lualaba from Bukama.<sup>83</sup> Things looked impossible for some time since supplies were running out and finances were almost at an end. Originally, the party had intended to make the first part of the journey down the river on foot but they had been prevented from doing this by two warring factions in the Kapamai chieftainship.<sup>84</sup> Burton managed to shoot some wild pig which was cut up and bartered for what he called "more wholesome food",<sup>85</sup> while Armstrong who had a fishing rod decided that he would see if he could catch any fish. He did not have much success but instead because of all the anopheles mosquitoes that rose in clouds everywhere, he caught malaria.<sup>86</sup>

Finally, after waiting for about 14 days at Bukama the soldiers who were waiting for more supplies decided they could wait no longer. They offered to take the missionaries with them on their barges which would later link up with the steamer.<sup>87</sup> This delay in the swamps proved fatal for George Armstrong, yet as far as the CEM was concerned it turned out to be providential indeed. A young

<sup>76</sup> The orthography of African names was, during the Belgian era, governed by certain rules. In the case of Malemba Nkulu there was a ruling which covered words which commenced with a nasal M or N.: « les lettres m et n que font sonner souvent les indigènes devant les noms commençant par consonnes, seront négligées. On écrira par conséquent, Zobe, au lieu de N'Zobe... » ; Royaume de Belgique, Ministère des Colonies, *Recueil à l'usage des fonctionnaires et des agents du Service territorial au Congo Belge*, 4ed. ed. M. Weissenbruch, Brussels, Imprimeur du Roi, 1925, p. 429.

<sup>77</sup> Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p. 20; W. Burton, *God Working*, p. 6.

<sup>78</sup> W. Burton, 'Recorded Notes', p. 1.

<sup>79</sup> W. Burton, *God Working*, p. 6; Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, pp. 19,20; H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, pp.48,49; C. Irvine, *The Church of Christ*, p. 101.

<sup>80</sup> W. Burton, *God Working*, p. 7; H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, p. 49.

<sup>81</sup> W. Burton, *God Working*, pp. 7,8; Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p. 21; H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, p. 49.

<sup>82</sup> Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, pp. 21,22; W. Burton, 'Recorded Notes', p. 1; W. Burton, *God Working*, p. 8.

<sup>83</sup> Burton, *God Working*, p. 8; H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, p. 49.

<sup>84</sup> H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, p. 48.

<sup>85</sup> Excerpts taken from a letter written from Bukama on 21/8/1915 in Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, pp. 20-22; As is true in the case of most Africans, meat is most precious to the Baluba and so easy to trade for other food.

<sup>86</sup> W. Burton, 'Recorded Notes', p. 1; Burton, *God Working*, p. 9; H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, p. 49.

<sup>87</sup> Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p. 20.

Belgian officer by the name of Lieutenant E.J.F. Henry, who was not long out from Belgium, had been placed over 200 troops stationed at Bukama. During the long days while they were waiting for possible news of their departure Burton spent much time talking to Henry about spiritual things and his need for salvation, he also left with Henry his own French pocket Testament with the injunction that he should read it regularly. Henry later received promotion in the Colonial Forces and became a military attaché to the Vice-Governor General of the Katanga. In fact he became acting Governor of the Katanga in 1928 and was later promoted further to become Governor of one of the other provinces. It was when he was attached to the Vice-Governor General of the Katanga that he was able to help the CEM. This was in connection with the accusations that had threatened the Mission's continued presence in the Congo.<sup>88</sup>

Eventually, the missionaries left Bukama and made their way downstream to join with the steamer the *Louis Cousin*. But by this time Armstrong's malaria had turned into blackwater fever and he soon died.<sup>89</sup> Things became so critical that for a time Burton wondered if they had done the right thing coming to Congo. Both Blakeney and Salter were suffering from fever and Salter was so very ill that when they buried Armstrong under a lonely palm tree at Kaleka, his grave was left open for they felt sure Salter would soon die.<sup>90</sup> One of the English officers advised Burton to return immediately to civilization adding that if they did not they would certainly all die.<sup>91</sup> Since the *Louis Cousin* was still aground on a sandbank, Burton decided to leave the boat during the hours of darkness in order to be on his own. He wanted time to sort out his own feelings in prayer. Throughout the entire night he wrestled in prayer until the first light of dawn began to appear. By then he felt more certain than ever that God was with them and wanted them to continue as planned to Mwanza.<sup>92</sup>

Ultimately, the *Louis Cousin* pulled free of the sand which was holding it; before too long the missionaries were able to disembark at Mulongo not far from their final destination.<sup>93</sup> They had expected to be met by Zentler but instead were received by a young Congolese Christian called Peter Tyungu.<sup>94</sup> He presented them with a letter from Zentler which read:

Dear Brethren, I welcome you in Jesus' Name but I regret I cannot greet you in person as, being of German nationality, I've been interned but I fulfilled first my promise to Brother Bowie and arranged with Mwanza Chief to put up a mud-and-wattle house for you on Kayembe Hill. Sorry I have nothing with which to welcome you but this sack of rice which I have cultivated here. May the Lord bless you exceedingly. (M. Zentler, *Letter*, Mulongo, n.d.[1915] cited in H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, p. 54.)

In spite of Zentler's absence Blakeney, Burton and Salter were treated with the utmost hospitality.<sup>95</sup> The last leg of the journey to Mwanza was nearly all up steep hills. Salter was still suffering from the effects of malaria and had to be carried in a *machila* (a carrying hammock). Burton and Blakeney walked but gradually Burton was overcome and sank to the earth where he became unconscious. He recalls how as he lay there he was suddenly aware of a warm glow throughout his body. It was as though something like warm water had been poured over him relieving the aching in his limbs, the pain in his eyes and the throbbing in his head. He stood to his feet and was able to finish the journey feeling fresher than when he started.<sup>96</sup>

Some years later, when Burton was visiting Highbury in London, a woman came up to him to inquire what he had been doing at 8 a.m. on 1 September 1915. With adjustments for the difference in time between Mwanza and London this was exactly when the invigorating power had come over Burton while he lay spent upon the path between Mulongo and Mwanza. The woman who had been busy at

<sup>88</sup> W. Burton, *My Personal Testimony*, side 2; cf. H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, pp. 90,91.

<sup>89</sup> W. Burton, *God Working*, pp. 9,10; Burton, 'Recorded Notes', p. 1 also indicates that Armstrong refused until the last to take quinine. It is interesting to note that Armstrong's son, Jack who had been involved with John G. Lake in South Africa, and who had been one of the leaders of the Pentecostal revival in Johannesburg and Pretoria, has also died of malaria on a journey to Mashonaland (in Zimbabwe) some time before his father's departure for the Congo; cf. Burton, *When God Makes a Pastor*, pp. 74,75.

<sup>90</sup> W. Burton, *God Working*, pp. 11,12; Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p. 24; H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, pp. 50-52,154.

<sup>91</sup> H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, p. 51.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 51,52; Burton, *God Working*, pp. 11,12.

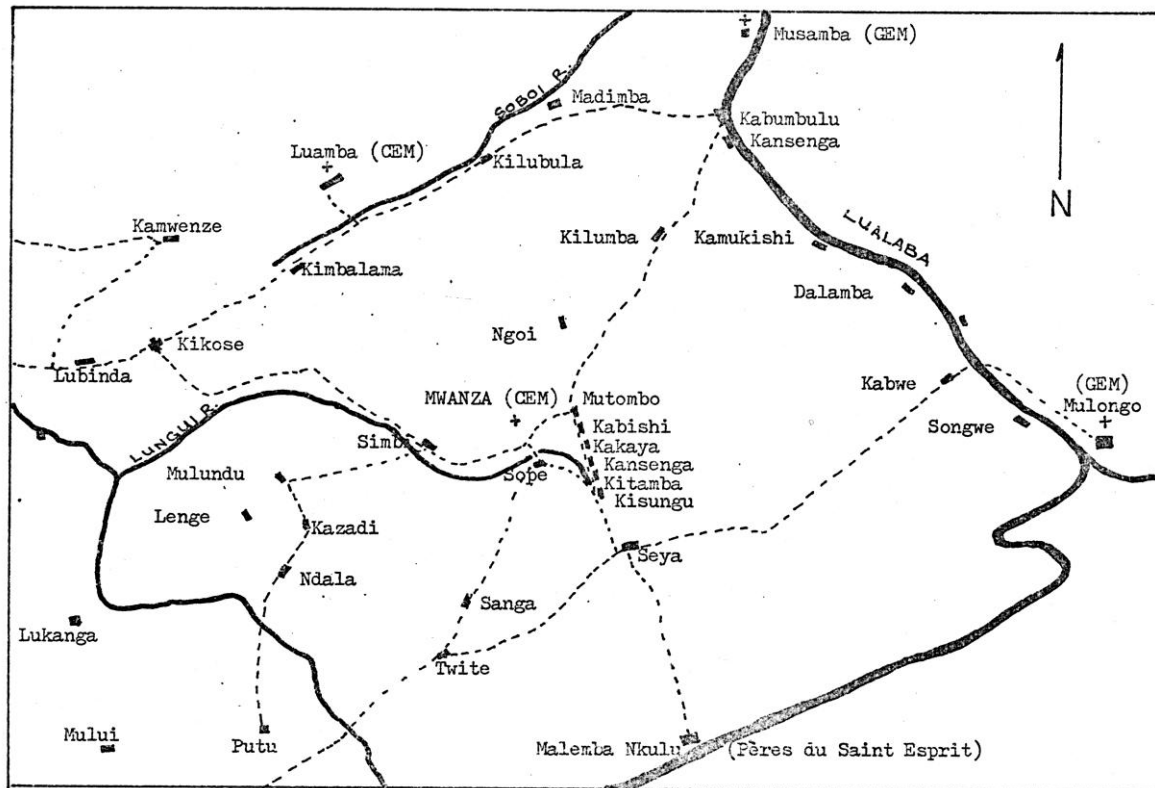
<sup>93</sup> H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, pp. 53,54; Burton, *God Working*, pp. 12,13; Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, pp. 24,25.

<sup>94</sup> Burton, *God Working*, p. 14; Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p. 26 where we read that Burton was very impressed by Tyungu and the work he was doing and called him: "A black man missionary standing alone."

<sup>95</sup> Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p. 25; Burton, *God Working*, p.14; H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, p. 54.

<sup>96</sup> W. Burton, *God Working*, p. 15; H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, p. 55.

work was prompted several times to stop and pray for Burton, but each time she ignored this prompting. Finally, it became so strong that she left what she was doing. She then prayed until the burden left her. Because of the remarkable nature of what had happened, she immediately noted the time and the date on her calendar.<sup>97</sup>



THE AREA FIRST EVANGELISED BY THE PM/CEM

<sup>97</sup> W. Burton, *God Working*, pp.15,16; H. Womersely, *Congo Pioneer*, pp.55,56; for the date 1/9/1915 cf. *CEMR*, No 333, 1964, p.2.

## D) Mwanza: The Planting of the First Mission Station and its Consolidation

Mwanza, located at 7.8° South and 26.7° East lies on the Lungui River and is in an area called the Budya section of Lubaland.<sup>1</sup> Although the nearby sub-chief at Kilumba can be traced back through Bunda Mukaya to the first Emperor of the land - Nkongolo Mwamba or Nkongolo the Red<sup>2</sup> - there is little if any evidence that the Mwanza chiefs have any direct link with either Nkongolo or Kalala Ilunga head of the second Luban dynasty.<sup>3</sup> Burton points out that the Kabongo people said: "we used to receive tribute from Kalala Mweo, Mwanza's first chief". But, adds Burton, Kalala Mweo was no chief at all and was rather a tributary of Ngoy a Kamwanya and Pyana Ndala other neighbouring chiefs.<sup>4</sup>

Mwanza Kajingu, chief at Mwanza at the time Burton, Blakeney and Salter arrived, had unlike Mafingi of Manono, been little influenced by the new civilisation that the white man had started to introduce. Mafingi had been employed at one time by Dan Crawford at Bunkeya and would often appear in a neat white outfit like those worn by the colonial officials of the day.<sup>5</sup> Burton described Mwanza Kajingu as a conservative old man who, when he had come greet the missionaries sported "a piece of cloth round him, a hippo tooth fetish round his neck, and his hair shaved except for a pad at the back". In this pad was thrust a stick with which to scratch himself when the flies tickled.<sup>6</sup> This was the man who was no doubt responsible for the tumultuous welcome given to the new missionaries when they arrived at Mwanza.<sup>7</sup> Describing the event H. Womersley writes:

Thousands yelled and shouted, happy that the white men had kept their word and sent their 'brothers' to live among them. Hundreds crowded round and conducted them to the top of Kayembe Hill. (Harold Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, p. 57)

It was at this juncture that a remarkable thing happened, which most certainly played a very important part in the way in which the white men were accepted in their adopted milieu. A man by the name of Tentami, who had been doubled over for years due to curvature of the spine, was one of those in the crowd. As Burton looked out over the sea of faces he saw Tentami and suddenly felt a strong urge to pray for him. As he did so there was an audible crack and the man stood bolt upright.<sup>8</sup> This incident had the effect of making the people believe that these white men had very strong *manga* (medicine).<sup>9</sup> As a result many followed closely to see what else would happen. They wondered if they would also eventually possess the same power.<sup>10</sup>

Letters written by local Belgian administrators to their superiors indicate that the people of Mwanza were more than enthusiastic to think that they had their own missionaries. When the possibility that they might not always be there became known the local population were adamant they should stay since no one else had ever taken any interest in them.<sup>11</sup>

The missionaries needed this encouragement, for not only had they lost one of the number on the way, but Salter was at that time still very ill. To add to their problems the house that had been constructed for them on the orders of Bowie was about to collapse. Light showed through great chinks in the walls and there were gaps everywhere in the thatch. Even though it was in this poor state they still had to pay for the work which had been done. The locals believed it was not their fault that the missionaries had taken so long to get there.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> W. Burton, *God Working*, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> W. Burton, *Luba Religion and Magic in Custom and Belief*, pp. 13-15; Bunda Mukaya was the eldest son of Nkongolo; cf. Heinz Göring, *Baluba: Studien zur Selbstzuordnung und Herrschaftstruktur der baLuba*, Studia Ethnologica, Band I, Meisnheim am Glan, Verlag Anton Hain, 1970, pp. 127, 128; Kongolo is written with or without the initial N.

<sup>3</sup> H. Göring, *Baluba*, pp. 128, 129; Edmond Verhulpen, *Baluba et Balubaïses du Katanga*, Anvers, L'Avenir Belge, 1936, pp. 127, 369; W. Burton, *Luba Religion*, pp. 14, 15.

<sup>4</sup> W. Burton, *Luba Religion*, pp. 14, 15.

<sup>5</sup> W. Burton, *God Working*, p. 14; Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p. 26.

<sup>6</sup> Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p. 26.

<sup>7</sup> J. Salter, *Abraham Our First Congo Convert*, London, Victory Press, n.d., p. 6; Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p. 27; Burton, *God Working*, p. 16; H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, p. 57.

<sup>8</sup> W. Burton, *Honey Bee: Life Story of a Congo Evangelist*, Preston, CEM, n.d., p. 12; W. Burton, *My Personal Testimony*, side one.

<sup>9</sup> Yumba wa Nkulu, Interview, 13/12/1980. This man was president of the EPCO/CPZ until his death in 1982; cf. L. Dieu, *Dans la brousse congolaise: Les origines des missions de Scheut au Congo*, Liège, Maréchal, 1946, p. 116.

<sup>10</sup> Yumba wa Nkulu, Interview, 13/12/1980 said that many of the earliest followers did not understand the full implications of the Christian message, but they were impressed with the healings and answers to prayer.

<sup>11</sup> Vice-Gouverneur Général du Katanga, Letter, 15/7/1916 au Ministre des Colonies.

<sup>12</sup> J. Salter, *Abraham*, pp. 6, 7; Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p. 27; Burton, *God Working*, p. 16.

Although it can get very hot at Mwanza it is not as extreme as it is on the Lualaba which is approximately 300 metres lower. The cooler breezes, the change and the rest were good for Salter who soon recovered enough to get down to language studies.<sup>13</sup> Even before Salter was up Burton was doing all he could to take down words and phrases in his notebook.<sup>14</sup>

At first the missionaries would use the Swahili name for God and would point to the sky and speak of Mungu.<sup>15</sup> One of their young helpers cut his finger and they soon learned the word for blood - *mashi*.<sup>16</sup> In this way they gradually built up their vocabulary. One day Burton had an idea how to be more accurate and learn at a quicker pace. There were always crowds of youngsters around him since he loved to do conjuring tricks and would make objects appear and disappear at will. There are people today, even among the Christians of the CPZ, who remember these tricks and have told me that Burton had real *majende* (magic). H. Womersley reports how Burton took three objects out of his pocket: a key, a knife and a button and held up the first repeating slowly K-E-Y, KEY! It slowly dawned on the children that this was the white man's language and they began to repeat this with him. He did the same with a knife but when it came to the button he just held it up and did not say anything. After a moment the children began to shout impatiently: "I ki ka? I ki ka?" this phrase meaning obviously 'What is it?' was quickly recorded in his notebook. After this the missionaries could point to anything and say: "I ki ka?" and the children would tell them.<sup>17</sup> In this way they were soon able to build up a collection of words and phrases. Some of them were not always correct; for example, when pointing to a tree that could be given the name for bark or for a branch. Yet they gradually built up a list of Kiluba words. Burton kept this throughout his days in Congo. He claimed eventually that there were over 15,000 words in Kiluba then in common use by the average adult Muluba.<sup>18</sup>

Dan Crawford of the Luanza mission, whom we have already mentioned and who is best remembered for his book *Thinking Black*, was a linguist in his own right and among other things had translated the New Testament into Luba-Sanga. For sometime this was the only Bible that was available to the Baluba Shankadi – the polite Baluba. They are otherwise known as the Baluba Lolo – the mother tribe all of all the Baluba. However, Luba-Sanga was different enough from Kiluba to cause misunderstanding. There was also a duplicated grammar, by J. A. Clarke of the Garenganze Mission at Mulongo, in both Luba-Hemba and Luba-Sanga languages. The new Pentecostal Mission (hereafter PM) missionaries found that generally the Luba-Sanga was of more help to them than the Luba-Hemba.<sup>19</sup> There would have been few if any of the local people at Mwanza who were able to read at that time so the literature available would not have benefited them until later.

During this initial learning period there were many frustrating times when the missionaries found that they could not communicate properly. One incident about which they later laughed a great deal was Salter's first message. Burton was sure that Salter was quicker at picking up the language than he but still thought that Salter was being over ambitious when on a Sunday the local population gathered to hear the "words of God".<sup>20</sup> This was because Salter announced that he was going to preach about Pontius Pilate and the crucifixion. Not long after he started he ran out of vocabulary and kept on repeating the phrase: "Mulopwe - muntu mubi; mulopwe - muntu mubi". Mulopwe can mean several things: King, chief or ruler. Salter was trying to say that the king, meaning Pontius Pilate, was a bad man, but he kept repeating that the chief was a bad man. Naturally, Chief Kajingu and everyone else thought that Salter who was referring to him and he began to grind his teeth, the sign of extreme displeasure. Several men even reached for their spears and arrows and the whole atmosphere was extremely tense. Burton whispered to Salter to stop and the meeting was soon dismissed.<sup>21</sup>

At the time they were running very low on food and had been trying to get the chief to arrange for food to be brought but none had been forthcoming. For this reason when Salter kept repeating that the chief was a bad man everyone thought this was because he had done nothing to

<sup>13</sup> Burton, *God Working*, p.16.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16; H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, p.59.

<sup>15</sup> H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, p. 58.

<sup>16</sup> *Loc.cit.*; Burton, *God Working*, p. 58.

<sup>17</sup> H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, pp. 59, 60.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Van Avermaet and B. Mbuya, *Dictionnaire Kiluba-Français*, Annales du Musée Royal du Congo Belge, Science de l'homme, Série in-8°, Linguistique Vol. 7, Tervuren, Belgium, Musée Royal du Congo Belge, 1954.

<sup>19</sup> Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, pp. 33, 34; Burton, 'Recorded Notes', p.2; Burton, *God Working*, p. 17 indicates that Mr. Anton gave the Pentecostals some New Testaments. These would probably have been in Luba-Sanga. Burton also mentions that the language of those people at Lake Mweru was so different that the Bibles in that language were of little help. They would have been in Luba-Hemba or Bemba.

<sup>20</sup> Burton, *God Working*, pp. 22, 23; Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, pp. 25, 30, 31.

<sup>21</sup> Burton, *God Working*, pp. 22,23; Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, pp. 30, 31.

meet their needs for food. Later the same day a great crowd came up the hill dragging a goat and bearing chickens, baskets of sweet potatoes, cucumbers, ground-nuts and other food for the missionaries. Burton and Salter tell how that eventually, when they were able to properly communicate they would often laugh together with Kajingu over what had happened.<sup>22</sup>

Nyuki, who we shall meet again, was a young man who had been helping the missionaries with different tasks about the home. He also spent considerable time instructing them in the rudiments of the language. Burton tells how when preaching they often resorted to a great deal of gesticulation to try and make themselves understood, but Nyuki was of great help in the slow progress they made. Salter wrote many years later that the foundation of the language, "was laid under the untiring and plodding tuition of Nyuki and his bosom friend Mwumba".<sup>23</sup> In spite of many frustrations Burton wrote after Salter's blunders about the bad chief: "I do not think that the language need be a great hindrance if we have a heart full of love to these people; we will make them understand somehow".<sup>24</sup>

When still trying to feel their way with the language on the first Sunday at Mwanza a tall man from Nyasaland (Malawi) was presented by the villagers in order to interpret the sermon for them. It turned out that this man knew little English and even less Kiluba. He was used several times but it was found that he was living an indecent life and on occasions he would arrive partly drunk at the meetings. The services were soon dispensed with.<sup>25</sup>

Salter writes that on their way to Mwanza they had employed three men from Rhodesia who knew some English and who had been of considerable help to them during the first month acting as interpreters. They had been revered by the local people at Mwanza because they could read, but the missionaries had become too dependent upon them, to the detriment of their linguistic advance. Concurrently it was realised that the people of Mwanza resented being dealt with through the Rhodesians and were happier when they left.<sup>26</sup> It is not clear if the man mentioned by Burton was included in this group of Rhodesians since in his 'Recorded Notes' he mentions a "backslidden Rhodesian".<sup>27</sup> Yumba wa Nkulu spoke to me about a man from Nyasaland who had helped initially and added that the people from Mwanza were quite happy to see him leave.<sup>28</sup> It is known these men were traders and it is quite possible they had come from Nyasaland through Northern Rhodesia (Zambia). This gave the missionaries the impression they were Rhodesians. Again it is possible there were three of whom one was the spokesman. For this reason he is the one remembered by Burton.

When the missionaries became proficient in Kiluba Burton spent much time recording proverbs, history and folklore.<sup>29</sup> At that time the majority of adults knew several hundred proverbs. It was not unknown for the elderly men to communicate entirely in proverbs so that the uninitiated would be completely lost even if they spoke Kiluba. Today this does not happen as the younger generation know very few proverbs. Now when the older men use proverbs there are very few who know them all, and they have to be explained. Burton emphasised that language and history must be used as a "handmaid to the Gospel".<sup>30</sup> H. Womersley, who himself was a keen linguist and historian, modestly says of Burton: "he gained an unrivalled knowledge of native proverb, history, custom and lore".<sup>31</sup> Not only did Burton become so proficient in the language that he wrote the books on proverbs and Luban religion, but he also wrote a book on Luban fables which he had collected. This was somewhat similar to Aesop's fables and included 75 of the best-known fables in Lubaland.<sup>32</sup>

When the missionaries had first arrived at Mwanza they had handed over all finances to be kept in a fund by Blakeney, who was the Director of the new Mission. Burton remarked that for some time Blakeney had lacked interest in what was being done to erect buildings and took little

<sup>22</sup> Burton, *God Working*, p.23.

<sup>23</sup> Salter, *Abraham*, p.10.

<sup>24</sup> Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p.31.

<sup>25</sup> Burton, 'Recorded Notes', p. 2; Burton, *God Working*, pp.16,17; Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p. 123.

<sup>26</sup> Salter, *Abraham*, pp. 7,8.

<sup>27</sup> Burton, 'Recorded Notes', p.2.

<sup>28</sup> Yumba wa Nkulu, Interview, Mwanza, 14/12/1980; Salter, *Abraham*, p. 8 mentions one of these men called Jim.

<sup>29</sup> H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, p. 65.

<sup>30</sup> W. Burton, *God Working*, p. 97; Prior to 1960 all CEM missionaries were required to pass a language exam at six months and another at one year. There were, however, some exceptions where those engaged in teaching with French as the language of communication never became proficient in a local language; cf. Holman Bentley, *Pioneering on the Congo*, I, London, The Religious Tract Society, 1900, pp. 58, 59 where he outlines his philosophy on language.

<sup>31</sup> H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, p. 65.

<sup>32</sup> W. Burton, *The Magic Drum: Tales from Central Africa*, London, Methuen & Co., 1961, 196 pp.

part in the language studies of the group. He talked a great deal about his wife in America and one day announced he was returning to South Africa.<sup>33</sup>

A tubercular abscess, of which I had thought I was healed, has broken out afresh in my side. The fever has left me a wreck. I shall only die if I stay here. I'm going back to civilization. (cited in Burton, *God Working*, pp. 18,19)

In the 'Recorded Notes'<sup>34</sup> Burton indicates that Blakeney had wasted the money from the central fund; when he decided to leave he sold all his own outfit to the local people and took all the money that the party were able to scrape together in order to make his way back to Johannesburg.

It is difficult to know the whole truth behind this departure, but it is evident from the start that Blakeney and Burton had incompatible personalities. Burton never mentions anything derogatory in any of his publications but in the 'Recorded Notes' there are indications of considerable friction between them. Little things in the notes are mentioned which give this impression: "Blakeney uncouth as dealt with officials in E'ville and difficult to get on with". "Blakeney and Armstrong often quarrelled. Blakeney jealous of W. Burton because the latter knew French". Again, "W.B. handed his money all over to Blakeney to central fund but he wasted it and when he left he sold up and used the money for fare".<sup>35</sup>

Anyway, J. Blakeney left Mwanza in October 1915 and made his way to South Africa and from there to America. In 1921 he came back to Africa and in that same year he led a group of Assemblies of God, USA missionaries to start a new work at Gombari. This was not far from Isiro in what was at the time the Province Orientale of the Belgian Congo. There he became the founder of the work and the Legal Representative of the AOG Mission.<sup>36</sup>

H. Womersley writes that many years after he left he wrote and asked if he could be forgiven for having left Burton and Salter in the lurch and requested that he be allowed to return. Both men were only too happy to forgive him but according to Womersley, circumstances were such that it was not possible for him to return.<sup>37</sup> It is not known when he wrote to the field but if Blakeney was by this time with the Assemblies of God USA Missions Department, it is possible that this was reason enough why he could not work with the CEM. Besides, by this time the Gombari Field would have been opened. Other missionaries who had worked with the CEM but who belonged to AOG churches in the United States were required, like Axel Oman, to make the choice of staying with the CEM or being supported by the AOG, on AOG fields.<sup>38</sup>

When Blakeney left Burton and Salter he left them without any finances. To add to their dilemma they were shortly presented with a note from the Government post at Kikondja, which was the Territorial headquarters for the entire region.<sup>39</sup> The note stated that F.J. Remacle, the Territorial Administrator, was under orders to survey the land which had been requested by the Mission, and would be on his way in a few days. Legal permission for them to settle on Kayembe Hill could only be granted from Elisabethville once an investigation had been carried out and the land surveyed.<sup>40</sup> In the meantime, a path had to be cleared around the perimeter of the 100 hectare plot. The clearing of this limit involved the cutting down of huge trees and the moving of heavy stones.

<sup>33</sup> Burton, 'Recorded Notes', p.2; Burton, *God Working*, p. 18; H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, p. 61; W. Burton and J. Salter, *Report from Bros. Burton and Salter*, No. 4. Mwanza, n.d., private publication, printed on the Apostolic Faith Mission Press in Johannesburg, mentions that Blakeney left Mwanza at the beginning of October 1915.

<sup>34</sup> p.2.

<sup>35</sup> Burton, 'Recorded Notes', pp. 1,2.

<sup>36</sup> The AOG became engaged in evangelism among the Azande, Mabudu, Mangetu, Mamvu, Mayogo and Balese peoples; cf. Braekman, *Protestantisme au Congo*, p. 260; C. Irvine, *Church of Christ*, p. 56; an anonymous handwritten note in the Archives Africaines at Brussels in Dossier P.M. XIV dated 26/10/1922 mentions the dissolution of the PM and says that: "L'ancien représentant légal Blackeny [sic] est actuellement à la tête de l'Assemblies of God". In the same Archives an anonymous note mentions that Blakeney is the Legal Representative but that a Mrs. Julia Richardson was attempting to be the Legal Representative in the same field and that there was considerable friction between them. cf. on the same problem L'Inspecteur Général, (Bruxelles) Letter, Bruxelles, 19/6/1925 au Ministère des Colonies, AABruxelles, Dos [AOG] XVIII/36 which mentions that on 19/8/1921 Blakeney arrived in Gombari. It also says that Mrs. Richardson has assumed the title of Legal Representative of the Assemblies of God.

<sup>37</sup> H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, pp. 61, 62; H. Womersley, Interview, Bedford, 24/7/1980.

<sup>38</sup> Axel Oman, Letter, Seal Beach, California, 11/9/1980 to the author; H. Womersley, Interview, 24/7/1980 says that Blakeney wrote to the CEM from Switzerland in the 1950s.

<sup>39</sup> W. Burton, *God Working*, p.21; Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, p.62.

<sup>40</sup> F.J. Remacle, Kasengu Goy, Kanguba Mwepo Goi, Goy Kine Kinda, Kisula Kiseba, 'Procès-Verbal, « Reconnaissance du Terrain que la Pentecostal Mission demande à Sope »', Mwanza, 21/11/1915, AABruxelles, Doc. PM. XIV; Burton, *God Working*, p. 21; as early as 1/7/1885 De Winton, the Free State Governor, had passed a decree that all land belonged to the State and could not be settled by foreigners without the permission of the Government; cf. E. Boelaert, *L'Etat Indépendant et les terres indigènes*, Sciences morales et politiques, Mémoires in-8° N.S. 5(4), Brussels, Académie royale des Sciences coloniales, 1956, pp. 3,45, 46.

Kayembe Hill was one great tangle of undergrowth and the two men had little idea how they were ever to accomplish the task in the time allotted. They had no money and only a box of soap. How would they pay the thirty or forty men needed for such a job?

While Burton and Salter were praying about this a man came to the door and asked if he could buy some soap. They realised this was the answer to their prayer. They told him that if he came next day at daybreak with forty others, after they had cut the boundary they could all have soap given to them. By the time Remacle arrived the entire boundary was cleared.<sup>41</sup>

On arrival Remacle called a delegation of dignitaries from Mwanza. It included: Mwanza Kajingu, whose other name was Kasengu Ngoy, Ngoy Kine Kinda, a counsellor of Kajingu's, Kanguba Mwepo a sub-chief at Kanguba village and Kisula Kiseba, a counsellor from Kanguba.<sup>42</sup> Remacle questioned them with regard to the right of the local population of the land on Kayembe Hill where the mission was installed. The recorded verbal report, a binding document, states the following:

Ce terrain est bien compris dans les terres de la chefferie, mais vu la nature du sol et sa situation loin du village, nous ne l'utilisons en aucune façon. C'est une montagne impropre à tous genres de cultures, par conséquent nous l'abandonnons sans condition. (F. J. Remacle, Kazingu-Goy [sic] Ngoy], Goy [sic] Kine Kinda, Kanguba Mwepo Goy [sic] and Kisula Kiseba, 'Procès-Verbal, Reconnaissance du Terrain que la Pentecostal Mission Demande à Sope (Mwanza- Kazingu)' Mwanza, 21/11/1915, AAB, Dossier, PM. XIV)

From his letter to the Minister of Colonies (at that time in London due to the war) the Vice-Governor General felt that in spite of this declaration by the *indigènes* he must ask the District Commissioner at Albertville (Kalemie) to have the situation re-examined. This was because he questioned the right of the political heads to be able to grant land to those who took up residence in the chefferie. Yet the Vice- Governor General realised the people of Mwanza were insistent regarding their rights to grant the land to the Pentecostals. The locals did not want to see them moved away.<sup>43</sup>

Blakeney's departure left the missionaries in a quandary both financially and legally. It has been pointed out that both Burton and Salter were not official members of the Pentecostal Mission. For convenience sake they had attached themselves to the first group which had gone to the Congo.<sup>44</sup> Because of the requirements that each society entering the Congo have legal representation, Burton, as the only French-speaking member of the group, had been chosen to be the second or *Représentant Légal Suppléant*. In fact he was responsible for all the correspondence between the new mission and the State, even though Blakeney was the *Représentant Légal* and the Director of the PM in the Congo. However, now that Armstrong was dead and Blakeney had left, they were without any true members of the PM, and were legally required to choose from those already in the Congo a new legal representative and assistant.<sup>45</sup> Normally a legal representative and his assistant are chosen from among the active members of the association in the country.

<sup>41</sup> Burton, *God Working*, p. 21; Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p. 44.

<sup>42</sup> Remacle, *et al.* 'Procès-Verbal', Mwanza, 21/11/1915 says that he was delegated by their Vice-Governor General of the Katanga to investigate this installation. This investigation would have been perfectly normal and would have followed the application made by the missionaries when they first arrived in Elisabethville; cf. Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p.20 where Burton wrote: "We have had to make application for a legal representative, for recognition, for land, etc."; This procedure was required by law. cf. the latter version of the Law in the Ministerial decree of 24/1/1943 article 4: " En vue de sauvegarder les droits des indigènes, sont applicables les dispositions légales en vigueur sur les enquêtes de vacances de terres" in L. Stouvens et P. Piron, eds., *Codes et Lois du Congo Belge : Textes annotés d'Après les rapports du Conseil Colonial, Les Instructions Officielles et la Jurisprudence des Tribunaux*, Edition de Guerre des Codes Louwers, Léopoldville, Editions des Codes et Lois du Congo Belge, 1943, p. 1155.

<sup>43</sup> I have explained elsewhere that the tribal chiefs do not always have the right of the land since it is, in the case of the Baluba, the *mwine ntanda* (the owner of the earth or the earth priest) who has this right; Vice-Gouverneur Général, Letter, No. 415, 15/7/1916 says with regard to the missionaries staying at Mwanza: ". . . les habitants ont déclaré que jamais d'autres missionnaires ne leur avaient offert de les évangéliser", and "les indigènes eux-mêmes insistent pour conserver les missionnaires protestants à KAZINGU"; on lands cf. E. Boelaert, *L'Etat Indépendant et les terres indigènes*, pp. 3,45, 46.

<sup>44</sup> Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p. 43.

<sup>45</sup> According to the decree of the King of the Belgians of 18/12/1888 (which appeared in the *Bulletin Officiel du Congo Belge*, p. 5, 1889) with regard to associations in the Congo which were of a religious, scientific and philanthropic nature Article 4 reads: "Sont seuls réputés membres effectifs dans le sens du présent décret les membres de l'association résident dans l'Etat Indépendant du Congo, et ils ne sont réputés tels que pendant le temps qu'ils y résident". This ruling held good after Congo became the Belgian Congo. Article 5 indicates that these associations must have a legal representative or representatives to take part in the administration of the association and to direct their affairs. Where there is an absence or death someone has to be chosen to replace them. Article 6: "Lorsque...une association cessera d'avoir un représentant légal au Congo, le Gouverneur Général pourra commettre une ou plusieurs personnes pour la représenter et administrer..." (Décret du Roi Souverain, 28/12/1888, cited in Léon Stouvens et Pierre Piron, ed., *Codes et Lois*, p. 791.

Since there were only two of them left they became automatically Legal Representative and Assistant respectively. Burton as the correspondent became the Legal Representative and the Director of the Mission. This was an enigmatic position in which to find themselves - legal heads of an association to which they did not even belong. It is little wonder that this caused misunderstanding on the part of the Belgian Authorities at a later date. This was one reason why there was considerable delay in the granting of *Personnalité civile* (hereafter PC) to the Congo Evangelistic Mission (hereafter CEM).<sup>46</sup>

Prior to Blakeney's departure Burton and Salter were still not clear about their plans and thought much in terms of Fundabyabo. As early as 4 September 1915, Burton wrote from Mwanza and said: "Now as to our plans, they are vague".<sup>47</sup> He pointed out that the dense population on their doorstep was potential enough for ten white missionaries and thirty Congolese evangelists. Yet there were doubts, probably because of their relationship with Blakeney. Burton adds:

Circumstances make me a little uncertain as to whether Jimmy and I should stay in another part of this district, or take up the central village in another of the almost equally thickly populated areas within a few days' travel from here. (Moorhead, *op. cit.*, p.27)

Blakeney's departure cast a new light on everything. They got down to work with new resolve that this was where God wanted him. Thoughts of branching off elsewhere and even thoughts about Fundabyabo faded into the background.<sup>48</sup>

The main purpose for Burton and Salter's going to the Congo had been that of evangelism and from the start they were greatly exercised about sharing the central theme of the Christian message with the people. At first they were very limited because of the language and had to repeat short and sometimes incomplete phrases like: "Jesus died-Jesus lives" or "Jesus God's son; God hates sin; escape from sin and - Go to Jesus" and so on.<sup>49</sup> In spite of communication problems Burton said that there was one thing they could still do: "We pray in English and God answers in Kiluba".<sup>50</sup> Often they did not know what it was they were supposed to pray for, but they knew that the people had some kind of need so they laid hands upon them and asked God to meet whatever the need was. Burton writes that many were healed in this way; they would often later return with friends and family who requested prayer.<sup>51</sup> On one occasion Mwanza Kajingu was suffering the effects of too much *mâlwa* (local beer) and he asked the missionaries to pray for him. They explained that he could not expect to over indulge his fleshy desires and hope for God to heal him, but they did pray for him and immediately his headache went.<sup>52</sup>

Both Burton and Salter regarded 'signs' as an essential part of the Gospel ministry. Writing about healings Burton states that the word 'signs' in Mark 16:15-18 could well be termed 'credentials'. In this way he declared: "We carry our 'credentials' with us".<sup>53</sup> Just after someone had attempted to poison them, an incident which we shall mention shortly, Burton wrote:

I believe that healing in the Name of Jesus is the very foundation of pioneer missionary work.... So when we hear of people being sick, we go and pray for them indiscriminately, in the Name of Jesus. And God heals them as a testimony to the village of the power which He has vested in His risen Son, whom we preach. (W. Burton, *Letters from the Congo*, No. 3, Mwanza, 26/11/1919, p. 3)

Salter, writing to a friend of the Apostolic Faith Mission Assemblies in Johannesburg said the commission of Jesus was not only to preach to the heathen, but also to "heal the sick".<sup>54</sup> He underlined that their presence in the Congo was nothing to do with their own faith or constitution but a testimony to the faithfulness of God alone. As far as he was concerned, for anyone to serve God there was only one qualification necessary: "an 'unction from the Holy One,' and a life abiding beneath the anointing".<sup>55</sup> He then goes on to cite the words of a chorus:

<sup>46</sup> On the dissolution of the PM in the formation of the CEM cf. Chapter IV A).

<sup>47</sup> Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p.27.

<sup>48</sup> H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, p.64; on 5 December 1915 Burton wrote explaining that he was now the one responsible for administration of the PM: "I am now director and Legal representative" in Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, pp. 43, 44.

<sup>49</sup> W. Burton, *God Working*, pp. 17,34.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 34.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.* pp.34, 35; *Letters from the Congo*, No. 3, Mwanza, 26/11/1915, p. 2.

<sup>52</sup> Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p. 36; Burton, *God Working*, p.35.

<sup>53</sup> *Letters from the Congo*, No. 3, pp. 2,3.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.3,4; Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p.40.

<sup>55</sup> Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p.41.

Power to heal the leper,  
Power to raise the dead,  
Power to fill the empty pots with oil,  
Is waiting for the worker  
Who in Jesus' steps will tread,  
And leave his life of ease for one of toil.

(cf. J. H. Allan, ed. *Redemption Songs*, London, Alfred Holness, No. 31 cited with slight changes in Moorhead, *op. cit.*, p. 41)

The healings and the popularity of the missionaries soon brought with it the opposition of the *bavidye* (mediums),<sup>56</sup> and the *banganga* (medicine men).<sup>57</sup> As more people went to be prayed for by the missionaries so the consultations at the diviners and the requests for *manga* would have been considerably reduced. Since the *bavidye* and the *banganga* were totally dependent for their sustenance, upon the people who came to consult them this would have been very bad for business. The result was that as early as November 1915 these *bavidye* and *banganga* decided they were going to get rid of the white usurpers.<sup>58</sup>

One day after the missionaries had eaten some nuts which had been given to them, there was a commotion outside the house. A man came rushing up excitedly to tell them that they were not to eat the palm nuts since they had been poisoned. They tried to find out more details but could learn nothing; in any case, they had already eaten the nuts. They knelt immediately and prayed claiming the promise of Mark 16:18 saying:

Lord, Thou dist say, 'If they drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them.' Make it true in our experience, and protect us from this poison, in Jesus' name. (Burton, *God Working*, p. 35.)

Neither of the men felt any ill effects and both believed that God had answered their prayer and kept them safe from the poison.<sup>59</sup>

Healing, and divine power with its accompanying signs was to be the norm as far as Burton and Salter were concerned, but they did not regard these phenomena as an end in themselves. They were to be the means whereby the veracity of the message they preached about Christ was to be validated. What they really wanted to see was converts to Christ and for some time there were none. Burton wrote that concerning the message of salvation through Christ: "Never a whisper of it had reached them before". The theme of the resurrection was a favourite to the Baluba and they loved to hear it repeated. Elaborating on their understanding of the supernatural he says:

They already understand there is a God, but so mysterious and far away, that it is quite a new idea that we can approach and speak to Him in the name of Jesus. They already believe in angels and have a native name for them. Being filled with the Spirit will be no hard thing for them to understand, for every day they can see their own witch-doctors under possession of demons. Yes they naturally expect to see supernatural manifestations accompany the Gospel. (W. Burton, *Letters from the Congo*, No. 3, Mwanza, 26/11/1915, private publication)

The importance of the phenomena and the spoken word, however unclear, were making their impact, especially upon the younger generation.<sup>60</sup> Burton tells of one occasion when he spoke with a young man about "the great and mighty God". At the time there was little evidence that the man had understood anything, but months later he learned it had influenced him considerably.<sup>61</sup>

Kalume, we have already met in the name by which he was better known – Nyuki. He was one who had originally been engaged to construct a missionaries' house on Kayembe Hill. Salter wrote that from the time they first arrived Nyuki was seldom if ever absent from the hill and went with them everywhere.<sup>62</sup> Work was found for him about the house and he was a great help in

<sup>56</sup> *Bavidye* are the mediums through whom the ancestor spirits speak to the living. cf. Burton, *Luba Religion*, pp.50-57.

<sup>57</sup> *Banganga* (also spelled *Bañanga*) on medicine men (singular, *nganga* - also spelled *ñanga*). cf. Burton, *Luba Religion*, p. 81 and *infra* Chapter III B).

<sup>58</sup> Burton, *God Working*, p. 35; *Letters from the Congo*, No. 3, p.4; Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, pp. 38, 39; on missionaries as a type of *Nganga* cf. Slade, *English-Speaking Missions*, pp. 197, 198; Slade, *Leopold's Congo*, p. 169.

<sup>59</sup> Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p.39.

<sup>60</sup> Salter, *Abraham*, p.9; it was especially the younger generation like Nyuki, Kaswamanga, Masokoty and others who were the first converts. Nearly all the leaders of the CP said today were young men when first converted.

<sup>61</sup> Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p.31.

<sup>62</sup> Salter, *Abraham*, pp. 7-9,11, 12.

teaching Burton and Salter Kiluba. During these contacts Salter writes that: "conviction had already begun in his heart".<sup>63</sup>

There are two slightly different versions of the conversion of Nyuki. Burton says he was converted after working with the missionaries at thatching a house they were building. During that time he had been challenged about his future and a few evenings later he came to their home and asked the missionaries if he could not accept Christ as his Saviour. Burton concludes the story by saying that even if he had been the only convert, their coming all the way from England would have been worthwhile.<sup>64</sup>

H. Womersley places Nyuki's conversion three months after the missionaries first arrived, which would be about mid-December 1915.<sup>65</sup> Salter in his book *Abraham Our First Convert*, says it took a disaster to accelerate Nyuki's conversion. He writes of the way they all toiled for three months to construct a new house. While the mud was still wet in the walls and the thatch still green on the roof the storm struck the hill. Lightning then burned to the ground, in three hours, what had taken in three months to erect. Salter says it was when he saw everything burning that Nyuki decided to put his trust in Christ.<sup>66</sup>

There need not necessarily be a contradiction here since Womersley adds that the man was converted after the main house was burned down. This was after it had been struck by lightning when a small outside kitchen was thatched as a temporary dwelling.<sup>67</sup> But we know that the house did not burn down until after the arrival of Julia Richardson and A. Hodges which was sometime in mid-to late December 1915.<sup>68</sup> Again in Burton's 'Recorded Notes', Richardson and Hodges only arrived after the first converts had already been baptised.<sup>69</sup>

Nyuki, who was baptised Abulahama (Abraham), was instrumental in winning many of his friends and family to the Christian faith and it was these people who became the nucleus of the Church at Mwanza.<sup>70</sup> Nyuki became a tireless worker who was responsible for the opening of a number of assemblies. He first went to Ngoy Mani where he worked under Shalumbo, another man of whom more needs to be said later. He was then moved to Kayeye, many miles to the south, in the Kapamai chieftainship. From Kapamai he returned to his home after which he started the church in the strong Catholic area of Malemba Nkulu. This was the village of Kiseba where he went in 1925. Once this work was well established he went Tuba in the same chieftainship and it was while he was there that he suffered great physical persecution from the Catholics. On one occasion he was beaten and his head was split open when he and his congregation had been set upon while assembled in the church. This attack had taken place at the instigation of Catholics who had been egged on by the priests at Malemba Nkulu.<sup>71</sup> In spite of these assaults a durable work was established in Tuba which continues to the present day. Nyuki was ever active in his faith and when the author spoke with him in December 1918 he was still one of the revered elders in his local church at Mwanza Sope, not far from the foot of Kayembe Hill.

Sometime during late November or early December 1915 an urgent message was received, probably via Kikondja where there were radio facilities at the *Territoire*.<sup>72</sup> This informed Burton and Salter that a Mrs. Julia Richardson and a Miss A. Hodges were on their way to Mwanza. They requested that the men send carriers to the railhead to meet them immediately. Tshilongo on the Kibara plateau is some 480 kilometres southeast of Mwanza so it would have

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<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.11, 12.

<sup>64</sup> Burton, *God Working*, pp. 36, 37; Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p. 32.

<sup>65</sup> H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, p. 67.

<sup>66</sup> Salter, *Abraham*, pp. 12, 13; cf. R. Slade, *King Leopold's Congo*, p. 155.

<sup>67</sup> H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, pp. 67, 68.

<sup>68</sup> On 5/12/1915 Burton wrote from Mwanza that two ladies had set out overland from the railhead and that they were by then "somewhere within 200 miles of here". They should therefore have arrived at Mwanza by the end of December; Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, pp. 43, 44; and W. Burton and J. Salter, *Report from Bros. Burton and Salter*, No 4, Mwanza, n.d.

<sup>69</sup> 'Recorded Notes', p 2; I visited Nyuki at his home at Mwanza Sope in December 1980; his age was getting the better of him and although he seemed to be clear enough in his mind, he was not able to tell me much that I had not already learned from other sources. He was of little help as far as this research is concerned.

<sup>70</sup> Salter, *Abraham*, p.13; Burton, *God Working*, p.37.

<sup>71</sup> Salter, *Abraham*, pp. 14, 15, 30, 31; Burton, *God Working*, pp. 103, 104; H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, p. 68; I will be looking into Catholic-Protestant relationships *infra* Chapter IV B); cf. R. Slade, *King Leopold's Congo*, p.142; the very poor relationships between the CEM and the Catholics are mentioned in: 'Registre sur les rapports sur l'Administration Générale, District Tanganika-Moero, Territoire de Kikondja', Chapitre 20, *Relations avec des Missions* can be summarised at that time by the phrase: "Relations la plus mauvaise". Signed 31/12/1932, AZMNkulu.

<sup>72</sup> Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p.19.

taken the carriers quite some time to get there. For this reason it was arranged that the porters would send messages by *kyondo* (talking drum) to indicate their whereabouts.<sup>73</sup>

It is rather difficult to determine exactly what had happened but when Blakeney left he must have transmitted a message from Kikondja to Johannesburg to inform the PM that he had withdrawn. According to Burton, George Bowie had at that time returned to America for a rest leaving E. Hooper in charge of the PM. As Hooper was aware that neither Burton nor Salter were members of the PM he was anxious to dispatch someone as quickly as possible to fill the gap.<sup>74</sup> Julia Richardson was the first choice. She was the wife of the Richardson who had been buried in the Kivu in 1914 and a woman with considerable missionary experience in East Africa. A Hodges had worked for a time in the Zululand so was chosen to accompany her. They managed to set off so quickly that they even passed Blakeney on his way South.<sup>75</sup>

This unexpected message perturbed the men greatly since it was the middle of the rainy season and there was no housing available. Burton wrote in a letter before they arrived at Mwanza: "I had no time to stop these Sisters as they came with full authority of the Pentecostal Mission".<sup>76</sup> It would seem that letters had been written to the PM in South Africa explaining the difficult situation, but they had either never arrived or had been disregarded by those in Johannesburg.<sup>77</sup> Burton underlined that the rainy season in Equatorial Africa surpasses anything that could possibly be conceived in England, only adding to the accommodation problem. The two women claim to have been led of the Lord to fill the gap left by Blakeney. While Burton, as much as anyone, believed in being led by God, he could not understand how they had been led to come at that particular time. He and Salter were already doing their best to complete a home for themselves.<sup>78</sup>

There was only one thing to do and that was to turn the new house over to the ladies when it was finished. They would then see what could be done about something for themselves. Richardson and Hodges arrived safely but had to wait several weeks before the new house was completed and they were able to move in. However, when they finally did move in it was only a matter of days before a terrible thunderstorm struck the hill and lightning burned the house to the ground.<sup>79</sup> This was a great setback to the missionaries' programme as well as an almost unbearable burden on the already low finances. They were forced to set about the immediate construction of new homes. This cut down significantly on any time they would have otherwise spent on evangelism.

This untimely arrival of Richardson and Hodges must have placed relationships under strain from the start. There are one or two hints in Burton's letters and in the 'Recorded Notes' that this was so. Added to this, Burton indicates that Julia Richardson had, at one time or another, proposed to both Salter and himself.<sup>80</sup> This would most certainly have added to the tension between them making it increasingly difficult to leave one of the men alone on the Station while the other was away on a preaching tour.<sup>81</sup> We saw how Burton was a man who spoke his mind; it appears he must have had several disagreements with Julia Richardson since, the latter according to him, turned spiteful.<sup>82</sup> Another thing that did not help was that Richardson had apparently been sent by Hooper to become the new Director of the PM in the Congo. She wanted to make all the decisions and organise the Mission, but was never given the opportunity to do so. Burton says that he did not know about Hooper's orders and it was only after the ladies had left the field that he learned of them.<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> Burton, *God Working*, pp. 42, 43; Burton tells how that the very day the women and carriers left Tshilongo on their trip to Mwanza they sent off a message saying: "Two ladies have left Tshilongo, with thirtyfive loads" (p. 42, *God Working*). The message arrived the same day, nine hours after it had been sent; on the importance of the talking drums cf. the articles by A. Verbeken, 'Le Tambour téléphone chez les indigènes de l'Afrique Centrale', *Congo: Revue Général de la Colonie belge*, Nos. 3-4, Juin-Juillet, 1920, pp. 253-284 and another article by the same name in the same journal: 1(5) May 1924, pp. 721-728; the *kyondo* or wooden drum used for sending these messages is made from a solid trunk or large branch which is hollowed out leaving a slit at the top. On one side there is a thicker lobe left on the inside than on the other. In this way one side of the *kyondo* gives a higher pitch than the other when it is struck. It is the combination of these low and high pitches and the rhythm that conveys the message.

<sup>74</sup> Burton, 'Recorded Notes', p. 2.

<sup>75</sup> Burton, *Report from Bros. Burton and Salter*, No. 4, Mwanza, n.d.; Burton, *God Working*, p. 42.

<sup>76</sup> Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, pp. 43, 44.

<sup>77</sup> Burton, *God Working*, p. 42.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 43.

<sup>79</sup> *Report from Bros. Burton and Salter*, No. 4; Burton, *God Working*, pp. 43, 44.

<sup>80</sup> Burton, 'Recorded Notes', p. 2.

<sup>81</sup> H. Womersley, Interview, Bedford, 24/7/1980 mentions this difficulty since the Africans thought that these women should be their wives. It is possible that they thought they were their wives.

<sup>82</sup> Burton, 'Recorded Notes', p.2.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

Therefore, it is little wonder that the strain between them built to the point where the two men thought seriously of a move away from Mwanza. They went into the costs involved in such a move and wondered how they could manage it on their limited budget. This is evident in the communication Burton sent to Thomas Myerscough. The former thanked him for a letter which had indicated that a sum of money was on its way for the missionaries:

Three days before the reception of this letter Brother Salter and I had been talking of our project of leaving Mwanza Kisangu [sic] to the ladies, and of the expenses which must be incurred in establishing a new station, and of moving our outfit again. (W. Burton, Letter, Mwanza, 24/3/1916 to T. Myerscough in Moorhead, *op. cit.*, p.79)

So serious were they in their resolve to move elsewhere that they decided to talk to the Administrator of the Territory about it while Burton was at Kikondja. It is possible that this matter was one of the main reasons for his long journey to the *poste* at Lake Kisale. Burton says that he had gone there for a Government transaction.<sup>84</sup> We do know the Administrator told Burton that the Mutombo Mukulu chieftainship, some 320 kilometres S.W. of Mwanza, was another densely populated area where there were no missionaries.<sup>85</sup>

While these plans were being trashed out in the minds of the two men, it suddenly became very clear that Richardson and Hodges were going to leave. Both the women had been very active during the year they were at Mwanza and had made a significant contribution to the work, especially in the area of schooling for children. However, both were frequently indisposed for long spells since malaria haunted them. They spoke of taking a holiday in the Kibara highlands to see if they could shake off the malaria,<sup>86</sup> but changed their minds and in April 1917 they left for South Africa.<sup>87</sup> Once again, the need for the men to leave Mwanza for another location was averted. Julia Richardson did return to Kabondo Dianda after a rest, but never again did Burton and Salter entertain the thought of abandoning Mwanza to the PM.

From the beginning the missionaries had tried to visit the surrounding villages as much as possible. Burton and Salter realised they were in the going to build anything permanent in as far as they involved the new converts in the task of evangelising their own people.<sup>88</sup> So it was with the help of the first converts they began to go out on circuit preaching tours for the first time.<sup>89</sup> The missionaries would choose a subject and teach it to the converts to share where they went. The same message would be preached in several places and then the converts would come back to the station for another. At the beginning, when they lacked Kiluba vocabulary, to ensure that the local preachers had got the message straight Burton and Salter would act it out in front of them. Gradually these new preachers began to win their own converts. To make it clear to everyone that the whites and Baluba had but one message, the missionaries would go out with them on Sundays to different villages where the new converts resided. Together they spoke with the converts and encouraged them in the new faith.<sup>90</sup>

It is to be wondered just what those early messages were like when one considers the communication problem that existed between the missionaries and the first Luban preachers. Even Burton wrote that he wondered what some of the early converts had in mind when they accepted Christianity. He felt that perhaps some thought they were going to be more like the white man if they accepted his religion.<sup>91</sup> In one place he wrote: "I don't want to have people think that baptism or fetish-burning or any such thing is salvation".<sup>92</sup> This was a clear possibility where one was only considered to be a true Christian after he had burned his fetishes and been baptised. Burton emphasises his view of salvation as based on Christ and his work alone when he pens the words of a hymn:

On Christ the solid Rock we stand,

<sup>84</sup> Burton, Letter, Mwanza, 24/3/1916 in Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p. 79; cf. *RFBWFPB*, No. 5, Kikondja, 15/4/1916.

<sup>85</sup> Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p.81.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 66; Burton, *God Working*, p.46

<sup>87</sup> Burton, *God Working*, p.46; Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p. 70; *RFBWFPB*, No. 11, Mwanza, 10/7/1917, p.3.

<sup>88</sup> Burton, 'The Field Conference', *CEMR*, No. 36, April-June, 1932, p. 562; H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, p. 81; W. Burton *RFBWFPB*, No. 11, Mwanza, 10/7/1917, p.6 says: "We must train our Christians, teach them to read, put Testaments in their hands, and send them out"; Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p. 65; cf. R. Slade, *Leopold's Congo*, p.157.

<sup>89</sup> Burton, *God Working*, p.37.

<sup>90</sup> *Loc.cit.*

<sup>91</sup> Burton in Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p. 86 says: "I sometimes think that they want to be Christians in order to be like the white men"; cf. H. W. Turner, 'Religious Innovation in Africa', in *The Hidden Power of the Whites*, by H. W. Turner, Boston, G.K. Hall, 1979, pp. 271-288.

<sup>92</sup> Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p.63.

All other ground is sinking sand.  
(Edward Mote, *The Solid Rock*)

Gradually preaching tours took the missionaries further and further from home. As early as April 1916 Burton had been 100 kilometres south to Lake Kisale, but this was, as we have seen, in connection with Mission business. While at Kisale he had met with Chief Kikondja<sup>93</sup> and looked over the villages with a view to sending workers there at a later date.<sup>94</sup> During the same period he tramped for three days to the north. Although he does not declare his destination he does give one or two hints where he went. First, he mentions a trader at Kabumbulu who had offered to leave him his entire property since he was moving elsewhere. Burton did not feel that they were in any position to be able to take up the offer. He noted that the area was very densely populated and the needs great there. He must have been somewhat gratified when not too much later the Garenganze Evangelical Mission founded a station near Kabumbulu.<sup>95</sup> And again in the same context he tells of visiting the Kilumba villages and of speaking with the chief there.<sup>96</sup> In spite of this emphasis on outreach they did not wish to neglect those places nearer home. In July 1916 Burton wrote that before the rains started, it was their goal to preach Christ in every village within a day's march from Mwanza. Normally the rains starts in late September or early October so this only gave them three months to achieve their goal.<sup>97</sup>

Soon after they arrived Burton and Salter realised the important role played by the chief in the life of the community.<sup>98</sup> From many of the letters and reports written we see that there was a pattern forming in the way the missionaries always attempted to involve the chiefs whenever they arrived in new villages. Often they spoke directly with the chief and preached the Gospel. They always asked the chiefs' permission to preach the Christian message in the villages and in this way attempted to build up a relationship of confidence and mutual trust.

This approach is first evident in Mwanza itself where although Kajingu did not profess any sort of conversion he was regarded by all as the missionaries' benefactor. He would often appear on Kayembe Hill with a gift and ask to hear more about some aspect of Christian doctrine such as the resurrection.<sup>99</sup> On one occasion when there had been some problem Burton approached Kajingu and his headmen with the result that the next day, which was Sunday, they could say "meetings have been fine".<sup>100</sup> It is difficult to know the exact nature of this problem but evidently this discussion had been sufficient to settle any misunderstanding. On the Sunday after the meeting, one of the counsellors had been challenged by the gospel message and had said to Burton:

Bwana, we didn't know, and we've been silly enough to invoke fetishes, but our hearts are turned round, and as for me, I'm going to pray to them no more. I'm going to pray to God. (Burton, Letter, Mwanza, 20/8/1916 to Thomas Myerscough in Moorhead, *op. cit.*, p.53)

Several examples should suffice to show us that what we affirm about evangelism patterns is valid. At Ndala the old chief had been quite rude to Burton when he first visited there. Burton had however, noticed that Ndala was suffering from asthma so he explained to him how God's Son was man's sacrifice for sin and told him that Christ had the power to heal the sick. Burton says that as he prayed for him the power of God descended and Ndala was restored at once. Many people then came near to see what was happening and he had a chance to preach to them. After this Ndala changed his attitude and even had his *mukishi* (the idol indwelt by an ancestor spirit) destroyed. He was not always the most consistent in his life but he did not oppose the Christian message after this and many were converted as a result.<sup>101</sup>

At Kanguba, only a matter of minutes walk away from the Mission station Mwepo, the sub-chief, thought that he should get presents every time he met the missionaries.<sup>102</sup> When he found out that he did not he refused to listen to them and tried to persuade his subjects to ignore them.

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<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, p.80.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.80, 81.

<sup>95</sup> *RFBWFPB*, No. 5, Kikondja, 15/4/1916.

<sup>96</sup> Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p.87.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 95.

<sup>98</sup> Cf. R. Slade, *English-Speaking Missions*, pp. 379, 387 on the importance of the Chiefs in the evangelism.

<sup>99</sup> Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p. 45.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, p.53.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 60, 61, 75.

<sup>102</sup> *RFBWFPB*, No. 10, Mwanza, 12/2/1917, p.2; in Luban custom and culture the chief was regarded as the Father of his people and the possessor of all things ( except in some cases the land itself). Therefore, everything belonged to him and could be demanded by him without question. People would take their chief gifts when they went to ask advice from him to prove their loyalty to him.

Often he organised beer drinks or hunts on a Sunday in order to keep his people away from the meetings. However, one of his younger sons was converted and declared to his father that he was not going to pour out libations of beer to ancestors any longer as he was a Christian. Initially Mwepo was most upset but later he brought all his *manga* (medicine) and idols to be burned and declared openly that he was a believer in Christ.<sup>103</sup>

Chembe, the chief of the Kilumba villages, who lived only 17 kilometres north of Mwanza, had a problem on his hands since his people were involved in feuds and were killing each other. Nevertheless, while Burton was in the area the people gathered to hear him preach and although Chembe was not converted he invited Burton to have a meeting house built in his village and encouraged his subjects to attend the meetings.<sup>104</sup>

Lubinda is situated the opposite end of the Ngoy Mani Valley from Luamba, half way between Kikose and Kisanga in the Ngoy Mani chieftainship. It was here that Mwanabute Kalume, a man with a withered arm was sub-chief. Burton went to Lubinda and proclaimed before all, including Mwanabute that Christ was not only the Saviour but the healer of men's bodies. At first Mwanabute thought that Burton was mocking him. He challenged Burton to pray for him, stating that if his message was true then certainly God must be able to heal him. There was no instantaneous change but within several days Burton, who had by then returned to Mwanza, received an urgent message to go immediately to Lubinda since Mwanabute's arm was perfectly restored; everyone in the village wished to hear more about the message of Christ.<sup>105</sup> This pattern of reaching the people through the chiefs, or at least with the permission of the chiefs, is one which is often repeated in the history of the CEM. The importance Burton and Salter placed upon the chiefs is summarised by what Burton wrote in one of his letters to Myerscough:<sup>106</sup>

In each case the action of these chiefs will have a mighty effect for many miles around ... I have given prominence to the chiefs in this report, as it is around these that the people gather. (Burton, Letter, Mwanza, 12/2/1917, to Myerscough cited in Moorhead, *op. cit.*, pp.61, 63)

In part this strategy was necessitated by Belgian policy with regard to the setting up of what were called *chapelles-écoles* in the villages. Whenever a mission wanted to build a chapel-school it had to have written permission from the chief granting it a place to build. However, the building of chapel-schools did not take place during this initial period.<sup>107</sup>

<sup>103</sup> RFBWFPB, No. 10, p. 2.

<sup>104</sup> Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p. 63.

<sup>105</sup> Burton, *God Working*, pp. 50-53; Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p. 68.

<sup>106</sup> I point out here that I have been using the term 'chief' in every loose way. This is the way in which Burton has used it in his letters and in his book: *God Working with Them*. He does however use the word more carefully in his: *Luba Religion*. In the loose sense anyone who is a head man of a village (*mfumu wa kibundji*) is spoken of as a chief by Burton in his letters. Prior to the coming of the whites and to the division of the Kingdom of the Baluba there was only one person regarded as *Mulopwe* (King) but after this many individuals who normally would never have used the name became a *mulopwe*. cf. *infra* Chapter III A). The chiefs recognised by the Belgians as chiefs were called *balopwe ba mpalata* (medal bearing chiefs) since they were given medals as a sign of their authority. In this area around Mwanza there were *balopwe ba mpalata* at the following places: Kikondja, Bunda, Malemba Nkulu, Mwanza, Ndala, Ngoy Mani, Kisula, Ilunga Mwila, Mulongo, Lubembei and Kilumba; information regarding the chiefs is from Ngoy wa Kyulu Samwele, Interview, Kamina II, 17/6/ 1982 (He is of the direct line of Bunda chiefs and a direct descendent of Kongolo Mwamba the first man to rule over the heartland of what became the Luba Empire); cf. H. Göhring, *BaLuba*, pp. 125-133.

<sup>107</sup> P. Ryckmans (Gouverneur Général), Letter, Département Affaires Economiques, No. 7749. A.E.T., Léopoldville, 27/7/1958 au Chef de Province à Lusambao, ASRKabinda, "2°/Avant de procéder à l'occupation de ces parcelles de terre, les Missions devront avoir obtenu le consentement des autorités indigènes".

We realise that this communication is much later than 1915, but the ruling was, nevertheless, in force at the earlier date; I have seen copies of the signed acceptance by the chiefs involved in giving an invitation to the CEM to start an *école-chapelle* in their villages. Below is an example of one which I have seen in two parts( Kiluba and French) :

#### CONGO EVANGELISTIC MISSION

Ami MULOPWE wa ..... Nkulu. ....

Nsaka Ba-Missioni ba .....Mwanza ..... bakafundijya bami bantu mu kibundji kya ..... Kabango.....Kadi ne ba pa ntanda amba ba ka shimika sikola

AMI .....

[Translation of the Kiluba: I Chief of .....Nkulu..... I would like the Missionaries of ..... Mwanza ..... to teach my people in the village of .....Kabango..... indeed including those from the surrounding area and they shall construct a school. I am..... ]

Je soussigné, le chef .....Nkulu.....

j'ai [sic] invité la CONGO EVANGELISTIC MISSION de .... Mwanza ..... A mettre un évangeliste dans le village de ..... Kabango..... Pour faire des réunions et des classes. j'ai leur donne [sic] le terrain pour construire un école [sic].

Signé.....

This was found in the Archives of the CPZMwanza.

During the 'planting' period at Mwanza the missionaries experienced a number of frustrations. Immediately after the destruction of the ladies' home by fire they had started to build another house when one morning the signal drums sounded out a call to war: "Men, Men! Quickly, quickly! Your chief needs you. Bring your spears and guns".<sup>108</sup> A rival chief had invaded some of Kajingu's villages and his subjects were called to defend them. This meant the helpers had to abandon their work and although they were not absent for many days not all of them returned as a number fell in the ensuing battle.<sup>109</sup>

The Baluba were an aggressive and suspicious people. It was only a matter of a decade or so since the Batetela raiders had swept this particular part of Lubaland causing havoc in every quarter. The people of Mwanza had been decimated and those who had survived had done so because of their coming. They could still remember the raids of Msiri's warlords from an earlier period and now that the white man had come they were not about to let down their guard.<sup>110</sup> It was not uncommon even in 1915 for government officials to be attacked especially when they were trying to collect taxes.<sup>111</sup> It was inevitable that at times the same hostile attitude was shown toward the missionary, especially in areas where they had not visited previously. On one occasion Burton and his carriers walked into what was clearly an ambush set up for some unsuspecting Belgian. He pretended not to realise what was going on and asked them in Kiluba how many baboons they had shot. They replied that they were after the baboons that wore clothes and did not have tails. Burton learned later that a soldier had been shot at that very spot with poisoned arrows only an hour prior to their arrival.<sup>112</sup>

From 1915-1918 there were a number of whites who were responsible for the recruitment of carriers for the East-African Campaign. Many of these were men with few scruples. They would stoop to anything to fill the quota that had been allotted them. Some would go into a village, round up all the young men and take them away.<sup>113</sup> For this reason when Burton and Salter entered a village for the first time many would run into the bush. Others were extremely suspicious. Burton tells how that on one occasion when they had preached to the people, a carrier had ordered the listeners to bow their heads and close their eyes to pray. Panic followed as the people were sure that this was some trick to capture them; they had run in every direction.<sup>114</sup>

One of the biggest hindrances to the work during the earliest days is one that has continued to plague the CEM for most of its history – insufficient finances. Burton tells how once Salter had been so short of food on one of his tours that he had been forced to dig for roots in the forest.<sup>115</sup> It was found that by sending workers to the salt flats at Kiambi on the Luvua River a considerable saving could be made. Kiambi was eight days walk away but the salt could be traded for food.<sup>116</sup> As early as January 1917 Burton notes the importance of a good garden to meet the needs of the mission station and asks friends at home if they could send him seeds.<sup>117</sup> This lack of finance had an effect on all planning and greatly limited the opening of new stations and evangelism.

<sup>108</sup> W. Burton, *God Working*, p. 45.

<sup>109</sup> *Report from Bros. Burton and Salter*, No. 4; Burton, *God Working*, p. 45.

<sup>110</sup> W. Burton, *God Working*, pp. 1,2; H. Womersley, *In the Glow of the Log Fire*, London, Peniel Press, 1975, pp. 110-114; Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, pp. 47, 98; cf. Jan Vansina, *Kingdoms of the Savanna*, Madison, Wisconsin, University Of Wisconsin Press, 1966, pp. 227-235, 242, 243 where he mentions what took place under Msiri.

<sup>111</sup> De Coninck (Agent Territorial, Ankoro), Letter, No. 941/275, Kongolo, 23/7/1915 au Commissaire de District, Tanganika-Moero, ARBAPShaba mentions that De Coninck was shot at with arrows while he was on the Lualaba in a boat near Kabumbulu. Kabumbulu would be about thirty kilometres from Mwanza. The same event was reported by Vandenboogaerde (Commissaire de District), Letter, No. 745/225, Kongolo, 23/6/1915 au Vice-Gouverneur Général, Elisabethville, ARBAPShaba; Burton, says that scarcely a week goes by without some Congolese being shot down by Belgian officials defending themselves; Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p. 175 cf. pp. 26, 105; Burton, *God Working*, p. 11.

<sup>112</sup> Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p. 106.

<sup>113</sup> Burton, *God Working*, pp. 24, 25.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 71; W. Burton, 'Un Rapport des Activités [sic] de la Mission Evangélique du Congo Belge (1924)', Mwanza, 10/1/1925, AABRuxelles, Dos. P.M. XIV (by this date some of the files bear the letters CEM instead of P.M.) cf. item No. 2,3. *Difficultés*; as late as 1925 Burton writes to the Government complaining about the methods of labour recruitment. He tells the Governor of the Katanga that most of the young men had run off into the bush because of the forced recruitment; Linnéa Halldorf, Interview, Lemera, Kivu, Zaire, 30/10/1981 a missionary with the MLS says that in 1925 people were very suspicious when they arrived in a village and many ran away; Shimeoni Kusomba, Interview, Kabongo, 26/10/1980 says that when he was an evangelist and first went to the Kibanza area, people never closed their eyes when they prayed since they did not trust anyone and thought that it might be a trick to capture them.

<sup>115</sup> Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p.44.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 45; Even in Zaire today the trading of goods is very common; since the devaluations in 1980 many will not accept money in the countryside as it is valueless to them.

<sup>117</sup> Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p. 56.

One very significant event was the arrival at Mwanza of a group of ex-slaves from Angola. This took place in 1916, fifteen months after Blakeney and Burton had first left Johannesburg.<sup>118</sup> This arrival was most important in the life of the CEM since it undoubtedly accelerated the spread of the Christian message in the area. Nevertheless, the presence of these released slaves was initially a considerable burden on Burton. This was because he was kept busy hunting for antelope with which to feed thirty hungry people. This responsibility continued until such time as they were able to establish their own gardens and was one of the many duties which reduced time for evangelism.<sup>119</sup>

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<sup>118</sup> W. Burton, *RFBWFPB*, No. 8, Mwanza, 17/10/1916.

<sup>119</sup> Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, pp. 47-49.

## CHAPTER TWO

### DEVELOPMENT OF THE MISSION

#### A) Expansion Prior to 1960

##### Strategy and Patterns

The pattern of extension during the Colonial era is not as complex as one may imagine.<sup>1</sup> Although the Pentecostal Mission-CEM did not become a member of the *Conseil Protestant du Congo* (CPC) until March 1932, it nevertheless respected the boundaries for the missions as they were established by the CPC.<sup>2</sup> Because of the vastness of the country most Protestant groups regarded it as pointless to duplicate the work of another mission. There was remarkable cooperation between the Protestant missions and spheres of evangelism were worked out with the mission which were directly involved. Later when new missions came to the Congo it was with the help of the CPC that they were ascribed a territory where they could locate and be responsible for evangelism.<sup>3</sup> In this way I have not been able to find one single occasion when members of the CPC in the Katanga became embroiled in affairs over land disputes. When there were questions as to who should be responsible for any particular area this was settled by the parties involved. This happened on several occasions when the CEM had discussions with Methodists over Kabongo and Kamina, and again when the CEM discussed their boundaries with the American Presbyterian Congo Mission (APCM).<sup>4</sup> The Garenganze Evangelical Mission (GEM) was not a member of the CPC, but a working agreement was made between them and the CEM whereby the CEM kept to the west side of the Lualaba, north of the Bupemba Lakes.<sup>5</sup> This was with the exception of Kabumbulu where J.A. Clarke had a mission located on the west bank of the Lualaba. The Seventh Day Adventist Mission located at Songa, near the Government *poste* of Mato, but this mission was not a member of the CPC. However, there were few confrontations with the Adventists since they were mainly involved in medical work and were not so concerned with the establishment of churches in an area which would otherwise have been regarded as falling within CEM territory.<sup>6</sup>

I noted elsewhere that from the earliest Burton made maps of every place he visited. Population centres were always noted so that the most heavily populated areas would be the first to be evangelised.<sup>7</sup> Burton's first journey to Kipushya, as we shall see, was in order to reconnoitre the most likely sites for the placement of missionaries.<sup>8</sup> Although I have found no master plan, it

<sup>1</sup> For statistics on the expansion of the stations from 1917-1960 cf. Appendix 5.

<sup>2</sup> 'CPC-Meeting 9, 14-19/3/1932', No. 240 'A, AAOG-OMC Nottingham accepted the CEM application for membership. One of the conditions for membership was attendance at the CPC District meetings. In the case of the CEM this was the Kasai-Katanga District. These minutes indicate that Salter and Burton had attended. Another requirement, and the reason why the CEM had not become members earlier, was that any member had to hold PC. The CEM was not accorded PC until 1932.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Burton L. Goddard, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Modern Christian Missions*, p. 202 in the article on the CPC; cf. A. Stonelake, *Congo Past and Present*, p. 61 indicates that there was a marking out of boundaries and the delegation of regions to missions; *ibid.*, p. 57; The CPC looked at the map in 1936 and "it noted especially three needy areas of some considerable size apparently unoccupied, and approached those missions working in the adjoining territory on the subject of their early occupation"; E. Andersson, *Messianic Popular Movements in the Lower Congo*, pp. 126-127 ft. nt. Says regarding the CPC: "All missions affiliated to this Council (comprising at present about 50 different societies) pledge themselves to loyal cooperation, which involves, *inter alia*, mutual respect and abstention from any encroachment on a field appertaining to another member-organization". Burton, *Mudishi, Congo Hunter*, London, Victory press, 1947, pp. 134, 135 says with regard to the CEM: "In the Katanga, the southernmost province of the Congo, there is a splendid understanding between the various missions. Next to the Congo Evangelistic Mission, Eastward, is the Garenganze Mission,.... and a better group of partners in the gospel we could not wish to see.... It has been arranged between the two missions, that while the Garenganze Mission works on the Lualaba River and Eastwood, the CEM shall take responsibility for those villages inland from the river and Westward".

<sup>4</sup> cf. *CEMR*, No. 75, p. 360; *CEMR*, No. 81, pp. 469,470; 'MEC-CEM, May, 1933' No. 10; 'MEC-CEM, Kipushya, October, 1951', No. 15 "That brothers Wigglesworth and Knauf discuss the boundaries between the A.P.C.M. and ourselves; and having arrived at what we consider to be a fair share of the responsibility, we should write to Bibanga asking them to confirm that the arrangement is satisfactory to them"; Congo Mission Conference Methodist Episcopal Church, *Journal of the Seventh Session: Congo Mission Conference, Elisabethville, August 27, 1924-September 3, 1924*, p.6 mentions Burton discussing the boundary between the CEM and the Congo Mission Conference of the Methodist Mission.

<sup>5</sup> Burton, *Mudishi*, pp. 134, 135.

<sup>6</sup> There were a few villages like Kipukwe on the Kabongo-Kamina railroad which were left by the CEM for the Songa Mission to evangelize; H. Womersley, Interview, Bedford, 24/7/1980.

<sup>7</sup> cf. Chapter 1 D).

<sup>8</sup> *Infra*, pp. 50, 53.

would seem that in the back of Burton's mind he saw the CEM as responsible for the entire region between the GEM in the East, the APCM in the West, the Methodists in the South, and the Westcott Mission in the North at Lusambo and Mpanya Mutombo on the Sankuru River.<sup>9</sup> Roughly, this covers the area between 25° E-27° E and 5° S-9° 30'S. In the *Congo Evangelistic Mission Report* of September 1921, Burton drew a map of the area he considered to be the CEM Field. He superimposed on it, on the same scale, an outline of England and Wales. He wrote in the explanation of the map that he had done this so as to help his English friends understand:

The size of our "parish,"... Also we would like it understood that in all the territory marked, we alone are proclaiming the gospel, and were it not for the C.E.M. practically all that district would be ignorant of even the name of Christ Jesus.(CEMR, 9/9/1921, pp.2,3.)

Generally, extension followed plans to fill-in the blanks in the overall plan of the CEM district by locating stations at the strategic centres in Luba and Songyelands. That this is the pattern seems evident from a bird's eye view of the expansion and recorded strategy found in the Minutes of the Executive Council of the CEM. The latter declares:

That all station superintendents be asked to prepare a sketch of their present mission area, either superimposed on the mission map or on the same scale; to mark the boundaries where they exist, the sections were to be shaded and unworked areas left blank. Villages where an evangelist or helper is stationed to be underlined. This is in view of checking what remains to be done in the way of evangelism and opening up of new districts ( CEM-MEC, Kabongo, 4-5/3/1948, No.5, AZEMPreston)

An important factor in the working out of all extension was a vital question of resources - the availability of finances and personnel. For most of its history the CEM was greatly limited by lack of finance and as soon as it began to expand it found that there were times when some of the stations stood without leadership for months and even years. It was only toward the end of the Colonial era that the personnel problem became less apparent.

There are one or two matters which brought about changes in the normal pattern of expansion. The first was the government's policy of labour recruitment. This involved the CEM directly because many of the converts from the bush stations were forced to spend a number of years working on the mines in the south of the Katanga. This recruitment often disrupted family life and reduced the membership of the local assemblies drastically.<sup>10</sup> Although the CEM missionaries felt the loss at the time and complained about the problem to the authorities, in the long run, the CEM churches in the south of the country were commenced as the result of this policy.

The industrial centres had not been included in the zones of evangelism allocated by the CPC. This was because these towns were so heavily populated that the Methodists and the Brethren found it difficult to meet the needs there. For this reason provision was made for the admission of other groups to the cities.<sup>11</sup> At first the CEM members who found themselves in the cities worshiped either in the Methodist churches or in the Garenganze Brethren Assemblies. But in the 1950s the Pentecostals found that they were not always made welcome in these places of worship. Presumably this was because of the Pentecostal emphasis on the gifts of the Spirit and tongues.<sup>12</sup> It was during this time that permission was granted by the Government for the Pentecostals of the CEM to commence their own churches in some of the African *cités*.<sup>13</sup> In this way large and vigorous Luban assemblies grew up in all three of the biggest mining towns of the Katanga Copperbelt.

The second breach in the pattern of extension took place when CEM workers with the CFL steamship company, were sent to the Catholic stronghold of Kongolo. Numbers of these would have been CEM members from the river villages of the Kikondja chieftainship; as I indicate elsewhere, the Catholics would not permit the location of Protestant churches in the Kongolo area. In spite of this ban, which was enforced by the local administrators, the CEM members met for private worship and converts were won.<sup>14</sup> This is one reason why the church at Kongolo grew so quickly once it was accepted in 1947. The CEM had included Kongolo in its sphere of influence and

<sup>9</sup> *RFBWFPB*, No. 13, pp. 2,3 ; cf. C. Irvine, *Church of Christ*, p. 109.

<sup>10</sup> 'Extrait du Rapport des Activités [sic] de la Mission Evangélique', AAB.

<sup>11</sup> *CPC, Findings of Conferences held under leadership of Dr. John Mott*, p.23.

<sup>12</sup> D. Womersley, Letter, Kamina II, 15/6/1982 ; 'AB, Kikondja, 5,6/8/57' No. 8.

<sup>13</sup> 'AB, Kikondja, 5,6/8/57', No. 8 ; Zakiasa Mutonge, Interview, May 1980.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. *CEMR*, No. 400, pp. 3,4 ; cf. *infra*, pp. 328-332.

had desired to become active in the town but it was through the ordinary members that the church was first established.

The planned strategy of the pre-1960 years is not generally the same in the post-independence years. The pattern does not hold because the regions established by the CPC were no longer respected. CEM members from Mwanza and elsewhere who were working at the mining town of Manono began their own services. This was an area which had previously been under the jurisdiction of the GEM. Today there is a large CPZ church at Manono with many hundreds of members. They have been partly responsible for the outreach to Kiambi and the work among the unevangelised Pygmies. This is one example of what took place in many different places in the Katanga. Churches were not planned; they just sprang up as people moved about the country and began their own churches wherever they went.<sup>15</sup>

At the same time that the CEM was spreading all over the Katanga and the Kasai so other groups were moving into areas which had previously been exclusively CEM territory. The Methodists and the Brethren began to locate in towns like Kamina and Kabongo and it is quite common today to have Brethren, Methodists, Pentecostals, Baptists and a host of Independent churches all located in a village which was prior to 1960 served only by the CEM and the Catholics.

### The Mission Station as a Centre for Evangelism

Like Dan Crawford, Burton and Salter never planned to establish mission stations, but to travel from village to village and remain in each place long enough to establish a church before moving to the next.<sup>16</sup> Nevertheless, they soon found this to be an impracticable method of evangelism.<sup>17</sup> They saw that they would never be able to evangelise alone and that bases were needed where they could train and prepare evangelists. These centres would be used to evangelise an area in the same way that Paul had used Ephesus as his centre of evangelism for the Province of Asia.<sup>18</sup> Schools and medical clinics could also be located on the stations to benefit all the surrounding area.

Burton claimed that he wanted small decentralised stations which would not become institutions, but this was seldom realised. This is somewhat of an anomaly since he must have known that as soon as schools and clinics were built the stations were going to become more institutionalised than ever.<sup>19</sup> It is true that the stations did not develop as they did in some of the larger denominational missions, but it would appear that this was for financial rather than tactical reasons.<sup>20</sup> When the CEM eventually signed medical educational agreements with the Belgian Administration in the 1950s, the stations which were involved became even more institutionalised.<sup>21</sup> It is possible that the first CEM missionaries saw mission stations as a 'passing phase' in missionary evangelism but it is doubtful that later generations of missionaries had the same feelings. They tended to see the doing away of mission stations as a backward rather than a forward step in the CEM.

A number of stations such as Lulenge and Katenta were abandoned. Mutengwa was moved to Lulungu, Kisamba to Luena and Busangu-Sungu to Kamina, all for practical reasons; but when a station like Ngoy Mani was closed there were those who were convinced that this was a

<sup>15</sup> There are some exceptions to this. Ronald Monot's tours were always planned to reach the centres, especially in the Kasai Oriental; In addition to this, there were places like Mitwaba and Dilolo where men were sent to commence a CPZ work.

<sup>16</sup> H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, p. 80; cf. Dan Crawford, *Thinking Black*, p. 418; R. Slade, *English-Speaking Missions*, p. 183.

<sup>17</sup> H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, p. 80; cf. Slade, *English-Speaking Missions*, p. 183.

<sup>18</sup> *RFBWFPB*, No. 6, Mwanza, 26/11/1919; *CEMR*, No. 2, 1923, p. 7; cf. Slade, *English-Speaking Missions*, pp. 180, 181, 184; W.H. Bentley, *Pioneering on the Congo*, II London, The Religious Tract Society, 1900, p. 127. This is parallel to the situation in which Crawford found himself since he had initially not planned to be located in one place. He wanted to travel widely; cf. G. Tilsley, *Dan Crawford of Central Africa*, London, Reville, 1929, pp. 473-482.

<sup>19</sup> W. Burton, *God Working*, p. 95; cf. H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, p. 81; 'MGFC-CEM, Mwanza, 24-30 June, 1945' Appendix 2 A.1 it was necessary to remind the missionaries that they had come to the Congo to evangelize and that everything else should take second place. This shows too much time was being spent on improving the institution of the station. On the institution of the station and the reasons for education etc. cf. Slade, *English-Speaking Missions*, p.188.

<sup>20</sup> There are some Mission stations like Mulungwishi of the Methodists near Likasi which have almost become towns.

<sup>21</sup> 'EC-CEM, Kabondo Dianda, 2-4 April 1952', No. 1 indicates that the Kikondja station had been offered a Reine Astrid maternity hospital by the Government. This was as a result of an agreement between the Belgian Administration and the CEM. It involved the granting of subsidies to the CEM for those institutions which attained a certain level. The acceptance of the subsidies had been agreed to by the 'GFC-CEM, Kabongo, 18-23 August 1951', Nos.17,18; other such clinics were built at Katombe, Kipushya, Kashukulu and Kabondo Dianda.

backward step.<sup>22</sup> In most cases where stations were closed it was because there was a lack of white personnel to supervise areas which were regarded as being of greater importance.<sup>23</sup>

Mission stations were chosen after a great deal of careful exploration. Areas were roughly mapped and an estimate of the population was always made. Burton and Salter also chose those centres where the local *mulopwe* was keen to have the Mission because of the importance of his backing.<sup>24</sup> As the work grew delegates were sent out on exploratory journeys to bring back their findings to the Executive Council of the CEM.<sup>25</sup> This body would then approve the suggestions of the delegation after which the exact location would be finalised in conjunction with the Director or the Legal Representative.<sup>26</sup> The Legal Representative had to be there since he was the one to make application for the lands to the Administration.

During the colonial era the CEM was hesitant to become involved in towns and cities. It regarded itself as a bush mission and even when there were missionaries like Garfield Vale, who were interested in following migrant workers to the mines the CEM had declined.<sup>27</sup> However, by the late 1940s and early 1950s the strategic centres of Kongolo, Kamina and Luena opened up to the CEM. The missionaries believed that they must become involved there even where it meant the re-deployment of missionaries staff and the relocation of some of the mission stations.<sup>28</sup> It was much more expensive to locate a station in the towns and cities because of the strict building codes which required all buildings to be constructed with *matériaux durables*. In addition to this all buildings had to have properly drawn plans which had to be accepted by the Government before any building could be erected.<sup>29</sup> In a mission which was fighting to keep its head above water financially, the commencement of these new town stations meant a great deal of sacrifice. It is probably accurate to say that apart from the shortage of personnel, this was the main reason why the CEM did not commence missionary supervision of Elisabethville, Jadoville and Kolwezi from a station in the south even when it was requested to do so by the Congolese in those centres.<sup>30</sup> The CEM had been considering locating a station at Kabinda in the Kasai but for similar reasons this never materialised during the colonial era.<sup>31</sup>

Even if one concedes that in the mind of at least some of the CEM missionaries the Mission Station concept was a transitory phase in evangelism, it has never been seen as such by the local church leaders. When evacuation took place in 1960 there were thirteen stations where there were resident missionaries and at least three others where there were Congolese leaders.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>22</sup> 'GFC-CEM, Kabongo, 10-16 August 1954' rough draft of proceedings, p.21: *Mission Stations and Staffing*: "Mr. Brown. I have it on my heart that something should have been done for Luamba.... I came to this conference with the idea of pressing for Luamba to be opened again. I have been to Luamba since coming back to the Field. I understood that everything was settled. When I got there I had a great shock. As far as the natives are concerned it is not settled. The natives practically mobbed us when we got there. I did not find a "handful" of people-a great crowd. If we had been dealing with a station that was obsolete it would be different. Katenta was dead. In all the years the R.C.'s have never been able to get into the Ngoimani area but now they are overflowing the place. I want you to consider Luamba when you consider the staffing of Mwanza".

<sup>23</sup> Katenta and Lulenge (Kasongwa Mule) were exceptions. The population at Katenta moved away so that there was no longer any need to maintain a mission station there. At Lulenge there were a number of factors involved including communication problems. According to the Christians themselves the missionaries left because Kasongwa Mule (the chief) was not very helpful and he was in fact against the missionaries. This reason was given me by Banza Mpoyo, Lulenge, 25/12/1981.

<sup>24</sup> Yumba wa Nkulu, interview, Mwanza, 13/12/1980; cf. *supra*, Chapter 1 D), pp.94-97; cf. H. Bentley, *Pioneering on the Congo*, II, p. 127.

<sup>25</sup> 'EC-CEM, Kabongo, 4,5 March 1948', No 4; H. Womersley, Interview, Bedford, 24/7/1980 the executive council was the executive body of the CEM during the earliest years.

<sup>26</sup> H. Womersley, Interview, Bedford, 24/7/1983; cf. *CEMR*, No. 84, p. 533 regarding the opening of Kashukulu; *CEMR*, No. 37, pp. 588-592 regarding the opening of Mutengwa and Katombe; *CEMR*, No. 139, pp. 129,130 regarding the opening of Katea; Extract from 'GFC-CEM, Mwanza 1938', Suggested Agenda and Appendix 3.

<sup>27</sup> H. Womersley, Interview, Bedford, 23/7/1980 said that Garfield Vale was very interested in starting a work at Elisabethville, but his enthusiasm was not shared by the other missionaries of the CEM. On the lack of desire of Protestants generally to become involved in cities cf. Markowitz, *Cross and Sword*, p.3 and Orvil David, 'Education in Congo', *IRM*, 43, 1954, p. 423.

<sup>28</sup> *CEMR*, No. 198, pp. 2466-69 regarding Kamina; *CEMR*, No. 199, pp. 2490-2491 regarding Kabinda; *CEMR*, No. 200, pp. 2510-2512 regarding Kongolo; *CEMR*, No. 201, p. 2538 regarding Luena cf. *CEMR*, No. 205, pp. 2610-2612; *CEMR*, No. 139, pp. 1294-1296.

<sup>29</sup> H. Womersley, Interview, 24/7/1980.

<sup>30</sup> C. Yesson, E. Hodgson and H. Berry were involved in the supervision of the Southern cities even though they were never resident there. The CEM work in those places had been commenced by people who had gone from the interior to live and work in the towns. 'AB-CEM, Luena, 13,14 January 1959', No. 17.

<sup>31</sup> 'EC-CEM, Kipushya, 12-15 October 1951', No. 17 "That, seeing that Kabinda is in the C.E.M. territory [allotted to them by the CPC] Brother Wigglesworth, choose with the Administrateur Territorial a suitable site for the proposed Kabinda installations".

<sup>32</sup> Elisabethville/Lubumbashi was considered to be a station as of 1957 and Jadoville/Likasi as of 1958. Kolwezi did not become a station until 19654 (cf. 'Liste nominative de Pasteurs responsables des stations, 30-Communauté Pentecôtiste au Zaïre pendant l'exercice 1980' Ilunga Sambula, Kamina, 11/11/1980 ACPZKamina). Of the seventeen stations listed

These have been increased to sixty eight by August 1982.<sup>33</sup> The area evangelized by the CPZ is much greater than that evangelized by the CEM with its 13 stations, but not proportionately so since many of the original stations have been divided several times to facilitate administration. However, this is not merely for administrative reasons but in order that the new area might be completely autonomous. For this reason the station has come to mean 'self-government' and liberty from the oppression of the former *shitashoni* (the Kiluba corruption of station). The result has been that where there has been discontent with station leadership every district with an existing ecclesiastical station has requested the right to become an independent station. This is examined in greater detail in the post independence period.

### The ex-Slaves and Their Place in the Spread of the Christian Message in the CEM Field

During the 19th-century slave raiders ravaged Luba and Songyeland and many thousands of unfortunate people were dragged away to be sold in the slave markets of Portuguese Angola. Although the Portuguese had been trading in slaves since the 1500s this trade did not reach the heartland of the Baluba and the southern Basongye until early 1870.<sup>34</sup> It was then that the Ovimbundu from Bié<sup>35</sup> took advantage of the succession wars between the Luba kings to peddle their weapons.<sup>36</sup> Kabongo even had *pombieros*<sup>37</sup> working with him swapping slaves for firearms and powder.<sup>38</sup> From the northeast Tippu Tip had visited the southern Songyeland and parts of the Luba Empire looking for slaves and ivory. With his henchmen, Ngongo Lutete and Lumpungu, he had raided as far south as the Bene Kaniok.<sup>39</sup> About 1862 Msiri, who was in league with Tippu Tip, had come to power and traded with both East and West coasts in slaves, ivory and copper.<sup>40</sup> During his reign he wrought havoc in Lubaland, attacking especially those chiefdoms on the right hand side of the Lualaba.<sup>41</sup> The people about whom we write will have been taken into slavery from the above areas between 1870-1900.<sup>42</sup> They were sold to the Ovimbundu traders who in turn sold them in the slave markets of Bié Angola.<sup>43</sup>

A number of these slaves remained in the Bié district where there were Protestant missions engaged in evangelism. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, The Board of Missions of the Presbyterian Church of Canada, and the Brethren Mission all had stations in the Bié area during the period which concerns this study.<sup>44</sup> Through the work of these

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by Braekman, *Protestantisme au Congo*, p. 354 under the CEM, Ngoy Mani, Busangu/Sungu, Katenta and Kisamba had been closed as stations by 1960, but these were all opened by the Congolese after 1960 except for Katenta and Kisamba.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. 'Compte-Rendu de la 13me Conférence [de la CPZ] tenue à Kabongo du 18 au 21/08/1982', Section-Liste des Participants à la conférence.

<sup>34</sup> Reefer, *Rainbow*, pp. 159, 183.

<sup>35</sup> J. Vansina, *Kingdoms*, p. 200; W. Burton, *When God Changes a Man*, rev. ed., London, Victory Press, 1937, pp. 10,11.

<sup>36</sup> Reef, *Rainbow*, p. 184; Vansina, *Kingdoms*, pp. 243,247.

<sup>37</sup> The name given to the African slave traders in Angola; cf. James Duffy, *A Question of Slavery*, Oxford, Clarendon, 1967, p. 75.

<sup>38</sup> Vansina, *Kingdoms*, pp. 243,247.

<sup>39</sup> Reefer, *Rainbow*, pp. 166-168,177; Vansina, *Kingdoms*, pp. 235,236, 239-241.

<sup>40</sup> Vansina, *Kingdoms*, pp. 229,230.

<sup>41</sup> This was between 1880-1884 cf. Reefer, *Rainbow*, pp. 178-180; Vansina, *Kingdoms*, p. 231; It was to Msiri that Shambelo was sold. From there he went via the southern route to Bié.

<sup>42</sup> Although the slave trade had been prohibited in Angola since 1836 it was not until 1878 that it was officially abolished. However, even after the Atlantic trade was suspended the demand continued within Angola and the islands of Principe and Sao Tome for slave labour. Some slave trade continued in the interior of Angola past 1915; cf. J. Duffy, *A Question of Slavery*, pp.7, 171,218 and 227, ft. nt. 28. That Msiri sold his slaves to the Ovimbundu is clear from Burton, *When God Changes a Man*, pp. 22-33; Shalumbo who is the central figure of *When God Changes a Man* was from Bwana Tshofwa. He became a self-appointed slave trader who had his slaves taken from him by the warriors of Mutombo Mukulu and ended up destitute in Bié. He made several journeys to Bunkeya to buy slaves from Msiri; Burton, *ibid.*, pp.12-14, 22-33.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Duffy, *A Question of Slavery*, p. 180; there is no record of any of the slaves sold to Tippu Tip or to the Arabs from the east ever returning.

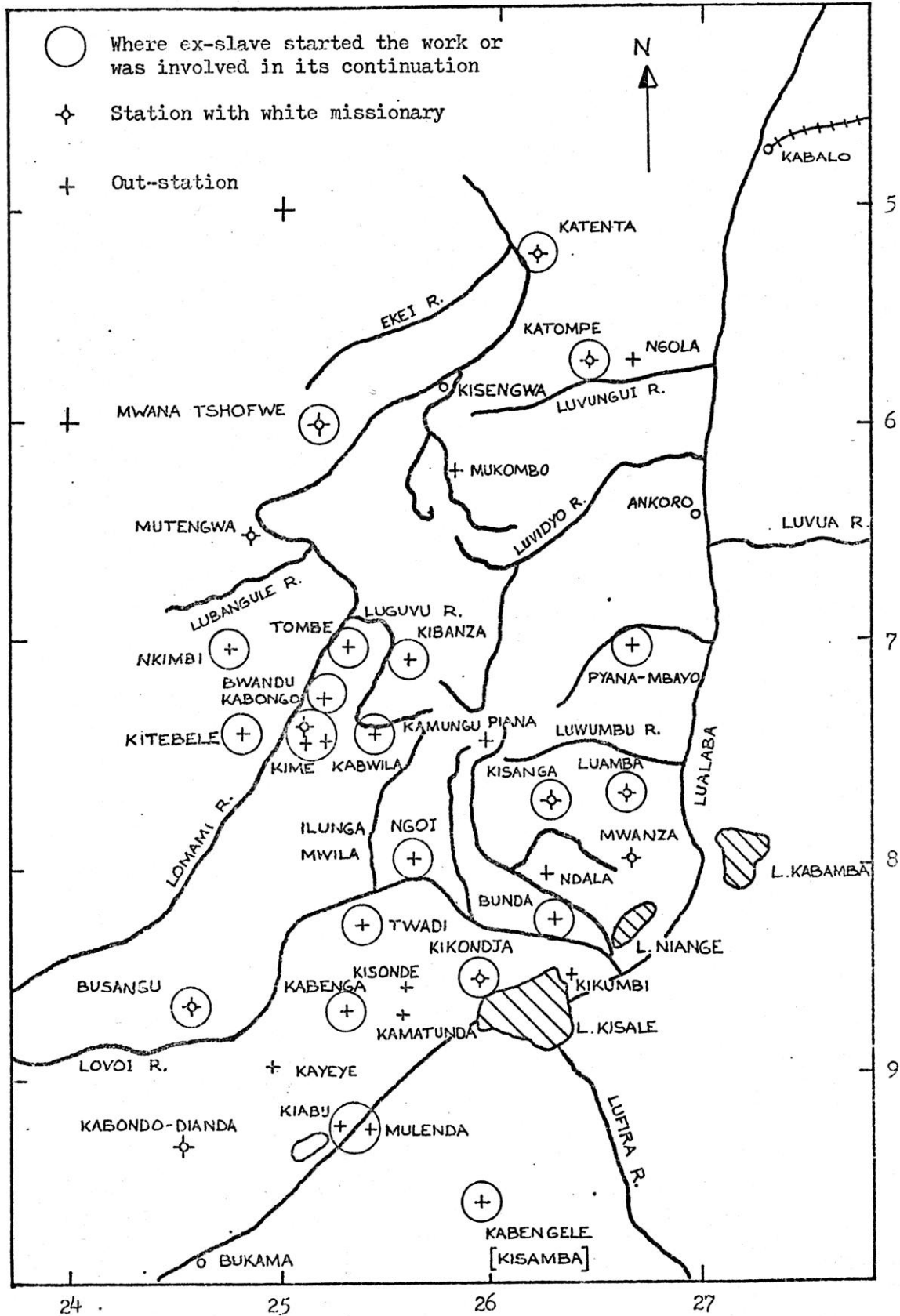
<sup>44</sup> Burton mentions that these slaves came from missions run by Lane, Saunders and C. Swan; *When God Changes a Man*, London, Victory press, 1937, p. 15; *RFBWFPB*, No. 8, 17/10/1916; cf. C.P. Groves, *The Planting of Christianity in Africa*, III, London, Lutterworth, 1955, pp. 126,127; T. E. Wilson, *Angola Beloved*, Neptune, New Jersey, Loizeaux Brothers, 1967, pp. 14, 15; C.T. Swan opened Chilonda in 1905; both of these stations were in the Bié district; cf. P. Wilson, *Angola Beloved*, p.75.

It is not always clear whether the second group of slaves came from the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions or from the Presbyterian Church of Canada Mission. The former had a station at Bailundu and elsewhere. According to T.E. Wilson, *Angola Beloved*, map p. 5 Chisamba was a Presbyterian Church of Canada Mission Station. J.J. Ellis, *Dan Crawford of Luanza or 37 years' Missionary Work in Darkest Africa*, p. 47 calls Chisamba "the most advanced outpost of the American mission". Burton says that the slaves were converted under British and American missionaries; *RFBWFPB*, No. 17, p. 2; Shimioni Kusomba says that his party came from Chisamba and that the Mr. Kole (spelling not certain) of the APCM Mission was the resident missionary there. Interview, Kabongo, 26/10/1980. The APCM was the American Presbyterian Congo Mission and did not have any work in Angola, but the fact that Kusomba

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identified the work at Chisamba with the Presbyterians would tend to suggest that it was a Canadian Presbyterian Mission and not the American Board that was in charge of the work at Chisamba. However, a letter from the United Church of Canada, which took over the work of the Canadian Presbyterian Mission quoting a reverend Kirkwood (Africa Secretary of the Division of World Outreach) says that "Chisamba was never a Presbyterian mission. It was first Congregational and then United". The same Rev. Kirkwood suggests that Mr. Kole (or Cole) may have been Mr. Samuel Coles. I had no reply to a letter requesting information either from Samuel Coles' daughter or from the United Church Board for World Ministries. To further complicate matters while in Zambia in 1983 I met a Mr. D. Long who had been a Brethren missionary in Angola until 1967. He stated categorically that Chisamba was a Canadian Presbyterian Mission Station; cf. Deborah Marshall, (Administrative Assistant to Garth Legge, Division of World Outreach, The United Church of Canada) and letter, Toronto, 7/6/1983 to author; David Long, Interview, Chingola, Zambia, 1/7/1983; cf. B. Goddard, *The Encyclopedia of Modern Christian Missions*, pp. 659,660; Chissamba, Chisamba, or Kisamba is just west of the Quanza River, on the south side of the railway to Zaire in Benguela Province; cf. On the slave trade and Lubaland T. Reeve, *Rainbow*, pp. 183-185, 188, 189.

# THE EX-SLAVES



missions many Luban and Songye slaves were converted to Christianity. After the Portuguese ordered the release of all slaves, the missionaries encouraged these expatriates to return home so as to share their Christian faith with their families.<sup>45</sup>

The first party to leave came from the Brethren Mission and was led by Shalumbo, a Musongye who had been taken captive as a youth, but he later became a slave raider himself. Burton says that Lane, a Brethren missionary from Bié, had been in contact with Zentler, another Brethren missionary at Mulongo. All the ex-slaves had letters of introduction from Bié.<sup>46</sup> Burton and Salter were surprised one Sunday morning in 1916 to hear a group of people climbing Mwanza Hill while they sang Moody and Sankey hymns in a language unknown to the local inhabitants.<sup>47</sup> After these people had introduced themselves and presented their letters of introduction, Burton recalled the prayer of a Christian woman in Johannesburg fifteen months before. As the missionary party was about to depart, she had asked that God would provide workers to help them with their task in evangelism. The letters of introduction were dated on the very day that the woman had prayed.<sup>48</sup> This first party consisted of five men, six women and nineteen children. Most of them spoke only Kimbundu.<sup>49</sup>

The second group of slaves came from Kisamba and had been converted under the Ministry of a Mr. Kole.<sup>50</sup> They had spent two years at Kapanga<sup>51</sup> before continuing to Kabongo in the heart of Lubaland. Many did not know where their homes were and spent some time at Kabongo making inquiries before continuing the journeys.<sup>52</sup> This party must have included more men than the first since at least nine men remained in the Kabongo chieftainship and became involved in the work of the Methodist Mission.<sup>53</sup> Others, including Ngoloma and Shambelo, remained only a short time at Kabongo before continuing to Mwanza.<sup>54</sup>

The new missionaries found these ex-slaves a great help when they were just starting out in their evangelism of the area. Burton wrote that most had learned some kind of skill in Angola, including brick making and basketry, but their greatest asset was their ability to communicate the message of God.<sup>55</sup> Shalumbo had a strong and persuasive personality and was a born leader.<sup>56</sup> Burton says that he had a great burden for those who were not Christians and would go off for days preaching in the villages of the area. He was most influential in opening the Ngoy Mani valley to the Christian message and later pioneered in his home area at Mwana Tshofwe (Kipushya) among the Bekalebwe people. When, after an absence of nine months, he eventually returned to Mwanza, he brought with them a number of converts and other interested seekers to learn more from the *Babwana*. Later when a station was opened at Kipushya, near the head village of the Bene Kiofwe, Shalumbo became the overseer of most of the northern area.<sup>57</sup>

Ngoloma was the son of the *Mfumu* (counsellor) at Mulenda on the Lualaba and had been taken into slavery as a young man. He had not wanted to become involved in evangelism, but after he had experienced what the Pentecostals call: "the baptism and the Holy Spirit" and spoken in tongues in 1920, he then felt called to work in the Kikondja chieftainship. Like Shalumbo he was an energetic and progressive man of about 40 years of age when he went to live at Kipamba.<sup>58</sup> Not

<sup>45</sup> Kusomba Shimioni, Interview, Kabongo, 26/10/1980; there is evidence that all the missionaries in the Bié area, both the Brethren and the missionaries at Bailundu as well as those at Chisamba were active in the anti-slavery campaign. M.Z. Stober wrote from Bailundu, cf. Duffy, *A Question of Slavery*, p. 171; C. Swan and others from the brethren; Duffy, *op. cit.*, p. 227 and ft. nt. 28, p. 227. Also pp. 185, 226 where we see that there were others who wrote from Chisamba. The last note states that although the Portuguese had stopped trading in slaves, there were still Africans who continued the business in the interior.

<sup>46</sup> Burton, *When God Changes a Man*, p. 49.

<sup>47</sup> *RFBWFPB*, No. 8, 17/10/1916.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>49</sup> Lubaba Bikomo, Interview, Mwanza, 13/12/1980.

<sup>50</sup> *Supra*, ft. nt. 44; Shambelo, 'Emancipation from A Double Slavery', *CEMR*, No. 3, January-March, 1924, p. 23.

<sup>51</sup> Kusomba Shimioni, Interview, Kabongo, 26/10/1980 and Kamina, 28/8/1981.

<sup>52</sup> *Supra* ft. nt. 51.

<sup>53</sup> Ilunga Ngoie Jean, Interview, Kamina, 31/8/1981.

<sup>54</sup> Kusomba Shimioni, Interview, Kamina, 28/8/1981.

<sup>55</sup> 'Sun-Rise on the Kisale Marshes', *CEMR*, No. 3, p. 21.

<sup>56</sup> Burton, *God Working*, p. 38; Burton, *When God Changes a Man*, pp. 66-86.

<sup>57</sup> Burton, *When God Changes a Man*, pp. 113-130; A. Blythe, 'A Slave's Story', *CEMR*, No. 48, 1934, p. 795; regarding his work and death cf. J. Salter and Fred and Sally Johnstone, 'A Warrior Enters His Reward: Tributes to Shalumbo, Ex-Slave Raider, Evangelist', *CEMR*, No. 68, 1937, pp. 211-213.

<sup>58</sup> Burton, *CEMR*, No. 3, p. 21; Lunda Kateba, Interview, Kamina II, 26/8/1981. Kipamba was the head village of the chieftainship of Kikondja. The correct spelling of the name is Kinkondja but it is usually written the Belgian way 'Kikondja' or 'Kikondja' and Kipamba cf. Alexandre Delcommune, 'Au Coeur du Congo Belge: Comment les Sauvages du Lac Kisale accueillirent les premiers blancs qui se présentèrent chez eux', *Mouvement Géographique*, 5(29) 1912, pp. 7-10.

only was he an evangelist but he became a close adviser of *Mulopwe* Kikondja.<sup>59</sup> He persuaded him to change completely the organization of the village, with straight wide streets and neat clean houses. At the same time he had mango trees planted throughout the village to provide shade and fruit for everyone.<sup>60</sup> It was as a direct result of his work that many of the future leaders of the Kikondja station were converted and instructed in the Christian faith.<sup>61</sup> In later years Ngoloma became the Mfumu at Mulenda, but he continued to be the local evangelist there at the same time. Lunda Kateba, once head pastor of Kikondja CPZ station, said that he had more influence upon the people of Kikondja than any of the ex-slaves who had worked in the area.<sup>62</sup> He prepared the way for the missionaries to locate their station at Kipamba in the years that followed.

Shambelo, son of Mfumu Kabenga, had been captured by Mukanda Bantu and sold by Msiri to a powerful Biean chief by the name of Kandyundu.<sup>63</sup> He became overseer in Ilunga Mwila (Kisanga) and Sukié and later Kalui in the Busangu a station after pioneering in many villages including Twadi in the Kikondja chieftainship.<sup>64</sup> Shayoano, one of Shalumbo's converts opened up the Pyana Mbayo district to the Christian message. It was through him that Mudishi became a Christian and was very influential in Chief Ntaha's village.<sup>65</sup> Musoka preached for time at Katombe along with Kaluashi, and later left one of his converts in charge of the work there.<sup>66</sup>

In the Kabongo chieftainship there were a number of individuals who became active in evangelism after their return from Angola. Zwao was the first to go to Kamungu where his message clashed with that of the *Bambudye*<sup>67</sup> society, resulting in many conflicts. On one occasion the *Bambudye* scraped the skin from his thighs and when he reported them to the authorities they claimed that he had fallen from a tree and the bark had caused the injury. The *Bambudye* accused him regularly so that eventually he spent some time in prison at Kabinda for his faith.<sup>68</sup>

The person to accomplish most in terms a pioneering new churches, pastoring and leadership responsibility, was Mutombo Kusomba Shimioni. He was born in Angola of Luban parents and learned to read and write while in Angola. This ability was polished while he was at Kapanga so that under the Methodists at Kabongo he soon became a teacher of young people. He was a local pastor at Kitebele on the west bank of the Lomami River and in 1923 Dr. Berry of the Methodist Mission had him sent to Madia in the Kibanza-Kabombwe area.<sup>69</sup> This district is located on the edge of what was then known as cannibal country. The story is told that Kusomba volunteered to go because he had flat feet. He said that since he could not run away, God would have to look after him while he was there.<sup>70</sup> In 1938 he was called to be senior overseer on the station at Kabongo where he remained as pastor of the entire station until his retirement in 1972.<sup>71</sup> He was the only ex-slave to come out of Angola to become pastor of a station during the postcolonial period.

A map of the CEM field in the early days shows just how important the ex-slaves were in the evangelisation of the entire area. It is likely that in real terms the influence at the village level was greater than that of the missionaries during this initial period. This was because they lived with the people whereas the missionary was often on the move and only spent a limited time among the new converts. Again, as Burton points out, these men knew the heart of the people and were better able to deal with the problems that the missionary would never have recognised.<sup>72</sup> (cf. Appendix 7)

<sup>59</sup> Burton, *CEMR*, No. 3, p. 22; on Ngoloma, and his early life (his name had been Katwamba previously) and some of the years of work at Kikondja cf. Hodgson, *Out of the Darkness: The Story of an Indigenous Church in the Belgian Congo*, Luton, AOG Publishing House, 1946, pp. 25-43; cf. Markowitz, *Cross and Sword*, p. 15 points out that the *catéchistes* becoming important persons in the community was a common phenomenon.

<sup>60</sup> Lunda Kateba, Interview, Kamina II, 26/8/1981; *CEMR*, No. 3, p. 22.

<sup>61</sup> Lunda Kateba, 26/8/1981; the leaders included Fidimone Kasongo, Yombi, Alone, Andele and Sangelo.

<sup>62</sup> Interview, 26/8/81.

<sup>63</sup> Shambelo, *CEMR*, No. 3, p. 23.

<sup>64</sup> *CEMR*, February 23/1922 (no number since this was prior to the first regular edition in 1923) p.2; W. Burton, 'The Upper Springs and the Nether Springs: The Opening of the New Kasongwa Niembo Mission Station', *CEMR*, No. 13, p. 162.

<sup>65</sup> C. E. Taylor, 'General Survey of Work at Ngoimani And Out-stations, for 1931', *CEMR*, No. 34, 1931, p. 523; W. Burton, *Mudishi, Congo Hunter*, London, Victory Press, 1947, p. 47.

<sup>66</sup> Axel and Helen Oman, 'Opening the Mission Station at Katombe', *CEMR*, No. 40, 1933, p. 645; cf. on Kaluashi (also Kalwashi and Kausashi) J. M. Springer, 'The Transfer of Kabongo Work', *CEMR*, No. 45, 1933, p. 736; J. M. Springer, *I Love the Trail: a Sketch of the Life of Helen Emily Springer*, Nashville, Parthenon, 1952, p. 104; L. Newbery, 'Kalawashi' *CEMR*, No. 132, 1947, p. 1164.

<sup>67</sup> Ilunga Ngoie Jean, Interview, 31/8/1981; on the Bambudye, cf. *infra*, Chapter IV D); cf. Burton, *Luba Religion*, pp. 154-167; T.Q. Reefer, *Rainbow*, pp. 13,14, 46-48.

<sup>68</sup> Ilunga Ngoie, 31/8/1981.

<sup>69</sup> Kusomba Shimioni, Interview, Kabongo, 26/10/1980; cf. H. Womersley, 'A Home Missionary Movement', *CEMR*, No. 87, 1941, p. 595.

<sup>70</sup> D. Womersley, Interview, Kabongo, 3/8/1973.

<sup>71</sup> Kusomba Shimioni, 26/10/1980; W. B. Hawkins, 'Shimioni-The Sweet Singer', *CEMR*, No. 309, 1962, pp. 10-11.

<sup>72</sup> Burton, *God Working*, p. 38. (cf. Appendix 7 regarding ex-slaves).

It is doubtful that the Pentecostal work would have grown as quickly as it did, and been as well accepted as it was, had it not been for this band of ex-Angolan slaves.

### The Extension of the Mission to Ngoy Mani and Bwana Tshofwe

One of the greatest hindrances to the spread of the Pentecostal Mission during its earliest days was, as we saw, a shortage of personnel and finances. Nevertheless, the missionaries believed that they should do all that was possible to extend to new densely populated areas. During 1917 Julia Richardson and A. Hodges paid a brief visit to the Ngoy Mani valley.<sup>73</sup> They brought news of a chieftainship with big villages open to the Christian message. As a result of this preliminary survey, Burton and Salter made a close examination of the valley and it was decided to open a new station site at Luamba as soon as personnel was available.<sup>74</sup> Both of these men visited the valley regularly, and with the help of Shalumbo succeeded in gaining numbers of converts.<sup>75</sup> One incident which had a considerable impact upon the population and gave credence to the power of the God they served was the healing of the headman, Mwanabute Kalume.<sup>76</sup>

After the station had been established, Gatzke and Bakker were the first full-time missionaries to be resident at Luamba, but neither remained long enough to make very much of an impression.<sup>77</sup> Gatzke was moved to open the next new station at Kisanga, but soon left after being struck down by influenza in the great epidemic.<sup>78</sup> The Catholics contested the occupation of Ngoy Mani by the Pentecostal Mission, and this held up progress for a long time.<sup>79</sup>

Luamba was later taken over by Cyril Taylor in 1920. He spent much time tramping all over what he considered to be his parish. In this way Luamba became the centre for the evangelisation of the entire area between Ngoy Mani valley, and Katenta, some 300 km to the north. Taylor was often away from Luamba for two to three months at a time, preaching in the villages wherever he went. He visited the villages in the Luvidjo River Valley in the days when, without any compunction, the local inhabitants would kill visitors and eat them.<sup>80</sup> As a consequence of these visits vast tracts of country were covered by this man, and many heard the Christian message for the first time from him.<sup>81</sup>

In 1918 Shalumbo, who had been so actively engaged in evangelism at the Ngoy Mani and elsewhere in the area of Mwanza, requested leave to visit his home at Kipushya among the Bena Kiofwe.<sup>82</sup> This is the first time he had been home since he had been enslaved many years before. He spent nine months preaching the Christian message in the villages of the area and won a number of converts. When he returned to Mwanza, 34 converts and 'seekers' went with him. They built a camp at the back of the Mission Station and supported themselves by means of their skills, which included: the weaving of raphia cloth, and iron work.<sup>83</sup> Most of these were later converted to Christianity and a number, such as Pita Mbele, became very influential leaders among the Basongye. He even led the Kipushya church after Independence in 1960.<sup>84</sup>

Burton had married in 1918<sup>85</sup> and a year later Shalumbo persuaded the Burtons to visit Kipushya. Burton agreed to go there as part of a fact-finding tour. This was because the Pentecostals were expecting new recruits to join them shortly.<sup>86</sup> The mission needed to know the

<sup>73</sup> Burton, *God Working*, p. 47; cf. on the chieftainship of Ngoy Mani, H. Göhring, *Baluba*, pp. 125-127.

<sup>74</sup> Burton, *RFBWFPB*, No. 11, pp. 2,3; problems involved in the opening of Ngoy Mani as a station include an inter-village war and the finding of a skeleton in the area of the new house which caused all the workers to run away. cf. Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p. 59; Burton, *God Working*, p. 49; this skeleton, named Kafuke, was later buried and the confidence of the local people restored.

<sup>75</sup> *RFBWFPB*, No. 11, pp. 2,3; Burton, *God Working*, pp. 54,111; Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p. 133; *RFBWFPB*, No. 13, 1918, p. 4.

<sup>76</sup> *CEMR*, No. 133, 1947, pp. 1169-1171; Burton, *God Working*, pp. 50-53.

<sup>77</sup> Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p. 133; *RFBWFPB*, No. 13, p.4.

<sup>78</sup> Burton, *God Working*, p. 141.

<sup>79</sup> *RFBWFPB*, No. 11, pp. 4-6; cf. *infra*, Chapter IV A) on Government relationships with the CEM and B) the Catholics.

<sup>80</sup> Nkulu Balanda, Interview, Luamba, 17/12/1980; *CEMR*, No. 10, p. 107; *CEMR*, No. 205, 1953, pp. 2610-2612.

<sup>81</sup> On Taylor's life and death cf. W. Burton, 'A Good Soldier of Jesus Christ Finishes his Course', *CEMR*, No. 53, pp. 906,907.

<sup>82</sup> *RFBWFPB*, No. 14, 1919, p. 3; Fwamba Yobo Louis, Interview, Kipushya, 21/1/1981; the Bena Kiofwe are the 'Sons of the hippopotamus'; they were called Bena Tshofwa by the Belgians who knew only Tshiluba in this area and so changed all the names beginning with ki-to tshi-. They are a sub-group of the Basongye people; cf. Göhring, *Baluba*, pp. 230-232; Jan Vansina, *Kingdoms*, pp.29,159; Lumpungu III Mutamba, Interview, Kabinda, 11/1/1981.

<sup>83</sup> According to *RFBWFPB*, No. 14, p.3 five of those who returned to Mwanza with Shalumbo were converted men, but in Burton, *When God Changes a Man*, p. 108 he said that not one had been converted. I have accepted the earlier record.

<sup>84</sup> Editor (D.S.A. Womersley) 'Congo Church Leaders, No. 10, Pita Mbele', *CEMR*, No. 355, 1964, p. 15; *CEMR*, No. 198, pp. 2471, 2472.

<sup>85</sup> *RFBWFPB*, No. 13, p. 5; Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p. 126 says that he was married on 23/5/1918.

<sup>86</sup> Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p. 160.

best places to locate future stations.<sup>87</sup> The Burtons left Mwanza on 6 September 1919 and made their way, with their carriers, via Kisanga to Kabongo. They were able to converse with the local Belgian administrator, and copy maps which indicated the population densities and the location of rivers and villages.<sup>88</sup> Mulopwe Kabongo gave Burton information about the chieftainship, which with the chieftainship of Kasongwa Niembo, is one of the two biggest among the Baluba.<sup>89</sup> From Kabongo the party made its way past Tombe and the Katania Lakes to the Lomami River. Burton was able to obtain two hippopotami for the chief at Kipushya - Mwana Kiofwe (the son of a hippopotamus). The result was that they had an excellent reception. Mwana Kiofwe was most insistent that the missionaries should send someone to live among them in order to start the Mission Station in the area.<sup>90</sup> The Burtons found large, densely populated villages, but remarked that the Catholics had already reached some of the largest, including Kiungu only a few kilometres away from Kipushya. The return journey was made by another route via, Kisengwa, Katombe and the confluence of the Luvidjo and the Lualaba to the chieftainship of Hanga Nkolwa (Ankoro). This is where Elslander of the Holy Ghost fathers had established a Mission Station.<sup>91</sup> From Ankoro they passed through the chieftainship of Pyana Mbayo and back to Mwanza. The entire journey took forty two days.<sup>92</sup>

It is evident that at that time Burton did not believe it was wise for the mission to extend itself as far as Kipushya. But, in 1920 when new recruits arrived, F. Johnstone who had previously worked in the Congo under the auspices of the Congo Inland Mission, was particularly interested in starting a station at Kipushya.<sup>93</sup> After some months at Mwanza learning Kiluba, the Johnstones went to Kipushya to start a station in 1921.<sup>94</sup> Kipushya then became the centre of outreach for the entire northern area of the CEM field and was a base for both the Basongye as well as a northern Baluba until such time as new stations were opened in the late 1920s and 1930s.<sup>95</sup> Burton said that it seemed utter foolishness to extend their frontier so far at that time, but they were convinced that this was the will of God.<sup>96</sup> As at Ngoy Mani the opening of the station was greatly helped by a number of spectacular healings. These included the healing of a boy who was dumb and who immediately spoke as well as the raising up of a child who was apparently dead.<sup>97</sup>

### Overall extension of the CEM prior to 1960

After the opening of the station at the Ngoy Mani, Kabondo Dianda was next.<sup>98</sup> When Julia Richardson returned to the Congo from South Africa, Burton did not consider it was wise that she rejoin the CEM at Mwanza.<sup>99</sup> A Government administrator who then heard that she was looking for an area in which to evangelise suggested she go to Kabondo Dianda. This town was some 50 kilometres west of Bukama. In 1918 she went first to the village of Kamashi, but because it was such a violent place the Administrator made her move to Kabondo Dianda where he ordered the chief to keep an eye on her.<sup>100</sup> Neither Richardson nor her co-worker Aaronson, stayed very long,

<sup>87</sup> *RFBWFPB*, No. 16, 1919, pp. 1,2.

<sup>88</sup> Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p.169.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.* p. 170; Reefer, *Rainbow*, pp. 187,193,194 regarding the Kabongo Kasongwa Niembo chieftainships; Vansina, *Kingdoms*, pp. 242,243; H. Womersely, 'Legends', pp. 76-86; N. Booth, 'View', pp. 31-67; Kasongwa Niembo is also written Kasongo Niembo or Kasongwa Niembo.

<sup>90</sup> Burton, *God Working*, p. 72.

<sup>91</sup> Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, pp. 183-193; *Bulletin de la Congrégation*, No. 391, Mars 1923, p. 107.

<sup>92</sup> Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, pp. 106,107 from 6/9/1919 to 18/10/1919.

<sup>93</sup> J. Salter in *RFBWFPB*, No. 18, 1920, p. 3; W. Burton, 'Farewell to Outgoing Missionaries', *CEMR*, No. 60, May-June, 1963, p. 57. Fred Johnstone had been at Djoka Punda in the Kasai with the CIM. The local people at Kipushya called Johnstone- Kalubenga Milopwe (the belittler of kings- or chiefs).

<sup>94</sup> Yumba wa Nkulu, Interview, Mwanza, 13/12/1980 said that if it has not been for the insistence of Johnstone Kipushya would never have been opened; Burton, *God Working*, p. 157; Burton, *When God Changes a Man*, p. 111; Johnstones arrived at Mwanza mid 1920; they spent several months studying Kiluba; *RFBWFPB*, No. 18, September 1920, p. 3 then went to Kipushya in 1921; S.A. Johnstone, 'A letter from Kipushya', *CEMR*, No. 28, 1930, p. 417.

<sup>95</sup> Katenta and Kasongwa Mule in 1926 and Katombe in 1932. Kasongwa Mule did not remain open for more than a year.

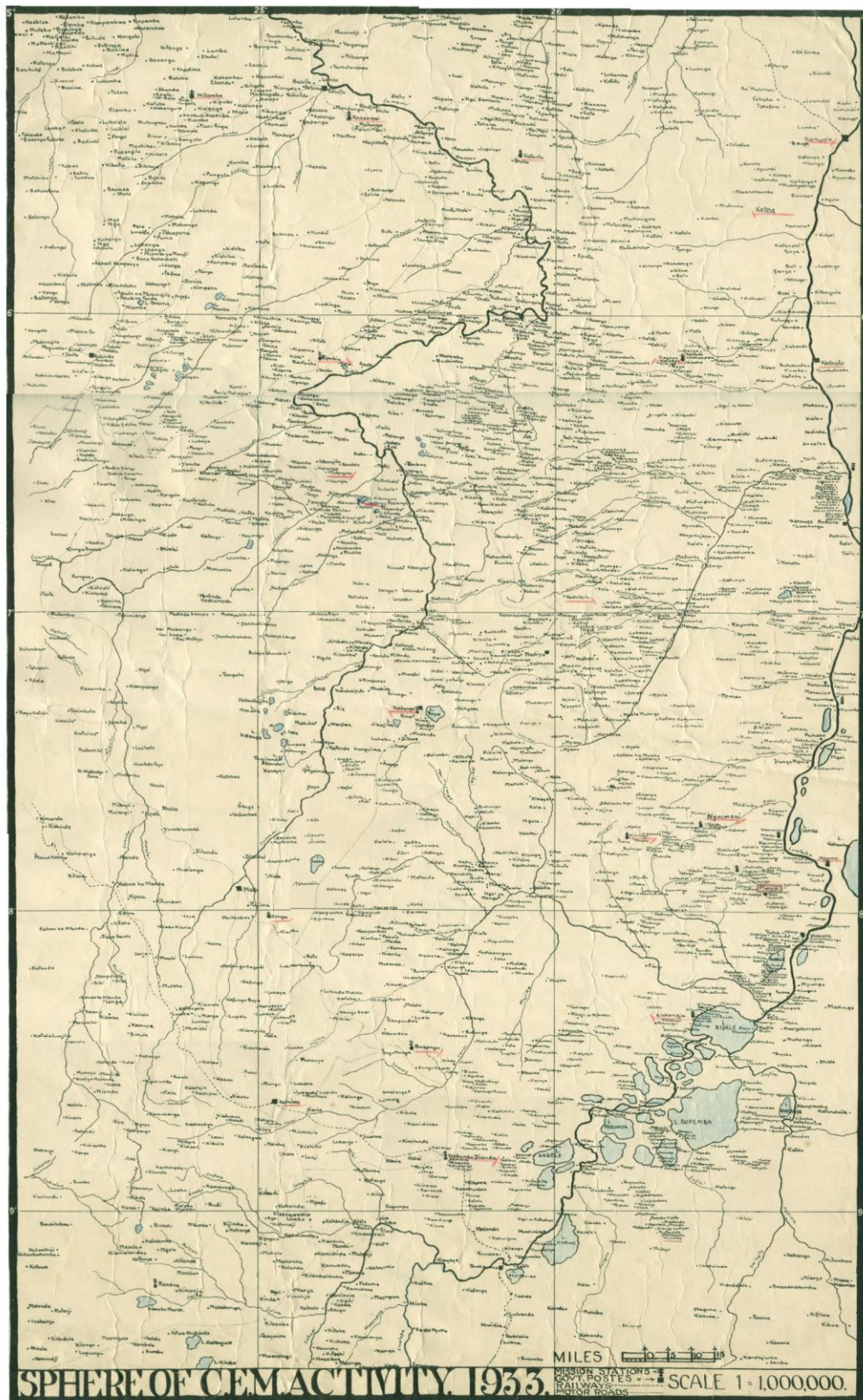
<sup>96</sup> *God Working*, pp. 70,71.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.* p. 160.

<sup>98</sup> Kabongo mission station had been opened but it was not part of the CEM at that time. cf. C. Irvine, *The Church of Christ*, pp. 100-102.

<sup>99</sup> *Supra*, Chapter 1 D).

<sup>100</sup> Burton, *God Working*, pp. 125,126 points out that the Administrator did not realise the chief was more often drunk than not and that a white person had been killed within a few hundred yards of where Julia Richardson built her house.



but several converts were won from among the young men who worked for them. These included Abulahama Muke, Polo Kalulu; both of them became important leaders in the CEM.<sup>101</sup> When

<sup>101</sup> A. Oman, Letter, 11/9/1980; Polo Kalulu, Interview, Kabondo, 15/4/1981 ; CEMR, No. 7, p. 67.

Richardson left she transferred the station at Kabondo to Salter personally; this was between 1920 in 1922.<sup>102</sup>

Until Axel and Helen Oman went to Kabondo in 1924, the station was run by a number of single lady missionaries with the help of men like Muke and Polo Kalulu.<sup>103</sup> A. Oman found that there were few converts and that they knew nothing about the Pentecostal teaching of the 'baptism in the Holy Spirit'. Special meetings were held for three weeks after which 19 people "were filled with the Spirit, exactly as those in the Acts of the Apostles".<sup>104</sup> One man by the name of Mateo, had been possessed by spirits and tried to destroy the Kabizumba church, but he was struck down by some unseen force. He was immediately converted and 'baptised in the Holy Spirit', resulting in the conversion of over sixty people and the baptism in the Spirit of another twenty five.<sup>105</sup>

This pattern of initial opposition followed by acceptance of the Christian message, confession of sins, signs and spiritual gifts is the one which seems to be fairly consistent in new stations opened by the CEM.<sup>106</sup> The initial period of opposition is easy enough to understand. As far as the Baluba and the Basongye were concerned, the missionaries were emissaries of a strange religion and culture.<sup>107</sup> They were already confused by the changes going on around them and were anxious to cling to the vestiges of their own traditional beliefs. For this reason they did not initially accept the Christian message because to have done so would have been equivalent to abdicating to the white man. More than that, it would have been a rejection of all the age old values. However, as is clear in the section on Fragmentation and Disintegration, society and especially Luban society, was far from static.<sup>108</sup> The people of both Luba and Songylands had gone through dramatic changes and were somewhat confused over what was valid and what was not. This is why the Christian message was at first rejected.

In spite of this, when there were healings and evidence of power, the local people recognised in these phenomena something that was similar to the phenomena in their own religion. They then re-examined the missionaries and saw them as *banganga* figures.<sup>109</sup> In this way they were able to identify with them and the more they watched them the more they became convinced that these whites had some special power from the spirit world. There were two main reasons for this; the first was the wisdom they seem to possess. They could write down things on paper and send that paper to another white man who would be able to know what the paper said. This had to be magic. The clothes they wore were woven from threads that were so fine, surely there must have been woven in Kalunga Niembo by the dead since only the dead could do such things. Again, the phenomena witnessed were proof as far as the Africans were concerned that the spirits were at work.

Attitudes gradually changed and people then listened to the message that the missionaries preached concerning Jesus. It was at that point that converts were won to Christianity. Since the converts were already familiar with the 'spirit' world, it was an easy step for them to except the "infilling by the Holy Spirit" (and phenomenological terms 'spirit possession') with the accompanying gifts of the Spirit, including tongues and healing.<sup>110</sup> It is likely that the CEM had a considerable advantage over other missions in its evangelism because of its emphasis on these aspects of power, healing and the gifts of the Holy Spirit. This emphasis would have helped bridge the gap from traditional religion to the Christian faith.

Following A. Oman at Kabondo Dianda the work was further developed under the leadership of Garfield Vale and Cyril Yesson. Kabondo remained an important centre for the evangelism of the South up until the 1950s, when Luena and Kamina were established. Kabondo was always responsible for a large district, including part of the chieftainships of Kinda, Kapamai, Umpungu and all the area up to but not including the Lualaba in the East. In addition to this,

<sup>102</sup> J. Salter, Letter in *CEMR*, 31/5/1922, p. 6; *RFBWFPB*, No. 18, p. 4; Burton, *God Working*, p. 128; the transfer of Kabondo Dianda took place during Burton's first furlough between September 1920 and mid 1922 since the transaction was made between Richardson and Salter.

<sup>103</sup> Cf. Burton, *God Working*, pp. 128-130, Aaronson was only at Kabondo for two months; A. Meester married Dr. Consemius at Bukama and left the Mission; A. Henderson whose partner, E. Brookes had died on the way to Mwanza, and M. Hebden who married C. Taylor. The station was left one year without missionaries; cf. Burton, *God Working*, p. 130.

<sup>104</sup> A. Oman, Letter, Seal Beach, 11/9/1980 to author; Burton, *God Working*, p. 131.

<sup>105</sup> A. Oman, Letter, 11/9/1980; 'Notes from the Field', *CEMR*, No. 8, p. 83 "never since we reach the Congo, in 1915, have we experienced so general an outpouring of the Holy Spirit". *CEMR*, No. 8, p.77 regarding the baptism in the Spirit of the first converts at Kabondo.

<sup>106</sup> Similar patterns were evident at Kisanga, to Kikondja and Busangu; cf. Chapter III B) opposition and patterns of conversion.

<sup>107</sup> Cf. Chapter III B).

<sup>108</sup> Cf. Chapter III A).

<sup>109</sup> Cf. Chapter III B).

<sup>110</sup> Cf. Chapter VI.

Kabondo evangelised Mukulakulu villages, some 15 km east and south of Luena and was often left in charge of Busangu station. When the Copperbelt towns were evangelised by members of CEM it was from Kabondo, Luena and Kikondja that the missionaries sent men to oversee the work.<sup>111</sup>

As early as 1917 J. Salter had preached at Kisanga, but it was not until 1919 that Gatzke was sent there to establish a new station.<sup>112</sup> However, he was beset by influenza and after his recovery resigned from the CEM.<sup>113</sup> Because of the lack of personnel, it was not until February 1921 that E. Hodgson, newly arrived from England, was able to recommence the Kisanga station.<sup>114</sup> From the point of view of evangelism and lack of response to the Christian message, Kisanga was always one of the more difficult stations of the CEM. This was because it was a stronghold of the *Bambudye* society and the people there were extremely reticent to give up their links with the past. Even today there are *Bambudye* at Kisanga where the society is almost defunct elsewhere. The people tended to be conservative not only in their attitude to the mission but in every area of their lives so that the Belgians had problems over the chieftainship and had to exile one of its chiefs. Hodgson mentions the fear that was evidently the result of the *Bambudye* who threatened to kill those who became Christians.<sup>115</sup> In spite of this attitude, there were times when even Kisanga had its spiritual revivals when people spoke in tongues and were, as E. Hodgson reports: "slain by the power of God".<sup>116</sup> The W. Halls, who took over from Hodgson after he moved to Kikondja, remained the senior missionaries at Kisanga until their retirement in 1959.<sup>117</sup>

The local inhabitants of the chieftainship of Kikondja are thought to be the descendents of some of the earliest peoples to live in Central Africa. There is archaeological evidence that would indicate pre-Luban and even pre-Bantu culture in this part of the Upemba Depression.<sup>118</sup> The Bene Kikondja (inhabitants of Kikondja) were an independent and self-willed people. They were one of the few peoples who had not been overcome by the troops of Msiri or the Tetela raiders. This was because they had been able to escape to the swamps and lakes in their dugout canoes.<sup>119</sup> Mulopwe Kikondja, who was at Kipamba when Burton first went there in 1916, had been hostile toward the Protestants but he was killed by an elephant in a hunting accident and his successor was much more favourable toward the CEM.<sup>120</sup> J. A. Clarke of the GEM had made a number of visits to the Kisale area, but soon after realised that he already had more than enough work to look after and ceded the entire district to the CEM.<sup>121</sup> When news of the CEM's activities reached Chief Kikondja he sent a delegation, which included his uncle, requesting that the white missionaries come and preach the Christian message to the people of his chieftainship.<sup>122</sup> Two evangelists were dispatched a week later and during their brief stay at Kipamba there were 135 recorded conversions. It was not until 1920 that Ngoloma and Katontoka went to reside in the king's village of Kipamba.<sup>123</sup>

<sup>111</sup> Questionnaire, Kabondo Dianda; Yombi Umbamba, Interview, Kabondo, 15/4/1981; J. Robinson, Interview, Kamina II, 19/3/1980; Ilunga Ngoi wa Mbuya Kalulwa, Interview, Kamina, 15/5/1980.

<sup>112</sup> *RFBWFPB*, No. 14, p. 3.

<sup>113</sup> Burton, *God Working*, p. 141.

<sup>114</sup> This is the date usually cited for the commencement of the station at Kisanga. Ngoy Masangu Samwele, Interview, Kisanga, 18/12/1980.

<sup>115</sup> Cf. *infra*, Chapter III B) on the *Bambudye*. David Womersley has indicated to me on several occasions problems involved with the evangelism of Kisanga. As late as 1980 I found there were few young people in the churches of the station and even fewer in positions of leadership. With regard to the chiefs cf. *CEMR*, No. 10 pp. 111,112 where F. and W. Hall tell of the Ilunga Kabale's brutality in *CEMR*, No. 6, pp. 51-55 Hodgson tells of the squabbles between the sub-chiefs and the appointment of a new chief over all of them. It would appear that W. Hall was a conservative man and this could have something to do with the conservative nature of the church in the area.

<sup>116</sup> E. Hodgson, *CEMR*, No. 8, p. 80 regarding what he calls a repetition of Pentecost at Kisanga; at the same time there was a confession of sin and unbelievers converted.

<sup>117</sup> *CEMR*, No. 8, p. 83, regarding Hodgson and Womersley opening up the new station of Kikondja and Halls remaining at Kisanga.

<sup>118</sup> L. Cahen, Letter, Tervuren, Belgium, 13/12/1960 to W.F.P. Burton, East London, South Africa, AZEMPreston. Burton had sent skeletons, pots and iron ornaments from Kikondja, and Sanga to the Royal Museum at Tervuren. Carbon 14 tests had been done and Cahen writes: "there are two dates which are (I am quoting from memory) 1240 and 1070. This is in good accord with a similar culture in N. Rhodesia: 1080. These are expressed in years from present. Therefore this "Kisalian" culture was about 700-900 A. D. This shows it is not only pre-Baluba but also pre-Bantu. I thought this piece of [sic] information would interest you. It certainly shows the Luba oral tradition to be very old". cf. Reef, *Rainbow*, pp. 67-72 regarding this early presence in the Upemba depression; cf. J. Vansina, *Kingdoms*, pp. 35, 75.

<sup>119</sup> J. Vansina, *Kingdoms*, pp. 77; E. Verhulpen, *Baluba et Balubaïsés du Katanga*, p. 358; Reefe, *Rainbow*, pp. 178-180 regarding the wars with the Msiri and his inability to conquer to Kikondja; H. Göhring, *BaLuba*, p. 131,132; E. Hodgson, *Fishing for Congo Fisherfolk*, London, AOG Publishing House, n.d., pp. 20-24.

<sup>120</sup> Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, pp. 80, 81; cf. Burton, *God Working*, p. 167.

<sup>121</sup> Burton, *God Working*, p. 167; Ngoy wa Kyulu, Interview, Kamina II, 12/2/1980 said that he can remember Clarke visiting Bunda when he was a youth. This would have been on his way to or from Kisale.

<sup>122</sup> Burton, *God Working*, pp. 60,61.

<sup>123</sup> *RFBWFPB*, No. 18, p. 2; Burton, *God Working*, p. 61.

In 1925 it was considered judicious to send Harold Womersley and E. Hodgson to start a station. One reason for this was that the Catholics were becoming more active in the area as a result of the resident CEM evangelists.<sup>124</sup> At first there was no land available, but eventually a plot was found on Kyakapala Hill. It was revealed later that the reason why no one lived there was that it was on that very spot that the Tetela rebels had built their stockade. The local population believed that the screeching of the owls which roosted in the trees there, were the cries of the spirits of those whom the Batetela had slaughtered.<sup>125</sup>

Although Kikondja included a number of inland villages, Womersley and Hodgson soon realised that to evangelise their parish they required a boat. The entire region from Bukama in the south to beyond Malemba Nkulu in the north was one mass of waterways. It would have been impossible without a boat to reach the hundreds of villages hidden away on these swamps and papyrus islands.<sup>126</sup> By October 1925 the *Katokwe*, a nineteen foot mahogany boat was launched. This was propelled by four to six paddlers and later supplemented by a small outboard motor.<sup>127</sup> A total of five boats were designed and built by Hodgson at Kikondja. The last, *L'Evangile II*, was an all metal launch with enclosed cabins, marine engine, and all the conveniences necessary for long journeys away from home. It was a specially constructed to travel over the shallow swamps and reedy waterways.<sup>128</sup>

Hodgson says that when he first went to Kikondja he found the people difficult, unfriendly and unresponsive to the Christian message. In part this is due to the fact that Ngoloma had outstayed his welcome and had become embroiled in the politics of the royal court. Because he was progressive and because he had become the *Mulopwe's* adviser, the older counsellors became jealous and hatched a plot to get rid of him. They told Kikondja that it was Ngoloma who did everything in the village, and that it was Ngoloma who got the glory for everything and not the king. It seems that they advised the king to invite the Catholics to the chieftainship to teach the Protestants a lesson.<sup>129</sup> Ngoloma finally asked to be allowed to start a work in the village of his birth at Mulenda where he remained as the local evangelist until his death.<sup>130</sup>

In spite of the initial resistance to the work of the CEM missionaries, it was not long before there was what Hodgson called a visitation of God's Spirit.<sup>131</sup> He was excited about the times of collective prayer and wrote that more and more men and women were "under the power the Holy Spirit" in these meetings.<sup>132</sup> H. Womersley, writing of the start of the same revival, said that even the "unbelievers were stricken down under the convicting power of the Holy Ghost".<sup>133</sup> There was steady growth of the work in the area so that by 1944 Kikondja had more churches, evangelists, Christians and Christian families than any other station in the CEM and it maintained this position

<sup>124</sup> CEMR, No. 8, p. 83; CEMR, No. 9, p. 89; CEMR, No. 11, p. 131 we read: "a Catholic priest has now arrived at Kisale and is building a chapel close against that which Mr. Hodgson put up in 1921"; cf. CEM, 'Un Rapport des Activités [sic] de la Mission Evangélistique du Congo Belge, 1925'.

<sup>125</sup> Hodgson, *Fishing for Congo Fisher Folk*, pp. 21-25; H. Womersley, *Congo Miracle*, pp. 66,67; cf. regarding the rebellion of the Batetela at Luluabourg (Kananga) and Ngongo Lutete; S. L. Hinde, *The Fall of the Congo Arabs*, London, Methuen, 1897, pp. 207,208; Ngongo Lutete was accused of being a traitor to the forces of the Free State and shot. Hinde felt this had been unjustified. (p.286) Ngongo's bodyguard wanted to avenge his death. (p. 286) However, Lieutenant Scherlink sent them all to Lusambo and from there to Luluabourg where they were enlisted as soldiers in the State service. They were there for two years and served in a most distinguished manner. However, they rebelled and went marching through the country to Ngandu killing people as they went; cf. Reefer, *Rainbow*, pp. 192, 193; eventually, these Batetela rebels were forced south where they allied themselves with Kabongo against Kasongo Niembo. They were supplied with arms from the Ovimbundu and raided throughout the heartland of the Baluba from 1879-1901. It was during this time that they established a stockade at Kisale; cf. H. Womersley, *Congo Miracle*, pp. 66,67.

<sup>126</sup> CEMR, No. 9, p. 90; Womersley, *Congo Miracle*, p. 67; Burton, *God Working*, p. 174; Alexandre Delcommune, 'Au Coeur du Congo Belge', *Mouvement Géographique*, 5(29) 1912, p.7.

<sup>127</sup> CEMR, No. 10, pp. 104,105; Womersley, *Congo Miracle*, pp. 70,71; CEMR, No. 12, p. 143; CEMR, No. 13; pp. 156,157.

<sup>128</sup> The names of the boats were as follows: 1) *Katokwe* (whiteness, or blessing); 2) *Dyese* (blessing) cf. CEMR, No 17, pp. 224,225 was launched in 1927; 3) *L'Evangile*, CEMR, No. 23, pp. 328-330 launched in 1929; 4) *L'Esperance*, CEMR, No. 45, pp. 740-43 was launched in 1933; 5) *L'Evangile II*, CEMR, No. 154, p. 1601 was launched in 1949. Regarding the trips away from Kikondja cf. Hodgson, 'Visitation Book' Archives of the CPZKikondja, This was a hand-written register of all journeys. The first entry is from 4/7/1949 to 1/8/1949. This must have been the first journey with *L'Evangile II*. Hodgson notes that it took 14 and ¾ hours downstream from Bukama to the entrance of Lake Kisale; cf. CEMR, No. 15, p. 194 regarding his trips to the Lovoi and Lufira rivers.

<sup>129</sup> E. Hodgson, *Fishing*, p. 28; Regarding Ngoloma and the opposition created cf. Burton, *God Working*, pp. 168,169 and the invitation by the chief to the Catholics to work at Kikondja, CEMR, pp. 169,170; CEMR, No. 11, p. 131.

<sup>130</sup> CEMR, No. 15, p. 195; Lunda Kateba, Interview, Kamina II, 26/8/1981.

<sup>131</sup> *Fishing*, pp. 31,32.

<sup>132</sup> CEMR, p. 16, p. 206.

<sup>133</sup> CEMR, No. 10, p. 110.



E. HODSGON'S BOAT L'EVANGILE II



COMBINED MISSIONARY-AFRICAN CONFERENCE  
KABONDI DIANDA (1960)

right up to the years of Independence.<sup>134</sup> The evangelisation of Kikondja is, like the majority of the stations of the CEM, the story of many evangelists, who for the most part have long since been forgotten. It is they who travelled to the small villages to establish churches and Christian congregations.<sup>135</sup> Others who were better-known included men like Ngoloma, Katontoka, Shambelo, Musoka, Djoshua, Lote and Pandamoya.

In 1926 the CEM made a big effort to extend itself by opening three new stations. Busangu was in the south, Katenta in the north, and Kasongwa Mule-Lulenge nearly in the centre. H. Womersley and W. Hall had surveyed the whole chieftainship of Kasongwa Niembo and found that the population of the entire area was greatly depleted as a result of the Kabongo-Kasongwa Niembo wars, slavery, and in 1918 the flu epidemic. There were few large villages left, other than at the extremities of the chieftainship.<sup>136</sup> As a result of this survey it was decided to commence a station at Busangu, one of the larger villages on the southern limits. H. Womersley and J. Mullan were sent to build the station, but Mullan was shortly required to help Hodgson at Kikondja. Womersley was left on his own, except for a number of helpers, including some ex-slaves and some evangelists loaned to him from Kikondja.<sup>137</sup>

While at Busangu the Womersleys came across a woman who had been brought to them after being attacked and beaten by an invisible foe. She had been hoeing in her garden when suddenly she cried out to her nearby friends for help. They came running to find her lying battered and bruised upon the ground. There were no footprints anywhere to identify the assailant and although the woman had felt the blows she had seen no one. The Womersley nursed her bound the bruises which appeared to have been made with the blows of thick sticks.<sup>138</sup> There was considerable opposition to the Christian message on the part of the *banganga* and the *bilumbu* (diviners), but soon revival broke out.<sup>139</sup> One young man had a vision in which a person clothed in white told him to call the believers together to pray for the Holy Spirit to fall on them. There was a prophecy in which all were ordered to confess their sins and to repay all their debts. After this many were baptised in the Spirit and spoke in tongues. This caused a stir throughout the district and many were converted.<sup>140</sup>

After the Womersleys left Busangu to go to Kabongo in 1933, there were long periods when Busangu was understaffed or left without any missionary presence. This necessitated its supervision from Kabondo.<sup>141</sup> In 1949 Busangu was abandoned because it was such an unhealthy place; the station was moved to Sungu Mwane a number of kilometres away.<sup>142</sup> The Busangu-Sungu station was, with Kabondo, the first CEM station to be supplied by motor road. This happened before March 1929 and was the commencement of a network of roads providing easier access to many parts of the CEM field.<sup>143</sup> However, this link with the other stations of the CEM was not completed for many years. In general the northern area was open to roads quicker because of the emphasis on the growing of cotton and indeed for the transportation of the crop to the markets.<sup>144</sup> Busangu-Sungu played an important part in the evangelisation of Kamina, which later

<sup>134</sup> 106 churches, 106 evangelist and 3400 Christians taken from: 'Tableau Statistique Général des Oeuvres d'Évangélisation, 1944, Congo Évangélisation', ACPZKikondja; As late as 1957, after all the Bupemba churches had been placed under the Kisamba/Luena station there were still 105 churches in Kikondja. Only Kabongo with its 112 churches had more. However, Kikondja had more evangelists -129, more baptised Christians - 4542 and more Christian families - 1602 than any other station in the CEM at that time; 'Statistics for Evangelisation, Year 1957', HWPP.

<sup>135</sup> Cf. J.D.Y. Peel, *Aladura: A Religious Movement Among the Yoruba*, London, OUP for the IAI, 1968, p. 57.

<sup>136</sup> CEMR, No. 13, pp. 159, 161; CEMR, No. 47, p. 778; CEMR, No. 14, p. 176; CEMR, No. 278, p. 4; H. Womersley, *Congo Miracle*, p.77; regarding the depopulation of the area H. Womersley, Interview, Bedford, 24/7/1980; V.L. Cameron, *Across Africa*, II pp. 136-138; 'Progrès général- CEM 1925-26', AZEMKamina, p. 1.

<sup>137</sup> CEMR, No. 14, p. 176; CEMR, No. 47, p. 778; CEMR, No. 16, p. 202; regarding the workers who helped at Busangu cf. CEMR, No. 87, pp. 599-601 includes men like Yosefa Luvila, Petelo Kasongo (today's senior pastor of Sungu); Shambelo, Kalanda Jefata, Shamutete, Davida Nzovu, Luka, Fidipa Madikopo and Yoshwa cf. 'Questionnaire, Sungu', and Womersley, *Congo Miracle*, pp. 78,79.

<sup>138</sup> CEMR, No. 395, p. 3; Womersley, *Congo Miracle*, p. 86.

<sup>139</sup> Womersley, *Congo Miracle*, pp. 86-90.

<sup>140</sup> Womersley, 'You cannot light a fire with an ice-cube...Revival means fire', *Redemption Tidings*, 59(2), 1983, p. 9; H. Womersley, *Congo Miracle*, p. 87.

<sup>141</sup> CEMR, No. 75, p. 360.

<sup>142</sup> CEMR, No. 157, p. 1647 photo and comments; 'EC-CEM, Kabondo Dianda, 16-17/12/1947, No. 3.

<sup>143</sup> H. Womersley, *Congo Miracle*, p. 94; cf. on the roads of the area in which the CEM was located A.J. Moeller de Laddersous, ed., *Traveller's Guide to the Belgian Congo and the Ruanda-Urundi*, 2ed. Brussels, Tourist Bureau for the Belgian Congo and Ruanda-Urundi, 1956 for the Kasai, Luputa, Kabinda, Tshofa, cf. pp.298-300;Tshofa, Sentery, Kongolo pp. 306-308; Kamina, Bukama, including Mwanza pp. 346-347; Regarding roads in the north before those on the south cf. CEMR, No. 37, p. 588 and the roads in general CEMR, No. 81, pp. 467-471.

<sup>144</sup> The soil in the areas around Kashukulu, Kamungu, Lulungu and the stations in northern part of the CEM field is a heavy red clay and ideal for the cultivation of cotton and maize. The soil in the southern part of the CEM field tends to be very sandy and for this reason the agricultural benefits of the northern area were exploited before the south was opened to cattle ranching.

became a very important rail junction and the administrative centre for the whole of Haut-Lomami. Hunter Richardson resident missionary at Busangu-Sungu became Protestant chaplain at the United Nations military base some 30 kilometres from Kamina towards Sungu.<sup>145</sup>

In the North, Katenta had been pioneered by Robert Thomas from Kipushya, with the help of men like Kiofwe Yoano.<sup>146</sup> Thomas did not return after his furlough and Leonard Gittings became station overseer with Masudi Lunkamba as his head evangelist.<sup>147</sup> A. Oman was asked to fill the vacancy while Gittings went on furlough. He started intensive training with the evangelist so that after six months they could read any chapter in the New Testament and paraphrase a chapter without missing a verse.<sup>148</sup> Oman claims that the reason why the work at Katenta was so difficult was that:

The church... rejected the Holy Spirit when he began to fall on some of them. They [the people involved] said that the former missionaries did not have anything like this....When they refused the outpouring the power of God was so strong that they could not walk out of the building. They only got out by crawling on their hands and knees. (A. Oman, Letter, Seal Beach, California, 11/9/1980 to author)

There was little response to the Christian message at Katenta; the population was sparse and when there was a new chief nominated he decided, according to custom, to locate his capital elsewhere. This caused an exodus of the remaining population and in 1941 it was decided that it would be best to close Katenta and moved to Seke west of the Lomami River.<sup>149</sup>

In August 1926 Garfield Vale, who with his wife had not long joined the CEM after walking all the way from the Kalembembe Field of the PMU, moved from Mwanza to Lulenge the capital of the Kasongwa Mule chieftainship.<sup>150</sup> Vale did not like the place and was replaced by L. Gittings aided by Shavita for a number of months.<sup>151</sup> After less than a year the station was abandoned. The local population believed that it was abandoned because Kasongwa Mule had not treated the missionaries properly, but the missionaries said that it was because of communication problems between the river at Ankoro and Lulenge.<sup>152</sup> The area, which had at first been evangelised by C. Taylor, returned to his charge until the establishment of Katombe in 1932 and in 1940 it became part of the Kashukulu station.<sup>153</sup>

Although the earliest contacts with the Bene Milembwe had not been the warmest, J. Mullan had visited them periodically from Kipushya. In 1932 it was decided that the CEM would open a station at Mutengwa, north of the Lubangule River near its confluent with the Lomami. Apart from Kipushya this was the second CEM station on the east of the Lomami and would serve the southern Basongye and the northern Baluba.<sup>154</sup> Because lightning destroyed the first residence and because of shortages of missionary staff at Kipushya, Mutengwa was left unoccupied between

<sup>145</sup> Braekman, *Protestantisme au Congo*, p. 314.

<sup>146</sup> *CEMR*, No. 12, p. 148; *CEMR*, No. 38, pp. 610, 611; regarding the opening of Katenta and his part in it cf. Kiofwe Yoano, Interview, Lulenge, 21/12/1981.

<sup>147</sup> *CEMR*, No. 48, pp. 794, 795; regarding Masudi being overseer-evangelist at Katenta.

<sup>148</sup> A. Oman, Letter, 11/9/1980.

<sup>149</sup> *CEMR*, No. 83, p. 523, "The chief of Katenta village is undergoing tribal rites relevant to becoming the appointed Great Chief of a large Kingdom. This has meant a decrease in the population of Katenta.... He has decided to live away from Katenta for three years and build another village". *CEMR*, No. 92, p. 700 "Owing to a shifting local population, Katenta station is now definitely closed". *CEMR*, No. 97, p. 772 photo comment: "The chief reason for our abandoning the Katenta Station was the smallness of the population".

<sup>150</sup> W. Burton, *God Working*, p. 195, 196; Garfield Vale and his wife were previously missionaries with the PMU in the Kalembembe Field. Because the differences of the governmental policy of the PMU, they left the Kalembembe and walked all the way south to Mwanza where they joined the CEM; Bronwen Womersley, Interview, Bedford, 23/7/1980 is G. Vale's daughter.

<sup>151</sup> J. Fowler, Interview, near Harrogate, Yorkshire, 16/7/1980; W. Burton, *God Working*, p. 196; *CEMR*, No. 21, p. 287.

<sup>152</sup> Burton, *God Working*, p. 196; Questionnaire, Kashukulu.

<sup>153</sup> Burton, *God Working*, p. 197; *CEMR*, No. 35, p. 550; *CEMR*, No. 47, p. 788 "Although this station was abandoned in 1928 [sic 1927] the blessed work still goes on. There is an overflowing school, and many are saved and filled with the Spirit, while Bro. Oman and Bro. Taylor have both been able to visit the believers and help them on from time to time".

<sup>154</sup> On the Bene Mwilembwe cf. H. Göhring, *BaLuba*, pp. 112, 113. The first contacts with the Bene Mwilembwe had not been good as far CEM was concerned. The chief had threatened to eat Burton and his partners and he had sent them off in a swamp of the Lubangule hoping that after their guide had slipped away, they would be lost. However, they managed to ford the Lubangule River to higher ground. cf. Burton, *God Working*, p. 199; *CEMR*, No. 72, pp. 291, 292; Knauf writes about the second visit to Mutengwa by Burton: "Then at the later date, when Mr. Burton visited these people, he was again treated in a manner which could not be termed anything but hostile. It was then that one of their carriers was attacked in the night with the avowed purpose of killing and eating him"; *CEMR*, No. 37, pp. 589, 590. On Mullans taking charge of the Baluba north cf. *CEMR*, No. 31, p. 480; Kipushya was divided into two; Johnstones took the northern section and the Mullans the south; *CEMR*, No. 33, p. 514; the actual founding of cf. *CEMR*, No. 37, pp. 588-590.

1933-1937 when J.H. Geddes took charge there.<sup>155</sup> Undoubtedly the local population would have regarded the destruction of the house and the vacation of the station as a victory for the ancestors who were certain to have been behind the catastrophe.

Nevertheless, the missionaries did return and in 1949 the station was relocated at Lulungu because it was found that metal deposits at Mutengwa attracted the lightning which had burned several mission buildings to the ground.<sup>156</sup> After Geddes left the CEM his brother-in-law, Elton Knauf, who with E. Hodgson was martyred near Mukaya, was responsible for the Mutengwa-Lulungu station until his death in 1960.<sup>157</sup>

Katompe, like Mutengwa, had been visited by the Burtons during the journey to and from Kipushya in 1919. Local evangelists, including men like Musoka, Kaluashi, Kadimi and Ngidioni, had evangelised there for some time and gathered a number of converts around them.<sup>158</sup> A. Oman, who had been at Kabondo and later at Katenta for a year, says that before he came to Congo he had seen a vision of the exact place where he was to reside. He had never told any of the missionaries of this but while visiting at Katombe had recognised this as the place he had seen in his vision. He said that initially Burton was not in favour of a station at Katombe, but that both Womersley and Hodgson had overruled him on the matter. Katombe was inaugurated in 1932.<sup>159</sup> Oman was unable to return after his second term with the CEM because AOG in America required that members of the AOG, who wished support, work only on AOG fields. For this reason the Omans went to Sierra Leone.<sup>160</sup> They were replaced at Katombe by the F. Ramsbottoms who remained there until 1960.

In the pre-independence years, Katombe became the station where the printing press for the CEM was located. The first duplicator of any sort was owned by H. Womersley while he was at Busangu.<sup>161</sup> However, Geddes at Mutengwa became interested in printing and published a paper which he called *Mukendji wa Bwine-Kidishitu* (The Christian Messenger).<sup>162</sup> The press remained at Mutengwa for a number of years. Hymn books, small doctrinal books, school readers and charts were printed on this press.<sup>163</sup> After Geddes left, Knauf became responsible for the printery; he was later helped by E. Hartmann and W. Hockley. When it was considered wise to relocate Mutengwa, it was also decided that it would be best to move the printery. Several places were suggested, including Kabongo and Kabondo, but the final location was Katombe.<sup>164</sup> E. Hartmann reported in 1951 that the Printery had been rehoused in a building 7 by 12 metres at Katombe.<sup>165</sup> After Independence the Church agreed to move the printery to Kamina, but the local church leaders and the Mulopwe at Katombe said that it belonged to them personally and would not let the machinery be transferred.<sup>166</sup>

Kabongo was first evangelised by the American Methodist Episcopal Congo Mission in 1917. This was after J. M. Springer had responded to a call made some years earlier by Kaluashi, an ex-Angolan slave, while Springer was still at Kambove.<sup>167</sup> The nearest Methodist mission station was at Kanene some 300 kilometres to the south and by 1933 the CEM surrounded them on three

<sup>155</sup> CEMR, No. 69, pp. 236,237; CEMR, No. 71, pp. 263,264; CEMR, No. 72, p. 292.

<sup>156</sup> Will Hockley, Interview, Kamina, 30/12/1980; 'EC-CEM, 8-10/6/1948', Nos. 1,14.

<sup>157</sup> With help from other missionaries including Hartmann, Hockley and others.

<sup>158</sup> CEMR, No. 37, p. 590; Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, pp. 190, 191; a chapel had been constructed earlier by the chief since he believed that the CEM would return and establish a work there. Burton says that the Catholic priest (probably from Ankoro) had come and torn it down; CEMR, No. 37, p. 591. The Catholic Monseigneur E. Callawaert wrote to his superior in Paris from Brain l'Alleud St. Joseph, 18/12/1921: "J'ai déjà parlé de Katombe où la mission de Kongolo s'était laissée devancer par Mr Burton. Le Père Ferry m'écrit 'Le Père Louillet est à Katombe où la présence est nécessaire. Je vous ai déjà dit que je crois Mr Remacle favoriser [sic] les protestants'.....J'ai bien peur que nous ne soyons invités à nous retirer"; ASP.Boîte 376 Dos. D IV.

<sup>159</sup> A. Oman, Letter, 11/9/1980.

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*; CEMR, No. 60, p. 59; The Omans joined the American AOG work in Sierra Leone. The G. E. Lees had spent one term in Sierra Leone with the United Pentecostal Mission near Magburaka. cf. E. Sinclair, *The Wee Man with a Big Heart*, Kilsyth, Scotland, private publication 1973, p.96.

<sup>161</sup> CEMR, No. 22, p. 319.

<sup>162</sup> 'BFC-CEM, Mwanza, 1938', No. 17 records Geddes wishing to commence his own paper for distribution. *Ibid.*, Appendix 2 speaks of the possibility of purchasing a press from the Methodists. cf. CEMR, p. 75, p. 361.

<sup>163</sup> 'GFC-CEM, Kipushya, 17-22/7/1948', Appendix 6; 'EC-CEM, Kabondo Dianda, 6-7/12/1950', No. 6 printing of the Bekalebwe hymn books.

<sup>164</sup> 'Western District Conference-CEM, Kabongo, 10/6/1941' suggested moving the press to Kabongo; 'EC-CEM, Kikondja, 9,10/12/1948', proposed sending the press to Kabondo Dianda and having W. Hockley move there immediately to start the work needed; cf. 'CFC-CEM, Kipushya, 17-22/7/1948', No. 9 suggests Hockley take over the printery; 'GFC-CEM, Kabongo, 9-16/8/1954', No. 12 thanks Hartmann and Hockley for their work in the printery.

<sup>165</sup> 'GFC-CEM, Kabongo, 18-23/8/1951', *Résumé de discussions*, No. 24, HWPP.

<sup>166</sup> David Womersely, Interview, Kamina II, 9/10/1980; the minute calling for the removal of the printery and its location at Kamina is in '9 ème Conférence Anuelle-Kamina, 10-16 août 1968', No. 12: "Concerning the printery at Katombe, the conference says that it should be moved to Kamina so that it can function properly". [my translation from Kiluba]

<sup>167</sup> CEMR, No. 45, p. 736 Springer in a letter to Burton relates what had happened.

sides.<sup>168</sup> The Methodist wanted to transfer the station to the CEM but at the time the CEM was short of staff and hoped to delay the takeover. In spite of this difficulty the station was given to them in 1933.<sup>169</sup> Because H. Womersley had been trained by the Methodists at Cliff College it was reckoned by both missions that he would be the ideal person to take over the responsibility of Kabongo.<sup>170</sup> This was because he knew Methodist doctrine and practice and would be well able to explain to the Christians any difference between the two missions.

It had been thought that there might be problems resulting from doctrinal and practical differences over baptism in water and the teaching of the baptism in the Holy Spirit, but these did not materialise. This was because Newell Booth had mentioned to the leaders of the local churches that in Bible days baptism had been by immersion and that for the sake of convenience the Methodists baptised by sprinkling. In addition to this, C. Hartzler had prepared the people at Kabongo by telling them that the CEM would now baptise them by immersion and that this was to be regarded as quite acceptable.<sup>171</sup> When it came to the teaching of the CEM on the baptism in the Holy Spirit there was again no conflict as some of the local Christians had been filled with the Spirit and spoken in tongues when the Taylors, American Methodists, had been at Kabongo.<sup>172</sup> Other Christians had journeyed to the adjoining CEM churches where they had received this experience.<sup>173</sup> The only problem that did occur was in another area - the payment of the evangelists. The Methodists had paid their evangelists more than the CEM did and some were unhappy with the cut. This was sorted out when it was shown that the entire system of church government was different. Those who remained unhappy were told that they were free to work with the Methodists on any of their stations.<sup>174</sup>

There was rapid growth in the assemblies and only a year after the transfer, Womersley was able to report that eight new minor districts had been pioneered so that thirty more villages were having regular services. During the year there had been 150 conversions and 70 people had been baptised in water.<sup>175</sup> Kabongo was eventually responsible for the evangelism of an area which reached from the borders of the station at Kisanga in the East to the American Presbyterian Congo Mission in the West and from Busangu station in the South to Kibanza in the North. In post-Independence years this is an area which is administered by three stations.<sup>176</sup>

By 1940 personnel needs for the CEM were being met and it was decided that it was necessary to plan a station in the area between Kabongo and Katombe which would also serve the district previously supervised from Lulenge. Cyril Taylor had often visited Kashukulu and liked it there because of the healthy site and the plentiful water supply.<sup>177</sup> A team of missionaries, including M. Hugo, H. Womersley and J. Fowler, looked over the entire district and confirmed Taylor's views by establishing a new station at Kashukulu. The J. Fowler's became the resident missionaries and remained there until Independence.<sup>178</sup>

In 1941 when Katenta was abandoned, Seke had been commenced as a new station by the E. Lees. Because of staffing difficulty Seke was closed as a residential station after only nine months. The L. Wigglesworths paid regular visits there and spent periods of up to two months at Seke, but was not until after Independence that it was restored to full station status.<sup>179</sup> The northern Basongye were later evangelised from Katea when in 1949 it was considered prudent to plant a centre at Katea on one of the main cotton roads to Kongolo.<sup>180</sup> The J. Emmetts were the first missionaries to be resident there. After a short time they were called to be substitutes for the Lees at Kongolo while they went on furlough and the station at Katea was left for long periods without

<sup>168</sup> CEMR, No. 45, pp. 736,737; cf. on Kanene E. Braekman, *Protestantisme au Congo*, p. 201.

<sup>169</sup> 'EC-CEM, n.d., n.pl. 1933', No. 10 requests the delaying of the transfer of Kabongo to the CEM by the *Mission Méthodiste du Sud Congo* until 1934.

<sup>170</sup> Womersley, Interview, Bedford, 24/7/1980.

<sup>171</sup> *Supra*, ft. nt. 170; CEMR, No. 52, p. 885.

<sup>172</sup> Cf. CEMR, No. 12, p. 148; Shimioni Kusomba, Interview, 26/10/1980 says that Morton taught about baptism in 1925, but it is not clear that this was baptism by immersion or baptism in the Spirit. The Taylors mentioned here were not the famous Bishop Taylors.

<sup>173</sup> CEMR, No. 45, p. 748.

<sup>174</sup> CEMR, No. 45, p. 748; H. Womersley, Interview, 24/7/1980.

<sup>175</sup> CEMR, No. 52, pp. 884,885; In the same article Womersley mentions opposition from the Catholics who he maintains had gone around handing out gifts to entice the people to join the Catholic Church.

<sup>176</sup> Today this station is divided into three stations: Kabongo, Kimabwe and Kabombwe.

<sup>177</sup> This visit must have been before 1932 where Taylor mentions visiting Kashukulu; CEMR, No. 35, p. 551; cf. Kiofwe Yoano, Interview, 21/12/1981; 'Questionnaire, Kashukulu'.

<sup>178</sup> J. Fowler, Interview, 16/7/1980; CEMR, No. 84, pp. 533-35.

<sup>179</sup> CEMR, No. 87, p. 610; CEMR, No. 88, pp. 629,630; CEMR, No. 93, p. 709; CEMR, No. 94, p. 730.

<sup>180</sup> F. Ramsbottom, H. Womersley, and L. Wigglesworth chose the site at Kiloshi; Emmett, Interview, Birmingham, 31/7/1980; 'Questionnaire, Katea'; 'EC-CEM, Kabongo, 4,5/3/1948', No. 4.

missionary staff. During the absence of missionaries men like Pita Mbele from Kipushya supervised church activities.<sup>181</sup>

Kongolo was first evangelised, as we have seen, by CEM members from Kikondja and elsewhere who worked for the CFL steamship company.<sup>182</sup> F. Ramsbottom had visited the area from time to time but the CEM was not granted permission to locate in the town because of the Catholic opposition.<sup>183</sup> Jonasi Kyenda had gone to Kongolo as early as 1942 from Katombe station, but in 1944 he was recalled. However, he returned to Kongolo later to help Thomas Lumponka who had gone there in 1946.<sup>184</sup> During the same year a site for a church was granted in the African *cité*, but after the foundations were laid finances ran out and the land was confiscated by the companies for their own use. In 1947 Womersley and Ramsbottom negotiated with the administration for a mission site and at the same time a new location was granted for a church in the *cité*.<sup>185</sup> Because of administrative problems it was not possible to start construction of the station buildings immediately. The G. E. Lees became resident there in 1949. They were helped there from the start by Banza Baruthi Eleazar and Ngoy Lenga.<sup>186</sup>

The chieftainship of Butumba was first evangelised by an ex-slave Kanolochi. It was visited by Hodgson, Salter, Geddes and others and was pastored by Petelo Musamfidi.<sup>187</sup> As early as 1948, the General field Council of the CEM, decided that it was time to have a resident missionary somewhere on the eastern bank of the Lualaba. This person would be responsible for the people of the Butumba and Luena areas. However, it was not until 1950 that H. Berry took up residence at Kisamba, the former capital of Chief Kabengele.<sup>188</sup>

Because of transport problems between Kisamba and Luena, caused mainly by the maintenance of many small bridges, Berry requested that the station be relocated at the growing coal mining centre of Luena. There was already a thriving church there under the leadership of Jonathan Ilunga (Ilunga Ngoi wa Mbuya Kalulwa). The move was made in 1954. It was intended that the Mukulakulu villages, previously under Kabondo station, should be worked from Luena; these did not become part of the Luena station for some time as C. Yesson was not happy about handing them over to Berry.<sup>189</sup>

In 1938 missionaries from three Protestant missions gathered at Kamina to decide how to evangelise the developing centre.<sup>190</sup> Mako Munkonta became one of the first resident evangelists there under the supervision of Pierre at Sungu Muluba.<sup>191</sup> Mac Bradshaw and Hunter Richardson were also involved in the oversight of this area until 1953 when H. Womersley began to make regular journeys to Kamina from Kabongo in the hopes of establishing a station there. By 1954 the

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<sup>181</sup> Cf. The covers of the *CEMR*, Nos. 198, 1953 and 212, 1954 where Pita Mbele is listed as the individual responsible for Laushi/Katea; E. Rowlands, Interview, Margate, Kent, 20/2/1983 who was responsible for the station of Katea prior to independence, believes that the station was wrongly chosen since the population was not very dense. He believes that Senterly or Seke would have been better for the Basongye.

<sup>182</sup> Cf. The section on Kongolo under lands *infra* pp. 329-333.

<sup>183</sup> *CEMR*, No. 89, p. 637; *CEMR*, No. 400, p. 4.

<sup>184</sup> *CEMR*, No. 163, p. 1774; *CEMR*, No. 400, p. 4; 'Questionnaire, Kongolo'.

<sup>185</sup> For the granting of the first site cf. *CEMR*, No. 128, p. 1103; The negotiations for the site *CEMR*, No. 124, p. 1035; *CEMR*, No. 128, 1103; 'EC-CEM, Kabondo Dianda, 16/17/12/1947', No. 2; For the final land grant in the *cité*, *CEMR*, No. 163, pp. 1774, 1775.

<sup>186</sup> *CEMR*, No. 155, p. 1620; 'Questionnaire, Kongolo'.

<sup>187</sup> Cf. Reeve, *Rainbow*, p. 179. Lupundu and his territory south of Lake Upemba had been in league with Msiri, but later rebelled; Regarding Kaolochi cf. W. Burton, *God Working*, pp. 208, 209; visiting missionaries cf. *ibid.*, p. 210; Musamfidi; Musamfidi *infra*. Chapter V.

<sup>188</sup> 'GFC-CEM, Kipushya, 17-22/7/1948', No. 18 suggested that Burton and Hodgson choose a site to serve Butumba; *CEMR*, No. 159, pp. 1691, 1692; H. Berry, Interview, Lusaka, Zambia, 11/6/1980 said that Hodgson held a special place in his heart for Kabengele and found it difficult to hand over this area to another person.

<sup>189</sup> Berry, Interview, 11/6/1980; *CEMR*, No. 201, p. 2538; *CEMR*, No. 204, P. 2594, 2595; 'EC-CEM, Kabongo, 3-5/3/1953', No. 12 regarding Yesson handing over Mukulakulu cf. Berry, Interview, 11/6/1980; cf. what Womersley says in *CEMR*, No. 201, p. 2538; the work under Ilunga Nogi wa Mbuya Kalulwa, better known as Ilunga Jonathan, Interview, Kamina, 15/5/1980.

<sup>190</sup> Kamina is a rail junction for Ilebo in the northwest and Kalemie in the northeast. It is also presently the end of the electrified line; for the meetings which took place, probably between the CEM, the American Presbyterian Congo Mission and the *Mission Méthodiste du Sud Congo* cf. *CEMR*, No. 75, p. 360, "Recently three missionaries from other missions and three from the C.E.M. met together at Kamina with the natives concerned.... The other missionaries graciously agreed for the C.E.M. to take over the spiritual responsibility and Mr. Yesson of Kabondo-Dianda who has temporary oversight of the Busangu work to arrange to send a capable pastor to shepherd the flock"; cf. *CEMR*, No. 81, pp. 469, 470; "In fact a particularly happy plan has been hit upon for the railway centre at Kamina, where a C.E.M. evangelist shepherds the Presbyterian and Methodist believers there as well as those from our own stations. Thus to the natives there is but one Christian Church".

<sup>191</sup> 'Questionnaire, Kamina'.

Womersleys had taken up residence at Kamina where Umba Nzadi Pierre was already the pastor-overseer.<sup>192</sup>

As I stated earlier, CEM members recruited to work on the mining towns in the south of the Katanga opened their own places of worship. E. Hodgson, C. Yesson, H. Berry and Pastor Zakiasa Mutonge from Kabondo, were sent to come from the leadership of the assemblies in the South and were responsible for the supervision of the churches. Efradimi Kayumba was a "dynamic, capable but ambitious man", from Kikondja who was a banker at Elisabethville.<sup>193</sup> He held meetings in his backyard until a church was built. It was he who had been chosen to be the leader of the work at Elisabethville in 1957.<sup>194</sup> Kabamba Nzazi had at one time been in W. Burton's Bible school at Mwanza. He went into business at Jadoville (Likasi), and was an active lay preacher with the Methodist Church, attending their conferences. He was helped by a co-leader in whose home the CEM first began at Jadoville. These men fell out with each other and Kabamba remained the leader of the church at Jadoville-Likasi.<sup>195</sup> The official date for the commencement of the church at Likasi is 1958.<sup>196</sup> One of the CEM members to go to Kolwezi for work was Paul Vincent (Masangu Sha Bangi) from Kikose near Mwanza. He started his CEM church in the mining compound at Panda.<sup>197</sup> None of these centres was considered to be a station since there was no resident missionary and they continued to be supervised from Kabondo and Luena until Independence.<sup>198</sup> These churches in the mining centres set the pattern which was followed in the evangelism of the post-1960s, when generally stations were not planned. Nevertheless, there were exceptions as it shall become apparent.<sup>199</sup>

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<sup>192</sup> 'Questionnaire, Kamina', *CEMR*, No. 198, pp. 2466-2469 ; *CEMR*, No. 213, pp. 2782,2783 ; H. Womersley, Interview, 23/7/1980 said that the full name for Kamina is Kamina Kajingu since it was at Kamina that Mbidi Kaluwe, the famous figure of Luban history, was recognised by his arrows when he was on his way to or from visiting the Lunda. Kajingu is the abbreviated form for *kujingulula* (to recognise or reveal).

<sup>193</sup> D. Womersley, Letter, Kamina, 15/6/1982 to author ; Zakiasa Mutonge, Interview, May 1980 ; 'AB-CEM, Kikondja, 5,6/8/1957', No. 8; the work in the south was later supervised by H. Berry; cf. 'AB-CEM, Katombe, 24-26/11/1959', No. 14; H. Berry, Interview, 11/6/1980.

<sup>194</sup> D. Womersley, Letter, 15/6/1982 ; Zakiasa Mutonge, Interview, May 1980.

<sup>195</sup> D. Womersley, Letter, 15/6/1982 ; The Likasi work was started in 1958.

<sup>196</sup> 'Liste Nominative de Pasteurs responsables des Stations, CPZ, Exercice, 1980', ACPZKamina.

<sup>197</sup> D. Womersley, Letter, 15/6/1982 ; the official date for the start of the work at Kolwezi is after 1960, but this is not correct since it was in existence it seems earlier than this.

<sup>198</sup> 'AB-CEM, Katombe, 24-26/11/1959', No. 14 states that Berry is to supervise the southern towns.

<sup>199</sup> Ronald Monot carefully planned his centres of evangelism so that churches started became the station in new areas. Examples are at Kiambi, Mbuji Mayi, Mwene Ditu, and Lusambo.

## B) Doctrine and Practice

### Luban Pentecost: The Baptism in the Holy Spirit in 1920

The baptism in the Holy Spirit is the central doctrine of the Pentecostal churches. They believe that subsequent to conversion the individual believer has an experience when the Holy Spirit descends upon them vesting them with supernatural power as promised to the Christian by Christ himself. The Pentecostal missionaries in the Congo believed that this baptism in the Holy Spirit was evident in the individual's speaking in tongues. As soon as the first converts were won, the missionaries had taught that they should seek to be filled with the Holy Spirit in order to become truly Pentecostal.<sup>1</sup> It needs to be remembered that all these missionaries were first-generation Pentecostals who reckoned that a Christian life without this experience was below par when compared with New Testament teaching on the Spirit. In spite of the emphasis on the baptism in the Holy Spirit accompanied by speaking in tongues, not one of the converts received this experience. This lack was the cause of much soul-searching on the part of the CEM missionaries.

Although the ex-slaves had been a great help in the area of evangelism, they had at the same time proved to be somewhat of a hindrance when it came to the introduction of anything that they considered to be new. When Burton had tried to introduce changes or instruct the converts on the new aspects of doctrine, the ex-slaves would openly say: "Don't you believe that. We were not taught that in Angola".<sup>2</sup> In addition to this, there were differences between the two groups which had come from Angola according to the tradition they had followed while they were there -Brethren or Presbyterian.<sup>3</sup> Burton said that although they were quite happy to preach about Christ and salvation, they opposed any teaching on divine healing and the baptism in the Holy Spirit.<sup>4</sup> So strong was their influence that when the missionaries attempted to instruct new converts in the subjects they found that there was no response at all. This was because the ex-slaves had already indoctrinated them. As a result Burton complained that the precedents laid in Angola were seriously threatening the well-being of the new work in Congo.<sup>5</sup>

It had been the custom to call all the evangelists to Mwanza every few months for prayer and Bible study. It was decided that all workers would be called to the station at the beginning of January 1920 when the missionaries would do their utmost to correct the wrong attitudes which they believed were ruining the work.<sup>6</sup> Burton taught for the first few days on the importance of submission to the word of God rather than to tradition. He then spoke from Mark 16: 15-18, emphasising the scriptural norm for the New Testament believers, that "These signs shall follow them that believe", and challenged the evangelists to come to the front of the church for fresh dedication if they really wanted to experience those same signs in their ministry.<sup>7</sup>

Most of the 160 people in the building went forward to seek for the baptism in the Holy Spirit. Burton said that it was not many minutes before the first began to speak in tongues.<sup>8</sup> He said that he heard some speak in English as well as snatches of French, German, Dutch and other languages. One thing that intrigued Burton was the way in which many clearly pronounced the letter 'R', which is nonexistent in Kiluba and Kisongye.<sup>9</sup> So great was the sound of the weeping and wailing that they could be heard more than two kilometres away.<sup>10</sup>

As a result of this Luban Pentecost, the missionaries did not feel that they could send the workers back to their stations without a further time of teaching and explanation. The meetings were continued for two more weeks, after which Burton wrote that all but one of his outstation evangelists had been baptised in the Holy Spirit. A number of those who had spoken in tongues included people who had come from Kipushya.<sup>11</sup> The time between the meetings was spent in answering questions, giving advice and listening to the confession of sins.<sup>12</sup> Burton says they forced him to listen to their confessions even when he did not wish to do so. "And oh, what fearful

<sup>1</sup> RFBWFPB, No. 14, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> RFBWFPB, No. 17, p. 3; Burton, *God Working*, p. 78; cf. P. Turner, 'The Wisdom of the Fathers and the Gospel of Christ', *JRA*, 4(1), 1971, p. 45-68 regarding tradition and the difficulty of change in the African Church.

<sup>3</sup> RFBWFPB, No. 17, p. 6.

<sup>4</sup> W. Burton, Letter, Mwanza, 8/1/1920 to Myerscough; cf. RFBWFPB, No. 17, pp.2, 3.

<sup>5</sup> *God Working*, pp. 78,79.

<sup>6</sup> RFBWFPB, No. 17; Burton, *God Working*, p. 79.

<sup>7</sup> W. Burton, Letter, 8/1/1920, p. 2; RFBWFPB, No. 17, p. 3.

<sup>8</sup> RFBWFPB, No. 17, pp. 3-5; W. Burton, Letter, to Myerscough, 8/1/1920, pp. 2,3.

<sup>9</sup> RFBWFPB, No. 17, p. 5; W. Burton, Letter, 8/1/1920, p. 3.

<sup>10</sup> RFBWFPB, No. 17, p. 4.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5; Burton, *God Working*, p. 82; cf. *infra* Chapter VI Confession meetings etc.

pages of crime were unfolded. But against this hideous background of disgrace and shame, the cross of the Lord Jesus is all the more resplendent" wrote Burton after this period of confession.<sup>13</sup> This practice of confession has been continued throughout most of the CPZ even though some have seen it as a vestige of Catholicism and spoken against it.

So spectacular was what had happened at Mwanza in the eyes of the local population that a rumour soon spread, in which it was reported that:

Bwana Burton preaches till he has his hearers under his spell, and then he touches them, whereupon they tremble, fall down, turn to God and speak in foreign languages. (*RFBWFPB*, No. 17, Mwanza, 20/1/1920, p. 7)

As a result of this Luban Pentecost many were converted to Christianity. Restitution was made for wrongs that had been done, stolen goods were returned, and many who were not truly committed to their faith, expressed a desire to become involved in evangelism. The result was that men began to volunteer to go to Kisale, one of the most undesirable places on account of the swarms of mosquitoes, and the lack of manioc, the staple diet of all inland dwellers.<sup>14</sup> Burton estimated that during the two weeks of meetings at Mwanza "about the same number were baptised in the Holy Spirit as on the day of Pentecost in Jerusalem".<sup>15</sup>

### Leadership: Indigenous Principles Achieved or Not?

The baptism in the Holy Spirit resulted in a wave of enthusiasm on the part of new converts who were eager to win their friends and families to Christianity. Five new out stations were opened in seven months enlarging the field considerably.<sup>16</sup> Yet, this led to the situation where new assemblies were being started so quickly that there was no one of any experience to lead them. Concerned by the state of affairs Burton wrote:

So many of being saved that assemblies are springing into existence with nobody of experience [sic] to take a lead, or even to expound the Scriptures, and in villages where there is no teacher or leader they are beginning to have meetings for prayer. Naturally without Scriptural teaching, abnormalities and errors quickly creep in among these young babes in Christ. (*RFBWFPB*, No. 18, Mwanza, 18/9/1920, p.1.)

This brings into sharp focus the matter of local leadership and the entire question of indigenous principles. Certain aspects of this question were regarded by the CEM missionaries with marked ambivalence throughout the colonial period. One reads often in CEM literature about the indigenous church in the Congo, but it is evident that different things were meant by the term and that it was understood in various ways by the CEM missionaries. Although an indigenous church is generally considered to be one which is self-supporting, self-propagating and self-governing, the word was often used to mean any one aspect of the threefold plan. In some cases it was used to describe a limited degree of one of these aspects. This meant that a church could be completely self-propagating but lack the ability to support itself and govern itself and yet be considered indigenous according to the above definition. At times a church might have its own pastor and elders who were in the main responsible for all decisions other than those which touched on finances or the organisation of its own leadership; again, under the above definition this church was regarded as indigenous.<sup>17</sup>

It was recognised early in the days of the Pentecostal Mission that the key to successful mission work in the Congo lay with the Congolese themselves.<sup>18</sup> "Every believer evangelism" was regarded as the norm. In 1925 W. Burton wrote:

The only way to reach adequately the vast number of villages in our sphere of influence is by an army of native evangelists. (Editor, 'Mwanza Conference, October, 1925', *CEMR*, No. 10, October-December, 1925, p. 106)

<sup>13</sup> *RFBWFPB*, No. 17, p. 5.

<sup>14</sup> *RFBWFPB*, No. 18, p. 2; W. Burton, *God Working*, pp. 81,82.

<sup>15</sup> Burton, *God Working*, p. 81.

<sup>16</sup> *RFBWFPB*, No. 18, pp. 1,2.

<sup>17</sup> When I speak of indigenous principles I am not concerned with church government as such. The missionaries were in charge and for this reason it is not possible to call it indigenous. After 1960 the African leaders were in control so at last the church became indigenous even if it did continue with many of the methods of church government commenced by the missionaries. cf. *infra* Chapter VII on developments since 1960 pp. 652-698.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. A. Stonelake, *Congo Past and Present*, p. 69; M-L. Martin, *Kimbangu*, p. 30; Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, pp. 138,139.

In 1920 he complained that not all the churches had learned to give systematically to support the work so that the missionaries were still obliged to build chapels and pay their pastors, but that there was an indication of some change where churches were sending their own members to evangelise new areas.<sup>19</sup> When the missionaries first established churches in the villages they had paid the local Christians with salt to construct a building in which to worship. As a result when it needed repairing the local people left it to the missionaries, saying that since they had been paid to construct the church it must belong to the mission. For this reason the custom was discontinued,<sup>20</sup> and the people soon learned to build their own churches.<sup>21</sup> In all the out-stations the members were totally responsible for the conducting of their own services and for the preaching of the Scriptures. On stations the situation varied greatly, depending upon the local missionary. Some missionaries wanted to do everything and even when they allowed the local pastor to lead a service they would keep butting in to tell them which hymn to sing and what announcements to make.<sup>22</sup> Other missionaries gave the local station pastor a freehand even in matters like the communion service and in the judging of affairs where disciplinary action was necessary.<sup>23</sup> In some cases when there were not enough missionaries to oversee an area, and especially when a station was closed, the local pastor would be given more authority in all directive matters.<sup>24</sup> Therefore, although the self-propagating, self-supporting in self-governing church may have been the ideal aimed at, it was never really achieved until after 1960.<sup>25</sup>

There are a number of reasons for this. First, Burton had been influenced by his contacts with Ethiopianism while in South Africa. In 1925 he wrote:

Natives cannot be sent too far away from white supervision, or be left to themselves, as they are apt to get erratic in doctrine and turn to excess. During the last ten years in Central Africa several native uprisings have resulted from the teaching and influence of self-styled prophets, who have declared themselves to be Elijah, or the Son of God, and a great deal of harm has been done. (Editor, 'Mwanza Conference, October, 1925', *CEMR*, No. 10, p. 107)

Burton had read Roland Allen's *Missionary Methods St. Paul's or Ours?*<sup>26</sup> but believed that his suggestions had to be adapted to local conditions. Few of the CEM missionaries believed that the black man could be left to get on with the job on his own.<sup>27</sup> Burton defended this stand on the grounds that he had known cases where missionaries had handed over the work to the native leaders. He said that after a few years when he had visited the area there was no evidence at all of the churches which had been founded or of the converts won.<sup>28</sup>

The other reason why the theory was never totally enacted was that it was not permitted by the Belgian Administration.<sup>29</sup> As Ruth Slade wrote concerning the Presbyterians:

<sup>19</sup> *RFBWFPB*, No 18, p. 2 writes that the churches have not yet learned the joy of systematic giving for the support of the work: "The rule is that we pay for the building of their chapels, for the support of their teachers, etc. we realise that for their spiritual growth this cannot continue".

<sup>20</sup> Womersley, Interview, Bedford, 24/7/1980.

<sup>21</sup> J. Salter, 'Is This Indigenous?' *CEMR*, No. 62, 1936, p. 83.

<sup>22</sup> Womersley, Interview, 24/7/1980; E. Rowlands, Interview, Margate, 20/2/1983.

<sup>23</sup> Womersley, 24/7/1980; *CEMR*, No. 82, pp. 497, 498; cf. R. Slade, *English-Speaking Missions*, pp. 221.

<sup>24</sup> Burton, *CEMR*, No. 205, p. 2611; Nkulu Balanda, Interview, Ngoy Mani, 1712/1980 says that once the station was closed at Luamba in 1953, he was accorded the right to marry and baptise as well as other matters. I saw a certificate authorising him to conduct marriage ceremonies but it did not mention baptisms.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Burton, 'To the Faithful Supporters of Our Native Evangelists', *CEMR*, No. 75, p. 355 where he speaks of adopting Roland Allen's methods with modifications; cf. W. Burton, 'A Brief History of the Thirty Years of the Congo Evangelistic Mission', *CEMR*, No. 116, 1946, p. 3 where he writes: "we realize most fully that the mission stations are only a passing phase. The missionaries themselves are only here for a time. Our great aim is to establish churches propagated, supported and controlled entirely by the native Christians themselves. Thus it is not to be regarded as a source of sorrow when a station closes down, so long as the lovely little gatherings of native Christians in the villages continue"; cf. *RFBWFPB*, No. 18, p. 2; *CEMR*, No. 10, p. 106; *CEMR*, No. 33, p. 502; cf. R. Slade, *English-Speaking Missions*, p. 212; R. Slade, *The Belgian Congo*, ed. with additional chapter by Marjory Taylor, London, OUP for the Institute of Race Relations, 1961, pp. 35, 36; CEM literature tends to indicate that the CEM led in the area of the application of indigenous principles but this is not correct even in the Congo. cf. Nils Westlind cited in Sigbert Axelsson, *Culture Confrontation in the Lower Congo: From the Old Congo Kingdom to the Congo Independent State with Special Reference to the Swedish Missionaries in the 1880's and 1890's*, Studia Missionalia Upsaliensia XIV, Uppsala, Gummessons, 1970, p. 278.

<sup>26</sup> London, World Dominion Press, 1960; cf. *CEMR*, No. 75, p. 355.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. R. Slade, *The Belgian Congo*, p. 35 on paternalism and Protestant missions in the Congo; A. Brown, 'The Value of Missionary Supervision', *CEMR*, No. 139, pp. 130, 131; cf. M-L Martin, *Kimbangu*, p. 31 says that this was common.

<sup>28</sup> *CEMR*, No. 75, p. 355; W. Burton, 'The Right and Wrong of Indigenous Principles', Mwanza, 8/12/19334 to G. Tilling (of the AOG Missionary Council) p. 4, AAOG-OMC Nottingham.

<sup>29</sup> W. Burton, 'The Right and Wrong of Indigenous Principles', p. 6; "Protestant Churches are illegal unless cared for, and superintended by European missionaries".

They aimed at gradually transferring authority from European missionaries... But it was impossible to hand over in this way, however, until the Government had accorded the right of association to Africans, for an African church, independent of the European mission organisation, could not legally exist. (*The Belgian Congo*, second ed. with additional chapter by M. Taylor, London, OUP for the Institute of Race Relations, 1961, p. 36)

I have not been able to find any direct legislation to this effect, but there is within the legislation on PC that which would leave room for interpretation of this kind.<sup>30</sup> As late as 1933 Ed. De Jonghe, writing in the official government journal, *Congo*, made it clear that the Administration was not at all in favour of rushing to grant liberty to Congolese church leaders since to do so would only lead to problems in the future.<sup>31</sup> In 1938, Burton wrote that the Governor General Ryckmans, "has declared, and declared rightly, that THE TIME IS NOT YET RIPE to abandon the native churches and leaders to their own unaided efforts".<sup>32</sup> The Government was afraid of Kitawala or Kimbangu type manifestations breaking out where there was no European presence.

In practical terms there were two areas in which Government legislation made it difficult to implement indigenous principles to the full: in finances and in the handing over of control to the African leadership. The CEM wanted the evangelists and pastors to be self-supporting, but Burton says that the mission was forced into paying them what he called a "retainer wage".<sup>33</sup> This was a minimum-wage which was meant to show that the individual was employed.<sup>34</sup> Burton said that if the evangelist did not have this proof of employment they could be forced to seek other employment on the mines in the south of the Katanga.<sup>35</sup> This retainer was insufficient to live on, so all workers have their own gardens to support them. The missionaries look forward to the day when they would be fully supported by their own assemblies. In the meantime a Native Evangelists' Fund was set up, which was supported by gifts from overseas.<sup>36</sup> This paid the evangelist's taxes and gave him from 35 to 40 francs a month.<sup>37</sup> By 1950, 50% of the pastor's income was expected to come from his local church and by 1954 all support was cut off since the missionaries believed that the churches would never otherwise accept responsibility for their own leaders.<sup>38</sup>

When it came to discussing church affairs, the Administration never considered approaching anyone other than the white missionaries. Even in a matter of granting of road notes for travel and evangelism, the Authorities would only accept as valid the white man's signature.<sup>39</sup> Any and every evangelist had to have a certificate stating that he belonged to a recognised mission

<sup>30</sup> Cf. on PC, *infra*, Chapter IV A).

<sup>31</sup> *Congo*, 1(1) Janvier, 1933, pp. 23,24; A. Stonelake, *Congo Past and Present*, p. 55 says that when the Belgian Administration relaxed their policies towards the Protestants regulating where they could work they continued to stipulate that there must be adequate supervision of every area where there was a Protestant mission.

<sup>32</sup> *CEMR*, No. 75, p. 355; cf. D. Barrett, *Schism and Renewal in Africa: an Analysis of 6000 Contemporary Religious Movements*, Nairobi, OUP, 1968, p. 87 says that this is the kind of example which well underlines the missionaries' true feelings. The colonial policies used to justify what the missionary wanted to do all along. cf. 'GFC-CEM-Suggested Agenda', Mwanza, 1938, pp. 3, 4, under *Indigenous Policy* is recorded: "Are we still suckling natives and native churches that are to have been weaned long ago? To what extent can we go on putting out stations on a self-supporting basis?... Can a district (Station) be subdivided into groups of churches and work them as such, having their own district elders for advice in spiritual things and material things, thus weaning them from rushing to the White man with every little affair? Do you advise a voluntary ministry among our native pastors and Evangelists, the same living on their gardens or by fishing, or would you suggest that they be paid out of their own church offerings?... Whatever we decide in regard to the above the Natives must not be given the impression that we are leaving them to themselves or they will be scared. The government demand and the natives request that we continue our supervision of their churches for the time being. In view of the strong attitude adopted by the C.P.C. on Indigenous Policy the following is not without significance. 'Voted that on grounds that the church in Congo is not yet sufficiently advanced to permit of native representatives participating with advantage in such a Conference [just discussed], the committee [sic] decided to modify the recommendations which had been made regarding such a Conference...' From the minutes of the meeting held 16/3/38, Léo."

<sup>33</sup> *CEMR*, No. 78, p. 355; cf. R. Slade, *English-Speaking Missions*, p.223 says that the American Baptists and the Swedish missionaries considered the payment of evangelists to be a temporary measure.

<sup>34</sup> cf. 'Livret de Travail' belonging to Kaputula Pierre, signed by L. Wigglesworth, 2 mai, 1945 at Kipushya, NKPPP; H. Womersley, interview, Bedford, 24/7/1980 says that the CEM were always trying to explain to the Administration that as far as the CEM was concerned they were not pay books and there was no contract to pay the holder. The books were merely proof that the evangelist was employed by the church.

<sup>35</sup> *CEMR*, No. 78, p. 355; 'The Right and Wrong of Indigenous Principles', p. 7; A. Stonelake, *Congo Past and Present*, p. 23, "The Government... claims a certain amount of time and labour from taxable natives, who are not employed by contract for public service".

<sup>36</sup> 'The Right and Wrong', p. 7; A. Stonelake, *Congo Past and Present*, pp. 75,76 shows that by July 1921 the work of the ABFMS was self-supporting and that a Christian Missionary Alliance was self-supporting by 1925 (*loc. cit.*, page 82); the CEM had overseas supporters sponsoring evangelists in the Congo.

<sup>37</sup> 'GFC-CEM, January, 1928', p. 9 (no minute numbers).

<sup>38</sup> 'EC-CEM, Kabondo Dianda, 6/7/12/1950', No. 12; 'EC-CEM, Kipushya, 12-15/10/1951', No. 12; cf. R. Slade, *English-Speaking Missions*, p. 223.

<sup>39</sup> J. Robinson, Interview, Kamina II, 19/3/1981.

or he was likely to be thrown into prison.<sup>40</sup> Missionaries had to be present at all baptismal services because of the abuses suffered during the Mwana Lesa episodes when many were accused of witchcraft and drowned.<sup>41</sup> As far as the CEM missionary was concerned this all confirmed the fact that it was not possible to transfer full responsibility to the Congolese leaders. When writing about the principles of indigenous leadership Burton stated: "Indeed so far as the government will permit, we place the responsibility upon them [the Congolese]".<sup>42</sup>

There is evidence that in spite of the unconscious attitudes of the CEM in the position of the Administration there were regular efforts made on the part of some members of the CEM to implement the indigenous principles of church government as far as possible within the existing bounds. In 1928 the General Field Council of the CEM<sup>43</sup> declared that all local church affairs had to be dealt with by the local church.<sup>44</sup> In 1934, John Mott of the International Missionary Council had attended a series of conferences in the Congo at which the matter of the indigenous church had appeared high on the agenda.<sup>45</sup> These conferences of the CPC stated that the matter of the indigenous church had to be given top priority by all Protestant missions in the Congo.<sup>46</sup> As a result of this emphasis a number of CEM missionaries attempted to delegate more responsibility to the local church leadership. However, some were most reluctant so that there was a polarisation over the matter.<sup>47</sup> Although some were asking the question: "Are we still suckling natives and native churches that ought to have been weaned long ago?"<sup>48</sup> Others wanted to have their own station so that they could feel that they were in charge and do as they desired.<sup>49</sup> Even Burton seems to have modified his ideas as the time went on and remarked that newer stations should learn from the mistakes of the older when it came to finances and support of the evangelists.<sup>50</sup>

Finances proved to be a thorny problem as far as both missionaries and native evangelists were concerned. In retrospect H. Womersley believes that it was wrong to support the evangelists even partially. He says that this created a great deal of hard feelings when the support was withdrawn. The workers felt that they were being cheated of what was rightfully theirs.<sup>51</sup> The missionaries continued to handle finances, believing that the local pastors were incapable of looking after even the church finances.<sup>52</sup> On at least one station the missionary's wife collected all

<sup>40</sup> Burton, CEMR, No. 75, p. 355; Burton, 'The Right and Wrong of Indigenous Principles', p. 6.

<sup>41</sup> H. Womersley, Interview, Bedford, 24/7/1980 said that the missionaries had to be present at baptisms; cf. H-J. Geschat, *Kitawala, ursprung, Ausbreitung und religion der Watch-Tower-Bewegung in Zentralafrika*, Marburger theologische Studien 4, Marburg, N.G. Elwert Verlag, 1967, pp.50-58.

<sup>42</sup> Burton, CEMR, No. 81, p. 474; A. Stonelake, *Congo Past and Present*, p. 83 says that the work of the Christian and Missionary Alliance in Congo became fully autonomous by August 1931. In the light of the Government legislation it is difficult to imagine how this worked out in practice. He says that the missionaries remained as advisors alone.

<sup>43</sup> The General Field Council was the highest authoritative body of the CEM during the colonial period was made up of all the CEM missionaries on the field gathered in conference. Usually this Council was held every three years, but this was not always regular.

<sup>44</sup> 'GFC-CEM, January, 1928', p. 8 paragraph on Native Evangelists and Churches "the local church affairs ought to be dealt with by the church".

<sup>45</sup> CPC, *Findings of Conferences held under the Leadership of Dr. John Mott Chairman of the International Missionary Council at Léopoldville, Mutoto and Elisabethville Congo Belge*, 1934, Léopoldville, CPC, 1934, pp. 10-13,34,41-43.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 39 Notes that William and Hettie Burton and Edmund Hodgson of the CEM as having attended the Elisabethville conference; H. Womersley, Interview, Bedford, 23/7/1980 says he realised that changes had to be made and that gradually he handed over more and more authority to the local station pastor at Kabongo. As far as he was concerned this included the making of station decisions and even the invitation of speakers for the station church. This included the invitation of the station missionary. However, Womersley says that some of the missionaries on other stations were reluctant to hand over authority of any kind to the Africans and even when Independence came they were still in control of everything on the station. I have heard local pastors of some stations complain that when the missionaries evacuated they even took all the local church funds with them leaving them without any finances. cf. Markowitz, *Cross and Sword*, p. 113.

<sup>48</sup> 'GFC-CEM Suggested Agenda', Mwanza, 1938, p. 3.

<sup>49</sup> E. Rowlands, Interview, Margate, 20/2/1983 said that in several cases he believed that there were two 'senior' missionaries on one station; the reason for one of them wanting to go off and start a new station was so that he would no longer be tied by the decisions of the other 'senior' missionary. The main driving force in starting a new work was the desire to be in complete control and have the authority to do whatever one saw fit. Of course in such cases the African pastors had no say at all in the important decisions. This is confirmed by the "General Résumé of Discussions" in 'GFC-CEM, Kabongo, 10-16/8/1954, p. 25 when one of the senior missionaries who had found his station closed when he returned from furlough said: "I would like to know that in the future I have something that I can put my finger on and call my own"; John and Ruth Emmett, Interview, Birmingham, 1/8/1980 said that some of the missionaries may have thought that Independence would never come. They looked at the stations as theirs and were afraid to let them go because they did not believe that the Africans could do such a good job.

<sup>50</sup> "General Résumé of Discussions", in 'GFC-CEM, Kabongo, 18-23/8/1951, No. 48b. HWPP.

<sup>51</sup> H. Womersley, Interview, Bedford, 24/7/1980.

<sup>52</sup> 'AB-CEM, Kamina, 31/10-1/11/1956', No. 15: "that we express our unanimous decision against church funds being handed over to the Africans to manage and keep; nor do we agree to a system of two signatures for cheques, black and white. There should, however, and must be the needful co-operation between missionaries holding the funds and

the offerings on a Sunday morning and took them home with her. The local Christians were convinced that it was used for her housekeeping expenses.<sup>53</sup> On some stations there was a local station bookkeeper who was responsible for the allocation of all funds received, but even in these stations the *caisse* was always held by the missionary. As far as the locals were concerned they had nothing to do with the finances.<sup>54</sup> In the replies to many inquiries concerning the handing over of authority to local station pastors, most claim, even when they held the name of pastor, they had no real authority until after 1960. When asked how that was so they replied that this was because after 1960 they received the *caisse*.<sup>55</sup> Another factor which shows that this was a matter which deeply hurt them was that one of the first minutes passed at an all-Congolese conference at Kabongo prior to Independence, was that from then on all finances would be in their hands.<sup>56</sup>

Relationships between the local leadership and the CEM were a matter of deep concern during the General Field Council of 1951. Salter, who was Home Representative of the CEM, had gone to the Congo for the Conference. He believed that the time had come to place more responsibility upon the local leadership; he said that this should be done as quickly as possible. He declared that he had got the feeling from some that a young white worker was better than an old black one and that it was time that such feelings stopped.<sup>57</sup> Others were in agreement with him and pointed out that the Methodists had already included local leaders in their conferences, adding that the CEM pastors, aware of this, wondered why they were not included in the CEM conferences with the missionaries.<sup>58</sup>

There were very few occasions during the colonial period when the CEM missionaries met in conference with local Congolese workers. The first was in 1935 when there were certain problems of traditional practice which the missionaries felt they were unable to handle alone. The conference ruled on 20 items including such things as the inheritance of a brother's wife and the drinking of alcoholic beverages.<sup>59</sup> After this there were no such gatherings until the eve of Independence when changes in the political climate precipitated a complete change in the CEM policy.<sup>60</sup> The first of a series of meetings was held at Mwanza after the pastors at Mwanza had requested a gathering of missionaries and Congolese leaders. Each station was represented by one missionary and two local leaders.<sup>61</sup> Similar meetings were held at two Kikondja and Kabondo

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evangelists and elders, on this vital matter, to preserve confidence". Comments made to me concerning this and notes written in the: 'Questionnaires' prove that there was no confidence to preserve when it came to matters of finance. This has continued, on both sides, into the post-colonial era.

<sup>53</sup> Banza Mpoyo, Interview, Kamina II, 12/11/1980; H. Womersley, Interview, 24/7/1980.

<sup>54</sup> Banza Sha Bana, Interview, Kamina cité, 22/11/1980 was at Mwanza prior to independence. He was in charge of all the books and records in used to help with the payment of evangelists, but he did not keep the money; H. Womersley, 24/7/1980 says that Kabongo he had someone handle the books and the payment of the evangelists for a long time.

<sup>55</sup> As already shown, many of the station pastors did hold a certain amount of authority while others did not. But even those who did, did not consider it as such because of the finances which were held by the missionaries. According to the 'Questionnaires' the following is a random sample of stations in the year when they first had local oversee is called by the name 'pastor: (some of these may not be correct to the nearest year)

Lulungu	1935	Kabongo	1940	Kabondo Dianda	1941	Busangu/Sungu	1948
Kikondja	1949	Kongolo	1952	Katea	1953	Katompe	1957
Kashukulu	1960						

All information on the finances and the reception of the case from the missionaries has been taken from the 'Questionnaire' and discussion with station pastors.

<sup>56</sup> 'Myanda Mitabijibwe mu Kitango kya ku Kabongo', Kabongo, 3-4/6/1960, No. 2: "concerning the gifts to the church we have said: now we want all gifts to the church to be in our hands, and what is in the bank must also be ours; the names of those to look after this will be chosen; also all money with which they (the missionaries) by books shall now be ours". [my translation of Kiluba] HWPP.

<sup>57</sup> "General Résumé of Discussions", in 'GFC-CEM, Kabongo, 18-23/8/1951', p. 14, No. 64; cf. CPC, *Findings of Conferences*, p. 35 handles the question of race relations. cf. R. Slade, *The Belgian Congo*, p. 34.

<sup>58</sup> "General Résumé of Discussions", 18-23/8/1951, pp. 14,15, No. 64 where H. Womersley and E. Hodgson likened the local pastors to the NCOs of the British Army since they did all the hard work and needed to be properly recognised; Yumba wa Nkulu, Interview, Mwanza, 14/12/1980 believed that Burton was in favour of handing over more authority to the Congolese much earlier but that the other missionaries were against this.

<sup>59</sup> CEMR, No. 55, 1935; the contents of the combined conference, where the local leaders decided how to handle the number of difficult issues are repeated fully in Appendix 8 in a translation from the Kiluba text.

<sup>60</sup> On 13 January 1959 King Baudouin of Belgium made a speech in which he made it clear that as far as Belgium was concerned it was aiming at granting independence to the Congo. There would be a decentralisation, introduction of an electoral system for all and the doing away all of all discrimination. cf. Tshimanga wa Tshibangu, *Histoire du Zaïre*, p. 104; Markowitz, *Cross and Sword*, p.114 says that this desire to hand over more authority to the local church was accelerated either just prior to or immediately after 1960. CFC Yesson, (For the Administrative Board of the CEM) Letter, Kabondo Dianda, 14/1/1959, p. 1, "Only last night, we were listening to the announcement of Belgium's intention to grant self-government followed by independence.... shattering developments taking place the whole time demand that we see where we stand and readjust our position and policies where indicated"; cf.. 'AB-CEM, Kabondo Dianda, 13,14/1/1959', No. 14 shows that the CEM was worried that events had overtaken them.

<sup>61</sup> 'AB-CEM, Kashukulu, 14-16/4/1959', No. 7, "that in further reply to the Mwanza Elders' request for a native conference, we suggest that the Mwanza church have the privilege of this Conference on their Station. We would propose one

Dianda where missionaries agreed to hand over the legal representation to the Congolese Church. Jonathan Ilunga and Ephraim Kayumba were proposed as possible candidates by Burton. Most of the missionaries thought that Kayumba would be the best representative but the Congolese had more confidence in Jonathan Ilunga. In this way, subject to ratification by the Belgian Administration, Jonathan Ilunga became Legal Representative and Kayumba his Assistant.<sup>62</sup> In the first Congolese conference at Kabongo in 1960 the local leaders passed a first minute:<sup>63</sup>

We want all of us to who belong to the CEM to have only one voice from now on. To divide ourselves into groups is bad at this time. (Myanda Mitabijibwe: Mu Kitango kya ku Kabongo, Kabongo, 3-4 Juin, 1960, No. 1, AZEMPreston, [my translation])

This meant that the Congolese no longer wanted the missionaries to have their own meetings where they were left out of the decision-making.<sup>64</sup>

## Worship

Church services in Pentecostal churches are normally fairly informal. The missionaries soon realised that the Baluba and Basongye enjoyed enthusiastic meetings where they could join in the singing to the accompaniment of drums and the clapping of hands.<sup>65</sup> It is not unusual to see an entire congregation swaying back and forth while numbers of *batangidiji* (leaders) walk up and down the aisles leading the people in the refrain of a song.<sup>66</sup> Salter relates an incident when during a worship-service an old woman "shouted, clapped her hands and jumped about like a child finally beginning to dance".<sup>67</sup> She later explain to Salter that she had been praising God with her mouth and hands, but that she was now praising him because of the joy that had got down to her feet.<sup>68</sup> In the post-Independence period dancing has been ruled against by the CPZ. In spite of this there

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missionary delegate per station, and two African Pastors". The possibility of local pastors attending conferences had been raised earlier by the pastors at Kipushya, 'EC-CEM, Kipushya, 12-15/10/1951, No. 5e. They had raised a number of questions including the "Possibility of natives attending conferences, and of visiting native Ministry". The combined conference took place at Mwanza on 16, 17 July 1959; cf. 'CEM-Myanda Mitabijibwe mu Kitango kyetu kya ku Mwanza, le 16,17 Juillet 1959' ; *CEMR*, No. 274, p. 19 ; *CEMR*, No. 275, pp. 2,3,17,18.

<sup>62</sup> Ilunga Ngoi wa Mbuya Kalulwa, Interview, Kamina, 15/5/1980 says that he was chosen at Kabondo Dianda in 1959 by a group of pastors and missionaries; the combined meetings at Kabondo Dianda, Mwanza and Kikondja are mentioned by Kusomba Shimioni, Interview, Kabongo, 26/10/1980; cf. *CEMR*, No. 286, p. 3,4; John Emmett, Interview, Birmingham, 1/8/1980 spoke of the meeting at Kikondja although I can find no mention of it in any literature.

<sup>63</sup> It was only after the evacuation of the missionaries from the Congo that the church founded by the CEM became truly indigenous; this W. Hawkins and E. Hodgson make clear in a letter to the fellow missionaries on furlough at the time of independence; Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), 31/8/1960: "Our Congolese church has now shouldered its own responsibilities and is completely directed and controlled by its own Congolese leaders. These leaders are now in sole charge of all church funds, of all assembly organisation, appointing dismissing and paying all full-time Congolese workers. The missionary is no longer a station or district superintendent but an Adviser or Counsellor to the Congolese church. He can no longer issue any orders but can give advice if it is required.... They have also appointed their own legal representative and vice legal representative to act in all matters concerning the Congo church".

<sup>64</sup> John Emmett, Interview, Birmingham, 1/8/1980 was a CEM missionary among the Basongye and for a short time he was also at Kongolo. He says that the missionaries in the south of the CEM field had a much better working relationship with the local leadership than did those of the north. He says that when he first arrived he was warned by senior missionaries not to have too close a relationship with the Africans. According to him, if there was the chance to do it all over again there would have to be a lot of changes. The Africans should have been granted a lot more real authority to make the kind of decisions which were always left in the hands of the missionaries and they should have been responsible for all church finances. He also said that a central Bible school should have been commenced for the training of leadership at an earlier stage since this aspect was neglected by most of the missionaries.

<sup>65</sup> On Enthusiastic worship in Africa and its place in African culture cf. Harold Fehderau, 'Enthusiastic Christianity in an African Church', *Practical Anthropology*, 8(6), 1961, pp. 280, 282; J. Mbiti, 'Christianity and Culture in Africa', in *Facing the New Challenges*, eds. M. Cassidy and L. Verlinden, Kisumu, Kenya, Evangel Publishing House, 1978, p. 277; E. Andersson, *Messianic Popular Movements*, p. 268 points out that the enthusiasm of the Pentecostal meetings was one of the drawing cards. However, some of the missionaries thought that the drums were of the devil and even when they did not voice their opinions openly they disallowed drums at Mwanza. cf. S. Axelsson, *Culture Confrontation*, pp. 285-288 where he writes concerning culture confrontation in the area of drums and alcohol as well as other matters; cf. J. H. Nkeita, 'The Contribution of African Culture to Christian Worship', *IRM*, 47, 1958, p. 275 and the place of the drum and African instruments in African hymnology.

<sup>66</sup> I have been present in services where there were two big *byondo* (wooden talking drums), several smaller ones of different sizes, a railway line, and a wheel rim, all of which were used as percussion instruments. In the same meetings there were over 20 *batangidiji* (directors) all waving their arms to keep the people singing in time and encouraging everyone to sing as loudly as possible. There was no dancing in these meetings, but there was a great deal of body movement and swaying back and forth in time with the drums; cf. D. Garrard, *Contact*, No. 535, No. 535, 1981, p.7.

<sup>67</sup> James Salter, 'Radiantly Triumphant', unpublished MS, n. pl., n.d., c. 1937, p. 12, AZEMPreston.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12.

are men like Pastor Lubinga of Luena, who encourage dancing on their stations.<sup>69</sup> Many of the missionaries believed that the worshipers should feel free to express themselves openly during worship.<sup>70</sup> For this reason *byondo* (wooden talking drums) and other percussion instruments were common in the meetings.

The first songs in the Pentecostal Mission/CEM were those which the missionaries translated and adapted to fit the well-known Western songs and hymns.<sup>71</sup> Burton felt that the Christian message in song was one of the reasons for the spread of the church amongst the Baluba and Basongye.<sup>72</sup> Later a number of local people including Danyele Bulaya from Kisanga wrote songs to tunes which they had composed and these were incorporated in the hymn book published by the CEM.<sup>73</sup> Hodgson claimed that it was only when the Christians put aside their hymns introduced by the Europeans, and sang those which they had made up that everyone in the gathering was stirred to worship God. These songs were sung in what he called: "native style". In addition to this "The tune, rhyme and the rhythm" were "a hundred per cent African".<sup>74</sup> Today there are villages where the hymns from the book are seldom sung.

Prayer was often in unison and often became very loud. This was one aspect which worried the missionaries because the Belgians considered that this sort of expression could lead only to xenophobia.<sup>75</sup> All services were in the local language, whether Kiluba or Kisongye, and no use of an interpreter was permitted other than for the very few who journeyed from the Luban to the Songye areas or vice versa. The nature of the services gave time for the testimonies of healing as well as the sharing of requests for prayer, but a good portion of the time was kept for the sermon which was regarded as the most important part of the meeting.<sup>76</sup> Following Luban oral patterns the listener takes active part in the sermon. This is by means of statements made in the form of a question which require an answer, and through the quotation of proverbs. Where proverbs are employed the preacher repeats the first part of the proverb while the hearers complete it.<sup>77</sup> I have seen older preachers from the early years delight audiences by acting out some scene, but this is not very common today.<sup>78</sup>

<sup>69</sup> 'Compte-rendu de la 13ème Conférence [de la CPZ] tenue à Kabongo du 18 au 21/08/1982', Chapitre, 1.2. *Kuja mu buimba*, cf. *infra* Appendix 2 *The Constitution* ...; cf. Nketia, 'The Contribution of African Culture to Christian Worship', p. 276.

<sup>70</sup> D. Gilliland, 'The Indigenous Concept in Africa', *Missiology*, 1 1973, p. 349; E. Hodgson, 'the Opening of Kikondja Mission', *CEMR*, No. 9, p. 90 wrote that every week some worshipers had to be carried out of the services "as they are laid hold of by the power of God".

<sup>71</sup> W. Burton, *CEMR*, No. 82, 1940 "Our first hymns in Kiluba were to the sweet old Moody and Sankey tunes, and Torrey and Alexander tunes which today are the heritage of the whole worldwide, Christian Church.

Nevertheless there are drawbacks to using such tunes in Central Africa, for the Baluba have a different musical scheme, with a septave instead of an octave.

Our hymn tunes, and especially the accidentals, are a serious difficulty to them. Thus we welcome the lovely step forward that we see in native hymns and native music being adopted by our churches.... We cannot say that we always appreciate the native rattles, and other music... but seeing they have no harmoniums, cornets or concertinas - well we must be very happy that even the drums and rentals or being converted"; cf. Nketia, 'Christian Worship', pp. 273-275.

<sup>72</sup> Burton, *God Working*, p. 82.

<sup>73</sup> Ngoy wa Kyulu, Interview, Kamina II, 2/5/1981 Danyele Bulaya was from Kisanga but worked for many years as an evangelist in the Kikondja area of the CEM; cf. 'Un Rapport des Activités [sic] de la Mission Evangélique du Congo Belge, 1925' section on Littérature reports the production of a hymn book; Nketia, 'Christian Worship', p. 273 on the need for Africans to compose their own songs.

<sup>74</sup> Hodgson, 'The Story of a Native Song', *CEMR*, No. 152, p. 1546; cf. M -L. Martin, *Kimbangu*, p. 69 regarding the songs of local composition; Henry Weman, *African Music and the Church in Africa*, Studia Missionalia, Upsaliensia 3, Uppsala, Svenska Institutet för forskning, 1960, pp. 21,58-68.

<sup>75</sup> H. Womersley, Interview, 24/7/1980.

<sup>76</sup> Even today it is not unusual for the sermon to last for an hour. In the days of prayer, which really have become preaching conventions it is not uncommon to have the day filled with alternating periods of prayer, songs and sermons. In such meetings it is common for meetings to last from 8 a.m. to 6 p.m. with a short break at midday. cf. J. H. Nketia's idea of africanisation of worship in his article 'Christian Worship', *IRM*, pp. 265-278; cf. Mbiti, 'Christianity and Culture in Africa', p. 278.

<sup>77</sup> The speaker asks the question: *ke amo po?* (Is that not correct?) If the listeners agree they reply: *i amo!* (it is correct) but if they do not, they reply: *ke amo po!* which this time means it is not correct. A speaker may give out the first part of a well-known proverb. For example, toward the end of his sermon when he is calling for people to make a decision to believe in Christ and to be converted the preacher should say: *Kufwa bumvu* (to die of shame) and the people will reply: *i kufwa ne nzala* (is to die of hunger). In other words one must not be afraid of others as if you fail to speak up when you're hungry you will certainly die of starvation while those who are reticent to become involved with Christ will likewise die of hunger by being left out of God's provision.

<sup>78</sup> Ngoy wa Kyulu, a man in his seventies is a very good example of someone who loves to act out his sermons. cf. C. and F. Yesson, 'Newsletter', Kabondo Dianda, 4/10/1941 mentions this attribute of the same man and the influence it had on his sermons; cf. Nketia, 'Christian Worship', p. 269.

## Ordinances

The Pentecostal churches generally have only two ordinances - communion and baptism by immersion.<sup>79</sup> Burton and Salter both believed that these ordinances should be kept as simple as possible. In the case of the communion, bread and wine were seldom available so those items which were nearest at hand were substituted. In the place of bread banana, dried manioc or even manioc mush was employed.<sup>80</sup> H. Womersley says that the grapes from the wild *mañanza* (wild type of grape) were so rare and difficult to gather in sufficient quantity that the juice from the *mwilembwe* plant, a variety of rosella, or mulberry was used.<sup>81</sup> Nowadays cold black tea is used in the villages while in the towns it is possible to buy fruit cordials which are mixed with water. Concerning Burton's attitude to the communion at age Womersley writes:

He felt that the memorial remembrance of Christ's body and blood was more important than the material emblems.... After, all Jesus commanded his disciples to 'do this in remembrance of Me' and used as emblems what was to hand. (Wm. F. P. Burton, *Congo Pioneer*, p. 81)

Only those who are baptised are permitted to partake of the communion. During the missionary era, many of the station missionaries made themselves solely responsible for the leading of the communion services.<sup>82</sup> When the Congolese pastors became responsible, some of them perpetuated this tradition so that only they were authorized to lead such services.<sup>83</sup> This meant that in many of the local village churches members would only celebrate a communion service if the station pastor was visiting them. Some sectional pastors have been delegated this responsibility, but this is not a general practice and many stations allow every local pastor to hold the weekly communion service.

The matter of baptism has not been so simple. Following normal Protestant practice in missionary work, the CEM did not baptise new converts immediately.<sup>84</sup> Generally, missionaries waited until such time as they were sure that the convert had understood what baptism was all about. They wanted to see evidence of a true conversion.<sup>85</sup> There is no evidence that conditions for baptism were as severe as those outlined by A. Stonelake,<sup>86</sup> although all candidates were expected to be monogamists.<sup>87</sup> During the early years there was no ruling as to which wife was to be kept in a polygamous marriage if the husband had requested baptism.<sup>88</sup> If one of the wives became a Christian and the others left because the husband had been converted, the question resolved itself, but relationships did not always work out so easily.

As in most matters of doctrine and practice, there was no one line held by the CEM; each local station missionary decided policy for 'his own' station. In some cases every wife who was a Christian would be baptised, but not the husband even where all the other evidence pointed to the fact that he was a genuine convert.<sup>89</sup> In other cases only the first wife of a polygamous marriage would be baptised, provided she met with approval in all the other matters.<sup>90</sup> Burton himself

<sup>79</sup> Some Pentecostal churches include foot washing as an ordinance.

<sup>80</sup> Nowadays bread or crackers are often used in the towns.

<sup>81</sup> H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, p. 81.

<sup>82</sup> H. Womersley, Interview, 24/7/1980 said that at Mwanza Burton had let the local leaders conduct the communion service for as long as he could remember but that some missionaries did not let the local station pastors do anything.

<sup>83</sup> CEM, 'Myanda Mitabijibwe mu kitango kyetu kya ku Mwanza, le 16,17 Juillet 1959', No. 9, ACPZKipusya "all our pastors who look after any area, wherever it be in the Mission, should be given the authority to baptise believers and to conduct Christian weddings"[my translation].

<sup>84</sup> cf. R. Slade, *English-Speaking Missions*, pp. 125, 214.

<sup>85</sup> Kasembwe Ngoy and Kantala Lushika, Letter, Kasenga Mpetshi, 7/11/1980 to author; Hettie Burton describes a visit to Bunda to baptise new converts: "After fully discussing doctrinal points with them and being assured in our minds as far as human judgment could decide, that they were wholly aware of the seriousness of the step about to be taken, we decided to hold the baptismal service on Sunday afternoon, to be followed by the partaking of the Lord's Supper"; in Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p. 127 originally published in the *Missionary Herald*, n.pl., n.d.

<sup>86</sup> *Congo Past and Present*, p. 71.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, p.71; W. Burton, *When God Changes a Village*, London, Victory Press, 1933, pp. 153,154.

<sup>88</sup> At first they were not so many woman converts so the question of wives of a polygamist marriage did not arise until the 1920s. cf. CEMR, No. 2, p. 8 where baptism of up to 40 men is mentioned and prayer is requested for women converts who H. Burton maintains are harder to reach than men.

<sup>89</sup> I have come across this custom in the Kasai, especially among the Kasai Baluba in the CPZ. It was for this reason that Lubangi Eshiba raised the question of baptism at the executive of the CPZ held at Kamina, 1-4/7/1982 under Chapitre IV, 4 Lufundijo Iwa bu Pentecôtiste (Pentecostal Doctrine).

<sup>90</sup> This matter comes up regularly every few years because even when there is legislation it is not followed by all the station pastors; cf. 'Myanda Mitabijibwe mu kitango kya ku Kabongo le 3-4/6/1960', No. 4 "according to marriage we have said that we agree to baptise only the first wife; any other wife, even if she is a believer will not be baptised and this is our

displayed a certain amount of ambivalence over the baptism of polygamists although, according to him, he was forced into this position by his fellow missionaries. As early as 1933 he admits that there are problems involved in the baptism of polygamists, but realises that a married man has, nevertheless, certain responsibilities to his wives and children which cannot be overlooked.<sup>91</sup> Out of line with most Protestant missionaries at the time he says: "it must be remembered that polygamy is not immorality, and cannot be classed in the same category".<sup>92</sup> According to a note which Burton wrote many years later, he tended to believe that every Christian should be baptised whether a polygamist or not. However, where the person was a man he did not believe that he should be permitted to hold church office.<sup>93</sup>

Since only baptised converts are eligible for membership in a local church, and since they are the only persons permitted to partake in the communion service, there has been a tendency to equate baptism with conversion. This doctrine has never been taught by the CEM, but it is easy enough to understand why many have viewed the CEM/CPZ as having held to this teaching. If baptism has been the criterion whereby one admits a person to full membership, then baptism must be what makes a person a true Christian. The tendency to believe in conversion by baptism is common among Pentecostal groups in Zaire.<sup>94</sup> It is difficult to be accurate but is probably true to say that the majority of Christians in the CPZ view baptism as a mystical process which somehow changes a person into a true child of God.

A number of problems have resulted from the Belgian ruling which I have mentioned elsewhere, that there had to be a white person present at every baptismal service. Most Congolese/Zaireans were not aware of this ruling and believed that baptism was something so special that only the *Bwana Mishoni* (white missionary) could perform it. Even when the Congolese were permitted to carry out baptismal services the missionary had to be present.<sup>95</sup> The local leadership were accorded the right to baptise in 1959 without the missionary having to be in attendance. Many believed that the sceptre had been handed over to them and that it would be folly to authorise other men on their stations to baptise.<sup>96</sup> There has been a change since 1960 so that most section pastors now baptised converts, but there is not one station I know of which permits the local pastors to baptise.<sup>97</sup> When I asked one senior station pastor why he would not let

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stand on the matter of marriages of jealousy". [my translation] (any polygamous marriage is called a marriage of jealousy) HWPP.

<sup>91</sup> Burton, *When God Changes a Village*, pp. 154,155; the Belgian Administration took active measures against polygamy, probably at the instigation of the missionaries cf. H. Keyser, (Commissaire de District, Elisabethville) Letter, No. 1869 A./B12, Elisabethville, 18/4/1939, ARBAPShaba this circular letter was sent to all Commissaire de District with regard to the choosing of chiefs, stating that where possible chiefs should be monogamous. cf. 'Rapport Annuel A.I.M.O. 1952 Territoire de Kongolo, District de Tanganika, Province du Katanga', Section A Chapitre II, p. 8, « Pendant l'année sous revue une lutte fut engagée pour protéger le ménage monogamique et l'adultère fut sévèrement réprimé simulant l'esprit même de la coutume indigène qui considère l'adultère comme très grave ». (ARBA PShaba) A.I.M.O. is the abbreviated form used by the Belgians for *Affaires Indigènes et de la Main d'Oeuvre*.

<sup>92</sup> Burton, *When God Changes a Village*, pp.156,158,159. There are those who would disagree with Burton's stand. David Womersley does not accept what Burton felt about polygamy.

<sup>93</sup> W. Burton handwritten note in flyleaf of a book given to H. Womersley by Burton. The book was J.F. Scutt, *The Man Who Loved the Zulus*, Pietermaritzberg, South Africa, Shuter and Shooter, n.d. The note read: "Please take special note of Chapter XIII, which had always been my view. I'm grieved that I was influenced otherwise by the opinion of my fellow missionaries. W.B.". Chapter XIII presents three possible ways of handling the problem of baptism and the polygamous marriage a) Force the man to get rid of all his wives but one before he can be baptised; b) Admit the man as a catechumen and baptise his wives but not him; c) Baptise a man in spite of the number of his wives but withhold any church office from him. Scutt saw the third possibility as the only tenable one and with this Burton says he agrees. Axelson, *Culture Confrontation*, p. 287 says that the Svenska Missionsförbundet had decided as early as 1894 "to allow polygamists who had not known of the teaching of the Bible, on the question of marriage, when they entered into marriage, to become members of the congregation". Since the SMF believed in membership for those who had been baptised, this presumably means membership after baptism for the same people. However, Axelson points out that the missionaries on the field did not comply with the regulations laid down by the Board and it was declared that a "man in a polygamous marriage cannot be accepted as a member of the congregation but the woman who is part of a polygamous marriage can be accepted". These two citations from Axelson, p. 287 who refers to Kongo Konfrensens protokoll, 9-13 februarie, 1894, No. 29, and Stadgar för Guds församling in Kongokonfrensens protokoll 4-10 juli, 1907, No. 15.

<sup>94</sup> Cf. 'Doctrine et Discipline de l'Assemblée de Dieu du Sud Congo', this group had its PC taken from in on 13/2/1968, "Pour l'église Assemblée de Dieu, le baptême est absolument nécessaire au salut"; O. Börresen, a long time missionary with the Eglise Libre Norvégienne, told me that while he was teaching at the CELZa Bible school at Kasongo, many of the students expressed the view that salvation was by works, and that one of these was baptism. Interview, Bukavu, 11/11/1981; I have often had the experience when I have questioned someone as to when he became a Christian to have them reply: "Oh I was baptised when I was 20". Stonelake, *Congo Past and Present*, p. 72 believes that this is a common conception among all Protestants in the former Congo. He says that this is why there is a tendency to rely on the ordinances and especially so on baptism.

<sup>95</sup> Womersley, Interview, 24/7/1980.

<sup>96</sup> Kapya Bisangani, Interview, Kabalo, 9/3/1980 told me that to permit others to baptise would be to lose one's authority; both Kabalo and Nkongo for this line of thinking; cf. 'Questionnaire, Kongolo'.

<sup>97</sup> This is evident from all the 'Questionnaires'.

anyone else baptise he replied that to do so would be equivalent to abdicating.<sup>98</sup> In practical terms this means that in some areas there are converts who have waited for more than a year before they were admitted to full membership and permitted to attend Communion. It is possible in the minds of the church members that there is a relationship between baptism leading to approved spiritual status and the administration of baptism by a select few with special prerogatives. This could be one of the reasons why the leadership believes that they have special authority (*lupusa*) to make decisions which the ordinary members are not competent to make. This would indicate that in their minds there is some sort of 'apostolic succession' which has been passed from the missionaries to them and that baptism by the 'right' person has played a part in this transmission of authority.

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<sup>98</sup> *Supra*, ft. nt. 96, Kapyia Bisangani.

### C) Education as a tool for Evangelism – Biblical and Secular

The earliest missionaries saw one of the most urgent tasks as the training of evangelists. Like most missionaries who have come to the Congo they soon realised that they were going to have to become involved in education; evangelists had to be taught how to read before they could study the Bible.<sup>1</sup> At first evangelists were called to Mwanza twice yearly when there was Bible teaching, prayer, discussion of problems and planning for the opening of new out stations.<sup>2</sup> Later, however, the school at Mwanza was organized so that all evangelists from Mwanza, Ngoy Mani and Kikondja areas were expected to spend up to three years in residence.<sup>3</sup> In this school an outline of the major Christian doctrines was emphasised; other subjects included general education such as French, Arithmetic and manual crafts.<sup>4</sup> The three-year school was later increased to five years where extra help was given to evangelists with any aptitude to teaching.<sup>5</sup> In most cases the evangelist in a village was at the same time a teacher of the children; for this reason the evangelists acquired a name which has remained – *Bafundiji* (teachers).<sup>6</sup>

As the CEM expanded every mission station became responsible for the training of its own evangelists. Some missionaries held regular sessions where different Bible doctrines were taught, but others were inconsistent in their training while others again almost entirely neglected it.<sup>7</sup> As far as we are able to ascertain, E. Hodgson was the most consistent with his training of workers. At Kikondja every evangelist attended classes for a period of two months every year.<sup>8</sup> H. Womersley maintains that over the years these men knew a lot about the Bible and were the best trained in the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. R. Slade, *English-Speaking Missions*, pp. 200, 201, 203, 205; A. Stonelake, *Congo Past and Present*, p. 101; Axelson, *Culture Confrontation*, 274 who mentions the recruiting of pupils for mission schools and how the schools were started so that people could read the Bible (p. 280); F. Melland and C. Young, *African Dilemma*, London, United Society for Christian Literature, 1937, p. 30.

<sup>2</sup> *RFBWFPB*, No. 17, 1920.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 18, p. 2; Ndala, 'Monographie', p. 27 says that the Bible school at Mwanza started in 1925 but this seems to be in correct since Burton's 'Ecoles pour la formation du personnel enseignant de couleur' Mwanza, 8/12/1924 indicates that they had started a school at least by that time. Ngoy wa Kyulu, Interview, 12/2/1980 says that some only went to Mwanza for a year or two and that they only learned Bible and not French or Geography or any of the other school subjects. The report 'Ecoles pour la formation du personnel enseignant de couleur', CEM, Mwanza, Territoire de Kisale, signed by W. Burton 8/12/1924 lists a number of the subjects taught. The subjects in the hours per week are listed:

Arithmétique	1 ½	Ecriture	3	Enseignement pratique	½	Français	2
Géographie	1	Lecture	3	Théologie			
				doctrinal [sic]	4		
				historique	4		

<sup>4</sup> 'GFC-CEM, Mwanza, 1/6/1935' in an Appendix decided on the following Bible School Curriculum:

#### Scriptures

1. A general knowledge of all the fundamental doctrines of Scripture
2. A character study of some of the O.T. patriarchs and prophets
3. The Life and Teaching of our Lord Jesus Christ
4. New Testament methods of evangelism
5. Teaching on the uses and regulations of the Gifts of the Spirit
6. Church History

#### Educational

1. Further French studies
2. Geography
3. Advanced Arithmetic, including the metric system
4. Etymology, and a little grammar
5. Hygiene

#### Manual Training

1. Brick building and school construction
2. Simple knowledge of care of fruit trees
3. Growing of European vegetables

Archives of the ZEMPreston; this programme may have been put into practice by some of the stations, but there is no indication that it was universally enacted. There is also evidence that even their Bible School was continued for only a time since the emphasis moved to the primary schools. Special courses for the evangelist were as seen fit by the missionaries.

<sup>5</sup> Ngoy wa Kyulu, Interview, 12/2/1980 says that it was after Burton had obtained a teacher trained by the American Methodists at Kanene that the general subjects were introduced at Mwanza. cf. R. Slade, *English-Speaking Missions*, pp. 185, 203.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. M.D. Markowitz, *Cross and Sword*, p. 15; Stonelake, *Congo Past and Present*, p. 101; Axelson, *Culture Confrontation*, pp. 280, 281.

<sup>7</sup> A glance through the CEMR indicates that Bible schools were held, but it must be remembered that by 'Bible School' what was meant was a period of time set aside for special studies with the evangelists. Today's term for the same thing is -seminar. As we have indicated elsewhere they were not regular and in many cases were not annual. cf. CEMR, No. 94, 1942, p. 732; CEMR, No. 133, pp. 1175-1176; H. Womersley, CEMR, No. 200, p. 2522; 'Questionnaires'; J. Emmett, Interview, Birmingham, 1/8/1980 is certain that proper leadership training was neglected during the colonial period.

<sup>8</sup> H. Womersley, Interview, Bedford, 28/7/1980.

CEM.<sup>9</sup> Many of the station overseers held seminars on different aspects of the Bible or on subjects like the origins of Protestantism and Catholicism, but these were not held on every station.<sup>10</sup>

By 1957 the CEM believed that the standard of education in the country as a whole had come to the place where it was necessary to think in terms of a Central Bible school.<sup>11</sup> The standard in the station schools varied greatly and where they existed there was an absence of subjects like Church History and Counselling.<sup>12</sup> This Bible school did not get underway until after Independence. J. Robinson, now one of the seniors CEM missionaries, believes that the reason why there was no central school until after 1960 was that the missionaries did not generally travel outside their own stations. This meant they did not appreciate what was going on elsewhere as everything was coloured by their own limited experience. He added that they most probably felt what they were doing was sufficient to meet the needs of their particular area.<sup>13</sup>

Involvement in secular education was one thing that the early CEM missionaries had never anticipated. They went to the Congo to evangelise and education of this sort was not part of their plans for evangelism. However, as we saw, necessity forced them to become involved in education of the evangelists who were to become the leaders in the African church. C. Yesson writes that the CEM missionaries believed that their Christianity had to be what he called: "outstandingly practical".<sup>14</sup> He goes on to say that involvement in social work was essential. He believed that it was impossible for the missionaries to stand by and see the poverty and ignorance without trying to do something to alleviate the situation.<sup>15</sup> For this reason he claims the CEM had to become involved in social work both in the medical and educational sphere.

Another reason why the CEM became involved in medical and educational work was the pressure placed on the Mission by the Government. The Belgians were keen to see missions involved in social work. They wanted the missionaries to help with medical and educational work since the Government was almost totally dependent upon the missions for this side of the social work. During the years when the CEM did not benefit from the PC which it needed to remain in the Congo, it believed that to be wise it needed to keep, as far as possible, on the right side of the Government.<sup>16</sup>

The first goal of the village schools was to teach the children to read and write so as to be able to read and study the Bible. The missionaries hoped that eventually the students would be converted to Christianity as a direct result of their studies.<sup>17</sup> From these small beginnings the educational side of the Mission gradually developed. C. Yesson, justifying the emphasis which the CEM had placed on education, wrote: "We still have regular evangelistic activities, but the difference between touching people for half-an-hour and having them under our influence for six years is obvious".<sup>18</sup> It is possible the CEM would have done more in the area of secular education had it not been for the lack of finances, of qualified teachers and of materials available.<sup>19</sup>

In spite of the Government's appeal to missions to become involved in social work, only the Catholics were the beneficiaries of the Government subsidies because they were the only missions

<sup>9</sup> H. Womersley, 28/7/1980.

<sup>10</sup> 'Questionnaire, Lulungu'; 'Questionnaire, Ngoy Mani' said that they went to Mwanza for training in seminars, but that these were irregular; 'Questionnaires' Kabombwe and Kimabwe said that they had seminars with different subjects periodically. They were both part of Kabongo; 'Questionnaires, Kabondo' said that they only had regular annual seminars when J. Robinson came to the station; Kipushya said that it depended upon the missionary over the station at any one time, 'Questionnaire'; they said that generally when some of the evangelists brought in the money from the sections the missionary would also have some days of prayer and study. Later, some came into Kipushya for as long as six months at a time; 'Questionnaire'; 'Questionnaire, Kamina' said that prior to independence there were four seminars.

<sup>11</sup> 'GFC-CEM, Kabongo, 12-19/8/1957', Nos. 23-26; A. Stonelake, *Congo Past and Present*, p. 79 regarding failure to produce adequate training for the leadership of the churches in Congo; Markowitz, *Cross and Sword*, p. 67 says that the missionaries did not see the need for higher education and only primary education was stressed.

<sup>12</sup> H. Womersley, Interview, 28/7/1980; cf. *supra*, ft. nts. 3,4.

<sup>13</sup> J. Robinson, Interview, Kamina II, 19/3/1981; cf. *CEMR*, No. 356, pp. 2-4.

<sup>14</sup> *Field Report presented to the Advisory Home Council of the Congo Evangelistic Mission at Preston, 1954*, n.pl. [Preston]; CEM, April 1954 (2), p. 5.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6. "The continuation of our work, on the human level, depends on the Belgian Government, making it necessary for us to co-operate with them for the general well-being of the African. All our activities were subject to close scrutiny; and consistent with God's Word and our conscience, it was needful to comply with their general requirements of us as a Christian Mission, if we were to preserve a privilege to preach"; W. Hockley, Interview, Kamina, 30/12/1980 told me that some of the missionaries were not in favour of social work of any nature. They said they believed there should be no clinics so that the people would learn to trust in God for healing. The Government was not very happy about this approach he said.

<sup>17</sup> Umba Ndala, 'Monographie', p. 44; cf. E. Andersson, *Messianic Popular Movements in the Lower Congo*, pp. 44,45.

<sup>18</sup> *Field Report*, (31), p. 16; cf. R. Slade, *English-Speaking Missions*, p. 203.

<sup>19</sup> C. Yesson, *Field Report*, (5), p.7: "our schools were of a primitive order; most of the apparatus scanty, and homemade. We had to translate -or write -our own books"; Umba Ndala, 'Monographie', pp. 46,47. Ndala's work covers the education aspect in considerable detail especially from pp.41-50, 59-94.

reckoned to be "national". In this way the Catholic missions were able to provide elaborate facilities and pay their teachers with the subsidies which they received.<sup>20</sup> At first most of the Protestants were not too concerned about the Government subsidising the Catholics because they were non-conformists and were afraid of anything that smacked of a marriage between Church and State. However, their attitude gradually changed and the CPC put pressure on the Belgians to grant equal opportunities to both Catholics and Protestants. This equality was not granted until 1946.<sup>21</sup>

In spite of this the CEM was not immediately interested in accepting government subsidies. It feared that any agreement in the educational sphere would permit the Government to dictate to the mission what it should do in other areas. In addition, the CEM was concerned about the financial implications of any agreement. It would have had to upgrade all the schools it wished to present for subsidies and it did not have sufficient qualified teaching personnel according to the Government requirements.<sup>22</sup>

In 1951 at the General Field Council of the CEM the question was raised again. The inadequate training of African teachers was obvious to everyone and it was suggested that a teacher training school be established for the Mission. W. Burton wondered if the CEM was doing the right thing and giving itself "so unreservedly to education and medical work". H. Womersley said that he understood Burton's concern but that statistics indicated the schools were still one of the main sources of converts. He believed that as long as the Government kept out of what was taught in religious instruction then the Mission should avail itself of the advantages of the subsidies. Womersley stated that if the CEM did not accept the challenge it could be the Government would ask the Mission to leave the Congo.<sup>23</sup>

After much discussion the Conference voted in favour of signing the agreement with the Government for both the educational and medical work of the CEM.<sup>24</sup> C. Yesson said that one of the deciding factors in favour of signing the agreement was pressure from the African leadership of the CEM:

Faced with the choice of either sending their children into the modern African world under perpetual disadvantage, alternatively, on handing them over to the Roman Catholics to educate, contrary to their own conscience and beliefs, our African church indignantly challenges to the suggestion that, having given them the gospel, the missionaries' task is completed. (Field Report to the Advisory Poem Council of the Congo Evangelistic Mission at Preston, 1954, n.pl., Preston, CEM, April 1954, No. 3, p. 17)

The highest level reached in any of the CEM schools during the colonial days was in the *Ecole d'Apprentissage Pédagogique* at Kisanga and Kipushya. These schools reached a grade which was equivalent to approximately two years post-primary. They were expressly for the preparation of teachers for the primary schools.<sup>25</sup> Students who expressed the desire of going further and who showed that they were capable went either to Mulungwishi to be trained by the Methodists or to the Kasai where the APCM had a more advanced course. Even these missions had only a *Cycle court* (a four year secondary programme) at the time.<sup>26</sup> It was not until 1964 that the CEM began the secondary school at Kamina II. Most of the graduates from the first groups of graduates in both the *Cycle court* and the *Cycle long*, became headmasters in the EPCO/CPZ schools. The CPZ still views the work of the educational wing of the Church as vital. This is true not

<sup>20</sup> M. D. Markowitz, *Cross and Sword*, pp. 54-56,58; cf. Gouvernement du Congo Belge, *Organisation de l'Enseignement Libre avec le concours des Missions Nationales*, n. pl., n. publisher, 1938, 87pp. this outlines the agreement between the Government and the Catholic missions. The first draft was produced in 1924; Markowitz, *Cross and Sword*, p. 58.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Markowitz, *Cross and Sword*, pp. 52,53,66; Buell, *The Native Problem in Africa*, II, pp. 597-598; Orval David, 'Educational Development in the Belgian Congo', *IRM*, 43, 1954, p. 422.

<sup>22</sup> 'GFC-CEM, Kabongo, 18-23/8/1951', cf. 'Resumé of Discussions', No. 48c. HWPP; cf. M. Azed, 'Les Missions protestantes au Congo', *Congo*, 1(3), 1938, p. 291.

<sup>23</sup> 'GFC-CEM, Kabongo, 18-23/8/1951', cf. "Resumé of Discussions", No. 50.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 17 (of the Minutes themselves): "Convention relative à la collaboration du Gouvernement de la Colonie et de Missions Etrangères Chrétiennes en matière d'enseignement libre subsidié pour Indigènes. Entre la colonie du Congo Belge, représentée par Monsieur Ivan de THIBAUT, Vice-Gouverneur Général, Et L'Association Missionnaire (1) CONGO EVANGELISTIC MISSION dotée de la personnalité civile par Arrêté du (2) 10 octobre 1932 représentée par (3) Womersley, Harold...Fait à KABONGO Pour l'Association Missionnaire : H. Womersley ; Fait à LEOPOLDVILLE, le 13 Novembre 1951 Pour le Gouverneur Général absent, Le Vice-Gouverneur Général, I. de Thibault ». ACPZKipushya; cf. regarding the Medical convention the copy for the Kasai district : « Congo Belge, Province du Kasai, Service Médical Provincial, Convention No. 10/56/T.V. Du 1 OCT. 1956, Entre la Colonie du Congo Belge, représentée par le Gouverneur de la Province du Kasai, à Luluabourg, d'une part, et la Représentant Légal de la Congo Evangelistic Mission, à Kamina, d'autre part... Le Représentant Légal de la Congo Evangelistic Mission, H. Womersley ; Pour le Gouverneur de Province, Le Commissaire Provincial, L. de Jaegher, Fait à Luluabourg le 1 OCT. 1956 », ACPZKipushya.

<sup>25</sup> Uamba Ndala, 'Monographie', p. 44; cf. 'EC-CEM, Kipushya, 12-15/10/1951', No. 8.

<sup>26</sup> Mary Jacques, Interview, Kamina, 7/5/1980.

only in its being a tool for evangelism but in its providing the possibility of training for members' children in a Christian *milieu*.

## D) Government of the Mission: Field and Home

The government of the CEM/ZEM is in many ways unique. There are number of reasons why this is so. First, the CEM/ZEM is limited in its activities to one country. In addition to this, it is not a church mission. Nor is it a mission associated with a particular church. When Burton and Salter went to Congo in 1915 there was no such organization of Pentecostal churches as the Assemblies of God or Elim in Great Britain. The missionaries went on their own without even the guaranteed financial support of the local assembly at Preston.<sup>1</sup> It was the early years of the Pentecostal movement and in Britain the PMU had become the recognised missionary agency for the independent churches which had as yet not affiliated themselves in any organization.<sup>2</sup> It was only in 1924, nine years after the start of Burton and Salter's work in the Congo, that the Assemblies of God was formed in Britain.<sup>3</sup> This too is significant, because Preston and Myerscough, vital links between what became the CEM and the Pentecostal churches of all backgrounds and affiliations also became foundation members of the AOG.<sup>4</sup>

When Burton and Salter went to the Congo they were determined that the government of the work would be from the Field. Repeatedly Burton stated that it was impossible for men in the homelands to be responsible for the decisions which had to be made on the field when they knew nothing of the local conditions.<sup>5</sup> Conditions change so quickly that even those away from the Congo were not in any position to make decisions while they were on furlough. This principle has always been maintained by the CEM/ZEM and was adhered to even in the case of Burton and Salter.<sup>6</sup> It was believed that since the CEM was a faith mission which looked to God alone for its needs it did not have to answer to any home body for the way that it handled its finance. Even suggestions regarding the appointment of members for the Home Reference Council were made on the Field.<sup>7</sup>

At first Burton and Salter made all the decisions themselves, but as more missionaries began to join them they realised that they would have to organize differently. Burton says that he was afraid of over-organization as "it almost invariably ends in 'too much boss'". He wanted each individual to "enjoy to the full the lordship of Christ Jesus", but realised that at the same time there had to be "some degree of order and mutual responsibility".<sup>8</sup> A Field Council was established where every missionary on the Field could speak on any issue and where all important decisions were made. The General Field Council (GFC) became the final court of appeal and the highest authority in the CEM.<sup>9</sup> The earliest GFC of which I have record took place in 1925.<sup>10</sup> They were not held regularly, the duration between them varying from two to four years.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. *supra*, Chapter I.

<sup>2</sup> D. Gee, *Wind and Flame*, pp. 46, 47.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 127.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 127, 128.

<sup>5</sup> [W. Burton] 'A Matter of Policy', n. pl., n.d. HWPP. With regard to the PMU and their policy in the Kalembelembe wrote: "Surely it is more satisfactory to be sent by an all seeing God than by a group of ...men 4000 miles away. If the missionaries were unfit to make their own decisions then they should not have been sent out. In any case the field and not the homeland was the place where such decisions should be made"; W. Burton, ed. *CEMR*, No. 20, p. 284, "It would be...unfitting for our brethren in the homelands to attempt to regulate affairs here in the centre of Equatorial Africa. They can know very little of the constantly changing conditions, and complex problems which we have to face on the field....We value more than we can say, the helpful and mature counsel of God's children, but final decisions rest with those on the field".

<sup>6</sup> W. Burton, *CEMR*, No. 20, p. 284 says with regard to the decisions being made by those who are on the field, "Even the attitude of the Belgian Government, here in the Congo, demands that this should be so". The parallel here with the Belgian requirements is drawn from the law which requires that any legal representative can only hold office while in the Congo and only those who are in the Congo are officially members of the society; cf. *infra*, Chapter IV A) on PC. In practice this meant that there were often changes made when missionaries went on furlough. i.e. Ngoy Mani station was closed while Browns were on furlough; cf. *CEMR*, No. 205, pp. 2610-2612 where Browns are listed on furlough; 'RC-CEM, Katombe, 1-4/9/1953', No. 14 that Ngoy Mani be incorporated in Mwanza Station. I have heard of missionaries returning from furlough to find that the inside of their home had been remodelled. 'GFC-CEM, June, 1935', No. 4 (b) "A missionary on furlough has no jurisdiction over his fieldwork but may act in an advisory capacity".

<sup>7</sup> *CEMR*, No. 20, p. 284 "We realise ourselves as part of the great body of Spirit-filled Saints the world over. But we started out in dependence on God without a single person, or body of persons, guaranteeing us a cent of support. We were privileged to look to God for supply, and since it is often supposed that 'The man to pay the piper it is the man to call the tune,' we felt, and still feel our direct responsibility to God alone for our marching orders". Regarding the choice of Home Reference Council members cf. 'GFC-CEM, Kabongo, 8-11/6/1943', No. 3 "Bros. Jenkins, Crosskeys, Newsholme, Luton, Howard Carter Londond [sic] together with a representative from the Full Gospel Churches (Bro. Squires' work) to be chosen by Brother Salter be asked to work for us in our Home Reference Council"; cf. 'EC-CEM, Mwanza, 6,7/9/1950', *Note*; 'GFC-CEM, Kipushya, 17-22/7/1948', No. 2.

<sup>8</sup> Burton in Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p. 110.

<sup>9</sup> W. Burton, 'Congo Evangelistic Mission', *The Encyclopedia of Modern Christian Missions*, p. 200; *CEMR*, No. 20, p. 284: "Actually on the field, we have our Field Council, composed of every missionary, and which meets every few years to

It seems that prior to the GFC, station heads gathered periodically to discuss the work and to plan extension.<sup>12</sup> When the number of missionaries grew, an Executive Council (EC) was formed. This EC was comprised of the most senior missionaries who made all the decisions between the GFCs. The EC met quarterly and although later the site was changed for each meeting, during the early years it was generally held at Mwanza.<sup>13</sup>

By March 1953 many missionaries felt that they were not being properly represented by the members of the EC and a Representative Council was introduced on a trial basis. The Representative Council (RC) was composed of one missionary from each station as well as a member each chosen from the medical and educational departments. In 1954 the GFC ratified the decision to establish this RC, but said that an Administrative Board (AB) comprised of the elected members of the CEM should continue to function in the place of the EC. However, this AB would have clearly defined authority and its powers were limited.<sup>14</sup>

At the GFC in 1957 the RC was disbanded and the AB was broadened to include a representative from each of the four Mission districts.<sup>15</sup> Nevertheless, there was again discontent so that at the GFC in 1959 it was decided that the AB be enlarged to include all male missionaries who had served in the Congo for more than two terms.<sup>16</sup>

District Conferences were also organized. At first there were only three districts, but as the work extended a fourth was added.<sup>17</sup> They were not meant to be legislative bodies, but were designed to provide the occasion for missionaries to talk about their work and to share together spiritually. Suggestions were also made from these conferences which were passed on to the EC. Generally, the Field Director (Burton) or a member of the EC was expected to chair these conferences.<sup>18</sup>

At the station level the senior missionary or overseer was responsible for whatever took place on his station. All other missionaries working on the station were under his authority. He decided on all matters including the financing of building projects by the production of mats or chairs, and the cultivation of crops.<sup>19</sup> He was also responsible for the evangelism of his area and

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make decisions as to general policy". 'GFC-CEM, January, 1928', p. 1 "The General Field Council is composed of all missionaries on the field, with power to decide the affairs of the mission".

<sup>10</sup> W. Burton, ed., *CEMR*, No. 10, pp. 106, 107.

<sup>11</sup> The following is a list of the GFC's of the CEM to 1960:

1. October 1925 cf. *CEMR*, No. 10, pp. 106-108; 2. January 1928 cf. *CEMR*, No. 19, pp. 249, 250 and GFC Jan. 1928; 3. February 1929 cf. *CEMR*, No. 24, pp. 346-349; 4. May 1932 cf. *CEMR*, No. 36, pp. 558-562; 5. June 1935 cf. *CEMR*, No. 55, pp. 934-936; 6. June 1938 cf. *CEMR*, No. 73, pp. 314-317; 7. June 1941, cf. *CEMR*, No. 92, pp. 687-689; 8. June 1943, cf. GFC, 8-11/6/1943; 9. June 1945, cf. 23-30/6/1945 and *CEMR*, No. 112, p. 896; 10. July 1948 cf. GFC, 17-22/7/1948; 11. August 1951, cf. GFC, 18-23/8/1951; 12. August 1954, cf. GFC, 10-16/8/1954; 13. August 1957, cf. GFC, 12-19/8/1957; 14. August 1959, cf. GFC, 17-22/8/1959; 15. August 1960, cf. GFC, 29, 30/8-1/9/1960 (this conference was held in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) after the evacuation of most of the missionaries from the Katanga and Kasai.

<sup>12</sup> The minutes of the GFC January 1928 are to be found in Appendix 9. The latter is significant because it includes the principles and organisation of the Mission.

<sup>13</sup> H. Womersley, Letter, Bedford, 26/8/1981 to author: "The Executive Council was started as soon as there were sufficient missionaries to warrant one. First Bros Burton, Taylor & Hodgson. Bro. Hall and I were added about 1927". Others who served on the Executive Council, even if only for a temporary period while others were on furlough included: F. Ramsbottom, C. Yesson, G. E. Lee, L. Wigglesworth, M. Hugo, A. Brown and J. Fowler.

<sup>14</sup> 'GFC-CEM, Kabongo, 9-16/8/1954', Rough Draft of Conference Proceedings, HWPP, pp. 13-16, No. 22; D. Gordon, Interview, Kamina II, 12/6/1982; 'GFC-CEM, 9-16/8/1954', No. 29; The elected members of the CEM included the Assistant Director, E. Hodgson, the Treasurer, the Secretary, the Legal Representative and to this number F. Ramsbottom was added, cf. 'GFC-CEM, 9-16/8/1954', Nos. 30, 37. In practice this AR included the earlier EC of E. Hodgson, W. Hall, H. Womersley, C. Yesson, F. Ramsbottom, and the Directors when they were present. cf. the 'GFC-CEM, Kipushya, 17-22/7/1948', No. 49 "that instead of an Assistant Director we appoint an Administrative Board of three: Brothers Hodgson, Womersley, and Hall".

<sup>15</sup> 'GFC-CEM, Kabongo, 12-19/8/1957', No. 16 "That Brothers Brown and Fowler be appointed to the Administrative Board, one representing the North and one representing the Western District; this Board to function in the place of the Representative Council". Cf. 'AB-CEM, Kashukulu, 5/6/11/1957; By this time the Central District had become the Eastern and the Western had been added to make four districts.

<sup>16</sup> 'GFC-CEM, Kabongo 17-22/8/1959', No. 15 "That the Administrative Board be enlarged to include all Brethren who have completed two terms on the Field. That the ex-officio members be authorised to act in emergencies at times when the Administrative Board has not an arranged meeting. That in case of a station not having representation on the enlarged Administrative Board then the head of that station would be invited to be present in a non-voting capacity".

<sup>17</sup> Cf. 'GFC-CEM, January 1928', *District Conferences*.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> At Mwanza and Kabongo, mats and chairs were made and sold to finance projects on the stations. H. Womersley, Interview, Bedford, 24/7/1980; cf. L. Bureau, (Le Gouverneur, Elisabethville) Letter, No. 2760/3924/6, Elisabethville, 16/5/1925 au Burton, Mwanza, AABruelles, CEM XIV thanking Burton for the two chairs which were specimens of the handiwork of the students at Mwanza.

was expected to spend a good portion of his time visiting the villages of his parish.<sup>20</sup> The policies on baptism, polygamy, divorce and remarriage were all under his power.<sup>21</sup> No subordinate was permitted to change any matter of station policy even when temporarily in charge of the station unless it was agreed to by the senior missionary and ratified by the District Conference.<sup>22</sup>

On stations where the senior missionary was backed by another male missionary, it was common that they took turns away from the station in the villages. At Kikondja Hodgson would visit the river villages while H. Berry would visit the inland villages.<sup>23</sup> During the earliest years before the number of churches increased, it was possible to visit the churches three or even four times a year, but as the work grew it was often only possible to visit them annually.<sup>24</sup> The stations were divided into sections over which local pastor-overseers were responsible. A senior overseer was required to visit his section regularly as he was supposed to keep his finger on the pulse of all that went on. At the same time he was expected to evangelise villages where there were no churches. As local supervisor he was responsible for the collection of offerings which had to be brought to the central station for distribution among all the evangelists and pastors of the station. On some stations the missionaries had the local evangelists bring the offerings to the station at the end of each month. Most stations had one or two senior overseers located on the station itself. They were meant to work along with the missionaries and in theory were responsible for church affairs.<sup>25</sup>

However, the local church leaders did not see themselves as playing any important role in the government of the local station during the missionary era. Most of them saw the missionaries as authoritarian individuals with whom it was not wise to differ.<sup>26</sup> I have only spoken to one man who believed that he had any real say in station affairs and even he added that the power to baptise was not his.<sup>27</sup> All the others stated that the most important decisions were made by the missionaries. These decisions included the placing of evangelists and pastors.<sup>28</sup> Some of the missionaries said that they made these changes in cooperation with the local pastors, but the local leaders did not interpret the actions in that light.<sup>29</sup> When asked what authority they enjoyed during the colonial era of most pastors replied that they were free to preach, to evangelise and to care for their local assemblies but that anything beyond that lay in the hands of the missionaries.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>20</sup> J. Robinson, Interview, Kamina II, 30/12/1980 said that the missionaries were expected to visit the villages every three months, but that it usually worked out at twice a year. Life was more leisurely according to him and for this reason it was easier to spend more time in the bush; cf. H. Burton, *CEMR*, No. 2, p. 7 "Among ourselves we missionaries on the field have decided that it is not wise to leave our out stations unvisited for more than three months at the longest"; the Belgian Administration required that its agents remain almost permanently en route; cf. G. Heenen (Vice-Gouverneur Général, Elisabethville) Letter, *AIMO*, No. 6, 834, Elisabethville, 11/11/1932 aux Messieurs les Commissaires de District, ASRKabinda, pp. 6,7; the Catholics likewise had a rule which required the missionaries to spend a lot of time visiting their posts; cf. E. Callewaert, Letter, n. pl., 8/11/1921, p. 2, Asp. Boîte 375, IX says that the missionaries must be away from their residence at least one month in four.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. *supra*, ft. nt. 12, *Station Organisation*.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> Berry, Interview, Lusaka, Zambia, 11/6/1980; cf. *CEMR*, No. 72 where E. Knauf tells of his work amongst the villages of Mbendele, Ngefu and Musuya. With Geddes he took turns looking after areas so as to lighten the burden.

<sup>24</sup> H. Womersley, Interview, 24/7/1980; cf. 'Questionnaires' reveal regular visitation by the missionaries from two to three times a year.

<sup>25</sup> Kaputula Pierre Ngoie, Interview, Kipushya, 20/1/1981; W. Hockley, Kamina, 30/12/1980; cf. 'GFC-CEM, January 1928', regarding local church affairs; Much of the above information is part of my experience over eight years on the field. cf. Appendix 10 for the rules of the churches as posted at Kikondja.

<sup>26</sup> Men like G. Vale were known to be champions on behalf of their workers. When evangelists were arrested unfairly or seconded by the State for State service, he was the first to demand their release and in every instance of which I have record he managed to gain their freedom; cf. Ilunga Ngoi wa Mbuya Kalulwa, Interview, Kamina, 15/5/1980; Yombi Umbamba, Interview, Kabondo Dianda, 15/4/1981; however, he was at the same time known for his discipline and numbers claim that they have felt his wrath; cf. Ilunga Ngoi, 15/5/1980; Yombi Umbamba, 15/4/1981; Lubangi Eshiba, Interview, Kipushya, 20/1/1981 says that it was only after E. Lee became the senior missionary at Kipushya that physical discipline was stopped. Lee maintained that it was unlike the spirit of Christ and that force would not change the heart of a man. It was incidentally after this that there was a revival in the Kipushya area which resulted in multiple conversions to Christianity.

<sup>27</sup> Shimioni Kusomba, Interview, Kabongo, 26/10/1980.

<sup>28</sup> Ilunga Ngoi wa Mbuya Kalulwa, 15/5/1980 says that he returned home on one occasion to find all his belongings at Kabondo Dianda moved out of his house onto the grass outside. He had been replaced on the station at the order of the missionary.

<sup>29</sup> H. Womersley, Interview, 28/7/1980; E. Rowlands, Interview, Margate, 20/2/1983 says that many senior missionaries treated the senior overseers as though they were *kapita* (gang bosses).

<sup>30</sup> 'Questionnaires' from the following places, most of which were completed by a senior pastor, said that they only had freedom to evangelise and preach to their local assemblies: Katombe, Kabongo, Kabondo Dianda, Kikondja, Bukama (previously part of Kikondja), Lulungu, Kashukulu, Kongolo, Kipushya, Katea; the 'Questionnaires' from Luamba and Mpyana Mbayo, both of which form part of one station during the mission the era, said that they had been given more authority in the mid-1950s and were permitted to marry people and baptise. Nkulu Balandi, Interview, Luamba, 17/12/1980 said that it was after Ngoy Mani was reintegrated under the station at Mwanza in 1953 that this extra authority was granted to them.

At the beginning Mwanza was the centre for the administration of the CEM. Burton and Salter, who were the founders, were also the Legal Representatives, and were later voted as permanent Directors of the CEM.<sup>31</sup> Every missionary coming to the Congo was expected to spend some time at Mwanza undergoing orientation. At the same time he became engaged in language training and was made familiar with the practical aspects of the work such as construction and schoolwork. He was also introduced to the customs and beliefs of the people.<sup>32</sup> When the CEM grew and new stations were opened, new missionaries were also sent to other locations to be placed under the charge of an experienced missionary. Burton believed that by placing new missionaries under the tutorship of more experienced men, unnecessary mistakes would be avoided.<sup>33</sup> Even when H. Womersley became the Legal Representative Mwanza was regarded as the headquarters of the CEM.<sup>34</sup>

It was against the policy of the CEM to make appeals for finance.<sup>35</sup> No debts were allowed, since the CEM was a faith mission which had no guaranteed income. Burton believed that if God wanted something undertaking he would provide the finances without the Mission having to go into debt.<sup>36</sup> When Burton saw how other non-church missions operated their finances he maintained that some of the best-known missionaries were well-off while others struggled to live.<sup>37</sup> He believed that there was a faith principle in trusting God for the needs of the Mission, but he saw this solution as best obtained by what he called 'collective faith'. In practical terms this meant that in the CEM all income was divided equally.<sup>38</sup> Even the oldest and most experienced missionary received the same stipend as the newest member of the CEM. For many years the income fluctuated with every cheque, but when C. Yesson became the treasurer he suggested averaging the income over the year and so apportioned a regular monthly allowance in the light of this. The system has been continued to the present day.<sup>39</sup>

Missionaries were supported in the Congo and their fares were paid home, but after the first month of the furlough they were expected to maintain themselves and pay their own way back to the Field. Burton believed that if God wanted a missionary on the Field he would supply his needs; if he did not want the person back then neither did the CEM.<sup>40</sup>

Before Salter returned to Britain for his first furlough in 1919 it was realised that the CEM needed to have more contact with the Pentecostal churches in Britain, Europe, America and elsewhere. Only as the work of the CEM became known in Pentecostal circles would the Mission obtain the necessary personnel and finances.<sup>41</sup> During a Whitsuntide convention held in Kingsway Hall in London in 1919 Salter gripped his audience for two hours as he told them what God was doing in the Belgian Congo.<sup>42</sup> During the same convention he chose from among the Pentecostal

<sup>31</sup> Cf. 'GFC-CEM, January 1928'.

<sup>32</sup> W. Burton, *God Working*, pp. 96,97; H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, p. 82.

<sup>33</sup> W. Burton, *God Working*, p. 96; H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, p. 82.

<sup>34</sup> Ryckmans, (Le Gouverneur Général, Léopoldville) 'Ordonnance', Léopoldville, 25/7/1935, ARBAPShaba, « Ordonne, Monsieur le Révérend WOMERSLEY Harold est agréé en qualité de représentant légal suppléant de la 'Congo Evangelistic Mission'. » Burton, *God Working*, p. 95.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. W. Burton, 'Congo Evangelistic Mission' in Encyclopedia, ed., B. Goddard, p. 200; A. Stonelake, *Congo Past and Present*, p. 51; but note the exception in CEMR, No. 495 where the launching of the plane project is announced and the readers are asked to give if they feel they would like to do so and to pray that the need would be meant. Most articles are more discreet when they indicate financial needs.

<sup>36</sup> Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p. 110; H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, p. 82; 'GFC-CEM, January 1928', *Finances*; cf. ZEM, 'Constitution', No. 15, p. 6: "The Zaire Evangelistic Mission is not the official representative of any one body of Christians....Having no financial guarantee it cannot offer any to its members".

<sup>37</sup> H. Womersley, Interview, 28/7/1980 said that in the Brethren Mission Dan Crawford and Clarke were well-known and received much support. Others like Wilding at Manono were not well known and had a great struggle to make ends meet.

<sup>38</sup> 'GFC-CEM, January 1928', *Finances*.

<sup>39</sup> H. Womersley, Interview, 28/7/1980 said that Cyril Taylor had a private income which used to run his own station and pay his evangelists, but this did not last for long and he then worked on the same basis as all the other missionaries.

<sup>40</sup> During the earliest years instead of a month's salary a lump sum was given to the missionary when he went on furlough; cf. H. Womersley, Interview, 28/7/1980 said that there were occasions when Salter as the Home Director was given finances to help the work of the CEM. If he saw that a missionary was having difficulty finding his fare back to the Congo he often gave them money to help; A. Oman, Letter, Seal Beach, California, 11/9/1980 says that when Salter was visiting the States he gave him money which enabled him to return to the Congo after his first furlough; when the Colonial Course was introduced in Belgium and all medical and educational staff were required to spend some time there for Government recognition, finances were often made available to help them; cf. C. Yesson, *Field Report*, pp. 9,12,13.

<sup>41</sup> H. Womersley, Interview, 28/7/1980.

<sup>42</sup> H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, p. 154; Donald Gee who attended the Convention in Kingsway Hall wrote in, *Wind and Flame*, p. 107, "But the outstanding memory of Kingsway, 1919, was a missionary message of James Salter, a young man just home from the Congo for his first furlough. For nearly 2 hours he held the great audience spellbound as, for the very first time, a large British congregation heard the thrilling story of how God had worked with William Burton and himself in establishing the native church at Mwanza ....We could have listened for hours. No wonder that younger men and women all over the land felt a longing desire to join the intrepid couple, and the British Pentecostal movement took the Congo Evangelistic Mission to its heart forthwith".

leaders of the day men and one woman for the Home Reference Council of the CEM. Reference Councils were later formed in other countries including New Zealand, Australia, France and South Africa.<sup>43</sup> These Home Reference Councils were made up from friends of the CEM. They were advisory bodies in different countries with the authority to act in any business of the Mission which had to do with the home side of the work. They represented the CEM to the churches and were involved in the propaganda side of the Mission. When new candidates offered themselves to the CEM the Home Council was expected to verify the suitability and pass on their opinion to the EC. As the CEM grew and there were more missionaries at home on furlough at any given time so these missionaries participated together with the Home Council for the duration of their stay. It is still common for missionaries on furlough to interview prospective missionaries.<sup>44</sup>

From 1922 when Burton returned to Congo after his furlough in Britain, the Continent, North America and South Africa, James Salter became the Home Director of the CEM. Although he was Home Director he regularly visited the Congo replacing Burton during his furloughs, attending most of the GFCs in the Congo and on one occasion he filled in for Hodgson at Kikondja while he went on leave. In this way he kept in touch with all that was going on, on the Field.<sup>45</sup> As the Home Director he travelled widely with his father-in-law, Smith Wigglesworth, who was a well-known Pentecostal figure. He visited North America, Scandinavia and other European countries and in this way made many contacts on behalf of the CEM.<sup>46</sup> Because he was also a member of the executive of the Assemblies of God of Great Britain he was also expected to visit places like India on behalf of the Overseas Missionary Department.<sup>47</sup> This made his directorship of the home office of the CEM somewhat of an anomaly. This was especially apparent when he was asked to make decisions which were clearly in favour of either the CEM or the AOG.<sup>48</sup>

In spite of his travels, most of the missionaries to join the CEM came from Britain. The majority came from AOG churches, but there were some from the Elim and other independent Pentecostal churches.<sup>49</sup> During the earliest years a good number of the missionaries had come from America, but as the AOG in the United States no longer cooperated to the same extent because of its own mission programme, this source dried up altogether. Salter tried where possible to meet all the British candidates personally and because of this his recommendation often overruled decisions made by the Home Reference Council when it ruled that an applicant was not suitable.<sup>50</sup>

When Burton and Salter first went to the Congo Thomas Myerscough, their former mentor, had promised to pass on to them any monies which were designated for their support. In this way he became the Honorary Secretary-Treasurer of the Mission in Britain.<sup>51</sup> After his death in 1932 his

<sup>43</sup> H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, pp. 156,157; *CEMR*, No. 20, p. 284 regarding the part of the Home Council; members of the Home Reference Council up to 1941 including those who served for part of that time are: T. Myerscough, Joseph Walshaw and Mrs. Walshaw, J. N. Parr, E. W. Moser, George Jeffreys (founder of Elim), Tom Mercy, T.J. Jones, George Atkinson, H. Webster, P. Myerscough (cf. *CEMR*, No. 19, p. 246; *CEMR*, No. 41, p. 656; *CEMR*, No. 91, p. 670).

In New Zealand: H. Bruce, C. Scadden, E.T. Mellor and the Missionary Council of the AOG; *CEMR* No. 32, p. 485; *CEMR*, No. 36, p. 556; South Africa, Scot Moffat, Le Roux (AFM), *CEMR*, No. 23, p. 322 and the Missionary Councils of the Full Gospel Church and the Apostolic Faith Mission, *CEMR*, No. 36, p. 556; Australia, The Missionary Council c/o Richmond Temple Melbourne, *CEMR*, No. 36, p. 556; France and Belgium, the Executive Council of the AOG France; *CEMR*, No. 46, p. 752; 'GFC-CEM, May 1932', No. 11 reports that the American AOG refuse to cooperate with the CEM in respect to the Home Reference Council. It was suggested that Messrs. Brown, Gortner, Garvin, Steel, Perkin and Frodsham be asked to act as a Home Council for the CEM.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. *CEMR*, No. 20, p. 284; ZEM, 'Constitution', 1973, No. 13, *Home Reference and Advisory Council*, p. 5.

<sup>45</sup> H. Womersley, Interview, 28/7/1980; Womersley says that he even deputized for Hodgson once at Kikondja while the latter was on furlough. cf. the GFC-CEM for the following years: 1945, 1951, 1954, 1957, 1959, 1960 and the ECs for 1936 October at Mwanza, and 1951 October at Kipushya.

<sup>46</sup> He was in America in 1930 cf. A. Oman, Letter, 11/9/1980; Switzerland in 1947, D. Gee, *Wind and Flame*, p. 221.

<sup>47</sup> Minutes of the Assemblies of God Home Missionary Reference Council, 14/10/1938, No. 8 says that Salter was visiting the India field on behalf of the Council; there were times when Salter was placed in an awkward position of having to decide on actions which were clearly in favour of either the AOG or the CEM because of his position on this AOG Council.

<sup>48</sup> It was even suggested at one time that he become responsible for the Kalembelembe field; cf. T. Myerscough, Letter, Preston, 19/6/1925 to W. Burton, HWPP; J. N. Parr, Letter, n.p., 23/11/1925 to J. Salter, HWPP; Salter was chosen as chairman of the British Pentecostal Fellowship at its inception; and was president of the AOG annual conference at Skegness in 1955; DG, *Wind and Flame*, pp. 228,275.

<sup>49</sup> H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, p. 157; by December 1982, 156 of the 203 missionaries who had served with the Pentecostal Mission/CEM/ZEM were from Britain; of the 26 missionaries still serving with the ZEM in the homelands on furlough or on the field in December 1982, 19 were from Britain (including two Britons born in the Congo), cf. H. Womersley's, 'Missionary List' and *Contact*, No. 554, January 1983.

<sup>50</sup> E. Rowlands, Interview, 20/2/1983 said that his application for the Congo was turned down by the Home Reference Council. However, he was known to Salter who recommended him to the EC and he was accepted. He said he knew of others who had had the same kind of experience.

<sup>51</sup> *RFBWFPB*, No. 15, p. 4; *CEMR*, February 1922, p. 1.

son P. Myerscough and daughter E. Myerscough, took over this responsibility until 1945.<sup>52</sup> J. W. Jolly who had been the magazine secretary after H. Webster, became the Secretary-Treasurer until his death in 1949.<sup>53</sup> Since that time the post has been filled by a number of people including P. Heaton, J.D. Parker and T. Billsborough, who continues this work until the present.<sup>54</sup>

After the death of J. W. Jolly it was necessary to purchase a home, part of which has since served as the Preston office of the CEM.<sup>55</sup> It is this office which has proved to be the centre for the liaison between Pentecostal churches in the homelands and the EC on the field. In the post-Independence period the Preston office has also served to send any specially designated gifts to the African Church. Its position has not always been appreciated by the Church in Zaire and many of the Congolese-Zairean church leaders have felt that if they were able to have direct contact with Preston they would be able to speak with the real leaders of the CEM/ZEM. They believe that if they were able to enjoy direct contact with the *Eglise mère*, a term used freely by the *Eglise du Christ au Zaire*, then all their troubles would be over.<sup>56</sup> When T. Billsborough visited Zaire in 1991 and explained that there was no *Eglise mère* and that the real decisions were made on the spot in Zaire many of the leading pastors found it hard to believe him.<sup>57</sup>

Much of the support for the CEM/ZEM is raised as a result of interest sparked by articles in the CEMR/Contact. The importance of the magazine has been known from the earliest when it was a newsletter sent out by Burton's friends in South Africa. In August 1923 the first edition of the CEMR was published. Since that time it has been produced quarterly, bimonthly and now monthly so that by December 1982, 553 numbers had appeared in print.<sup>58</sup> All finances which are given for the working Congo/Zaire go directly to the Field without any administrative cuts. The administration is self-supporting from legacies, investments and gifts given for that purpose. If income from these sources exceeds what is needed for the operation of the home office the extra is made available for use on the Field.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>52</sup> CEMR, No. 35, pp. 522,523; CEMR, No. 39, p. 633; CEMR, No. 85, p. 550; CEMR, No. 112, p. 896 ft. nt. ; 'GFC-CEM, 24-30/6/1945', No. 12.

<sup>53</sup> CEMR, No. 112, p. 896 ft. nt.

<sup>54</sup> 'GFC-CEM, 18-23/8/1951', No. 3 and 'GSC-CEM, "Resumé of discussions" No. 11; H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, p. 156.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. 'GFC-CEM', "Resumé of discussions", No. 11; Mr. and Mrs. Tom Billsborough the present Secretary-Treasurers lived in the home before he took up this post. The finance for this property had been left by a friend of the CEM and was found in a mattress.

<sup>56</sup> I have been in Executive meetings when this matter has been discussed. This will be dealt with in *infra* Chapter VII.

<sup>57</sup> I was in this meeting cf. Ilunga Ngoy wa Mbuya, 'Mémoire de la Communauté Pentecôtiste au Zaïre Présenté à Mr. T. A. Billsborough Secrétaire de la Mission Evangélique au Zaïre lors de sa visite au Zaïre', Kamina, 8/6/1981, DGPP.

<sup>58</sup> *Contact*, No. 553, Dec. 1982.

<sup>59</sup> The finances for the home end are administered by the Secretary-Treasurer and the Board of Trustees. In 1980 one of these trustees was J. Robinson, who is also Home Representative for the ZEM and fulfils the same role as that formerly undertaken by James Salter. cf. Missionary Council-ZEM, Kamina II, 2/3/1981 'Report from J. Robinson'; This was a verbal report presented to all the members of the Missionary Council of which the author is a member. cf. ZEM, 'Constitution', No. 10, p. 4, "Finance. All monies and gifts received by the Mission shall be used exclusively to further the object for which the Mission was founded including administration expenses in the Mission".

## CHAPTER THREE

### BACKGROUND TO THE PEOPLE

#### A) Fragmentation and Disintegration of Luba Society from 1850

When the members of the Pentecostal Mission arrived in Lubaland in 1915, Luba society was far from static. For over 65 years the structures of the society had been pulled apart from without and within. The breakdown in the structures had been hastened by a number of factors. First, by the 1850s intruders from the east and west had begun to penetrate Central Africa.<sup>1</sup> From the east there were the Arab-Swahili traders and from the west the Ovimbundu. Both of these groups were in search of slaves and ivory.

One of the Arab-Swahili traders was Juma bin Salum wad Rakad, better known Juma Merikani. He travelled up and down the eastern part of what later became the Belgian Congo trading among the client states of the Luba Empire.<sup>2</sup> Later he moved to the heartland of Lubaland and settled near the royal court of Kasongwa Kalombo, one of the contenders in the succession for the throne after the death of Ilunga Kabale. When Kasongwa Kalombo did not cooperate with all his wishes Juma sent for Tippu Tip the notorious half Arab trader, who threatened to attack Kasongwa Kalombo unless he complied with Juma's requests. The Luba King could not refuse since he lacked the firepower of the Arab intruders.<sup>3</sup>

Tippu Tip also obtained ivory from the client states of Mulongo and Kayumba<sup>4</sup> and installed a chief of his own liking, Ntambo, at Mulongo. Later Juma replaced Ntambo with Kasanga to start a pattern which was continued when Msiri became involved in the power politics of the region.<sup>5</sup> Kasanga declared himself independent of Kasongwa Kalombo and although Kasongwa Kalombo attempted to subjugate the rebel he never succeeded. Reece points out that this meant that the king no longer held control over the important ferry points at the northern end of the Upemba depression held by the Mulongo villages and that this cut them off from his client states between the Lualaba and Lake Mweru in the East.<sup>6</sup> This meant that these states passed out of the direct influence of the heartland and fell as easy prey to the slavers.<sup>7</sup> As a result the tributes ceased to flow, blocking an important political mechanism and expression of solidarity.<sup>8</sup> Similar patterns of conquest and deflection to Arab-Swahili authority took place on the northern frontiers of the Kingdom and in Songyeland.<sup>9</sup>

In the south and southeast, Msiri had come to power and by the 1860s had established a powerful kingdom which he later ruled from Bunkeya.<sup>10</sup> His victories had been assured because of the use of the guns and powder which he possessed. Reece, indicates that "Much of the growth of Msiri's conquest state was at the expense of the Luba Empire and the Kingdom of Kazembe".<sup>11</sup> Msiri's influence was felt most on the eastern frontiers east of the Lualaba, north as far as Mulongo and also in the Kabondo Dianda chieftainship. He introduced a system whereby warrior-overseers became resident in client states. Each *kazembe*, the name by which they were known, set up his own court making the existing Luba court secondary in importance.<sup>12</sup> Luba chiefs who cooperated were left in power under the *tuzembe* (plural of *kazembe*) who had been sent by Msiri. In this way the Luba institutions were left intact to a greater extent than they had been in the other client states taken over by the Arab-Swahili traders.<sup>13</sup> However, ambitious Luba men soon realised that they could obtain office as *tuzembe* by going to Msiri's court or by seeking investiture

<sup>1</sup> T. Q. Reece, *The Rainbow and the Kings: A History of the Luba Empire to 1891*, Berkeley and London, University of California Press, 1981, p. 159.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 164; A. Wilson, 'Long Distance Trade and the Luba Lomami Empire', *Journal of African History*, 13(4), 1972, p. 585; V.L. Cameron, *Across Africa*, II, New York, Daldy, Isbister and Company, 1877, pp. 56, 59.

<sup>3</sup> Reece, *Rainbow*, p. 164; A. Wilson, 'Long Distance Trade', p. 586.

<sup>4</sup> Reece, *Rainbow*, p. 165.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 166.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 166.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 168; A. Wilson, 'Long Distance Trade', p. 586; V.L. Cameron, *Across Africa*, II, p. 128.

<sup>8</sup> Reece, *Rainbow*, p. 189.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 168, 169.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 173.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 174.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 174, 175; W.F.P. Burton, 'Country of the Baluba in Central Katanga', *The Geographical Journal*, 70 (4) October 1927, p. 332.

<sup>13</sup> Reece, *Rainbow*, p. 175.

from another *kazembe* in the area. This was another factor which quickly eroded the power of the royal dynasty.<sup>14</sup>

The acceleration of the breakdown of the royal dynasty in the society was, however, directly the result of friction at the centre of the kingdom caused by the succession wars. It had been a custom of Luban kings to have few eligible male heirs in order to eliminate the disruption which would certainly follow the death of a reigning king.<sup>15</sup> However, Ilunga Kabale, who had come to the throne at middle-age, already had numerous sons of whom at least a dozen fought to succeed him.<sup>16</sup> The most notable of the contenders were Kasongwa Kalombo, Nday a Mande, Kasongwa Niembo and Kumwimba Nshimbu, better known as Kabongo. These succession wars lasted from at least 1870 to 1905 when the Belgians divided the heartland into two *territoires* so that each of the two remaining brothers, Kasongwa Niembo and Kabongo, could have their own area over which to reign.<sup>17</sup> In spite of this imposed division the antagonism and mistrust between Kasongwa Niembo and Kabongo continued. This manifested itself in terms of insurrection in guerrilla war until Kasongwa Niembo was finally arrested by the Belgians and sent into exile in Stanleyville Province where he later died.<sup>18</sup>

This long and protracted war which began in 1870 did much to break the fibre of Luban society since it opened to question the ideologies upon which the society had been founded. The most important was the sacred status of the King. Only those males who were in direct descent from the founder of the *bulopwe* (kingship), Kalala Ilunga, were eligible contenders for the throne. The Luban *balopwe* (kings) were all regarded as having become deities (*bavidye*) who after their death continued to rule the nation from the spirit world. This rule involved the regnant monarch and his *bavidye* or spirit mediums. From the time of Nkongolo, the man who first established rule over the peoples of Central Katanga, special power was attached to the relics of the deceased king. The head and the genital organs were removed, dried and placed in a specially woven basket called a *dikumbo*. It was believed that the possessor of the sacred relics, symbols of the power of the deceased, would inherit the power of the former kings once he had gone through the initiation ceremonies required of a king.<sup>19</sup> At that juncture the *mulopwe* would become a *vidye* in his own right.

The *bulopwe* (sacred regal power of kingship) is, as T. Theuws indicates, indivisible. This meant that it was impossible for more than one royal male to inherit the *bulopwe* at any time.<sup>20</sup> The *dipata*, the royal residence and court, was the centre of the Empire and it was from there that all government was ordered; it was at the *dipata* that the royal insignia were kept. Possession of the insignia was proof of authority to reign and evidence of sacred kingship. For these reasons, where there was more than one contender to the throne it was expedient that they fight until only one was alive.<sup>21</sup> In this way only one-man could be vested with the power of the kings transforming him into more than a man.<sup>22</sup> In spite of this established ruling, during the lives of Nday a Mande, Kasongwa Kalombo, Kasongwa Niembo and Kumwimba Nshimbu (Kabongo), there were long periods when at least two of the sons Ilunga Kabale claimed to be the legal monarchs of the Empire. The dispute between Kasongwa Niembo and Kabongo was never resolved and, thanks to the Belgians continues to the present.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 175.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 30, 43, 159; H. Womersley, 'Legends and History of the Baluba', Unpublished MS., n.pl., n.d., p. 42.

<sup>16</sup> H. Womersley, 'Legends', p. 66; Womersley reports that one informant told him that Ilunga Kabale had a huge harm with over 400 sons born to him, but that there were only 20 serious contenders; Reece, *Rainbow*, p. 146.

<sup>17</sup> H. Womersley, 'Legends', p. 103; Reece, *Rainbow*, pp. 184-193.

<sup>18</sup> H. Womersley, 'Legends', p. 113 says he died in 1932; Reece, *Rainbow*, p. 193 says he died in 1931; Womersley, 'Legends', pp. 113, 114 sees this as somewhat of an enigma since he says that it was Kabongo the rebel who remained in his chieftainship until his death in 1948, while Kasongwa Niembo who had been to call the white man from Kabinda and who was considered to be the white man's friend, was sent off into exile.

<sup>19</sup> These sacred relics were placed in a *dikumbo* (especially woven container like a basket) and were kept in the charge of Lord Kyoni at the *kitenta* (dwelling place of the former king). Each king had his own *kitenta*; cf. H. Womersley, 'Legends', p. 34; W. Burton, *Luba Religion*, p.19; Reece, *Rainbow*, p. 54; T. Theuws, 'Outline of Luba-Culture', *Cahiers Economiques et Sociaux*, 2(1), 1964 [Léopoldville] p. 7; it was required that all the *makumbo* (p. of *dikumbo*) containing the sacred relics of the kings be present at the sera many known as *kobo ka malwa* (hut of suffering); cf. Burton, *Luba Religion*, pp. 21, 22.

<sup>20</sup> Theuws, 'Outline of Luba-Culture', p. 8.

<sup>21</sup> W. Burton, *Luba Religion*, p. 20; T. Theuws, 'Outline', p. 8.

<sup>22</sup> W. Burton, *Luba Religion*, p.22; Reece, *Rainbow*, p. 9 says that the Luban king only becomes divine after his death and for this reason he does not like to use the term "divine kingship" with regard to living monarchs. I question this reasoning since it is in the *kobo ka malwa* that he is supposed to have communion with the previous kings and to be possessed of their power and spirits. In addition to this, he is not supposed to be like ordinary mortals in terms of physical disability and even in sickness. If he is sick for more than four days it would be an indication that the spirits had forsaken him and his counsellors would be free to kill him. This is why even when he is very ill he will wander about his enclosure and speak to people just to show them that he is strong and well even if he is not. Burton, *Luba Religion*, p. 19; A. Wilson, 'Long Distance Trade', p. 584, Theuws, 'Outline', p. 8.

There were occasions when the *mulopwe mwipata* (the king in his residence) delegated authority to specially chosen people in different areas making them sub-chiefs capable of ruling over their own *malopwe* (kingdoms). This was not regarded as a division of the *bulopwe* in the truest sense since the *mulopwe mwipata* was their *tata* (the father who gave birth to them) and without him any *bulopwe*, even if only sub-chieftainship, would be worth nothing. Often when a *bulopwe* was accorded to a sub-chief the *mulopwe mwipata* would also appoint a tutelary *vidye* over the area.<sup>23</sup> The act of placing sub chiefs, related or appointed by the *mulopwe* over subjugated peoples, linked all these plans and peoples to the sacred kingship of the *bulopwe* and the *dipata*.<sup>24</sup> Any man appointed to sub-chieftainship was elevated, as a result of the insignia which he would possess, to the level of *bavidye* (spirit-ship). As such he was nearly on the level of the *bavidye* of the past. He could claim authority, on the basis of his links with the past:

He shared with the former chiefs and famous people of old a superior force that no man by his own means could attain. This special force of a real chief, by which he attended as a father his people and his country, was engendered in him not by biological procreation but by spiritual investment (T. Theuws, 'Outline of Luba-Culture', *Cahiers Economiques et Sociaux*, 2(1) 1964, p. 8)

It is thus easy to understand how the divisions in the Empire caused confusion regarding the place of sacred kingship. This must have brought about the collapse of the system which had been the means of solidarity for previous generations.

Not only did the struggle for succession open the door to ideological inconsistencies, but it also brought about the invitation of the Ovimbundu to the heartland of the Empire. Some time in 1870 or 1871 Kasongwa Kalombo invited the Portuguese trader João Baptista Ferreira and his Ovimbundu partners to provide him with guns.<sup>25</sup> Later Kasongwa Niembo was supplied with firearms by the Ovimbundu forcing his opponent Nday a Mande to go to the Lunda to look for guns from another group of Ovimbundu. This was so that he could compete on an even footing with his brother.<sup>26</sup> Both Nday a Mande and his younger brother Kabongo employed Ovimbundu to fight alongside them against Kasongwa Niembo.<sup>27</sup> In this way the Ovimbundu had more or less free passage in the heartland to do as they pleased. Verney L. Cameron writes that the Ovimbundu plundered villages and parties of unfortunate travellers. They also laid waste to any fields of corn, or ground nuts and sweet potatoes. Where they camped in a village they cut down banana trees and stripped palm oil trees of their fronds. Cameron says they justified anything they did by saying that Kasongo (Kasongwa Kalombo) had said that they could take what they liked. Cameron says that it is clear that their actions were encouraged by the fact that they were usually the only ones with firearms; when in some places they met groups the Baluba with guns they "became as mild as sucking doves".<sup>28</sup>

Reefe shows that the ravages of the Ovimbundu in the heartland, complicated by the other warring factions on the fringes of the Kingdom, did away with the stability provided by clientship because rulers were no longer able to defend their own courts or subordinate villages from attack.<sup>29</sup> In earlier days no king was recognised until he had killed all eligible brothers for fear of the reprisals that would take place; but in the secession wars after the death of Ilunga Kabale this was not always possible.<sup>30</sup>

In addition to the chaos created by demands for allegiance from more than one party at a time in the ravages of the Ovimbundu, there was another new factor to be reckoned with. There were certain areas of the heartland which was supposed to be protected from any of the disorders of succession disputes. These areas were royal sacred regions where there were centres of the ancestral spirits, such as at Kalui where there were the well known *mikishi* (familiar spirits) Mpanga and Banze.<sup>31</sup> However, even these places felt the wrath of the disputing sons so that in some

<sup>23</sup> Theuws, 'Outline', p. 8.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.* p. 7.

<sup>25</sup> Reefe, *Rainbow*, p. 185; H. Womersley, 'Legends', p. 68.

<sup>26</sup> Reefe, *Rainbow*, p. 187; H. Womersley, 'Legends', p. 76.

<sup>27</sup> Reefe, *Rainbow*, p. 187; H. Womersley, 'Legends', p. 76.

<sup>28</sup> V.L. Cameron, *Across Africa*, II, pp. 121, 122; Reefe, *Rainbow*, pp. 188, 189.

<sup>29</sup> Reefe, *Rainbow*, p. 190.

<sup>30</sup> Burton, *Luba Religion*, p. 20; Reefe, *Rainbow*, pp. 191, 192 says:

The length of some rivalries, such as the one between Kasongo Kalombo and Nday Mande that dominated Luba politics for over a decade, made it difficult to remain neutral and await the emergence of a victor. Competing royal males demanded the allegiance of client lineages, and they attempted to collect tribute when and where they could. Not infrequently, local rulers were faced with demands for tribute from the emissaries of more than one royal male.

<sup>31</sup> Reefe, *Rainbow*, p. 191; Kyoni Banza, Interview, Kamina II, 8/7/1983; Kitwa Kaponda, Interview, Kinkunki, 8/7/1983.

instances the sacred places were attacked and spirit mediums were killed. Even the sacred places found it necessary to fortify themselves against possible attack by erecting fortifications and arming themselves.<sup>32</sup> As Reeve says, this threat to well-established Luban institutions based on the sacred nature of kingship would only add to the already diminishing estimation of regal authority.<sup>33</sup> At the same time it must have raised questions as to the place and power of the *mikishi* (ancestral spirits).

There were, at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, other factors which threatened the Luban society: the Batetela or *baleji* raiders, and the coming of the white man. In 1895 there was a revolt by the followers of Ngongo Lutete. After the death of their leader they had been forced to join the *Force Publique*. The revolt took place at Luluabourg (Kananga). A group composed of Batetela and Basongye raiders, led by Mukenge and the Yambayamba, invaded Lubaland believing that it was the safest place to hide from the Belgians.<sup>34</sup> These *baleji* (soldiers), as they were called by the Baluba, heard that Kabongo had been fighting against the whites and joined forces with him against the Belgians and Kasongwa Niembo's troops.<sup>35</sup> After Kasongwa Niembo went to Kabinda for safety, the restraint which had been exercised by the *baleji* was thrown to the wind. One group, led by Yambayamba, built a stockade at Kikondja from where it raided the Budya and Balaba districts.<sup>36</sup> Mukenge's group stayed at the high hill of Kaluhimbi from where it raided in every direction. These rebels resorted to the utmost cruelty. They cut limbs from living people and consumed the meat while the individuals bled to death in front of them.<sup>37</sup>

Womersley said that this behaviour sickened Kabongo who broke off all association with the *baleji*.<sup>38</sup> Soon after this Yambayamba and his followers were soundly beaten in an encounter with the *Force Publique* at Kikondja and tried to join Mukenge at Kaluhimbi. However, they were overtaken by the pursuing army at Kijima and suffered great losses.<sup>39</sup> H. Womersley says that this was the beginning of the end for the *baleji* and the commencement of the occupation of Lubaland by the Belgians.<sup>40</sup> Kabongo was glad to see the end of the *baleji* and sent a delegation of counsellors to welcome the whites to his country. But later he suspected that the whites were collaborating with his brother Kasongwa Niembo and attempted to keep clear of them. As a result the Belgians were eventually persuaded to march against Kabongo. There was a fierce battle with many deaths on both sides.<sup>41</sup> At this juncture Kabongo realised that the whites were in Lubaland to stay, and he made overtures to the Belgian administrator in the Kabongo area, a man known by the Baluba as Masa.

Kasongo Niembo and his counsellors were perturbed by this and sent elephant tusks to Masa to have Kabongo bound and handed over to his brother. Masa would have none of the gifts and soon began to arrange with Kabongo the division of the kingdom so that each brother would have his own area over which he would rule.<sup>42</sup> In spite of this collaboration with the whites Kabongo soon saw that he had not understood what allegiance with them entailed. This misunderstanding was highlighted when Masa's replacement (known by the by Luba as Yangunde), crossed Kabongo over some guns he had seized from straggling Batetela. It did not take long for the local population to realise that the real rulers were the whites, and not the hereditary kings. H. Womersley writes: "The hitherto 'divine monarchs' were beginning to shrink to the size of mortal men".<sup>43</sup>

Not only did the Belgians divide up the heart of Lubaland and become the real rulers, they also modified the system of chiefs, sub-chiefs and chieftainships throughout the entire Congo. Decrees of 1891 and 1906 provided for the recognition of customary groupings and made the chief responsible for certain officially imposed tasks. In addition to this, it was specified that each chief should receive a salary according to the size of his territory. Anstey believes that rather than concern itself with the maintenance of traditional custom in the apportionment of responsibilities to the chiefs, the Government was merely looking for ways of ensuring that its will should be

<sup>32</sup> V.L. Cameron, *Across Africa*, II, pp. 51, 52; Reeve, *Rainbow*, p. 191.

<sup>33</sup> Reeve, *Rainbow*, p. 192.

<sup>34</sup> Womersley, 'Legends', p. 96.

<sup>35</sup> H. Womersley, 'Legends', pp. 97, 98; Kitwa Kaponda, Interview, Kinkunki, 8/7/1983.

<sup>36</sup> H. Womersley, 'Legends', p. 100, 101; H. Womersley, *In the Glow of the Log Fire*, London, Peniel Press, 1975, p. 111; Reeve, *Rainbow*, p. 192.

<sup>37</sup> Womersley, 'Legends', pp. 100, 101; Womersley, *In the Glow of the Log Fire*, p. 112; W. Burton, 'The Country of the Baluba', p. 329.

<sup>38</sup> Womersley, 'Legends', pp. 101, 102.

<sup>39</sup> Womersley, *Log Fire*, pp. 111, 112; Burton, 'The Country of the Baluba', p. 329.

<sup>40</sup> Womersley, 'Legends', p. 102.

<sup>41</sup> Womersley, 'Legends', pp. 102, 103.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 103; Kyoni Banza, Interview, 8/7/1983; Kitwa Kaponda, Interview, 8/7/1983.

<sup>43</sup> Womersley, 'Legends', p. 105.

performed at the lowest level of administration.<sup>44</sup> In 1910 Jules Renkin, the first minister for the Colonies, introduced legislation which divided the entire Congo into *chefferies* (chiefdoms) and in some instances into *sous-chefferies*. The *chefferies* were the reconstitution of traditional groupings and the *sous-chefferies* were the continuation of groupings which had been recognised by the Free State. The chief was again accorded limited powers both in the policing of the people and in the administration of his chieftainship. He continued to be closely surveyed by the Administration at all times.<sup>45</sup> Anstey points out that a sentence in the annual report for 1917 indicated how official thinking regarded the future position of the chief:

In measure as civilized nation progresses, the former power of the chiefs will pass into the realm of memory and they will become civil servants applying the laws and regulations of the State. (*Rapport annuel*, 1917, p. 13, in R. Anstey, *King Leopold's Legacy*, London, OUP, 1966, p. 47)

When Louis Franck became Minister of Colonies in 1918 he reduced the number of *chefferies* because he maintained that the original divisions followed by the Belgians were not viable units.<sup>46</sup> His entire thrust was to return more real power and authority to the traditional chiefs but there were a number of inconsistencies in his policies. With one breath he would emphasise the need to conserve native traditional custom and within next the need to progress. This meant that in some cases it was needful to depose chiefs of traditional royal lineage and to strive to develop what he called "indigenous institutions".<sup>47</sup>

It is difficult to imagine how a white foreigner was to develop indigenous institutions for the Congolese. Franck had hoped to put his policy into practice after using the old Luba Empire as an example. But as Anstey indicates his policies to revive and strengthen former kingdoms never really got off the ground. Franck wanted to reconstitute the Luban Empire under Kasongwa Niembo, and for this purpose the boundaries of the administrative district of Tanganyika-Moero were to be redrawn to coincide with the former boundaries.<sup>48</sup> This never materialized because the administration in Congo did not believe it was possible. Kasongwa Niembo had only just been exiled in 1917 and the sub-chief who had been part of the client states in the Luban Empire refused to return to their former places in the alliance.<sup>49</sup> Former client states like Kikondja, Kapamai, Kabondo Dianda, Mulongo, Mwanza and Ngoy Mani and others became independent *chefferies*, although according to some sources the chiefs of these former states often sent *milambu* (token gifts indicating an allegiance) to either Kasongwa Niembo or Kabongo.<sup>50</sup>

Before any chief could exercise any authority he had to be recognised at a ceremony by the district commissioner when he received a medal of investiture.<sup>51</sup> In Lubaland these chiefs were called *balopwe ba mpalata* (chiefs who held medals). In Lubaland there were occasions when the Administration clearly chose the wrong person to be chief as far as the traditional system was concerned. This was a response to the ministerial ruling that the brightest and most cooperative men should be appointed to the chieftainship, especially in the case of major chiefs such as Kasongwa Niembo and Kabongo.<sup>52</sup> Even before Kasongwa Niembo was exiled his son Mpafu had

<sup>44</sup> R. Anstey, *Leopold's Legacy*, pp. 32, 33.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 47; W. Burton, *How they Live in Congoland*, London, Pickering and Inglis, n.d., p. 135 talks about the chiefs loosing respect in the eyes of their subjects.

<sup>46</sup> Louis Franck, 'La Politique indigène, le service territorial et les chefferies', *Congo*, 2(102) février 1921, p. 194.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 194.

<sup>48</sup> Anstey, *Leopold's Legacy*, pp. 64,65.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 65.

<sup>50</sup> Kyoni Banza, Interview, 8/7/1983; Kitwa Kaponda, Interview, 8/7/1983.

<sup>51</sup> Buell, *The Native Problem in Africa*, II, p. 481; Anstey, *Leopold's Legacy*, pp. 33,47.

<sup>52</sup> L. Franck, 'La Politique indigène', pp. 194-199; as late as February 1913 the *Commissaire de District* at Kabinda, in a report to the *Vice-Gouverneur Général* du Katanga complains about the actions of both Kasongwa Niembo and Kabongo.

Territoire de Kasongo [sic] Niembo... Chefferie Kasongo Niembo- L'état d'anarchie qui existe là depuis nombre d'années est florissant. Je transcris ci-dessous le rapport de l'administrateur et je savais que ce qui se produit était inévitable avec notre façon d'agir; comme je l'ai dit antérieurement c'était nous qui nous soumettions sans réserve aux caprices de cet individu. Après les démarches et les mesures prises durant mon terme précédent, il était évident qu'il se moquait de nous et il n'y a qu'une chose à faire: la répression voulue et la soumission absolue de Kasongo-Niembo....Nous pouvons être sûrs qu'une fois notre autorité établie sans conteste et l'organisation faite, nous aurons là une belle région qui rapportera sérieusement pour le profit du Trésor. Je demande donc une opération militaire sans opération de police au préalable attendu que celles qu'on a faites jusqu'à ce jour n'ont donné résultat .... Chef Kabongo. - La situation est également grave. Kabongo a été arrêté pour complicité d'assassinat; traite d'esclaves, arrestation arbitraire, mutilation d'individus, etc. (Léonard, (Le Commissaire de District, Kabinda, District du Lomami) 'Rapport', Kabinda, 4/2/193 au Vice-Gouverneur Général du Katanga, ASRKabinda.

Commissaire de District, (Elisabethville) 'Note relative au remaniement des limites du District du Tanganika-Moero et de l'inauguration du Protectorat des Baluba' Elisabethville, 6/12/1920 au Vice-gouverneur du Katanga,

been chosen by the Belgians. This was in spite of the fact that according to Luban tradition he could never have been considered eligible since his nose had been eaten away by yaws.<sup>53</sup>

Again in 1948 after the death of Kabongo the Belgians chose Kalowa Ilunga Nsungu Boniface to follow him. This was against the will of the royal family and the counsellors as well as the people who wanted the former chief's choice – Makasa. Kalowa Ilunga Nsungu Boniface was really an illegitimate son of one of Kabongo's wives who had been legally adopted in a prenatal ceremony called "*kuputa dimi*" (to cover the foetus). The ceremony would have conveyed to him the right to rule in spite of the circumstances of his conception but it meditated against him being chosen. Besides this, he was known to be a hard and cruel man.<sup>54</sup> In line with Franck's instructions in government policy, however, he was considered to be better educated and more intelligent than the other princes so the traditional considerations were disregarded by the Administration.<sup>55</sup>

Land tenure in the formulation of policy on lands proved to be another bone of contention among the peoples of Congo. The Belgians had not understood African tradition where land was the patrimony of the clan and tribe.<sup>56</sup> They thought that any land which was not inhabited and was not cultivated was free land. They did not understand that according to traditional practice it was only the clan and in the case of the Baluba the clan head or the *Mwine Ntanda* (Earth possessor) who could dedicate the use of the land and oversee its distribution. Anstey writes:

What Africans dreaded most and what was most likely to disaffect them was alienation of their land. Indeed, such was the feeling about land as in some sense the preserve of the ancestral spirits that alienation could never have that final meaning which purchase or expropriation would give to the European mind. (*King Leopold's Legacy*, London, OUP, 1966, p.49)

One can well imagine the consternation where land which belonged to one clan was apportioned to another in the divisions of the *chefferies*. In addition to this, the use of the land, even down to the cutting of trees was governed by the *Comité Spécial du Katanga*, formerly the *Compagnie du Katanga*.<sup>57</sup>

Van der Kerken, a former *Commissaire de District*, in the Katanga during the days of the Free State, criticised the abuses perpetrated by traders in the Katanga and elsewhere. He said that they had requisitioned provisions without payment and were often unfair in their trading.<sup>58</sup> More disruptive to the society than this was the recruitment of the able-bodied men for the mines of the Katanga. There were times when women were held hostage until the men agreed to come forward and on other occasions there were what Anstey calls "veritable manhunts" in spite of supposed administrative control of the recruitment of all labour.<sup>59</sup>

In July 1914, just one year before the arrival of the Pentecostal Mission, native taxation was regulated by a new decree. All adults would have to pay between two and twenty five francs yearly. The sum was to be decided by the local Administration.<sup>60</sup> Payment of tribute to the *mulopwe* (king) was customary but payment to a foreign administration was not. Payment and collection of taxes caused a great deal of resentment towards the Administration and often displayed itself in open hostility when the Administrators visited an area with the purpose of tax collection.

Anstey summarises the disruptive element in the coming of the whites on African society in the Congo by saying that it reduced traditional society's ability to respond adequately to life and its demands. The structure of traditional authority was undermined so that in the eyes of the Congolese all the old standards no longer applied. This in turn resulted in disorientation and

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ARBAPShaba wrote concerning what Monsieur Gilson Commissaire de District intérimaire had suggested regarding the division of the twelve main groups according to tribes. The most important group, he said, was the Baluba :

« Nous aurons quatre personnalités importantes à interroger, d'abord et avant tout KASONGO-NIEMBO [sic]...il faut donc que KASONGO-NIEMBO [sic] revienne .... Il faudrait que je sois mis au courant de l'étendu de l'empire muluba dans le district du Lomami » ; cf. on the confusion of the Belgians over the real chiefs. Burton, 'Country of the Baluba', p. 333.

<sup>53</sup> W. Burton, *Luba Religion*, p. 21; Luba tradition stated that the chief had to be whole in every part. If he suffered any kind of defect he was not allowed to rule; cf. H. Womersley, 'Legends', pp. 72,73; Banza Mukanda Jason, Interview, Kamina II, 7/5/1981 regarding the incident when Kasongwa Kalombo blew his thumb off in a shooting accident; Reece, *Rainbow*, p. 186; E. d'Orojo de Marchovelette, 'Historique de la Chefferie Kabongo', *BJI*. 18e année, No. 12, 1950, p. 365.

<sup>54</sup> Womersley, 'Legends', p. 114 ; with regard to the choosing of Makangula to replace Kabongo during the time that he was trying to evade the Belgians Kyoni Banza and Kitwa Kaponda both agreed that the whites had acted unwisely; both interviewed on 8/7/1983.

<sup>55</sup> L. Franck, 'La Politique indigène', pp. 194-199; Womersley, 'Legends', p. 114.

<sup>56</sup> Anstey, *Leopold's Legacy*, p. 49.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 38,58; R. Slade, *Leopold's Congo*, pp. 130,177.

<sup>58</sup> G. Van der Kerken, *Les Sociétés bantoue de Congo belge*, Brussels, Etablissements Emile Bruylant, 1920, 1920, pp. 291-3.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 169, 288-90; Anstey, *Leopold's Legacy*, pp. 59-61.

<sup>60</sup> Anstey, *Leopold's Legacy*, p. 48 indicates that at the time 25 francs was worth one pound sterling.

psychological insecurity.<sup>61</sup> Anstey says that in spite of the missionary's part in the invader culture and his proclamation of a message which went counter to all of the age old traditions and beliefs, it was ironically the missionary who most shielded Congolese society from the difficulties of the transition from one culture to another.<sup>62</sup>

Ruth Slade believes that in Congo it was the missionaries and their evangelists who lessened the difficulties of the transition:

The teacher-evangelist in the village might seem to the European pitifully ill-equipped for his task. But to his own people he was a leader-and the only leader who could carry them through the inevitable period of transition from tribal society regulated by custom and taboos to the new form of society which Europeans were imposing upon them, a society which introduced them to the mysteries of taxation and hygiene, railways and mines. It was the missionaries, and perhaps to a greater extent the teacher evangelists whom they met in the villages, who were to provide a link between the new pattern of life and the old. The personal knowledge of the evangelist was slight....His training period had been short in view of all he was expected to accomplish. But he was able to base his teaching on local customs and proverbs as the white man could never do. He possessed an inborn gift for storytelling, and could hold his listeners enthralled as he moved step by step to his climax .... He was himself an example to the children who sat at his feet of the heights to which they could rise. And where he was established, material conditions of life improved and church membership increased by leaps and bounds. (*English-Speaking Missions*, Bruxelles; Académie Royale des Sciences Coloniales, Tome 16, 1959, p. 193)

It is very likely that part of the reason for the growth of the CEM was this cushioning effect which the Mission had between the two cultures. There were also a number of strong and important similarities between traditional custom and belief of the Baluba and practice in the Pentecostal Church. The emphasis upon the supernatural with the baptism in the Holy Spirit, tongues, spiritual gifts, healings and such like, all had close parallels in traditional religion and custom. Where the traditional sense of security had disappeared, now the Pentecostal community promised eternal security and a new expanded family circle. The old rules and taboos no longer applied but again there were similarities between the old and the rules which have to be kept in the Christian community. In this way for the Baluba the Pentecostal Mission was a viable alternative in a society where nothing made much sense any longer.

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<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 60,61.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 61.

## B) A Survey of Luba Religion

### Origin of the People

The purpose in this survey is to provide an outline of Luba religion up to the time that the Pentecostal missionaries arrived in the Katanga in 1915. It would seem that the commencement of the Baluba as a people dates back to the 1600s or earlier.<sup>1</sup> The earliest oral record says that Mbidi Kiluwe of the kingly line came from the east, crossed Lualaba and contacted some of the earlier dwellers in the land. One of these early dwellers, Nkongolo Mwamba, had become the head in the area between the Lualaba and Lomami rivers. It was from this contact that the Baluba people were born as a nation.<sup>2</sup>

H. Womersley says that he was told by an old Luban historian that some of the earliest people to inhabit the land migrated from the southeast and that their presence is still recorded in the names of places like Jombo in central Lubaland where they were supposed to have been lost.<sup>3</sup> There is archaeological evidence of a Kisalian culture in the Upemba depression as early as 700-900 A.D.<sup>4</sup> There were undoubtedly also pygmies in the heartland as there still are isolated groups of them on the fringes today in the area around Kiambi on the Luvua River. Oral tradition maintains that the original dwellers were pygmies who intermarried with the migrants who lived in clan groups rather than in tribes.<sup>5</sup>

### The Earliest Religions

It is difficult to know which aspects of Luban religion belong to the original hunter gatherers, which to the earliest light-skinned Bakalanga (as they will be called by the Baluba), which to the invader group represented by Mbidi Kiluwe and which to interaction with other peoples.<sup>6</sup> There are aspects of Luban religion revealed in the names for the Supreme Being which would tend to indicate that at one time monotheism existed.<sup>7</sup> However, Vidye Mukulu (The Great Spirit) is now the transcendent God who has little to do with the affairs of men.<sup>8</sup> Some Baluba recall a time when during epidemics and droughts, offerings were made to Vidye Mukulu. On occasion of the harvest the first fruits were often placed at the crossroads outside the village.<sup>9</sup> In the event of misfortune it was not unknown that the individual would reprimand Vidye Mukulu for the evil he had sent.<sup>10</sup>

Théodore Theuws in his *Textes Luba (Katanga)* indicates that there were a number of occasions when the Baluba petitioned Vidye. These prayers are related to the harvest, childbirth, sickness, death, hunting and fishing.<sup>11</sup> Nevertheless, since there is often confusion over the usage

<sup>1</sup> Vansina, *Kingdoms*, p. 71; H. Womersley, 'Legends', p. 1; Theuws, 'Outline of Luba-Culture', p.4; Burton, 'Country of the Baluba', p. 331; Reefer, *Rainbow*, pp. 60, 61; T. Reefer, 'The Luba Political Culture, c. 1500-c.1800', *Enquêtes et Documents d'Histoire Africaines*, 1978, p. 107; T. Reefer, 'Tradition of Genesis and the Luba Diaspora', *History in Africa*, 4, 1977, p. 187; although this seems to represent an inaccurate use of the word myth, Reefer sees much of the earliest oral record of the Baluba as myth. There are two schools: the 'structuralists' who see the oral record as myth in most instances, while the 'fundamentalists' tend to accept the oral record as more reliable while criticising some aspects of it. This applies not only to the oral history of the Baluba, but of all African peoples.

<sup>2</sup> Kitwa Kaponda, Interview, Kinkundi, 28/5/1981; T. Theuws, 'Outline', pp. 5-7; Reefer, *Rainbow*, pp. 24-29; it is interesting to note that the Baluba and some of her neighbours, are a patriarchal people in the midst of matriarchal peoples. cf. J. Sohler, *Institutes Coutumières Katangaises (Les personnes et les Biens)* CEPIS, 4, Collections de Mémoires vil. 19, Elisabethville. CEPIS, 1964, p. 64; B. Makonda, *Samba-a-ky-a-buta*, Elisabethville, *Revue Juridique du Congo Belge*, 1949, pp.4-11.

<sup>3</sup> H. Womersley, Interview, Hoddesdon, Herts, 18/8/1983, *kujomboloka* (to be lost).

<sup>4</sup> L. Cahen, Letter, Tervuren, Belgium, 13/12/1962, W. Burton regarding bones, skulls and other artefacts sent by Burton to Tervuren for dating. These artefacts had been excavated in the Upemba depression; cf. T. Reefer, *Rainbow*, pp. 67-72 who reveals evidence for the presence of man in the area from an earlier period.

<sup>5</sup> Kitwa Kaponda, 28,5/198; Ngoy Makunda Zacharie, Interview, Lulenge, 22/12/1981; Tshimanga wa Tshibangu, *Histoire Du Zaïre*, p. 20.

<sup>6</sup> H. Womersley, 'Legends', p. 1; W. Burton, 'Country of the Baluba', p. 332; N. Booth, 'The View from Kasongo Niembo', in *African Religions: A Symposium*, ed. N. Booth, New York and London, NOK Publishers, 1977, p. 33; Mkonga, *Samba*, p. 4.

<sup>7</sup> H. Womersley, Interview, 18/8/1983.

<sup>8</sup> W. Burton, 'Country of the Baluba', p. 335; Jason Sendwe, 'Traditions et les coutumes ancestrales des Baluba Shankadij', *Bulletin Trimestriel du Centre d'Etude des Problèmes Sociaux indigènes*, Elisabethville, No. 24 avril, 1954 p. 106 writes: "Dieu, pour le 'Perdu Polis' [Muluba Shankadij], est loin. Son œuvre créatrice terminée, il s'est éloigné de ses créatures".

<sup>9</sup> Ngoy wa Kyulu Samwele, Interview, Kamina II, 12/2/1980; Nshimba Bajima, Interview, Kabongo, 2/5/1982; Umba Nzadi Pierre, Interview, Kabongo, 3/5/1982.

<sup>10</sup> Nshimba Bajima, 2/5/1982; Umba Nzadi, 3/5/1982.

<sup>11</sup> *Bulletin Trimestriel du Centre d'Etude des Problèmes Sociaux Indigènes*, CEPIS Collections de Mémoires vol. 27, Elisabethville, CEPIS, 9054, pp. 81-87, 91, 108, 109, 131, 142; cf. D Womersley, 'The Great Spirit and the Snake',

'Vidye' without the qualifying 'Mukulu', it is not possible to say with certainty that these prayers were always addressed to the Supreme Being. Vidye on its own can often indicate any one of many ancestral spirits.<sup>12</sup>

The Baluba speak freely of the Supreme Being and have many names for him and proverbs about him. These enumerate his person and his attributes. He is Vidye Mukulu Shakapanga (The Great or Oldest Spirit the father of creation) or Shakapanga, *wakupanga ne kupangulula* (The Father of creation who creates and re-creates); Pangapanga, *wapangile ngulu ne minonga* (He who is always creating; he creates the hills and the river beds); Bundangulu, *wabunda ne tupatapata ne twana twa ngulu* (The heaper up of hills, he heaped up the hills and the mounds); Vidye Mukulu dibwe dya Kyala; *ntanda ke kudi ntana ya shile* (The Great Spirit, the rock which covers the entire earth); Kafulamoba (the forger of the suns); Sendwe wa imbidi (the craftsman of bodies); Kamana Leza waba (He who begets many children is the God who portions to each as he wills); Vidye Mukulu Kamonwemeso, *longa na mwimuka kyo nswa* (The Great Unseen Spirit, otherwise I would let him know what I desire of him); Mukulumpe wa lupanga bisela; *wapanga mbalanga wa panga ne mpele* (The Old One who creates a diversity of things; he created smallpox and he created the itch).<sup>13</sup>

Apart from the above names which clearly refer to Vidye Mukulu there are others which seem to indicate some confusion between the Supreme Being and persons, mythical or otherwise, of the past. Perhaps the confusion has entered over the practice of deification of individuals such as kings and other noted heroes. It is common for kings to be regarded as being divine from their investiture so that the names which follow may have originally applied only to Vidye Mukulu.<sup>14</sup> However, it is also possible that names which applied to individuals who were regarded as divine later became identified with the Supreme Being.

Van Avermaet says that normally the *bilumbu* (mediums) do not invoke Vidye Mukulu in their petitions but rather call upon famous persons of the past who are the *bavidye* of the Baluba.<sup>15</sup> If this is correct then this is an important factor in deciding the nature of the *vidye*. The name Kalembe kamaweji, a difficult expression which could have a number of meanings,<sup>16</sup> is usually thought to refer to Vidye Mukulu, but Van Avermaet says: "Il est à remarquer que le *kilumbu* consult (usama) Kalembe, alors que généralement il n'invoque pas Dieu".<sup>17</sup>

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CEMR, No. 333, August 1964, p. 16 tells of hunters eating a good meal : « At the end they would clap three times then three times again, then shout in unison, ' *Twa dya, twa dya, A Vidye!*' (We have eaten, we have eaten oh Spirit!).

<sup>12</sup> cf. T. Theuws, 'Outline', pp. 35, 36; it is possible that one time *vidye* meant God but now when one speaks to the oldest members of the society about *vidye* the first question is "Which one?" I know from my participation in the translation of the New Testament into Kiluba that there was considerable confusion registered in the minds of most Baluba when they read *vidye* without any qualification. This word had to be qualified with *Mukulu* (the old one-the great one) for it to indicate the Supreme Being. Although most all the Baluba recognize the word Leza as an importation from the Bemba Lesa, it is the word which is normally used by Protestants when addressing the Supreme Being and is equivalent to the French 'Dieu', while *Vidye Mukulu* would be the equivalent of l'Eternel or Yahweh.

<sup>13</sup> Of many sources for the names of the Supreme Being, I mention: W. Burton, 'Kanya Oral Literature in Lubaland', *African Studies*, 2(2), 1943, p. 95; Theuws, 'Croyance et culte chez les Baluba', *Présence Africaine*, 2e series, Nos. 18-19, 1958, pp. 27-32; van Avermaet and Mbuya, *Dictionnaire Kiluba-Français*, Tervuren, Annales du Musée Royal du Congo Belge, 1954, pp. 348, 396, 531, 784; H. Womersley has a series in the CEMR, I reproduce the numbers and the pages only: 375, p. 13; 376, p. 16; 377, p. 16; , 378, p.8; 379, p. 8; 380, p. 9; 381, p. 5; 382, p.18; 383, p.6; ,384, p.9; 385, p. 17; 386, p. 6; I have also discussed these names with many Baluba including: Ina Banza ex-counsellor of Kasongwa Niembo who resided at Kamina II prior to his death. Ngoy wa Kyulu, Kamina II, 2/5/1981; Nshimba Bajima, Interview, 26/12/1991; Kasamba Musenge, 'Kudingakanya kwa Majina a Leza a Mukanda Ukola ne oa aingidile Baluba', (a comparison of the names of God in the Bible and those used by the Baluba) unpublished paper presented to the Institut Biblique Central, Kamina II, 1976, pp. 7-12,18; Kalume Mujinga Luñani, 'Le Leza udiko mwendele Mukanda Ukola ne milangwe ya Baluba?' (Is there a God according to the Bible and according to Luban thought?) Unpublished paper presented to the Institut Biblique Central, Kamina II, 1978, pp. 17-22.

<sup>14</sup> H. Womersley Letter, Bedford, /8/1981 to author; H. Womersley, Interview, 18/8/1983 points out that the Baluba were famous for their praise names. He believes that names like Kungwa Banze, originally applied to the Supreme Being, but were later identified with well known *bavidye* (mediums); cf. W. Burton, *Luba Religion*, p. 14 and the name of Kafulamoba applied to the chief when it is only God who creates the Sun each day.

<sup>15</sup> van Avermaet and Mbuya, *Dictionnaire*, p. 348.

<sup>16</sup> H. Womersley, CEMR, no. 378, p. 18 translates this name "Conqueror of corruption". But several have indicated that *maweji* are drops or rivulets of water and for this reason it is difficult to be certain.

<sup>17</sup> van Avermaet and Mbuya, *Dictionnaire*, p. 348.



HUTS FOR THE FAMILIAR SPIRITS  
(MIKISHI)

He goes on to show how many see this name as applying to a powerful *mukishi* (ancestral guardian spirit)<sup>18</sup> of Kasongwa Niembo.<sup>19</sup> The same kind of situation exists with the name Kungwa Banze, a very well-known name which is regarded as referring to the Supreme Being. V.L. Cameron said that Kungwa Banze was supposed to represent the founder of Kasongwa Kalombo's family and that he was "all-powerful for good and evil".<sup>20</sup> He reported that the time of Kasongwa Kalombo everyone feared the name of Kungwa Banze.<sup>21</sup> H. Womersley wrote that at Kalui, Kungwa Banze, the Great Spirit of the Baluba is supposed to live with his wife Mpanga.<sup>22</sup> Kitwa Kaponda says that Kungwa Banze is a great *mukishi* of the Baluba and the Bambudye. According to him he was a *vidye* sent by Mbidi Kiluwe at the time when Kalala Ilunga his son was returning from the east with an army to overthrow Nkongolo the red. It was Kungwa Banze's task to prepare the land for the conquest by magic. Because of the magic and because of his fame in the spirit sphere, people regarded him as God and the name of the Vidye Mukulu became associated with Kungwa Banze. Kaponda was quite adamant that Kungwa Banze was the *mukishi* and not Vidye Mukulu.<sup>23</sup> Time does not permit me to go into this problem in detail but this underlines the nature of the question connected with the Luban names for God.

### The Transcendence of God Leads to Invocation of Ancestor Spirits

By the time the white missionary arrived in Lubaland to preach the Christian message the Baluba did not seem to retain any real sense of the proximity of the Supreme Being who had become replaced by a host of intermediaries the most important being the *bavidye*. The result was that when the Catholic spoke to them about the Supreme Being whose name was Mungu (Swahili for God) they did not associate Mungu with Vidye Mukulu but with one of the white man's guardian spirits or a *mukishi*. This is illustrated in a text provided by Theuws where a Muluba expresses his frustrations about Mungu:

I forbid my child to die for no reason at all just because he says: 'I belong to Mungu'. Mungu is the white man's *mukishi*. The eldest brother in the family went to [the Catholic] school and now he keeps giving birth to children that die. Can Mungu save his servants? . . . The whites have come to confuse the children with the *mikishi* from their land saying it is Mungu. In our country the *bavidye* gave us instructions if a woman was sterile. We would find some meat, and *bwanga* was compounded so that she would give birth [to healthy children]. Did we rely on Mungu? Of course not. We do not want anything to do with Mungu. (Theuws, *Textes Luba (Katanga)*. Elisabethville, Bulletin Trimestriel du Centre d'Etudes des Problèmes Sociaux Indigènes, No. 27, 1954, pp. 152-153 ; [my translation from his Kiluba text])

Jason Sendwe says that the need to approach Vidye Mukulu by means of these *vidye* (intermediary spirits) arose out of his remoteness.<sup>24</sup> Finally the emphasis on the important place of the intermediaries led to the almost total neglect of the Supreme Being as far as worship was concerned.

There is now no way of knowing at what stage the introduction of intermediary spirits or *bavidye* took place. It is probable that this stage was reached prior to the formation of the Baluba as a people. According to oral tradition, Nkongolo, the architect of the nation, did not have spirit mediums (*bavidye*). H. Womersley writes:

The people worship vaguely at natural phenomena such as waterfalls, unusually large trees or exceptionally tall anthills. No one had apparently practiced spirit possession nor followed heathen cults or secret societies. ('Legends of the Baluba', n.d., n.pl, unpublished MS, p. 8)

<sup>18</sup> A *mukishi* (pl. is *mikishi*) is a spirit which takes up its residence in a shrine or some other object. A *mukishi* could be a guardian spirit, but not in every case. A *vidye* which resides in a special shrine or in a lake or some other natural object, like Mpanga ne Banze at Kalui is also called a *mukishi* but not every *mukishi* is necessarily a *vidye*. There are different kinds of spirits, *bizwa* and *bibanda*. A *mukishi* can belong to a clan or to the head of the family. He can be present in an idol after the *nganga* has filled it with *manga* inviting it to take up his residence there, or it may just be in a spirit hut without any idol in which to dwell. A *vidye* which is helpful is much desired but a *mukishi* could be malicious in some cases. Some of the societies have a *mukishi* who is regarded as especially theirs and which is supposed to help with hunting or some other activity; cf. Theuws, 'Outline', pp. 31-33.

<sup>19</sup> van Avermaet and Mbuya, *Dictionnaire*, p. 348.

<sup>20</sup> *Across Africa*, II, p. 71. Kasongwa Kalombo was the Luban king when Cameron visited Lubaland.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 72.

<sup>22</sup> H. Womersley, 'The Land of the Little River', *CEMR*, No. 314, 1963, p. 12.

<sup>23</sup> Interviews, Kinkunki, 28/5/1981 and 8/7/1983.

<sup>24</sup> Sendwe, 'Traditions', p. 106.

A well-known spirit by the name of Mpanga Maloba was supposed to inhabit a huge rock. A man by the name of Nindo or Nyundo and his wife Zwibi were the guardians of this rock. Their son Kalui thought that it would be more interesting if the spirit would indwell a person rather than an inanimate object. He requested the spirit to take possession of a person and the spirit complied by taking possession of Banze Mijibu a Kalenge.<sup>25</sup> He therefore became the first of the *bavidye* or the mouthpiece of the dead to the living.<sup>26</sup>

Tradition also states that the Mijibu had much to do with the success of Nkongolo's military exploits prior to the arrival of Mbidi Kiluwe. He was a close counsellor and had great influence over the self-imposed leader.<sup>27</sup> Mijibu foretold the coming of royal blood and the *bulopwe* (chieftainship) to the heartland. He told Nkongolo that if he opposed a visitor who would come from the east that he himself would die.<sup>28</sup> After the arrival of the Mbidi Kiluwe the man of royal blood, Mijibu becomes the patron of his offspring Kalala Ilunga. There is a lake near Kisanga which is regarded as his *kitenta* (high place and residence), where his *vidye* is supposed to dwell.<sup>29</sup>

One tradition reports that when Nkongolo attempted to kill Kalala Ilunga, Mbidi Kiluwe sent a number of well-known spirit mediums into the heartland to prepare the way for his son's takeover. These men spread the knowledge of the *bavidye* throughout the land.<sup>30</sup> This is important in establishing the very close relationship which existed between the kingly line and the *bavidye*. It also indicates why Luban kings were hesitant to act without the backing of the *bavidye*, who were there to give them direction from the spirit world.

### The Luban World View: The 'Real' – Life and Afterlife

The importance of the *mikishi*, the *bavidye* and the *banganga* (medicine men), as well as all the other concepts including witchcraft and *manga* (medicine), find a place in the Luban *Weltanschauung*. Like that of most Africans, the Luban worldview is holistic. Life is not divided into sacred and secular and "religion is not merely a religious system with a creed, a moral code and a liturgy: rather it is an institution in which one has one's whole life".<sup>31</sup> Included in this picture of life is the understanding of the 'real' and what takes place after death. Our understanding of life must, according to the Muluba, be linked to our understanding of death. The two go together.<sup>32</sup> I reproduce the text published by Theuws which is the Luban equivalent of the creation story and the subsequent transgression of God's will. I have not been able to confirm its existence from other Luban sources:

Long ago Vidye created three people: the Sun, the Moon and man. One day he brewed sweet wine and put it in a gourd. He told the Sun, Moon and man that he was going on a journey and that they should not drink the wine since whoever did so would die. They did not obey God's warning and they drank the wine along with their wives and children. Immediately the children of the Sun, the Moon and man all died. Man was left with his wife, the Sun with his wife and the Moon with his wife. They all sat there crying. Vidye came back and found them crying so he asked them what they were crying about. The man replied that they were crying for nothing. The Sun and the Moon replied that they were crying because their children were dead. Vidye asked the reason for their deaths and asked if it was because they had drunk the wine. The man denied it and said that they had died for no reason; however of the Moon and the Sun said that they had drunk the wine. Then Vidye told the Sun and the Moon that their children had not died and that they were sleeping. He told the Sun that he would see his child in the morning and the Moon that he would see his after a few days. But as for the man he would keep on crying since he would never see his child again.... When they woke the next day the Sun's child came out of the East and after a few days the Moon's child came out of the West. But the man kept crying because his child was gone for ever. This is why we see the Sun rise in the East and cross the sky to the West every day. Then the Moon rises in the West and falls in the East only to rise again in the West. But as far as humans we die for ever because the first people lied to Vidye. Vidye told them that their children were dead and that they would go on crying for ever because they

<sup>25</sup> Burton, *Luba Religion*, p. 3; Theuws, 'Outline', p. 6; says that Mijibu was the first "witch-doctor-diviner"; Sendwe, 'Tradition', p.113 says that with Mijibu we have the first *bavidye*; Makonga, *Samba*, p. 4 calls Mijibu "The Great Necromancer of the Empire".

<sup>26</sup> Sendwe, 'Tradition', p. 113.

<sup>27</sup> W. Burton, *Luba Religion*, p.4; H. Womersley, 'Legends', pp. 9,10.

<sup>28</sup> W. Burton, *Luba Religion*, p.5; Theuws, 'Outline', p. 6.

<sup>29</sup> Theuws, 'Outline', p. 6; H. Womersley, 'Legends', p. 10; Nshimba Bajima, Letter, Kabongo, 2/5/1982; Makonga, *Samba*, p. 9 says that Mijibu is like the guardian angel of the empire.

<sup>30</sup> Kitwa Kaponda, Interview, 28/5/1981.

<sup>31</sup> La Roche, 'Some Traditional African Religions in Christianity', in *Christianity in Tropical Africa*, ed. C.G. Baëta, London, OUP for the IAI, 1968, p. 295.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Theuws, 'Naître et Mourir dans la rituel Luba', *Zaire: Cahiers d'études africaines*, 14(2-3), 1960, p. 154.

would never return again. (T. Theuws, *Textes Luba (Katanga)*, pp. 61-72); cf. Theuws, 'Naître et Mourir', *Zaire*, 14(2-3), 1960, pp.153-154; [my translation from the Kiluba text]

Not only do we have the creation of life but we have the introduction of death as a result of disobedience. Again the story of death is linked to cycles of both the Sun and the Moon. The Muluba believes that Kafulamoba, the forger of the Suns, creates a new Sun each day. This he casts from the East to the West where it is extinguished. As a result each day life springs out of death. The same is true of the Moon. There are vestiges in Luba religion which indicate the important place of both Sun and Moon although the primacy of the latter is more apparent. In the *mbudye* lodge or *kinyengele*, where the walls are adorned with illustrations of *mikishi*, the wall on one end is covered with the Sun and the wall facing it at the other end is covered with the Moon. Linking these is the serpent.<sup>33</sup> The place of the Moon is more important in daily life. There is a story that the Moon was once brighter than the Sun but that they had an argument and the Sun threw dirt in its face.<sup>34</sup> At the appearance of the new Moon there are great festivities and dances and the day after the appearance of the Moon is supposed to be fraught with danger since that is when spirit activity is at its height.<sup>35</sup> And there is also linguistic evidence present in the use of the prefix of the class of nouns belonging to people and animals that the Moon is regarded as a person. This linguistic evidence is not present in the word used for the Sun.<sup>36</sup>

The seasons are linked to the Moon and the Luban year is lunar. The first month of the Luban year commences in October because this is the month of the first continuous rains when gardening begins after five months of dry season.<sup>37</sup> The Muluba sees the menstrual cycles of the woman as being linked to the Moon so that the menstuous blood speaks of death and the diminution of life; cessation of the menses is indicative of life and the possibility of more offspring.<sup>38</sup>

Cycles of life and death indicate that death is not final as far as the Muluba is concerned. Theuws describes what a Muluba may say when there is a death. Although the physical body has died *muya wandi wakoma, walamuka ke vidye* (The person's breath became strong and he became a spirit).<sup>39</sup> To understand this it is necessary to understand the Luban view of the constitution of man. This is described in a number of ways which mean the same thing. The Muluba sees man as made up of his breath, blood and voice; the voice is divided into two parts: the word which comes forth and the name of the person. Then there are the shadows. The shadows are divided into three: the Sun-shadow which the dead do not possess, the stature-shadow and the life-shadow.<sup>40</sup> The stature-shadow is what distinguishes us in appearance from everyone else and gives each man his own peculiar looks, height, weight and girth. In some instances this shadow continues to linger at the place of burial after death and appears in a visible form known as a *mufu* (dead person). In this form the shadow is often malicious and it can attack individuals in lonely places.<sup>41</sup> It is for this reason that the Tusandji and Tupoyo exhumed corpses consuming parts of them and burning the rest.<sup>42</sup>

The last and most important shadow is the shadow of life. This shadow never ceases to exist. Of this shadow Theuws says: « Elle est variable comme la vie même. Elle supporte toute la réalité de l'homme, avec toutes ses dépendances et toutes ses appartenances ». <sup>43</sup> This is what is

<sup>33</sup> H. Womersley, Interview, Hoddesdon, 18/8/1983.

<sup>34</sup> W. Burton, *Luba Religion*, p. 73; Theuws, 'Outline', p. 36; Theuws, 'Le Réel dans la conception Luba', *Zaire*, 15(1), 1961, p. 5.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. W. Burton, *Luba Religion*, pp. 48, 49, 167; N. Booth, 'The View from Kasongo Niembo', p. 42; Theuws, 'Outline', p. 36,37; G.A. Joset, 'Etudes sur les sectes secrètes de la circonscription de Kinda, District du Lomami, Territoire des Baluba', *Bulletin de la Société Royale Belge de Géographie*, 58(1), 1934, pp. 28, 29.

<sup>36</sup> The class of words for people and animals requires the prefix U or Wa in the singular noun and for the verb used in connection with the same words. These prefixes are used in connection with *kweji* (Moon) although there is nothing in the word itself to indicate that it falls into this class. Hence, 'the Moon has appeared' would be expressed: *kweji ubamweka* and not *kweji ibamweka*, or *kweji yamweka* which would be the normal correct grammatical construction for a word like *kweji*. There is no such evidence in connection with the Sun. One would say: *dyuba dibamweka* and not *dyuba ubamweka*.

<sup>37</sup> W. Burton, 'Kanya Oral Literature', pp. 95, 96; Theuws, 'Réel', p. 5.

<sup>38</sup> Usually blood is regarded as transmitting the power of the shadow-self to the person who drinks it or rubs himself with it. This is why the chiefs kill slaves and rub themselves with the blood. Others drink the blood of men slaughtered in battle. During our research one of my sources maintained that one of the African presidents still drinks blood from slaughtered people; cf. Theuws, 'Réel', pp. 8,9, however in the case of menstuous blood, the blood is regarded as transmitting death and not life cf. Theuws, 'Naître et Mourir', p. 154.

<sup>39</sup> Theuws, 'Réel', p. 7.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.7-18; N. Booth, 'View from Kasongwa Niembo', pp. 36, 37.

<sup>41</sup> Theuws, 'Réel', pp. 13, 14 cf.; *infra*, Chapter V.

<sup>42</sup> Theuws, 'Réel', p. 14; Burton, *Luba Religion*, pp. 36, 41.

<sup>43</sup> Theuws, 'Réel', p. 17.

described by Tempels as the *force vitale* of the real man.<sup>44</sup> Any present or aid to the individual increases this *force vitale* while any mistreatment of a gift inflicts the giver, the real man, and takes away from the vital force. It is because of this that any object which belongs to a person or which has had contact with the person is considered as being part of the shadow self or real life of the individual. This is important in the arts of magic and sorcery. If a *nganga* can obtain a person's hair or nails or even his excreta he could use them to invoke curses on the individual and since they belong to his shadow-self they would certainly produce the required result of diminishing the person's power and bringing about his downfall.<sup>45</sup> In witchcraft it is the shadow-self which is supposed to leave the body of the witch or sorcerer during sleep while the person is asleep. This shadow-self then is able to *kudya bukomo bwa muntu na butyi* (to eat the strength of the person by means of witchcraft). In other words it is the *force vitale* which is attacked, diminishing a person's power and leaving them a wreck.<sup>46</sup> For this reason when a man dies this is not the end for him. When death comes a person must be equipped for his journey to Kalunga Niembo, the place of the departed. It is believed that the dead cross over a river to Kalunga Niembo and it is the custom to place beads in the hands and in the mouth of the deceased with which to pay the ferry man – Kalonzo.<sup>47</sup>

There is no clarity on the exact nature of Kalunga Niembo. It is not always possible to identify the relationship between the different parts of Kalunga Niembo and the activity of the spirits. Again spirit activity is usually identified with the corpses of the deceased. Kalunga Niembo is considered to be divided into two parts. The first part is where the ancestors reside much as they would anywhere on earth, but now that they are dead they have greatly increased powers and knowledge. The spirits in this part are generally regarded to be amicable and it is from here that the guardian spirits (*mikishi*) would come to help a man and his family. It is for this reason that a man would build a spirit hut and leave a few live coals to warm his guardian spirit and a few crumbs to feed him.<sup>48</sup> The second part of Kalunga Niembo is called *Kalunga ka musono* in the south of Lubaland, and *Kalunga ka mashika* in the north. It is not easy to know exactly what *musono* means in this context. H. Womersley thinks it means fuel and therefore speaks of fire and heat.<sup>49</sup> Theuws suggest that it may mean a whitlow and hence suffering of a physical nature.<sup>50</sup> *Kalunga ka mashika* is the place of cold. Some describe it as *kalala mashika* meaning that things are so cold that they split apart. It is probably true that the Muluba fears the cold more than he does the heat. H. Womersley says that he has also had it explained to him as *Kalunga ka majika* (the Kalunga where burial takes place).<sup>51</sup> Those who inhabit this part are thought to be those who have no continued contact amongst the living and include the undesirables of society, the witches, sorcerers, and the childless.<sup>52</sup>

The Baluba have a very well-known hierarchy from the slave through the heads of families and clans, the counsellors the *bilumbu* and *banganga* to the king. The king is the head of the people in everything and everyone is supposed to belong to the chief except in some cases the land itself, which belongs to the *mwine ntanda* or *nkulu wa ntanda*. The *mwine ntanda* is the head of the original clans inhabiting any particular area. Sometimes the king will overcome this problem of having an earth priest by appointing him as one of his counsellors and making him subservient to him in this way.<sup>53</sup> Nevertheless, the strong and structured hierarchy is part of everyday life. The king as head of the tribe is known as the Father and the Mother of his people. It is considered that

<sup>44</sup> P. Tempels, *La Philosophie Bantoue*, 3ed. Paris, Présence Africain, pp.35, 46, 56, 59. He also writes about the 'Being' which is force.

<sup>45</sup> Theuws, 'Réel', pp.17, 18; cf. Tempels, *Philosophie Bantoue*, p. 56 on how it is that what belongs to a person has close links with his *force vitale* and his life.

<sup>46</sup> Theuws, 'Réel', pp. 18, 19.

<sup>47</sup> Burton, *Luba Religion*, p. 40; Theuws, 'Naître et Mourir', p. 155.

<sup>48</sup> Theuws, 'Outline', p. 30; on Kalunga Niembo cf. Sendwe, 'Tradition', pp.74, 75.

<sup>49</sup> Interview, 18/8/1983.

<sup>50</sup> 'Outline', p.30.

<sup>51</sup> Interview, 18/8/1983; in some areas shi, si and ji are almost interchangeable, but they do make a difference in many words.

<sup>52</sup> Booth, 'View', pp. 41, 42; I have discussed these names in a number of seminars at the *Institut Biblique* as well as the concepts which go with them. Most Baluba of the younger generation are not at all clear on the distinctions and neither are the majority of the elders.

<sup>53</sup> Burton, *Luba Religion*, p. 63; Theuws, 'Réel', p. 25; on the *bene ntanda* (the owners of the earth or earth priests) cf. Reeve, *Rainbow*, p. 46; W.P. Mertens, 'Quelques notions sur le droit coutumier foncier des Baluba-Hemba du Territoire de Mwanza' *BJI*, 30(3), 1962, pp. 117-121.

after his initiation and his breaking out of the sacred hut called the *kobo ka malwa* (the hut of suffering) he is divine.<sup>54</sup>

Since a person will continue on in the land of the spirits with the same station as that held while he is alive, the kings continue to be kings in the spirit world. The most powerful kings will be the most powerful *bavidye*. In this way there is also a hierarchy among the *bavidye*. If a *kilumbu* (a spirit medium) is possessed of the *vidye* of one of the great kings he is expected to possess greater power than if he possessed the *vidye* of one of the lesser. The *bitenta* (high places) where the *bavidye* of kings are said to dwell are the cult places frequented by those who wish to consult the *vidye* of any particular celebrated person of the past.<sup>55</sup> However, even where there is only one *kitenta* or high place for any one *vidye* this does not mean that the *vidye* cannot possess any number of *bilumbu* at any one time and therefore speak at a host of different occasions at the same time.<sup>56</sup> *Bilumbu* are not only possessed of by the *bavidye* of the kings but also of famous *bilumbu* of the past who have become *bavidye* like Banza Mijibu a Kalenge, and Mpanga and Banze as well as many others.

### Access to the Spirit World by Means of the *Bilumbu-Bavidye* (Mediums)

It is one thing to have a structured hierarchy in the land of the living and one in the land of the dead but another to be able to make use of the increased knowledge wisdom and power available in the spirit world. For this reason the *kilumbu* (spirit medium) has become a central figure in Luba life. Not even the king is able to know what his forebears have in mind without the help of the *kilumbu*.<sup>57</sup> The *kilumbu* is a very ordinary sort of person until such time as he begins to *sama* (to consult), when his familiar spirit or *vidye* takes possession of him. From that point he is no longer a *kilumbu* but a *vidye*. Anyone addressing the medium at this point will call him "*Vidye!*"<sup>58</sup> The *bavidye* are the most important people in the community since they are able to let the living know what the dead have to say about any one of a score of things that touch upon everyday life. As Burton indicates, when a person is possessed of a *vidye* the local population is delighted with the thought that now they have their own *vidye* and the means of communication with the ancestors.<sup>59</sup> Theuws says that moreover:

The function of the *bavidye* is to forge the whole country together in one political unit. They are the sacred links knitting all the groups together, the villages, the countries, and the tribe. Even if local fights between villages should break out, the political tie with the royal court can not be severed. ('Outline of Luba-Culture', *Cahiers Economiques et Sociaux*, 2(1), 1964, p. 35)

The spirits of the dead in Kalunga Niembo are unpredictable and it is not possible to foretell just how they will behave. Someone who was spiteful during their lifetime may turn to be helpful and loving after their death and vice versa. Since all the affairs of life are thought to be directed by the world of spirits, it is important that a family should placate its spirits for fear that they should turn against them and become the cause of their ruination. The advice of the spirits should be sought prior to every decision whether that involves a journey, a hunt, or even such a normal task as the extraction of iron from the ore.<sup>60</sup> Every calamity and every blessing has its origin in the spirit world and it is only the *bavidye* who can give a person the information they need from their ancestors in the spirit world with regard to any action they need to take.

### The *Nganga* (Witchdoctor)

The next most important individual in Luba religion after the *vidye* is the *nganga*. He is more of a herbalist although there are aspects of his work which closely resemble those of the *kilumbu-vidye*.<sup>61</sup> Burton distinguishes between the *bilumbu* and the *banganga* by saying that in

<sup>54</sup> H. Womersley, Interview, 18/8/1983 insists that once the candidate for *bulopwe* (kingship) has gone through the *kobo ka malwa* he is no longer supposed to be a mere mortal; cf. Reeve, *Rainbow*, p. 9 who does not agree with this; H. Womersley, Letter, Bedford, 26/8/1981 to author.

<sup>55</sup> Theuws, 'Outline', pp. 7,35; Burton, *Luba Religion*, pp. 50, 64.

<sup>56</sup> Burton, *Luba Religion*, p. 64.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 64.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 58; Booth, 'View' p. 48.

<sup>59</sup> Burton, *Luba Religion*, p. 52.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 43.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 81, 82, 84, 85; Booth, 'View', p. 49; H. Womersley, Interview, 18/8/1983.

spite of the similarities in the healing ministry and their dependence on the spirit world, the main task of the *kilumbu* is *kubuka* (to awaken or to consult) the spirits of the dead, while the main task of *nganga* is *kupaka manga* (to compound medicine). Medicine (*manga*) here is used in its widest sense and not in the limited western understanding of the word.<sup>62</sup> The *vidye* is concerned with the reason why things happen while *the nganga* is more concerned with the restoration of order or the prevention of nefarious acts springing up from the spirit world or from witchcraft.<sup>63</sup> He is the man who knows exactly which kinds of *manga* are needed to prevent evil attacks on the shadow-self and he is the one to uncover any plots to disrupt the life of the community.<sup>64</sup> He is also the one to accuse of witchcraft and administer the various trials which prove guilt or innocence.<sup>65</sup> Because of his important place in the society even the kings would be hesitant to cross a *nganga* although they might play one against another for their own ends. There is even a proverb: *Ko jingulula banganga* (do not expose the medicine men) which shows that even though the people realise that not everything that *nganga* does is honest, it is not worth while getting on the wrong side of him.<sup>66</sup>

## The *Bambudye* Society and Kingship

The society known as the *Bambudye*, was an intricate part of Luban traditional life in the political and religious spheres.<sup>67</sup> It is not possible to treat the religion of the Baluba without including the society. However, the society was regarded as a secret society where the divulgence of information to non-members could result in heavy fines and even death. For this reason it has not been easy to gather accurate information. In addition to this the *Bambudye* are told to lie to the *ngulungu* (literally: Bush-buck – the term the members use to indicate the uninitiated) about the activities of the *Bambudye*.<sup>68</sup> In spite of these difficulties valuable information has been gleaned from ex-*Bambudye* who have been converted to Christianity and other members who are now willing to talk about the activities of the group.

There are several traditions regarding the founding of the *Bambudye*. One says that they were introduced by Kasongo Mwene Kibanza after he had found a group of lost dancers near Kalumba. When he inquired as to their origin they replied that they had formerly followed his grandfather but had become lost and cut off from the people living alone in the bush.<sup>69</sup> Another says that the *Bambudye* date to the time of Nkongolo and were closely associated with Banza Mijibu a Kalenge.<sup>70</sup> One thing seems certain and that is that the *Bambudye* have a history of considerable antiquity and probably date from the founding of the Baluba as a nation.<sup>71</sup>

The *Bambudye* were a Luban society although there are aspects of their practice which seem to resemble those of the *bukishi* and *bangombe* among the neighbouring Basongye.<sup>72</sup> Like the *bavidye* the *Bambudye* were closely associated with the Mulopwe (King). They were called the *Bana ba Mulopwe* (the King's children)<sup>73</sup> as well as the *Mukaja Mulopwe* (the King's wife).<sup>74</sup> One Belgian administrator called them the "*secte des chefs*" and pointed out that unless the chief was a member his people would not respect him.<sup>75</sup> It is evident that prior to the coming of the white man all chiefs were part of the *Bambudye* as were all the *bamfumu* (counsellors) although this changed during the colonial days.<sup>76</sup>

<sup>62</sup> Cf. Booth, 'View', pp. 34, 49; [Burton] 'Bwanga', *CEMR*, No. 8, 1925, pp. 87, 88.

<sup>63</sup> Theuws, 'Réel', 36.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. Booth, 'View', p. 49; Burton, *Luba Religion*, pp. 88-91.

<sup>65</sup> Burton, *Luba Religion*, pp. 68-72, 85.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 91; Booth, 'View', p. 50.

<sup>67</sup> T. Reece, 'The Luba Political Culture, c. 1500-c.1800', p. 111; G.A. Joset, 'Etude sur les sectes secrètes', p.28.

<sup>68</sup> Joset, 'Etude', p. 37.

<sup>69</sup> Womersley, 'Legends', pp.49, 50.

<sup>70</sup> Kitwa Kaponda, Interview, Kinkunki, 8/7/1983; Kikungulu, *et al.* 'Statuts Association MBUDJE', Malemba-Nkulu, 8/11/1972 AZMNkulu; 'Registre des Rapports sur l'Administration générale, Territoire de Kibara (1922-1928)', p.101, AZMNkulu; Henroteaux, 'Notes sur la secte des Bambudye', *BJI*, 13(4), 1945, p. 98; Burton, *Luba Religion*, p. 157.

<sup>71</sup> E. D'Orojo de Marchovelette, 'Quelques considérations sur les « Bambudie » du territoire de Kabongo', *BJI*, 8, 1940, p. 278; Burton, *Luba Religion*, p. 157.

<sup>72</sup> Reece, *Rainbow*, p. 48; Reece, 'Luba Political Culture', p. 111; Burton, *Luba Religion*, p. 174; Joan Bond, Interview Hoddesdon, 17/8/1983; Ngoie Kabongie, Interview, Kamina II, 7/7/1983.

<sup>73</sup> D'Orojo de Marchovelette, 'Quelques considérations', p. 275; De Roy, 'Les Bambudye', p. 96; Henroteaux, 'Notes sur la secte des Bambudye', p. 98.

<sup>74</sup> Kyoni Banza, Interview, Kamina II, 8/7/1983.

<sup>75</sup> H. Vandercam, 'Rapports sur les sectes secrètes existantes', Kabalo, 7/11/1929 says « Tous les chefs Balubas [sic] de la famille de Kabongo y font donc partie ».

<sup>76</sup> Kikungulu *et al.* 'Statuts Association MBUDJE', Chapitre IV Article II; Joset, 'Etude', p. 38; Burton, *Luba Religion*, p. 156; Vandercam, 'Rapports'.



THE BAMBUDYE LUKASA (LONG HAND)  
MEMORY DEVICE

The king would choose the *kikungulu* (the head of the lodge) and thereby ensure that the *Bambudye* would be favourable toward his policies.<sup>77</sup> In some cases the *kikungulu* of the *Bambudye* was also the *kikungulu* among the counsellors at the king's court but not always.<sup>78</sup>

The close tie between the King, *bulopwe* (kingship) and the *Bambudye* is evident from the proverb: *Bo mbudye bo bulopwe* (as the *mbudye* goes so goes the kingship).<sup>79</sup> Therefore, although the society paid tribute to the King,<sup>80</sup> spied for him and fulfilled his regal demands; the *Bambudye* were also a check on his power.<sup>81</sup> Kitwa Kaponda says that even though the *Bambudye* were like the royal police the *Mulopwe* had to have both the *Bambudye* and the *bavidye* behind him before he could go to war. He could not act unilaterally and was often afraid of their reaction.<sup>82</sup> It was not unknown for the *Bambudye* to force a King to pay amends for what they considered to be improper behaviour toward the society or its members or to threaten and even attack a King.<sup>83</sup> Because of the network which extended throughout Lubaland, and because of the strength of the society, the *Mulopwe* had to make certain that he did not overstep the mark in any way for fear of reprisals by the *Bambudye*.<sup>84</sup>

Not only was there a close tie between the King and the *Bambudye* as there was between the King and the *bavidye* but there was a close relationship between the *Bambudye* and the *bavidye*, thereby forming a trinity at the head of the empire. Burton writes: "Chiefs, necromancers and "bambudye" shared between them the entire domination of the Luban empire, until the coming of the white man".<sup>85</sup>

We saw earlier that one tradition states that Banza Bwanga, seemingly another name for Banza Mijibu a Kalenge, had befriended the *Bambudye* and they became known as his wives. They had been taught the craft of his *buvidye* (mediumship) and accompanied him everywhere he went dancing and gathering members.<sup>86</sup> One tradition maintains that in the past the *Bambudye* and the *bavidye* were one and it is known that in the highest levels of the *bumbudye* (mbudyeship) the members are all supposed *kusama buvidye* (to speak under the inspiration of a spirit).<sup>87</sup>

The *Bambudye* were the watchdogs of the *bulopwe*. They were concerned with what was going on in the empire and with the maintenance of sacred kingship and the tradition which made the Baluba a unified people. Anything which threatened the tradition threatened the unity and the *bulopwe*. They had to assure that the *bijila* (the interdictions, rules and regulations) were not broken in any way.<sup>88</sup> Kyoni Banza says that they had to instruct the *Mulopwe* how he should behave in every circumstance so as to keep the sacred tradition.<sup>89</sup> Because the *Bambudye* were also the guardians of the historical record they were also the means of the knowledge of the past and the ancestors who had gone to the spirit world. The maintenance of the record was what also guided the present generation and provided them with the framework which enabled the Baluba to handle the complex situations of life which presented themselves. At the same time the neglect of the tradition could bring about a breach with the past and with the ancestors leading to disaster for the nation.

The *Bambudye* kept the king-lists which follow the lineage back to the founder of the *bulopwe*-Mbidi Kiluwe. Men of memory within the *Bambudye* were able to recall all the important events of the past which were then passed on to later generations.<sup>90</sup> One device which was an aid

<sup>77</sup> W. Burton, *Luba Religion*, p. 159 ; De Roy, 'Les Bambudye', p. 94.

<sup>78</sup> Ngoy wa Kyulu, Interview, 8/7/1983 says that this was the case at Bunda; Kyoni Banza, Interview, 8/7/1983 said that the *kikungulu* had to be chosen by the *mulopwe* since he was the go-between the *mulopwe* and the *bavidye*.

<sup>79</sup> Kitwa Kaponda, Interview, 8/7/1983.

<sup>80</sup> Burton, *Luba Religion*, p. 156.

<sup>81</sup> D'Orjo de Marchovelette, 'Quelques considérations', p. 276.

<sup>82</sup> Interview, 8/7/1983; Nshimba Ntambwe, Interview, Kamina, 11/7/1983; Kyoni Banza, Interview, 8/7/1983 said that since the *Bambudye* were considered to be the king's wife, they could even sit upon a stool in the king's presence, something which was unthought of for anyone else; Ngoi Seya Gilbert, Interview, Kamina II, 8/7/1983 said that he had seen this happen at the *dipata* at Kabongo when Jacques Makasa was the *Mulopwe*.

<sup>83</sup> W. Burton, *Luba Religion*, p. 156; Burton, 'Country of the Baluba', p.335; D'Orjo de Marchovelette, 'Quelques considérations', p.285.

<sup>84</sup> Burton, *Luba Religion*, pp. 156, 157; Reece, *Rainbow*, p. 46.

<sup>85</sup> Burton, *Luba Religion*, p. 157; cf. Kitwa Kaponda, 8/7/1983; Kyoni Banza, 8/7/1983.

<sup>86</sup> D'Orjo de Marchovelette, 'Quelques considérations', pp. 275, 278; Burton, *Luba Religion*, p. 157.

<sup>87</sup> Burton, *Luba Religion*, pp. 165, 166; Joset, 'Etude', p. 37; Kitwa Kaponda, 8/7/1983; Kyoni Banza, 8/7/1983; Nshimba Ntambwe, 11/7/1983.

<sup>88</sup> Kyoni Banza, 8/7/1983.

<sup>89</sup> Interview, 8/7/1983.

<sup>90</sup> Some people question the memory of those who are involved in the keeping of oral records. I have found that the Baluba in general, have been trained to remember details which we in the west have recorded in books. This is especially true of the older generation which will be able to recall the day and even the time of day when some significant thing took place. H. Womersley, Interview, Bedford, 24/7/1980 said that the man of memory could remember the time of day a battle had taken place and tie it together with the seasons and the kings involved.

to the memory was the *lukasa* (the longhand or claw). There are different kinds of *nkasa* (pl.) depicting different aspects of the history of the people. The *lukasa* is a carefully carved piece of wood about 25 cm long and 12 cm wide. It is covered with beads and shells, all of which speak of individuals or events.<sup>91</sup> Only the initiated can interpret the meaning of each bead and not every *mbudye* member will know the meaning of all the different kinds of *nkasa*.<sup>92</sup> It would appear that it is the *kikungulu* of the lodge who is responsible for the carving of the *lukasa* and for teaching what it means to others.<sup>93</sup> It is not easy to know with accuracy the exact nature of all the religious activities of the *Bambudye*. This is because of its secret nature. It is certainly concerned with tradition and the appeasing of the ancestors. De Roy believed that it was a purpose to honour the ancestors with their dancing and their libations.<sup>94</sup> There are some aspects which would tend to indicate that the *Bambudye* were a cult group but this is not a simple cult group. My attempts to discover any single divinity have not met with great success. Kitwa Kaponda claimed that the *mukishi* of the *Bambudye* was Kungwa Banze<sup>95</sup> who was worshipped through Mpanga and Banze at Kalui.<sup>96</sup> However, Nshimba Ntambwe says that Kungwa Banze was the *mukishi* of the dance and that it was for this reason that the *Bambudye* revered this *vidye*.<sup>97</sup> Another tradition maintains that there is no single *mukishi* or divinity for the *Bambudye* but that each area has its own.<sup>98</sup>

One important person who keeps appearing in connection with the *Bambudye* is Lolo Ngombe, sometimes known as Inangombe, Ngombe or even Kakona.<sup>99</sup> Burton calls her the "presiding spirit of the 'Bambudye'".<sup>100</sup> There is a phrase that goes with the mention Lolo Ngombe: *Lolo Ngombe a Kasongo utape ne Kapamba ya kasumbu ke ya kapwile*. It seems to be acted in connection with a dance in secret worship but I have not been able to find a satisfactory meaning to the phrase.<sup>101</sup> Burton says he has seen a crude sketch of this woman on the inside of a *kinyengele* and that she was represented as a cow with a woman's head and breasts.<sup>102</sup> F. Ramsbottom says that the illustration he saw in the Katombe area was the same but that there were cow horns added to the head.<sup>103</sup> This woman is supposedly the offspring of the union between a buffalo and a woman, or she was a woman married to a buffalo.<sup>104</sup> One ex-*mbudye* member illustrated her as a sticklike woman with an extremely curved back but I have not been able to verify from any *mbudye* sources that she was part cow or buffalo.<sup>105</sup> It is not clear just what her part is in the cult of the *Bambudye*.

For practical purposes Lolo Ngombe has come to be identified with the land tortoise (*nkuvu*).<sup>106</sup> It is not known how the *nkuvu* became identified with this mythical person. One *mbudye* said that the tortoise was important because it was *nkulu wa ntanda* (the possessor of the land or the old one of the land).<sup>107</sup> The *Bambudye* are told that she is the mother who gave birth to them and they owe her their full allegiance.<sup>108</sup> There is an interesting myth (*mfumo*) in Kiluba about the

<sup>91</sup> I have seen and photographed several *nkasa* (pl of *lukasa*). Most of them would have been made during the 20<sup>th</sup> century, but one photographed at Lulenge would have been carved during the second half of the 1800s. For a good treatment of this subject cf. Reefer, 'Lukasa: A Luba Memory Device', *African Arts*, 10 (4) July 1977, pp. 14 9, 50, 88; Henroteaux, 'Notes', p. 104.

<sup>92</sup> Kyoni Banza, 8/7/1983; D'Orjo de Marchevette, 'Quelques considérations', p. 285.

<sup>93</sup> cf. Twite Kabulo Mashika, Interview, 24/12/1981 was the man who let me photograph his very old *lukasa* at Lulenge. He said that it had been made by his *manseba* (maternal uncle) Mfamba Pesha who had been the *kikungulu* at the Makena *kinyengele* and that the *lukasa* had been carved in the late 1800s before the whites came.

<sup>94</sup> De Roy, 'Les Bambudye', p. 92; Joset, 'Etude', p. 31.

<sup>95</sup> Interview, 8/7/1983.

<sup>96</sup> Kitwa Kaponda, 8/7/1983; cf. H. Womersley, 'The Land of the Little River', *CEMR*, No. 314, 1963, p. 12.

<sup>97</sup> Nshimba Ntambwe, 11/17/1983.

<sup>98</sup> Ilunga Kabale, Interview, Kamina *cit  *, 11/7/1983; Joset, 'Etude', p. 3; Nshimba Ntambwe, 11/7/1983 said that there were two kinds of *Bambudye*: the *Bamwanya* which was the branch in Kasongo Niembo and the *Bakibanza* in the north and Kabongo. I have not been able to follow this up yet, but it is possible that in Kasongo Niembo the *Bambudye* emphasize Kungwa Banze more than they did in Kabongo; Senga Banza Dieudonn  , Interview, Kinkunki, 8/7/1983 is from Kalui.

<sup>99</sup> Burton, *Luba Religion*, p. 159; Nshimba Ntambwe, 11/7/1983.

<sup>100</sup> Burton, *Luba Religion*, p. 159.

<sup>101</sup> Kasongo is the name hence Lolo Ngombe daughter of Kasongo fights or wounds with a *Kapamba ya kasumbu*. *Kapamba* could be a person's name but is more likely to be the weapon with which Lolo Ngombe wounds. *Kasumbu* is likely a substantive qualifying the *kapamba* and explaining what it is made from. A possible interpretation would be: Lolo Ngombe daughter of Kasongo wounds with a weapon made of *kasumbu* and has not yet completed her destruction; H. Womersley, Interview, 18/8/1983 suggests that the vocabulary used here is secret and not meant to be understood by the uninitiated.

<sup>102</sup> Burton, *Luba Religion*, pp.159, 160.

<sup>103</sup> Interview, Hoddesdon, 17/8/1983.

<sup>104</sup> Burton, *Luba Religion*, p. 160.

<sup>105</sup> Nshimba Ntambwe, 11/7/1983.

<sup>106</sup> It is significant that the back of the *lukasa* is carved to resemble a tortoise shell.

<sup>107</sup> Kitwa Kaponda, 8/7/1983.

<sup>108</sup> Kyoni Banza, 8/7/1983; Burton, *Luba Religion*, p. 164.

race between the tortoise and the Reed-buck which perhaps throws light on the tortoise as a revered animal among the *Bambudye*. According to the myth the *nkuvu* and the *tolwe* (Reed-buck) argue over who is the swiftest of foot. The *tolwe* says that he will race against the *nkuvu* to prove that he is the fastest. *Nkuvu* co-opts his four brothers who appear at preset points along the route once the race has commenced. They are always ahead of the tiring Reed-buck who eventually falls to the ground confessing that he should never have challenged the *nkuvu*. The motto of the *mfumo* is that because of unity even the *nkuvu* could beat the *tolwe*.<sup>109</sup> Therefore those who act together will always overcome those who act alone. It is likely for this reason that the *nkuvu* is a symbol of the *mbudye* since it indicates that their unity brings about whatever they desire in the *bulopwe*.<sup>110</sup> There are many *bijila* (interdictions) surrounding the tortoises far as the *Bambudye* are concerned although these *bijila* about eating the tortoise do not apply to the *bangulungu* (Bush-buck), and the name the *Bambudye* call the uninitiated.<sup>111</sup> In addition to the tortoise there is a type of caterpillar, red in colour, which is also called Lolo Ngombe by the *Bambudye*. It is *kijila* (forbidden) for the *Bambudye* to stand on one of these.<sup>112</sup> I have not been able to discover any link between the woman, the tortoise and the caterpillar.

Apart from the various initiations, the hearing of *mbudye* affairs, the feasts and communal sex it is not clear exactly what kind of religious practice was carried out in the *kinyengele*. Some have mentioned that there were libations of beer poured out in the house but this is questionable.<sup>113</sup> I know that the *Bambudye* were supposed to be able to turn back the normal process of nature while they were in session and were not therefore under any pressure to leave the area in order to urinate. An ex-*kapoyo vidye* and *nganga* told me that they used to pour the dregs of the beer over the hole in the ground inside the lodge where they urinated in order to disguise the place.<sup>114</sup> It is possible that the *Bambudye* did the same and that the *bangulungu* thought that they poured out libations of beer in the *kinyengele*. After all one tradition has it that the *Bambudye* were called the order of the secret closet.<sup>115</sup>

The *kinyengele* was certainly a place for instruction. The walls were covered with illustrations representing many *mikishi*, *bwana vidye* and the chiefs of every area.<sup>116</sup> On one wall was an illustration of the Sun while on that facing it was another of the Moon. Linking all four walls at the bottom was a huge serpent.<sup>117</sup> As the *Bambudye* moved up from one grade to another they had to learn all these names and symbols by heart and had to be able to know all the geographical features of Lubaland including the rivers, lakes and hills. When they could do this they could pass through the ceremony known as *kukanda lukala* (to climb a level or platform). After the naming of all the illustrations they lie on the floor of the *kinyengele* in readiness to be possessed of a famous *vidye* from the spirit world. They began to shake and tremble while the *tusulo*, the officer accorded the duty, pounds with a pedestal upon the door covered with palm midribs. Each time before he does so he calls out the name of some famous person from the past: "Is it Nkulu? Is it Banza?" He does this until the pedestal breaks through the door. This is a signal that the last name called is the *vidye* which has taken possession of the initiate. From that time, when the lodge is in session, he will be known by the name of the spirit who has possessed him.<sup>118</sup>

### The Demise of the *Bambudye*

This society which had had such a strong hold of the politics and religious tradition of the Baluba for many generations did not manage to hold together under the Belgian Administration. We saw earlier how the traditions had already come under fire prior to the coming of the whites but the events surrounding the taking over of the government by the Belgians constituted the final

<sup>109</sup> This myth in its full form appears in Burton, 'The Tortoise and the Reed-buck Run a Race' in *The Magic Drum: Tales from Central Africa*, London, Methuen, 1961, pp. 126-129.

<sup>110</sup> It is perhaps significant that in this myth is the Reedbuck (*tolwe*) and not the Bush-buck *ngulungu* which races against the *nkuvu*. If it were the *ngulungu* then the symbolism would be too clear as this is the name that the *Bambudye* call the non-members. Nevertheless, one cannot help but see the similarities.

<sup>111</sup> For the *bijila* (interdictions) surrounding the *nkuvu* cf. Burton, *Luba Religion*, p.160; Banza Kyoni, 8/7/1983 maintains that although the *Bambudye* claim they do not eat the *nkuvu*, they actually do. He says that their claims are only a cover; Ngoy wa Kyulu, Interview, Kamina II, 8/7/1983 says that among the Baluba in general there is not any taboo linked with the tortoise. He did say that the shell was often used in the compounding of *manga*.

<sup>112</sup> Ngoy wa Kyulu, 8/7/1983; Kitwa Kaponda, 8/7/1983.

<sup>113</sup> Joset, 'Etude', p. 31.

<sup>114</sup> Kabayo Mwadayvita Levi, Interview, Kamina 9/7/1983; Henroteaux, 'Notes', p. 98; Burton, *Luba Religion*, p. 157.

<sup>115</sup> Burton, *Luba Religion*, p.157.

<sup>116</sup> Kyoni Banza, 8/7/1983; Nshimba Ntambwe, 11/7/1983; H. Womersley, 18/8/1983.

<sup>117</sup> H. Womersley, 18/8/1983; H. Womersley, *Congo Miracle*, p.113.

<sup>118</sup> Burton, *Luba Religion*, pp.165-167; the *Bambudye* used a secret language which was only known by the members.

straw as far as the breaking up of the traditional society was concerned.<sup>119</sup> The *Bambudye* already tried to adapt to changing circumstances prior to the coming of the whites by opening the society to all and sundry which had not been so in the beginning of the society. In addition to this the debauchery which was commonplace in the last years was certainly not part of the original society and showed a marked degeneration in the society as a whole.<sup>120</sup> In this weakened state the *Bambudye*, like the *bavidye*, and the *balopwe* tried to stand against the whites. H. Vandercam wrote in his report on the *Bambudye* that it was their goal "S'opposer à toute influence des blancs, à leurs instructions, à leurs écoles, à leur religion".<sup>121</sup> The education of the young in a way that was totally unlike anything they had known and against all tradition as well as the teaching of a religion which they saw as opposed to the ancestors were two of the things that the *Bambudye* felt they could not tolerate.<sup>122</sup> It was for this reason that they struck out at the missions who were for practical purposes the arm of the white man's government in both education and religion.<sup>123</sup>

One wonders how it is that such a strong and widespread organization as the *Bambudye* could come to the place it is now. But for a handful of adherents it is almost extinct. The answer is bound up in the nature of the *bulopwe* (kingship). Kingship was not just the King, but a trinity of, King, *bavidye* and *Bambudye*. Once one of the links in the chain was broken the very meaning of *bulopwe* was destroyed. The first link to come under attack during the pre-colonial period had been the King so that the meaning of divine kingship was being questioned. When the Belgians became the real rulers of the land it was soon seen that the King was just a puppet in the hands of the whites. The King could no longer act in cooperation with the *bavidye* and the *Bambudye* because he was forced to submit to the demands of the Belgian Administration.<sup>124</sup>

The CEM and the Catholic missions played an important part in the breakdown of the *Bambudye*. The first reason was that they opposed the society openly and considered it to be a threat to the morality of the Baluba. Kitwa Kaponda says that the Catholic priests seized their *bankishi* (idols) in the lodges and burned their artefacts or threw them into the rivers.<sup>125</sup> The Christian faith was diametrically opposed to the worship of spirits or to the inclusion of spirits and worship and the nature of the society in holding the people together was generally not recognized by the missions.<sup>126</sup> Again, the missions were involved in primary education. The people believed that if they were to keep up with the whites and their position of power and affluence that their education and their religion were essential. Those chieftainships which did not have schools sent delegations to the missions requesting schools for their children and in most areas the young people flocked to the schools. One *shambudye* (*mbudye* member) was most adamant that it was because of the white man's schools and his religion that the *Bambudye* had lost their power. He added mournfully that it would never be possible to reinstate the *mbudye* now because there were too many churches.<sup>127</sup>

The *Bambudye* tried to reverse the trend by attempting to force new Christian converts to join them. They saw the Christians as a gathering army which would one day overthrow all the age old customs, but their efforts did not meet with success.<sup>128</sup> Many of the converts to Christianity divulged the secrets of the *Bambudye* and the young people especially did not reckon that the

<sup>119</sup> Cf. *supra* section A) Fragmentation and Disintegration of Luban Society from 1850.

<sup>120</sup> H. Womersley, 18/8/1983 says it is certain that many of the practices which marked the society latterly, were not part of the original *Bambudye*.

<sup>121</sup> H. Vandercam, 'Rapports', 7/11/1929.

<sup>122</sup> Kitwa Kaponda, 8/7/1983.

<sup>123</sup> Kitwa Kaponda, 8/7/1983.

<sup>124</sup> The Baluba Shankadi were generally considered by the Belgians to be one of the more unruly peoples in the Congo. It is likely that this was because of their attempt to revive or maintain a sacred concept of *bulopwe*. On problems over the Baluba cf. Léonard, 'Rapport', Kabinda, 4/2/1913, pp. 2,3; one of the restrictions imposed by the Belgians which must have damaged the concept of divine kingship was the prevention of some of the customs which accompanied the burial of kings. The most important was the removal of the genital organs and the head of the king which were dried and placed in the *dikumbo*. This would have to be placed in the *kobo ka malwa* at the initiation of the next king. In this way the power and authority of the former king was transferred to his successor. The Belgians insisted that white witnesses were present at the burial of chiefs so as to ensure that these customs were not continued. H. Womersley, Interview, Bedford, 24/7/1980 was one of the witnesses at Kabongo's funeral. It is however, possible that the ceremonies were carried out after the departure of the whites.

<sup>125</sup> Interview, 8/7/1983; he said that the Catholics were just as vehement in their attack against the *Bambudye* as were the missionaries of the CEM. If anything he thought that they were more destructive since they seized the artefacts and destroyed them without the consent of the people involved whereas the Protestants only destroyed *manga* and idols which were given to them.

<sup>126</sup> H. Womersley, *Congo Miracle*, p.113 declares that in spite of the immoral practices of the *Bambudye*, they "had a tremendous unifying influence on the tribe".

<sup>127</sup> Kitwa Kaponda, 8/7/1983.

<sup>128</sup> Kitwa Kaponda, 8/7/1983.

society was a viable alternative at a time when everything traditional seemed powerless and worthless.

One ex-*mbudye* member suggested the demise of the *Bambudye* was related to the conversion of so many of the *bavidye*.<sup>129</sup> This only goes to reinforce the theory that the *Mulopwe* (King), *bavidye*, and the *Bambudye*, were interdependent. They stand and fall together. Therefore, rather than pinpoint any one factor as being responsible for the collapse of the *Bambudye* it is more realistic to see these institutions as disintegrating because of a plurality of reasons which are all interrelated. A blow at any one of institutions was a blow at the whole. Today there are only isolated groups of *Bambudye* in Lubaland, but they do not play a significant role in contemporary life and most Baluba have no concept of their former glory.

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<sup>129</sup> Nshimba Ntambwe, 11/7/1983.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE CEM AND OTHERS

#### A) Belgian Authorities

##### *Personnalité Civile* or Civil Recognition

This chapter covers a number of items which need to be looked at individually although there is inevitably a certain amount of intertwining of facts. There is bound to be some repetition where material is viewed from different angles, but an attempt will be made to keep this to a minimum. *Personnalité civile* (hereafter PC) or the introduction of legislation leading to its granting, was as far as the Belgian King was concerned, the logical step to take in the light of Article 6 of the Berlin Act.<sup>1</sup> On 28 December 1888 Leopold made a decree which was to effect every association of a scientific, religious or philanthropic nature wishing to work in the Congo Free State.<sup>2</sup> This was clearly in order to safeguard his own interests against outside pressures and meant that only those organisations which were recognised by the king had any legal status within the Congo. The state of affairs was perpetuated when Congo became the Belgian Congo.

Only those associations or missions possessing PC were in a position to benefit from the multiple privileges available. These included the gratuitous acquisition of land for the establishment of mission posts, and the exoneration from taxes and customs dues on all objects destined for use in connection with worship or education.<sup>3</sup> However, the most important advantage of PC was the feeling of security and permanence which followed. A mission which did not possess PC could be ordered at any moment to leave the Colony; it could have the lands upon which it was temporarily installed confiscated and even be forced to demolish any buildings erected.<sup>4</sup> Failure to hold PC gave any mission a feeling of insecurity, as is evident from Harold Womersley's letter to the Governor of Katanga in 1930 pointing out that the CEM was as concerned as anyone with the betterment of the country:

Mais nous ne comptons plus faire des dépenses aussi longtemps que nous n'avons aucune garantie de permanence dans la colonie. (H. Womersley, Letter, 15/2/1930 au Gouverneur du Katanga à Elisabethville, cited in Umba Ndala, 'Monographie sur l'Action de la Congo Evangelistic Mission au Katanga dès Origines à 1960', Mémoire présenté en vue de l'obtention du grade de licencié ès lettres, Université Nationale du Zaïre, Lubumbashi, juillet, 1976, p. 16)

To obtain PC any mission had to follow the procedure laid down by the Government. It was necessary to indicate the goals of the association. Some missions were purely involved in evangelism while others included in their objectives educational and medical work. They had to give the name by which the mission would be known,<sup>5</sup> and state where the seat of the society would be located, in order that the mission could be contacted at any time by the Government.<sup>6</sup> Along with the application it was required that a list of all the members of the association be included indicating their names, occupation, nationality and residence. Only those members resident in the Congo were eligible for the list and for the application to be accepted by the Governor General of the Colony a majority of the members had to sign the request.<sup>7</sup> The reason for the limitation of eligible members is clearly stated by Ed. De Jonghe, Director of the official Belgian revue *Congo* and *Directeur général au Ministère des Colonies* when he says with regard to the decree of 28 Dec. 1888:

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Berlin Act* Article 6, p. 159 ft.nt. 28.

<sup>2</sup> Décret du roi souverain-28 décembre 1888. cited in O. Louwers and I. Grenade, eds., *Codes et lois du Congo Belge : Textes annotés d'après les rapports du Conseil colonial, les Instructions officielles et la jurisprudence des Tribunaux*, 3ed. Brussels, n.p., 1927, pp. 783, 784. cf. Annex 11 for the decree as cited in Louwers and Grenade.

<sup>3</sup> *Décret du roi souverain – 28 décembre 1888*. Articles 7 and 8; In the *Décret du Ministre des Colonies -24 Janvier 1943* there were further privileges accorded to *associations sans but lucratif* with regard to free concessions of land. Some missions which did not have PC were not even granted temporary authority to install themselves on a property and were forced to buy land privately from traders or other Europeans who had their own land. This happen to the *Mission Libre Suédoise* in Uvira when they first arrived in the Congo. They were told that all the land belonged to the Catholic Church in the Uvira area. They purchased land from a white farmer. Linéa Halldorf, Interview, Lemera, Kivu, 30/10/1981. She had been a missionary with the MLS since 1925.

<sup>4</sup> This was one reason why missions were hesitant to build with durable materials and most of their buildings were erected with adobe brick. H. Womersley, Interview, Bedford, 24/7/1980.

<sup>5</sup> *Décret du roi souverain- 28 décembre 1888*, Article 3 No. 1 (hereafter *Décret-1888*) cf. also No. 2.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Article 3 No.3.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, Articles 3 No. 3a and No. 4.

En fixant leur capacité juridique et leur organisation d'une façon assez sévère, le législateur a exigé que des sociétés aient un caractère nettement indigène. Il fallait empêcher que de puissants organismes étrangers n'exercent une véritable pression sur le gouvernement, sous le couvert d'une personnalité juridique congolaise. Aussi fut-il stipulé que seuls les associés résidant au Congo font partie de l'association reconnue, et que même les représentants légaux n'ont qualité pour agir au nom de la société que tant qu'ils résident au Congo. (Ed. De Jonghe, 'Les Missions Religieuses au Congo Belge', *Congo : Revue générale de la Colonie belge*, 1(1) Jan. 1933, p. 13)

Because the members and the legal representatives could only be chosen from amongst those residing in the Congo, every time a legal representative left the country for a prolonged period a new representative or assistant head had to be chosen to carry on business with the State.<sup>8</sup> The association had to indicate, at the time it requested PC, the names of its chosen representatives and whether or not there was duration to the mandate.<sup>9</sup>

According to the decree, the representative of any society had to be acceptable to the Government. If for any reason he was unable to fulfil his task adequately, or if he were absent from the country without a replacement, the Governor General could replace him provisionally with someone of his own choice. But if after a period of two years the members had not chosen their own replacement, according to the correct procedure, the mission could be dissolved.<sup>10</sup> Any society which did not keep strictly to the goals laid down in its request for *agrégation*, or which at any time became a threat to the security of the State and public order, could have its rights withdrawn. This would only take place after an investigation and if any association was dissolved its patrimony would be given to a society which had similar goals.<sup>11</sup>

Not every mission which applied for PC, and followed the steps laid down in the decree, received legal recognition from the Belgian Administration. It is not the purpose of this study to look at State-Mission relationships as a whole but we need to understand something of the Belgian policy in this area to see how this involved the CEM.<sup>12</sup> As early as the 1890s Leopold was becoming wary about what he saw as a proliferation of Protestant missions in the Congo.<sup>13</sup> After Protestant involvement in the disclosures about Leopold's dealing in the Congo Free State, the King seemed bent on excluding English-speaking missionaries from the Congo. De Jonghe justifies Leopold's concordat with Rome giving special privileges to Belgian Catholic orders wishing to work in the Congo by saying:

Un coup d'œil jeté sur la carte religieuse du Congo, en 1890, montre le danger des missions étrangères : le protestants ont couvert les Bas-Congo, point névralgique de la colonie, d'un réseau assez serré des postes ... (Ed. De Jonghe, « Les Mission Religieuses au Congo belge », in *Congo*, 1(1) Jan. 1933, p. 6)

The King was worried that the Congo would become a country exclusively reserved for non-Belgian missions. The concordat signed with Rome on 26 May in 1906 was a step taken to counter the Protestant presence in the Congo and under its terms preferential treatment was given to Catholics especially in the area of education and land grants. Catholic missions could receive from 100 to 200 hectares freely for each establishment.<sup>14</sup> Because of this concordat, Catholic missions were not subject to the same difficulties and frustrations experienced by the Protestants.

The Belgians saw the Protestants as a real danger. The threat, they maintained, was that they were non-Belgians. However, the Protestants saw this preferential treatment of the Catholics, not in the light of nationality, but of religious bias and failure to fulfil the terms of the Berlin Act.<sup>15</sup> Commenting on the granting of PC to the Protestant missions M. Azed says the multiplicity of

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, Article 5. Because this legislation affected missionaries when they went on leave, there were several legal representatives and assistants during the colonial period of the history of the CEM. These included: W.F.P. Burton, James Salter, W. Hall, H. Womersley, W. B. Hawkins, C. Yesson, cf. H. Womersley, Interview, 24/7/1980.

<sup>9</sup> Décret-1888, Articles 3 No. 3b and Article 5.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, Articles 5,6.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, Article 9.

<sup>12</sup> Works which include this aspect in some detail include M.D. Markowitz, *Cross and Sword*, and R. Slade, *English-Speaking Missions*.

<sup>13</sup> M. Azed, 'Les Missions protestantes au Congo', *Congo*, 1 (3), 1938, p. 289; cf. R. Slade, *King Leopold's Congo*, pp. 146, 148, "Leopold was determined that so far as possible foreign missionaries must be kept out and the Congo Independent State should be evangelised by Belgians". cf. *infra* on the Catholics Chapter 4 B).

<sup>14</sup> Ed. De Jonghe, 'Les Mission Religieuses au Congo Belge', *Congo*, 1 (1) 1933, pp. 13-15.

<sup>15</sup> The thesis defended in De Jonghe's article (*supra* ft. nt. 14) is that Leopold was perfectly justified in signing an accord with Rome giving preference to the Catholics. This claim was made in the face of Protestant protests that the spirit of the Berlin Act had not been kept.

missions posed a problem to the Belgian Administration. He adds that although the Administration did not impose any rules and regulations about the internal structure of any missionary society, it would most certainly consider the nature of the mission before it would grant PC:

Elle [l'Administration] réserve son appui aux missions qui ont prouvé qu'elles sont aptes à entreprendre une œuvre durable. (M. Azed, 'Les Missions protestants au Congo', Congo, 1 (3), 1938, p. 289)

The very fact that Azed uses the *passé composé* – *ont prouvé* – indicates that the Government was in no hurry to grant recognition to any Protestant mission.

When any Protestant mission applied for PC it was furnished with a form, the information from which would help the authorities with their enquiries. The Belgian Government wanted to know a number of things including: the international status of the mission, referees overseas, where there were other branches of the mission working in other countries, the headquarters overseas, the budget for installation in the Congo, and the financial resources of the mission as a whole.<sup>16</sup> It also wanted to know if the mission was going to be involved in the building of schools or hospitals and clinics and it requested the qualifications of all missionaries, male and female.<sup>17</sup>

It is evident that the authorities did follow through on the investigations of all societies that had requested PC. Louis B. Heath of the Bethel Pentecostal Assembly in Newark, New Jersey replied to the letter sent to him by Pierre Mali, the Belgian Consul in New York City, requesting information about the PM. Mali had wanted to know in which other countries the PM was working and how much they budgeted at Bethel towards the Mission every year.<sup>18</sup> Heath had furnished the Consul with as much information as possible though his reply regarding finances was very general and did not apply solely to the PM in Congo.<sup>19</sup>

While the Belgians carried out their investigations into each mission it was not uncommon for a number of years to lapse before the Government decided whether or not to grant PC. In the years up to 1915-1916 some Protestant missions were granted PC after a very short waiting period, but it seems that after this time the waiting time was lengthened considerably and nine or ten years was not uncommon.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>16</sup> I reproduce the text of the form to be completed by each mission desiring PC. The form I reproduce here bore the date 1921 and was found in the Archives of the missionary Legal Representative of the *Communauté des Eglises de Pentecôte au Zaïre* (ex-MLS):

« Questionnaire à Remplir par toute Mission Désirant s'installer dans la Colonie »

1. Quels sont le nom et le siège de la Mission ?
2. Qui est le président de cette Société ?
3. Combien de missions comporte-t-elle ?
4. Où sont elles situées ?
5. A quel secte protestants [sic] appartient-elle ?
6. Quel est le but qu'elle poursuit, uniquement le prosélytisme religieux ?
7. Organise-t-elle des écoles ?
8. Crée-t-elle des hôpitaux ou des dispensaires ?
9. Quel est l'emplacement qu'elle désire occuper ?
10. Quel est le personnel qui la composerait ?
11. Préciser le nom et prénoms des membres du groupement, le lieu et la date de naissance, la nationalité, l'adresse en Europe ou en Amérique, les diplômés universitaires ou qu'ils possèdent ?
12. Les membres de la Mission sont ils mariés ?
13. Préciser nom date de naissance de leur [sic] femmes ? quelles diplômes ont-elles ?/ Infirmières, Institutrices [sic], universitaires ?
14. De quelles ressources approximativement dispose la Mission pour son installation ?
15. Quel est approximativement le montant de ses revenue [sic] ?
16. Noms et adresses de personnes que vous pouvez donner comme références en Belgique, en Europe ou en Amérique. »

This form contained a number of errors and could well have been copied from an official form by someone who did not know too much French.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. *supra*, ft. nt. 16 Nos. 11 and 13.

<sup>18</sup> Louis B. Heath, Letter, Newark, New Jersey, 22/5/1916 to Pierre Mali, Consul of Belgium at New York, AABRuxelles Doc. PM. XIV. We have not seen Pierre Mali's letter, but it is mentioned in Heath's; presumably Pierre Mali is the same man who was Belgian Consul in New York when the Congo Reform movement was at its height. cf. R. Slade, *English-Speaking Missions*, p. 312.

<sup>19</sup> It is clear from Heath's reply to Mali that he did not really know what was going on in the Congo since he had not even been aware that the PC had been granted to the PM in September of the previous year.

<sup>20</sup> The following is a list of the dates of arrival of some of the missions in the Congo and the date on which they were granted PC:

Mission	Arrived	PC	
AIM	1912	15/4/1915	a)
MECM (Wembo Nyama)	1914	15/4/1915	b)

When the original party consisting of Blakeney, Armstrong, Burton and Salter first entered the Congo in July 1915 they made immediate application for PC and for *agrégation* of their legal representatives Blakeney and Burton.<sup>21</sup> In the light of what we have said above it is difficult to understand how the Belgians accorded PC to the PM by 16 September 1915, only months after they had entered the country.<sup>22</sup> The very fact that they were still making enquiries into the nature of the Mission as late as 17 May 1916 would seem to indicate that some sort of shortcut had been taken by the Administration.<sup>23</sup> H. Womersley says that it was Burton's ability and French as well as his professional status which had impressed the officials in Elisabethville.<sup>24</sup>

Under normal circumstances the PC granted to the PM would have been all that was required by the missionaries at Mwanza. However, as we have seen, Burton and Salter found themselves in the strange position of being legally responsible for an organisation to which they did not belong. To understand the problem of PC and the PM it is necessary to try and reconstruct events following the departure of Blakeney. We saw how Julia Richardson was sent by the PM in Johannesburg to become the Director of the Congo branch of the PM, but then in fact she never did become its Director and left for South Africa in April 1917. In 1918 she returned to the Congo with Ruth Aaronson, a Swedish-American, and sent a telegram from Elisabethville to Mwanza requesting carriers to fetch the belongings from the railhead. Burton wired back a refusal to this request. Richardson was furious and decided that she would start her own work elsewhere.<sup>25</sup> Since Richardson and Aaronson were members of the PM this must have brought matters to a head, although it is not until 1919 that there is any evidence that this was the reason for the split which followed with the PM.<sup>26</sup>

It is difficult to know exactly what happened, but it would seem that by the time Richardson and Aaronson arrived in 1918, some kind of an agreement must have been arrived at between Burton, Salter and the PM leadership in Johannesburg. The official letter-head on the paper used by the Pentecostal Mission indicated that the headquarters of the mission was in Johannesburg and noted that W.F.P. Burton was the Director of the Belgian Congo Branch. However, it is not clear whether or not this was a letterhead made up by Burton or printed for the PM in South Africa.<sup>27</sup>

Burton had been to South Africa himself in May and June 1918 to marry Hettie Trollip and to seek a number of new recruits for the working Congo.<sup>28</sup> It can only be presumed that while in Johannesburg he must have had time to discuss with the leadership of the PM their own peculiar relationship, but it has not been possible to find any written evidence of such a contact. In spite of what had happened when Richardson and Aaronson arrived in 1918, all indications are that relationships with the PM were quite warm. In May 1919 when Salter returned to Britain for his first furlough he went home through South Africa. Upon his arrival he was interviewed by Smith Wigglesworth, who was at that time an influential member of the PMU, and advocated that the PMU should send the missionaries to the Congo under the banner of the PM.<sup>29</sup>

Salter spoke in glowing terms of the liberties involved in such an affiliation with the PM. Each group working within this affiliation would benefit by the PC held by the PM but would: "retain their special identification and work in direct connection with the Society to which they belong".<sup>30</sup>

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PM	1915	16/9/1915	c)
CEM (application)	1920	10/10/1932	d)
MLS	1921	30/09/1930	e)

a) Granted in 1915 in *Bulletin Officiel du Congo Belge 1915-1918*, p. 358; b) *Loc. cit.* ; c) *Loc. cit.* ; d) *Bulletin Officiel du Congo Belge*, 25eme année, 1er partie, 1932, p. 619 ; e) cf. in the 'Ordonnance du Gouverneur général- 19 décembre 1932', for the agrégation of the MLS représentants légaux L. Karlsen and G. Palmertz which notes the Arrêté royal du 30 septembre 1930 according the MLS their PC. Archives of the CELZa. Missionary Représentant Légal at Bukavu. Regarding a lengthy waiting period cf. C. Irvine, *Church of Christ*, p. xix.

<sup>21</sup> Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p. 20.

<sup>22</sup> 'Ordonnance du Gouverneur général-16 septembre 1915', in *Bulletin Officiel du Congo Belge 1915-1918*, p. 358.

<sup>23</sup> This is the date reported in the letter from L.B. Heath to P. Mali, cf. L.B. Heath, Letter, Newark, 22/5/1916.

<sup>24</sup> H. Womersley, Interview, Bedford, 24/7/1980; Womersley said that when Burton was on furlough Salter used Anna Toerein as his secretary since she was Afrikaans and could write in Dutch.

<sup>25</sup> Burton, 'Recorded Notes', p. 2.

<sup>26</sup> 'MPMU-12/6/1919', No. 2.

<sup>27</sup> This is the letterhead used in a letter sent from W. Burton, to the Vice-Governor General of the Katanga from Elisabethville on 12/3/1918.

<sup>28</sup> Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p.114.

<sup>29</sup> 'MPMU-5/5/1919', No. 11. the PMU had become disenchanted with the CIM government on the field and they wished to send their missionaries elsewhere. It was for this reason that they thought that affiliation with the PM would be a reasonable alternative. F.D. Johnstone and A. Richardson were two missionaries who thought in terms of working under this kind of arrangement with the PM.

<sup>30</sup> 'MPMU-14/5/1919', No. 1.

Nevertheless, within a month of this meeting held by the PMU there were communications from the Congo indicating that all was not well between Burton and the PM. S. Wigglesworth reporting the problems that existed between them said that the difficulty arose when G. Bowie had sent American missionaries to the Congo without approval from Mwanza, and without provisions for their support.<sup>31</sup>

In August of 1919 a letter from Salter to the PMU indicated that differences between them had forced Burton and Salter to resign from the PM. For this reason they spoke of having to make arrangements for new stations in the Congo and of needing to form a new Pentecostal work which would be detached from the "Johannesburg People".<sup>32</sup> There is no written record on this matter from Burton but there is a hint of something amiss in his: *RFWFPB* from Mwanza in August 1919. When referring to financial arrangements he has made with the new branch of the Standard Bank of South Africa in Elisabethville Burton says: "Please do not continue to transmit monies through Bros. Hooper and Bowie of Johannesburg".<sup>33</sup>

There is no evidence anywhere else, that I have been able to find, which indicates a rupture in relationships between Burton, Salter and the PM prior to this time. The first indication from the Belgian Government source that there was to be a change in the legal status of the missionaries at Mwanza comes in January 1920. In that month the Vice-Governor General of the Katanga, in a letter to the Minister of Colonies, reports that Burton had spoken with the *Représentant Légal* of the *Comité Spécial du Katanga*. He had told him that he did not wish to have the contract for the land that Mwanza made up in the name of the PM since that association was going to be dissolved.<sup>34</sup>

On 30 July 1920 all the missionaries of the PM in Congo sent a request to the Governor General requesting PC in the name of The Congo Evangelistic Mission.<sup>35</sup> It must be remembered that all these people were still legally members of the PM in the Congo and that the PM had not been dissolved. The Vice-Governor General's office in Elisabethville became responsible for the enquiry that followed. Letters were written to South Africa to find out from Bowie what the status of these missionaries in the Congo was. According to a note written by a member of the Secretariat to the Vice-Governor General, Bowie had written on 4 November indicating that all those who were wishing to start a new missionary society were still members of the PM.<sup>36</sup> In the same note, the Governor is made aware that the first thing that the Government had to do was assess what possessions the PM held in the Congo. This was in order that the members of the CEM could then ask for official permission from the Governor General to have the same transferred to the "Pentecostal Conference". One can only presume that by "Pentecostal Conference" CEM was meant.<sup>37</sup> The Minister of Colonies was kept informed since it seems that by this time the granting of PC had become a matter which touched Belgian policy as a whole, at home and abroad.<sup>38</sup> There is no record of what the Minister thought, but it would seem from later letters to the CEM, and the long waiting period which followed, that the Administration decided on stalling tactics.

By June 1921 Burton had gone on furlough to Britain and Salter had become the Legal Representative. He wrote to the Vice-Governor General requesting information about the PC for which they had applied in 1920. This letter was forwarded to the Minister of Colonies who wrote back saying:

La substitution de la « Congo Evangelistic » à la « Pentecostal Mission » n'est pas possible en l'état [sic] de choses actuel, car elle consacrerait la dissolution de la « Pentecostal Mission ». (cited in, Vice-Gouverneur Général du Katanga, Letter, No. 1017/375/C Elisabethville, 16/3/1922 à James Salter, Mwanza (Rough hand-written MS) ARBAPShaba)

<sup>31</sup> 'MPMU-12/6/1919', No. 2.

<sup>32</sup> This is cited in 'MPMU-18/8/1919', No. 6.

<sup>33</sup> 'MPMU-10/8/1919' No. 15.

<sup>34</sup> Tombeur, (Vice-Gouverneur Général du Katanga, Elisabethville), Letter, Département Service des Terres No. 63, Elisabethville, 21/1/1920 à Monsieur le Ministre des Colonies à Bruxelles, AABruxelles Dos. PM. XIV/.

<sup>35</sup> W.F.P. Burton, James Salter, Alice Salter, Hettie Burton, Cyril E. Taylor, Edmund Hodgson, AA. Johnstone, A. Toerin and F.D. Johnstone (Members of the CEM) an application for PC sent to the Gouverneur Général du Congo Belge à Boma on 30/7/1920, ARBAPShaba.

<sup>36</sup> Brasseur, 'Note pour Monsieur le Vice-Gouverneur Général', a handwritten note n.p. [Elisabethville] 19/4/1921 ARBAPShaba.

<sup>37</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>38</sup> Postiaux, (Le Secrétaire Général a.i. pour le Gouverneur Général absent) Letter, Gouvernement général, la Direction, le Bureau No. 119, Boma, 12/1/1922 à Monsieur le Vice-Gouverneur Général de la Province du Katanga à Elisabethville, ASRKabinda. This was a letter in reply to the latter's letter No. 664, of 21/8/1921 regarding the PC of the CEM and says that Postiaux had information from the Minister of the Colonies relative to this matter.

In the same letter Vice-Governor General points out to Salter that according to Article 6 of the decree of 28 December 1888, the Pentecostal Mission is not dissolved and that what had been called dissolution of the PM was nothing more than a unilateral declaration by Salter and Burton. They did not have the right to liquidate the belongings of the PM without a mandate from all the members.<sup>39</sup>

On 15 April 1922 Salter had written to the Justice Department explaining that the PM had been legally dissolved.<sup>40</sup> This letter had been passed to the Vice-Governor General who wanted to know before which authorities this dissolution had taken place and requested to see a copy of the document declaring this dissolution of the PM.<sup>41</sup> Salter, who was only filling in on a temporary basis for Burton, replied that the latter was on his way back to Africa from Europe and would visit the Vice-Governor General when he returned.<sup>42</sup>

Umba Ndala in his: 'Monographie', mentions a letter which he claims was from the Minister of Justice at Elisabethville advising the missionaries to renounce the PC which was held in the name of the PM. Ndala says that the Minister suggested that this was the only way that the CEM would be able to get its own PC. If they renounced the former PC they could then:

...entrer dans une dissolution nominale de deux ans pour que l'avoir social de l'ancienne Mission soit éventuellement transmis et qu'une nouvelle personnalité civile soit accordée à la nouvelle Mission. (Letter, No. 390, n.pl.; 30/1/1923 cited in Umba Ndala, 'Monographie', p. 15)

I have not been able to find this letter but we do have W. Burton's communication of 9 May 1923 in which he replies to the letter No. 390 of 30 January 1923 sent to him by the Governor of the Katanga. Ndala must be mistaken in saying that it was the Minister of Justice who had written the above letter. It is more likely that it was from the Justice Department since the Governor often sent letters through that department. Burton mentions that, in accord with the instructions given to him in that same letter, the *Administrateur Territorial* from Kisale, had visited him. Burton had declared before him that the Pentecostal Mission held no assets in the entire territory other than the lands upon which the Mission was built at Mwanza and Ngoy Mani.<sup>43</sup> Since no other document can be found which could be regarded as constituting a legal dissolution of the PM, we presume that this visit from the Administrator must have been regarded as the official end of the PM.

However, even as late as September 1925 some of the Government departments were still insisting that the Pentecostal Mission had never been properly dissolved and that this was the reason why PC had never been granted to the CEM.<sup>44</sup> A number of letters went back and forth between Mwanza and Elisabethville, but it is evident from other sources that this was all just part of the stalling tactics of the Belgian Administration since there was definitely a more complex problem emerging from behind scenes.<sup>45</sup>

That this is so would seem to be indicated by a number of things that have come to light in the written sources. The first of these is a sentence in a rough copy of a letter to Salter in 1922. The sentence was later crossed out and obviously not included in the final draft: "La dissolution de la Pentecostal semble d'autant plus problématique".<sup>46</sup> It would seem that there are two reasons why this whole question of PC and the CEM was becoming 'plus problématique'. The first being that the Belgians were becoming more and more confused as to the origin of the PM and its connections overseas. The second was that the Belgians were rethinking their policy in the Congo

<sup>39</sup> Vice-Gouverneur Général du Katanga, Letter, No. 1017/375/C, Elisabethville, 16/3/1922 à James Salter, Mwanza, ARBAPShaba. This was a rough handwritten copy.

<sup>40</sup> Vice-Gouverneur Général du Katanga, Letter, No. 1913, Elisabethville, 1/6/1922 à James Salter, Mwanza, ARBAPShaba. A rough handwritten copy.

<sup>41</sup> *Loc.cit.*

<sup>42</sup> James Salter, Letter, Mwanza, 20/6/1922 to Vice-Gouverneur Generaal, Elisabethville, ARBAPShaba. This letter was written in Dutch.

<sup>43</sup> W. Burton, Letter, Mwanza, 9/5/1923 au Gouverneur. ARBAPShaba.

<sup>44</sup> Le Sous Directeur, Pour l'Inspecteur Général, 'Note pour la 4<sup>e</sup> Direction', No. 3678, p. pl. , 20/9/1925, AABruxelles Dos. PM. XIV/14. It is not clear where this letter comes from but it probably *Service des Terres*.

<sup>45</sup> The following communications between the CEM and the Government changed hands before PC was granted in 1932, L. Bureau, (Vice-Gouverneur Général, Elisabethville) Letter, No. 550/1009/R.A. Justice, Elisabethville, 19/5/1928 au Gouverneur Général à Boma. ADRBJShaba; G. Heenen (Vice-Gouverneur Général, Elisabethville) Letter, No. 109971/3861/C Justice, Elisabethville, 28/12/1928 à Burton, Mwanza, ADRBJShaba. This letter informs Burton that the Department of the Colonies has not seen fit to grant PC to the CEM; W. Burton, Letter, Mwanza, 6/6/1929 au Gouverneur Général de la Province du Katanga [sic], ADRBJShaba; CEM, 'Rapport Général sur les Activités de la Congo Evangelistic Mission pour l'année 1930', where we read : « Nous manquons encore notre personification [sic] civile, et ainsi nous sommes sans aucun garantie de nos terrains ». (p.1) ; Stienon, (Commissaire de District, Likasi) Letter, No. 7504/ Just. C. Jadoville, 27/12/1930 au Gouverneur de la Province du Katanga à Elisabethville, ADRBJShaba regarding the enquiry into the activities of the CEM and their request for PC.

<sup>46</sup> Vice-Gouverneur Général, Letter, No. 1017/375/C, Elisabethville, 16/3/1922 à James Salter, ARBAPShaba.

in the light of events there. They were afraid of any Protestant groups which might in any way encourage the Congolese and what they saw as moves towards autonomy and nationalism. These will be looked at separately. It would seem that the Administration was worried that it could not identify the place from which the PM had sprung. In one letter to Salter about the improper dissolution of the PM the Vice-Governor General indicates that it is difficult to talk about dissolution when they have only just started up another mission in the Kivu.<sup>47</sup>

Je vous signal à ce propos que la Pentecostal Missionary Union dont je pense, la Pentecostal Mission n'est qu'une émanation, vient d'ériger une nouvelle station à Kalembe-Lembe près d'Uvira. (Vice-Gouverneur Général du Katanga, Letter, No. 1017/375/ C 16/3/1922)

In an editorial entitled 'De Protestantsche Zendingen in Kongo' the author outlines the origins of all the Protestant missions in the Congo by the year 1921. However, when he gets to the PMU he makes a note that the origins of this group are unclear. Since this article was published in the official journal *Congo*, we can only assume that the Belgians were confused on this point.<sup>48</sup> As late as January 1928 the Vice-Governor General of the Katanga, who was then L. Bureau, wrote to the Governor General. He asked whether or not there had been any follow up on the latter's thoughts about an inquiry into the problem of PC at the headquarters of the Mission in the United States of America.<sup>49</sup>

It is probable that what confused the Government was that Bowie was (as far as they were concerned), from America. They would therefore see him as under the authority of a headquarters in America. Yet Burton and Salter, and later some of the other missionaries, were from the churches in Britain. Since the PMU was considered by the Belgians as responsible for missionaries from Pentecostal churches in that country they would expect British nationals to be under the PMU. However, to add to the complication there were also South Africans in the PM/CEM. Burton and Salter saw themselves as completely independent of any outside organisation. However, the Administration, which was mostly Catholic, could not conceive of a mission which did not come under the authority of some head-office outside their own country of activity.<sup>50</sup> It is just possible the Belgians felt there was something rather more devious going on in a political way. This can be supposed in the light of what at least one administrator had to say about the missionaries' activities. He complained that they were making maps, and taking stock of the population of the areas wherever they went.<sup>51</sup>

The second development was, however, more important as far as the history of the CEM is concerned. The Belgians were reconsidering their policy toward Protestants and especially towards those that might constitute a threat to Belgian rule in the Congo. Any group which encouraged or appeared to encourage the Congolese along autonomous lines was brought under immediate suspicion. This attitude resulted from earlier feelings about English-speaking Protestants and had been aggravated by events in the lower Congo. In 1921 Simon Kimbangu had made his appearance in the area. He had attracted such large crowds that the Belgians were convinced his was a movement of an anti-white and anti-Belgian nature. Within six months they had condemned the man to death.<sup>52</sup> Since Kimbangu had come out of Protestantism the Government, together with

<sup>47</sup> When the troubles between Burton/Salter and the PM came to light, the PMU decided to start its own work in the Kivu. Arthur Richardson became the leader. He was offered Kalembelembe which had been an administrative post at one time but which by that time had been abandoned by the Belgians. This same location had previously been offered to the Scandinavian Pentecostals, but they had turned it down because the area was so sparsely populated. The Scandinavians had interpreted the offer by the Government as a move by the Catholics to shunt them out of the way. cf. Kuye-Ndondo wa Mulemera, 'L'Oeuvre Missionnaire des Eglise de Pentecôte Suédoises au Zaïre (1921-1980)', Unpublished Mémoire presented to the Faculté de Théologie Protestante au Zaïre for the degree of Licencié en Théologie, Kinshasa, Juillet 1981, p. 13; cf. Tabazi-Rugama, 'Essai d'Histoire du Protestantisme au Sud-Kivu (1921-1974)' Unpublished Mémoire for the degree of Licencié en Education, in UNAZA, Institut Supérieur Pédagogique, Bukavu, 1975, pp. 26,31.

<sup>48</sup> [Denyn and De Jonghe], 'De Protestantsche Zendingen in Kongo', *Congo*, 1 (4) Avril, 1921, p. 575.

<sup>49</sup> L. Bureau, (Vice-Gouverneur Général, Elisabethville) Letter, No. III 25/78/C, Elisabethville, 12/1/1928 au Monsieur le Gouverneur Général, Boma, ADRBJShaba regarding the PC of the CEM; Le Premier Ministre, Le Ministre des Colonies, Letter, No. 861, Bruxelles, 29/12/1928 au Gouverneur Général à Boma, AABruxelles, Dos. PM. XIV talks about the head of the 'organisme' in America.

<sup>50</sup> By 1922 Salter using a letterhead which has included on it the Congo Evangelistic Mission, International and Pentecostal. cf. Salter, Letter, Mwanza, 20/6/1922 au Vice-Gouverneur Général; by 1928 Burton has included on the CEM letterhead: Thos. In Myerscough as Honorary Secretary-Treasurer and H. Webster as Honorary magazine Secretary.

<sup>51</sup> Hutsebaut, (Administrateur Territorial, Mwanza) Letter, No. 234, Mwanza, 10/5/1923 au Commissaire de District, Tanganika-Moero à Albertville, AABruxelles Doc. PM. XIV/12.

<sup>52</sup> The appearance of Simon Kimbangu is usually dated from his first healing which reportedly took place on 6 April 1921; cf. M.-L. Martin, *Kirche ohne Weisse: Simon Kimbangu und seine Million in Kirche im Kongo*, Basel, Friedrich Reinhardt Verlag, 1971, p. 71; for the Belgian side cf. Ed. De Jonghe, 'Formations récentes de sociétés au Congo Belge', *Africa*, 9, 1936, pp. 60, 61.

the Catholics, was certain that the Protestants' *libre examen* of the Bible was responsible for Kimbangu's establishment.<sup>53</sup> Protestants were not encouraged to stay in the Colony and as one Government directive put it: "Des règles uniformes ont été arrêtées pour l'octroi des terres aux missions protestantes."<sup>54</sup>

While the Belgians were wondering what to do, something else happened in the South East of the country to add to their fears. On 12 August 1925 the Territorial Administrator at Sakania sent an urgent telegram to Elisabethville requesting help in a case of mass drownings.<sup>55</sup> This was the beginning of the work of Tomo Nyirenda, better known as Mwana Lesa, in the Congo.<sup>56</sup> The group which he started – Kitawala – became a threat to the colonial Government for many years.

Once again the Protestants were blamed for this occurrence and as one District Commissioner wrote some years later: "Tous les adeptes Kitawala se recrutent parmi les fidèles protestants."<sup>57</sup> By this time reports about the Ethiopian movement were beginning to filter through from South Africa. At this date it would have been easier for Belgian officials to travel from Elisabethville to Europe via the railway in South Africa than any other way, so it is quite reasonable to suppose that by the mid-1920s the Belgians would have had a good idea of the influence of the Ethiopian movement in South Africa.<sup>58</sup>

That the unrest in Congo was seen as part of what was going on throughout the continent is evident from what was written a few years later by Ed. De Jonghe when he warns against too much authority too quickly for the African church leaders.<sup>59</sup>

L'expérience coloniale a prouvé que les pasteurs noirs se laissent entraîner facilement à des mouvements autonomistes et xénophobes. N'avons-nous pas vu se développer, en Afrique du Sud, le mouvement des Eglises éthiopiennes ? Au Congo Belge même, des mouvements comme celui de Kibangu [sic] et de Mwana Leza, [sic Lesa] quoique d'aspect un peu différent, sont de nature à faire réfléchir les coloniaux qui veulent le relèvement et l'émancipation lente et progressive des noirs.

Le danger d'églises autonomes, prématurément constituées, n'est pas imaginaire. (Ed. De Jonghe, 'Les Missions Religieuses Au Congo Belge', *Congo* 1(1), 1933, p. 23)

In view of all this, it is not surprising that after 1920, when there was suddenly an influx of Pentecostal missions into the Congo, that the Administration felt greatly threatened. Prior to 1920 the PM was the only Pentecostal mission in the Congo.<sup>60</sup> However, not including the PM/CEM, in

<sup>53</sup> One of the foremost opponents of the policy of *libre examen* of the Bible was J. van Wing. He was nonetheless antagonistic toward Kimbangu and *Kimbanguisme*. cf. J. van Wing, 'Kimbanguisme vu par un témoin', *Zaire*, 12 (6) 1958, pp. 563-618; even De Jonghe intimates that the Protestants encourage prophetic movements, when he talks about missionaries who influence and inspire fanatics: "Les visionnaires et thaumaturges invoquent volontiers des scènes bibliques telles que Moïse devant le Pharaon". De Jonghe 'Formations récentes', *Africa*, p. 59. Kimbangu was accused of xenophobia and condemned to death, but his sentence was commuted to life imprisonment. This word 'xenophobia' was a favourite of the Belgian Administration and one used in many communications about groups or individuals opposed to or considered to be opposed to the Government of the day; cf. M-L. Martin, *Prophetic Christianity in the Congo: The Church of Christ on Earth through the Prophet Simon Kimbangu*, Johannesburg, The Christian Institute of Southern Africa, n.d., p. 5; Ed. De Jonghe, 'Les Missions religieuses au Congo belge', *Congo*, 1 (1) January 1933, p. 23; De Jonghe, 'Formations récentes de sociétés secrètes au Congo', pp. 59, 60; cf. Roger Anstey, *Leopold's Legacy*, pp. 134, 135.

<sup>54</sup> Le Sous-Directeur (pour l'Inspecteur Général chef de 'service ' Note pour la 4<sup>e</sup> Direction', No. 3678, n.pl., 20/9/1925, AABruxelles Dos. PM. XIV/14.

<sup>55</sup> 'L'affaire Mwana Lesa', *Revue de Droit et Jurisprudence du Katanga*, Elisabethville, No. 8 January 1926, p. 201 (hereafter RDJK).

<sup>56</sup> Tomo Nyirenda was his name (often misspelled Nyerenda in letters and articles) but his followers called him Mwana Lesa, Kibemba for Son of God. Cf. 'L'affaire Mwana Lesa', in RDJK, No. 8, 1926, p. 203; Hans-Jürgen Greschat, *Kitawala: Ursprung, Ausbreitung und Religion der Watch-Tower-Bewegung in Zentralafrika*, Marburg, N.G. Elwert, 1967, p. 53; De Jonghe, 'Formations récentes', pp. 60, 61.

<sup>57</sup> M. Thilmany, (Commissaire de District, Tanganika-Moero) 'Note Synthétique du Rapport A.O./1948', Albertville, 22/2/1949, ARBAPShaba; not all Belgian administrators were openly hostile toward the Protestants and most were fair in their dealings. This is evident from the article by a Providential Commissioner in the Congo - René Wauthion, 'Le Mouvement Kitawala au Congo Belge', *Bulletin de l'Association des Anciens Etudiants de l'Institut Universitaire des Territoires d'Outre-Mer*, No. 8, 1950, p. 8 where he says :

« Dans leur lutte contre la propagation du Kitawala les Autorités Coloniales trouvèrent toujours le plus large et plus loyal appui de la part des Missions protestantes ».

<sup>58</sup> By 1902 the work of Maurice Leenhardt, *Le Mouvement Ethiope au Sud de l'Afrique de 1896 à 1899*, (original impression Cahors 1902) had been published.

<sup>59</sup> Ed. De Jonghe, 'Formations récentes', p. 61. He talks about what had been going on in Africa for the past forty years and calls *Kimbanguisme* part to the nationalistic prophetic religion which had been troubling southern Africa, Rhodesia, the Belgian Congo, Kenya and other countries.

<sup>60</sup> There had been a number of Pentecostal missionaries working in the Congo with other missions. F. D. Johnstone who later joined the CEM had first worked with the CIM from 1914 at Djoka Punda in the Kasai and had resigned from the PMU in October 1919. The PMU was the organisation which had seconded him to the CIM. cf. 'MPMU-28/10/1919', No. 4; 'MPMU-29/9/1916', No. 9 which deals with the PMU decision to withdraw the missionaries from their association with

the years 1920-21 suddenly there were four Pentecostal missions all applying for PC from the Belgian Government: the *Assemblées de Dieu*, the *Mission Libre Suédoise*, the *Mission Libre Norvégienne*, and the Pentecostal Missionary Union.<sup>61</sup>

The Authorities decided to carry out a thorough investigation into the nature of the Pentecostals. This was done through the Ministry of Colonies in Brussels in November 1922 a written report entitled "Les missionnaires de la Pentecôte au Congo" was presented to the Ministry. The investigator had spoken to a churchman in America and believed that the Pentecostal missionaries were a serious threat to the security of the Congo:

Les missionnaires de la « Pentecôte » se conduiraient d'après les renseignements nous parvenus, comme des névrosés et des illuminés. Sous l'influence de leur enseignement, de prophètes, thaumaturges et visionnaires se multiplieront en Afrique. (The above anonymous report 'Les missionnaires de la Pentecôte au Congo', n.pl., 14/11/1922, is found in Dossier AOG. M.P. Divers VI/25 AABrussels)

The author had included in his investigation the PMU in the Kivu, the AOG in the Ulele, the PM in the Katanga and the Church of Karlsborg in the Kivu.<sup>62</sup> He is not slow to see in the Pentecostal teaching the same kind of thing that had happened with Kimbangu:

On peut-même craindre que des missionnaires baptistes ne prennent ce mouvement au sérieux. Il convient en effet de rappeler ici l'attitude du Rd. Jennings missionnaire baptiste anglais lors de l'affaire Kibangu [sic]. Ce missionnaire semblait un moment donné, disposera [sic] admettre la réalité des miracles du fameux Kibangu [sic]. (Les missionnaires de la Pentecôte au Congo', 14/11/1922)

He went on to say that the Pentecostal doctrine was of an extremely dangerous nature and could easily, because of the extravagance inherent in it, be the cause of considerable unrest in the future if the Authorities were not to prevent it. If not it could come to the place where armed force may be necessary to suppress it.<sup>63</sup> The author adds that even if the liberty of worship was guaranteed by Article 11 of Le Traité de Saint-Germain-en-Laye, there was still room in the same treaty for the restrictions which could be imposed to maintain security and public order.<sup>64</sup> In summary:

Il vaut infiniment mieux prévenir les mouvements insurrectionnels qu'entraîneront nécessairement ces extravagances que se trouver contraint de les réprimer par la force... Ne conviendrait-il pas de prendre des mesures pour enrayer la prédication des missionnaires de la « Pentecôte » ? (Les missionnaires de la Pentecôte au Congo', 14/11/1922)

It would appear that this same report was later sent out to Government officials in the Congo in the form of a *Dépêche Ministerielle*.<sup>65</sup> Orders were passed on to keep all Protestant missions, and specifically the CEM, under close observation. Hutsebaut, who was the Administrator for the territory in which Mwanza was found, wrote that the Pentecostals had been

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the CIM and commence their own work in the Kivu; another Pentecostal missionary to work with the CIM before starting a Pentecostal mission was G. Tollefsen founder of the Mission Libre Norvégienne; cf. *Med Bibel och operations kniv I Kongo*, Stockholm, Förlager Filadelfia, 1963, p.31.

<sup>61</sup> The following is the list of Pentecostal Missions to enter the Congo between 1920 in 1950 :

Assemblées de Dieu	1921	a)
Four Square Gospel Mission	1928	b)
Mission Libre Suédoise	1921	c)
Mission Libre Norvégienne	1921	d)
Pentecostal Missionary Union	1920	e)

a) C. Irvine, *Church of Christ*, p. 56 b) *Ibid.*, p. 79. This mission had its PC withdrawn in 1941 and its work was taken over by the APCM. c) R. Prosen, et al. eds., *CEPZA, miaka 60 (1921-1981): Kitabu cha ukumbusho, Bukavu, Sahidi-Presse*, 1981, p. 4. d) *Loc. cit.* e) A. Missen, *The Sound of a Going*, p. 61; they did not actually establish a station at Kalembelembe until 1922, cf. Tabazi-'rugama, 'Essai', p. 77.

<sup>62</sup> This is the MLS.

<sup>63</sup> Attached to the report: 'Les missionnaires de la Pentecôte au Congo', 14/11/1922 was a statement of the *Fundamental Truths of the AOG*, 2-7/10/1916; the language used here is similar to that used by De Jonghe, 'Formations récentes', p. 59.

<sup>64</sup> Le Traité de Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Article 11:

Les Puissances signataires, exerçant des droits de souveraineté ou une autorité dans les territoires africains, continueront à veiller à la conservation des populations indigènes ainsi qu'à l'amélioration de leurs conditions morales et matérielles; elles s'efforceront en particulier d'assurer la suppression complète de l'esclavage, sous toutes ses formes, et de la traite des Noirs, sur terre et sur mer. (cited in Ed. De Jonghe, 'La Protection des Mission Religieuses et les Actes Internationaux', *Congo*, 1(2) Feb. 1936, p. 173).

<sup>65</sup> Hutsebaut, (L'Administrateur Territorial, Mwanza), Letter, No. 234, Mwanza, 10/5/1923 au Monsieur le Commissaire de District, Tanganyika-Moero, Albertville, AABruxelles, Dos. PM. XIV/.

very active in that they had made a strong impression on the population.<sup>66</sup> However, he goes on to say that the Pentecostals and other whites, including traders, had by their presence made it difficult to maintain the traditional respect for tribal custom. He said that he could not report any unfounded extravagances on the part of the Pentecostals but he did find the Pentecostals to be strange. Burton had told him that he was able to perform miracles by the imposition of hands on the sick and prayer in the name of the Lord. According to him, Burton had said that prayer was all-powerful and by means of prayer miracles could be enacted. Several examples of miracles were related, including the expulsion of termites from the dwelling at Mwanza as a result of prayer; however, the most remarkable, according to Hutsebaut, was the healing of Salter's arm after it had been broken.<sup>67</sup>

Hutsebaut follows closely the vocabulary of the *Dépêche Ministerielle* when he agreed that with regard to the Pentecostal missionaries "certains d'entre eux frisent l'illuminisme ou la névrose".<sup>68</sup> But this was not the only thing that was to be watched carefully since their behaviour was suspicious in other ways. He questions their motives for being in the Congo and bases this doubt upon their interest in topographical matters:

Cette grande influence de missionnaires protestants de nationalité britannique n'est pas à attribuer uniquement au grand désir de faire connaître [sic] les Evangiles ... ce que je ne puis pas comprendre c'est qu'un missionnaire animé d'un zèle apostolique ait besoin pur accomplir son Ministère [sic] de tous les détail topographiques de la région qu'il parcourt. Le Révérend Burton a fait une carte du territoire aussi parfaite, si pas meilleur, que celle que nous possédons. (Hutsebaut, (Administrateur Territorial, Mwanza), Letter, No. 234, Mwanza,, 10/5/1923 au Commissaire de District à Albertville, pp. 2,3, Dossier P.M. XIV/12 AAB)

From Burton's point of view the making of maps and the recording of populations was a necessary part of preparation for evangelism. He wanted to know the distances between villages and the density of population before he decided where to locate mission stations and where to erect churches. The fact that he was an artist and an engineer and that he saw to it that whatever he did, he did with precision, was a reason why his map was so accurate and well drawn.<sup>69</sup>

Hutsebaut's letter was considered important enough for a copy eventually to find its way to the Ministry of the Colonies in Brussels. Attached to it was a letter from the acting Governor of the Katanga, G. Heenen, who noted that orders had been given to the District Commissioner of Tanganyika-Moero to carry out a discreet watch on all the activities of the CEM.<sup>70</sup> Heenen added that although they would need to be watched he did not see how:

...leurs pratiques bizarres puissent être interdites, ni que l'on puisse les considérer comme portant atteinte à l'ordre public. (G. Heenen, (Le Gouverneur p.i., Elisabethville) Letter, No. 364, Elisabethville, 5/7/1923 au Gouverneur Général à Boma Dossier P.M. XIV/12 AAB)

From the tone of his letter it would seem that he was not antagonistic toward the missionaries of the CEM. However, the CEM was under close watch and the Administration was eager to get a copy of *Missionary Pioneering in Congo Forests* in order to find out what the CEM missionaries were thinking. A copy was obtained through Hutsebaut, and G. Heenen, who was Vice-Governor General of the Katanga at the time, decided he should have it sent directly to the Ministry for the Colonies.<sup>71</sup>

Another thing which worried the Administration about the CEM was the way that the CEM and the Catholics were always in conflict. The full details of this conflict will need thorough

<sup>66</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.* in this letter he indicates that the first missionaries at Mwanza where the victims of their own beliefs as they would not take any medicines; it is interesting to note that the missionaries had nothing but good to say about Hutsebaut. cf. CEMR, No. 4, p. 30.

<sup>69</sup> H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, pp. 64, 65; D. Garrard 'Trials from the Past', *Contact*, No. 541, p. 14; Burton was interested in many matters which drew comment from the Government officials. The Governor, L. Bureau writes to the Governor General and says:

Je n'ai pu réserver une suite favorable à la demande de ce missionnaire [Burton] de mettre à sa disposition un pluviomètre et hygromètre, au fins d'observations météorologiques. (Elisabethville, Letter, Justice et Enseignement, No. 956, Elisabethville, 21/8/1926 au Gouverneur Général, AABruxelles, Dos. PM. XIV/)

H. Womersley, *Congo Miracle*, pp. 52, 53 says that all the missionaries got their interest and instruction in mapmaking from Burton; the main reason for the mapmaking was to facilitate travel.

<sup>70</sup> G. Heenen, (Gouverneur, p.i., Elisabethville) Letter, No. 364, Elisabethville, 5/7/1923 au Monsieur le Gouverneur Général à Boma, AABruxelles, Dos. PM. XIV/12.

<sup>71</sup> G. Heenen, (Vice-Gouverneur Général, Elisabethville) Letter, III. Justice No. 1829/3774/C, Elisabethville, 20/12/1928 au Gouverneur Général à Boma, ADRBJShaba.

treatment later. Here it is mentioned since it is one of the items which needs to be considered in any handling the reasons why the Administration delayed or considered the withholding of PC from the CEM. This conflict must have been looked upon with some concern since it is mentioned in a number of reports and letters.<sup>72</sup> The Government must have felt that if it were to grant PC to the CEM it would only perpetuate a problem which it could terminate the moment it expelled this CEM from the Colony.

To complicate matters for the CEM, there were some unfortunate events which had taken place in a northern part of the CEM Field. Robert Thomas, a missionary with the CEM at Kipushya and later at Katenta, was a man a quick temper. He demanded respect from all Congolese, including chiefs and Government employees. As early as 1925, he had been involved in an affair when he had struck workers who had not constructed a thatched church according to his instructions.<sup>73</sup>

Kiofwe Yoano who worked closely with Thomas during his years at Kipushya and Katenta says that he was a man who did not take no for an answer, and who lost his temper very quickly. He could not stand lack of respect and would not hesitate to strike people. He worked well with his own catéchistes, but if they received any opposition from Catholic catéchistes or chiefs he would be the first to take action. Kiofwe said the Catholics and the State got together and decided to accuse Thomas. What had really brought the matter to a head took place one day when Thomas lay sick in his bed. He was presented with a letter which had been sent to him by a Congolese tax collector, an agent of the State. This letter ordered Thomas to see him immediately. The sick man was filled with rage and went storming out to find the official where he sat collecting his taxes. Kiofwe says that Thomas asked him if he thought that he was a white man that he could send him this kind of the letter and not even bring it himself. Thomas then struck the man and overturned the table spilling money and tax booklets everywhere.<sup>74</sup>

This was immediately brought to the notice of the State and Thomas was condemned for his behaviour. Ziegler de Zieglick, the Territorial Administrator at Tshofa wrote to his superiors concerning Thomas saying that he: "ne se conforme pas aux prescriptions légales et son activité porte surtout sur des choses étrangères à sa mission d'éducateur".<sup>75</sup> He reminds the Governor General that the CEM does not yet have PC,<sup>76</sup> intimating here that it was probably their strange behaviour which had prevented them from obtaining this legal status. Henry suggests that Thomas' presence in the Congo was not at all desirable and that since he had left the Congo for a furlough he wanted to know if there was any way they could prevent his return.<sup>77</sup>

This letter from Henry was passed from the Governor General to the Minister of Colonies. The latter indicated that this problem should be made known directly to Burton who, as the Director of the mission, was responsible and should know that the Administration did not want Thomas to return.<sup>78</sup> The Minister added that since the CEM had not yet obtained PC their attitude to the local authorities was most important. He said that his ministry had been in contact with the heads of "cet organisme" in America and that this contact had led them to understand why legal recognition had not yet been granted to the CEM.<sup>79</sup> It is presumed that by "cet organisme" the Minister meant the Pentecostal Church, for it certainly did not mean the CEM. Burton was, in due course, informed of the Government decision and replied that he along with his colleagues was most regretful and had themselves already asked Thomas to resign from the CEM before the Government's letter had

<sup>72</sup> 'Un Rapport des Activités [sic] de la Mission Evangelistique [sic] du Congo Belge, 1925', section Difficultés ; L. Bureau, (Gouverneur, Elisabethville) Letter, Justice et Enseignement, No. 956, Elisabethville, 21/8/1926, ADRBJShaba; C. Phillipe, (Administrateur Territorial, Kisengwa, District du Lomami', Kisengwa, 31/12/1923, ASRKabinda; in the section marked *Relation avec les Missions* it mentions complaints by Johnstone from Kipushya about Elsander and Wera, priests from Ankoro, who were building chapels in villages where the CEM were already established.

<sup>73</sup> E. F. Henry, (Le Commissaire Général, pour le Gouverneur absent) Letter, Justice, No. 1579, Elisabethville, 2/11/1928 au Gouverneur Général à Boma, AABruxelles, Dos. PM. XIV/:

« Déjà en 1925, une instruction fut ouverte à charge de ce missionnaire pour coups à des indigènes qui montraient de la mauvaise volonté lors de la construction d'un hangar-chapelle » (the missionary was Thomas).

<sup>74</sup> Kiofwe Yoano, Interview, Lulenge, 21/12/1981. Kiofwe spoke of Bwana Mafuta, Swahili for 'fat one' who was at Tshofa. This may have been Ziegler de Zieglick or some other official. cf. Slade, *Leopold's Congo*, p. 153.

<sup>75</sup> Ziegler de Zieglick cited in E.F. Henry, Letter, cf. *supra* footnote 73; H. Womersley, Interview, Bedford, 5/9/1980 said that Thomas was judged by the Administration to have assumed civil duties by judging legal cases among the local people. He said that it was a Monsieur Boubé (spelling not known, perhaps Bouvé) who brought proceedings against the man.

<sup>76</sup> E. F. Henry, Letter, No. 1579, 2/11/1928.

<sup>77</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>78</sup> Le Premier Ministre [Baron Marcel Houtart] Ministre des Colonies, Letter, No. 861, 29/12/1928.

<sup>79</sup> *Loc. cit.* : "En prenant contact avec les dirigeants de cet organisme en Amérique, nous pouvons être amenés à nous expliquer au sujet des raisons qui, dans notre opinion, motivent le refus de la connaissance légale".

arrived.<sup>80</sup> In spite of this willingness on the part of the CEM to take quick action it is certain that the Thomas affair must have held up the granting of PC for some time.

In addition to this H. Womersley writes about complaints that were made about the “outpourings of the Holy Spirit at two of our stations and a certain government official” who “wove a plot from this to get rid of the foreign protestants [sic]”.<sup>81</sup> I have not been able to uncover more than one of these leads. W. Burton in *God Working With Them*, tells of an official who while visiting Kikondja came across a number of CEM believers praying together. He immediately went up to them and ordered him to stop, but one man was in the state of ecstasy and did not cease praying immediately. The official struck him several times and demanded to know why he did not stop when told to do so. The young Christian had answered that he was filled with the Holy Spirit and was therefore unable to do so being lost in worship.<sup>82</sup>

The following day the Christian was forced by the official to carry a 50 kilogramme load for the whole day while they journeyed over rough ground. Every time the young man stumbled he was trashed by a Congolese policeman who followed him; at the same time the official mocked him saying “It’s all right. The Holy Spirit will help you”.<sup>83</sup> Burton says that the official was not satisfied with his punishment but sent to his superiors “a most grotesque report”.<sup>84</sup> In this report it was supposedly said that the missionaries stirred their follows to such a pitch that they were in grave danger harming themselves. Burton concluded by saying that this misrepresentation had done much to harm the reputation of the CEM in the Colony.<sup>85</sup> This accusation of stirring up the Congolese “to fanaticism” is mentioned elsewhere in Burton’s writings and seems to be one of the main charges brought against the Mission by the Belgian Government.<sup>86</sup>

H. Womersley says that at the Executive meeting of the CEM in January 1929 Burton read out a letter summoning him to Elisabethville to appear before the Governor.<sup>87</sup> At that time the charges were not known but were considered to be very grave so Womersley was asked to accompany him.

They must have had a good idea what the summons was all about since in the January-March issue of the *CEMR* for 1929 the Editor, who was Burton, drew the attention of his readers to what he called a matter for special prayer. He said that the Catholics, because of jealousy had stirred up everyone against the Mission in an effort to oust them from the Colony. He said that in many ways the work of the CEM was unique and that it was the unique aspect along with the Mission’s success, proven by the numerous Congolese *catéchistes* or evangelists, that had aggravated many Europeans.<sup>88</sup> Burton mentioned a newspaper which he said had published a series of articles against the Mission; in this paper it had been stated that since the CEM was a British mission it must necessarily be in the Congo for political reasons. In the midst of the debate there was, said Burton, “an honourable official” who has stated publicly that the CEM was an international mission and not British. He had pointed out that in the CEM there were British, Dutch, Swiss and American missionaries and had added that he had spoken with many of the converts of the CEM and that they all professed to be followers of no one but Jesus Christ.<sup>89</sup> Apparently, the paper had charged that the missionaries only taught English to their converts, but the same

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<sup>80</sup> W. Burton, Letter, Mwanza, 6/3/1929 au Gouverneur, Elisabethville, AABruxellesDos. PM. XIV/. This letter was in reply to a letter No. 1404 of 15/2/1929. Although the Thomas affair is not mentioned in any writings by the missionaries, at least in anything I have been able to find, there is an interesting note in the ‘MPMU-20/10/1931’, No. 2. In 1931, Thomas applied to the PMU to endorse his plans to start the: Tanganyika Evangelistic Mission. The PMU had written to Burton who had given them details on Thomas’ leaving the CEM. As a result the PMU decided that they could not endorse Thomas’ request.

<sup>81</sup> H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, p. 89; H. Womersley, Interview, Bedford, 24/7/1980 said that the affair at Kikondja and the accusations which followed at Elisabethville were not related, but in the face of the circumstances and the entire view of the Government toward the CEM, it is highly unlikely that they were unrelated.

<sup>82</sup> W. Burton, *God Working*, p. 172; H. Womersley, 24/7/1980 said that the young Christians had not been wise in the way they continued to worship when the man entered the building. He says they should have stopped and explained what they were doing. Womersley believes that the man who was a Doctor from Bukama would not have taken the stand he did if they had explained what it was they were doing (cf. Interview, 5/9/1980); cf. parallels to this kind of thing in E. Andersson, *Messianic Popular Movements*, pp. 61-63.

<sup>83</sup> W. Burton, *God Working*, p. 173. Burton notes that the official maximum load for anyone to carry was 25 kilograms.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, p.173.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, p.173.

<sup>86</sup> Editor, [Burton], ‘A Call to Special Prayer’, *CEMR*, No. 23, January-March, 1929, p. 332.

<sup>87</sup> H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneering*, p. 89.

<sup>88</sup> Editor, ‘A Call to Special Prayer’, *CEMR*, No. 23, p. 331; H. Womersley, Interview, 24/7/1980 said that the *Administrateurs* called the church workers *catéchistes* but that they called them *evangélistes*.

<sup>89</sup> *Supra* ft. nt. 86; it has not been possible to trace the newspaper he mentioned but he does say that it later went bankrupt.

“honourable” gentleman had pointed out that the missionaries preached and taught only in the local languages.<sup>90</sup>

When Burton and Womersley arrived at Elisabethville they were told to see the British Consul prior to the meeting with the Governor. According to Womersley, the Consul gave them to understand that they were, for all intents and purposes, as good as out of the Colony since the accusations brought against him were very serious. They discussed with him the possibility of moving the Mission to Tanganyika (Tanzania) and even wrote a letter requesting information before they went to see the Governor.<sup>91</sup>

When they went to see the Governor the man who was according to Womersley, his *attaché*, was presented to handle their affair.<sup>92</sup> Womersley said that they were handed several foolscap pages of accusations against the CEM. Many of these he said were without foundation, but some were very serious. Both men believed it was the last effort to get the Mission out of the Colony.<sup>93</sup>

It is difficult to ascertain all the charges brought against the CEM. Womersley tells only of one minor point which included leaving the grass to grow too long around the mission thereby encouraging mosquitoes. However, in the context of what he wrote earlier it is clear that the Kikondja incident was high on the list.<sup>94</sup> This is evident too from what Burton says in his article on: “A Call to Special Prayer”.<sup>95</sup> He speaks of a prominent Belgian Protestant who had been making statements about the CEM in the press and one of the charges included exciting the Congolese to fanaticism by the laying on of hands. In the light of Kimbangu and Tomo Nyirenda this would have been interpreted as certainly leading to xenophobia.<sup>96</sup>

Burton says that the Mission was accused of exposing their converts to danger by baptising them in rivers where they could be attacked by crocodiles. Burton had replied to this charge that if the opponents of baptism wished to be consistent they would have to prevent the thousands of Congolese who washed in the rivers every day from frequenting them.<sup>97</sup> Another accusation says Burton was that of:

“subverting the medical and hygienic efforts of the Government” by anointing the sick with oil, laying hands upon them in the name of the Lord Jesus, and praying for their healing. (Editor, ‘A Call to Special Prayer’, CEMR, No. 23, January-March 1929, p.332)

He replied that the CEM had never interfered with the Government health programme in any way at all. Rather, they had helped the doctors, and even during the Spanish influenza epidemics the Mission had never lost a case because God had healed after prayer. He added that the Government had lost as many as 12% in the hospitals.<sup>98</sup>

One other accusation mentioned by Burton seems absurd, yet according to him the CEM was accused of employing too many Congolese and thereby preventing them from working on the mines in the south of the country. He said that if they were working on the mines they would have been able to make more money for the Belgians and that is why the CEM was attacked on the issue.<sup>99</sup> Nothing is recorded by Burton or Womersley about the Thomas affair, but this was purposely never mentioned by the Mission for their own and Thomas’ good. It is clear from the

<sup>90</sup> ‘A Call to Special Prayer’, p. 332; H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, p. 90 mentions a Judge Guebels, who was a friend of Burton’s. It is possible that this is the “honourable official” to whom Burton refers. In H. Womersley, Interview, 24/7/1980 said that Burton and Guebels used to exchange information as both were keen scholars on African custom and history.

<sup>91</sup> H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, pp. 89, 90; H. Womersley, Interview, 24/7/1980.

<sup>92</sup> It is known that E. F. Henry was *Commissaire Général*, and often acted on behalf of the absent Governor of the Katanga; cf. E. F. Henry, Letter, *supra* ft. nt. 73; H. Womersley, Interview, says that this man was part of that Governors staff and calls him his *attaché*. W. Burton, *My Personal Testimony*, calls him General Henry. It can only be presumed that this is the same man. As *Commissaire Général*, E. F. Henry would have been the second in charge of the Province of Katanga. Since this man came to the Congo on 30/3/1913 the facts tie with what Burton said about his early encounter with the man at Bukama who mentioned that he had not long been in the Congo from Belgian and was homesick, cf. A. Lesigne, *Annuaire officiel du Ministère des Colonies*, Brussels, Ministère des Colonies, 1936, p. 342.

<sup>93</sup> H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, p. 90.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 89, 90.

<sup>95</sup> Editor, ‘A Call to Special Prayer’, p. 332.

<sup>96</sup> Cf. *Ibid.*, p.332; De Jonghe, ‘Formation récentes’, pp. 59-61.

<sup>97</sup> Editor, ‘A Call to Special Prayer’, p.332.

<sup>98</sup> H. Womersley, Interview, 23/7/1980 said that the influenza outbreaks had been in 1918 and again in 1924; cf. Editor, ‘A Call to Special Prayer’, p. 332; W. Burton, *Honey Bee*, p. 24 said that the charge against the CEM had come in part as a result of a sleeping sickness case who had run away from a medical assistant at Kikondja. It was said that the missionaries had told him not to seek medical help and that they had hidden him. W. Burton said that although they denied this the Administration would not believe them.

<sup>99</sup> Editor, ‘A Call to Special Prayer’, p. 332.

Government reports about Thomas in November and December 1928 that this must have been included in the accusations.<sup>100</sup>

And again, although Thomas is never mentioned by name H. Womersley mentions a missionary in the Kipushya area, in the north of the CEM work, who had overstepped his authority, and precipitated this action against the CEM.<sup>101</sup> Womersley said that an Administrator from Kabinda by the name of Boubé<sup>102</sup> used this problem to seek promotion and was the one to lay the charges.<sup>103</sup>

After being presented with the charges Burton and Womersley were told to go away and consider them for a day.<sup>104</sup> H. Womersley said that when they returned Henry took the papers, then after a few moments he looked at Burton and at Burton's name on the documents and suddenly his manner changed. He asked Burton if he was the man who had buried his friend under a lonely palm tree on the bank of the Congo River in 1915. Burton replied that he was, whereupon the man confessed that he was the young officer to whom Burton had given the French New Testament. He added that he had been reading it ever since and that he was himself a believer in Christ as a result.<sup>105</sup> No more was ever heard about the charges after this and all the missionaries of the CEM believed this to be a miracle and an answer to prayer.<sup>106</sup>

Burton wrote that there was a temptation to water down the testimony to make it "more palatable to these godless critics",<sup>107</sup> but he believed that it was more important to present the whole council of God:

We would rather be turned out of the country for preaching the whole truth than be allowed to remain for unfaithfulness to our Lord. (Editor, 'A Call to Special Prayer'. *CEMR*, No. 23, p. 332)

It would appear from this prayer letter that, even at this stage after the meeting with the authorities, the CEM was not certain as to what would happen. This was the reason for its requesting prayer as to the future of the Mission. Henry must have made sure that the charges were dropped because nothing more was ever heard about them.

In August 1930 fresh inquiries were made by the Governor of the Katanga into the activities of the CEM.<sup>108</sup> The findings must have been positive and the policy of the Ministry of Colonies must have changed because in October 1932 the CEM was finally granted the PC it had long been waiting for.<sup>109</sup> This acceptance reads as follows:

Congo Evangelistic Mission.- Personnalité civile

Par arrêté royal du 10 octobre 1932, la personnalité civile a été accordée à la Congo Evangelistic Mission dont le siège est à Mwanza (Katanga) et qui a pour objet l'évangélisation des indigènes.

Sont agréés comme représentant légal de l'association prémentionnée M. le Rév. William Frederick Padwick Burton et comme représentant légal suppléant M. le Rév. James Salter.

La Pentecostal Mission, reconnue comme une personne civile par ordonnance du gouverneur Général du 16 septembre 1915, est dissoute. Son patrimoine est transféré à la « Congo Evangelistic Mission » conformément à l'art. 6 du décret du 28 décembre 1888. (*Bulletin Officiel du Congo Belge*, 25e année, 1<sup>ère</sup> Partie, 1932, p. 619)

H. Womersely, says that the granting of the PC made a great difference to the Mission. The missionaries felt that at last they could think in terms of the future and began immediately to expand the work. They also felt that they were there permanently and could seek title to lands for the work.<sup>110</sup> This aspect will be treated in the next section.

<sup>100</sup> Cf. E. F. Henry, Letter, 2/11/1928 and Le Premier Ministre, Letter, 29/12/1928.

<sup>101</sup> H. Womersley, Interview, Bedford, 24/7/1980.

<sup>102</sup> The correct orthography for the name is not known

<sup>103</sup> Womersley, Interview, 24/7/1980.

<sup>104</sup> Womersley, 24/7/1980.

<sup>105</sup> This event has been recorded in several places: H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, pp. 90, 91; W. Burton, *My Personal Testimony*; H. Womersley, Interview, 24/7/1980.

<sup>106</sup> H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, p. 91; Womersley, Interview, 24/7/1980; W. Burton, *My Personal Testimony*.

<sup>107</sup> Editor, 'A Call to Special Prayer', p. 332.

<sup>108</sup> Stienon, (Commissaire de District, Likasi) Letter No. 7504/Just. C. Jadoville, 27/12/1930 au Gouverneur de la Province du Katanga, Elisabethville.

<sup>109</sup> Cf. *supra* ft. nt. 20. A number of the other Pentecostal missions were granted PC in the early 1930s.

<sup>110</sup> Womersley, Interview, Bedford, 24/7/1980.

## Acquisition of Lands and Government Policy

Government policy on lands and their gratuitous acquisition by missions is a complex question and it is not within the scope of this present study to examine it at length. All that is needed is to underline the nature of the problem of lands as it applies to the CEM. It is important to remember that the granting of land to the CEM depended greatly on the Government's policy towards Protestants and its involvement with the Catholic Church. Catholic-CEM relationships will be mentioned elsewhere but here I will relate a number of cases where they are involved directly over land claims.

In the decree made by the King of the Belgians on 28 December 1888 article 8, it is stated that all associations, possessing PC could freely acquire "*des immeubles*". However, the granting of this real estate was not automatic: "*mais seulement dans la mesure que le Gouverneur Général jugera nécessaire ou utile pour réaliser le but de l'association*". This is a very important factor to remember since it means that the granting of lands to missions was by no means automatic and depended greatly upon the goodwill of the Governor General.

For this reason the CEM did not receive land grants for the lands it held à *titre précaire* for more than 25 years. The *Sous-Directeur* (of which department is not clear) cites the same article 8 of the decree of 28/12/1888, as justification for not granting free concessions to the CEM. He says that the same ruling which denies the granting of free concessions to any Protestant mission applies in the case of the CEM.<sup>111</sup> This is the clearest example that I have seen of how the Administration interpreted the decree.

It is not clear when the decision to withhold land concessions from the Protestants was made. Anstey says that the Protestants had continual problems obtaining land sites between 1906 and 1914 when the Protestant missions received only 978 hectares of land compared to the Catholic missions which received 23,106 hectares during the same period.<sup>112</sup> Markowitz and William Kerr speak of the most difficult years being between 1920-1930, when there was an ardently Catholic regime in Belgium. In the Katanga Ruth Slade Reardon reported that the Garenganze and the Methodists had difficulties obtaining land for new stations, adding that the situation improved by 1939.<sup>113</sup> It would appear from a newsletter written by Wakelin Coxill in 1935 that problems of the land were common throughout the Belgian Congo and Rwanda-Urundi, the latter being mandated territories at the time. After a meeting with the Governor General Ryckmans, Wakelin Coxill wrote: "So grave has been the situation from the Protestant view point that a Memorandum has been prepared for the Mandates Commission at Geneva, but we are happy to say this was withdrawn".<sup>114</sup> It seems that this problem had been resolved by June 1936 when H. Anet wrote his annual report from Brussels although relations with the Government were still strained.<sup>115</sup> As far as the PM/CEM was concerned as soon as the Government heard that the PM was to be dissolved and superseded by the CEM it decided against the possibility of granting concessions at Mwanza and Luamba.<sup>116</sup>

The other important factor which determined the granting of lands to missions was the Belgian Government's policy on missions of different professions. By this was meant Protestants and Catholics. The earliest written ruling concerning distances between Catholic and Protestant emplacements that I have been able to find is from 1934.<sup>117</sup> Yet it is evident from earlier inter-Governmental communications that there were limitations on the proximity of Catholics to

<sup>111</sup> Sous-Directeur, cf. *supra* ft. nt. 54.

<sup>112</sup> R. Anstey, *Leopold's Legacy*, p. 57.

<sup>113</sup> Markowitz, *The Cross and the Sword*, p. 39; W. Kerr, 'Conseil Protestant du Congo (Congo Protestant Council)', in *The Encyclopedia of Modern Christian Missions*, eds. B. L. Goddard, et al. p. 202; Ruth Slade Reardon, 'Catholics and Protestants in the Congo', *Christianity in Tropical Africa*, ed. C.G. Baëta, p. 90.

<sup>114</sup> H. Wakelin Coxill, (General Secretary, C.P. C.) Circular Letter, 35/G.11, Léopoldville, 21/12/1935, AAOG-OMCNottingham.

<sup>115</sup> Bureau des Missions Protestantes du Congo Belge, 'Report on Year July 1935-June 1936', by H. Anet, Brussels, 13/7/1936, pp. 9-11,13, AAOG-OMCNottingham.

<sup>116</sup> Tombeur, (Vice-Gouverneur Général, Elisabethville) Letter, No. 63, Elisabethville, 21/1/1920 au Ministre des Colonies, Bruxelles, AABruxelles, Dos. PM. XIV/9; cf. Tombeur, (Vice-Gouverneur Général, Elisabethville) Letter, No. 1014, Elisabethville, 12/9/1918 au Gouverneur Général, AABruxelles, Dos. PM. XIV/ regarding the land requested by the PM at Mwanza.

<sup>117</sup> Commissaire de Province, Letter, No. 499, Elisabethville, 1/2/1934, cited in L'Heureux, (Administrateur Territorial, Elisabethville) Letter, Elisabethville, 9/8/1935 au Commissaire de District du Haut-Katanga, Elisabethville, ARBAPShaba; regarding the land policy and the general ruling on lands in position lands by the "indigenes", E. Boelaert, *L'Etat Indépendant et les terres indigènes*, pp. 3,4,45, 46; R. Anstey, *Leopold's Legacy*, pp. 48-49.

Protestants and vice versa.<sup>118</sup> In 1936 the Governor General said that the distance between mission stations of different confessions should be ten kilometres and *chapelles-écoles* five. However, under exceptional circumstances, where an area was densely populated, this distance could be reduced to five and two kilometres respectively.<sup>119</sup>

The distances were not meant to be an absolute rule but a directive:

Nous n'avons nullement eu l'intention d'attribuer aux Missions de confession différentes des secteurs d'évangélisation où le premier installé jouirait d'un monopole, ni d'entraver en quoi que ce soit la liberté d'évangélisation. (Ryckmans, (Gouverneur Général, Léopoldville) Letter, No. 4567/AE/T.340 Léopoldville, 12/5/1937 au Chef de Province [Lusambo], ASRKabinda)

The Governor General believed that the country was large enough, and scope for evangelization great enough, that normally there should not be conflicts between Catholics and Protestants over the same village or town. For this reason he was sure that generally the ten kilometre rule would be acceptable to all missions. In the case where a village was big and there were those of both confessions in the village then any *chapelles-écoles* should not be built too near to each other but the location should be worked out with the local authorities of the village - the chief and his counsellors.<sup>120</sup>

These rulings are changed or modified from time to time. One rule which was important to the CEM was introduced in 1938. But, it was not always adhered to by the Administration when it did not suit them. P. Ryckmans in a letter in July 1938 indicates that there was to be a freer ruling with respect to the installation of *chapelles-écoles* and installations which were not part of the mission station.<sup>121</sup> All that was required was the permission of the inhabitants and the chiefs and then the Administrator was simply to be notified without his prior permission being sought.<sup>122</sup> There was to be no required distance between followers of different confessions.<sup>123</sup>

Rulings which covered the Protestants did not often affect the Catholics because of their Concordat with the State made in 1906.<sup>124</sup> It was more difficult for the Protestants to obtain land:

Pour ce qui concerne les terres destinées à l'établissement des stations des Missions Protestantes, les demandes de cession ou de concession sont régulièrement soumises à examen, avant leur attribution à la Mission qui les sollicite. (P. Ryckmans, (Gouverneur Général, Léopoldville, 27/7/1938 au Chef de Province, Lusambo, ASRKabinda)<sup>125</sup>

The reason for this legislation on the distances to be maintained between the Catholics and the Protestants was to keep the already strained relationships as amicable as possible. In theory there was to be no favouring one group or the other; the agents of the State were often sent briefs reminding them that they were to be wise and impartial in their dealings with missions. The official line was that: "Les mission religieuses, qu'elles soient catholique ou protestantes ont également pour but le Bonheur des populations indigènes".<sup>126</sup>

Most of this legislation, however, comes somewhat later than the initial period which concerns the PM/CEM. There is no evidence from any of my sources that the anti-clerical movement which was so strong in Belgium at this time influenced politics at the local level in the Katanga. Markowitz points out that the Colonial Ministry was dominated by the Catholics for the entire period between the wars except for six years when Franck was the Minister; even he

<sup>118</sup> L'Inspecteur d'Etat (Pour le Vice-Gouverneur Général, Elisabethville) Letter, No. 415, Elisabethville, 15/7/1916 au Ministre des Colonies, Londres, AABruxelles, Dos. PM. XIV/.

<sup>119</sup> P. Ryckmans, (Gouverneur Général) Letter, No. 5125/ A.E., Léopoldville, 3/6/1936 au Chef de Province [Lusambo] cited in Ryckmans, Letter, No. 4567/AE/T.340, Léopoldville, 12/5/1937 au Chef de Province [Lusambo], ASRKabinda.

<sup>120</sup> Ryckmans, Letter, No. 4567/AE/T. 340.

<sup>121</sup> Ryckmans, Letter, No. 7749/ AE/T., 27/7/1938.

<sup>122</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>125</sup> M.D. Markowitz, *Cross and Sword*, p. 41 says: "few if any requests for land, where the made by Catholic or Protestant missions, met with disapproval". I question his findings but if this is correct then there is all the more reason to believe that the CEM was not treated on the same basis as other missions.

<sup>126</sup> Postiaux (Gouverneur Général a.i.) Letter, No. 2667, Justice, Leopoldville, 15/6/1933 au Gouverneur à Elisabethville, ASFKabinda; Rutten (Gouverneur Général, Boma) Letter, No. 3763, Boma, 7/7/1923 à G. Heenen, Elisabethville, cited in totality in G. Heenen, (Vice-Gouverneur Général, Elisabethville) Letter, No. 4045, Elisabethville, 22/10/1923 aux Commissaires de Districts et Chefs de Service de la Province du Katanga, ASRKabinda ; H. Postiaux, (Gouverneur Général a.i.) Letter, No. 705, Justice, Léopoldville, 12/4/1933 au Gouverneur de la Province, Elisabethville, ASRKabinda.

collaborated closely with the Catholics. There probably were administrators who were anti-clerical but it is possible that they express themselves as pro-Protestants in order to be anti-Catholic in the Congo.<sup>127</sup> There was also a good deal of room for interpretation by local Belgian officials. This means that the rulings could be made to work in favour of Catholics or Protestants. It is evident in at least one case in the Kivu that this liberal interpretation was reported to have been in the favour of the Protestants. The White Fathers complained in their annual report that the Administrator Gérard had been helping the Protestants at Nyankunde.<sup>128</sup> The extent of his help is not known but they considered this to have been a breach of office. Nevertheless, it is more often that the regulations worked in favour of the Catholics since most of the agents of the State were Catholics and strongly favoured the Catholic Church. Monseigneur Leys of the Pères Blancs writes concerning the *Mission Libre Suédoise* at Walikali in the Kivu, claiming that the local administrator had informed him of all the Pentecostals' plans. At the same time he had assured Leys he would hamper the Pentecostals as much as possible and make sure that they had to go through all kinds of red tape in their applications for land. In this way the Catholics would be able to get the land they desired before the MLS.<sup>129</sup>

It would seem evident that the Government encouraged the Catholics to enter new areas in order to forestall Protestant advances. As Monseigneur Huys wrote in his annual report for 1935:

Le Gouvernement répète et écrit qu'il nous faut absolument occuper la région nord du Vicariat... Le Gouvernement veut prévenir une emprise protestante descendant du Shabunda (Kivu). (SMAPB, *Rapport Annuel*, 1935. Alger : Maison-Carrée, p. 292)

It is true that the CEM is not involved in these reports, but this happened under the same Administration and there is no reason to believe that what was done in the Katanga was any different from what was done in the Kivu.

The Catholic role in decisions concerning the availability of land to the CEM is most apparent in the instances cited below but this is not meant to include every known case. We have already seen that when the PM first located at Mwanza there was a question, as far as the Administration was concerned, as to whether or not they would be permitted to remain.<sup>130</sup> The main reason for this doubt was Callewaert's involvement. He insisted that the proximity of the Pères du Saint Esprit at Malemba Mukulu made it inadvisable for the Protestants to be allowed to settle at Mwanza. Besides he wanted to see the Protestants kept to the right bank of the Lualaba.<sup>131</sup> In spite of the distance of more than 25 kilometres between Mwanza and Malemba Nkulu the Administration took heed of what Callewaert said and advised Bowie that he should go elsewhere.<sup>132</sup> Later when it was realised, for reasons already stated, that the PM could not be moved from Mwanza, it was permitted to stay. Yet this decision was only provisional as far as the Vice-Governor General of the Katanga was concerned.<sup>133</sup> He had written to the Minister of Colonies for guidance but the reply was so slow in coming that the *Commissaire Général* was called upon to advise the Legal Representative of the *Comité Spécial du Katanga*. In his letter he told them that he was not to take on any "engagement envers la Mission précitée [PM] concernant le terrain en question [Mwanza] et concernant celui de 10h. 71 à [sic] demandé par Elle à Luamba (Goimani [sic])."<sup>134</sup>

In January 1917 Burton had written to Myerscough informing him that they were applying for a second site at Ngoy Mani so that they would be able to start another station when the personnel became available.<sup>135</sup> This was the second site mentioned by the *Commissaire Général* at Luamba. However, there was a complication at Luamba since the Malemba Nkulu Catholics had

<sup>127</sup> Cf. Markowitz, *Cross and Sword*, pp. 26-30; R. Slade, *English-Speaking Missions*, pp. 364-375; Anstey, *Leopold's Legacy*, p. 58.

<sup>128</sup> Société des Missionnaires d'Afrique (Pères Blancs), *Rapport Annuel 1935*, Alger, Maison- Carrée, 'Vicariat de Lac Albert', p. 387 (hereafter SMAPB).

<sup>129</sup> SMAPB, 1934, pp. 219, 220; there is little evidence in the CEM occupied area of the Katanga that the NT-clerical voice was so strong in Belgium, played much of a role in the Administration. cf. R. Anstey, *Leopold's Legacy*, p. 58; R. Slade, *English-Speaking Missions*, pp. 364-375.

<sup>130</sup> L'Inspecteur d'Etat, Letter, No. 415, 15/7/1916.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, cf. E. Callewaert, Letter, Brain l'Alleud St., Joseph, 12/7/1912 where a verbal agreement was made between Callewaert and the Secrétaire du Vice-Gouverneur Général du Katanga that the Protestants would be kept on the right bank of the Lualaba. Asp. Boîte 376 B.II.

<sup>133</sup> L'Inspecteur d'Etat, Letter, No. 415, 15/7/1916.

<sup>134</sup> Commissaire Général, (pour le Vice-Gouverneur Général, Elisabethville) Letter, No. 195, Elisabethville, 1/4/1917 au Représentant du CSK, AABruxelles, Dos. PM. XIV/.

<sup>135</sup> Burton, Letter, Mwanza, 1/1/1917 to Myerscough in Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p. 57.

thought it judicious in 1914 to erect what the Administration called: “un hangar de fortune”.<sup>136</sup> This was a rough pole and thatch shelter constructed in the village to book it before a mission of another confession could get there. This practice was followed by both Protestants and Catholics and meant that the other mission could not install themselves in that same village. I have not been able to find any rule written concerning this practice but it was carried out throughout the Congo and was recognised as binding by the Administration. I have not found any reference in CEM literature to this method, but I have found references to *chapelles-écoles* being built in a hurry in order to claim a village for the mission.<sup>137</sup>

In July 1916 when the Vice-Governor General wrote to the Minister for his opinion on the PM being at Mwanza he mentioned that the shelter at Ngoy Mani had fallen down and that it no longer existed since the “indigènes” had established a field on the site.<sup>138</sup> Nevertheless, the Pères du Saint Esprit had never relinquished their claim to Luamba and as soon as they heard that the PM wished to install themselves they maintained that this was still their village.<sup>139</sup>

When the Ministry finally replied to the Vice-Governor General's letter about the PM, it was made clear that the Minister was not at all opposed to the PM staying at Mwanza and extending to Luamba.<sup>140</sup> He added that under the circumstances, it was impossible to give free concessions of land but that authorisation to occupy the sites should be given “à titre provisoire”.<sup>141</sup>

The Ministry had also written to the Mission du Saint Esprit<sup>142</sup> with the result that Callewaert renounced all claims to Mwanza and Luamba.<sup>143</sup> Burton was not informed of this until January 1918 but when the news came that they were free to occupy Ngoy Mani this was considered as a miraculous undertaking of God on their behalf and an answer to their prayer.<sup>144</sup>

Another case in which there was pressure brought to bear on the Administration by the Catholics was in Kongolo territory. In February 1938 the CEM had applied for permission to build *chapelles-écoles* in thirteen villages. The villages involved were actually within the jurisdiction of the CEM mission station at Katombe, but the Territorial Administrator of the Kongolo area had advised against permission being granted since he said that the Pères du Saint Esprit were already in the villages.<sup>145</sup> In the light of this recommendation the *Chef de Province*, A. Maron felt that it would be inopportune to authorise the entry of the CEM to the area.<sup>146</sup>

This sort of action marked the lack of consistency that was prevalent throughout the early years of the Administration. According to the Berlin Act, the choice of worship and the act of worship was to be free to all, provided that it did not interfere with the public order.<sup>147</sup> In 1933 the acting Governor General had written on several occasions that “Les indigènes de leur côté ont tout

<sup>136</sup> L'Inspecteur, *supra*, ft. nt. 130; According to Callewaert, Letter, Brain l'Alleud St. Joseph, 1/12/1917 to Mgr. Le Roy, Paris, “Le Gouvernement local me demande d'[élever: this word is not clear in the original] une chapelle école élevée par le P. Catry, mais qui avait été négligée et que j'avais ordonné de relever, mais trop tard une Mission Protestante s'y était déjà fixée”.

<sup>137</sup> Cf. W. Burton, *When God Changes a Village*, p. 39, ft. nt.\*

<sup>138</sup> L'Inspecteur, *supra*, ft. nt. 130.

<sup>139</sup> RFBWFPB, No. 11; Hettie Burton and Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p.133 regarding Ngoy Mani says: “the station was opened two years ago, and soon after the Roman Catholics endeavoured to dispute our rights to it. They set up an opposition chapel, and it is only by the marvellous intervention of God that they have now withdrawn”; on the Catholic claim to this land cf. Uberall, ‘Courier des missions’, *Annales Apostolique*, 33 année, No. 5, août 1917, p. 119.

<sup>140</sup> Chef de cabinet (Pour le Ministre des Colonies, Londres) Letter, No. 11, Royaume de Belgique, Ministère des Colonies, Londres, 15/6/1917 au Vice-Gouverneur Général [Katanga], AABruxelles, Dos. PM. XIV/4 ; cf. Chef de Cabinet (Pour le Ministre des Colonies, Londres) Letter, No. 33, Royaume de Belgique, Ministère des Colonies, Londres, 15/6/1917 au Gouverneur Général à Boma, AABruxelles, Dos. PM. XIV/5.

<sup>141</sup> Chef de Cabinet, Letter, No. 11, 15/6/1917; “les circonstances présents” must mean the First World War.

<sup>142</sup> Chef de Cabinet, Letter, No. 33, 15/6/1917 and No. 11, 15/6/1917; E. Callewaert, Letter, Brain l'Alleud St. Joseph, 1/12/1917 au Mgr. Le Roy, Paris, says that the Minister of Colonies wrote him a long letter about relationships between Protestants and Catholics.

<sup>143</sup> Tombeur, (Vice-Gouverneur Général, Boma) Letter, No. 123A Boma, 5/3/1918 au Ministre des Colonies, Londres, AABruxelles, Dos. PM. XIV/6 ; Commissaire Général, Letter, No. 55, 1374. H17, Elisabethville, n.d. [c. 1918] à Mgr Callewaert, St. Joseph, Kongolo, ADRBJSaba; Commissaire Général (pour le Vice-Gouverneur Général, Elisabethville) Letter, No. 53, 1374.H17, Elisabethville, n.d.au Commissaire de District Tanganika-Moero, Kongolo, ADRBJSaba, rough handwritten copy; L. Lempereur, ‘Compte Rendu de Visite’, Décembre 17-14/7/1925 à Nkulu Asp. Boîte 376 Dos. A.I.

<sup>144</sup> Vice-Gouverneur Général, Letter, No. 54, Elisabethville, 5/1/ 1918 à W. Burton, Mwanza, ADRBJSaba; Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p. 133.

<sup>145</sup> Représentant [Légal du CSK], Letter, No. Dom. Fonc. 0740, Elisabethville, 16/2/1937 au Chef de Province, Elisabethville, ARBAPShaba.

<sup>146</sup> A. Maron, (Chef de Province, Elisabethville) Letter, reply to D.F. 0740, Elisabethville, Février, 1937 [rough copy] ARBAPShaba ; Ch. H. Dupont, (Commissaire Provincial adj. Pour le Chef de Province, Elisabethville) Letter, No. 725/Sec/J/2eB. Elisabethville, au Représentant du CSK, Elisabethville, ARBAPShaba. This was the final copy of the above rough; On Maron cf. R. Anstey, *Leopold's Legacy*, p. 69.

<sup>147</sup> Cf. Article VI of GACB reproduced in *supra* Chapter I C) footnote 28.

liberté d'adhérer à la doctrine qui à leur préférence" and to change the confession to which they may belong.<sup>148</sup>

A number of times Burton had written to the Administration and asked them if it would not be possible to establish zones of activity for the different confessions. This was because of the troubles that the CEM had experience with the Catholics. On each occasion he was told that the Government could not become involved in this sort of restriction. In fact any mission had "le droit d'évangéliser là où il leur convient".<sup>149</sup> Now when it came to the Catholics at Kongolo the Government was more than happy to restrict the evangelization of the group of another confession, only underlining the glaring inconsistency between the theory and practice.

The town of Kongolo itself is perhaps the most marked example of what could happen when the *Administrateur* of a *Territoire* was in favour of any one confession. If it was a single locality where the CEM were prevented by Catholic-State alliance from acquiring land, it was at Kongolo. I will not look at the spread of the CEM work to Kongolo here but the conflict over land.

The CEM members who worked for the steamship company CFL had started a work there and had been refused permission to hold meetings in the locality. When they had gathered their musical instruments had been destroyed and the leaders had been imprisoned.<sup>150</sup> The CEM decided that they would apply for a site at Kongolo from where they could lead the Christians who were already members. We have seen from the letter that P. Ryckmans wrote in 1937 that it was permitted that Catholics and Protestants be located in the same town if there were enough people.<sup>151</sup> According to H. Womersley, Kongolo itself had a population of over 10,000 with 18,000 in the environs.<sup>152</sup>

However, Kongolo was a stronghold of the Pères du Saint Esprit and we have seen how they had already blocked any move by the CEM to enter the area as late as 1938. H. Womersley had seen the *Administrateur* on several occasions but was always told that there was no land available for a Protestant Mission since all was claimed by the CFL.<sup>153</sup> H. Womersley added that the Catholic Bishop had vowed that no Protestant mission would ever be allowed to locate in Kongolo.<sup>154</sup> Letters were written by the Legal Representative of the CEM to different Government departments but there was never any satisfactory answer given to as to why the CEM should not be permitted to locate at Kongolo.<sup>155</sup>

At the Executive Council meeting of the CEM in December 1945 it was decided that the Mission write to Wakelin Coxill the Secretary of the CPC, asking him for his advice on the Kongolo problem.<sup>156</sup> The letter had only just been posted when Coxill wrote asking why the CEM had not become involved in the Congo area since it came under their sphere of evangelism according to the organisation of the CPC.<sup>157</sup> Apparently there had been a change of Administrators at Kongolo; the man who had been antagonistic toward the CEM had been promoted and sent to Jadoville (Likasi).<sup>158</sup> His replacement was a nominal Catholic married to a Protestant. His wife wanted to know why there was no Protestant church in Kongolo and persuaded her husband to write to the CPC for information.<sup>159</sup>

Upon reception of Coxill's letter Womersley went immediately to Kongolo. The new *Administrateur* showed signs of incredulity when Womersley explained that the previous man had told him that there was no land and that this was why the CEM did not have a work in the town.<sup>160</sup> He was immediately taken on a guided tour of three sites; the most suitable was right on the Lualaba River. Womersley says the Administrator told him they would have to work quickly in order to stay off any plans of the Catholics, so he had the local chiefs summoned to his office and went with them immediately to the place that Womersley had chosen.<sup>161</sup> It was then that the chiefs recalled the incident related earlier regarding the coming of Bowie and Ulyate in 1914.

<sup>148</sup> Postiaux, (Gouverneur Général a.i.) Letter, No. 705, Justice, Léopoldville, 12/4/1933 au Gouverneur, Elisabethville, ASRKabinda; and Letter, 22/2/1933 au Gouverneur, Elisabethville, ASRKabinda.

<sup>149</sup> Commissaire Général, (pour le Vice-Gouverneur Général) Letter, No. 54, Elisabethville, 5/1/1918, rough handwritten copy in reply to Burton's letter of 5/12/1917 to Burton M. Mwanza.

<sup>150</sup> H. Womersley, 'Flashes from the Past, No. 14, Startling Answers to Prayer', *CEMR*, No. 400, p. 4.

<sup>151</sup> Ryckmans, Letter, No. 457/AE/T.340, 12/5/1937.

<sup>152</sup> H. Womersley, *CEMR*, No. 400, p. 4.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4; H. Womersley, Interview, Bedford, 21/7/1980.

<sup>154</sup> H. Womersley, *CEMR*, No. 400, p. 5.

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4; Ndala, 'Monographie', p. 24 cites the letter from the Legal Representative of the CEM to the CPC, 12/11/1951 stating that the CEM had first applied for land at Kongolo in 1942. cf. his ft. not. 25.

<sup>156</sup> Katombe, 5/12/1945, No. 6.

<sup>157</sup> H. Womersley, *CEMR*, No. 400, p. 5.

<sup>158</sup> H. Womersley, Interview, Bedford, 21/7/1980.

<sup>159</sup> *Supra* footnotes 157, 158

<sup>160</sup> H. Womersley, Interview, 21/7/1980.

<sup>161</sup> *Loc. cit.*

The Administrator then returned with Womersley to his office where he helped to fill in the application form and put it immediately in the mailbag which was then sealed. No sooner had he done this than a Catholic priest arrived and demanded that the application be withdrawn from the mail sack and destroyed. However, the Administrator said that it was illegal to tamper with a sealed mail sack and refused to do so.<sup>162</sup> Womersley says that the Administrator had previously told him that he personally had only very short time before he was to retire and that he could not be demoted or transferred at that late stage. For this reason he was not worried about any repercussions from the Catholics.<sup>163</sup> After many years of a pro-Catholic Administrator who had prevented the CEM from moving into the Kongolo area, the tables were finally turned in favour of the CEM. As a result in 1947 permission was finally granted for them to occupy the site that they had chosen near the river.<sup>164</sup>

The above are examples which show the problems involved with the occupation of new sites for both mission stations and secondary posts or *chapelles-écoles*. It was essential to evangelism that the CEM be accorded the right to land upon which churches and mission stations could be built. There is little doubt that the restrictions hindered the growth of the work in the earliest period. However, apart from the question of right to occupation of land there was a matter of title to the lands which they did occupy. As was the case in Mwanza and Luamba none of the sites occupied by CEM stations had been occupied with any guarantee of permanence. Most of them had been occupied on a simple five-year lease or what was called *à titre précaire*.<sup>165</sup> There was no assurance that the leases would be renewed at the end of five years.

The CEM had written continuously to the Government asking that the properties which they already occupied be ceded to them according to the conditions of the decree of 28 December 1888. In October 1934 the Legal Representative of the CEM was informed that the Minister of Colonies did not see fit that the Mission should receive free grants and title to the lands which it had held *à titre précaire*.<sup>166</sup> The letter concluded by saying:

Je signale particulièrement à votre attention que le fait d'avoir erige [sic] des installations sur les terrains occupés [sic] à titre précaire [sic] ne constitue pas un droit à l'obtention de ces terrains en propriété [sic] (Ch. Dupont, (Commissaire de District, Pour le Commissaire de Province absent, Elisabethville) Letter, No. 4775, Elisabethville, 25/10/34, à Burton, Mwanza ARBAPShaba)

Although the CEM now had PC they were in the same position as though they did not. The Government could use the termination of lease as a lever to oust them from the Colony.

One does not have to go far to see the reason for this refusal. Burton had written to the Governor of the Katanga in October 1933 complaining about the constant harassment by the Catholics. According to the Administration he had also accused the judicial department of injustices in the case of members of the Mission in his annual report for 1932.<sup>167</sup> The *Commissaire de Province* reports this indignant attitude to the Governor General when he writes:

Les constatations des enquêtes nous révéleront probablement que les préventions que nous avons eues dans le passé à l'égard des représentants de la CEM, de leurs méthodes d'évangélisation, de leur attitude devant les indigènes, de leur tendances, étaient justifiées, et sans doute aussi que nous avons eu tort de leur accorder finalement confiance [PC]. En outre, le Rév. Burton ne craint pas d'accuser l'administration et l'autorité judiciaire d'injustice à l'égard des adeptes de la secte. (Letter, No. 436, Elisabethville, 11/4/34 au Gouverneur Général, Léopoldville, ARBAPShaba)

A. Tilkens, Governor General, passed on this information to the Minister of Colonies in June 1934 when he pointed out that it was easy to see from what Burton had written in his book *Missionary*

<sup>162</sup> H. Womersley, Interview, 21/7/1980.

<sup>163</sup> Loc. cit., Ndala, 'Monographie', says that D. Womersley told him that the chief of the Bayashi had given his accord to the granting of the land and that he was later called before the Catholics and abused for having given his acceptance. cf. p. 23 footnote 23.

<sup>164</sup> 'EC-CEM, 13/5/1947', No. 3.

<sup>165</sup> CSK, 'Vente et Location de Terres', « Contrat de Location, No. 3285/3013, 6.1.20 Terme de l'Occupation provisoire : Term du bail : 2 janvier 1920- 1 janvier 1925, Lieu, Kabondo Rianda [sic Dianda] » signed by J. A. Richardson and Ernest Mostade ; CSK, « Conditions Spéciales du Contrat No. 7924/ 6222 » 23/10/1931, Kipamba (Kikondja) terme de cinq ans, signed by W. Burton and Bomans ; CSK, « Conditions Spéciales du Contrat, No. 3312/335 » 3/1/1933, Kayuyu lez-Katompe [sic Kakuyu], Terme du bail est de cinq ans, signed by W. Hall, Albert Margot, Archives ZEMKamina.

<sup>166</sup> Ch. H. Dupont (Commissaire de District Principal, pour Commissaire de Province absent, Elisabethville) Letter, No. 4775, Elisabethville, 25/10/1934.

<sup>167</sup> W. Burton, Letter, Mwanza, 10/1/1933 au Gouverneur, Elisabethville, cited in Ndala, 'Monographie', p. 109 ; Commissaire Provincial, Letter, No. 436, Elisabethville, 11/4/1934 au Gouverneur Général à Léopoldville, ARBAPShaba regarding the annual report of the CEM for 1932.

*Pioneering in Congo Forests* that the Mission was a danger to the stability of the area. It is significant that the Government officials in the Katanga made the effort to read what Burton had written, even when it was in English. They must have felt considerably threatened to go to such lengths as undoubtedly they were looking for anything that they believed would provide incriminating evidence against the Mission. Tilkens says with regard to Burton and his doctrine:

Sans être subversive, poursuivait-il, une doctrine de ce genre doit être considérée comme dangereuse en raison du trouble et de l'exaltation qu'elle ne peut manquer de produire en l'esprit indigène. C'est ce qui explique pourquoi la personnalité civile fut refusée pendant quelques ans à cette association étrangère. (Letter, No. 254/D/220, Elisabethville, 5/6/1934 cited in Ndala, 'Monographie', pp. 105,106)

This is then why the request for free concessions was turned down.

The CEM were greatly perturbed by this constant refusal to the title of the lands they occupied but it does not appear that they saw in this a political move against themselves.<sup>168</sup> In the annual report for the CEM for the 1935 the hope is voiced that the many promises made to the CEM by the Government officials would be fulfilled, and that the title to the lands would be granted. They had been in the Colony for 20 years and could not understand the continual delay.<sup>169</sup> Again in 1938 the Legal Representative of the CEM wrote to the Government about their position, but this time he by-passed the local Administration and wrote directly to the Governor General at Léopoldville. He replied that it was perfectly in order that they should have title granted to them but that they must first apply through the local authorities.<sup>170</sup>

This application must have been filed, because the CSK wrote on 7 July 1939 to the *Conservateur des Titres Fonciers*, who was responsible for the granting of concessions, about the lands for which the CEM requested free title.<sup>171</sup> P. Van Opstal, who was the *Conservateur des Titres Fonciers*, wanted the advice of the *Conseiller Juridique* before he made any decision since he realised that there were probably political reasons for denial of this right to the CEM.<sup>172</sup> He felt however, that this mission should be treated in the same way as other foreign missions:

Il me paraît difficile de persister à ne pas mettre cette mission, au point de vue foncier, sur le même pied que les autres missions étrangères. (P. Van Opstal, (Conservateur des Titres Fonciers, Elisabethville) Letter, Elisabethville, 18/7/39 au Conseiller Juridique, Elisabethville ARBAPShaba)

Van Opstal said that if the Government did not grant the free titles to this mission it would be going contrary to the terms of the letter written by the Governor General to the CEM in his letter of 12 April 1939. He indicated that if there were political reasons for not granting free title to the lands then the Governor General should be informed of those reasons.<sup>173</sup>

I have not been able to find any further correspondence on this matter but the Government decided in May 1942 to grant free title to the CEM for 10 of its mission station properties in the Katanga.<sup>174</sup> The timing of this grant will fit in with the relaxation in tensions that existed between the Administration and the Protestants mentioned by Markowitz.<sup>175</sup> It would also seem to mark improve relationships with the State, although there were a land acquisition differences right up to the end of the colonial period.<sup>176</sup>

<sup>168</sup> There is nothing in any CEM literature mentioning Government pressure being placed upon the Mission by denial of land grants.

<sup>169</sup> CEM, 'Rapport Général sur les Activités de la CEM pour l'année 1935', AZEMKamina. This was a draft copy in English; it is clear that the GEM also experience frustrations over lands; cf. L'Hereux, Letter, 9/8/1935; Ch. H. Dupont, 'Voyage d'inspection de Mr. de Commissaire Provincial Adt-DUPONT. Notes pour: Monsieur le Chef de Province', Manono, 25/8/1936 Re: « Demande de concession à Manono par la 'Garenganze Mission' ». ARBAPShaba.

<sup>170</sup> P. Ermens, (Vice-Gouverneur Général, pour le Gouverneur Général, Léopoldville) Letter, No. 4421/AE/T. Léopoldville, 12/4/1939 au Représentant Légal de la CEM à Mwanza, ASRKabinda.

<sup>171</sup> Représentant (CSK, Elisabethville) Letter, No. 4361, Elisabethville, 7/4/ 1939 cited in P. Van Opstal, (Conservateur des Titres Fonciers, Elisabethville) Letter, Elisabethville, 18/7/1939 au Conseiller Juridique, [Elisabethville] ARBAPShaba.

<sup>172</sup> P. Van Opstal, *supra*, ft. nt. 171.

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>174</sup> CPZ, 'Titre Fonciers', AZEMKamina, a document including a list of all the land titles held by the CPZ and the dates that the titles were granted. Signed by Ilunga Ngoi wa Mbuya Kalulwa; cf. Editor's comments in CEMR, No. 96, Sept-Oct, 1942, p. 764 mentions Kabondo Dianda, Busangu, Kikondja, Mwanza, Ngoy Mani, Kisanga, Kashukulu, Mutengwa, Kipushya and Katombe. They already held title to Kabongo handed over by the Methodists.

<sup>175</sup> Markowitz, *Cross and Sword*, p. 39; cf. Slade Reardon, 'Catholics and Protestants in the Congo', p. 90; William Kerr, 'Conseil Protestant du Congo', p. 202.

<sup>176</sup> Thirty five hectares twenty ares was ceded to the Methodist Mission at Kabongo on 20/10/1928 and this was acquired by the CEM when they took over the work from the Methodists in 1932; this can therefore not be included in the reckoning of properties treated above; for a complete list of all the properties to which the CEM held title or for which

The sections on PC and lands dealing with the relations between CEM and the Colonial Government raise a number of questions: Did the CEM take seriously the threats of the Government that it could be expelled from the Congo? Was the Government serious in its threat or was it just using a menacing stance to keep the CEM in its place? Was the Government's attitude to the CEM any different than it was to any of the other Protestant missions?

The moderate statements made by the CEM protesting its position of the lack of land grants and on other matters could be interpreted to mean that it never really believed it would be expelled from the country. This would not be a correct summation of the problem. It must be remembered that the majority of the reports were made directly to the Government and in line with most Protestants in the Congo at the time the CEM believed it was wise to be as political as possible. For this reason the CEM did not use language which could bring about swift reprisals.<sup>177</sup> In addition to this, there was at least one Pentecostal mission expelled from the Congo during the Colonial period. The Foursquare Gospel Mission, which was located in the Kasai had its PC withdrawn in 1941 and its patrimony was given to the APCM.<sup>178</sup> As late as 1951 there is a record of the Legal Representative of the CEM declaring in a Field Council that if the Mission did not cooperate with the Government in its social work it could be asked to leave the country.<sup>179</sup> In 1929 when the Legal Representative of the CEM was summoned to Elisabethville by the Vice-Governor General, all evidence indicates that the Government intended to expel the CEM from Congo and that the missionaries believed they were going to have to leave. Even the British Consul and Judge Guebels, a Catholic friend the Burton's, both men who knew the official Government position, told Burton and Womersley that they were as good as out before they had seen the Governor.<sup>180</sup>

Again, it is difficult to believe that the Government did not take its findings on the CEM seriously. There is much correspondence between Government departments which indicates what the Government considered to be, the dangerous nature of the doctrines of the CEM. In this light one can hardly conclude that the Government did not regard the Mission as a threat. Apart from the incident in 1929, which has already been mentioned, the delay in granting of PC and the refusal to grant the Mission title to the lands it held, would seem to testify to the reality of the Government's concern. During the early years this could have been part of what Markowitz describes as an overall plan to pressurise Protestants to the place where the expansion of their work became impossible or to where they would be forced to leave the Colony.<sup>181</sup> Anyway, even if the threats and limitations were only meant to curtail expansion and prevent what the Government reckoned to be 'dangerous but not subversive doctrine' from getting out of hand, it would appear that the Government succeeded in its goal.<sup>182</sup>

As far as the Government's attitude to the CEM was concerned there are a number of factors which would indicate that these Pentecostals were treated differently to the other Protestant missions. A look at the Methodist Episcopal Mission in the Katanga would seem to confirm this. The Methodist Mission was first granted PC in 1914. After its reorganisation it was again granted PC in 1920.<sup>183</sup> This was when the PM was dissolved and the CAM was seeking PC which it was refused until 1932. All the statistics from the Methodists were not to hand, but I do know that the land at Kabongo was granted as a *Cession gratuite* to the Methodists in 1928.<sup>184</sup> It can be assumed that the other older stations occupied by them would have been granted to them by that time. Although it is difficult to argue from silence there is nothing in E.C. Hartzler's, *Brief History of Methodist Missionary Work in the Southern Congo during the First 50 Years*<sup>185</sup> to indicate any problems with the Government. On the contrary there is evidence in the Conference Journals of the Methodist Conference that relationships between the Methodists and the Government in the Katanga were most friendly. The Governor of the Province expressed appreciation for the quality of

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they had requested titles see the 'Titre Fonciers' *supra*, footnote 174. From that document it can be seen that a number of stations did not possess title to the lands they occupied until 1960 and at least one –Lulungu – was never granted title.

<sup>177</sup> Cf. *supra* ft. nt. 169; Bureau des Missions Protestantes du Congo Belge, 'Report on Year July 1935 –June 1936', by H. Anet, I. F. p. 7, AAOG-OMC Nottingham.

<sup>178</sup> C. Irvine, *Church of Christ*, p. 79; cf. 'Report on Year July 1935 –June 1936', II. 5, pp. 12,13, which says that L. Sigler of The Foursquare Gospel Mission was refused a visa to return to the Congo.

<sup>179</sup> H. Womersley, cited in 'GFC-CEM, Kabongo, 18-23/4/1951', "Resumé of discussions", No. 48 c. HWPP.

<sup>180</sup> Cf. Chapter IV A. ft. nt. 87; H. Womersley, Interview, Bedford, 24/7/1980; H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, pp. 89,90.

<sup>181</sup> Markowitz, *Cross and Sword*, p. 39.

<sup>182</sup> Tilken's, Letter, No. 254/D/220, Elisabethville, 5/6/1934.

<sup>183</sup> C. Irvine, *Church of Christ*, pp. 101,102.

<sup>184</sup> 'Contrat de Cession Gratuit No. 32, 35 Ha 20 a. à Kabongo' in "titres Foncier", cf. *supra* ft. nt. 174, No. 7.

<sup>185</sup> Elisabethville, Methodist Church of Southern Congo, 1960.

the work that the APCM and the Methodists were doing and the Methodist Legal Representative, Bishop Johnson, thanked the Government for the grants which had been given to the Mission.<sup>186</sup>

In addition to this information on the Methodist Mission in the Katanga one glance through the *Rapport Annuel sur l'Administration de la Colonie du Congo Belge...*, especially during the years from 1927 to 1938, show that the Government was giving free concessions of land to other Protestant missions in the Congo when it was withholding them from the CEM. P. Van Opstal's statement is also important. He could not understand why, at least as far as land was concerned, the CEM was not being treated in the same way as other "missions étrangères".<sup>187</sup> All these factors would indicate that the relationship between the CEM and the Authorities was in many ways unique.

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<sup>186</sup> *Journal of the Tenth Session, Congo Mission Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Jadoville, July 26- August 1 1927*, p. 146.

<sup>187</sup> P. Van Opstal, Letter, Elisabethville, 18/7/1939.

## B) Catholics and the CEM

The two orders with which the Pentecostal Mission/CEM had most to do during the earliest period of its work in the Congo were the Scheutists and the Spiritans. The Spiritans however, had most contact with the CEM since the Scheutists were confined to the Kasai and the CEM only ever had two stations in the area during the colonial era. The *Pères du Saint Esprit* were already located at Malemba Nkulu when the Pentecostal Mission arrived in 1915 and their *Préfecture* covered much of the area pioneered by the CEM. Another order with which the CEM had contact was the Franciscans. They were responsible for the area which included Kikondja, Kabondo Dianda, Bukama, Bupemba and Kamina.

Relationships have to be understood in the context of relationships between Catholics and Protestants as a whole during the Belgian epoch. Since space does not permit a treatment of the subject it is only possible look at a limited number of examples in order to give continuity to the study. It is necessary to realise that there were times when each party saw itself as the underdog fighting for the truth;<sup>1</sup> each saw the other as being supported by an organisation with superior numbers of personnel and having greater financial resources at its fingertips.<sup>2</sup> Antagonism and mistrust led to a situation where dialogue was impossible and physical force and psychological warfare were the order of the day.<sup>3</sup> Although there was amelioration in relationships between Catholics and Protestants toward the end of the colonial era it was not until after 1960 that tensions disappeared. Today there is a most cordial and open relationship with an absence of the previous antagonism.<sup>4</sup>

In 1878 Pope Leo XIII had divided the centre of the African continent into four vicariates. Congo was shared between the Holy Ghost Fathers and the White Fathers, both French orders.<sup>5</sup> This worried Leopold II since the French had designs on the Congo Basin at the time.<sup>6</sup> For this reason the King invited the Scheutists, a Belgian order, to become involved in the Congo. They eventually agreed to comply with the King's<sup>7</sup> request. Lavigerie agreed to start recruiting missionaries from Belgium for his work in the Congo, and so did the Holy Ghost Fathers.<sup>8</sup> Emile Callewaert, of whom we shall see much more in connection with the CEM, became *Préfet apostolique* of the new *Préfecture* of North Katanga.<sup>9</sup>

Whether or not they recognised it, these Catholic missions had become part of Leopold's plan for the Congo Free State and later part of the administration of the Belgian Congo.<sup>10</sup> Jean Irenée Nkulu writes:

La soumission de tous les missionnaires catholiques à une autorité religieuse, contrôlée par le pouvoir séculier, s'avérait un handicap sérieux à l'évangélisation et violait manifestement la cause de liberté religieuse, unanimement adoptée au Congrès. ('La question des juridictions politiques (1865-1888)', Rome (Unpublished Doctoral thesis) Université Pontificale Grégorienne, (Faculté d'Histoire Ecclésiastique) 1974, p. 179.

This underlines what M.D. Markowitz says:

Catholic missionary work in the Congo started with government aid and encouragement. The Belgian colonial system operated on the basis of and interdependent triumvirate of missionary, administration, and commercial interests. (*Cross and Sword: The Political Role of Christian Missions in the Belgian Congo, 1908-1960*, Stanford, Hoover Institution Press, 1973, p. 17)

<sup>1</sup> R. Slade, *English-Speaking Missions*, p. 28.

<sup>2</sup> L. Lemereur, 'Nos Dalmatiques à Nkulu', *Annales Apostoliques*, 41 année, No. 6, 1925, p. 169.

<sup>3</sup> 'Préfecture apostolique du Katanga septentrional', n.pl., n.d., "La lutte est courtoise mais acharnée", Asp. Boîte 376, Dos. A, II; 'Registre sur les Rapports sur l'Administration Général, District Tanganika-Moero, Territoire de Kikondja', 1932, p. 165 section C, AZMNkulu; Slade, *Leopold's Congo*, p. 142.

<sup>4</sup> Today Protestant missionaries often stay at Catholic missions while on journeys and Catholics buy Bibles from the CEM bookshop at Kamina. Protestants also take advantage of the Catholic wholesale supply shops which are open to missionaries of all faiths.

<sup>5</sup> R. L. Buell, *The Native Problem in Africa*, II, New York, Macmillan, 1928, p. 581.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*; R. Slade, *Leopold's Congo*, p. 146.

<sup>7</sup> Buell, *The Native Problem*, II, p. 581; Slade, *Leopold's Congo*, p. 147; M.D. Markowitz, *Cross and Sword*, pp. 2,3.

<sup>8</sup> Buell, *The Native Problem*, II, p. 581; Markowitz, *Cross and Sword*, pp. 2,3; Slade, *Leopold's Congo*, p.146.

<sup>9</sup> *Bulletin de la Congrégation*, Tome 26, 1911-1912, pp. 250, 251; cf. R. Slade, *English-Speaking Missions*, p. 391.

<sup>10</sup> Francois Bontinck, 'La Deuxième Evangélisation du Zaïre', *Telema*, No. 22, 1980 2, pp. 37, 39; cf. Fr. de Mees and P. Steenberghen, *Les Missions religieuses au Congo Belge*, Antwerp, Van Dieren, 1947, p. 41.

Because of its ties with the Belgian Administration the Catholic Church had become an employee of the State.<sup>11</sup> E. Callewaert illustrates this point when he writes to his superior in Paris indicating that the Governor General had informed him that the area which had been assigned to the Assumptionists would remain under the care of the Spiritans since the Governor General would find another area for the Assumptionists.<sup>12</sup> It was probably the marriage of Catholic Church and State in the Congo which gendered more ill feeling between Catholics and Protestants than any other single factor.

In February 1907 the Holy Ghost Fathers reported that they were looking for missionaries for the new field in Katanga:

On voulait bien des missionnaires, mais des missionnaires belges, et en assez grand nombres pour n'être pas débordés par les protestants, qui menacent d'envahir le pays par le sud, du côté de la Rhodesia [sic]. (*Bulletin de la Congrégation*, No. 240, Tome XXIV, 1907-1908 ASp.)

Because the State encouraged the Catholic missionary effort it was only natural that it should help the Catholics in matters concerning land grants and subsidies for the construction and operation of schools and other items.<sup>13</sup>

The Government was afraid of the Anglo-American Protestants and claimed that they had political motives for being in the Congo and for this reason it often encouraged the Catholic missions to open up an area before the Protestants arrived there.<sup>14</sup> As Mgr. Huys of the White Fathers writes:

Le Gouvernement répète et écrit qu'il nous faut absolument occuper la région nord du Vicariat... le Gouvernement veut prévenir une emprise protestante descendant de Shabunda (Kivu). SMAPB, Rapport Annuel, Alger, Maison Carée, 1935, p. 292)

The same thing happened in the *Préfecture* of *Katanga-Nord* where the Government encouraged the Holy Ghost Fathers to open up the area of Kasongwa Nyembo.<sup>15</sup>

Even the Catholics acknowledged that the increase in their statistics was in part due to the help they had received from the State and the extremely favourable conditions experienced while working in the Congo.<sup>16</sup> Generally they agreed that their *rapport* with the Administration was excellent, but they took this favour for granted since they believed that the spiritual hegemony in the Congo was theirs by right.<sup>17</sup> However, there were occasions when there were differences with the State and they were then quick to see themselves as the object of anticlerical, Freemason or Protestant plots;<sup>18</sup> though it was only during the time when Maurice Lippens was the Governor

<sup>11</sup> Markowitz, *Cross and Sword*, pp. 7,11; Slade, *Leopold's Congo*, p. 148; Marcel Storme, *Het ontstaan van de Kasai-Missie*, Académie royale des sciences d'outre-mer, sciences morales et politiques, Mémoire in-8° N.S. 24(3), Bruxelles, Académie royale des sciences d'outre-mer, 1961, p. 22.

<sup>12</sup> E. Callewaert, Letter, Kindu, 18/3/1923 au Le Roy, Paris, ASp. Boîte 376, B. IV, this letter followed an earlier one from van Rossum at the *Propaganda Fide*, Rome, Prot. 573/22, 6/5/1922, Asp. Boîte 375, V; de Meeus and Steenerghen, *Missions religieuses*, p. 41; "The State on humanitarian grounds protects religious missions in general, and nonpatriotic grounds, it favours the missions represented by its nationals"(translation as in Anstey, *Leopold's Legacy*, p. 89); *CEMR*, No. 1, 1923, pp.11 requests prayer: "for the rulers of the country, that they may be kept from policy, and pushing for the interests of the Roman Catholics to the detriment of our work".

<sup>13</sup> Markowitz, *Cross and Sword*, pp. 7,17; R. Anstey, *Leopold's Legacy*, p. 57 indicates that between 1906 and 1914 Protestant missions received only 978 acres of land against the 23,106 ha of land received by the Catholics; cf. Slade, *English-Speaking Missions*, pp. 3337-358; Haezaert, Letter, Kongolo, 10/4/1937 à l'Excellence et T.R.P. indicates that the Governor General had just given him 90,000 francs to build a new school at Kindu. Asp. Boîte 377 A.V.

<sup>14</sup> M. Storme, *Het ontstaan*, pp. 5,22; 'Information sur la nouvelle Préfecture apostolique du Lomami', Paris, 16/2/1922, p. 1 says of the Protestants: « Comme ces Missions paraissent avoir des visées politiques, le Gouvernement belge, à plusieurs reprises, a demandé officieusement [sic] à Mgr Callewaert ... de fonder des missions catholiques belges dans cette région, en particulier dans la vallée du Lomami, vers Mato ». Asp. Boîte 375 V; E. Callewaert, Letter, n.pl. n.d. à [Le Roy, Paris]: « Déjà avant la guerre une personnage officiel d'Elisabethville m'avait demandé de fonder une mission à Kasongo Niembo et je suis persuadé que cette fondation sera aujourd'hui plus que jamais agréable au Gouvernement de la Province, et au ministère des Colonies ». Asp. Boîte 375, VII; E. Callewaert, Letter, Lubunda, 29/6/1917 à [Le Roy, Paris]: « Il y a déjà 3 ans que Monsieur de Meulemmerts faisant fonction de Gouverneur du Katanga m'a demandé si je ne pouvais installer [sic] une mission à Kasongo Niembo ». Asp. Boîte 376 B. II; on the political aspects and the fear that the Protestants had designs on the Congo cf. A. Le Chartrain, 'Les Missions au Congo Belge', *Congo* 2(3), 1931, p. 580; cf. Gérard Ciparisse, 'Les fermes-chapelles du Kwango', Unpublished thesis, Louvain, 1970, pp. 60-62.

<sup>15</sup> 'Information sur la nouvelle Préfecture apostolique du Lomami', Paris, 16/1/1922, p. 1.

<sup>16</sup> Louis Lempereur, Letter, [Kongolo], 12/9/1929 à Cardinal Van Rossum, Rome says that the good results of their evangelism « est du aussi aux conditions très favorable que rencontre l'action du missionnaire catholique auprès du Gouvernement de la Colonie ». pp. 1,2 ; ASp. Boîte 376 A. II ; cf. Anstey, *Leopold's Legacy*, p. 57.

<sup>17</sup> Markowitz, *Cross and Sword*, p. 39.

<sup>18</sup> I give here a selection of documents presenting the different attitudes held by the Catholics regarding the Administration. Most of these are from the archives of the Holy Ghost fathers and so they concern that order:

General that the Catholics experienced some of the problems commonplace to Protestants throughout the Colonial period.<sup>19</sup>

Catholic attitudes to Protestants and Protestantism were not worked out in an arbitrary way. The practicalities of policy to any one Protestant Mission, whether the CEM or the Garenganze, were consistent throughout the Congo since directives to the different orders were coordinated by Rome.<sup>20</sup> Catholics saw Protestants as heretics who needed, at all costs, to be stopped before they indoctrinated everyone in their evil ways. As Charles Lavigerie wrote to A. Franchi: «

Nous assistons dans certains parties de l'Afrique à une véritable invasion du protestantisme ... il n'y a pas un moment à perdre si l'on ne veut pas être prévenue, c'est-à-dire battu par l'hérésie dans l'Afrique équatoriale. (Letter, Alger, 5/1/1878 cited in A. Roeykens, *La Politique Religieuses de l'Etat Indépendant du Congo*, Bruxelles, Académie royale des sciences d'outre-mer, 1965, p. 96)

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A recognition that the Government favoured the Catholics:

Callewaert, Letter, Kulu:19/4/1919 à [Le Roy]: "J'ai constaté avec grand plaisir que la mission s'est mise en très bon rapport avec l'administration civile, il en sortira beaucoup de bien pour l'évangélisation". ASP. Boîte 376 B. III; E. Wangermée, (Vice-Gouverneur Général) Letter, Elisabethville: 8/7/1914 à Callewaert, Lubunda: "Je suis heureux de constater que la bonne entente règne entre l'administration et les missionnaires de votre Préfecture". ASP. Boîte 376 B.II; Callewaert, Letter, Braine l'Alleud St. Joseph, 6/1/1913 à Le Roy says that he gets on well with the administrator of the railways and "l'administration gouvernementale se montre également très bienveillante" so that the *Commissaire de District* has flattering words for the Catholics and condemnatory words for the Protestants. ASP. Boîte 376 B.II; Vogel, (Père visiteur) 'Compte Rendu Général de la clôture de la visite religieuse du district du Katanga', Kongolo, 1/5/1949, p.6 "Autorité Civile: elle se montre si favorable pour votre travail missionnaire [sic] et vous aide généreusement". ASP. Boîte 377 A.II; Lempereur, Letter, [Kongolo], 12/9/1929 à Van Rossum à Rome, "conditions très favorables... auprès du gouvernement de la Colonie". pp.1,2, ASP. Boîte 376 A.II; Callewaert, Letter, n.pl., 1/2/1923 à [Le Roy, Paris] informs his superior that they have just received good news that the brother of the *Père Supérieur des Pères de Scheut*, Rutten, had been named Governor General of the Congo. ASP. Boîte 376 B.IV; this would have been after the resignation of Lippens, cf. Markowitz, *Cross and Sword*, p.36; 'Journal de Kabongo', 1933-1956 p.2, "d'Orjo garde toutes ses sympathies pour nous". He was the administrator at Kabongo where there was also a CEM station; L. Lempereur, Letter, Lierre, 7/7/1923 à Mon Rev. Père. He had been at the ministry for the Colonies and met Baron Hervyn, who was then director "des cultes" and who is according to Lempereur, an excellent Catholic "bien en place pour nous, à côté du Ministre Louis Franck, comme [sic homme] charmant, mais libéral". This could well explain some of Franck's leaning toward Catholic missions after the resignation of Lippens and some of the policies which tended to favour the Catholics during that period. ASP. Boîte 376 B.IV.

Protestants and Free Masons reckoned as the same:

Durand à H. Brichet, Paris: 1880 cited in A. Roeykens, *La Politique religieuse de l'Etat indépendant du Congo*, p.245 « Or maçonnerie et protestantisme marchent toujours ensemble, ils sont associés ».

Anti-clerical and anti-Catholic attitudes recognized by Catholics or actions and attitudes interpreted as anti-clerical:

de H. (Likely de Hemptinne) 'Bulletin des oeuvres du District de Kongolo (1926-1953)', p.I, ASP. Boîte 377 B. VII: "depuis 1919 jusqu'en 1950, [Belgium was governed] par un Gouvernement en majorité anticlérical, et déjà le bulletin de 1926 parle du changement des dispositions gouvernementales à l'égard des Missions catholiques"; E. Callewaert, Letter, Braine l'Alleud St Joseph, 3/12/1920 à Son Eminence le Cardinal Préfet de la S.C. de la Propagande [Rome] Boîte 376 A.II: says that they are not only worried about the protestants, but "Nous rencontrons une certaine mentalité moins favorable chez quelques agents de l'administration locale. Ces dispositions gênent parfois notre action religieuse"; Callewaert, Letter, Braine l'Alleud St. Joseph, 18/11/1921 à Mgr. et T.R.P.: "Je vous ai déjà dit que je crois Mr Remacle favoriser les protestants" at Katombe. This is probably the same man who was administrator at Kikondja, Kisale when Burton and Salter arrived in 1915. There is evidence that he was highly esteemed by the missionaries of the CEM; cf. H. Womersley, Interview, 24/7/1980; L. Lempereur, 'Compte Rendu de Visite', Kongolo, 19-29/11/1924 indicates that they are not at all happy with Franck as Minister for the Colonies, ASP. Boîte 376 A.I; 'Information sur la nouvelle Préfecture apostolique du Lomami', no known author, Paris, 16/12/1922 p.6: "Les agents du Gouvernement se montrent plutôt hostiles, surtout depuis l'arrivée au pouvoir du nouveau Gouverneur, Mr. Lippens". ASP. Boîte 375 V; Lippens was Governor General of the Congo from 30/1/1921-1925. He was extremely anti-clerical and was finally forced to resign because of pressure placed upon him by his own Minister Franck in a political move in Belgium; cf. Markowitz, *Cross and Sword*, pp.27,33; Callewaert, Letter, Braine l'Alleud St. Joseph, 3/11/1921 the Governor had been complaining that the Spiritans had too many foreigners in their mission and Callewaert could not understand what he meant; ASP. Boîte 376 B.IV; cf. Markowitz, *Cross and Sword*, p.34 who points out that Lippens was lashing out at the Flemish by calling them Dutch foreigners since most of the Catholic missionaries in the Congo were Flemish; Thomas Kanza, *Conflict in the Congo*, Harmondsworth: Penguin African Library, 1972, pp.28-30 indicates that during the time of August Buisseret as Minister for the Colonies, 23/4/1954-4/7/1958, the Catholics experienced considerable anti-clerical pressure; cf. Markowitz, *Cross and Sword*, pp. 24, 73-75 explains the problems of Buisseret's anti-clerical policies; cf. Anstey, *Leopold's Legacy*, p. 220.

<sup>19</sup> It was only during the time that Lippens was Governor General, and later when Buisseret was Minister of Colonies that the Catholics really felt the anti-clerical bite of Belgian policy. Even when Franck was Minister he was, except when Lippens was the Governor General, generally most conciliatory toward the Catholics, for political reasons, cf. Markowitz, *Cross and Sword*, pp. 32-37, 73-75; cf. Th. Kanza, *Conflict in the Congo*, pp. 28,30.

<sup>20</sup> E. Callewaert, Letter, Kisantu: 25/6/1919 à [Le Roy], ASP. Boîte 376 B.III; Cardinal van Rossum, Letter, S. Congregazione « Propaganda Fide » Protocollo N.2853/919, Rome, 21/11/1919 to Alexandro Le Roy, ASP. Boîte 376 A.II; Cardinal van Rossum, Letter, S. Congregazione de Propaganda Fide. Prot. 573/22, Rome, 6/5/1922 to Le Roy, ASP. Boîte 375 V.

There is little wonder that there was no dialogue between the Catholics and the CEM when the former called the Protestants 'heretics', 'children of the devil', and 'brothers of Voltaire' as well as 'foreigners' and 'espions'.<sup>21</sup> Members of the CEM were known to call the Catholics 'Papists', the 'perpetuators of the ancient Babylonish system', and the Catholic Church the 'Mother of Harlots'.<sup>22</sup>

The CEM charged that the Catholics did not have any planned system of expansion other than the negative approach whereby every effort was made to hinder the work of the Protestants. It would seem that this accusation was in part true and that the entire Catholic missionary programme in the Katanga and where the CEM were located focused on methods for hindering the CEM work.<sup>23</sup> E. Callewaert writes to Le Roy in Paris:

Un avis venu de Rome ... demande que nous nous mettions d'accord pour chercher par quel moyen efficace nous devons combattre le progrès de hérésie au Congo. (Letter, Kisantu, 25/6/1919 au Mgr. Et R.R.P. Le Roy, Paris, ASp. Boîte 376, Dos. B, III)

In the following paragraphs I outlined some of the methods used to hinder and obstruct the work of the CEM.

One of the most effective factors favouring the Catholics when it came to anti-Protestant propaganda was that the Protestants, for the most part, were not Belgians.<sup>24</sup> The Catholics made much of this, especially in Belgium, where they used it as a tool to stir up anti-Protestant feeling and thereby raise financial support for their work in the Congo.<sup>25</sup> One example of this kind of propaganda appears in the Belgian paper: *La Libre Belgique*, which cites part of a pamphlet published by Mgr. de Hemptinne, Catholic *Préfet apostolique* of South Katanga after a Congress of the CPC at Leopoldville in 1928:

Quiconque a la fierté d'être Belge, quiconque se soucie de nos droits souverains sur notre Colonie ne peut rester indifférent devant l'esprit qui se manifeste dans le rapport des missionnaires étrangers et le programme qui s'y fait jour. ('Les Missions protestantes au Congo: Elles affichent un programme et organisent une action inquiétants au point de vue belge', Bruxelles, 18/9/1929, p. 1 (the original of this is to found in: de Hemptinne, *La politique des Missions Protestantes au Congo: Examen du Rapport de la Conférence générale tenue à Léopoldville, septembre 1928*, Elisabethville, *L'Essor du Congo*, 1929, pp. 3,4)

E. Callewaert writes along the same lines in a printed letter published in the Belgian paper: *L'Effort*, concerning the Protestants:

Cette propagande est aussi anti nationale qu'anti catholique. Il nous importe à nous missionnaires, et à tout belge aimant la colone [sic] de former une barrière à cet envahissement ('Une nouvelle mission au Congo- La concurrence protestante', n. pl., 23/7/1921, n. p.)<sup>26</sup>

In the Congo itself the Catholics often told the Congolese that the Protestants CEM were *anglais* or *américains* spies in the pay of foreign powers and that they could be told to leave at any

<sup>21</sup> Pères blancs, 'Rapport annuel', 1931 Mgr. Huys p.206 "Le gouvernement lui-même s'aperçoit aussi bien que nous de la multiplication des établissements protestants. Déjà trois stations d'hérétiques s'efforcent d'y séduire le peuple. Heureusement, ce dernier est bien disposé à notre égard"; L. Denis, *Les Jésuites Belges au Kwango 1893-1943*, Brussels: L'Édition Universelle, 1943, pp. 60,93 cites Van Henexthoven who wrote to the Père Provincial: "En jetant un coup d'œil sur la carte, on voit les missions hérétiques échelonnées sur les deux rives du fleuve"; H.M. Dubois, ed., *Le Répertoire Africain: Conférence des Missions catholiques d'Afrique*, Rome: « la Sodalité de S. Pierre Claver », 1932 pp. 231,232. Regarding the Protestants it says that the Catholic Church often finds itself proceeded by "l'hérésie". Also "le protestantisme c'est l'erreur avec laquelle il ne peut être question de pactiser"; L. Lempereur, Letter. Lubunda: 8/9/1924 à Cardinal van Rossum, Rome, ASp. Boîte 376 A.II: "Ainsi, Dieu aidant, le péril protestant se trouvera conjuré"; Buell, *The Native Problem*, II, "In some cases Catholic natives have been taught to call protestants 'foreigners', 'people of Luther,' and 'people of the Devil' ". Elslander, *Courrier d'Ankoro*, No. 3, 1923, p.9.

<sup>22</sup> J.E. Mullan, 'In the World ye shall have Tribulation', *CEMR*, No. 35, 1932, p. 547.

<sup>23</sup> Burton, *When God Changes a Village*, p. 38; cf. G. Ciparisse, 'Les fermes-chapelles du Kwango', pp. 63, 64, 66; Anstey *Leopold's Legacy*, p. 89 says that with the Jesuits "the major impetus for advance was rivalry with Protestantism"; cf. L. Denis, *Les Jésuites Belges*, p. 102 points out that the threat of Protestants establishing a station in some area often precipitated quick action on the part of the Catholics to get there before them.

<sup>24</sup> Markowitz, *Cross and Sword*, pp. 8,9; L. Lempereur, 'Nos Dalmatiques à Nkulu', *Annales Apostoliques*, 41 année, No. 6, 1925, pp. 169, 170; at one stage it was even suggested that the Belgian Protestants be responsible for the evangelisation of Congo, but this was totally impractical since there were so few Protestants in Belgium; cf. R. Slade, *English -Speaking Missions*, p. 350; Markowitz, *Cross and Sword*, pp. 8,9; Anstey, *Leopold's Legacy*, p. 57.

<sup>25</sup> Markowitz *Cross and Sword*, p. 39; *United Missionary Conference Luebo, Kasai, 1918*, Bolobo, Congo: Bolobo Mission Press, 1918, p. 116 cited in Markowitz, *Cross and Sword*, p. 10 ft. nt. 18,19; Callewaert, 'Compte Rendu Annuel à la Propagande de la Foi 1919, Observations'.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Markowitz, *Cross and Sword*, p. 39; Anstey, *Leopold's Legacy*, p.57.

time.<sup>27</sup> Had they only realised it, this must have made the Congolese, who were often suspicious and even hostile toward the Belgians, more sympathetic toward the CEM.<sup>28</sup> However, in the case of chiefs who were dependent upon the goodwill of the Belgian Administration this often meant that the Protestants were hindered.<sup>29</sup> M.D. Markowitz suggests that this pressure upon the Protestants was intended to tie their hands by limiting their advances; it was meant to frustrate their every move and so eventually forced them out of the Colony.<sup>30</sup>

Another tactic used in the fight against the Protestants was to find out where the CEM had planned to found a work. The Catholics would then install a *catéchiste* in that village before the CEM could construct an *école-chapelle*.<sup>31</sup> This manoeuvre arose from the Government policy whereby the first confession to become established in any village was regarded as being the rightful possessor of that village in terms of evangelisation and education.<sup>32</sup> This meant that there was often a race to establish a foothold in the most populous centres.<sup>33</sup> L. Lempereur wrote, after a visit to Malemba Nkulu in 1925, saying it was most necessary that the Catholics occupy as many of the important posts as possible, since the CEM were not at all embarrassed by installing themselves near to the Spiritans.<sup>34</sup>

There were times when this caused considerable friction. One side or the other would claim that they had been rightfully installed when the other confession began to build in 'their' village.<sup>35</sup> Or the Catholics would accuse the CEM of having falsified documents signed by chiefs who were not able to read and even of changing dates to make them read earlier than they had been.<sup>36</sup>

Since it seems that the Catholics had access to all the statistics in the local administrative *postes* the CEM found that it was necessary to keep secret all proposed journeys, especially when they were thinking of commencing a new work in any area.<sup>37</sup> Burton tells that when H. Womersley and W. Hall left for an exploratory journey to Kasongwa Nyembo he had followed them a week later, only to find that the priests had preceded him by five days and had visited all the same villages as Womersley and Hall, wanting to know if they had said anything about starting any work in those centres.<sup>38</sup>

There is evidence from the Holy Ghost Fathers that they did follow the Protestants to Kasongwa Nyembo and that not long afterwards they established a station there to forestall any possible Protestant move; but this was in connection with the Methodists, who made their way to

<sup>27</sup> Burton, *Honey Bee*, p. 61; Burton, Letter, Mwanza, 10/1/1933 au Gouverneur Général du Katanga; A. Le Chartrain, 'La Mission au Congo Belge', p. 580; "Notons seulement que pour le simplisme des noirs, catholique devient synonyme de belge et protestant synonyme d'anglais".

<sup>28</sup> Callewaert, Letter, Lubunda, 29/6/1917 à [Le Roy] says that the Baluba were a most turbulent people, but the fact that the Protestants-CEM- had all these stations and were asking for more land proved that "ces missionnaires ne craignent pas beaucoup la turbulence de ces Balubas [sic]"; E. Conrad, Letter, Kindu, 27/9/1912 à [Le Roy], Asp. Boîte 376 B. II, reports how unsubmitive the people were to the State and how Rémacle from Kikondja, had been forced to flee for his life.

<sup>29</sup> 'From Miss 'Toerien's Diary', *CEMR*, No. 5, p. 41 "We find again and again that the chiefs side with the R.C.'s in order to enhance their own prestige and power".

<sup>30</sup> *Cross and Sword*, p. 39.

<sup>31</sup> Anstey, *Leopold's Legacy*, p. 58; Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p. 106; L'Lempereur, 'Compte Rendu de Visite, Nkulu, 17-24/7/1925', Asp. Boîte 376, A.I.

<sup>32</sup> cf. Burton, *When God Changes a Village*, p. 39, ft.nt. \*; Elsander, *Courrier d'Ankoro*, 3 année No. 3, 1923, p. 8.

<sup>33</sup> *SMAPB*, 1922, Huys, p. 104: "Pour enrayer l'invasion protestante, nous occupons autant que possible, tous les centres un peu importants qui sont à notre portée. Nous y plaçons des catéchistes sérieusement formés, nous avons recours à des chrétiens de bonne volonté qui occupent l'emplacement".

<sup>34</sup> Lempereur, 'Compte Rendu de Visite Nkulu 17-24/7/1925', Asp. Boîte 376 A.I.; 'Bulletin des œuvres du district de Kongolo (1926-1953)' de H[emptinne]. n.pl., n.d., p. 27; cf. L. Denis, *Les Jésuites Belges*, p. 93 outlines some of the tactics to forestall the Protestants; Callewaert, Letter, n.pl., n.d. to the Propaganda Asp. Boîte, A. II, complains that Burton was a man who was completely convinced about his mission in life and that he flooded the country with his catéchistes; cf. *RFBWFPB*, No. 9, 31/12/1916.

<sup>35</sup> C. Philippe, 'Rapport Politique 1923, 2e Semestre, Territoire de Kisengwa, District du Lomami', Kisengwa, 31/12/1923 section "Relation avec les Missions", says he has received a complaint from Johnstone of the CEM about Elsander from Ankoro building chapels where the CEM is already installed. ASRKabinda.

<sup>36</sup> Elsander, *Courrier d'Ankoro*, 3e année No. 3, 1923, p. 8; Elsander did all he could to prevent the Protestants opening any work in the villages where he was responsible; cf. 'Bulletin des œuvres du District de Kongolo (1926-1953)', p. 27 "Ankoro: ... le grand souci du P. Elsander était d'occuper tout le pays qui lui était assigné; partout il plaçait des catéchistes pour barrer l'accès aux Protestants". The CEM was happy when his own mission ordered him to remain in Europe for a number of reasons, including the problems with the Belgian Administration and difficulties over finances; cf. P. Bouve, Letter, Ankoro, 8/5/1933 au Mgr, et T.R.P. Asp. Boîte 376 A. I; and L. Lempereur, Letter, Lubunda, 14/11/1923 au Mgr. et T.R.P. Asp. Boîte 376 B. IV; cf. *CEMR*, No. 45, p. 749.

<sup>37</sup> *RFBWFPB*, No. 11, 1917, p. 6.

<sup>38</sup> *When God Changes a Village*, pp. 38, 39.

Kabongo in 1917, and not with the expedition referred to by Burton which took place in 1926.<sup>39</sup> In that earlier trek, van Hoof on the Holy Ghost Fathers had followed the Methodist who, he reported, had briefly instructed the people before continuing to Kabongo.<sup>40</sup>

Burton complained that on one occasion he had been invited to teach in some villages but that as he was unable to go he had sent a "native Christian". When the Catholics found out about this they immediately sent their own catéchistes making it impossible for the CEM to work there.<sup>41</sup> The CEM had intended commencing a work at Bunda not far from Malemba Nkulu. When the news leaked out to the Catholics they decided that they would build in an *école-chapelle* before the CEM had a chance to do so. Burton got this news on Christmas Eve and knowing that the Catholics would be occupied with their services on Christmas Day decided to set out for Bunda first thing on Christmas morning.<sup>42</sup> By evening the entire structure was completed and by the time the priest arrived the following day the building was nearly thatched. According to Burton the man left muttering: "A day too late! A day too late!"<sup>43</sup>

Although the CEM followed the Spiritans into the Mwanza area, the Spiritans had deliberately established the station at Malemba Nkulu so as to stave off any advances from the Garenganze Mission at Mulongo. It is only in the Kongolo and Kindu area that the Catholics were the first to be installed. There are also one or two areas like Sungu where the Spiritans were the first to establish a station. Elsewhere the CEM, the Methodists, and in one case the Seventh-day Adventists, were the first to build stations, but were followed by the Catholics. It would seem that in nearly every instance the primary reason for the location of Catholic stations was to block the CEM.<sup>44</sup> The Government often gave the Catholics permission to locate in towns and villages where

<sup>39</sup> 'Bulletin de la Congrégation', No. 346, janvier-mars, 1918, pp. 7,8 says that the Catholics had been to Samba on 25/11/1918, " Malherusement les protestants y sont déjà"; cf. 'A cheering word from Brother Womersley', *CEMR*, No. 14, 1926 reports the journey as having taken place in June 1926.

<sup>40</sup> C. van Hoof, Letter, Kasongo Niembo, 26/11/1917 à Callewaeert, Asp. Boîte 375 VII.

<sup>41</sup> *RFBWFPB*, No. 13, 1918, p. 3.

<sup>42</sup> Burton, *When God Changes a Village*, pp. 39-42.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 41,42.

<sup>44</sup> Burton, *When God Changes a Village*, pp. 38,39; L. Denis, *Les Jésuites Belges*, p. 102; The following is a list indicating the date for the establishment of Protestant and Catholic stations in any one area. The Protestants are the CEM unless otherwise listed; Sp.=Spiritans; Sc.= Scheutists and F= Franciscans; PB.= Pères Blancs; e= earlier than Protestants; ?= date not clear; GE= 'Garenganze Evangelical Mission or Luanza Mission; l=later than Protestants.

Protestants	Year	Catholics	Year
Mulongo (GEM)	1911	Mulongo F.	? l
Mwanza	1915	Malemba Nkulu Sp.	1912
Ngoy Mani	1917	None	-
Kabongo (Methodist)	1917	Kabongo Sp.	1926
Kabondo Dianda	1918	Kabondo Dianda Sp.	1933
Kipushya	1921	Tshungu Sc.	c. 1922
Kikondja	1925	Kikondja F.	1933
Busangu	1926	Sungu	c. 1919
Katenta (Seke)	1926	None	-
Katompe	1932	None	-
Mutengwa (Lulungu)	1932	Kalonda Sc.	? l
Kashukulu	1940	None	-
Katea	1949	None	-
Kongolo	1949	Kongolo Sp.	1909
Kisamba (Luena)	1950	None	-
Kamina	1953	Kamina F.	1926
		Kayeye F.	?
		Luabo F.	1923
		Kabinda Sc.	1911
		Ankoro Sp.	1923
		Manono F.	1937
		Kabalo PB	1933
		Mbudi	?

Often the CEM had a resident evangelist in a school where there was a Catholic mission and in many cases the CEM arrived in those places before the Catholics i.e. at Kayeye. Likewise the Catholics had *catéchistes* in places like Ngoy Mani even where there was not a Catholic Mission. Dates for the Catholic stations have been taken for the most part from A. Corman, *Annuaire des Missions Catholiques au Congo Belge*, 1e année 1924, Bruxelles, Albert Dewit, 1924, pp. 67, 140-143 and *Ibid.*, ed., 1935, pp. 28, 248, 348, 350, 351; 'Bulletin des oeuvres de District de Kongolo, 1926-1953', pp. 29, 32; 'Journal de Kabongo, 1933-1956', p. 37; *Bulletin de la Congrégation*, No. 391, 1923, pp. 106, 107; No. 315, 1913, p.100 and Cinema; *CEMR*, No. 46, p. 765; they do not always tally so I have used the earliest unless there is other evidence to show which is correct.

For the CEM dates I have used 'Liste nominative de Pasteurs responsables des Stations, 30-CPZ, pendant l'exercice 1980', by Ilunga Sambula, Kamina, 11/11/1980 verified from other sources.

the CEM already had a work but refused to CEM the right of entry to places like Kongolo which were Catholic bastions.<sup>45</sup>

The Catholics would tell the people that they should not listen to the CEM missionaries who would be sure to get them under their spell if they were not careful and that the message they preached was accursed magic.<sup>46</sup> The Catholics also told the Congolese that the Protestants were teachers of false doctrine who had stolen the Bible from them in the first place.<sup>47</sup> At Malemba Nkulu the Catholics taught a little ditty which they used to sing to the Protestants and white missionaries when they passed by:<sup>48</sup>

A, A, A, *Mishoni i ngivi*,  
*Waibile Bitabu wanemene ku Mwanza*,  
 A, A, A, *Mishoni i ngivi*.

It was not unknown for Catholics to throw stones at the Protestant missionaries.<sup>49</sup> Catholics were certain that when Africans understood that the Catholics had been sent by the Pope and not by private associations, they would see the difference between the CEM and the 'true Church'.<sup>50</sup> Because of the differences between the CEM and the Catholics I know of at least one CEM missionary who duplicated notes on the doctrines and origins of Catholics and Protestants and taught the subject to the workers on his station.<sup>51</sup> For their part, the Catholics believed that the CEM preached an anti-Catholic message which frightened the people off Catholicism telling them not to receive the Catholics.<sup>52</sup> The CEM said that the Catholics did the same warning the people against the Protestants.<sup>53</sup>

Both the Catholics and the CEM realised the importance of the *école-chapelle* as a tool for evangelism. There was more direct conflict between the two confessions as a result of *écoles-chapelles* than over any other matter. This is undoubtedly because they were often left in the hands of Congolese with little in the way of direct supervision. It was not uncommon for Catholic *catéchistes* to force Protestant children to attend Catholic schools. Chiefs realised that to be on the right side of the Catholic Church was also to be on the right side of the Belgian Administration. They knew that if they opposed the Catholic priests they could easily have their authority removed.<sup>54</sup> The Catholic *catéchistes* wrote down the names of Protestant children and gave them medals to prove that they were Catholics.<sup>55</sup>

Time and again physical force was used to try and prevent individuals and groups from following the CEM.<sup>56</sup>

Ces dernier mois ont été marqués par quelques incidents survenus à Kimoto et Mukombo où les catéchistes se sont battus avec des indigènes qui refusaient d'envoyer leurs enfants aux leçons et que les dits catéchistes voulaient prendre de force. ( C. Phillippe, 'Rapport Politique, 1923, 2<sup>e</sup> semestre, Territoire de Kisengwa, District du Lomami', Kisengwa, 31/12/23, ASRKabinda).

<sup>45</sup> This happened in places like Mulongo, Kabongo, Kabondo Dianda, Tshungu (Kungu near Kipushya), Kikondja, Kalonda (near Mutengwa) cf. ft. nt. 44, *supra*; cf. Burton in *RFBWFPB*, No. 9, 1916.

<sup>46</sup> *RFBWFPB*, No. 9, 1916; *RFBWFPB*, No. 11, 1917, p. 5.

<sup>47</sup> Banza Sha Bana, Interview, Kamina, 22/11/1980; *RFBWFPB*, No. 11, p. 5; Mpyanyi Ngongo, Interview, Mulenda, 22/2/1981 by K. Herschell was from the Kipushya area and said the same thing had happened in the Kasai.

<sup>48</sup> The following is a translation of the song:

Oh, Oh, Oh, the missionary is a thief,  
 He stole the Bible and ran away with it to Mwanza,  
 Oh, Oh, Oh, the missionary is a thief.

Although *Mishoni* is primarily the missionary (Protestant as against the Catholic – *Monpele*) it also represents the followers of the Protestant mission. cf. *CEMR*, No. 37, p. 577; cf. H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, p. 89.

<sup>49</sup> D. Gordon, Interview, Kamina, 20/4/1982.

<sup>50</sup> Callewaert, Letter, Kulu, 4/8/1917, Asp. Boîte 376 B. III; Burton, *Gospel Nuggets*, pp. 31,32.

<sup>51</sup> E. Hodgson, 'Kujigulula uno muswelo wa bu Protestant', (to understand what Protestantism is about) courses taught at Kikondja by Hodgson to the workers of the station; n.d. MJPP.

<sup>52</sup> Callewaert, 'Congrégation du St. Esprit et du S. Cœur de Marie, Préfecture apostolique du Katanga Nord', n. pl., n.d., p. 4, Asp. Boîte 376, A. II.

<sup>53</sup> W. Hall, 'Ngoi Mputu', *CEMR*, No. 37, p. 577; 'News from the Field and the Homelands', *CEMR*, No. 45, p. 749.

<sup>54</sup> Toerien, 'From Miss Toerien's Dairy', *CEMR*, No. 5, pp. 40,41; "We find again and again that the chiefs side with the R.C.'s in order to enhance their own prestige and power". She reports that the chief at Mwifwile in the Kasai was threatened by the *catéchiste* and told that he would get the Government officials to take away his medal of authority; cf. Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p. 57; Burton, *When God Changes a Man*, p. 129.

<sup>55</sup> 'Extract of letter from Mr. F.D. Johnstone', *CEMR*, No. 2, 1923, p. 11.

<sup>56</sup> Government evidence recording Catholic violence and force includes: 'Registre sur les rapports sur l'administration Général, District Tanganika-Moero, Territoire de Kikondja', 13/12/1932 Sect. B. p. 165, AZMNkulu; 'Rapport Politique, 1923, 2e Semestre, Territoire de Kisengwa, District du Lomami', ASRKabinda; H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, p. 89; J. Mullan, *CEMR*, 35, pp. 547,548.

Often books were burned and chairs were removed from the Protestant schools.<sup>57</sup> It was not unknown for Catholic *catéchistes* to attack CEM missionaries.<sup>58</sup> This happened at Ntambwe when A. Blythe and his carriers were beaten by Catholics wielding rods. However, the most serious event of this nature took place when a lady missionary at Ngoy Mani, A. Entwistle, was publicly beaten by the local Catholic *catéchiste*.<sup>59</sup> This resulted in an investigation and condemnation before administrative tribunals in the Colony.<sup>60</sup>

Although it would seem that the use of force generally started with the Catholics, it was not entirely one-sided. I know of at least one case where CEM followers decided that they had had enough of turning the other cheek. One senior worker told me that at Kipushya it was decided that they had suffered enough abuse at the hands of the Catholics from Tshungu. They took an army of followers armed with sticks over to the Catholic station to teach them a good lesson.<sup>61</sup>

Another thing that the Catholics found to be a "*moyen efficace*" against the CEM heretics was to accuse them continually before the State. Hodgson said that this happened when there was a move of the Spirit among the people resulting in increased fervour to witness and to prayer in the villages. He says that the priest used to send informers to gather evidence that the teaching of the CEM was exciting the people to rebellion.<sup>62</sup> On one occasion he and his pastors had been accused on several charges. These included, exciting the population not to pay taxes, encouraging people not to wear clothes and ordering the lake dwellers to give up cultivating gardens.<sup>63</sup> An investigation which took three white officials and 21 soldiers two months to complete, acquitted the CEM of such charges. However, says Hodgson, it was not long before the priests accused the CEM once again in connection with its emphasis on the work of the Holy Spirit.<sup>64</sup> This must have been in connection with the teachings of the Kitawala which had by that time become well entrenched in the Kisale, Malemba Nkulu area. The accusations made by the Catholics against Petelo Musamfidi in the Bupemba were on the grounds that he was a member of the Kitawala.<sup>65</sup> The Spiritans regarded the excesses surrounding Protestantism as springing from the policy of *libre examen* of the Bible, so probably felt justified in their attack on the CEM. In their eyes there was little difference between the Protestants and the Kitawala.<sup>66</sup>

In order to enact their strategy it was needful to keep a close eye on the CEM. All CPC decisions were carefully noted so as to know the overall thinking of the Protestants in the Congo.<sup>67</sup> The Catholics kept records which included the number of students attending CEM schools and the methods used in their instruction.<sup>68</sup> Baptisms, numbers of evangelists, and the places where the CEM had worked were all remembered.<sup>69</sup> They made their own critiques of the reasons for the Protestant success, attributing acceptance of the CEM to the fact that they allowed polygamist marriages and permitted "les instruments de musique et ... l'enthousiasme indiscipliné".<sup>70</sup> The

<sup>57</sup> Mullan, *CEMR*, No. 35, pp. 547-549; Elsander the Catholic priest from Ankoro complained that the CEM followers had seized Catholic medals and gone as far as throwing their crosses from the *chapelles* into the bush. *Courrier d'Ankoro*, No. 3, 1923, pp. 3,4.

<sup>58</sup> A. Blythe, 'An Autobiography of A.C. Blythe', Unpublished MS, Broadstairs, Kent, 1970.

<sup>59</sup> 'Registre sur les rapports sur l'Administration Général, Tanganika-Moero, Territoire de Kikondja', (signed by L. Galand) Jan. 1934, p. 24, AZMNkulu; the author had been told of this incident by Ngoy wa Kyulu, Interview, Kamina II, 12/2/1980; cf. *CEMR*, No. 7, 1925, p. 72.

<sup>60</sup> This affair was so grave that it had to go as far as the highest tribunal in the District at Albertville (Kalemie); 'Registre sur les rapports...', L. Galand, Jan. 1934, p. 24, AZMNkulu.

<sup>61</sup> Fwamba Yobo Louis, Kilolo Yosua, Eshiba Ngoie, Interview, Kipushya, 21/1/1981; cf. Myani Ngongo Makungulo, Interview, Mulenda, 22/2/1981 by K. Herschell; he said that there was a real battle in 1930 at Kipaka, Tshadika and Tshungu.

<sup>62</sup> E. Hodgson, *Out of the Darkness*, pp. 170, 171; on accusations cf. H. Womersley, *Congo Pioneer*, p. 89.

<sup>63</sup> Hodgson, *Out of the Darkness*, pp. 171, 172.

<sup>64</sup> Hodgson, *Out of the Darkness*, pp. 172, 173.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. Chapter V; Ngoy wa Kyulu, Interview, Kamina II, 2/2/1981; Umba Wifwene Shandi Musamfidi, Interview, Kamina II, 25/2/1981.

<sup>66</sup> Mgr. Huys in *SMAPB*, 1937, p. 364 writes about a new Protestant sect which has come into the area and which teaches the "black" not to pay taxes to the whites and to be rebaptised by themselves in order to become more wise than the whites. This sect is the Kitawala; cf. J. Remy, 'Kibango [sic Kimbangu] le Prophète', *Annales Apostoloques*, 38e année, No. 2, 1922, p. 45.

<sup>67</sup> 'Congo Belge: Congrès des Missions protestantes', *Bulletin de la Congrégation*, No. 470, Oct. 1929 (tome 34 1929-30).

<sup>68</sup> 'Journal de Kabongo, 1933-56', p. 5, ASp. Boîte 380.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 20; cf. on Protestant statistics as a whole: 'Prospectus Status Missionis', 1949-1950, Katanga Nord, ASp. Boîte 377, B. VII; van Rossum, Letter, Prot. 573/22, Rome, 6/5/1922 à Le Roy, ASp. Boîte 375 VII; 'Information sur la nouvelle Préfecture du Lomami', Paris, 16/12/1922, p. 4, ASp. Boîte 375 V; 'Préfecture apostolique du Katanga septentrional', n.pl., n.d., ASp. Boîte 376 A II; L. Lempereur, 'Relation « Extraordinaria »', Lubunda, juin 1927, pp. 4,5, ASp. Boîte 376 A.II.

<sup>70</sup> 'Journal de Kabongo, 1933-1956', p. 25 not on 28/4/1947 with regard to polygamous marriages and divorce and remarriage. The CEM was very strict on this and the CPZ has continued this same stand as a whole. Cf. 'Rapport

Catholics kept track of the movements of the CEM missionaries, knew their nationalities and even reported Burton's marriage.<sup>71</sup>

In June 1907 the new *Préfecture du Katanga-Nord* was founded, with its seat at Kindu in the Manyema.<sup>72</sup> Kongolo was later opened since it was on the lowest part of a navigable stretch of the Lualaba reaching all the way to Bukama in the south and would facilitate transport and communications between the north and the south of the *Préfecture* as well as between Kongolo, Albertville and the outside world.<sup>73</sup> Emile Callewaert was greatly perturbed by all the Protestant activity in the south of his *Préfecture* and when he finally visited Mulongo and Malemba Nkulu in July 1912 he found that the Protestants had got there before him. These must have been the missionaries Zentler and Clarke since Callewaert writes about the "sultan Mafinga [sic Mafinge]" and the Protestant missionary who is situated a short distance from the river.<sup>74</sup> He found the area heavily populated and even though he would have liked to have settled at Mulongo he was forced to think in terms of Malemba Nkulu.<sup>75</sup> E. Conrad was sent to establish this new work, which was as far as they were concerned, essential in the fulfilment of their plans for 1912:<sup>76</sup> "Lutter contre . . . les Protestants en établissant [sic] stations".<sup>77</sup> The new station in Malemba was not long founded when Callewaert wrote in his annual report for 1914-1915: "Nous avons constaté la fondation d'une mission protestante américaine vers le sud de notre Préfecture".<sup>78</sup>

This was the start of years of confrontation between the CEM and the Catholics.<sup>79</sup> The Holy Ghost Fathers believed that the CEM was deliberately planning to surround them and cut them off from all the centres of population.<sup>80</sup> They inferred in their letters that they stood little chance in the face of financial resources available to the Protestants.<sup>81</sup> However, it is not clear that they believed this, since these affirmations would have been a good means of raising finances for their own projects.

It was seen earlier how the Administration had attempted to keep the left bank of the Lualaba for the Catholics. This could be in part the result of a verbal agreement made earlier between Callewaert and the Secretary to the Governor of the Katanga. Callewaert writes to his Superior in Paris claiming, "Le Monsieur paraissait voir de bon œil notre projet d'occuper la rive en face de la mission anglaise".<sup>82</sup>

This was the source of the first major confrontation between the CEM and the Spiritans since although the Vice-Governor General of the Katanga was not in favour of the CEM remaining at Mwanza and Ngoy Mani, it was realised that, as they were already installed, it would be very difficult to expel them.<sup>83</sup> At Ngoy Mani the Catholics had tried to re-establish their claim to the area. Ueberall claimed that he had in fact done this:

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Général sur les Activités de la Congo Evangelistic Mission pour l'année 1930', p. 2, AZEMKamina; on the problem of polygamy in the Congo, cf. R. Slade, *Leopold's Congo*, pp. 167, 168.

<sup>71</sup> Callewaert, Letter, Kulu [sic Nkulu] 19/4/1919 à Mgr. et T.R.P. "Plusieurs missionnaires protestants transwalliens [sic] sont déjà repartis pur leur pays. Mais le bispoc a fait l'appel à des dévouements américains et des renforts de ce pays sont attendus, deux demoiselles sont déjà arrivées et Burton, le chef régional fatigué de la solitude s'est marié". ASp. Boîte 376 B. III; Callewaert, Letter, Braine l'Alleud St. Joseph, 3/8/1922 à [Le Roy], ASp. Boîte 376 B. IV; "Le chef de Pentecost Mission [sic] Amérique est parti dans l'Afrique anglaise au Sud à la recherche de nouveau personnel qu'il placera plus au nord. ou ?"

<sup>72</sup> *Bulletin de la Congrégation*, No. 282 août 1910, p. 604 says that Kindu was opened in June 1907; A. Corman, *Annuaire*, (ed. 1924) p. 27 says it was on 9/5/1907.

<sup>73</sup> 'Fondation d'une nouvelle station: Kongolo', *Bulletin de la Congrégation*, No. 270 août 1909, pp. 219, 220; cf. same Tome 25, p. 608.

<sup>74</sup> Callewaert, 'Résidence de Saint-Jean, A Mutombo-Kisale', *Bulletin de la Congrégation*, No. 315, p. 129; E. Conrad, Letter, Kindu, 27/9/1912 à [Le Roy], ASp. Boîte 376 B. II.

<sup>75</sup> Callewaert, Letter, Kindu, 20/3/1912 à Mgr. et T.R.P. ASp. Boîte 376 B. II; 'Préfecture du Katanga-Nord: 1913-1916, Aperçu Général', *Bulletin de la Congrégation*, No. 340 septembre 1915, p. 379.

<sup>76</sup> 'Journal de la Mission de Kongolo', Mars, 1912, p. 5, ASp. Boîte 380; E. Conrad, Letter, 27/9/1912.

<sup>77</sup> 'Mission du Katanga', n. pl., 3/2/1912, ASp. Boîte 376 A.I.

<sup>78</sup> Callewaert, 'Compte Rendu Annuel à S. Congrégation de la Propagande: Etat Statistique Année 1914-1915', Préfecture Apostolique de Katanga-Nord, ASp. Boîte 376 A. II; E. Callewaert, Letter, Braine l'Alleud St. Joseph, 20/10/1915, ASp. Boîte 376 B. II "Je signale l'installation d'une mission protestante dans le sud où la population est très serrée"; G. Ueberall, 'Kulu', *Bulletin de la Congrégation*, No. 340, sept. 1915, p. 390.

<sup>79</sup> 'Préfecture apostolique du Katanga septentrional': "la lutte est courtoise mais acharnée". ASp. Boîte 376 A.II.

<sup>80</sup> Callewaert, Letter, Lubunda, 29/6/1917, ASp. Boîte 376 B. III; "Les missions [protestantes] installent leurs prédicants dans toutes les chefferies de la région et ainsi encerclent [sic encercle] complètement la mission de Kulu".

<sup>81</sup> L. Lempereur, 'Nos Dalmatique à Nkulu', *Annales Apostoliques*, 41<sup>e</sup> année No. 6, 1925, p. 169; E. Callewaert, 'Compte Rendu à la Propagande de la Foi 1919- Observations', ASp. Boîte 376 A.II; Callewaert, Letter, Louvain, 27/11/1919 à Madame Comtesse, ASp. Boîte 376 B. III; cf. H. Dubois, *Le Répertoire Africain*, p. 231 speaking of Protestantism says: "On peut dire que partout il fait face au catholicisme avec des moyens matériels d'action souvent très supérieurs".

<sup>82</sup> Callewaert, Letter, Braine l'Alleud St. Joseph, 12/7/1912, ASp. Boîte 376 B. II.

<sup>83</sup> *RFBWFPB*, No. 11, 1917, pp. 4,5; *supra* Chapters 2 A, 4 A on Ngoy Mani.

Ma situation à Ngoy-Mani est assez délicate. J'y viens reprendre possession du pays où la "Pentecostal Mission" s'installe et où, à vrai dire, elle a construit déjà une maison en briques. ('Courrier des missions', *Annales Apostoliques*, 33 année, No. 5 août 1917, p. 119)

We saw how Renkin, the then Minister of Colonies, had asked the Spiritans to withdraw and leave the Pentecostals in peace. Callewaert said that the Minister had sent him a long circular letter concerning relationships between the different confessions and that as a result he had renounced any claims to Ngoy Mani.<sup>84</sup> Nevertheless, it is evident that this greatly embittered them against the CEM and made them more determined than ever that they would not give in so easily the next time.<sup>85</sup>

Since the Catholics saw themselves as the "National Mission" it is not surprising that they should expect to be able to look to the administrative staff of the Colony to help them with their projects, especially when there were problems with non-national missions. The Administration at Mwanza Seya had been approached by the Malemba mission asking them to help them with their plans to force CEM schoolchildren to join national-Catholic schools.<sup>86</sup> However, the Administration was not willing to become involved in such a scheme. In fact the Administration at Mwanza was becoming, they said, more and more favourable toward the CEM since its attitude was more correct and it did not get involved in State affairs as did the Malemba missionaries.<sup>87</sup> During 1932 relationships between the CEM and the Catholics at Malemba, were according to the State, as bad as they could possibly be. The CEM had been unjustly attacked by the Catholics and for every polite letter written by the Protestants the Catholics had replied in offensive terms.<sup>88</sup>

As a result of the conflict during 1932, Burton wrote a strongly worded letter to the Governor of the Katanga demanding that the Administration take some action to prevent any repetition of the same kind of thing in the future:

Nous attirons votre attention sur le fait que les actes constants, illégaux et brutaux des catholiques deviennent de plus en plus fréquents ... nos chapelles, nos fidèles et nos réunions sont souvent attaqués et, les prêtres ainsi que leurs catéchistes enseignent ouvertement que la CEM n'a aucun droit de rester au Congo. Les prêtres ont menacé de prison ceux dont leurs enfants assistent à nos réunions et vont à nos écoles – preuve – il y a présentement dans les mains de la police, un cas où un prêtre a osé emprunter, du Chef Ilunga Mwila, des policiers pour arrêter des parents qui ont préféré envoyer leurs enfants à nos écoles ... Nous avons assez longtemps fait appel aux autorités pour voir cette situation, il n'y a pas de réponses du tout. (Burton, Letter, 10/1/1933 au Gouverneur du Katanga à Elisabethville, cited in Umba Ndala, 'Monographie', p. 109)

There is little doubt that this strain in relationships between CEM and Catholics rubbed off on relationships between the CEM and the State and in many cases served to sour the latter. The CEM often felt that the Administration was unjust, but there is evidence that in many cases they tried to be as impartial as possible.<sup>89</sup> Much depended upon individuals at the local level and their personal convictions.

These last paragraphs serve to highlight the situation which existed throughout the CEM field. Similar events were often repeated in different parts involving Scheutists<sup>90</sup> and Franciscans.<sup>91</sup>

<sup>84</sup> *Supra* Chapters 2 A, and 4 A on Ngoy Mani.

<sup>85</sup> Lempereur, 'Compte Rendu de Visite' à 'Nkulu' 17-24/7/1925, ASp. Boîte 376 A. I "Le Ministre Renkin (catholique) aida les protestants mais, au fond, je ne puis croire qu'il a été content, comme patriote et catholique, de voir l'autorité religieuses catholique se retirer ainsi devant sa simple demande ... politique". (the ... are his); cf. Elslander, *Courrier d'Ankoro*, No. 3, 3<sup>e</sup> année, 1923, p. 8 says that the Government made the Catholics withdraw from Ngoy Mani.

<sup>86</sup> 'Registre sur les rapports sur l'administration Générale, District Tanginika-Moero, Territoire de Kikondja', 31/12/1932, Chapitre 20, « Relations avec les Missions », pp. 164, 165. AZMNkulu.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 165.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 165.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 164, 165; 'News from the Field and the Homelands', *CEMR*, No. 45, 1933, p. 749; It needs to be remembered that attitudes and actions change from agent to agent and one cannot generalise from one Administrator in one zone during one particular period.

<sup>90</sup> C. Philippe, 'Rapport Politique, 1923, 2<sup>e</sup> semestre, Territoires de Kisengwa, District du Lomami', 31/12/1923, ASRKabinda; Mpyanyi Ngongo Makungulo, Interview, Mulenda, 22/12/1981 regarding the battles with the Scheutists in different parts of the Kasai; cf. Mullan, *CEMR*, No. 35, pp. 546-549.

<sup>91</sup> Gouvernement du Congo Belge, Rapport Annuel sur l'Administration de la Colonie du Congo Belge pendant l'année 1934, présenté aux Chambres Législatives, Brussels: Van Gompel, 1934, p. 274: "Un incident grave a éclaté à Kikondja entre les adeptes de cette mission, soutenus par leurs pasteurs, et les missionnaires catholiques du même centre"; A. Maron, (Commissaire de Province) Letter, Elisabethville, 10/4/1934 au Gouverneur Général, Léopoldville regarding this incident reported to him by Administrateur Territorial Verelen from Bukama; E. Hodgson, *Fishing for Congo Fishermen*, p. 95 tells of an incident when a "new priest and his catechist visited one of the mission's churches, and started tearing up our school children's tickets, giving them their medals. When the Christian teacher protested, they struck him whilst on his own church veranda. The whole village immediately became a howling, fighting mob, and the priest fled to bring the

These problems illustrate what may well have been one of the greatest hindrances to the CEM evangelism during the Belgian era.

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Government Official, big Chief and soldiers, telling tales of bloodshed, carnage and religious war. The people in authority on arrival found it all disgustingly untrue". It is likely that this is the same incident mentioned in the above report.

### C) Kitawala

The Kitawala doctrine was first introduced to the Belgian Congo by Tomo Nyirenda in 1925. He had remained in the country a matter of months before he returned to Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) where he was later arrested and executed.<sup>1</sup> The Watch Tower or Kitawala, the name by which this group was better known, was nevertheless, well-established in Rhodesia. There was always traffic between the two sides of the border and in this way the doctrine spread to Southern Katanga.

It would seem that the doctrine first reached the CEM area in the late 1930s. According to Kalumba Byalunga, an ex-Kitawala member who is now a member of the CPZ, Eduaty Kashiki from Mufulira in Northern Rhodesia was the first person to introduce the *Kitawala* doctrine to the area. He said that Kashiki came to Manono in 1938.<sup>2</sup> Although the dates differ slightly this is, confirmed by R.V.G. Wauthion in his "secret" report written in 1941. He wrote that Edouard Thomas from Mufulira mines in northern Asia has started a group of Kitawala at Manono in April and May 1937. He said the man remained in Manono for a very short time when he visited a number of local villages in order to establish his doctrine. From Manono he returned to Mufulira where he continued to send instructions to his lieutenants at Manono.<sup>3</sup>

This group grew so quickly and became so bold that in November 1941 it attempted to take over the *Territoire* buildings in Manono and tore down the Belgian flag. Troops were called in to restore order and nearly 245 people were arrested and charged with being Kitawala members.<sup>4</sup> Immediately after this break down in law and order a woman called Eunice from Kisungu of the Lungui area was returning home via Mwanza. She had been given a letter to take to the CEM overseers at Mwanza. In the letter the details of the riot were explained including the way in which the Kitawala members had been beaten and arrested. Greetings were also conveyed to a number of the CEM African leaders at Mwanza Sope and Mwanza Seya.<sup>5</sup> The Administrator from Manono was checking all the letters carried by those who got on and off the ferry at Muyumba and Eunice's letter was opened. The Administrator must have believed that all the men named were Kitawala, for they were immediately arrested and taken to Manono. Burton followed in order to protest against the arrests, insisting that there had been a mistake. Two of the men were released while four others were sent to the District at Albertville where they appeared before the *parquet*. Burton wrote a letter to the judge assuring him that there had been a mistake and that the men were all the well-known leaders in the CEM and not Kitawala members. As a result they were released by the tribunal.<sup>6</sup>

This was the start of continual conflict between the State and the Kitawala in the CEM area and the CEM were caught in the crossfire. The Pentecostals had to go on the defensive for fear of being identified with the Kitawala. The Government believed strongly that, as in the case of the Kimbangu movement, the Kitawala grew out of the Protestant churches, and that all the millennial movements were the natural outgrowth of Protestantism. M. Thilmany, *Commissaire de District* at

<sup>1</sup> 'L'affaire Mwana Lesa', *Revue de Droit et Jurisprudence du Katanga*, No. 8, June, 1926, pp. 201-203; 'Kitawla', *Bulletin des Juridictions Indigènes et du Droit Coutumier Congolais*, 12(10), 1944, p. 234; J.-J. Geschat, *Kitawala: Ursprung, Ausbreitung und Religion der Watch-Tower-Bewegung in Zentral-afrika*, Marburg, N.G. Elwert, 1967, pp. 50-52; R. L. Buell, *The Native Problem in Africa*, I, p.243; Apart from the above and other articles which will be indicated below general articles on Kitawala include: M. O. Biebuyck, 'La société Kumu face au Kitawala', *Zaire*, 11(1), 1957, pp. 7-40; Jacques E. Gérard, *Les Fondements Synchrétiques du Kitawala*, Etudes Africaines 1, Brussels: Le Livre Africain-Centre de Recherches et d'Informations Socio-Politiques, 1969, 120pp; J. L. Comhaire, 'Sociétés secrètes et mouvements prophétiques au Congo belge', *Africa*, 25(1) Jan. 1955, pp. 54-59; A.R. Stonelake, *Congo Past and Present*, pp. 14,15; John V. Taylor and Dorothea Lehmann, *Christians of the Copperbelt: The Growth of the Church in Northern Rhodesia*, London, SCM, 1961, pp. 227-247; Wauthion, 'Le Mouvement Kitawala au Congo Belge', *Bulletin de l'Association des Ancien Etudiants de l'Institut Universitaire des Territoires d'Outre-Mer*, No. 8, 1950, pp. 3-10; J. P. Paulus, 'Le Kitawala au Congo belge', *Revue de l'Institut de sociologie*, Nos. 2-3, 1956, pp. 257-270; J.R. Hooker, 'Witness and Watch-Tower in the Rhodesias and Nyasaland', *Journal of African History*, 6(1), 1965, pp. 91-106; Oosthuizen, *Post-Christianity in Africa: A Theological and Anthropological Study*, London, G. Hurst and Company, 1968, pp. 42-45.

<sup>2</sup> Kalumba Byalunga, 'Ngalwilo ya Lufundijo Iwa Bitabala kuno kwetu', (The Beginning of the doctrine of the Kitawala in our area) n.pl., n.d., No. 1 (a copy of the original handwritten exercise book copied by Ilunga Kazembe at Luamba, 1980) DGPP.

<sup>3</sup> (Commissaire de District, Albertville) *Rapport Secret*, 'Mouvement Subversive "Kitawala" au Centre Industriel de Manono-Septembre, 1941', Albertville, 30/9/1941, AZMNkulu; the correspondence which was marked 'Secret' was not available for consultation during the colonial era.

<sup>4</sup> R.V.G. Wauthion, 'Le Mouvement Kitawala au Congo Belge', p. 7; Geschat, *Kitawala*, pp. 61-63; Ilunga Nkumwimba, Interview, Luamba, 10/11/1980; Yumba wa Nkulu, Interview, Mwanza, 13/12/1980; Banza Sha Bana, 22/11/1980; Ilunga Nkumwimba, 10/11/1980.

<sup>5</sup> Those arrested were Tshango, Yoela, Lubaba Bikomo, Solomoni, Mukonga from Mwanza Sope and Gaiusa from Seya; Yumba wa Nkulu, 13/12/1980.

<sup>6</sup> Yumba wa Nkulu, 13/12/1980; Ilunga Nkumwimba, 10/11/1980; Banza Sha Bana, Interview, Kamina, 22/11/1980.

Albertville wrote complaining in 1948: "tous les adeptes Kitawala se recrutent parmi les fidèles ou ex-fidèles protestants".<sup>7</sup> His predecessor, R. Wauthion said that although the Protestants condemn the subversive nature of the Kitawala movement it was, nevertheless, from the Protestants that the greatest number of followers were drawn.<sup>8</sup>

The Catholic Administration was convinced that the emphasis on the personal study and interpretation of the Bible was the source of the problem. The Catholics had not translated the Scriptures into the local vernacular whereas the Protestants had. It was these translations in the vernacular which were the favourites of the Kitawala because they clearly expressed what the Kitawala member was looking for in his own language. R. Wauthion reports on the important place of the translations when he says:

Evidemment, les intéressés recherchent des bibles de préférence traduites en dialecte indigène. Il est d'excellentes traductions au Katanga, notamment en Kiluba fruit du Travail du Révérend BURTON\* [sic J. A. Clarke of the GEM was the translator] de la Congo Evangelistic Mission de Sope (Territoire de Mwanza) .

René Wauthion, 'Le Mouvement Kitawala au Congo Belge', *Bulletin de l'Association des Anciens Etudiants de l'Institut Universitaire des Territoires d'Outre-Mer*, No. 8, 1950, p. 7 ; [\*Burton was part of the verification team but not the translator]

Because of the link between the Bible and the Kitawala the Government began to search homes and to arrest those who had Bibles. Many of these were charged with being Kitawala members. This took place in those areas where there were known to be Kitawala cells, and especially throughout the *Territoire* of Mwanza and Mulongo, as well as in the north where the GEM was engaged in evangelism.<sup>9</sup> Because of searches and resulting arrests many of the CEM members in these areas had their Bibles confiscated. Some burned their Bibles and threw them away for fear of being arrested. Yumba wa Nkulu said that Burton told the people in the Mwanza area to bring their Bibles to him so that he could write on the cover that they were CEM members and not Kitawala.<sup>10</sup>

There were other important factors which, to the Administration, indicated that there was a link between the Kitawala and the CEM. The most significant was the emphasis which both placed on the Holy Spirit. This emphasis is not evident in contemporary studies on the Kitawala and it is not clear that it was always important even at the beginning in the Congo. However, it appears in two administrative interviews which we are found in archival sources. They span a period of twenty two years so should be indicative of a basic doctrine during the entire period. In 1938 H.L. Keyser, *Commissaire de District* at Albertville wrote in his annual report about Kulu Mupenda who had started a Kitawala cell which he called "Dini ya Hoki-Kitawala Mouvement". Keyser said that Mupenda "se dit en possession de l'esprit de Dieu' SPIRITU ya MUNGU' et appelé à le révéler aux autres hommes de son pays".<sup>11</sup> More than 20 years later Territorial Administrator Michel Culot recorded an interview with a Kitawala member, Kiungu Severino, at Kabalo. Culot asked Kiungu if the doctrine he preached was that of the Kitawala. At first he was hesitant to reply and said it was the doctrine of the Holy Spirit. When asked to elaborate he said he could not because it was only during a meeting that the Holy Spirit manifested himself. Culot said he had heard that Kiungu taught it was possible for black person to change the colour of his skin and become white. Kiungu denied having taught this but later said that when men were filled with the Holy Spirit their black skin could become white. Kiungu said the Holy Spirit could make a man rich and bring him many benefits. After this Culot again asked if this was not the Kitawala teaching and Kiungu agreed that it was. Kiungu said that he had first *aperçu* the Holy Spirit when he was cutting grass near Bukama. It is not clear just what he meant by this. It could mean recognised, as a power, or could even

<sup>7</sup> 'Note Synthétique du Rapport. A.O./1948, District Tanganika, Province du Katanga', Albertville, 22/2/1949, ARBAPShaba.

<sup>8</sup> R.V.G. Wauthion, *supra*, ft. nt. 4.

<sup>9</sup> H.H. Burton, *My Black Daughters*, London, Victory Press, 1949, p. 43; Gouvernement du Congo Belge, 'Rapport Annuel AIMO, 1952, Territoire de Mwanza, District du Haut-Lomami, Province du Katanga', p. 30 ARBAPShaba; Gouvernement du Congo Belge, 'Rapport Annuel AIMO, 1946, Territoire de Mwanza, District Tanganika, Province Elisabethville', p. 3, ARBAPShaba; Gouvernement du Congo Belge, 'Rapport AIMO, 1944, Territoire de Mwanza, District Tanganika, Province Elisabethville', *Remarques du Commissaire de District*, p. 5, ARBAPShaba; Ilunga Nkumwimba, 10/11/1980.

<sup>10</sup> R.V.G. Wauthion, (Commissaire de District, Albertville) Secret Letter, Albertville, 8/5/1937 à l'Administrateur territorial d'Albertville, AZMNkulu: "J'ai confisqué toutes les Bibles en usage dans la région de Benze .... Toutes les Bibles avaient été acquises, comme vous le savez, aux stations secondaires de G.E.M." The GEM was the Garenganze Evangelical Mission – Brethren. It is significant that this correspondence was all marked "Secret" since this action would certainly have been against the agreement signed granting religious liberty in the Congo; cf. Treaty of Berlin, *supra* Chapter 1 C) ft. nt. 28

<sup>11</sup> 'Rapport 'annuel AIMO, District du Tanganika, Province d'Elisabethville, 1937; Albertville, 1938, p. 8, ARBAPShaba.

mean in Pentecostal terminology, that he was 'filled with the Holy Spirit'. He admitted that the smoking of hemp helped to open the individual to the Spirit.<sup>12</sup>

In the light of statements like these it is little wonder that the Authorities were worried when they heard of the CEM and their message about the Holy Spirit and spiritual gifts. Certainly when they heard of loud meetings with singing and speaking in tongues they must have believed that this was an outbreak of Kitawala teaching.

From 1925 when the Kitawala first appeared at Sakania near the border with Northern Rhodesia, the Government was on the lookout continually for any new groups of Kitawala.<sup>13</sup> The CEM had to stop its members from holding any kind of gathering in the forests or outside villages in the countryside. There were times when groups of Christians had gone out into the bush to pray by themselves or to seek for the baptism of the Holy Spirit. This had to stop. Even Hodgson wrote a circular letter to all his Kikondja churches in 1951 in which he said that the Christians were not permitted to gather in the bush because the Government were looking for the Kitawala who gathered in that way.<sup>14</sup> Some stations which were not as concerned as others about the Kitawala continued to hold meetings in the bush, but this was not acceptable to the Government which must have notified the Legal Representative. As a result in 1958 the Administrative Board passed a minute in which it is declared:

That we notify our missionaries of the government objection to holding meetings in the forest, as this immediately brings upon us the suspicion of being associated with the Kitawala. ('CEM-Administrative Board, Katombe, 18June, 1958', No. 7)

Walter Hawkins says that he was one of the missionaries to come under the sanctions of the new ruling when he was at Kabongo. He had been holding special meetings for believers who wish to be baptized in the Holy Spirit in palm fronds shelters just outside the villages.<sup>15</sup>

Another practice which was similar to that of the Kitawala was baptism of members by immersion. The Kitawala believed in water baptism as well as several other baptisms which cannot be examined here.<sup>16</sup> It was through their practice or malpractice of baptism that the Kitawala had first become known in the Congo. Tomo Nyirenda had said that he could tell if a person was a witch when he immersed him in water. If any part of the body did not completely submerge it was indicative of the presence of witchcraft. As a result Nyirenda had, with his helpers, drowned many whom he claimed were witches or sorcerers. It was this drowning of people which had brought the wrath of the Authorities upon Nyirenda and led to his execution.<sup>17</sup> Because of this baptism and the drownings, the Government insisted that there must be a white missionary present at every baptismal meeting.<sup>18</sup> The CEM had to comply with the order until toward the end of the colonial period when there was a relaxation of the rule. Today there are still African pastors in the CPZ who believe that for a baptism to be valid it must be carried out by the station pastor.

One other matter which was the cause of suspicion was the songs composed by the members of the CEM. One of the *Kitawala*'s favorite songs was: 'Ntanda yele ne Kabobo ne nsadi kudi Leza'. This song had been composed by an unknown Muluba who was a member of the CEM. It is still included in the CEM hymn book. It was a favourite because it was locally composed and because it had an African tune. Some verses are quite militant and are based in part on the song of Moses in Exodus 15. It mentions the enemies of God and Pharaoh being thrown into the sea and being drowned while the children of God are finally victorious.<sup>19</sup> Yumba wa Nkulu said that the

<sup>12</sup> Michel Culot, Kiungu Severino, 'Procès-Verbal Administratif', Kabalo, 8-9/6/1959, ARBAPShaba.

<sup>13</sup> Gouvernement du Congo Belge, *Rapport Annuel sur l'Administration du Congo Belge pendant l'Année 1927, Présenté aux Chambres Législatives*, Brussels, Van Gompel, p. 113; cf. the same report for the years and pages indicated: 1931, pp. 7,181; 1932, pp. 8, 208; 1933, p. 293; 1934, pp. 9, 267; 1935, p. 9; 1936, pp. 8,9; 1938, p. 9; *supra*, ft. nts. 3,7,9,12.

<sup>14</sup> E. Hodgson, Circular Letter, 'Bino i bijila bya Bipwilo bya "Congo Evangelistic Mission"', (these are the rules of the churches belonging to the "Congo Evangelistic Mission") Kikondja, 12/6/1951, No. 8, MJPP; Yumba wa Nkulu, Interview, Mwanza, 13/12/1980.

<sup>15</sup> W.B. Hawkins, Letter, Nottingham, 9/6/1981 to author.

<sup>16</sup> The Kitawala in the Malemba Nkulu Zone of Zaire have seven baptisms. Most of them are sexual symbols: 1- The Baptism of John; 2- The Baptism of Moses in the cloud; 3- The Baptism of Paul; 4- The Baptism of Moses at the burning thorn bush; 5- The Baptism of eating the body of the Lord; 6- The Baptism of the cup of the Lord; 7- The Baptism of Marriage; cf. Kalumba Byalonga, *supra*, ft. nt. 2, No. 3, 1-7.

<sup>17</sup> Greschat, *Kitawala*, pp. 50-52p 'L'Affaire Mwana-Lesa', *Revue de Droit et Jurisprudence du Katanga*, No. 8, 1926, pp. 201-203.

<sup>18</sup> W.F.P. Burton, Letter, Mwanza, 11/7/1942 to Mr. Tilling AAOG OMCNottingham.

<sup>19</sup> 'Ntanda yele ne Kabob ne nsadi kudi Leza', (a literal translation is not possible since there is no equivalent in the 'English for a Kabobo and nsadi. The closest would be ululation. These are both verbal sounds and expressions of joy, admiration and exaltation. A poor translation would be: 'Let all the earth sing praises to the Lord with shouts of great joy and ululation') in *Nimbo ya Bupandiji*, Kamina, CPZ, 1981, No. 102.

CEM had trouble because when they sang the song they were suspected by the Government of being Kitawala members.<sup>20</sup>

It is difficult to know what the long-term effect of the Kitawala was on the CEM during the Belgian era, but it would appear that it must have restricted the CEM in a number of ways. First, it must have added to the strain which already existed between the Mission and the Government. It also left the CEM open to accusations by the Catholics who were already keen to find some area through which they could bring about the downfall of the Protestants. A number of missionaries who preferred to remain nameless, believe that the fear of the Government's reactions and identification with the Kitawala by the Government tended to dampen the Pentecostal emphasis on some CEM stations. H. Womersley did not think that it was so much the identification with the Kitawala as fear of accusations by the Catholics which tended to make some missionaries hold back on Pentecostal doctrine.<sup>21</sup> This may be correct, but as the Catholics often accused the CEM members of being Kitawala, the Kitawala was still the basic cause of the restraint which was shown.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Yumba wa Nkulu, Interview, Mwanza, 13/12/1980.

<sup>21</sup> Womersley, Interview, Bedford, 23/7/1980.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. E. Hodgson, *Out of Darkness*, pp. 170-174; On Petelo Musamfidi, *infra*, Chapter 5.

## D) Religious Societies

The experience known as the Luban Pentecost<sup>1</sup> not only resulted in phenomena which contributed to the period of remarkable growth, but also provoked considerable opposition. This opposition came from those quarters which were anxious to maintain traditional customs and which saw in the new religion a threat against all that was reckoned as essential to the maintenance of the traditional lifestyle. Among those most concerned at changes were what the Belgians called, the 'secret' societies.<sup>2</sup> The societies were not truly secret, as Ed. De Jonghe states:

Les sociétés secrètes indigènes sont des sociétés fermées plutôt que des sociétés vraiment secrètes. Les profanes connaissent les adeptes; ils savent où et quand ceux-ci se réunissent, mais ils ignorent se qui se dit et ce qui se fait dans les réunions. ('Les Sociétés secrètes en Afrique', *Congo*, 2(3), 1923, p. 388)

There were a number of these societies in the area which concerns this study, but one which was most hostile to the work of the CEM and the most widespread throughout Lubaland was the *Mbudye*.<sup>3</sup> The members of this were the *Bambudye* who were, according to Belgians, dancers.<sup>4</sup> However, their dancing was a minor part of their activities which were vitally linked to the preservation of Luban tradition.<sup>5</sup> The *Bambudye* were closely related to kingship and the activities

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Chapter 2 B).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. on Secret societies so called, Ed. De Jonghe, 'Formation récentes', pp. 56,63; Jean Comhaire, 'Sociétés secrètes et mouvements prophétiques au Congo Belge', *Africa*, 24, 1955, pp. 54-59; E.G. Parrinder, 'Les Sociétés religieuses en Afrique Occidentale', *Présence Africaine*, Nos. 18-19, fév-mai, 1958, p. 20 regarding the nature of some secret societies such as Yehwe in Togo and the changes today.

<sup>3</sup> The *Mbudye* is the name of the society while the members are the *Bambudye*. This society is also written: *budyé*, *budie*, *budje*, *mbudje*. cf. for a treatment of the society and its functions, initiation, organisation, W.Burton, *Luba Religion*, pp.154-167; M. Henroteaux, 'Notes sur la secte des Bambudye', *Bulletin des Juridictions indigènes et du droit coutumier congolais*, 13 (4), juillet-août, 1945, pp. 98-107; E. D'Orjo de Marchovelette, 'Quelques considérations sur les « Bambudie » du territoire de Kabongo', *BJI*, 8(10)1940, pp 275-289; Chr. De Beer de Laer, 'Etude sur la secte des Bambudie', Kabalo, 14/12/1941, ARBAPShaba, pp. 1-4; De Roy, 'Les Bambudye', *BJI*, 13 (4), 1945, pp. 93-97; cf. *supra*, Chapter III B).

<sup>4</sup> Belgian administrators tended to play down the missionary claims as to the true nature of the *Mbudye*; cf. E. Verhulpen, (Administrateur territorial, Mato) Letter, Confidentielle, No. 640Pol; B2, Mato, 6/12/1929, au Commissaire de District du Lomami, Kabinda, ASRKabinda says: "A mon humble avis, les faits signalés par le Révérend Burton ont une autre origine. Le Baluba Shankadi est par nature arrogant, éprouve peu de respect pour les personnes qui ne font pas partie du Service Territorial et qui ne sont pas accompagnées de soldats de la Force publique. Il éprouve également peu de sympathie pour les religions chrétiennes et se montre hostile à tout conversion au christianisme". cf. De Roy, 'Les Bambudye', pp. 93,95; E. D'Orjo de Marchovelette, 'Quelques considération', p. 278, "L'activité principale de cette association est sans conteste la danse".

The Belgian Administration kept a close eye on all secret societies and did careful studies on all of them. With regard to the position of the Administration and their vigilance cf. Weissenbruch, ed. *Recueil à l'usage des fonctionnaires et des Agents du Service Territorial au Congo Belge*, 4ed. Brussels, Imprimeur du roi, 1925: "L'existence des sectes secrètes a été signalée dans tout l'Afrique Equatoriale. Elles paraissent avoir existée de tout temps au Congo. Toutes ces sociétés appellent l'attention de l'autorité; elles n'appellent des mesures administratives ou judiciaires que lorsqu'elles ont pour objet ou favorisent la pratique d'infractions ou d'actes immoraux ou lorsqu'elles ont un caractère politique hostile à l'autorité.

Sous les apparences d'une société inoffensive, par exemple religieuse, ces sociétés peuvent d'ailleurs cacher des pratiques délictueuses ou des tendances séditionnelles. Le danger particulier de ces sociétés, c'est le secret par lequel leurs adeptes se lient ou qu'ils imposent par moyens de terroirisation, car l'obligation du secret constitue un sérieux obstacle aux investigations des agents du Gouvernement. Ces sociétés peuvent donc recruter des membres dans des tribus différentes, voir même parfois hostiles les unes envers les autres, et le Gouvernement se trouver subitement devant un vaste mouvement xénophobe préparé secrètement.

Tout doit donc être mis en œuvre pour connaître quelles sont les sociétés secrètes, leur but, leurs pratiques, le signe de ralliement de leurs adeptes, leurs membres les plus influentes ou les plus zélés, les lieux de leurs réunions" (pp. 351,352); *Rapport annuel sur l'Administration de la colonie du Congo Belge pendant l'année 1935*, p. 7: "Les autorités continuent à surveiller les sectes secrètes et à combattre celles dont l'activité est contraire à l'ordre public ; trois d'entre elles furent interdites au cours de l'année écoulée"; *Ibid.*, p. 8, "l'existence de sectateur du « Tambwe » a été découverte dans une chefferie du territoire de Kamina"; *ibid.*, (1938, p. 10) "une enquête à d'autre part été ouverte sur les agissements d'une secte dénommée Tambwe-Makayo. Dont les buts ne sont pas encore bien connus, qui est apparue tout récemment en territoire de Mwanza"; A. Maron, (Chef de Province, Elisabethville) Letter, No. 2555/Sec/A.I./A-19, Elisabethville, 24/6/1936 ARBAPShaba regarding the Rapport 'AIMO 1935 from Mwanza à l'Administrateur Territorial Mwanza : "La surveillance doit demeurer vigilante, en dépit du fait qu'aucune secte secrète n'a manqué d'activité notable dans le territoire en 1935" (ARBAPShaba); Lebrun, (Administrateur Territorial, Kabalo) Letter, Secret No. 855/S.P., Kabalo, 17/5/1951 au Gouverneur, Elisabethville, ARBAPShaba, regarding the Kishyeta reported by the CEM; On maintenance of public order and secret societies cf. L. Strouvens and P. Piron, eds., *Codes et Lois*, p. 560.

<sup>5</sup> H. Womersley, *Congo Miracle*, p. 112; cf. Ch. De Beer de Laer, 'Etude sur la Secte des Bambudie', p. 1; "Le but avoué de la société est la danse; en réalité, elle n'en est que la manifestation extérieure"; D'Orjo de Marchovelette, 'Quelques considérations', p. 278 : "Les 'Bambudie' sont les continuateurs d'une tradition aussi ancienne que les Baluba ... "; 'Statuts Association MBUDJE', annexed to a letter from Migambu-Ngalala Nanzalakonji, (Commissaire de Zone, Malemba Nkulu) Letter, No. 32/0684, Malemba Nkulu, 17/8/1973 à la Sous-Région du Haut Lomami, Kamina,

of the Luba kingdom. As already stated, the *balopwe* (chiefs) were members of the *Mbudye* but the *Bambudye* also a check on the power and actions of the King. Where any Mulopwe stepped out of line the *Bambudye* could easily bring about his downfall, and for this reason they were careful that they did not get on the wrong side of the society.

It is possible that this is why some of the Baluba kings were hesitant to embrace Christianity and did the utmost not to become embroiled in a confrontation between the CEM and the *Bambudye* even when there was the possibility of the Belgian Administration being involved.<sup>6</sup> Although the *Mbudye* society was found throughout Lubaland, there were some areas where the CEM felt the brunt of the hostilities more than others.<sup>7</sup> During the earliest years these areas included the chieftainships of Ngoy Mani, Ilunga Mwila, Kabongo and parts of the ecclesiastical District of Kabondo Dianda.<sup>8</sup> *Bambudye* did not permit everyone to join the society, but if there were influential individuals or those whom they felt they could use to their benefit, they were known to force such individuals to join.<sup>9</sup> One way they felt that they could counteract the influence of the CEM and their message was to force new converts to become *Mbudye* members and to renounce any links with Christianity. E. Hodgson relates an incident when he returned to Kisanga from a journey, to find that seven new converts had been taken to the *Mbudye kinyengele* (lodge) where they had been bound and threatened in the hopes that they would reject the new religion and join the society. On that occasion he had forcibly entered the *kinyengele* and released the young Christians.<sup>10</sup>

One young man who had refused to attend a *Mbudye* dance had been tied on the matting over a smoky fire and smoked to death.<sup>11</sup> Moke of the Ilunga Mwila chieftainship had been rolled in a mat and dropped repeatedly from an ever-increasing height until he became unconscious. This was a common practice; sometimes the individuals renounced their faith, others became unconscious.<sup>12</sup> Other converts were dragged off into the forest where they had live coals put between their toes; many were thrashed and beaten with heavy sticks while a number had thorns pushed into the soles of the feet in an effort to make them join the *Mbudye* and reject Christianity.<sup>13</sup>

A. Entwistle and A. Turpin record a confrontation with the *Bambudye* at Luamba outstation of Kai a Nshingo. The *Bambudye* forcibly removed pupils from the CEM school and thrashed the young boys in front of the teacher. One of the youngsters had been jumped upon by the entire group of *Bambudye* while he lay bound upon the ground. He had been badly beaten and also had thorns forced into the soles of his feet.<sup>14</sup> The two women went to Kia a Nshingo as soon as they heard of the incident but as soon as they arrived the hostilities recommenced. They tried to protect the boys who were being set upon by the crowd, but were unable to do anything because of the mob. Eventually, all the Christians managed to withdraw to the school building. The matter was reported to the Belgian Administration but Entwistle and Turpin wrote that they could not restore

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ASRHLKamina, "Chapitre I Art. II L'Association MBUDJE a pour but de préserver la coutume surtout à l'investiture coutumière de Chef"; T.Q. Reece, *The Rainbow and the Kings*, pp. 13,46-48; 'Registre des Rapports sur l'Administration Générale, District du Tanganika-Moero, Territoire de Kibara', regarding the *Bambudye* cf. p. 105; cf. for a full description of the *Bambudye* cf. *supra* Chapter III B).

<sup>6</sup> The best example of a chief not wanting to get on the wrong side of the *Bambudye* after it had been in confrontation with the CEM was at Kisanga. The chief finally agreed there would be no forced recruitment of anyone. E. Hodgson, Letter, Kisanga, 11/3/1922 in CEMR, May 31/1922, p.[8]; cf. Burton, *God Working*, pp. 145,146.

<sup>7</sup> W. Burton, 'Note sur la sphère d'influence et les Activités des Sociétés secrètes', Mwanza août 1929 (as reported by R. Caroli (Commissaire de District, Albertville), Letter, Albertville, 14/8/1929 au Gouverneur du Katanga, ARBAPShaba says that the report was from Burton to Governor p. 1; D'Orjo de Mrchovelette, 'Quelques considérations', p. 276; Regarding the other places which felt the opposition of the *Bambudye* cf. 'Questionnaires' for Mpasu, Mpyana Mbayo, Kashukulu.

<sup>8</sup> E. Hodgson, Letter, Kisanga, 26/10/1921 in CEMR, 23 Feb. 1922, p. 3; J. Salter, Letter, 4/11/1921 in CEMR, 23 Feb. 1922, p. 3; Rapport AIMO, 1938, Territoire de Mwanza, District Tanganika, Province d'Elisabethville, p. 4, ARBAPShaba regarding the *Bambudye* at Ngoy Mani; A. & H. Oman, CEMR, No. 17, p. 66 record that children were tied up on their way to the services by the *Bambudye*; H. Womersley, Newsletter, No. 57, 20/7/1944, HWPP tells of the problems at Bukunga because of the *Bambudye* but adds that they were by that time defunct; cf. Burton, *Gospel Nuggets*, p. 7 regarding the *Bambudye* at Kazaza.

<sup>9</sup> It is evident that at the beginning the *Bambudye* were an exclusive group and they chose whoever they wished to join them. Latterly, however, they accepted nearly all who wanted to become members so that in some vicinities nearly all adults were members. cf. de Beer de Laer, 'Etude sur la Secte des Bambudie' p.1; W. Burton, *Luba Religion*, p. 159; Kyoni Banza, Interview, Kamina II, 8/7/1983; Kitwa Kaponda, Interview, Kinkunki, 8/7/1983.

<sup>10</sup> E. Hodgson, CEMR, 31 May 1922, pp. 7,8; Burton, *God Working*, pp. 143-146.

<sup>11</sup> RFBWFPB, No. 16, 1919, p. 3; E. Hodgson, CEMR, 23 Feb. 1922, p. 3 tells how some were starved for three days and then had fires lit under them in an attempt to force them to join the *Mbudye*.

<sup>12</sup> J. Salter, CEMR, 23 Feb., 1922, p. 3.

<sup>13</sup> A. Entwistle and A. Turpin, CEMR, No. 26, pp. 378-380.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 378.

the work since the *Bambudye* had so terrorised the neighbourhood that these people would not attend the meetings.<sup>15</sup>

The *kikungulu*, who was the high priest and leader of the *Mbudye* in any given area, would often attend the CEM services to see who was there with a view to forcing them to join the society.<sup>16</sup> Another tactic was to accuse individuals of illegal behaviour and hope that the Administration would imprison them. This happened at Pyana Mbayo when the *Bambudye* accused Mudishi of having destroyed 100 palm trees and at Kamungu where Zwao was accused of illegal behaviour and sent to Kabinda for some time.<sup>17</sup> CEM missionaries claim that the *Bambudye* would even stoop to killing opponents in order that they should accomplish their plans and deter people from joining the church.<sup>18</sup> This seems to be corroborated from other sources.<sup>19</sup>

Gradually, members of the *Mbudye* became converts to Christianity. Even those who had been leaders were converted and in some cases became evangelists in the CEM.<sup>20</sup> For this reason although the opposition continued for many years by the 1940s the *Mbudye* had become powerless. As the CAM became better established, the Christians would even force the *Bambudye* to refrain from dancing and drumming on a Sunday so as not to disturb the meetings.<sup>21</sup> There were occasional efforts at revitalizing the society as late as 1956 when *Bambudye* from the east near Manono attempted to make some Christians have the children drink into, or be initiated into, *Mbudye* (*kutomeja mu mbudye*). This took place in the Mbayo and Kashukulu areas.<sup>22</sup> Reeve says that the *Bambudye* have been defunct since the 1950s, but there is evidence that although they are very small they have not completely disappeared and if anything are attempting a comeback in certain areas.<sup>23</sup>

The *Bakasandji*<sup>24</sup> was a society which was involved in exhuming corpses and devouring parts of them in order to prevent malevolent spirits from harming the community.<sup>25</sup> The origin of the

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 379, 380; Ilunga Kazembe, Letter, Luamba, 22/12/1980, p. 8; W. Burton, 'Rapport Annuel de la CEM' (Rough copy, 15/2/1930, p. 3.

<sup>16</sup> Burton, *Mudishi*, p. 104.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 105, 106; Ilunga Ngoie Jean, Interview, Kamina, 31/8/1981.

<sup>18</sup> *RFBWFPB*, No. 16, p. 3; *CEMR*, No. 26, pp. 378, 379.

<sup>19</sup> Reeve, *Rainbow*, p. 47; G-A. Joset, 'Etudes sur les sectes secrètes de la circonscription de Kinda, District du Lomami-Territoire des Baluba', *Bulletin de la Société Royale Belge de Géographie*, 58 (1) 1934, p. 37; Ngoy wa Kyulu, Interview, Kamina II, 5/11/1980; Yumba wa Nkulu, Mwanza, 13/12/1980.

<sup>20</sup> W. Burton, *CEMR*, No. 79, pp. 429, 430; 'Registre des Rapports sur l'administration Générale, Kikondja territoire', section dated 31/12/1927 verso of p. 149 regarding the *Bambudye* "Les missionnaires combattent particulièrement cette secte. Le chef Bunda n'apparaît plus en faire partie à l'heure actuelle"; One of the reasons why the missionaries were so against the *Mbudye* apart from the opposition to evangelism was because of the actions which went on within the *kinyengele*. These were regarded as completely unacceptable to the missionaries. The adulterous actions in the lodges were one thing, but there was something else which was not even permitted in Luban traditional life and that was incest (except in the *kobo ka malwa* at the initiation of the new *Mulopwe*). It was known in the *Mbudye* for a man to have intercourse with his daughter or a mother with her son. In addition to this, children were present in the *kinyengele* and watched all that took place there. The reports from the missionaries were at first denied by the Administration, but some of those who had at first voiced scepticism later attested to their veracity; cf. De Roy, 'Les Bambudye', p. 97 "J'ai insisté sur le fait que même les enfants peuvent être membres de la secte. Je me permets d'ajouter qu'ils n'échappent pas à la répartition sexuelle et que chaque petit garçon aura également sa petite compagne pour la nuit.

Ces renseignements viennent corroborer ceux donnés par les missionnaires, renseignement initiaux que j'ai considérés comme partiels, étant donné qu'ils proviennent des catéchistes et évangélistes qui pourraient avoir obéi à d'autres sentiments plutôt qu'au désir de dévoiler la vérité". He says that his information came from the *Bambudye*; cf. W. Burton, *Luba Religion*, pp. 155, 163; H. Vandercam, 'Rapports', Kabalo, 7/11/1929: "Moralité: secte essentiellement immorale, -toutes les femmes de la secte soient communes"; 'Registre des Rapports ... Territoire de Kibara', p. 105 says that in the lodge there is nothing but "la débauche complète"; Yumba wa Nkulu, Interview, Mwanza, 13/12/1980 said that often the oldest women was made to go with the youngest men and the prettiest girls with the oldest men; 'Procès-Verbal' Hector Emile Vandercam (Office Territorial de la Police à Kabalo) and Tambwe François (fils de Kikanwa), Kabalo, 14/2/1930, ARBAPShaba, regarding the *Mbudye*, Tambwe says that all women are common and that children are admitted to the lodge where they watch the sexual intercourse.

<sup>21</sup> 'Questionnaire: Mpyana Mbayo'; 'Questionnaire: Luamba'.

<sup>22</sup> 'Questionnaires', Mbayo, Kashukulu; Kazadi Lui, Interview, Lulenge, 19/12/1981 says that the Administrator Lambotte from Kabongo, had to settle the affair.

<sup>23</sup> Reeve, *Rainbow*, p. 14 says that he considers them defunct, but I have evidence from a number of places that although they are nothing like they were at one time there still are *Bambudye* with their dances, their *lukasa* (the long hand or claw, a memory aid) and a monthly meeting in secret; Nkulu Ina Banza, Interview, Kamina II, 12/5/1981 says that this is so at Kisanga; Twite Kabulo Mashika, Interview, Lulenge, 24/12/1981 possessor of the oldest *lukasa* which I have seen is not a member of the *Mbudye* himself, but says that there is a lodge at Lulenge *gare*; an item of interest is the document: 'Statuts Association MBUDJE' signed in 1973 by the officers of the *Mbudye* at Malemba Nkulu. These include the *kikungulu* and the *Tusulo*. For reference I reproduce the statutes as they were recorded in the Archives of the Sous-Région Haut Lomami at Kamina in Appendix 12.

<sup>24</sup> The *Bakasandji* were also known as the *Tusandji* and the *Batusandji*. On their activities cf. W. Burton, *Luba Religion*, pp. 168-171; Reeve, *Rainbow*, pp. 117, 118.

society is not clear although latterly the Kabengele chieftainship at Butumba played an important role in its spread.<sup>26</sup> Reefer says that the *Bakasandji* permitted *Bambudye* to participate in the ceremonies,<sup>27</sup> but this would seem to be incorrect. In the areas of the Lualaba where the *Bakasandji* were strongest there were no *Bambudye* and in the areas where the *Bambudye* were strongest there were no *Bakasandji*; indeed Burton claims that the *Bakasandji* and the *Bambudye* were enemies.<sup>28</sup> Both the *Tusanji* and the *Tupoyo*,<sup>29</sup> the latter being a society which is very similar to the *Bakasandji*, were limited to the Butumba, the Lualaba north as far as Kabalo territory and westward from the Lualaba to the upper reaches of the Lovoi River.<sup>30</sup>

Although both the *Tupoyo* and the *Tusanji* were a deterrent to the evangelism of the CEM there is no evidence that they were as militant as the *Bambudye*. Their threats were more psychological although within the sects themselves it was known that some had bound themselves to oaths to kill members who defected to Christianity.<sup>31</sup> In spite of these threats and oaths, numbers of leaders and ordinary members from the *Tusanji* and *Tupoyo* were converted to Christianity and became important leaders in the CEM.<sup>32</sup> As far as we are able to ascertain there is no trace of either of these societies left today.

The above societies were exclusively Luban in from all indications must be regarded as having some antiquity. Many historians believe that the *Mbudye* society is as old as the Baluba empire.<sup>33</sup> There were other societies like the *Toni-toni* which were seemingly Luban, but they were of more recent origin and were often in no direct confrontation with the CEM.<sup>34</sup> There were, however, other societies, like the *Kishyeta*,<sup>35</sup> and the *Tambwe bwanga*<sup>36</sup> which openly opposed the work of the missions. These were mostly intertribal and were reactions against the white man and his culture.<sup>37</sup>

In the annual report for the CEM during 1951 H. Womersley wrote:

<sup>25</sup> W. Burton, 'Note sur la Sphère d'influence et les Activités des sectes secrètes'; W. Burton, *Luba Religion*, pp. 168,170, 171; 'Registre des Rapports ... Kibara', pp. 101-105, AZMNkulu; H. Womersley, *CEMR*. No. 191, p.2331; Reefer, *Rainbow*, p. 118.

<sup>26</sup> Reefer, *Rainbow*, pp.117, 118 says that the *Bakasandji* come from the Basongye; H. Womersley, *CEMR*, No. 191, p. 2331 says that there are similarities between the *Bakasandji*, *Tupoyo*, and *Kitwemina*; W. Burton, *Luba Religion*, p. 171 says that the *Bayembe* and the *Bene Nkole* of the Lujima watershed are offshoots of the *Bakasandji* and at Muleya near to Kabongo the *Kitwamina* (same as *Kitwemina*) had similar characteristics. On the importance of Kabengele cf. Burton, *Luba Religion*, p. 168; E. Hodgson, *Out Of the Darkness*, pp. 34-35 says that the Kabengele was the headquarters of the *Tusanji* and *Tupoyo*, but in *Fishing for Congo Fisher Folk*, p. 65 he says that the *Tusanji* and *Tupoyo* were both new importations since the Batetela invasion of the Kisale region. He says that the *Tusanji* came from the north and the *Tupoyo* from the South; W. Burton, 'Country of the Baluba', p. 335.

<sup>27</sup> Reefer, *Rainbow*, p. 118.

<sup>28</sup> Burton, *Luba Religion*, pp. 171, 172: "Sexual excesses and promiscuity are forbidden in both the 'Tupoyo' and *Tusanji*' societies, quite contrary to the 'Bambudye'; Kabayo Mwadyavita Levi, Interview, Kamina, 9/7/1983 who was a well-known *Kapoyo nganga* and *vidye* says that the *Bambudye* and *Tupoyo* as well as the *Bambudye* and *Tusanji* had nothing to do with each other in the area of Kikondja and the Butumba; cf. E. Hodgson, *Fishing for Congo Fisher Folk*, pp. 19, 20.

<sup>29</sup> I am not dealing with the *Tupoyo* separately although they are not the same societies. They do have many characteristics which are the same. They are both societies which aim at the destruction of malevolent spirits by the destruction of corpses. They are not generally rotated in the same areas; cf. W. Burton, 'Note sur la sphère d'influence et les activités des sectes secrètes', p. 1; W. Burton, *Luba Religion*, pp. 171-173.

<sup>30</sup> Burton, *Luba Religion*, p. 168; Burton, 'Note sur la sphère', p. 1; 'Registre des Rapports ... Kibara', p. 105; H. Vandercam, Kabalo, 7/11/1929 says that they are found in the Kabalo Territoire; 'Questionnaires', Kabondo Dianda, Bukama.

<sup>31</sup> E. Hodgson, 'A Handful of Purpose', *CEMR*, No. 56, pp. 954, 955 writes about Tapani Kitwa as one of the first to introduce *Tusanji* to the Lualaba. He was bound by oath to kill any *Tusanji* member who became a convert to Christianity. He was reported to have had a vision of Christ and was converted as a result. cf. *CEMR*, No. 27, 1930.

<sup>32</sup> Hodgson *supra*, footnote 31 pp. 954, 955 regarding Tapani Kitwa and Hodgson, *Fishing for Congo Fisher Folk*, pp. 69-78 where he writes about the conversion of the Levi Kabayo Mwadyavita, a notorious leader of the *Tupoyo*. He is the man I have interviewed and who has given me much information on the *Tupoyo* and *Tusanji*.

<sup>33</sup> Reefer, *Rainbow*, p. 48; H. Womersley, *Congo Miracle*, p. 113; Burton, *Luba Religion*, p. 157.

<sup>34</sup> R.E. Toussaint, 'Notes sur la Secte 'Toni-Toni' en Territoire de Kabongo', *BJI*, 21(5), 1953, p. 99 says that they were followers of one Mulima Lualaba and that the group was formed to do away with all spells and witches during the 1940s.

<sup>35</sup> *Kitshyeta* were also called *Kishyeta* and *Kishatu* and there is a possibility that they grew out of *Umpunga*; cf. Toussaint, 'Le Kishatu en Territoire de Kabongo', *BJI*, 22(11), 1954, pp. 270, 271; cf. *CEMR*, No. 84, p. 2190 the *Umpunga* and the *Kishyeta* are distinct.

<sup>36</sup> For information on *Tambwe bwanga* cf. Burton, *Luba Religion*, pp. 173-177; E. Conrad, 'Société secrète du Tambwe', *Congo*, 2e année 2(4) nov. 1921, pp. 534-540. He/she is that the local people called Tambwe « dawa ya kukomesha kichwa » or medicine to strengthen the head; Burton, 'Note sur la sphère d'influence', 1929, pp. 1,2.

<sup>37</sup> Rapport annuel sur l'administration de la Colonie du Congo Belge pendant l'année, 1938, p. 10; 'Questionnaire: Kipushya'; Rapport annuel sur l'administration ... 1935, p. 8; Burton, *Luba Religion*, p. 174 says that the *Ntambwe* is taken up with trying to be like the white man, and trying to do what the white man does; cf. H.W. Turner, 'The Hidden Power of the Whites', in *Religious Innovation in Africa*, pp. 272-275.

Les activités de la société [sic] « Kishyeta » ou « Kishyata » continuent s'agrandir partout et se forment une influence mauvaise contre le christianisme, [sic] les écoles et les blancs. En certaines régions les membres du « Kishyeta » ne permettent pas leurs enfants d'assister aux écoles. (H. Womersley, 'Rapport Général Pour l'Année 1951 dans la Province du Katanga', Kabongo, 7/1/1952 au Gouverneur de la Province du Katanga, Elisabethville, ARBAPShaba)<sup>38</sup>

The Administrator, R.E. Toussaint says that the *Kishyeta* is the same as 'Ngongo' and *Twambwe*, but this is difficult to substantiate.<sup>39</sup> H. Womersley says that Ngongo was the principal god of the *Kishyeta* so it is possible that they are the same but *Tambwe bwanga* appears to have different connections.<sup>40</sup> According to Toussaint *Kishyeta* was imported from among the Basongye at Tshofa<sup>41</sup> but as in the case of *Tupoyo* and *Tusandji* their opposition was more subtle than overt.

Burton reports having first seen *Tambwe bwanga* members in 1923 at Kipushya,<sup>42</sup> but this society spread quickly throughout eastern and southern Congo.<sup>43</sup> C. Taylor reports opposition from the society against the CEM at Pyana Mbayo where they had especially picked on the Christian leader Mudishi.<sup>44</sup> The *Tambwe bwanga* accused Mudishi of having killed a man and planted some of the dead man's belongings in Mudishi's house.<sup>45</sup> Burton says that the Administrator Lebaïque suspected foul play and Musema, the *Tambwe* leader was in turn imprisoned and later sent into the Army for a long term.<sup>46</sup> Mazanga vowed he would avenge Musema and the Christians were threatened while Mudishi's downfall was planned. However, on one occasion when Mazanga and his *Tambwe* followers were trying to disrupt the service he heard a Christian praying that God would not let Mazanga perish in the flames of Hell but save him.<sup>47</sup> As a result of this he soon became a Christian and testified to everyone that Jesus was stronger than *Tambwe*.<sup>48</sup> This is one of the few references I have been able to find where the *Tambwe* used physical force against the church.

Among the Basongye the CEM found that the societies which opposed their work were the *Kishyeta* and the *Tambwe bwanga*. The *Bukishi*<sup>49</sup> seems to be the equivalent of the *Bambudye* among the Basongye,<sup>50</sup> but there is no evidence to show that they displayed the same hostile attitude to the church.<sup>51</sup> At Katea, among the northeastern Basongye, the *Kabulubulu* society was meant to guarantee childbirth and fertility. Members of the society tried to enforce the rules and regulations upon everyone including Christians. One of the rules was that no *Kabulubulu* member was supposed to listen to the "word of the missionary".<sup>52</sup> The Christians could not comply with their demands and numbers were threatened and beaten.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Cf. R. Waution (Commissaire Provincial, Elisabethville) Letter, No. 3456/680/AOSP doss. 75 Secret, Elisabethville, 17/4/1951 à l'Administrateur de territoire [Kabalo], ARBAPShaba regarding the *Kishyeta* in the area where the CEM was working.

<sup>39</sup> Toussaint, 'Kishatu' p. 70.

<sup>40</sup> CEMR, No. 191, pp.2329-2331 says that the *Kishyeta* and the *Umpungu* merged and in CEMR, No. 193, p. 2367 H. Womersley says that the principal god of the *Kishyeta* was Ngongo. Ngongo was the Tetela leader who had been involved with Tippu Tip, the Arab trader, but he later joined the forces of the Free State to help put down the slavers. The Africans believed that after he was executed, his spirit was elevated to become a god. On Ngongo Lutete cf. S. L. Hinde, *The Fall of the Congo Arabs*, London, Methuen, 1879, pp. 207, 208, 285, 286; Tshibangu, *Historie du Zaïre*, pp. 55-57; Jan Vansina, *Kingdoms of the Savanna*, pp. 39-241; Reefe, *Rainbow*, p. 167, 168.

<sup>41</sup> 'Kishatu', p.270.

<sup>42</sup> *Luba Religion*, p. 174; 'Rapport Annuel AIMO, 1952, Territoire de Kongolo', p. 38 says that *Tambwe* originated at Tshofa.

<sup>43</sup> Conrad, 'Société secrète du Tambwe', Congo, 2 (4), 1921, pp. 270-271 ; *Rapport annuel sur l'administration...1935*, p. 8 ; *Rapport annuel sur l'administration...1938*, p.10.

<sup>44</sup> C.Taylor, CEMR, No. 34, 1931, p. 523.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*; Burton, *Mudishi*, p. 109.

<sup>46</sup> Burton, *Mudishi*, p.109.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.* p.111.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.* p.113.

<sup>49</sup> Since the *Bambudye* was a purely Luban society there were no *Bambudye* among the Basongye. The *Bukishi* or *Yebanda* seem to be its equivalent although the government of the Basongye was different than was that of the Baluba; cf. 'Questionnaire: Kipushya'; Burton, *Luba Religion*, p174 who writes about the *bukishi bwa Mpemba* and *Bukishi bwa Lukulwa*; Ngoie Kabongie, Kamina II, 7/7/1983 said that *Bukishi bwa Mpemba* and *bwa Nkulu* were merely two stages of initiation into the same society. Although he explained the initiation into *Mpemba* to us there are similarities with initiation into the first stages of *Bambudye*, but there are also significant differences. He was never initiated into the higher stages himself and did not know what was involved in the further steps.

<sup>50</sup> Reefe, *Rainbow*, p. 48 believed that the *Mbudye* and the *Bukishi* may have originated from "a shared cultural base".

<sup>51</sup> The missionaries among the Basongye reported consistently that it was the *Banganga* (medicine men) who were responsible for the greatest opposition to the Christian message of the CEM. This is verified by the 'Questionnaire' from Kipushya; "In thee parts the biggest problems were as a result of the *bamanga*". ( my ET) some of the societies included the Kasongo, *Kishyeta*, and *Tambwe bwanga* (or *Ntambwe bwanga*); cf. CEMR, No. 238, 1956, pp. 5,6.

<sup>52</sup> J. Emmett, 'The Challenge of the *Kabulubulu*', CEMR, No. 238, 1956, pp. 5,6.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.5,6.

H. Womersley, says that the power of the societies was broken by the Christian message because hundreds of members were converted to Christ.<sup>54</sup> However, he noted that as soon as all groups died out new ones were formed in their place so that “Maleka gave place to Mpungu, Bantambo to Tambwe-bwanga, Katyoma to Kasongo and now Umpunga to Kishyeta”.<sup>55</sup> Of all the societies mentioned during the colonial period only the *Mbudyé* remains.

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<sup>54</sup> *CEMR*, No. 191, p. 2331.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*; E.G. Parrinder, ‘Les Sociétés religieuses en Afrique Occidentale’, *Présence Africaine*, No. 18-19, fév. –mai 1958, pp. 20, 21 where he writes about the changes of the societies when they come into contact with European culture.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### The Prophet<sup>1</sup> Movement within the Church (1915-1960)

It is not surprising that there should be prophets found within the heart of any Pentecostal movement and from the earliest days of the Congo Evangelistic Mission (CEM)<sup>2</sup> there were those within the ranks of the growing church who possessed an extraordinary manifestation of the “gifts of the Holy Spirit”.<sup>3</sup> Not least of these was the cofounder of the CEM, W.F.P. Burton;<sup>4</sup> on a number of occasions he prayed for people who were instantaneously healed and delivered from various sicknesses and physical ailments.<sup>5</sup> In addition to this gift of healing Burton, according to the testimony of those who worked with him, possessed among other gifts “the word of knowledge” (1 Cor. 12:8). On several occasions when a group of Congolese CEM workers discussed in private problems about which only they were aware, Burton miles away in his home at Mwanza was cognisant of their dilemma. He would send word or arrive unexpectedly in order to help the troubled men.<sup>6</sup>

It should be remembered that Burton was a man who shunned all titles<sup>7</sup> and would shudder to think that he should be classed within a chapter on the “Prophets”. He liked to call himself: A Tramp Preacher.<sup>8</sup> Nevertheless, he believed in the greatness of God to break through into the world of men at any time as had already been manifested in the coming of Jesus Christ into the world. Since Burton was a thoroughgoing Pentecostal<sup>9</sup> who is reported to have deterred C. Taylor<sup>10</sup> from starting a hospital clinic at the Ngoy Mani during the early days of the work lest the people should trust in medicines instead of in the might of the Lord;<sup>11</sup> he believed that the work of the Holy Spirit and the gifts of the Holy Spirit were to be an expected norm within the life of any and every Christian.<sup>12</sup>

The most remarkable, perhaps the most notable, answer to prayer was on the occasion of the new missionaries’ first arrival at the site to the future Mission Station Kayembe Hill.<sup>13</sup> Burton, Salter and Blakeney had just arrived at the Mwanza and had been escorted to the site where they were to live. Mwepu Ntentami, a man who had for years been bent double with a curvature of the spine could only look at the ground immediately before him, was in the crowd of those who had gathered to try and catch a glimpse of these white people who had come into their midst. Laying his hands upon Ntentami’s head Burton prayed for him in the name of Jesus. There was a loud crack audible to all and the man stood completely erect, instantaneously healed of his infirmity. So remarkable was this event that all in the Mwanza area were talking about what had happened and about the strong *manga* (medicine) that these white men on the hill possessed. Never before had any of their *banganga* been able to produce such instant healing or any healing that had had such lasting results.<sup>14</sup> Undoubtedly this manifestation of the supernatural had much to do with the way the people later accepted the message preached by Burton, Salter and those who followed them.

<sup>1</sup> I will use ‘Prophet’ here in the broader sense in which it has been accepted by religionists when talking of national and charismatic leaders. For further development of this prophetic aspect cf. Chapter VI on the *Balombi*; cf. on the prophets in the African setting, D.B. Barrett, *Schism and Renewal in Africa*, p. 47; B.G.M. Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets in South Africa*, pp.100-168.

<sup>2</sup> I use CEM (Congo Evangelistic Mission) to describe the entire in pre-Independence era i.e.1915-1960. This therefore includes not only the Mission but the Church which it founded.

<sup>3</sup> When I speak of the “gifts of the Spirit” or “gifts of the Holy Spirit” it is within the context of the traditional Pentecostal interpretation of 1 Corinthians 12:8-10. This does not include natural gifts with talents but supernatural.

<sup>4</sup> Hereafter:Burton, unless he is confused with his wife when I will use his initial.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Burton, *God Working with Them*, pp. 50, 51, 53; Yumba wa Nkulu, Interview, Mwanza, 13/12/1980.

<sup>6</sup> Yumba wa Nkulu, 13/12/1980.

<sup>7</sup> This was because of his Brethren background and was evident in many of the doctrines he taught including that of eternal security; cf. W. Burton, *Eternal Security*, n.pl., n.d.; however, in spite of this he signed himself *Révérénd* when dealing with the State. cf. David Womersley, Interview, Kamina II, 3/2/1981.

<sup>8</sup> D. Womersley, 3/2/1981.

<sup>9</sup> I use ‘Pentecostal’ in the traditional sense to mean those who believe in a separate post-conversion experience at which time the individual is ‘baptized in the Holy Spirit’ or endowed with supernatural power as the Spirit comes upon them to take up residence in them. cf. Chapter 6 and the section on the Baptism in the Holy Spirit and Speaking in Tongues

<sup>10</sup> C. Taylor was the first missionary to spend any length of time as resident missionary at Ngoy Mani; cf. Burton, *Mudishi*, p.63. He had been a medical student in his penultimate year of studies when he gave up his medical career to become a missionary with the CEM. H. Womersley, Interview, Bedford, 22/7/1980; M. Jacques, Interview, Kamina, 3/2/1981. For this reason he would have been well-qualified to have started a clinic at Luamba.

<sup>11</sup> Yumba wa Nkulu Beseka, Interview, Mwanza, 13/12/1980.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Burton, *When God Changes a Man*, p. 63.

<sup>13</sup> Yumba wa Nkulu, Interview 13/12/1980 said that Ntentami is from his own family and he knows the details from him even though he was not present; cf. Burton, *My Personal Testimony*; Burton, *God Working*, pp.40, 41.

<sup>14</sup> Yumba wa Nkulu, 13/12/1980.

Although this was the first such notable sign that took place in the history of the CEM it was certainly not an isolated incident as will be seen when we look at the spread of the Christian message and the growth of the Mission.<sup>15</sup> Neither do I wish to convey the thought that it was only Burton of all the missionaries who displayed this remarkable faith in God. All of the missionaries of the CEM and later the ZEM<sup>16</sup> were Pentecostal Christians by faith and many of them have displayed the use of spiritual gifts.

For this reason, it is true to say that using the word "Prophetic", in the sense in which it is generally used today to describe movements springing up from within the heart of an existing Christian denomination, is not quite correct in the case of the CEM. The "Prophetic" does however, in the CEM/CPZ take on a new meaning in the post-Independence period. Because of the Pentecostal emphasis at the inception of the work of the CEM, there is already an inbuilt "Prophetic" element which should be considered as part of the basic structure of the Mission, because it is an essential part of the doctrine and practice of the CEM and should never be considered as something isolated or foreign.<sup>17</sup> For this reason the seeking after gifts of the Spirit and the manifestation of the supernatural was, with a few exceptions, encouraged by the missionaries.<sup>18</sup>

All the converts to Christianity and of the CEM during the early days were taught that the supernatural was to be anticipated and that they were to pray and expect God to heal and to undertake and all the circumstances so that every *catéchiste*<sup>19</sup> taught and preached the same doctrine. It is not a strange thing then that certain individuals were found amongst the Congolese leadership who possessed spiritual gifts.

Petelo Musamfidi was one of the earliest Congolese workers in the CEM to manifest spiritual gifts.<sup>20</sup> Petelo who was from the Mwanza chieftainship went to work at Kikondja in the village of Sanga.<sup>21</sup> After his baptism in the Holy Spirit in 1932<sup>22</sup> at Kibanza<sup>23</sup> he was subject to dreams and visions and often prophesied events before that took place.<sup>24</sup> He was greatly used in praying for the sick and many are the confirmations of people who were healed and instantly raised from their death beds.<sup>25</sup> At the start of his prophetic ministry Petelo had received an urgent call from his dying uncle who was a head of the secret society in his village. He reluctantly made his way to this village to see the dying man and to pay him his respects; he had hoped to leave immediately since he was very much aware demonic presence but was persuaded by his uncle to stay for the night. After long and earnest prayer for Divine protection Petelo slept but as he slept he saw demons coming to his hut to call the woman who normally lived there. They had arranged to come and kill her husband, Petelo's uncle, that very night. Since this was all impossible because of Petelo's presence the demons urged the man's wife to kill Petelo so that they could be about their business. However, the wife could do nothing since each time she approached him she cried out in pain explaining to the demons that Petelo was covered with the fire of God. At this explanation the demons fled.<sup>26</sup> E. Hodgson writes:

<sup>15</sup> Cf., Burton, *God Working*, pp. 34, 35.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. *infra*, ft. nt. 17.

<sup>17</sup> Obviously the name Pentecostal conveys with it the recognition of the Pentecostal manifestations so that Pentecostal and Prophetic are in this way synonymous; cf. B. Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets*, pp. one on 9-117; G.C. Oosthuizen, *Post-Christianity in Africa*, pp. 75,92; J.D.Y. Peel, *Aladura: A Religious Movement amongst the Yoruba*, London, OUP for the IAI, 1968, pp.57-61, 279-288; H. W. Turner, HAIC, I, Oxford, Clarendon, 1967, pp. 7,8; E. Andersson, *Messianic Popular Movements in the Lower Congo*, pp. 1-8.

<sup>18</sup> As we have already seen in part, fear of the Government measures against the Kitawala and accusations by the Catholics tended to make some missionaries repress Pentecostal evidences. cf. W. Hockley, Interview, Kamina, 31/12/1980 said that he believed that fear of excesses prompted the attitude on the part of some missionaries but not all; cf. W.B. Hawkins, Letter, Nottingham, 9/6/1981; cf. *supra* on the Kitawala and the Catholics Chapter 4C) & D).

<sup>19</sup> *Catéchiste* was the term used by the Catholics and the Administration for someone who was in charge of a local church or school. The CEM called them Evangelists. Pierre Kaputula who was over a number of evangelists had a booklet called a *Livret de Travail* which called him *Catéchiste Surveillant* cf. Private Papers Mpanya Ngoie Kaputula. The booklet was dated at Kipushya in 1954.

<sup>20</sup> I say one of the earliest since there were others like Shalumbo who are in the habit of praying for the sick and seeing them raised up from their beds; cf. Burton, *When God Changes a Man*, pp. 73-75, 110; also others like Shayoano who prayed for the sick on a number of occasions and they were raised up immediately; cf. Burton, *Mudishi*, p. 52.

<sup>21</sup> Ngoy wa Kyulu Samwele, Interview, Kamina II, 2/2/1981.

<sup>22</sup> Lunda Kateba Edi, Twite Kitobo, Ilunga Kabila Lukasu, Kitobo Ndala wa Kabole and Longwa Kifefu Modikaya, Interview, Kipamba, Kikondja, 12/12/1980. All these men are senior pastors of Kikondja station.

<sup>23</sup> Ngoy wa Kyulu, 2/2/1981.

<sup>24</sup> Hodgson, *Out Of the Darkness*, London, Victory Press, 1946, p. 88; cf. parallels here with Kimbangu in E. Andersson, *Messianic Popular Movements*, p.50.

<sup>25</sup> Hodgson, *Out Of the Darkness*, p.88.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 87, 88; cf. Moroti Walter Matitta of *Kereke ea Moshoeshoe* (Church of Moshoeshoe) had visions which were the commencement of his call to be an evangelist, but this was supposed to be after he had died. GM Halliburton, 'A Prophet and a Politician in Lesotho', *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 7(2), 1975, pp. 2-4.

Petelo awakened with a violent start and found the hut filled with a heavenly light although it was midnight, and he heard a voice saying: "PREACH THE GOSPEL FOR BEHOLD I COME QUICKLY", (*Out Of The Darkness*, London, Victory Press, 1946, p. 88.)

Subsequently, he went into the dying uncle's hut and in the name of the Lord Jesus commanded him to get up. He was immediately healed after Petelo had explained to him how that it was his own wife that was killing him by witchcraft; the man was converted to Christianity and repented of his ways. The members of the secret society were amazed to see their leader completely restored and soon brought all their *manga* to be burned as they themselves placed their faith and trust in Christ.<sup>27</sup> On his way back to Sanga Petelo preached the Christian message to every individual he met. Some confessed their sins and called on the name of the Lord to save them while others mocked him and his message. But as they did this the Spirit of God revealed to Petelo some hidden thing in their lives, which when divulged, caused them to fall on their knees before him and cry to God for mercy.<sup>28</sup>

On another occasion, Petelo visited a village where the Christian testimony had suffered greatly as a result of a *catéchiste* who was living an inconsistent life. At that time his life was anything but Christian since he had been unfaithful to his congregation and to his own wife. Petelo, who was a complete stranger to the area and to the pastor, was filled with the Holy Spirit and accused the man of all his secret sins. He revealed to him the exact nature of each act and the days and places where they had been perpetrated. The pastor called out for forgiveness confessing that all of this was true. As he did so thirty men from the village made an open confession of sin and voiced their decision to become Christians.<sup>29</sup>

In August 1932 Burton had a special conference at Mwanza when he called in all the workers from different areas. It was at this conference that Burton gave a lot of time to helping Petelo Musamfidi advising him on how to use the gift that God had given him lest he should be tripped up by the popularity that he acquired since he had been baptized in the Holy Spirit.<sup>30</sup> Petelo had become so very popular that his popularity had become a matter of open conflict with Chief Kikondja. Many of the people in the Kikondja chieftainship when they saw the healings and other wonders performed by Petelo began to almost worship him. Instead of taking their tribute and their offerings to their rightful chief they began to come with boat-loads of fish, bananas and other gifts for Petelo.<sup>31</sup> It is not clear exactly what transpired but it is clear that this matter soon came to a head, probably because of jealousy.

Before too long two Belgian administrators were sent from Bukama<sup>32</sup> to find out what was going on. According to a number of who knew Petelo at the time he had already told them what was going to happen.<sup>33</sup> As a result when Mabilo and Masanga (the African names of the two administrators) arrived at Kikondja it was no surprise to Petelo.<sup>34</sup> Although he was questioned he must have satisfied the administrators. He was never arrested and from what the elders of the CEM at Kikondja say, E. Hodgson never took any steps to intercede on his behalf. This was because Petelo had already indicated that the outcome would be in his favour.<sup>35</sup>

When questioned as to why Petelo went to Kabengele all the men who remember the incident<sup>36</sup> say that Hodgson sent Petelo away to get him out of the local setting. This was done to try and restore order in the Kikondja area because of the splits in allegiance that had followed

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<sup>27</sup> Hodgson, *Out Of the Darkness*, p. 68.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 89.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 90.

<sup>30</sup> Ngoy wa Kyulu, Interview, 2/2/1981.

<sup>31</sup> Ngoy wa Kyulu, Interview, 2/2/1981; cf. John V. Taylor and D.A. Lehman, *Christians of the Copperbelt*, p. to 65 who tells how Alice Lenshina was given presents of food and money and received them like a chief with the accompaniment of kneeling and hand clapping.

<sup>32</sup> Kikondja had at one time been the *Territoire* for the *Territoire de Kikondja* (cf. 'Registre des Rapports sur l'Administration Général, District Tanganika-Moero, Territoire de Kikondja 1916-1934') however, this was changed in about 1935 when Kikondja came under the Territoire de Bukama with the District at Jadoville (Likasi).

<sup>33</sup> Lunda Kateba Edi *et al.* Interview, 12/12/1980; Mfumu Mulwila, Interview, Kamina II, 4/2/1981 said that while Petelo preached on a Sunday morning to the Christians in his church, the Lord was supposed to have showed him what was going to take place. He told the group that two administrators from Bukama would come and take him away to the Chief's enclosure where he would be questioned and released. He had hardly finished telling them all this when soldiers arrived at the church to arrest him. He was taken away as indicated and questioned for the remainder of the day by the two Belgians.

<sup>34</sup> Lunda Kateba Edi, *et al.* Interview, Kikondja, 12/12/1980.

<sup>35</sup> *Supra* ft. nt. 34.

<sup>36</sup> *Supra* ft. nt. 34; Ngoy wa Kyulu, Interview, 2/2/1981.

Petelo's popularity and then his trial.<sup>37</sup> It is evident that the signs performed at the hand of Petelo, especially the multiple healings,<sup>38</sup> were what had drawn the hearts of men and women to himself. He also prophesied a number of events that were of considerable importance, although it is difficult to pinpoint the year in which he made these predictions; it was probably before he went to Kabengele. The first was the prediction of the death of Chief Kikondja Kayumba Ngole and the circumstances surrounding it.<sup>39</sup> This took place as predicted in 1948 or 1947.<sup>40</sup> The second was the prediction of the drought that was to strike the area resulting in the drying up of the lakes upon which the people relied for the everyday sustenance.<sup>41</sup>

So severe was the drought that all the lakes in the area became nothing more than a small area of water in the midst of an immense sea of stinking swamp and slop.<sup>42</sup> This drought occurred in the same year that Chief Kikondja Kayumba Ngole died. Things became so difficult that the lake dwellers were forced to make their way through the mud in their dugout canoes to the open water where they could catch a few fish. Often they were forced to cut their way through the swamp so that it took hours to reach open water. The slow progression across the mud swamps was called *Mandjote*; it is the name of a woman's dance, called to mind by the slapping of the paddles in the thick mud.<sup>43</sup>

When Petelo Musamfidi prophesied concerning the future, the site of Kikondja's residence was that at old Kipamba or more correctly named as *mu kikulu* (in the old village).<sup>44</sup> One day as Petelo journeyed he stood upon the hillside at present Kipamba. As he looked out over Lake Kisale he said that the chief was going to move his residence in the future and that his enclosure would be built on the exact spot where he stood.<sup>45</sup> Again it is not remembered just when this prediction was made but today the royal enclosure stands exactly where Petelo predicted and the entire village of Kipamba moved to its present site accordingly.

Hodgson says that Petelo came to him and begged to be sent to some other place as a missionary.

He said that he did not want to be a pastor, he wanted to be a missionary ... He pleaded to be sent as far away as possible, to the hardest and most wicked village possible, he bemoaned his present too easy and comfortable life. (E. Hodgson, *Out Of the Darkness*, p. 91.)

It is most likely that both Petelo and Hodgson saw the need for something to be done about the present conflicts. As Petelo had volunteered to go elsewhere, Hodgson felt that this was an answer to his prayers so soon responded by taking Petelo over to Kabengele on the eastern side of the Lualaba. Petelo's life and message made a real impression on the people of Kabengele. After open opposition from the head of the local secret society,<sup>46</sup> a man by the name of Kasumba, there was a real breakthrough. Kasumba at first pretended to be friendly with Petelo but later showed his true colours when people became afraid to attend the church meetings as a result of his threats.

While constructing a new sun-dried brick church Petelo had struck water as he dug in an anthill<sup>47</sup> for the dark clay that made the best bricks. When he reached the core of the anthill, out gushed beautifully clean pure water. Petelo looked upon this as a sign from God himself since prior to this time there had been nothing but brackish water holes as there were no streams in the area. This event was seen as a good sign by the people who therefore regarded Petelo in a better light than they had done previously.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>37</sup> Although Petelo was not officially tried he was called before the Belgian Administrateurs in the presence of the Chief Kikondja, who supposedly had a lot to do with the hearing. In the eyes of the Baluba this would have constituted a *kidyé* (tribunal) no matter the outcome and was therefore a serious business.

<sup>38</sup> Ngoy wa Kyulu, Interview, 2/2/1981 who is of the royal line of Bunda on the northern side of the Lovoi River from Kikondja, says he can remember Petelo Musamfidi visiting Bunda and calling for the sick children to be brought out for prayer. They were all healed and the event made a great impression on all at Lubondoi, the head village of the chieftainship; cf. E. Andersson, *Messianic Popular Movements*, pp. 53-56.

<sup>39</sup> Ngoy wa Kyulu, Interview, 2/2/1981; Mfumu Mulwila, Interview, 4/2/1981.

<sup>40</sup> Ngoy wa Kyulu, 2/2/1981 said that this took place in 1948, but Mfumu Mulwila, 4/2/1981 said that it was in 1947.

<sup>41</sup> It would seem that there were two extreme droughts which followed closely. There is therefore some room for confusion of dates.

<sup>42</sup> Mfumu Mulwila, Interview, 4/2/1981.

<sup>43</sup> Mfumu Mulwila, Interview, 4/2/1981.

<sup>44</sup> All that remains of the old Kipamba (*kikulu*- the old village- is a grove of mango trees still to be found growing along the sides of the road between the present-day Kipamba and the village of Mangi.

<sup>45</sup> Mfumu Mulwila, 4/2/1981.

<sup>46</sup> Hodgson, *Out Of the Darkness*, pp. 92, 93.

<sup>47</sup> An anthill or termitory is a large hill of clay which is built by termites. In some parts they reach a considerable height: as much as four or 5 m. Because the soil in the termitory is usually hard clay is ideal for brick making and it is still the custom today to use this earth for making sun-dried bricks.

<sup>48</sup> Hodgson, *Out Of the Darkness*, pp. 93, 94.

Kasumba, who had been the arch enemy of Petelo, finally became a Christian. His conversion was as a result of Petelo's prayers and the visions seen by himself as well as a spectacular delivery after being mauled by a wounded buffalo. On that occasion Kasumba had been kept safe through a long day and night by what he called an angel who kept a lion at bay until a search party was able to rescue him. After the conversion of Kasumba, who later went on to become an elder in the local CEM assembly, the main force of opposition subsided.<sup>49</sup>

However, this is not the end of the story of Petelo Musamfidi. Soon he found that his greatest opposition was not from diviner or medicine men but from the Roman Catholic Church. A white Franciscan priest visited the neighbourhood while Petelo was away at Kikondja. He had done his best to ferment antagonism against the CEM missionaries and the evangelism carried on by Petelo.<sup>50</sup> When he returned Petelo thought that he should call in the nearest Belgian official but on his way for help he had a dream in which:

He heard terrible thunderings that made him think of the end of the world, [sic] all the elements of noise and terror seem to have gone mad as they vied with one another to be heard. In his dream, Petelo opened the hut door to see the cause and effect, if possible of the terrible noise. As he opened the door and looked out, he saw the heavens open and out of them came a flaming text of scripture that fell at his feet. Written in the fire were the words: Matthew, chapter 15, verse 14. (E. Hodgson. *Out Of the Darkness*, pp. 109,110.)

Petelo awoke and immediately looked up the scripture reference that he had been given in Mt. 15:14: "Let them alone: they be blind leaders of the blind. And if the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the ditch" (Authorized Version). He took this as divine direction that he was not to pursue the matter further. This direction, he felt indicated that shortly two parties would be subject to divine judgment which would bring to an end this continued opposition.<sup>51</sup>

Lumema who professed to be a Catholic convert was also a fierce opponent of the Protestant message. As soon as Petelo returned from his aborted trip he had an urgent message from the man to come to his aid; he lay sick tormented by demons and entirely blind. Petelo apparently urged the man to give up all his hope and trust in everything that he had to do with his past and ask for prayer in the name of Jesus. As soon as Lumema consented he fell into a deep sleep and when he awoke hours later he felt so good that he professed conversion the following day after a good night's sleep he found to his surprise that he could see perfectly and that all the pain had left him. As a result Lumema soon went about the village telling everyone how the God of Petelo had healed him. It would seem that this was too much for the Catholic *catéchiste* who became so jealous of this good being attributed to Petelo that he coerced Lumema into believing that his deliverance from the demons was only temporary. He said that unless the priest was called to sprinkle holy water and exorcise the demons they would soon return.<sup>52</sup> The following day the priest arrived to sprinkle his holy water about the house where Lumema lived in order to exorcise the demons. With sudden rapidity Lumema's blindness returned and the pains which had vanished increased in intensity as the demons tormented him more than ever. Petelo took this as the immediate fulfilment of the dream he had had and refuse to pray further for the stricken man.<sup>53</sup>

As a result the work of the Catholic Church was considerably set back and the people of the area said: "Truly the messenger of God had opened the eyes of the blind, but the priest has blinded him again, leaving him in pain and to the torments of demons".<sup>54</sup> Nevertheless, the strong feelings that existed between Catholics and Protestants were soon in evidence again when it would seem the Catholic *catéchistes* accused Petelo before the State.<sup>55</sup> This must have been at a later date since by this time the Catholic priests had learned to respect him and to leave him alone. Nevertheless, so grave was the accusation brought against him that the Commissaire de District<sup>56</sup> from Jadoville (Likasi) came to find out what was going on.<sup>57</sup> Ngoy wa Kyulu was visiting Kabengele at the time and had gone to see Petelo Musamfidi at the request of Hodgson. He says that the Commissaire did not go directly to see Petelo but approached the Franciscan priests in the vicinity to ask their opinion about him. Evidently they said that they thought he was a really sincere

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 94-100.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 109.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 110.

<sup>52</sup> Hodgson, *Out Of the Darkness*, pp. 110, 112, 113.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 113.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.* p. 113.

<sup>55</sup> Ngoy wa Kyulu, Interview, 2/2/1981.

<sup>56</sup> This is equivalent to the District Commissioner under the British colonial rule.

<sup>57</sup> Ngoy wa Kyulu, Interview, 2/2/1981; Umba Wifwene Shandi Musamfidi, Interview, Kamina II, 25/2/1981 said that the Catholics accused him of being Kitawala. Umba is the prophet's son.

Protestant as was clear from his ministry and from the changed lives of the Christians under his charge. The Commissaire then came to look at the Central church and was much impressed by what he saw. For this reason nothing ever came out of this accusation and relationships between the CEM and the Catholics were never of as great a consequence after this.<sup>58</sup>

Petelo Musamfidi eventually inherited his deceased brother's wife, according to Luban custom. However, this clashed with CEM policy so that he was withdrawn as senior overseer at Kabengele. He lived out the remainder of his days at Kikondja where he later took a second and then a third wife.<sup>59</sup> Finally, Petelo fell ill but on his deathbed he asked forgiveness for the wrongs he had done by having more than one wife.<sup>60</sup>

Of all the Congolese/Zaireans in the CEM/CPZ it is clear that Petelo Musamfidi is the person to whom the most extraordinary gifts are attributed. But there have been many others. Remarkably enough, a good number of these came from the Kikondja area and one wonders if this was not as a result of the continued teaching and preaching about the person and work of the Holy Spirit by E. Hodgson.<sup>61</sup> Polo Mwepu, known better as Polo Maka, for Maka was where he lived and worked for most of his years, was the son of a former Kikondja chief Kadyamiulu. He was the first Kikondja chief to make peace with a white man. Polo's name prior to his conversion was Sulubika.<sup>62</sup> According to Ephraim Kayumba, Polo Maka was responsible for a number of healings which took place in 1938;<sup>63</sup> as a result of the healings and revelations made to him concerning what Kayumba calls the "hidden works of darkness",<sup>64</sup> Polo was summoned before the colonial authorities at Jadoville (Likasi)<sup>65</sup> but was soon released. There is however, no indication that Maka was ever considered to be a man greatly used by God in the area all the gifts of the Spirit although he was always one of the senior pastors in the CEM until he joined Kayumba after independence.

Numbi Enoke, another man from the Kikondja chieftainship, came from the village of Kibila. He was also regarded as a gifted healer and prophet. Numbi was the elder brother of Lunda Kateba, (Edi Kibila) the late senior pastor and overseer of all the Kikondja CPZ churches. He was active in a healing and prophetic ministry during the late 1940s and the early 1950s<sup>66</sup> but after falling into adultery later joined Kayumba. Numbi had received the baptism in the Holy Spirit and together with his friend and fellow Christian Mutonkle Andele spent several weeks praying that the Lord would grant to them the gifts of the Holy Spirit.<sup>67</sup> Twice a week on Wednesdays and Saturdays they would go into the bush near the village to pray through the night.<sup>68</sup> Accordingly, the Lord granted Numbi Enoke his desire and he soon began to have signs and healings in his ministry.

One of the feared diviners in the village of Kibila, Numbi Umpose, who was supposed to be possessed of the spirit of Bwana Vidye,<sup>69</sup> died. Yet in spite of the death of the man Mfumu Mulwila says that the spirits which had inhabited his body continued to terrify the inhabitants of Kibila. Even as the corpse of the dead man lay covered within his enclosure, anyone who came with earshot of the dwelling heard the voice of the dead man thundering out threats such as "*Ko kimpityila*

<sup>58</sup> Umba Wifwene Shandi Musamfidi, Interview, 25/2/1981 said that the Catholic *catéchistes* said that Musamfidi had *majende* and that in this way he had built such a big church at Kisamba.

<sup>59</sup> Umba Wifwene Shandi Musamfidi, Interview, 25/2/1981 said that his father started going wrong in 1953; cf. Ngoy wa Kyulu, 2/2/1981.

<sup>60</sup> Ngoy wa Kyulu, 2/2/1981.

<sup>61</sup> There is probably no other missionary in the CEM who taught his workers in such a consistent way as did Hodgson; H. Womersley, Interview, Bedford, 22,24/7/1980; Lunda Kateba *et al.* Interview, 12/12/1980. He had not only taught a wide range of subjects, but he also specialised in teaching about the person and work of the Holy Spirit and the gifts of the Spirit in the Church. For a number of the studies cf.: 'Mushipidutu Mu Dibuku Dinunu' (The Spirit in the Old Testament); 'Mingilo ya Leza Mushipidutu mu Kipwanino Kipya' (The Work of God the Spirit in the New Testament); 'Mwanda wa Kutompa kwa Mishipidutu' (How to Try the Spirits); 'Mingilo ya Mushipidutu Panopantanda' (The Work of the Spirit in the World); 'Myanda imo imo ya ku Dyumuna Kipwilo kya Leza' (A Few things about which to Warn the Church of God [concerning the Spirit and spirits]); these are some of the studies taught in 1954 by Hodgson. He repeated some of these topics on a number of occasions. The emphasis he placed on the Holy Spirit is evident in the "Epilogue- One" to his book, *Out Of the Darkness*, pp. 165-175.

<sup>62</sup> Hodgson, *Fishing for Congo Fisher Folk*, London, AOG Publishing House, 1934, pp. 47-50, 53; cf. on Chief Kikondja T.Q. Reeve, *Rainbow*, pp. 133, 179.

<sup>63</sup> Kayumba, *Bumi bwa Polo Mwepu Mwingidi wa Leza*, (The Life of Polo Mwepu the Servant of God) Lubumbashi, Eglise Evangélique du Pentecôte, 1968, p. 7; cf. *infra*, Chapter VII.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7; Ngoy wa Kyulu, Interview, Kamina II, 2/2/1981.

<sup>66</sup> Lunda Kateba, Interview, 11/12/1980.

<sup>67</sup> Mfumu Mulwila, Interview, Kamina II, 4/2/1981. Mfumu Mulwila is a close relative to both Lunda Kateba and Numbi Enoke and he remembers this incident well as it took place in his home village when he was a youth.

<sup>68</sup> Mfumu Mulwila, Interview, 4/2/1981.

<sup>69</sup> On the *Bwana Vidye* or *vidye* cf. *supra* Chapter III.

*makayabo*” (“Do not walk over the salted fish”).<sup>70</sup> Even after the burial of the body, Bwana Vidye continued to appear in the form of the man it had possessed.<sup>71</sup> The spirit was accused of more than a few deaths of people who ventured outside their houses at night. There were men and women struck down as they went alone to their toilets, others during daylight hours as they worked in their gardens. On every occasion Bwana Vidye was accused as many testified to the having seen him.<sup>72</sup> The reputation of Kibila became so bad that those in surrounding villages refused to let their daughters become engaged to those who lived there and no strangers would dare to go to Kibila even on the most urgent of business.<sup>73</sup>

Eventually a plan was formulated and the priest Modeste Bulterius was called to pray and to sprinkle holy water throughout the village. However, nothing transpired and there was no lessening of the forces that continued to molest the villagers. Diviners were called to put flight to the *mufu*<sup>74</sup> and a number of the less mature Christians followed them but there was still no alleviation of the problem. It is at this point that Numbi Enoke began to make his influence felt. He started out by walking around the village at night speaking in tongues and calling on the name of Jesus Christ to deliver them. After about a week of this prayerful intercession he called together all the people of Kibila and told them that they would no longer be troubled by the evil spirits that had possessed Numbi Umpose. Bwana Vidye had been cast out of the village never to bother them again.<sup>75</sup> According to Numbi Enoke, the Lord had revealed to him that he was, with the help of the local population, to completely destroy the tomb of the dead man by burning and spreading the remains over a wide area. In addition to this they were to move the village so that a main street could be made to pass over the site to the tomb. This order was carried out and soon the village was made to cover the entire area as a newly constructed street lay directly over where the remains of Umpose had once lain.<sup>76</sup> A sign was erected on the site reading: “Pita talala Leza i lusa” (Pass by quietly and without fear, God is love).<sup>77</sup>

At another time Numbi Enoke was in a dugout canoe making its way over the muddy flats left by the drying up of the river<sup>78</sup> when a large poisonous snake, locally called a *Kamone Misaka*, sank its fangs into one of the party.<sup>79</sup> Normally this snake is considered to be extremely dangerous and a bite leads to death in a few minutes; hence the name meaning that the one bitten does not even have time to look up at the roof of his house before he will die. Enoke immediately prayed for the man with the result that no harm came to him.<sup>80</sup> Of course this was hailed as a marvel and all at Kibila got to hear about what had happened.

From the testimony of a number of individuals it is evident that Enoke must have had a spectacular healing ministry.<sup>81</sup> He also predicted many events<sup>82</sup> and he had, from all accounts, a considerable popular following. Nkulu Kabelwe Ngulungu from Malemba Nkulu says that he was looked up to by all at Kikondja. Whenever he went on a journey people would follow him; some waved flags, others beat drums while they chanted and sang.<sup>83</sup> Some went so far as to call him “*Nsenga Mushipiditu*”,<sup>84</sup> the Kiluba translation for the Greek *Parakletos* (used in the Supper discourses of John 14-16 to indicate the Advocate-Comforter-Holy Spirit).

<sup>70</sup> Kikondja is an area where most people make a living from fishing. The fish is caught, gutted, salted and left out on mats to dry. Often there is little room left around a hut as the entire area is spread with drying salted fish. Thus a loose interpretation of “*Ko kimpityila makayabo*” would be: Watch out where you walk, or Do not come walking all over my fish.

<sup>71</sup> The Baluba call this visible spirit manifestation of a dead person a *mufu*, or perhaps a *kikudi*; however it would be a *mufu* that would attack a person and not a *kikudi*; Banza Mulwani, Interview, Kalombo, Kikondja, 17/4/1981 who was a disciple of Enoke’s said that it was only the person struck by the *mufu* that saw it. The others only saw the person fall to the ground.

<sup>72</sup> Mfumu Mulwila, 4/2/1981.

<sup>73</sup> Mfumu Mulwila, 4/2/1981.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. *supra*, ft. nt. 71; Banza Mulwani, Interview, 7/2/1981 says that when a person is struck down by an unseen force they would call this force a *kizwa*.

<sup>75</sup> Mfumu Mulwila, 4/2/1981; Ilunga Mwanabute Edisha, Interview, 17/4/1981; Ngoy Kijila Mpamba Zelebubule, Interview, Kalombo, Kikondja, 18/4/1981.

<sup>76</sup> *Supra*, ft. nt. 75.

<sup>77</sup> Ilunga Mwanabute Edisha, Interview, Kalombo, 17/4/1981.

<sup>78</sup> Cf. *infra*, ft. nt. 81 and *supra* regarding the droughts ft. nts. 39-43.

<sup>79</sup> Mfumu Mulwila, 4/2/1981; Ilunga Samwele, Interview, Kalombo, 19/4/1981 was the man who was bitten by the serpent; Ilunga Mwanabute, Interview, 17/4/1981.

<sup>80</sup> Ilunga Samwele, Interview, Kalombo, 19/4/1981 was the man and he confirmed all this to me. He said that he was delivered the moment that Enoke prayed for him. He said that he was also healed of the chest complaint at the same time. He said that he was at Kiabu when this took place. He is from Kibila, but lives at Kiabu now.

<sup>81</sup> Lunda Kateba *et al.*, Interview, Kipamba, Kikondja, 12/12/1981; Nkulu Kabelwe Ngulungu, Written Report, Luamba, 10/11/1980; Mfumu Mulwila, 4/2/1981; Ilunga Mwanabute Edisha, 17/4/1981; Ngoy Kijila Mapamba, 18/4/1981.

<sup>82</sup> Lunda Kateba, Interview, Kipamba, 11/12/1980.

<sup>83</sup> Nkulu Kabelwe Ngulungu, Report, Luamba, 10/11/1980.

<sup>84</sup> *Supra*, ft. nt. 83; *Nsenga* is a Kiluba word used of the man who is the mediator between the chief and his subjects.

Hodgson tried to counsel the man and warn him that he must be on guard against the temptations that this popularity would bring him,<sup>85</sup> yet there were among his followers those who advised him not to heed this counsel with the result that he soon erred morally.<sup>86</sup> Enoke was in the habit of taking sick people into his house where he prayed for them individually behind closed doors. He soon fell into adultery with a number of women. Just how many it is not certain but it must have been a considerable number if this story is correct. It is said that after sleeping with them he shaved off their pubic hair and filled a cushion with the same.<sup>87</sup> Finally, one woman refused to submit to his demands and was the person to reveal his secret to Chief Kikondja. The chief was furious about the whole affair and wanted to arrest the man for his mockery of the women of his chieftainship.<sup>88</sup>

Although this story, or at least the last part of it, sounds a little far-fetched I know that in 1955 Enoke was disciplined by the Kikondja elders and put out of the church for a period of two years.<sup>89</sup> His ministry was never again considered to be of any consequence and in 1963 when the Kayumba split took place he followed Polo Maka into the *Eglise Evangélique de Pentecôte*.

Mako Munkonta was from the village of Busangu where Harold Womersley pioneered for the CEM opening a station in 1926.<sup>90</sup> Mako was sent to Kamina to be the local *catéchiste* during the days when Norsworthy was the missionary at Sungu Mwane.<sup>91</sup> At that time Busangu-Sungu Mwane was the Station responsible for the work at Kamina. Apparently there was considerable friction between the CEM and the *Bene Songa*<sup>92</sup> since the *Bene Songa* arrived first in Kamina but did not belong to the CPC.<sup>93</sup> Nevertheless, in the immediate vicinity of Songa the CEM did not infringe on their work. Elsewhere the Adventists were not included in the consideration of boundaries for evangelism as was the case of other Protestant groupings in the Katanga.

Mako made a considerable impression upon the growing population at Kamina and even managed to find his way into the central prison to preach to the prisoners. This was something that was unheard of since prison visitation at that time was almost exclusively the privilege of the Catholics.<sup>94</sup> During his early days at Kamina he began to prophesy events that would take place in the future. Understandably this caused considerable anxiety on the part of the CEM missionaries who would have been very much aware of the repercussions which would be experienced by any Church or Mission accused of being anti-colonial.<sup>95</sup> This fear would have been accentuated when the contents of his prophecies became known since he spoke much of coming independence and the events that would accompany it.<sup>96</sup> Elestusa Kiyumba a *catéchiste* at the same time as Mako Munkonta and today a sectional pastor-overseer in the Kapamai Station<sup>97</sup> says that Mako Munkonta also predicted the finding of minerals in certain hills of northern Katanga by the *Comité Spécial de*

<sup>85</sup> Nkulu Kabelwe, 10/11/1980.

<sup>86</sup> Lunda Kateba, *et al.* 12/12/1980.

<sup>87</sup> Nkulu Kabelwe Ngulungu, 10/11/1980; Ilunga Mwanabute Edisha, 17/4/1981; Ngoy Kijila Mapamba, 18/4/1981.

<sup>88</sup> *Supra*, ft. nt. 87; Ngoy Kijila, 18/4/1981 says that over 150 women confessed to having had sexual relations with Enoke Numbi.

<sup>89</sup> In a record book kept in the Archives of the CPZ at Kikondja station: 'Dibuku dya Myanda ya Bipwilo bya Kikondja', (The Book of Kikondja Church Affairs) is an entry on 28/1/1957 saying that Enoke Numbi from Kibila had been put out of the church in February 1955 because of his sin. On 28/1/1957 he confessed his sin before the church at Kibila and was accepted back into fellowship at Communion on the first Sunday of April 1957. This report was signed by W. Brinkman, one of the missionaries resident at Kikondja.

<sup>90</sup> Cf. Tableau Statistique Général des Œuvres D'Évangélisation, de la CEM, Année 1946', signed by H. Womersley, 12/1/1947 HWPP.

<sup>91</sup> Nzadi Umba Pierre, Interview, Kamina, 3/2/1981; Ngoy wa Kyulu, Interview, 2/2/1981 says that this was in 1938 or 1939.

<sup>92</sup> The Seventh Day Adventists founded a mission hospital near Songa village some 90 kilometres north of Kamina. cf. R. Gerber, *Le mouvement Adventiste*, Dammarie-les-Lys, 1950, p. 171. The local inhabitants gave them the name of the village where their work was started and to this day they are called the *bene Songa* (the people of Songa); Nseba Lubumbu Saimon, Interview, Kamina II, 23/3/1981 said that Daniel Umbanda of the Adventists at Songa accused Munkonta of belonging to the Kitawala. Lubumbu is Munkonta's son-in-law.

<sup>93</sup> On the CPC and boundaries cf. *supra*, p.110.

<sup>94</sup> Ngoy wa Kyulu, Interview, 2/2/1981; ever since this initial permission to preach in Kamina the work has continued with the short break after 1974 when this was disallowed for a number of years.

<sup>95</sup> On State-CEM relationships and problems involving the Kitawala cf. *supra*, Chapter IV.

<sup>96</sup> Nzadi Umba Pierre, Interview, Kamina, 3/2/1981; Kabamba Ilunga, Interview, Kamina II, 31/1/1981 citing Elestusa, his pastor at Kapamai; Nseba Lubumbu Saimon and Nkongolo Mwamba Lubinga Savedi, Interview, Kamina II, 23/3/1981 said that Munkonta went to the Government offices in Kamina and asked to see the *Bulamataadi* (the government official, literally: breaker of rocks). He told the man Jesus was coming soon and that he needed to get right with God. He told him that a sign would be the coming of Independence to the Congo and his own return to his home country of Belgium. Apparently the Belgians thought that the missionaries were behind this message and it could be that this was why they were soon on to Munkonta for the exercise books containing his prophecies.

<sup>97</sup> Kapamai is the chieftainship which butts up against Kikondja in the north and Kabondo Dianda-Umpungu in the South. After Independence it received station status although previously it was under Kabondo Dianda.

*Katanga*.<sup>98</sup> In addition to these declarations he indicated many changes that were to take place in the Baluba chieftainships.<sup>99</sup> Mako wrote down all his predictions in an exercise book as an exact record of what had been revealed to him.<sup>100</sup> There is some confusion as to just what happened to this record. Some say Munkonta had been shown in a revelation that the missionaries were going to come and get the exercise book, and that he was not to give it to them. However, when the missionaries put pressure on him he was forced to give it up. The result was that because of his disobedience to God he became mentally ill for a time.<sup>101</sup> Others say that as a result of his mental illness the missionaries came to take away his written record.<sup>102</sup> One thing is certain and that is that he did have a mental breakdown and as far as his prophetic ministry was concerned, that was the end.<sup>103</sup>

There are many others who had the gifts of the Holy Spirit but all the above mentioned men all but one ceased to fulfil a prophetic ministry; two for reasons of immorality and one because of a mental breakdown. There were those like Shalumbo and Mudishi who were in the practice of praying for the sick and who in many cases saw people recover from severe illnesses but who were never regarded in any way to have special prophetic gifts. They simply preached, taught and prayed and they did have many prayers answered and many people healed.<sup>104</sup> They often had more lasting results than the others, and more significant for the CEM they were true to their Christian faith until the end of their lives. I am not suggesting that all who have been used in any way with spiritual gifts must necessarily come to an unfortunate end. Yet it would seem evident that the pressures brought to bear upon the possessors of such gifts are tremendous.

Ngoy wa Kyulu believes that there are two main temptations for people who are gifted by the Holy Spirit. First, they believe that it is they themselves who are responsible for the healings and they no longer look to Christ for his help. This results in a growing coldness in their spiritual experience; second, those who come to consult the 'Prophet', unless they are strong Christians, look to the man as the source of the healing rather than to God. This leads to all sorts of errors. At the same time if the prophet is subject to the temptations of the former the problem is only reinforced by the latter.<sup>105</sup> It appears that this conclusion is confirmed in the chapter where I deal with the *Balombi* (those who pray).<sup>106</sup>

There has been no attempt to deal with the Prophets according to any geographical sequence, but as we have seen, most of those mentioned came from Kikondja. Despite this there have been those in other CEM station areas who have had prophetic gifts. One such man, more impressive and more effective than the others, is Kisonga Bueni Abele. This is true both in terms of answers to prayer and in terms of the duration of his ministry. Abele comes from Lusaka on the west bank of the Lomami River.<sup>107</sup> He first began to use the gifts of the Holy Spirit in 1959, during the closing years of the colonial era in the Belgian Congo. Banze Kalolo, who was until recently co-overseer of the Kimabwe station, was his *catéchiste* in those early days at Lusaka and helped him a lot with sound counsel. D. Womersley who was a resident missionary at Kabongo when Kimabwe and Lusaka still lay under the jurisdiction of Kabongo Station, says that there have been some very noteworthy things happen at the hand of Abele.<sup>108</sup> He feels sure that the reason for his continued success has been the positive guidance that he has received both from those who were directly over him as pastors at Lusaka and more recently from the Station pastors at Kimabwe.<sup>109</sup>

It first became evident that Kisonga Bueni Abele was gifted after a trip that Banze Kalolo had made to the Elisabethville in 1959. Banze was delayed in the Elisabethville while waiting for a

<sup>98</sup> It is difficult to verify the validity of this since there are no documents available. From verbal reports I glean that this may have been correct since it is known that there were minerals found in northern Katanga.

<sup>99</sup> Kabamba Ilunga, 31/1/1981 citing Elestusa Kiyumba.

<sup>100</sup> *Supra*, ft. nt. 99; Nzadi Umba, Interview, 3/2/1981.

<sup>101</sup> Ilunga Lusambo, 30/1/1981; Nseba Lubumbu, 23/3/1981 says Munkonta believes that the reason for his breakdown was his disobedience to God who had told him not to give the exercise books of revealed prophecies to the missionaries; cf. The parallel with Kimbangu who was threatened with death if he did not obey God; E. Andersson, *Messianic Popular Movements*, p. 50.

<sup>102</sup> Nzadi Umba, 3/2/1981.

<sup>103</sup> Ngoy wa Kyulu, Interview, 2/2/1981; I have tried without success to speak with Munkonta but he refused to speak to anyone about what happened since he believes that this could bring about something worse.

<sup>104</sup> Cf. Burton, *When God Changes a Man*, pp. 73-75; 83-85, 110; Burton, *Mudishi*, pp. 134, 136.

<sup>105</sup> Ngoy wa Kyulu, 2/2/1981.

<sup>106</sup> Those who have been considered prophets in the broadest sense, call themselves, or have been called by others, a number of different names: *Bengidi* (workers), *Bapolofeto* (prophets), and more recently *Balombi* (those who pray).

<sup>107</sup> Lusaka is within the boundaries of the CPZ station of Kimabwe on the left bank of the Lomami River; he was converted to Christianity in 1946 after hearing the missionary Horace Butler preaching. He has been the local pastor at Lusaka since 1966; Kisonga Bueni Abele, Interview, Kamina, 27/3/1981.\*

<sup>108</sup> David Womersley, Interview, Kamina, 8/1/1981; D. Womersley. 'Abel: Man of Faith', *CEMR*, No. 426, pp. 1-3.

<sup>109</sup> David Womersley, Interview, 8/1/1981; Ngoy wa Kyulu, Interview, 2/2/1981.

bicycle that he had ordered to come from Rhodesia. While he waited he helped his brother who owned a small restaurant. So successful was Banze with the sales that his brother tried to talk him into sharing his business with him and to get him to move permanently from Lusaka. Banze knew that God had called him to work at Lusaka and was hesitant but his brother told him that he could still work for the Lord at Lubumbashi (Elisabethville). Not wanting to be forced on the issue he said he would think it over but in the meanwhile would return to Lusaka.<sup>110</sup>

As Banze arrived at Lusaka Abele came out to greet him and told him that after he had rested he wanted to see him about something very important. He later returned and explained how while he was in prayer he had had a strange experience. He went on to relate a vision in which he had seen Banze and his brother sitting in a well furnished house in Elisabethville discussing his brother's plans to have him move there permanently. Soon another man appeared who said to Abele: "Warn Banze that his brother's plan is not good and that he is not to listen to him but to stay here at Lusaka in the work that he has been given". Banze himself was so struck by the details of the vision that he knew it must be the Lord who had made all this known. Abele had never travelled to Elisabethville; he had never seen his eldest brother and yet he described exactly the features of the man as well as the circumstances the date and the time. No one, not even Banze's wife knew what had transpired during his absence. This first vision of Abele took place only a matter of months after he had been baptized in the Holy Spirit at the end of 1958.<sup>111</sup>

Kisonga Bueni Abele has been instrumental in the healing of many people. Banze Kalolo recalls the first time that they were praying for a man with a goitre. Abele laid his hands on him and prayed in the name of Jesus. Immediately, in front of all who were gathered, the goitre disappeared. The sign so moved everyone that many became Christians as a result.<sup>112</sup> This miracle took place before Banze went for his first period of two years' study to the *Institut Biblique* at Kamina in 1966. After he had returned in 1968 to work on the station at Kimabwe a special meeting was organised for the village of Kitebele. Once again a man with a huge goitre was prayed for by Abele and healed on the spot. As in the case of the first man with a goitre, Banze was present and saw this take place.<sup>113</sup>

Epileptics find little help in Zaire since it is extremely difficult to obtain drugs that may bring any sort of relief. Banze remembers one occasion when together with Abele he was praying for an epileptic. As Banze reached out his hands in prayer, he says:

It was as though my hands were drawn down by some force over which I had no control. The man was kneeling but jumped up and fell on the ground immediately vomiting a white substance. He was healed and has never been trouble since. Previously he had been unmarried but today he has a wife and family. (Banze Kalolo, Recorded Interview, Kamina II, 9/3/1981)

This phenomenon took place about 1960 or 1961 according to Banze and since that time there have been at least 10 lepers helped by Abele's prayers, the most recent healing of a leper was at Lusaka just before Christmas 1980. A leper with the disease at the advanced stages was prayed for. She was so pitiable as parts of her arms had been eaten away; however, she was instantly healed and even the parts that had been eaten away were restored.<sup>114</sup>

There has for the most part always been friction between the CEM and the Catholics.<sup>115</sup> Nevertheless, in spite of frequent brawls in the early days of the work there were never any times when either side openly plotted the death of a member of the other. The exception to this took place after Independence during the year 1968-69. While Abele and a group of believers prayed it was revealed to Abele that the Catholics from the nearby Mission Station at Kaseke were planning to poison him.

At that very moment they were holding a meeting and planning what to do. This was because of all the people who were going over to the EPCO(CEM) as a result of Abele and his

<sup>110</sup> Banze Kalolo, Interview, Kamina II, 9/3/1981. Banza Kalolo was the evangelist responsible for the church where Abele was a member from 1958-1966 and is today his senior overseer and close friend. Most of the material on Kisonga Bueni is supplied by him since he is an eyewitness to most of what I have recorded.

<sup>111</sup> Banza Kalolo, 9/3/1981; Kisonga Bueni, Interview, Kamina, 27/3/1981 says that he first realized that he had become an instrument of God's choosing when people with whom he had counselled returned to tell him at what he had said had happened. At the same time others for whom he had prayed came to tell him that they had been healed.

<sup>112</sup> Banze Kalolo, 9/3/1981.

<sup>113</sup> Banze Kalolo, 9/3/1981.

<sup>114</sup> Banze Kalolo, 9/3/1981; cf. Ngombe Lenge, Letter, Mwambai, 21/1/1981 to David Womersley, DWPP, conference the above report; Kisonga Bueni, Interview, 27/3/1981 says that she had visited Songa hospital and elsewhere but had found no relief. He added that God had healed her instantly.

<sup>115</sup> Cf. Markowitz, *Cross and Sword*, pp. 38-51; Roger Anstey, *Leopold's Legacy*, pp. 89, 90; D. Lagergren, *Mission and State in the Congo*, pp. 223-229.

ministry. Abele was shown that even then a certain man by the name of Mwembo Victor had volunteered to do the deed. He was to come to Lusaka and pretend that he was a Christian believer. He would then try and find a way of putting the poison in Abele's food. As they continued praying the Spirit revealed to Abele that the plan would never work and that as Mwembo left his home to come to Lusaka he would be struck down by God. His relatives would attempt to help him but as they would find they could do nothing they would bring Mwembo to Abele to be prayed for. When he was healed he would confirm the entire plan to them. Five days later a man was carried into Lusaka by his relatives asking that Abele pray for him since he could do nothing but stare out into space. Abele knew immediately who this man was and in the name of Christ prayed for his deliverance. He was instantaneously healed. Although he had eaten nothing for five days his relatives advised against giving them food but Abele said that he would be all right and had food brought for him. After eating, Mwembo revealed to them the entire plan to kill Abele; it was just exactly as the Spirit had warned them earlier.

Mwembo Victor had left Kaseke and returned to his home village but as he was about to set out for Lusaka he was struck down by some strange illness. He did not know where he was or what was going on about him. He said that the event was hard to understand. It was as though he had been covered by something and his understanding had left him. He had not even been aware that his relatives had brought him to Lusaka. Then as Abele prayed the covering lifted and the sense returned to him. He was converted to Christ immediately and today is a faithful believer in his home village.<sup>116</sup>

Abele has also been responsible for the prediction of a number of historic events. These include the death of Jason Sendwe the Governor of North Katanga,<sup>117</sup> and the bloodshed that followed the *Muleleiste*<sup>118</sup> invasion of Katanga in 1964. Banze Kalolo had planned a trip to the capital of North Katanga at Albertville (Kalemie). He and Abele were praying together about the trip when a strong conviction came to Abele; he told Banze not to go. Abele did not know why but said that they would wait and the Lord would soon show them. After few days they both went to speak at the nearby village to hold Sunday meetings. In the midst of the Communion Service, Abele asked Banze for a pen with which to write. He then began to write down the vision that the Lord had given to him during the meeting. He had seen an airplane circling over a big town next to an extremely large lake. In the aircraft was a man by the name of Kabange Numbi. He had just come from a meeting of the Catholics where it had been decided that they did not want a Protestant governor for North Katanga. However, according to the vision, when the airplane landed the ministers in the North Katanga Government would not agree to have Jason Sendwe removed; they said that they must work together.

In addition to this, a man appeared in the vision who indicated that Sendwe and Kabange Numbi were soon to be killed on the same day. A Methodist pastor and the son of a well-known chief would die with them. Following the deaths there would be bloodshed which would follow the railway through Kabalo, Kabongo and nearly to Kamina. Finally, there would be a great battle when these who caused the bloodshed would be forced back beyond Albertville.<sup>119</sup> This vision occurred on a Sunday; by Thursday of that week Banze says they had an urgent message on the radio to say that Jason Sendwe,<sup>120</sup> Kabange Numbi and Pastor Enoke of the Methodists had been killed by the *Muleleists* at Albertville. Included in the list of the dead was the son of the deceased Chief Kabongo.<sup>121</sup> The *Muleleistes* did follow the railway line causing bloodshed and havoc wherever they went. They continued right through Kabongo and although that came near to Kamina they never did manage to get to the town. They were forced back when the advance party was only a matter of 40 to 50 kilometres away at the station of Fukui.<sup>122</sup> Tshombe, who had only just been made Prime Minister of Congo, called in his troops who had been in Angola.<sup>123</sup> This National Army

<sup>116</sup> Banze Kalolo, Interview, 9/3/1981; Kisonga Bueni, 27/3/1981.

<sup>117</sup> Cf. Tshimanga wa Tshibangu, *Histoire du Zaïre*, pp. 134, 135; R. Dyal, *Mission for Hammar skjold*, London, OUP, 1976, p. 317.

<sup>118</sup> Cf. Tshimanga wa Tshibangu, *Histoire du Zaïre*, pp. 113, 134; R. Dyal, *Mission for Hammar skjold*, London, OUP, 1976, p. 163; Thomas Kanza, *The Rise and Fall of Patrice Lumumba: Conflict in the Congo*, Boston, G.K. Hall, 1977, pp. 37, 110, 111.

<sup>119</sup> Banze Kongolo, 9/3/1981.

<sup>120</sup> Banze Kalolo, 9/3/1981; Kisonga Bueni, Interview, 27/3/1981; cf. Tshibangu, *Histoire du Zaïre*, p. 134.

<sup>121</sup> Cf. Tshimanga wa Tshibangu, *Histoire du Zaïre*, pp. 113, 134; R. Dyal, *Mission for Hammar skjold*, London, OUP, 1976, p. 163; Thomas Kanza, *The Rise and Fall of Patrice Lumumba: Conflict in the Congo*, Boston, G.K. Hall, 1977, pp. 37, 110, 111.

<sup>122</sup> David Womersley, Interview, Kamina II, 10/3/1981; Banza Kikuku Augustin, Interview, Kamina II, 11/3/1981 was part of the group which was sent to encounter the *Muleleistes*.

<sup>123</sup> Tshibangu, *Histoire du Zaïre*, pp. 136, 139, 140.

of Congo was led by mercenaries and soon drove the *Muleleistes* past Albertville.<sup>124</sup> Thus the prophecy of Abele was fulfilled in detail.

Prior to independence the CEM did not have a single secondary school. Many of the more successful primary students had to be sent off to other missions such as the American Presbyterian Congo Mission (APCM) in the Kasai and others to the Methodists at Mulungwishi. The need was acute and it had been on the heart of several missionaries to provide a remedy, yet in the early days of independent Congo the unsettled situation made it impossible to bring about any change. The Christians of the CEM were much concerned and wondered just what could be done to help their children. Against this background Abele prophesied that they were not to fret. There was soon to be a secondary school started by two missionaries of the CEM at the place between Kamina town and the military base.<sup>125</sup> This was fulfilled in 1965 when David Womersley and David Waller started the secondary school at Kamina II.<sup>126</sup>

Banza Kalolo attributes Abele's success to his quiet unassuming nature and to the fact that he had always been ready and willing to listen to counsel. As well as this his ministry is part of the local assembly and the local believers have helped him to carry the added responsibility. All those who come to see him are fed and welcomed by the believers but they do not stay on at Lusaka as though it were a clinic or hospital.<sup>127</sup> Banza Kalolo said that from the start he advised Abele against having people stay on at Lusaka: "After all if Jesus is going to heal someone you do not read in the Bible that he had them come to stay but that he healed them on the spot".<sup>128</sup> To protect himself against the possibility of anything that could have "the appearance of evil" Abele does not pray in his home for the many who seek his aid; he prays in the local assembly and never alone with women behind closed doors. There are always others present, elders or trusted Christians who help with anything that may come up in the course of his ministry.<sup>129</sup>

Abele's life and work is a bridge between the old and the new as his ministry spans the transitional years from missionary oversight to national control and extension. His work has never been as flamboyant as that of Petelo Musamfidi or Enoke Numbi but he has lasted and stood the test of time where they did not. He has seen prophets come and prophets go yet he carries on in his quiet and unassuming way. He may not have the charm and the charisma of the others but he has a mature and deep faith in his God and the Lord Jesus Christ which have kept him standing through twenty four years of prophetic ministry. As long as Abele continues his work the last part of this chapter remains unwritten.<sup>130</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> Banza Kikuku, 11/3/1981 says they were first engaged in August 1964.

<sup>125</sup> Kisonga Bueni, Interview, 27/3/1981; David Womersley, Interview, 8/1/1981 said that he did not remember the location being part to the prophecy; Banze Kalolo, 9/3/1981; Kamina II is situated 11 km from Kamina in direct line between the town and the military base. It was originally built by the Belgian Government in case of atomic war in Europe, but was abandoned at the time of Independence. The site was considered to be ideal for a school.

<sup>126</sup> David Womersley, Interview, 8/1/1981.

<sup>127</sup> Banze Kalolo, 9/3/1981; Ngoy wa Kyulu, Interview, 2/2/1981; Kisonga Bueni, Interview, 27/3/1981.

<sup>128</sup> Banze Kalolo, 9/3/1981.

<sup>129</sup> Banze Kalolo, 9/3/1981; Kisonga Bueni, 27/3/1981; Ngoy wa Kyulu, 2/2/1981.

<sup>130</sup> Kisonga Bueni was born c. 1938 according to Banze Kalolo, 9/3/1981.



**THE HISTORY OF THE CONGO EVANGELISTIC  
MISSION/COMMUNAUTÉ  
PENTECÔTISTE AU ZAÏRE FROM 1915 TO 1982**

**VOLUME TWO:  
POST INDEPENDENCE 1960-1982**

by

David John Garrard

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## CHAPTER 6

### THE *BALOMBI*: THE NEW PROPHETS IN THE CPZ

#### An introduction to the materials

In a survey carried out in Shaba and Kasai Oriental 44 questionnaires were sent to church stations in every area of the *Communauté Pentecôtiste au Zaïre*.<sup>1</sup> Of the 37 which were returned I have been able to compile statistics which serve to illustrate the important place of the *balombi* (plural- those who pray) in the life of the Pentecostal church today (Table I). Many of those who completed the questionnaires acknowledged that they did have *balombi* on their station but did not state how many. Where this has happened I have entered only one *mulombi* (singular for one who prays) for that particular station where in reality there may be 20 or more. I have found this to be true in many areas where the pastors responsible for completing the forms did not want the phenomenon to appear as striking as it really is. It would seem that in a number of instances they have made a conscious effort to minimise the grandeur of the *balombi* for fear that their own reputation is at stake. Other stations have recorded four or six *balombi* but I know from other sources that these figures are incorrect and that there are many more.

#### *Balombi*-the Name<sup>2</sup>

Who then are the *balombi*? It has already been seen that the literal interpretation of the word *mulombi* (pl. *balombi*) is, 'one who prays', but it can also mean, 'one who asks'. Prayer is something that marks the lives of many of the members of the CPZ. It is common for churches to have a monthly day of fasting and prayer when special speakers are called to exhort believers to more dedicated Christian life and where much time is given to prayer and worship.

*Kulomba* is the infinitive of the verb 'to ask'. In other words, these are people who make requests known to God and who in turn make God's will known to those who request it. The name can also be understood to mean those to whom requests are addressed. A person with a problem of any sort is often heard to say: "*Naenda kukalomba*" (I'm going to go and ask about the reason for it). I will say more about this aspect later. Nday Shilas, who is called a *mulombi* by those who consult him, but who rejects the name himself, says that it was the non-Christians who first used the name to describe the person they went to see and then the Christians continued using the same term.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, it seems that many of the *balombi* repudiate this title.<sup>4</sup> Others preferred to call themselves *bapolofeto* (prophets) and some by the generally outdated appellation of *bengidi* (servants).

Some may find it strange that the biblical word *mupolofeto* (pl. *bapolofeto*), which is more or less a straight transliteration of the English 'prophet' or the French '*prophète*' is not the word that has been preferred as a title.<sup>5</sup> It should be pointed out that when the *mulombi* phenomenon first appeared it was under the name of *mupolofeto*. This is the name which is used in the *Kiluba* Bible for the prophet and was immediately applied. However, the *bapolofeto* came under immediate attack from the church authorities and so went underground for some time. Then when they reappeared they did so under different names. The *Baluba* have their own name for a prophet- *mufumiki* and this is the name used in the most recent translation of the New Testament. However, since their image has suffered under the name *bapolofeto* they decided to use another name even though the function was the same.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The list of statistics does not include the Bene Kanyok from the Kasai Orientale because I have had no official reply from that area. All figures are drawn from the questionnaires sent out by myself. This was entitled: 'Questionnaire: *Lusango Iwa Communauté Pentecôtiste au Zaïre Kushilula mu 1915 ne kufika ku dyalelo*' ('Questionnaire: The History of the *Communauté Pentecôtiste au Zaïre* from 1915 to the present day'); from here on it will be referred to as: 'Questionnaire'.

<sup>2</sup> There is an interesting parallel here with the name "Aladura" of the West African movement; Aladura means the 'prayer people'; cf. H.W. Turner, *History of an African Independent Church*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1967, p. 8. (Hearafter HAIC)

<sup>3</sup> Nday Shilas, Interview, Bulundu, 8/5/1981.

<sup>4</sup> I know at least two *balombi* who use the name openly of themselves: Maloba Kazadi from the Kabongo area who attempted to become chief of Kayamba, and Oscar Lupusa who lives and works in the Kamina cité. There have been others who have come to Kamina II and informed the church members that they were *balombi* so I know that there are many who use the name openly.

<sup>5</sup> There are no "Rs" in Kiluba and every word must terminate in a vowel so 'prophet' becomes 'polofeto' with the 'mu' prefix for the class of living beings (in the singular) – *mupolofeto*.

<sup>6</sup> E. Andersson, *Messianic Popular Movements in the Lower Congo*, (*Studia ethnographica Upsaliensia*: 14) Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1958, p. 2; he notes that with the *ngunzist* movement, *mbikudi*, the word translated for prophet in

## The Precursors

One cannot say very much about the *balombi* without first seeing where and how they arose. In the earlier section on the New Prophets it was seen that there have been individuals,<sup>7</sup> who were especially charismatic, but who for a number of reasons cannot be classed in the same category as the *balombi*;<sup>8</sup> however, there were others who have not been examined but who may fit into the mould of the present-day *balombi*. These have been the precursors of the present trend.

PEOPLE	REGION	STATION	WITH BALOMBI	WITHOUT BALOMBI	TOTAL BALOMBI
Baluba Kasai	Kasai Oriental	3	2	1	7
Baluba Shankadi	Kasai Oriental	2	2	-	19
Basongye	Kasai Oriental	4	2	2	3
Basongye	Shaba	1	1	-	2
Baluba Shankadi	Shaba	24	21	3	143
Others*	Shaba	3	1	2	2

TABLE 1  
The *Balombi* (1982)

\* Included the following peoples: Banyaruanda, Basanga, Balomotwa and Bazela

There are two of whom I am aware; the first was André Mukumbi from the village of Bushimbi in the territory of Kabongo.<sup>9</sup> This man had a considerable influence on the people in the Kabongo area during the years between 1940 to c.1946 and again after 1960.<sup>10</sup> The second man was Joseke, who like André Mukumbi was a member of the CEM. Both began to go about the villages of the Kabongo chieftainship carrying staffs somewhat like those used today by the *Bapostolo* of the *African Apostolic Church of Johan Maranke*.<sup>11</sup> Their main task, according to the testimony of the nephew of Joseke, was to find *manga* (medicine-fetishes or witchcraft objects) and to chase all witches and witchcraft from the area.<sup>12</sup> This activity was not restricted to the Christian

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the Kikongo Bible, the term was rejected as being of European invention. It was replaced by *ngunza*; perhaps this is why *mupolofeto* was rejected since it is certainly of European origin. It is possible that *mufumiki* has not been used since it does not convey any thought of a miracle worker but merely of a 'fourth-teller'. The author was once asked by a Muluba what was the difference between the *bambuki* (diviners) and the *bapolofeto*. If there is an identification here in the minds of the Baluba it is possible that this is the very reason why the *balombi* have avoided its use.

<sup>7</sup> All the people mentioned in chapter 5 were men. There is one woman by the name of Adese (also written Adisi and Alishi) Mbolela who was particularly influential during the earliest days of the *balombi*.

<sup>8</sup> There are three main reasons why I have not included any of the new prophets of chapter 5 in the same category as the *balombi*: 1) chronologically all the *balombi* fall within the post-colonial period. Abele Kisonga Bueni overlaps this. But for other reasons found below, he does not fit into this group; 2) Many of the new prophets, but not all, have a marked tendency to independency even if they never actually start new groups. Although some of the earlier prophets I mention were disciplined for their actions, they never considered working apart from the existing church organization; 3) the earlier prophets, many of whom were the first generation to break with traditional religion, fought a continual battle against divination and all other customs which they considered to have their roots in traditional religion. With the *balombi* there seems to be a slacking off from the original position held by the Church and an acceptance of much that is traditional; we will see later that this is an attempt to bring about what A.F.C. Wallace calls a "Revitalization movement"; cf. 'Revitalization Movements', *American Anthropologist*, 58(2), 1956, p. 82; this is what Ralph Linton calls a "conscious, organized attempt on the part of the society's members to revise or perpetuate select aspects of its culture"; 'Nativistic Movements', *American Anthropologist*, 45(2), 1943, p. 230.

<sup>9</sup> Ngoy André Moïse, 'Histoire du Prophète Ngoy Maukumbi-Moraïse Fondateur de l'Eglise du Septième Ange au Congo' (typescript) Lubumbashi, 20/8/1971, AZK; this is a brief history of the men presented to the Justice Department at Kinshasa requesting PC. According to a letter written by P.Bambi, No. J. 20/002 Kinshasa, 7/01/1969, AZK, PC was never granted (this work will from hereon be called: 'Histoire: Mukumbi').

<sup>10</sup> Banze Mwadi, Interview Kamina II, 5/5/1981.

<sup>11</sup> *Supra* ft. nt. 10; this aspect of the staff is well known throughout Africa and the new religious movements; cf. H.W. Turner, *HAIC*, II, p. 105; B. Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets in South Africa*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Oxford, OUP for IAI, 1961, pp. 214, 215; M-L. Martin, *Kimbangu: An African Prophet and his Church*, Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1975, p. 53; Bennetta Jules-Rosette, *African Apostles: Ritual and Conversion in the Church of John Maranke*, Ithaca and London, Cornell UP, 1975, pp. 23, 51; E. Andersson, *Messianic Movements*, pp. 53, 146; G.C. Oosthuizen, *Post Christianity in Africa: a Theological and Anthropological Study*, London, C. Hurst, 1968, plate 14 between pages 194-195.

<sup>12</sup> Banze Mwadi, Interview, 5/5/1981; cf. Braid's activities in West Africa, *HAIC*, I, p. 7; E. Andersson, *Messianic Movements*, pp. 73, 74.

milieu of the CEM<sup>13</sup> since many non-Christians were supposedly stirred by their efforts and brought their *manga* to be burned at the same time they came to make a profession of conversion to Christianity.<sup>14</sup>

It is not certain just when André Mukumbi started out on his witch hunting ministry but according to another of who knew him, he spent long nights in the bush. He was generally clothed in a long cloak like those who worked at the *Pastorale*.<sup>15</sup> It was because of this cloak that people baptised him with the name Mukumbi (shepherd). According to the testimony of Mukumbi, on 10 October 1946 he was taken up to heaven while praying and it was there that he was made a '*prophète des nations*'. At that time his name was changed from Ngoy André to Mukumbi-Moraïse.<sup>16</sup> As a sign of what happened to him he was to be given power to speak in a new tongue and "*Tu chasseras les démons [sic démons] et tu découvrira tous ceux qui sont cachés sur la terre*".<sup>17</sup> This written testimony was given in 1969 in defence of his starting a new religious group which he called *L'Eglise du Septième Ange au Congo par le Prophète Moraïse*. Since Mukumbi was arrested and sent to prison by the Belgians for his activities as a member of the *Kitawala* and since no one can remember him having anything to do with *L'Eglise du Septième Ange* until after his release from Kasaji prison<sup>18</sup> in 1960, it is likely that his testimony is a conflation of times and ideas. Much of what he writes probably took place during those early years when with Joseke he was hunting *manga* under the banner of the CEM and later of the *Kitawala*.

There is no indication from the missionaries who were then at Kabongo of their response to Joseke and Mukumbi. All we have is Mukumbi's statement that "*Monsieur HOMATHZEL [sic Womersley]*" told him he was just a child and that the work was not for him but for adults. The veracity of what Mukumbi says is certainly questionable when in the same passage he reports that "*Mr. BATTAL [sic Butler]*" fell at his feet and asked him to pray for him and for his impurities declaring that certainly he was a true prophet of God.<sup>19</sup> Anyway, it is certain that H. Womersley's response to Mukumbi's activities would have been far from positive. That Mukumbi had strong leanings to independency<sup>20</sup> is evident from the fact that he soon joined the *Kitawala* and later formed his own group with over 2000 followers.<sup>21</sup> In like manner, the other man, Joseke, also found his way into membership of the *Kitawala*.<sup>22</sup>

It is this marked independent spirit and the tendency to ignore the organisation of the CEM/CPZ that is one of the hallmarks of the *balombi*. It must be noted, however, that not all of the *balombi* have exhibited this attribute. There are those who I include with this treatment of the *balombi* who were merely gifted individuals operating these gifts within parameters which would be perfectly acceptable in any western Pentecostal church.

## Education, Age and Gender

Sundkler points out that it is difficult to give a "just appraisal of educational standards among ministers in the independent Churches", <sup>23</sup> and the same must be said when writing about the educational level of the *balombi*. Generalisations are always dangerous but is probably safe to say that the educational standard of the *balombi* is very much parallel to that of the majority of station pastors in the CPZ.<sup>24</sup> With very few exceptions one can say that although the majority of pastors are literate they have never had the benefit of a secondary school education. With the *balombi* the picture is even less encouraging. In fact, the majority have no primary education at all and are in many cases illiterate. There are a few who like Nday Shilasa at Bulundu, have taught themselves to read and write even though they have not attended any kind of school.<sup>25</sup> There is,

<sup>13</sup> This CEM was the only Protestant group in the Kabongo area at the time according to the policy of the CPC (Congo Protestant Council).

<sup>14</sup> Banze Mwadi, Interview, 5/5/1981.

<sup>15</sup> Maloba Nyemba, Interview, Kamina II, 8/10/1980; he is a graduate of the *Institut Biblique Central*, Kamina II and was born and brought up at Bushimbi; the *Pastorale* is a local ranching company.

<sup>16</sup> 'Histoire: Mukumbi', p. 1.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> Maloba Nyemba, Interview, 9/10/1980; Banza Mulwani Wakutompwa, Interview, Kamina II, 9/10/1981; 'Histoire: Mukumbi', p. 3.

<sup>19</sup> 'Histoire: Mukumbi', p. 3.

<sup>20</sup> I have used the term 'Independency' in the same way as D.B. Barrett in his section on the same in: *Schism and Renewal in Africa: An Analysis of Six Thousand Contemporary Religious Movements*, Nairobi, OUP, 1968, pp. 44-63.

<sup>21</sup> Maloba Nyemba, Interview, 8/10/1980.

<sup>22</sup> Banze Mwadi, Interview, 5/5/1981.

<sup>23</sup> B. Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets*, pp. 122-126; cf. C.G. Baëta, *Prophetism in Ghana: A Study of Some Spiritual Churches*, London, SCM, 1962, p. 11; B.A. Pauw, *Religion in a Tswana Chieftdom*, London, OUP for the IAI, 1960, p. 74.

<sup>24</sup> B. Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets*, pp. 122-126.

<sup>25</sup> Nday Shilas, Interview, Bulundu, 8/5/1981; cf. Pauw, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

nevertheless, a small group of *balombi*, including Maloba Kazadi from Kabongo who was secretary for a time at the Zone, Ilunga Bilo at Kelande, Stani and others who benefit from several years of secondary school.<sup>26</sup>

There seems to be no distinction of age or gender.<sup>27</sup> There are young men like Ndeme Teusa of Kisanga who are only in their teens, and old women in their seventies like Adese from Musao.<sup>28</sup> The acceptance of youth is significant in that in the CPZ very few men are made pastors of sections of stations until they are considered to be sufficiently old and wise.<sup>29</sup> The acceptance of the younger well-trained graduates from the *Institut Biblique Central* Kamina II is often a considerable problem.<sup>30</sup> But, if a young man sets himself up as a *mulombi*, provided that he has the charisma to persuade people that he is God's man for them, he will likely be accepted without any question.

There is little acceptance of women in positions of leadership within the CPZ other than as leaders of a women's group. However, when this comes to the *balombi*, there are no restrictions and pastors who seldom consider the wisdom and ability of women will give in to every whim of a woman who happens to be a *mulombi*.<sup>31</sup>

## Initiation

One could easily suppose that since initiation rites played such an important part in the life of every *Muluba*, that the *mulombi* would enter his office by means of initiation.<sup>32</sup> The *nganga*, to give one example, must spend a great deal of time learning his trade from another of the fraternity, and to be accepted he has to be initiated by another *nganga* by means of the ceremony called "*kusala lusalo*".<sup>33</sup> In the case of the *bavidye*, although they are considered to have been initiated, it is necessary to pass through an experience of an altogether different sort. The *vidye* is a person who has supposedly been possessed by the spirit (*vidye*) all an outstanding hero from the past.<sup>34</sup> There is no rule as to who can or cannot be possessed of one of the spirits and someone may suddenly rush off into the forest or lie spread-eagled in the dust prophesying and proclaiming that he has been taken over by the spirit of Shimbi or Kibawa or some other well-known person. This person is then recognised as *Bwana Vidye* and Burton says that the villagers will probably be delighted to think that a *vidye* has come to live amongst them.<sup>35</sup> Generally, the possessed man stays in seclusion for a number of days after which the *mwenzeme* or chief diviner in the area instructs them in the taboos of the particular *vidye*.<sup>36</sup> After this he is considered to be a fully fledged diviner. Both men and women can be possessed of a *vidye*.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Bishimba Lukasu, Interview, Kamina II, 27/5/1981; Banza Ngoy Muyampe, Interview Kamina II, 27/5/1981; Stani is one of the few *balombi* who attend a branch Bible school. He attended at Kabongo.

<sup>27</sup> cf. H.W. Turner, *HAIC*, II, p. 29.

<sup>28</sup> cf. *Ibid.* II, pp. 42, 43 on women in the church.

<sup>29</sup> There are more exceptions of late than ever before and in the new areas many of the pastors are young men. This is found in the CPZ work among the Bene Kanyok and the northern Basongye. The hesitancy to place young men in positions of responsibility is not limited to the CPZ. Kuye Ndononwa Mulemera, who holds a *Licence ès théologie* from the Protestant *Faculté de Théologie* at Kinshasa, says that in the CEPZa (*Communauté des Eglises de Pentecôte au Zaïre*) [now called CEPAC] the older men are reluctant to give the young people room to express themselves; Interview, Bukavu, 20/11/1981; cf. J.D.Y. Peel, *Aladura: a Religious Movement Among the Yoruba*, London, OUP for the IAI, 1968, pp. 60-265.

<sup>30</sup> Much depends upon the station responsible for sending the student to the college. If the pastors were keen to send him they will likely employ him when he returns, but if he was the motivating force behind his attending the *Institut Biblique* it is possible he will only find an avenue for active ministry by going to another station. Younger men are often regarded by the older to be lacking in moral character and wisdom. It is probably true to say that the basic cause of the problem is that the older men feel threatened by the younger who are better trained than themselves.

<sup>31</sup> Domitila is a *mulombi* from the north of Lake Tanganyika [at Uvira]. She was a Catholic who is reported to have had visions, to have died and to have returned from the dead. She belonged to the CEPZa but for the last five years she has visited the churches of the CPZ and other Pentecostal groups in Shaba and the Kasai. She is followed by a retinue of men who take care of her every need and when she goes to a town like Lubumbashi it is not unusual to see her driven around in a convoy of Mercedes-Benz cars.

<sup>32</sup> The Baluba were well acquainted with the initiation of young men, young women, and the initiation into the religious societies such as the *Mbudye* and the *Kasandji*; cf. W.F. P. Burton, *Luba Religion and Magic in Customs and Belief*, (Annales, Série in 8°, Sciences humaines, No. 35) Tervuren Belgium, Musée Royal de l'Afrique Centrale, 1961, pp. 149-152, 160, 168, 169.

<sup>33</sup> W. Burton, *Luba Religion*, pp. 83, 84.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.* p. 50; the man who is not possessed of his familiar spirit is known as a *kilumbu* but once he is possessed he is no longer regarded as human and becomes a *vidye* (spirit).

<sup>35</sup> W. Burton, *Luba Religion*, p. 52

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.* p. 52.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.* p. 52, 53.

As far as the *balombi* are concerned their entry into office does not closely reflect any of the *Luban* modes. There is no requirement for a period of discipleship.<sup>38</sup> It would seem that the nearest pattern would be that of the *bavidye* whose initiation is rather an arbitrary thing. A *mulombi* is not usually 'possessed' by the Spirit of God in a frenzied manner.<sup>39</sup> The person may simply dream that he has been given a special gift from God and so declare that he is now a *mulombi*.<sup>40</sup> People may hear one of their number speaking in tongues and consider that this person has been especially anointed to be their *mulombi*.<sup>41</sup> However, it is more common that an individual be recognised as having special gifts of healing or knowledge which prove that he or she is a *mulombi*. It is even possible that people might call him a *mulombi* and come to consult him before he has recognized the gift himself.<sup>42</sup> One young man from Kabinda spent some time visiting friends at Lulungu where he learned from the Baluba what the *balombi* were doing. When he went back to Kabinda he sets himself up as a *mulombi* and gathered large numbers of followers about him.<sup>43</sup> All this shows that initiation as such is nonexistent.

### The *Mulombi* and the Luba<sup>44</sup> people

The ethnic factor in new religious movements is well known<sup>45</sup> so that it comes as no surprise that the *balombi* are found mostly among the Baluba.<sup>46</sup> In the Kasai Orientale the CPZ is active among four main ethnic groups: the Baluba Kasai, the Baluba Shankadi,<sup>47</sup> the Bene Kanyok,<sup>48</sup> and the Basongye. At Mbuji Mayi and Gandajika, both large centres of the Baluba Kasai, we find that there are recognised *balombi*. Mwine Ditu also has a large Luban population although there are also many Bene Kanyok. As far as I am able to ascertain the *balombi* at Mwine Ditu are Baluba. At Luputa, which is the centre of the Bene Kanyok, there are no *balombi*.<sup>49</sup> At Lulungu, a station on the west side of the Lomami there are seven *balombi*, and at Mbao Lubiji twelve. These are the only Baluba Shankadi stations in the Kasai.

From the Basongye, the people which border on the Baluba Shankadi and the Baluba Kasai, there is only record of five *balombi*. I have written statistics from only five Songye stations, but from interviews at that I have had with Basongye in the CPZ it would appear that there are not any other *balombi* in the Kasai since the manifestation is just not known.<sup>50</sup>

Mwembu Luhembwe, a Musongye student at the *Institut Biblique* Kamina II, hails from Kabinda and tells how when he first came to Kamina the Baluba students thought that he was

<sup>38</sup> The nearest to discipleship that I have met is in the case of Tshibambe Ntambue from Kabinda. He visited the Lulungu area and seems to have learned from the *balombi* there; Lubangi Eshiba, Interview, Kamina II, 8/11/1980 says that there are apprentice *balombi* in the Kapamai chieftainship.

<sup>39</sup> It is common to hear Christians in the CPZ say: *Mushipidu wa mukwata* (The Holy Spirit seized him).

<sup>40</sup> Ngoy Kisula, Interview, Kamina II, 8/11/1980.

<sup>41</sup> *Supra*. ft. nt. 40.

<sup>42</sup> Kisonga Bueni, Interview, Kamina, 27/3/1981.

<sup>43</sup> This man split the CPZ church at Kabinda and took about 100 people with him. Most of those who followed him were young people. The *mulombi* was Tshibambe Ntambue.

<sup>44</sup> By Baluba we mean two peoples: the Baluba Shankadi from Shaba and the Baluba Kasai; cf. *infra*. ft. nt. 47; they are not to be confused.

<sup>45</sup> cf. F.B. Welbourn, *East African Rebels: A Study of Independent Churches*, London, SCM, 1961, pp. 134, 135; B. Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets*, pp. 38, 39, 43, 47, 168; H. W. Turner, *HAIC*, II, p. 15.

<sup>46</sup> Ruth Slade, *King Leopold's Congo*, London, OUP, 1962, p. 146 says that to "Livingstone, Cameron and von Wissman the Baluba were the most promising people of Central Africa." She also comments on their receptivity to new ideas; the CEM/ZEM have found that there has been more response to the Christian message amongst the Baluba than among the other peoples to whom it has ministered.

<sup>47</sup> The Baluba Kasai and the Baluba Shankadi or the 'polite Baluba' are really two peoples. They spring from a common ancestor and had the same origins, but since the Baluba Kasai left the Shaba region and journeyed to the Kasai several hundred years ago there have been great changes in their language and custom. These peoples cannot communicate in the same language although there are similarities in some words. Although they are often grouped together as one single people – the Baluba- they are not; cf. Thomas Q. Reeve, *The Rainbow and the Kings: A History of the Luba Empire to 1891*, Berkeley and London, UCalifornia, 1981, p. 8; Edmond Verhulpen, *Baluba et Balubaïsés du Katanga*, Anvers, L'Avenir Belge, 1936, pp. 24, 25; Edmond de Joghhe, 'A-propos la politique indigène: Le respect de la coutume', *Congo*, I(5), 1921, p. 750; G. van Bulck, *Les Recherches Linguistiques au Congo Belge* (Mémoire, Collection in 8°, Science morales et politique, Tome XVI) Bruxelles, Institut Royal Colonial Belge, 1948, pp. 397-398.

<sup>48</sup> The history of the Bene Kanyok is also linked to that of the Baluba Shankadi, the Baluba Kasai and the Lunda (Aruund); cf. Jan Vansina, *The Kingdoms of the Savanna*, Madison, UWisconsin, 1966, pp. 77, 78, 83, 159, 160, 222, 223.

<sup>49</sup> I had no official reply to my 'Questionnaire' and have therefore not included them in the statistics. This information comes from Binene Bokasa, former student at the *Institut Biblique*, Kamina II, Interview, Kabongo, 20/8/1982.

<sup>50</sup> I discovered this during discussions with pastors from all over the Songye area at the CPZ Kasai conference held at Kabinda in May 1991.

pulling their leg when he asked them to explain the meaning of a *mulombi*.<sup>51</sup> He points out that this phenomenon was almost unknown amongst the Basongye of the Kasai Orientale.<sup>52</sup>

In Shaba the main work of the CPZ is among the Baluba Shankadi. Although the CPZ is beginning to reach out to other peoples there is still comparatively little in the way of contact outside the Baluba. For this reason, even in centres like Lubumbashi and Kolwezi where the CPZ has many large churches, most of the members are Baluba and often one is heard to say that the CPZ is the Church of the Baluba.<sup>53</sup> Of the 24 Baluba stations in Shaba which replied to my questionnaires, 21 acknowledged a total of 143 *balombi*. Three stations said that they did not have *balombi*. Two of these are on the edges of the Baluba while the third is a fairly new work which has few members as yet.<sup>54</sup> I happen to know that at Kaniama, which is one of these stations without *balombi*, there are people who fulfil the same role as the *balombi* although they are not called such by the leadership.<sup>55</sup> The three other non-Luban stations in Shaba which replied to the questionnaire said that they had no *balombi* apart from Moba on Lake Tanganyika which said they had two.<sup>56</sup>

Another interesting and perhaps significant fact, is that the picture has changed over the last two years. When I first started out on this journey there were only two recorded *balombi* outside the Baluba of the Kasai and Shaba while now there are a total of seven in the Kasai; most of them would appear to have contacts with the Baluba.<sup>57</sup> This evidence points to the fact that something within social institutions of the Baluba especially lends itself to this movement, and that if they were not directly involved in the movement in any area, the Baluba have encouraged its spread.

However, this does not completely answer our question as to why the *mulombi* has become an institution for the Baluba more than for other peoples. Anstey says that both Kimbanguism and the *Kitawala* as well as the other prophet movements were basically a protest against Protestant Missions and their failure in the area of faith healing.<sup>58</sup> He says that these missions failed to provide an answer to the fear of sorcery.<sup>59</sup> This is probably an accurate assessment and would be true in the case of most missions, but is it true in the case of the CPZ? From the beginning the CEM regarded divine healing as central to the message of the gospel and taught and practiced healing in the name of Christ.<sup>60</sup> At the same time they taught and emphasised the power of the Spirit and his work in the individual Christian's life. The missionaries encouraged each Christian to be filled with the Spirit and to be baptised in the Spirit and speak in tongues after the Western Pentecostal model.<sup>61</sup> There have been books written by the missionaries on the person and work of the Holy Spirit and on the gifts of the Holy Spirit.<sup>62</sup> Seminars have been taught

<sup>51</sup> Mwembu Luhembwe, Interview, Kamina II, 6/5/1981.

<sup>52</sup> Lubangi Eshjba Pierre, Interview, Kipushya, 20/1/1991 said that there were no *balombi* on the stations of the Basongye. He was not quite correct since at that time I had found two. Lubangi added that there were tendencies in this direction in areas where there had been contacts with the Baluba.

<sup>53</sup> One reason for this is that even in the large towns most of the CPZ churches conduct their services in Kiluba. It is true that there is usually an interpretation of the message into Swahili but most of the prayers and hymns are in Kiluba. Another item which follows closely the Luban style is the use of the *byondo*, drums made from hollowed tree trunks. Some peoples, including the Bemba, take offence at the use of these loud drums. This was evident at Musoshi on the Zambian border where the church was nearly split for a time over the use of the *byondo*.

<sup>54</sup> Ankoro station is in a strongly Catholic area. The CPZ started there in 1968 but has had leadership problems and the work has never grown.

<sup>55</sup> Ilunga Kanonge, Interview Kamina II, 8/5/1981 says that when he completed the 'Questionnaire' for Kaniama he had written that there were no *balombi*. However, he indicated to me that there are individuals with what he called "spiritual gifts" who are often consulted by the local population.

<sup>56</sup> The work of the CPZ station at Moba is mostly among the refugees from Rwanda. There are also a number of other tribes. It is not known from which people the *balombi* come.

<sup>57</sup> The Basongye stations with *balombi* all border on the Baluba Shankadi and have been greatly influenced by them. This is because there are often Luban preachers who visit them and *vice versa*. Mpanya Ngoi (ex Pierre Kaputula), Interview, Kipushya, 16/1/1991 told me that as far back as the early 1960s, before the missionaries returned to Kipushya, there were men from the Baluba who had set themselves up as prophets. Some came from the Kasenga Mpetyi district and attempted to gather followers from among the Basongye.

<sup>58</sup> Roger Anstey, *King Leopold's Legacy: The Congo Under Belgian Rule 1908-1960*, London, OUP for the Institute of Race Relations, 1966, pp. 134, 135; E. Andersson, *Messianic Movements*, p. 258 calls the messianic popular movements "contact and reaction phenomena arising from the shock constituted by the meeting between two cultures".

<sup>59</sup> R. Anstey, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

<sup>60</sup> *Supra* chapter 5.

<sup>61</sup> Walter J. Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals* (ET), London, SCM, 1972, pp. 24-26 indicates that the Pentecostals in the West are divided into what he calls: "three-stage Pentecostals" and "two-stage Pentecostals". Although I do not like his terminology, for purposes of clarity I will say that the CEM/CPZ teaches a two-stage Pentecostal doctrine. The first stage is conversion or regeneration while the second is the baptism in the Holy Spirit evidenced by the individual speaking in other tongues; cf. W. Burton, *God Working with Them*, pp. 77-83.

<sup>62</sup> J.W. Robinson, *Mushipiditu*, Kamina, EPCO(CEM), n.d.; CPZ, *Nshintulwilo Dibuku 1: Mushipiditu*, Kamina, CPZ, c.1975; H. Womersley, *Luñenyeny pa Kwifunda Mukanda Ukola*, Kamina, EPCO(CEM), n.d. pp.23-30 is on healing and pp.31-39 is on the baptism and the Holy Spirit.

in every District of the CPZ on the same subject.<sup>63</sup> Spiritual gifts are part of the CPZ's doctrine and practice so I do not believe that Anstey's accusation can be applied in this instance. Rather this is the very reason why the *balombi* have appeared in the way they have. It is the teaching and practice of the CPZ which has been the catalyst and precipitated the movement.

That this analysis is correct would seem to be justified when we look at other Christian groups working among the Baluba. Leaders from other groups have told me that this phenomenon is not present in their churches.<sup>64</sup> In several instances other denominations are starting to take note of what is happening in the CPZ and although as churches they are antagonistic toward the *balombi*, they find that ones and twos within their membership are starting to set themselves up as *balombi*.<sup>65</sup> For example, there is one Catholic *mulombi* that I know of in the Kamina *cit  * and one from the Adventists. This number is to be compared with over 30 *balombi* of the CPZ in the Kamina town and environs.<sup>66</sup> There are also other Luba churches which have *balombi*, but nearly all of them are Pentecostal and have their roots in the CEM/CPZ.<sup>67</sup> I am not trying to say that this phenomenon is completely unknown elsewhere, but that what is happening in the Baluba of the CPZ is on an unprecedented scale.<sup>68</sup> The *mulombi* is then the end product of a combination of factors including traditional customs and religious practice.

### The *Balombi* and the Formation of Churches

When one considers why the *balombi* have not generally founded churches it is necessary to ask if this is not just a transitional phase on the way to the formation of an Aladura type church? Only time will reveal the outcome of this movement. There are similarities between what is happening in the Luban church and expression found in the more flexible Aladura churches which are generally found among the non-Yoruba peoples of West Africa.<sup>69</sup> However, if one takes the Church of the Lord Aladura or the Cherubim and Seraphim as our models, then what is taking place in the CPZ does not represent any transition. I indicate a number reasons why this is so and why the *balombi* have not started their own churches.

First, unlike the more formal Aladura churches the *balombi* lack the central figures to which such a group could look for leadership.<sup>70</sup> There are strongmen like Abele Kisonga Bweni who, if they wished to withdraw from the CPZ, could almost certainly gain a following. But they have not done so and since the most gifted of the *balombi* have been given a great deal of liberty within the existing CPZ there is little reason why they should withdraw.

Again, most of the *balombi* who have worked independently in any local CPZ church have not been greatly concerned about winning converts to their cause. That is, they have gathered

<sup>63</sup> From 1975 special seminars were taught in every district of the CPZ by a team of missionaries. They visited the same district every year for one month and during that month focused their attention on one of the major doctrines of the Bible. The first doctrine treated was the Holy Spirit.

<sup>64</sup> Even the Pentecostal Church in the Kivu which has its roots in the *Eglise Libre Su  doise (Svenska Fria Missionen)*, today's *Communaut   des Eglises de Pentec  te au Za  re*, does not have anything on the same scale. There are a few who have set themselves up as prophets (the equivalent of our *balombi*) but they are not numerous according to the Legal Representative of the CEPZa, Ruhigita Ndagora Bugwika, Interview, Bukavu, 3/4/1981; Totoro Barhegine, Interview, Bukavu, 20/11/1981 is the Legal Representative of the former Mission *Libre Norv  gienne (Communaut   des Eglises Libres du Za  re)*. He says they have a few people who have shut themselves away in their homes and waited for revelations from God but they have nothing similar to the *balombi*; the Catholic bishop at Kamina who is also a leading figure in the *Jamaa*, Monseigneur Malunga, says they have no *balombi* in his diocese. He said that if he knew of any they would be excommunicated immediately; Interview, Kamina, 13/5/1981. This would mean that the *mulombi* I mention later was either unknown to him or an ex-Catholic.

<sup>65</sup> Pastor Louis Kazembe, Interview, Kamina, 10/5/1981.

<sup>66</sup> Ngoy Kisula, Interview, Kamina II, 8/11/1980 said that there were 20 *balombi* in one section of the Kamina *cit  * alone; Kasongo Tshikala, Interview, Kamina, 21/5/1981 said that there were so many *balombi* that it would be difficult to know how many there were in the entire Kamina area; Banza Mukanda Jason, Interview, Kamina II, 7/5/1981 provided me with the figures on the Catholic and Adventist *balombi*; Mwamba Nsensele and Banze Mwadi, Interview, Kamina II, 7/5/1981 said that there was one Catholic *mulombi* at Kabalo and one at Kalemie.

<sup>67</sup> There are *balombi* in *Pentec  te du Shaba*, the group which broke away from the EPCO(CEM) in the 1960s and in the *Assembl  es de Dieu de Shaba* a group which left the CPZ between 1978 and 1980; cf. *infra* Chapter 7 b.

<sup>68</sup> My contacts in the Kivu with other Pentecostal groups indicate that there are those who tend toward what the *balombi* are doing in Shaba and in the Kasai. However, they are very few in number; Ruhigita Bugwika, Interview, Bukavu, 3/4/1981; G. Bond, W. Johnson and S. Walker, *African Christianity: Patterns of Religious Continuity*, London and New York, Academic Press, 1979, p. 168 do not believe that one should attempt to find the cause for emergence of movements but seek to "explore the factors that influence the speed and direction of change". They see the movements as "contemporary expressions of religious change".

<sup>69</sup> cf. H.W. Turner, *HAIC*, I, pp. 8,10,11; J.D.Y. Peel, *Aladura*, pp. 95, 96; cf. *infra* the conclusion of this chapter.

<sup>70</sup> cf. H.W. Turner, *HAIC*, I, pp. 6-9, 11,17 and II p.4; what I have said about leadership could apply to any prophet movement in Africa; cf. Kimbangu in M-L Martin, *Kimbangu: An African Prophet and His Church (ET)*, Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1975, pp.38-51; however, as I indicate in my conclusion to this chapter there are exceptions.

friends and followers from the CPZ but they have done little to reach out to the non-Christian community. The *Kimbangu* and *Ngunzist* revival in its earliest years was basically a millennial movement but the *balombi* movement is not. This is not a millennium movement and has no message of a coming age or promised Messiah.<sup>71</sup> The CPZ, like the Church of the Lord (Aladura), is greatly concerned with outreach and evangelism,<sup>72</sup> but unlike the formal Aladura churches, the CPZ is not run by prophets. The *mulombi* is considered as only one of the team so that as long as he remains within the CPZ he could not become the creator of churches on his own.

When looking at this question one also has to reckon with the practical problems involved. By this is meant the practical problems involved for any church in Zaire, which wishes to be recognized as a separate legal entity. The Zairian Government has passed legislation severely restricting the multiplication of religious groups within its borders.<sup>73</sup> This was because it felt that the proliferation of churches was getting completely out of hand. As Singa Boyenge wrote:

J'ai constaté à maintes reprises que certains de nos compatriotes, pour les raisons d'ambition qu'ils se nourrissent, d'occuper un poste quelconque dans la hiérarchie de leur culte, désertent celui-ci pour donner naissance à une église de son choix (Commissaire de Shaba, Lubumbashi, Circular Letter, No. 10/02482/BUR-REGION/SHABA/78 aux Commissaires Sous-Régionaux, ASRHL)

In 1973 President Mobutu Sese Seko decreed that the number of *Communautés* in the *Protestant Eglise du Christ au Zaïre* was to be limited to 53.<sup>74</sup> To enforce this ruling 26 communities which had been admitted without permission from the Justice Department were declared illegal in 1977.<sup>75</sup>

It may not be easy, but it is not impossible to start a new community as there are provisions for this. A large sum of money has to be paid to the Justice Department before the dossier making application for acceptance can be accepted. In 1981 the Assemblies of God Shaba, a Pentecostal group which had been formed mostly from members who had a one time been in the CPZ, were told that they had to pay 100,000 Zaires before their application could be considered.<sup>76</sup> This exorbitant sum of money is out of the reach of most groups unless they have contacts outside the country and can benefit by the exchange rate of the dollar or the pound.<sup>77</sup> This may therefore, be one of the strongest reasons why the *balombi* have not produced churches. It is easier for followers of the *balombi* to remain under the cover of an existing community where usually they can enjoy as much liberty to practice what they will without having to worry about the continual harassment of the authorities.

Finally, in many instances the *mulombi* is, for all intents and purposes, the authority in the local church. If the local pastor and elders of any assembly of Christians acknowledge him as the spiritual leader then there is little reason why he should withdraw and attempt to start his own group. It is only when the *balombi* are disciplined that they may decide to leave the CPZ.<sup>78</sup> However, because of the Government restrictions many of those who have left have tried to join another Pentecost community which they hope will leave them room to live as they see fit.<sup>79</sup>

<sup>71</sup> cf. E. Andersson, *Messianic Movements*, pp. 263-265; J.D.Y. Peel, *Aladura*, p. 65.

<sup>72</sup> cf. H.W. Turner, *HAIC*, II, pp. 34,157.

<sup>73</sup> 'Ordonnance-Loi No. 71-012 du 31/12/1971; signed by President Mobutu Sese Seko declared legal only the Roman Catholic Church, the Kimbanguist Church and the Protestant, Eglise du Christ au Zaïre; in April 1972 the Greek Orthodox, the Muslim and the Jewish communities were added because of a different religious background; 'Ordonnance No. 79/002 fu 3/1/1979' added the Eglise du Saint Esprit, the Neo Apostolic and the Bahai; ADRBJ Lubumbashi.

<sup>74</sup> 'Ordonnance-Loi No. 73-013 du 14/02/1973', signed by President Mobutu Sese Seko, ADRBJ Lubumbashi.

<sup>75</sup> N'Debo 'A Kanda di ne Nkeza (Département de l'Administration du Territoire, Région du Kasai Oriental, Mbuji Mayi), Letter, aux Commissaires des Régions, ASRHL Kamina; says that of the twenty six communities within the ECZ which were banned there had been a revision and only fifteen were finally banned.

<sup>76</sup> Ilunga Mbwele, Interview, Kabongo, 26/12/1981.

<sup>77</sup> In December 1981 the official bank rate was approximately 10 Zaires to the pound Sterling.

<sup>78</sup> Oscar Lupusa was disciplined in the CPZ church at Kamina. He then decided to leave and join the AOG Shaba which was just starting at Kamina under the leadership of a graduate from Kamina II Bible Institute. He soon made it clear that he considered himself to be the true leader. This resulted in a power struggle which was not resolved when I left Zaire in 1982 (for study leave); Maloba Nyemba, Interview, Kamina, 17/7/1982; Tshibambe Ntambue was disciplined at Kabinda by the head pastor of the station and the Legal Representative Lubangi Eshiba. He had accused a young person of having *manga* and of being involved in witchcraft. The *mulombi* left the church and took with him nearly 100 people, including the second pastor of the station. They would not return to the CPZ but sent a delegation to Bukavu to ask the CEPZa if they could not be part of their work. The need to belong to a group already possessing PC is underlined here.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. Oscar Lupusa and Tshibambue Ntambue *supra* ft. nt. 78.

## The *Mulombi* and Traditional Religion

Most writers on religion in Africa have recognised that African tradition and witchcraft go hand-in-hand.<sup>80</sup> As far as witchcraft is concerned many believe that the diviners function in society is essential to reduce social tensions and preserve morality and authority.<sup>81</sup> Sundkler says that according to African logic the diviner is a “wholesome and necessary element in society”.<sup>82</sup> Further, Evans-Pritchard says that the entire question of witchcraft has to be looked at in the context “of our attitude to African institutions in general”.<sup>83</sup> Since it is neither my task here to examine witchcraft as a whole nor to analyze the significance of African institutions I am in no position to make value judgments on either. However, there are a number of things that one has to bear in mind in the context of the *balombi* and traditional religion. This is an African phenomenon and therefore has to be seen in the light of an African institution.

I do not wish to make blanket statements about witchcraft and divination since what is true in one area of the world of any given people does not necessarily mean that it is the same elsewhere. Nevertheless, it is necessary to remember that the CPZ is a Christian Church in Africa and that as far as this church is concerned witchcraft, sorcery, and divination fall under the censure of the Scriptures.<sup>84</sup> For this reason those who resort to divination are considered by the leadership of the CPZ to have denied their Christian faith.

Among the Baluba Shankadi divination and confession does not merely lead to a wiping clean of the slate and a fresh start for the individual who was condemned. A person who is accused of causing another misfortune can be forced to pay heavy fines and if he is wealthy he may be left an absolute pauper by the time that all the claims have been made against him.<sup>85</sup> Where death is involved the charges are even more serious as a person could easily be accused of “eating” another by witchcraft.<sup>86</sup> If the diviner were to dream that someone was guilty of such a crime there is little chance that they would be acquitted but would be charged as witches.<sup>87</sup> According to Luban custom witches were burnt alive or hacked up and then thrown into the fire.<sup>88</sup> Burton says that: “as late as 1917, on the site where the Mwanza government post now stands, three old women were burned alive for witchcraft”.<sup>89</sup> This custom did not die out with the colonial period; during the Independence “troubles” in 1961 seven women in the Mwanza area, all of whom were members of the CEM, were accused of being witches and hacked to death, or hung upside down until they died.<sup>90</sup>

## Resemblance to Divination

For the reasons stated above most of the members of the CPZ do not generally consult the *bambuki* (diviners).<sup>91</sup> If they did they would be severely reprimanded and disciplined by the church. However, to consult the *balombi* is perfectly legitimate and in many areas is encouraged by the

<sup>80</sup> cf. E. Evans-Pritchard, ‘Witchcraft’, *Africa*, 8(4) 1935, pp. 417-422; B. Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets*, pp. to 60, 261; V. Turner, *Revelation and Divination in Ndembu Ritual*, Ithaca and London, Cornell UP, 1975, p. 230; D.A. McLean and Ted J. Solomon, ‘Divination Among the Bena Lulua’, *JRA*, IV fasc. 1, 1971, p. 25.

<sup>81</sup> V. Turner, *Ndembu Ritual*, p. 236; C.M.N. White, ‘Elements in Luvala Beliefs and rituals’, Rhodes-Livingstone Papers. No. 32 Manchester, Manchester U.Press, 1961, p. 65 in Bryan R. Wilson, *Magic and the Millenium*, London, Heinmann, 1973, p. 88; Evans-Pritchard, ‘Witchcraft’, pp. 421, 422; A.F. Walls, Interview, Aberdeen, 21/12/1982.

<sup>82</sup> *Bantu Prophets*, p.253.

<sup>83</sup> ‘Witchcraft’, p.442.

<sup>84</sup> Deuteronomy 18:10-12; 2 Chronicles 33:6; 1 Samuel compares rebellion “as the sin of divination”; Micah 5:12; Ezekiel 13:23; Galatians 5:20.

<sup>85</sup> W.F.P. Burton, *Mudishi: The Congo Hunter*, London, Victory Press, 1947, pp. 35, 36; W. Burton, *Luba Religion*, p. 139.

<sup>86</sup> W. Burton, *Luba Religion*, pp. 86,87; the term “eating people” is common among Bantu Peoples. E.Andersson, *Messianic Movements*, pp. 25-27 suggests that this comes from the older custom of eating one’s enemies and that it is therefore a relic from cannibalism. He tells of those who actually dance to the grave to dig up the corpse. There are parallels here among the Baluba especially in the Tusandji and Tupoyo societies; cf. W. Burton, *Luba Religion*, p. 168

<sup>87</sup> W. Burton, *Luba Religion*, p. 86.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 86; cf. ‘La Croyance dans le Ndoki et le problème du mal’, in *Dieu, Idoles et Socrcellerie dans la region Kwango/Bas-Kwilu: Rapports et Compte Rendu de la 11ème Semaine d’Etudes ethno-pastorales Bandundu 1966*, ed. Hermann Hohegger (Publicaiton du Centre d’Etudes Ethnologiques, Bandundu, Série I, vol. 2) Bandundu: Centre d’Etudes Ethnologiques, 1968, p. 116 gives the attitude to the *Ndoki*; E.E. Evans-Pritchard, *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic Among the Azande*, Oxford, Clarendon, 1937, pp. 26, 27.

<sup>89</sup> W. Burton, *Luba Religion*, p.86.

<sup>90</sup> Yumba wa Nkulu, Interview, Mwanza, 14/12/1980 said that four were killed from Ngoy Mani, two at Ndala and one at Kisula. All were accused of having “eaten” individuals by *butyi* (witchcraft).

<sup>91</sup> *Bambuki*, the plural substantive comes from the infinitive of the verb ‘*kubuka*’ (to divine). The *bilumbu-bavidye buka*, but so do the *banganga* in some affairs.

majority of pastures.<sup>92</sup> In this way the *mulombi* has taken on the role of a 'Christian diviner' and seems to be meeting an important need inherent in the society.

The name *bambuki* comes from the infinitive '*kubuka*' (to divine).<sup>93</sup> The *bambuki* are generally the same people as the *bavidye*, a much respected and highly influential band of men during the days of the Luban Empire. These maintained aura about them well on into the Belgian days. They were called *bilumbu* (sing. *kilumbu*) when not wearing regalia and possessed of their *vidye* (spirit).<sup>94</sup> They were supported by the chief since part of the revenue from their consultations went to the local chief who was therefore reticent to oppose them in any way.<sup>95</sup> The *vidye* is correctly the medium through which the spirit of the ancestor or ancestors speaks but he is not the only diviner. The *nganga* can and does divine,<sup>96</sup> but his main task is to *paka manga* (compound medicines).

The influence of the *bambuki* was greatly reduced as the Christian message became more and more entrenched in Lubaland so that today there are few who can make a living by divining.<sup>97</sup> Nevertheless, the practice is not dead and it is even possible that it is on the increase since 1960. Certainly, troubled times make a ready market for the diviner.<sup>98</sup> It is therefore, quite possible that within the setting of the CPZ the *balombi* have replaced the *bambuki*.

In order to be accurate it is necessary to indicate that not all *balombi* follow the procedure I am to outline. From the statistics gathered only five stations of the 21 which replied to this section indicated that all the *balombi* on their stations acted in a completely acceptable manner. Of the 16 which indicated that they were experiencing problems in this regard, figures vary. Some said that only 14% were not considered to work well within the community while others complained that 100% of the *balombi* showed extreme independent tendencies. Of the 146 *balombi* in this survey 57% were regarded as acceptable while 43 were not.<sup>99</sup>

### Consultation and the seeking of information

There are a number of practices followed by the *balombi* which closely resemble those followed by the *bambuki*. The first is the consultation. It is not just the consultation itself, but the way in which it is carried out which is to be compared. When a sick person goes to see a *mulombi* the following can be expected: the *mulombi*, often clothed in white or some other special item of clothing,<sup>100</sup> will have his assistant waiting upon them in the same way that the diviner has his *kitobo* (assistant and mediator).<sup>101</sup> He may call to the *kitobo* to usher the sick man into the hut where he is seated upon a special stool. Generally, the inquirer is made to remove his shoes outside before he is allowed to enter and he sits cross-legged on a mat in front of the *mulombi*.<sup>102</sup> The enquirer says: "*Naiya ungipangwile kudi Leza ndjuke kinsusula kino'ki*" (I have come to ask God that I might know

<sup>92</sup> cf. what H. W. Turner, *HAIC*, II, pp.130-133 calls "divine inquiry" in the Church of the Lord (Aladura). There are some pastors in the CPZ who like to live near to a *mulombi* in order that they may have the 'Word of the Lord' at any time. It was rumoured that Petelo Kasongo at Sungu had the *mulombi* Ilunga Kalala Léonard living in his home for some time when the latter was involved in digging for *manga* in some of the Sungu churches; Ngoy wa Kyulu Samwele, Interview, Kamina II, 8/7/1982.

<sup>93</sup> cf. E. Andersson, *Messianic Movements*, p. 2 indicates there is a striking similarity in the work of *nganga* among the Bakongo and the diviner of the Baluba with the use of the identical word *kubuka* or *kuwuka*. However, he says that in Kikongo *kubuka* means to give medicine or to heal while in Kiluba it means to awaken or to divine.

<sup>94</sup> W. Burton, *Luba Religion*, p. 51; Newell S. Booth, *African Religions: A Symposium*, New York and London, NOK Publishers, 1977, p. 48.

<sup>95</sup> W. Burton, *Luba Religion*, p.53.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.85, 86; cf. E. Andersson, *Messianic Movements*, p. 2 says that "The title most often used in Bantu Africa to designate a man who acts as an intermediary between his people and the supernatural power is *nganga*".

<sup>97</sup> According to Banze Mwadi, Interview, Kamina II, 5/5/1981 there is only one *mbuki* (diviner) in the Kabongo area now – Bwana Kudye; Kasongo Tshikala Sandoki, Interview, Kamina, 21/5/1981 says that there are very few now whereas during the days of his youth at Kikondja there used to be two or three in every village. Besides, he says that they have all changed their ways now to fit into the *kizungu* (white man's ways) and no longer wear headgear, and chalk.

<sup>98</sup> This point was underlined for me by A.F. Walls, Interview, Aberdeen, 21/12/1982; it is not possible to know if there has been any increase in the number of *bambuki* recently.

<sup>99</sup> The other stations which supplied information on the number of *balombi* did not include information as to their conduct and methods. Obviously what was classed as acceptable depended upon the expectations of the pastors involved.

<sup>100</sup> Mpanga Bubi, Interview, Kamina II, 19/5/1981 says that Banza Mijibu from Kabongo at the village of Kakubu always wore a white cloak or *kanzo* when he prayed; Adese from Musao did the same but she wore her robe all the time; Kitamba Nsenga, Interview, Kamina II, 20/5/1981. It is clear from the seminar given at Kikondja that this is a common practice; the wearing of white robes or clothing is a common factor in movements of this kind; cf. H. W. Turner, *HAIC*, II, p. 43; B. Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets*, pp. 213-215; G.C. Oosthuizen, *Post-Christianity in Africa*, p. 36; E. Andersson, *Messianic Movements*, p.133; C.G. Baëta, *Prophetism in Ghana*, p. 5.

<sup>101</sup> W. Burton, *Luba Religion*, p.50; W. Burton, *Mudishi*, p.35; Ilunga Lusambo, Interview, Kamina II, 19/5/1981 says that in the Kapamai area each *mulombi* can have as many as three assistants all of whom are considered to be junior *balombi*.

<sup>102</sup> cf. F.B. Welbourn, *East African Rebels*, p. 51; Oosthuizen, *op. cit.*, p.37; Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets*, p. 197.

what it is that is causing me this suffering). At this point the *mulombi* will probably start singing, or praying or shaking<sup>103</sup> and perhaps speak in tongues.<sup>104</sup> After this he speaks in a voice other than his own and says: "You are suffering from *butyi* (witchcraft); it is your wife who is responsible" (literally: *ukudya* (she is eating you)).<sup>105</sup> Or he may say: "It is your dead father because you did not look after him properly when he was alive and to top it off you did not pay death dues (*kufuta mfwa*); this then is the source of all your problems. You must pay death dues and give a thank offering to God before you will get better".<sup>106</sup> Others, before they pray for a sick person will *kwela kabobo*<sup>107</sup> then say: "I am God. I have come down; what is it that you want?" The sick person replies: "It is because of this sickness that we have called you". The *mulombi* then grasp the person by the head, then by the chest, then by the stomach and if it is a woman, he may well take hold of her breasts and say: "God says you are now healed" or something similar.<sup>108</sup>

This method is almost the same as that followed by the diviners. Those who come to consult a *vidye*, especially if he is well-known like Bwana Kibombo, who was supposedly possessed of the spirit of Ilunga Nsungu, one of the former kings of the Baluba,<sup>109</sup> had to grovel in the dust before they were permitted entry to his presence.<sup>110</sup> The *kilumbu* would properly clothe himself in the appropriate headdress, monkey skins and necklaces plus the distinguishing marks and emblems of the particular spirit of which he is a medium.<sup>111</sup> He would probably have been approached the previous day via his *kitobo* who would have received a preliminary gift.<sup>112</sup> Early the next day the man calls for his familiar spirit to take possession of him. At this point he can shake and gasp and often whistles through his teeth to show that he is now a *vidye* and no mere man.<sup>113</sup>

To make anti-witchcraft work the diviner can be no dullard. Psychology is very much part of his trade since he needs to understand human nature with all its aspirations and fears. In order to properly fulfil his role he needs to know what is going on in the community. For this reason information on different people is carefully stored away for future reference. Many times they do not collect the information themselves but send out their *bitobo*.<sup>114</sup> All jealousy and hatred, is noted. These are the things that Victor Turner calls the deadly sins of the Ndembu.<sup>115</sup>

On this same line the *balombi* have taken a page from the *bambuki's* book. Ilunga Lusambo who was once one of the persons dedicated to keep an eye on Penwela, a *mulombi* at the village of Kilomboi in the chieftainship of Kapamai, tells how she spent much time listening to conversations and snooping around people's huts at night. This was all in order to find out things about them so that she could prophesy correctly.<sup>116</sup>

When the *bambuki* speak with those about whom they know very little they get them to open up about their problems so that little by little they are able to piece together a story. Burton describes in detail how this is done by the diviner who asks questions: "... under the guise of a

<sup>103</sup> This is in order to predispose the prophet to the voice of the Spirit; E. Andersson, *op. cit.*, pp.53, 170, 171 where Kimbanguist singers were meant to prepare him to hear the voice of the Spirit. In the *Ngunzist Khaki* movement it was not believed that an individual had been possessed of the Spirit until he began to shake.

<sup>104</sup> The speaking in tongues is supposed to indicate that divine revelation is about to be given; cf. Andersson, *Messianic Movements*, p. 109.

<sup>105</sup> On *kudya* (to eat) cf. *supra* ft. nt. 86; cf. D. McLean and T.J. Solomon, 'Divination among the Bena Lulua', p. 34 where they record how the diviner speaks.

<sup>106</sup> *Kufuta mfwa* (to pay for the dead) is a custom linked to marriage and death. It was originally meant to safeguard the wife since she had few legal rights and could be mistreated and neglected by her husband, especially if she was the wife of a polygamous marriage. The family from which the wife came could make all kinds of demands upon a bereaved husband after the death of his wife. Today many young people sign a contract or make a verbal declaration before the families to say that they will not *futa mfwa* upon the death of their partner. In the case of non-Christians the diviner often takes the side of one family or the other in order to gain financially and they are very much against the abolition of the custom.

<sup>107</sup> A *kabobo* or a *Iwanji* is a high-pitched hoot which resembles a war cry. It is caused by the continued striking of the palm of the hand against the mouth. It is used to *sasula* (greet, exhort, encourage) royalty but also is common at times of joy such as at childbirth or at a wedding. Women *sasula* their men as they go to war and when they return victorious. The nearest English equivalent is ululation but this is different from the *kabobo*.

<sup>108</sup> Ilunga Kazembe, private communication, 28/11/1980; cf. similar conduct in Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets*, pp. 186, 187; Jules-Rosette, *African Apostles*, p. 43; Pauw, *Religion in a Tswana Chieftdom*, p. 178; Baëta, *Prophetism in Ghana*, p.21.

<sup>109</sup> W. Burton, *Mudishi*, p.34.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 35, 37.

<sup>111</sup> W. Burton, *Luba Religion*, pp. 54, 55.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 54.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.52, 54; cf. Oosthuizen, *op.cit.*, p.139 on Zulu diviners.

<sup>114</sup> W. Burton, *Luba Religion*, p.137; W. Burton, *Mudishi*, pp.35, 39; the same thing is practiced by diviners in other peoples; cf. V.Turner, *Ndembu Ritual*, p. 283.

<sup>115</sup> V. Turner, *Ndembu Ritual*, p. 236.

<sup>116</sup> Ilunga Lusambo, Interview, Kamina II, 8/11/1980.

soliloquy: 'What has he come for? Is its sickness? Is it misfortune? Is it inquiry?'.<sup>117</sup> When the inquirer hears the diviner mention the correct subject he will shout out terms of respect such as "*Kalombo Vidyé*". In this way the diviner knows exactly which way to go in the enquiry.

When someone comes to consult the *mulombi* to find out why he is ill, the *mulombi* may well follow the same methods as the *mbuki* and start out with some general questions like: "How big is your garden? Is there a neighbour who gardens next to you?" "Yes". "The garden you have is on the best land is it not?" "Yes". Then the *mulombi* says: "It is the man who is your neighbour: he is jealous of your big garden and all your produce. He has put *manga* in your garden and on the path home since he wants to have your garden; however, God has found him out".<sup>118</sup>

If the *mulombi* were able to bring out hidden squabbles into the open so that they could be handled properly he would be able to perform a cathartic role. This would be a positive asset to the church. However, most consultations of this sort end up as accusations: "Your children always die because your husband is eating them". What W.V. Lucas says of African divination can then be said of the work of the *mulombi*. By trying to identify the human enemies behind every evil happening, divination "leads to such lamentable enmity, hatred, and malice, the breaking up of homes, and cruel torturing of the aged". For this reason the church has condemned "as mortal sin any participation in the resorting to divination".<sup>119</sup> With this a Zairean, Buakasa Tulu Kia Mpa Mpansu, fully agrees when he discusses the callous casting out of an elderly man from his village because he is accused of having "eaten" one of his uncles. Yes, says Buakasa, "La 'sorcellerie' est donc une source de conflits réels".<sup>120</sup> H. W. Turner points out that in the Church of the Lord (Aladura) members seek the word of the prophets on many different issues most of which "differ little from the questions brought to the traditional diviner".<sup>121</sup> He asks the question: "Is this therefore merely a new form of the old divination, and subject to the same scriptural prohibition?"<sup>122</sup> He thinks not because he distinguishes between what he calls "manipulative divination" and "spiritual inquiry".<sup>123</sup> The latter is, according to him, to be distinguished from the traditional role of divination by the devotion and submission of the individual to the will of God. For this reason he feels safe in saying that the consultations in the Church of the Lord (Aladura) are not divination.<sup>124</sup> On top of this he says that there is no such thing as "witch-finding" in the Church of the Lord.<sup>125</sup>

The questions asked by H. W. Turner have to be asked with regard to the *balombi* and those who consult them. Certainly there can be nothing wrong with 'spiritual inquiry' as he calls it. One might just as well inquire or ask counsel from one's pastor, in which case there would be no question of divination. But one does not ask the pastor because he does not have the Spirit; he would not be in the position to give God's answer, according to the followers of the *balombi*. This would seem to indicate that what the people are seeking is therefore in line with H. W. Turner's criteria – 'spiritual inquiry' and submission according to the will of God. Yet it is not possible to leave the question there since there are other factors involved. The inquirer may well be desirous of the will of God but often the consultations degenerate into something which closely resembles fortune telling. Is this not then divination? Again, there is witch hunting in the *mulombi* movement. There are accusations, and unhappiness which follow in the wake of this movement. All this is very much in line with traditional divination in Luba religion.

### **Bitango bya Katole** (Confession Meetings)

The place of forced confession is well known in African traditional religion and in the Independent churches.<sup>126</sup> With the *balombi* forced confession is tied to the *modus operandi* of the

<sup>117</sup> Burton, *Luba Religion*, p.55; cf. V. Turner, *Ndembu Ritual*, pp. 217, 218, 241; D. MacLean and T.J. Solomon, 'Divination among the Bena Lulua', pp.33, 34; N.S. Booth, *African Religions*, p.48.

<sup>118</sup> Mfumu Mulwila, Interview, Kamina II, 13/5/1981 gave this example to show how the *balombi* get their information.

<sup>119</sup> W.V.Lucas, *Christianity and Native Rights*, London, Central Africa House Press, 1950, p.19 cited in H. W. Turner, *HAIC* II, p. 132; D.Womersley, Letter, Kamina, 5/5/1983 to author reported a station pastor divorcing his wife because the *balombi* said she was 'eating' the children by witchcraft. Another *mulombi* has been informing individuals that their grandparents had been causing their sickness thereby bringing about the division of families.

<sup>120</sup> 'Le discours de la "kindoki" ou "sorcellerie".', *Cahiers des religions africaines*, 6(11)1972, p. 6; cf. McLean and Solomon, 'Divination' p. 43 say that "divination is both a cohesive and a disruptive element in Lulua society". The diviner "prescribes mental catharsis" but he "can also be a disruptive force in society in creating tensions between his client and his friends".

<sup>121</sup> *HAIC*, II, p.132.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>126</sup> cf. *Ibid.*, p.59; Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets*, pp.184, 192, 258, 259; E. Andersson, *Messianic Movements*, pp. 80,105, 156, 221; M-F Perrin Jassy, *La Communauté de base dans les Eglises africaines*, (Publications du Centre d'Etudes

*bambuki* and what has been seen in the previous paragraphs. This confession was especially apparent during the years 1974 to 1976 and during the 1960s,<sup>127</sup> when the *katole* meetings became an important feature in the Kabongo area.<sup>128</sup> These special meetings were usually organised almost entirely by the *balombi* who informed the pastors where and when the meetings would take place. During these sessions the best known *balombi* were present and presided over all that went on.<sup>129</sup> As one and then another was “seized” (*kukwata*) by the Spirit they would shout out warnings and condemnations such as: “Banza you are a thief and should confess your wrongs before everyone or God will strike you with a grievous sickness”.<sup>130</sup> Turner says that the prophets in the Church of the Lord (Aladura), would speak of the “Enemies” that were against the believers but that these enemies would never be named.<sup>131</sup> However, in the *katole* meetings the *balombi* do not hesitate to point out those who are about to have God’s wrath poured out upon them. They may even inform a pastor that he was not helping God’s prophets and that this was the reason for his poverty.<sup>132</sup> The reason for holding such meetings was that all sin and evil in any given area may be driven away. By this means the church was regarded as cleansed and purified.<sup>133</sup> Banze Mwadi who has attended *katole* meetings in the past says that often the things of which people were accused were pure fabrications while others were built upon information which had been carefully gathered before the meetings.<sup>134</sup> Simioni Kusomba, head pastor of Kabongo station, was very much against the *katole* meetings and was therefore accused by some of being involved with witchcraft.<sup>135</sup> At Lubiai itself, Jean Ilunga and Banza Mulwani, using a runoff sheet against *butyi* (witchcraft) taught against accusations involved in this sort of confession and there are no longer *katole* meetings in the area.<sup>136</sup>

However, *katole* meetings did not die overnight, and some of the accused, rather than argue their innocence, would confess. When questioned why they did this they would reply: “well perhaps I did it while I was asleep when my spirit left my body while I dreamt and I was not aware of what I had done”.<sup>137</sup> This belief comes from the Luban view of the soul. The shadow-self is supposed to live in the liver from whence it goes forth as the person dreams. This shadow-self or *mutyima* can visit the dead or the living and only the medicine man or medium can tell if this *mutyima* has been misbehaving itself. This is why the Muluba would accept blame for a crime about which he knows nothing in the natural. One can never be really sure about what the *mutyima* has been up to.<sup>138</sup>

Another feature of the 60s and the *katole* was the forced confession prior to communion services.<sup>139</sup> Everyone was regarded as guilty of sin and would only be allowed to sit where the communicants sat after they had confessed some evil matter in their lives. Even if they had nothing they had to make up something before they could take their place. At Kapwasa in the station of Ngoy Mani is a *mulombi* who has a camp built outside his village where his followers live. In the

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Ethnologiques, Bandundu, Série II, vol. 3) Bandundu, Congo-Kinshasa, Centre d'Etudes Ethnologiques, 1970, p.78; McLean and Solomon, 'Divination', p.36 indicate that confession is a must before the ancestors will enter anyone in Lulua religion; B.A. Pauw, *Religion in a Tswana Chieftdom*, p.162; Baëta, *Prophetism in Ghana*, p.18; of course confession has its proper place in the New Testament; James 5 :16.

<sup>127</sup> Banze Mwadi, Interview, Kamina II, 5/5/1981.

<sup>128</sup> Banze Mwadi, 5/5/1981; cf Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets*, pp. 258, 259.

<sup>129</sup> Banze Mwadi, 5/5/1981.

<sup>130</sup> *Supra* ft. nt. 129; Tshango Mapambo, 'recorded prophecies from Lubumbashi, 1/1/1974', DGPP: “there are those in this meeting who are like a pig which was washed but it returned to its wallowing in the mud.... There is a woman who has stolen another woman's child. God says to return it immediately”; cf. W. Burton, *Luba Religion*, pp. 50, 51; Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets*, p.259 gives a parallel among the Zulu whereby accusing someone of a particular sin it is felt that the prophet is able to bring about a thorough cleansing.

<sup>131</sup> *HA/C*, II, p.132.

<sup>132</sup> Ilunga Lusambo, Interview, Kamina II, 8/11/1980 reported that this is what Penwela says of anyone who is suffering from misfortune and especially when she has prayed for them previously and they suffered a relapse.

<sup>133</sup> cf. Sundkler, *op. cit.*, pp.184, 192, 258, 259; E. Andersson, *op. cit.*, pp.110, 156, 221.

<sup>134</sup> Banze Mwadi, Interview, 5/5/1981.

<sup>135</sup> David Womersley, Interview, Kamina II, 24/2/1982.

<sup>136</sup> Banza Mulwani Wakutompwa, Interview, Kamina II, 5/6/1981 says that H. Womersley had produced a mimeograph paper on the subject of *butyi* (witchcraft) in the church and this was a great help in instructing the Christians.

<sup>137</sup> D. Womersley, Interview, Kamina II, 2/6/1981; Kazadi Mwanabute, Interview, Kamina II, 1/6/1981. As in the case of most African peoples the dream life of the Baluba is very active. It is difficult to separate an individual's dream life from his waking life; cf. on dreams Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets*, pp. to 65-275; Oosthuizen, *op. cit.*, p.123; F.B. Welbourn and B.A. Ogot, *A Place to Feel at Home*, London, OUP, 1966, pp.78, 79; E. Andersson, *Messianic Movements*, pp. 15, 109,110, 172; for a close parallel between Azande and Luban beliefs on dreams and soul journeys at night cf. Evans-Pritchard, *Witchcraft among the Azande*, p. 136.

<sup>138</sup> W. Burton, *Luba Religion*, p.88; Evans-Pritchard, *Witchcraft among the Azande*, p. 136.

<sup>139</sup> cf. Baëta, *Prophetism in Ghana*, p.18.

camp is a *kobo kajila* (small holy hut). At regular intervals every member of the camp has to go into the house with the prophet to confess his sin. All the sins are then recorded in the large register.<sup>140</sup>

Nowadays when the *balombi* are in charge of the meeting, no one knows who is going to be accused of some offence, or what other proclamations may be made. It is not unknown for pastoral changes to be ordered by *balombi* so that in no time at all an *évangéliste* (local church pastor) may be moved from his present location to another. Not all pastors of stations accept this kind of direction, but others who see the location of a worker is a very arbitrary matter may well follow the voice of the prophet.<sup>141</sup>

Recently in the Zone of Kabalo the chief of Nkanda, who is responsible for the Bena Mwishu and lives at Kilomboi, decided that he was going to clear his territory of *butyi* and *manga*. He sent his head *nganga* to find all *butyi* in the churches of his area. When Albert Munga of the village of Kaye refused, along with a good number of the Christians in his congregation, to submit to the trial, they were told that they had to pay a large fine to the chief.<sup>142</sup> Here we have the same sort of thing as the *katole*, but this time it is the non-Christian chief who is looking for evil in every corner of his kingdom, including the church.

### Digging for Manga

Another area where the *mulombi*'s relationship to traditional religion is manifested is in the digging for *manga*. E. Andersson shows how that during the *Ngunzist* movement between 1921-1924 one of the chief occupations of the prophets was to reveal those who had been in contact with the *minkishi* and to find the *minkishi*. He says that they "smelt out" and dug for *minkishi* as one of their chief occupations.<sup>143</sup> This sort of thing is common in Africa and has also become one of the preoccupations of the *balombi*. In several cases *balombi* or those in their retinue<sup>144</sup> have accused pastors of churches of having *manga*. This is probably in order that they may show themselves to be "Spirit" people and therefore the true spokesmen of God. One such case came to light in 1980 when Oscar Lupusa and a group of disciples went to Lwembe (Kamukonga) not far from Kamina. During a time of prayer someone said that there was *manga* hidden in the church. Some say that Oscar Lupusa tried to stop them, others that he was directly involved; nevertheless, they started digging in the earth floor of the church for *manga* but did not find any.<sup>145</sup> This would not have been out of character for Oscar since I know that on a trip to Lukamvwe he said in a church gathering: "I have nostrils that can smell evil".<sup>146</sup>

In June 1982 the matter of a *mulombi* digging for *manga* in the CPZ churches was brought before the *Comité Restreint* of the CPZ.<sup>147</sup> The *mulombi*, Ilunga Kalala Léonard from the station of Sungu was asked to explain how this had happened. He replied that he had had a dream in which he had heard a voice telling him that there was something in the church which was evil. When he awoke he went to the church and heard the Spirit say to him "Dig here". Since the floor was paved with burnt brick the bricks had to be broken up before they were able to find a tin in which *manga* had been placed.<sup>148</sup> The pastor of the station, Kasongo Mutanta Petelo, was not present at the time but said that when he arrived back from the journey he saw that the *manga*, which was old and must have been there long time.<sup>149</sup> Later there was a similar occurrence at Sungu Kazadi after Ilunga Kalala had heard a voice similar to the first. He did not go to the church himself but instructed others just where they were to dig.<sup>150</sup> Kasongo said that the *Evangéliste* at Kazadi had

<sup>140</sup> D. Womersley, Interview, Kamina II, 24/2/1982; Ilunga Kazembe, private communication, 28/12/1980; cf. Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets*, p. 192; E. Andersson, *Messianic Movements*, p.80 on confession of sins not committed in order to please the prophet; there does not seem to be any direct carry over from the Catholics in the CPZ although there are similarities in practice.

<sup>141</sup> Banze Mwadi, Interview, 5/5/1981.

<sup>142</sup> *Supra*, ft. nt. 141; Mwadi visited Kabalo at Easter 1981 when this came to light.

<sup>143</sup> Andersson, *Messianic Movements*, pp.73,74; cf. Sundkler, *op. cit.*, pp. 234, 235.

<sup>144</sup> The *balombi* have their assistants as the *bambuki* have their *bitobo* (helpers).

<sup>145</sup> Ngoy Kisula, Interview, Kamina, 8/11/1980; Ngoy wa Kyulu, Interview, Kamina II, 5/11/1980; cf. Sundkler, *op. cit.*, pp. 234, 235.

<sup>146</sup> Banze Mwadi, Interview, 11/11/1980 was president and heard this said.

<sup>147</sup> This *Comité Restreint* is a working committee comprised of members of the *Comité Exécutif* of the CPZ residing in the Kamina area. They were called upon to deal with important church business between Executive meetings. This committee has been dissolved since the General Conference of the CPZ in August 1992. The author was part of this committee as well as a member of the *Comité Exécutif*.

<sup>148</sup> Ilunga Léonard, Verbal report in the *Comité Restreint*, Kamina, 7/6/1982.

<sup>149</sup> Kasongo Mutanta Petelo, Verbal Report in the *Comité Restreint*, Kamina, 7/6/1982.

<sup>150</sup> Ilunga Léonard, 7/6/1982.

complained and said that he would not stay at the church until the *manga* had been removed.<sup>151</sup> The cement floor was broken up and *manga* comprised of human hair, some kind of worms, beads and other objects, was removed.<sup>152</sup>

Kasongo was severely reprimanded by the leadership of the CPZ and told that if it was ever reported again that *manga* had been dug for in any of the churches of the station that he would be removed immediately from his post.<sup>153</sup> This ruling had been given in the light of the ridicule that had been heaped upon the CPZ when what had happened at Sungu became common knowledge. Many in the non-Christian community expressed the thought that there was not much difference between themselves and the *bene Kidishitu* (the Christians) since they all feared *manga*.<sup>154</sup>

Although “smelling out” evil is one of the tasks of the *balombi* their glory does not appear to be in the fact that they can point out wrongdoers so much as they are the masters of every situation. They have the power; they can find the culprit; they are the true leaders of the Church – the *BaMushipiditu* (this spiritual ones). As Mwene-Batende says “Les prophètes sont considérés comme des personnages plus forts que les sorciers...”<sup>155</sup>

There are parallels between the “smelling out” of the *mulombi* and that of the Luban diviner. The *banganga* had well known means of pinning the blame on some unpopular person in the community.<sup>156</sup> This aspect is well known throughout Africa. As Evans-Pritchard says of the Azande:

The man who quarrels with his neighbours and speaks ill of them is the man whose name these neighbours will place before the oracles when they are sick, so that there is a tendency for socially undesirable members of a community to be also its acknowledged witches. (‘Witchcraft’, *Africa*, 8(4), 1935, pp.419f.)

In the case of the Baluba, *manga*, or more specifically a *kanzundji* (dream child)<sup>157</sup> was planted secretly in the person’s house or within their enclosure. In a special “smelling out” ceremony the *kanzundji* was found publicly and the person immediately condemned.<sup>158</sup>

## Taboos and Directives

In line with many of the Independent Churches where taboos play an important part in the life of the movement, so the *balombi* have adopted a number of taboos. One of the most common is that of ordering all enquirers to remove their shoes before entering into their presence.<sup>159</sup> This is because their home or church is considered to be the “holy place”. In the same way that Moses had to remove the sandals from his feet before the burning bush, so in this holy place all have to remove their shoes.<sup>160</sup> A few of the *balombi* refuse to eat the freshwater eel but they do not prevent their followers from eating them.<sup>161</sup> This custom most certainly has its roots in traditional belief. Burton says that the person who is possessed of a *vidye* is not permitted to eat this slippery spinach like vegetable called *mulembwe* or fish without any scales since the spirit which has possessed them may thereby slip out of his body.<sup>162</sup>

The *balombi* is also known for the directives issued to individuals. A *mulombi* may order his pastor to stop eating manioc mush since God has ordered that he can only eat *mukate wa bazungu* (white man’s bread).<sup>163</sup> This is most difficult since wheat flour and “white man’s bread” is almost nonexistent in the villages. Mpanya Ngoie Kaputula at Kipushya reported that he had once met a man by the name of Kitengie from Kasolo who claimed that a *ngulungu* (Bush Buck) has spoken to him while he travelled in the bush. It was supposed to have ordered him to tell everyone not to eat

<sup>151</sup> Kasongo Mutante, 7/6/1982.

<sup>152</sup> *Supra*, ft. nt. 148.

<sup>153</sup> Ilunga Ngoi wa Mbuya Kalulwa, Verbal Report in Comité Restreint, Kamina, 7/6/1982.

<sup>154</sup> *Supra*, ft. nt. 153.

<sup>155</sup> Mwene Batende, ‘Quelques aspects du prophétisme au Zaïre’, *CRA*, 6(11) 1972, pp. 79, 80.

<sup>156</sup> W. Burton, *Luba Religion*, p. 121.

<sup>157</sup> This is a doll-like creature made from items including monkey skins, fish eyes, sheep entrails etc. cf. Burton, *Luba Religion*, pp.121, 122, 140, 141.

<sup>158</sup> Burton, *Luba Religion*, p.122.

<sup>159</sup> Jeushi Ngandu and Lunda Kateba Edi, ‘*Bijila bifwaninwe kuyuka yense mulomi*’, No. 34; cf. H. W. Turner, *HAIC*, II, p. 35; Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets*, pp. 196, 197.

<sup>160</sup> Exodus 3:5.

<sup>161</sup> Ngoy wa Kyulu, Interview, 8/6/1982.

<sup>162</sup> Burton, *Luba Religion*, p. 52.

<sup>163</sup> Kilungulu Ngoy Kisoike related this incident to me in 1976 as something which had happened at the Mwanza station on the Mulongo section.

cassava leaves in their mush for a whole month.<sup>164</sup> This is very much similar to the kind of thing Burton records of the newly possessed diviner. He orders the inhabitants of his community to obey his admonitions in a like manner: "Tell Banze that if she will give up eating egg-fruit, she will become a mother. Tell Ilunga to stop telling lies. Tell Kulu that he must sleep without a fire, and on no account must his wife see him eating".<sup>165</sup>

Some *balombi* delight in running people's lives for them. Ilunga Lusambo relates how a *mulombi*, Ndelefe from Ngaba, Kapamai, went to a meeting at Kazaza and ordered another woman to go to Kayeye. The other woman was told that when she got there the Lord would tell her what to say. Undaunted she did as she had been told but when she arrived at Kayeye she neither knew what she was to say nor where she was to deliver her charge.<sup>166</sup>

## Payment for services

Payment for services rendered is a regular feature of divination in Africa: the better-known the diviner the higher his prices.<sup>167</sup> The Baluba would never even consider consultation without a preliminary gift sent to the diviner via the *kitobo* (assistant or mediator).<sup>168</sup> On the day of the first consultation it is very likely that he will again enter the presence of the *vidye* with a present.<sup>169</sup> In the case of the payment of the *banganga* everything depends upon the results of the *manga* which he compounds for the individual. If there are good results the *banganga* expects continual remuneration and if it is not forthcoming he will threaten to reverse the action of the *manga* against the customer.<sup>170</sup>

Although the CPZ frowns upon this custom of payment for services rendered many of the *balombi* have followed on in the same tradition as the diviners and make their living in this way. This practice is not uncommon in prophet movements throughout Africa so it is not peculiar to the *balombi*.<sup>171</sup> It is common for a *mulombi* to say to the inquirer: "*Fwija Leza!*" (Thank God!). On one occasion when a person was told to thank God, he immediately began to pray. "No" said the *mulombi*. "I mean give me a gift".<sup>172</sup> If the person is poor perhaps it will be a bottle of palm oil or a mat<sup>173</sup> or if they are fairly well-off, even a bicycle.<sup>174</sup> Many of the *balombi* rely totally upon what they make from their services to keep body and soul together. One *mulombi*,<sup>175</sup> when disciplined by the station pastor at Kamina for unwise conduct said: "Please don't stop me from praying for people or how else am I going to eat?"<sup>176</sup> The *balombi* who receive payment for their services justify what they do from 1 Corinthians 12:7: "But the manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal", (Authorised Version ( In Kiluba the last part of this reads: "...*amba amwene monka*," or "...that he (the individual who is spiritually gifted) may gain thereby".<sup>177</sup> Some *balombi* go so far as to tell the people that the reason for their illnesses is that they have not given of their goods and money to God. If they wish to recover they must bring money to the *mulombi*.<sup>178</sup> In some cases he will order that money be taken to the church. This custom of taking a thank offering to the church, when one has been healed after prayer, has become well-established throughout the CPZ. Provided it is not prompted, other than by the individual's desire to please God, it is regarded as perfectly proper. It is only when a *mulombi* forces a man to present an offering that this practice is

<sup>164</sup> For a long list of taboos known among the Baluba cf. W. Burton, *Luba Religion*, p. 46; W. Burton, 'The Country of the Baluba in Central Katanga', *The Geographical Journal*, 70(4)1927, pp. 334, 335; Mpanya Ngoie, Interview, Kipushya, 14/7/1982.

<sup>165</sup> W. Burton, *Luba Religion*, p.51.

<sup>166</sup> Ilunga Lusambo, Interview, Kamina II, 19/5/1981.

<sup>167</sup> W. Burton, *Luba Religion*, pp. 54, 121; Evans-Pritchard, *Witchcraft Among the Azande*, p. 208; MacLean and Solomon, 'Divination', p.32.

<sup>168</sup> W. Burton, *Luba Religion*, p.54.

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.*, p.55.

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 105.

<sup>171</sup> H. W. Turner, *HAIC*, I, pp. 84, 85.

<sup>172</sup> Ngoy wa Kyulu, Interview, Kamina II, 5/11/1980; Kasongo Tshikala, Kamina, 21/5/1981; Both of these said this of Oscar Lupusa; Ilunga Nday, Interview, Kamina II, 6/11/1980 said the same of other *balombi*.

<sup>173</sup> Makobo Mpanza, Interview, Kamina II, 19/5/1981 says that this happened to his mother at Kabondo Dianda.

<sup>174</sup> Kasongo Tshikala Sandoki, Interview, Kamina, 21/5/1981 says that Mpanya Mpoloda Dieu Donné told him that Oscar Lupusa ordered him to *fwija* Leza (thank God) with a bicycle. This same young man was a trader and was told by Lupusa that he was not to give the tithes of his business to any church since it did not do any good there. As a result he gave Lupusa over 900 Zaires in tithes.

<sup>175</sup> The *mulombi* had kept a young woman at his home to pray for her. He made her sleep in the same bed as himself so that as she lay between Lupusa and his wife the girl would be protected from the *bibanda* (evil spirits). His wife eventually revealed this to the church.

<sup>176</sup> Ngoy Kisula, Interview, Kamina II, 8/11/1980 regarding Lupusa.

<sup>177</sup> This is an example of a poor translation being used to justify a new practice.

<sup>178</sup> cf. '*Bijila bifwaninwe kuyuka yense mulombi*', No. 2.

frowned upon.<sup>179</sup> Some local church pastors who normally have to take all the church finances to the central station where it is apportioned out evenly to all, have encouraged this custom of thank offerings. This is because the finances received from such offerings are not included in the monies taken to the central station and become totally theirs.

### **Pentecostal teachings and expectations of the CPZ/ZEM**

Any kind of elaborate picture of Pentecostal doctrine as a whole is quite out of the reach of this present study. All I wish to do here is indicate the relationship which exists between what the *balombi* teach and practice and what is regarded as acceptable within the confines of the CPZ. This is not as simple as it may sound since it is not always possible to find any one single practice common to the whole of the CPZ. There are different strands of belief and practice in the numerous stations and even amongst the leadership of the CPZ.

In many instances it is possible to trace these differences back to the early missionaries, since each missionary responsible for a station was free to do as he saw fit on his own station. All I hope to do here is present an overall picture and, as far as possible and indicate what the differences may be.

### **The Baptism in the Holy Spirit and Speaking in Tongues**

Baptism in the Holy Spirit and the work of the Spirit was what distinguished the CEM from other evangelical missions working in Congo. From the beginning Burton and Salter taught that the baptism in the Holy Spirit with the initial evidence of speaking in tongues was the norm for every Christian.<sup>180</sup> As one ZEM missionary wrote many years later: "...there is no doubt that the baptism of the Holy Spirit and prayer for the sick was taught and practiced regularly on every station".<sup>181</sup>

There are many pastors in the CPZ who have, nevertheless, never clearly understood the doctrines taught by the CPZ. This is not really surprising since it was always the missionaries who were regarded as the "guardians of truth" when it came to doctrinal matters. Since the missionaries so emphasised the importance of the baptism in the Holy Spirit it has been widely taught by the pastors that only those who have spoken in tongues are the real Christians. They are like the five wise virgins in Matthew chapter 25:1-13 who had their lamps filled and ready to meet the bridegroom when he came.<sup>182</sup> This is not the official CPZ teaching.

The CPZ maintains that an individual is "born-again" by the Spirit of God the moment he is converted. At that time the Spirit of God takes possession of the person and makes him a Christian.<sup>183</sup> In addition to this "saving work" of the Spirit they teach that every Christian should seek to be "baptised in the Holy Spirit" an experience subsequent to, but dependent upon, salvation.<sup>184</sup> Unlike the charismatic churches, the CPZ believes that this "baptism" is initially evidenced by the phenomenon of "tongues speaking". In this it follows closely the teaching of the Assemblies of God in both America and Great Britain.<sup>185</sup>

During the colonial period accurate records of all church and mission activities had to be kept for the Belgian Administration. For their own purposes the missionaries included in all statistics the number of people who were "baptized in the Spirit".<sup>186</sup> Since 1960 this kind of record has not been kept so it is difficult to know how many members of the CPZ have experienced a "Spirit baptism". However, from the numbers who attend "seeking" meetings it would appear that there are still many who have never spoken in tongues.<sup>187</sup> It would probably be fairly accurate to say that only one third to one half of the members of the CPZ had ever experienced a Pentecostal

<sup>179</sup> This matter was discussed in an Executive Committee of the CPZ at Kamina, 27-29/8/1975, No. 16 where it was suggested that people should only bring gifts if they were prompted by God without being forced by anyone.

<sup>180</sup> W. Burton, *Report from Brother W.F. P. Burton*, No. 17 Mwanza, private publication, 20/1/1920 (this is the same as the earlier: *Letters from W.F. P. Burton*, and became the *CEMR*).

<sup>181</sup> Missionary X (anonymous but known to myself) Letter, 15/5/1981 to author.

<sup>182</sup> I have heard this chapter interpreted in this way in Zaire.

<sup>183</sup> CPZ, *Base de Foi*, n. pl., n.d., No. 5; cf. Romans 8 :9.

<sup>184</sup> *Ibid.*, No.7; cf. Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals*, pp. 24-26; H. W. Turner, *HAIC*, II, p.127.

<sup>185</sup> CPZ, *Base de Foi*, No. 7; AOG (Britain), *Yearbook and Constitutional Minutes*, 1981-1982, Nottingham, AOG Publishing House, Section One, No. 7, p. 10.

<sup>186</sup> CEM, 'Annual Statistics, 1948-1960' AZEM Kamina.

<sup>187</sup> I have attended many meetings where believers are exhorted to seek the experience of baptism in the Holy Spirit. In such meetings it is not uncommon to see more than half of the congregation remain for prayer while the others leave the building; cf. J. D.Y. Peel, *Aladura*, p. 146 says that in that Christ Apostolic Church Aladura, only a minority of members have received the Holy Spirit as a distinct experience.

baptism and it is likely that the figures are even lower than this.<sup>188</sup> To try and rectify this position the General Conference of the CPZ reintroduced a ruling in August 1982 making it mandatory for all pastors to have been “baptized in the Spirit” and to have spoken in tongues.<sup>189</sup> This shows that tongues are not commonplace in many of the CPZ churches.

The manifestation of tongues accompanied by other phenomena such as, shaking, shouting, swaying and jerky phrases of prayer is a regular feature of prayer meetings in the CPZ.<sup>190</sup> The shaking is supposed to be evidence of having been inspired by the Spirit. Or as most CPZ members would say: “*Mushipiditu wankwata*” (the Spirit seized me). Some of the pastors who have never been baptised in the Spirit are afraid when there is a message in tongues given a meeting. They do not know what to do and often, rather than wait and see if someone in the congregation will interpret the message, they will begin to sing a chorus or to lead in prayer.<sup>191</sup> To the *mulombi* it is this kind of inability to handle the “Gifts of the Spirit” that substantiates the charge they so often make that the pastors are not “Spirit” people.<sup>192</sup>

At this point it is desirable to clarify the use of terms. For the Pentecostal “possession” speaks of spirit activity in the life of a person when the spirit is other than the Spirit of God. In the CPZ one would never speak of being possessed by the Spirit of God since the word ‘possessed’ always has pagan connotations to a Pentecostal. The Pentecostal would say that he had been “filled with the Spirit” to describe the initial experience when he spoke in tongues; or that he had been “led by the Spirit” or “inspired by the Spirit” to indicate subsequent experiences of an emotional or rational nature. This is because he believes that he is indwelt by the Spirit and that the work of the Spirit is continuous rather than spasmodic.<sup>193</sup> One must distinguish between the theological and the phenomenological use of words. I use ‘possession’ in a theological sense.

This needs to be understood since many writers like H. W. Turner and B.G. Sundkler tend to use ‘possession’ as a synonym for ecstasy or inspiration.<sup>194</sup> The CPZ has taught that in the case of possession by spirits, the individual is not completely responsible for his actions; this is because the possessing spirit completely controls him. However, in the case of a Christian who is inspired to speak in tongues he is at all times cognisant of what is going on. One could call this “controlled ecstasy”. He is able to speak in tongues or cease speaking, to prophesy or not to prophesy. This teaching of the CPZ is based upon the interpretation of Paul’s instruction to the Corinthians in chapters twelve and fourteen of the First Epistle. With regards to the gifts of the Spirit Paul instructs that all must be done properly and in order in the assembly of believers.<sup>195</sup> Limits are made as to the number of messages in tongues as well as to the number of prophecies for any one meeting. Messages in tongues should not be given unless there is someone who can interpret them for everyone’s benefit.<sup>196</sup> At the same time all utterance is to be judged and anyone who is a prophet is to submit to the these instructions.<sup>197</sup> Why all these instructions then? Because God is not a God of confusion.<sup>198</sup> People who are possessed, say the CPZ, could not obey Paul’s instructions but those who are “filled with the Spirit of God” would have no problem. If they did then they would be considered to have evil spirits and not God’s Spirit.

In spite of the above official view on the way in which the Spirit leads a Christian and inspires him, the majority of pastors and members of the CPZ would believe otherwise.<sup>199</sup> For this reason when a person begins to shake in a service it is taken as an indication that the Lord is

<sup>188</sup> When a leader asks how many have spoken in tongues in some churches there may be only 10% who have.

<sup>189</sup> CPZ, ‘Projet du Règlement d’Ordre Intérieur de la Communauté Pentecôtiste au Zaïre (CPZ)’, Kamina, 16/8/1982 Article 26, A, (d) ; in the earliest days of the CEM (after 1920) only those who had experienced the baptism in the Spirit with the evidence of speaking in tongues, were permitted to become full-time preachers; Ngoy wa Kyulu, Interview, Kamina II, 7/5/1981; Axel Oman, Letter, Seal Beach California, 11/9/1980 to author.

<sup>190</sup> Similar features appear in many of the independent churches; cf. M-L. Martin, *Kimbangu*, p.76; H. W. Turner, *HAIC*, II, pp.127, 128; E. Andersson, *Messianic Movements*, pp. 73, 170, 171.

<sup>191</sup> On interpreters of times cf. H. W. Turner, *HAIC*, II, p.118.

<sup>192</sup> Tshibambe Ntambue, Interview, Kabinda, 12/7/1982; Oscar Lupusa, Interview, Kamina II, 1/11/1980 (both of these men are *balombi*).

<sup>193</sup> 1 Corinthians 3:16 and 6:19 speak of the Christian as the Temple or the habitation of the Spirit. The temple is the translation for the Greek *naos*. In the New Testament “possession” is described in two ways: to be demonized (*diamonizoma*), or to have a spirit (*echô*); *echô* is never used of a believer who is indwelt by the Spirit of God. In a similar way the Spirit of God leads (*agô*) a believer (or another form of *agô* is used) cf. Galatians 5:18; Romans 8:14.

<sup>194</sup> *HAIC*, II, pp. 63 (ft. nt. 1), 110, 111, 127-129; *Bantu Prophets*, p.202.

<sup>195</sup> 1 Corinthians 14:26,33.

<sup>196</sup> 1 Corinthians 14:26-28.

<sup>197</sup> 1 Corinthians 14:29,37.

<sup>198</sup> 1 Corinthians 14:33.

<sup>199</sup> This is evident from the questions asked by the ordinary members of the CPZ and the recurring manifestations of multiple messages in tongues in revival meetings as well as the oft used statement: “*Nakwatwa na Muya Ujila*” (“I was seized by the Holy Spirit”). It is also possible to see a person who considers himself a prophet, stand in the middle of a meeting and interrupt the preacher because he believes that the Spirit has just revealed something to him.

moving by his Spirit.<sup>200</sup> *Balombi* will regularly shake and speak in tongues before they pray for a sick person or before they make a prophetic declaration. The onlookers will then say “*Mushipiditu abamukwata*” (the Spirit has taken hold of him, possessed him). This shaking is an indication that whatever the *mulombi* says is of God. It is also likely that whatever he says will be interspersed with phrases or words in tongues, all indicative of pure revelation.<sup>201</sup>

Unlike the situation in the Aladura movement in West Africa where tongues have not always played an important role<sup>202</sup> tongues have been important in the CPZ as they have in the Zulu Zionist churches.<sup>203</sup> Many believe that once they have spoken in tongues that they have “arrived” - that they belong to the spiritually elite. Whatever they may do after this is clearly inspired by the Spirit.<sup>204</sup> The CPZ believes that there are a number of excesses in the area of tongues, trembling, visions, and general ecstasy. They would probably concur fully with the words of M-L. Martin on similar phenomena when she says:

Certainly such phenomena are called forth not only by the Holy Spirit. There are also other spirits, and therefore the biblical exhortation to soberness and discernment of the spirits is fitting as well as other exhortation of the apostle Paul not to quench the Spirit. (*Kimbangu: an African Prophet and his Church* (ET), Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1975, p.56)

### Prayer for the Sick

Prayer for the sick is nothing new in the CPZ.<sup>205</sup> It is still a regular feature of most CPZ churches to have a special time at the end of every communion service for praying for the sick. They are called to the front of the church where they are anointed with oil and prayed for with the laying on of hands of the pastor and elders.<sup>206</sup> This practice, which has been carried on since the missionary days, is normally accompanied by the reading of James 5:14-15. If a person comes forward repeatedly Sunday after Sunday he may well be chided and told that he lacks faith and that this is why he is not healed. Sometimes a pastor may ask an individual if he does not have some hidden sin in his life that is preventing his healing.

Nevertheless, it is not possible to look at the *mulombi*'s healing ministry until we have first examined what the Baluba believe about the problem of sickness. Among the Baluba, illness, death and misfortune nearly always have their source in the spirit world.<sup>207</sup> W. Burton says that “Death is nearly always supposed to be caused by departed spirits, witches or evil spells”.<sup>208</sup> Most Christians would tend to think in the same terms, that sickness has spiritual origins. This is pointed out clearly from a vision reportedly seen during the cholera outbreak which took place between November 1981 and March 1982. An old man on his way to the Lualaba River from Luena sat down at the side of the road for a rest. While he was there he fell into a trance during which he saw a truckload of men pull up at a barrier before him. Manning the barrier were beings clothed in white. Those who were in the truck were all clothed in black and were clearly, according to the old man, the evil forces behind the cholera. They wanted to go to Luena but the angels at the barrier would not let them pass since they maintained that the Christians at Luena had been praying and their prayer was responsible for the turning back of the emissaries of the Devil. They were the ones who were spreading the cholera. During the same trance the angels told the men in black that perhaps they would let them go to Kolwezi since there was no prayer there - only *lupata* (arguments and bickering).<sup>209</sup>

Students at the *Institut Biblique* at Kamina II, repeatedly told me that the cholera was spread by evil spirits and they could not see what cleanliness and boiled water had to do with solving the problem.<sup>210</sup> This helps us to understand why a Muluba is so hesitant to hand over all his protective *manga* when he first gets converted. He has been brought up to believe that the only

<sup>200</sup> Cf. Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets*, p. 247.

<sup>201</sup> Ilunga Kazembe, Letter, Luamba, 28/12/1980 to author; cf. E. Andersson, *Messianic Movements*, pp. 73, 109; on self-control of a minister who has been “possessed” by the Spirit cf. H. W. Turner, *HAIC*, II, p. 127 who cites Adejobi, *The Bible Speaks*. He believes that 1 Samuel 19:24 and Acts 2:1-21 justify any acts of uncontrolled emotion.

<sup>202</sup> Cf. Babalola, the Apostolic Church and the doctrines of the baptism in the Holy Spirit in H. W. Turner, *HAIC*, I, pp.31, 32.

<sup>203</sup> Cf. Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets*, pp.247-249; M-L. Martin, *Kimbangu*, pp.54, 55.

<sup>204</sup> One young man who was disciplined for fornication felt that there could be nothing wrong with what he had done since he continued to speak in tongues. To him this was evidence enough that God was not bothered about what he had done. He believed that God would have withdrawn the gift had he been displeased.

<sup>205</sup> Cf. *supra*, pp. seven key, 82-84, 417-420.

<sup>206</sup> Cf. B.A. Pauw, *Religion in a Tswana Chieftdom*, pp. 176, 178, 179.

<sup>207</sup> Burton, *Luba Religion*, p. 111; cf. Sundkler, *op. cit.*, p.225; McLean and Solomon, ‘Divination’, pp.26, 27.

<sup>208</sup> Burton, *Luba Religion*, p. 111.

<sup>209</sup> This incident was related to David Womersley who in turn told me during March 1982.

<sup>210</sup> Kamina, February 1982.

way to protect himself against all the evil spirits and forces in the world is to have some *manga* that is stronger than anything which could be employed against him.<sup>211</sup>

Some newly converted Christians near Kamina were asked by the *mulombi* why they did not want to hand over all their *manga* to be burned. They replied that they felt completely vulnerable and for this reason had kept some hidden in the hut. The same people had a very sick child which kept complaining about unusual people all about the house. The *mulombi* told the parents that they would have to get rid of all their *manga* if they really wanted God to deliver them. They agreed, whereupon they were prayed for and the woman was baptised in the Spirit and spoke in tongues. Immediately, the child who had been crying incessantly, stopped crying and went to sleep.<sup>212</sup> This is a good example of one power being superseded by another, *manga* by the Spirit of God. In this case the coming of the power of the Spirit brought about the healing of the tormented child as well as the strengthening of the faith of the parents. It is undoubtedly this aspect of the healing and power ministry of the early missionaries which was one of the main reasons why Burton and Salter made such an impact on the people of Mwanza. This was why the diviners and the *banganga* said: *Badi ne manga makomo kupita* (they have *manga* which is much stronger than anything we have).<sup>213</sup>

The CPZ makes room for spiritually gifted individuals to minister to the sick.<sup>214</sup> The *balombi* obviously believe that they qualify to meet the conditions of this provision. Nearly all the *balombi* pray for the sick. Although the *balombi* also engage in other aspects of ministry it is probably true to say, as does Sundkler of the Zulu Zionists, that the movement is first and foremost a healing institution.<sup>215</sup>

One of the earliest and best known of the *balombi* to pray for the sick was Adese Mbolela, better known as Eseta by the people of her home village Musao.<sup>216</sup> Adese had an entire camp built where the sick would come and stay until they were healed. She went there regularly to pray for the sick and to give advice to those who sought it. The pastors of the church at Musao kept a register of every person who came to be prayed for between 1967 and her death in 1977. During the first year there were 5,075 entries while in the last there are only 143. A total of 10,632 people were prayed for during the 10 years of her ministry and 1,587 or 14.9% claimed to have been healed.<sup>217</sup> Included among those who had been healed were men and women afflicted with many kinds of sicknesses. Most of the sicknesses were 'ordinary' such as *munda upita* (dysentery or diarrhoea) and *bishi* (worms or parasites) but there were other illnesses of a severe nature including epilepsy,<sup>218</sup> lameness, blindness, leprosy and those of a mental nature.

Meshake at Kaboto in the Kabongo chieftainship is another well-known *mulombi* who is also a healer. Kitamba Nsenga, who is secretary of the CPZ secondary school at Kamina II, suffered for a number of years from epilepsy. He was sent to all the best hospitals in Shaba and even had an appointment with a specialist from the University Clinic at Lubumbashi, but he found no help at all.<sup>219</sup> Finally, in his last year at school he decided to go and see Meshake.<sup>220</sup> After the first visit he had several seizures and later returned to see the man once more. At six o'clock in the morning before he could get to see Meshake he had another seizure. The people in the house where he was staying rushed to call the *mulombi* who came immediately to pray for him. Since that day in 1974 he has never had a single seizure.<sup>221</sup>

Jurita from the village of Kilamba in the chieftainship of Kikondja had been sick for over three years and was unable to undertake the meanest of tasks. After a journey to Samitanda to see

<sup>211</sup> Burton, *Luba Religion*, pp. 111-113.

<sup>212</sup> Mfumu Mulwila, Interview, Kamina II, 13/5/1981.

<sup>213</sup> Cf. *supra*, chapter 1 section D.

<sup>214</sup> This is based upon 1 Corinthians 12:9.

<sup>215</sup> *Bantu Prophets*, p.209; cf. E. Andersson, *Messianic Movements*, p. 79 regarding the *ngunzists*.

<sup>216</sup> Elaidia Shimba wa Mukombe, Interview, Musao, 7/10/1981 and 8/10/81.

<sup>217</sup> The statistics were from handwritten registers one of which was entitled: 'Dibuku dya dikwamoabela bondapiwa na Mfumwetu Yesu pa milombelo ya lolo Mbolela Esta' ('The book of those who were healed by a Lord Jesus as a result of our mother Mbolela Esta's prayers'), Musao, 1967; this register continues to 1973 and is found in the archives of this section Musao, Station Kisanga, CPZ.

<sup>218</sup> From the register *supra* ft. nt. 217; Banze wa Banza from Mijibu in the Kisula chieftainship had been lame and could not walk; healed 6/1/1976; Makonga wa Nkulu from Twadi, Kikondja was blind; healed 25/1/1976; Ngoy wa Banza from Lukana, Bunda was a leper; healed 12/3/1976; Lenge from Kabwe, Ngoy Mani was mad for 14 years; healed completely 12/1/1976; Lubaba from Kayami, Kisula was supposed to have died. Some of her clothes were sent to the *mulombi* Esta who prayed over them and the person was raised up from the dead on 22/7/1974. This is a random selection of the healings recorded in the register.

<sup>219</sup> Kitamba Ngoi Nsenga, Interview, Kamina II, 20/5/1981; Ngoy wa Kyulu, Interview, 5/11/1980.

<sup>220</sup> *Supra* ft. nt. 219; I was a resident at Kamina II during the time of this man's illness and saw the change in him after his healing.

<sup>221</sup> Kitamba Ngoi Nsenga, 20/5/1981.

mulombi Stani, at Kyembe, she was completely healed.<sup>222</sup> These are examples of the healing work of three *balombi* but there are many more. Some *balombi* had different methods in healing the sick, although the majority just pray for the sick person and lay hands on them in the name of Jesus Christ. Others use water as a means of healing in a manner similar to that employed by the Zionists.<sup>223</sup> Kitengie Bwana-Kucha from Kongolo had a sacred pool in which sick people were immersed. They were also made to drink of the water to cleanse them internally.<sup>224</sup>

Anointing sick with oil before prayer is, as already seen, a common feature in the CPZ. But a number of *balombi* have taken to disrobing their clients in their consulting rooms and anointing them with oil by rubbing the oil all over their bodies,<sup>225</sup> especially if the sick person is a woman. Needless to say, this has led to severe sexually irregularities on the part of many *balombi* and has been declared illegal by the CPZ.<sup>226</sup> I have also heard of a *mulombi* ordering his client to walk around his house three or four times increasing the pace each time until he is running. By the time he has completed the required number of laps he is supposed to leave the demon causing the illness far behind.<sup>227</sup>

## Mental Illness

Often a *mulombi* seems to be a specialist in one area of healing. One of these areas is prayer for deliverance of those who are mentally ill. Mbuyu Ntambo<sup>228</sup> became mentally unbalanced in the early part of 1980 after he had been involved in acquiring *manga* to help him with his school exams. He was hospitalised for several months but there was no indication of any improvement. After a confinement of six months or more his parents decided to take him to a *mulombi*. However, this was not before a visiting elder brother - Ngoy - was possessed by the same spirits which had caused him to behave even more violently than his younger brother Ntambo. At Kisaha in the ecclesiastical District of Kashukulu station is a well-known *mulombi*. It was there to Kasongo Kyoma Mulemi that the brothers were taken. After a stay of some days both were completely restored.<sup>229</sup>

Kabila Bakola Dibwe, and overseer of an assembly in the same section as Kisaha tells how that on 16 February 1980, on the day of the Sun's eclipse, there was a young man who became mentally deranged. He decided he would take him to Kasongo Kyoma and the boy was immediately healed. Kabila says that this man has such a gift that even the violent, who are tied up with a rope to stop them harming others, are healed. Kasongo Kyoma just looks into their eyes and they seem to calm down immediately.<sup>230</sup> Other *balombi* who are especially blessed in praying for the mentally unbalanced, are Stani and Nday Shilas, both from Samitanda chieftainship.<sup>231</sup>

## Sterility and Midwifery

There are *balombi* who have great success praying for women who have never conceived or who keep losing their children in infancy and are left childless.<sup>232</sup> There are many women who testify to having had help in this way. But since this is a domain where male *balombi* often end up

<sup>222</sup> Kasongo Tshikala, Interview, Kamina, 21/5/1981.

<sup>223</sup> Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets*, pp. 232, 239; cf. M-L. Martin, *Kimbangu*, p. 158; as in most African religions water plays an important role in Luba religion; cf. Burton, *Luba Religion*, p. 50; cf. Pauw, *Religion in a Tswana Chieftainship*, pp. 72, 180; E.G. Parrinder, *African Traditional Religion*, London, Hutchinson's University Library, 1954, pp. 49-51.

<sup>224</sup> Ilunga Mukambo Ndala, Letter, Kongolo, 30/5/1981 to author.

<sup>225</sup> This was done by Ndeme Teusa who called himself Mutongwe wa Leza (the chosen one of God); Ngoy Masangu, Interview, Kisanga, 18/12/1980; Umba Nzadi Pierre, Verbal Reports in the *Comité Restreint*, Kamina, 23/1/1981 told of one Mutende Atanase at Kamina who had done this; cf. Baëta, *Prophetism in Ghana*, p.21.

<sup>226</sup> 'CPZ-Comité Exécutif, 24-28 février 1976', No. 02: "concerning the *balombi* who pray for the sick and anoint them with oil; the meeting says that according to the Word of God this is not their work. It is the work of the elders of the church. They, that is the *balombi*, ought to work another way according to the healing gift that God has given them. The meeting asks all pastors on all stations to explain this to all their evangelists".

<sup>227</sup> Ilunga Nday, Interview, 6/11/1980.

<sup>228</sup> Son of Kiswa Bantu a former teacher in the *Institut Biblique Central* Kamina II.

<sup>229</sup> Mbuyu Kiswa Bantu, Interview, Kamina II, 24/1/1981.

<sup>230</sup> Kabila Bakola Dibwe, Interview, Kamina II, 16/11/1980; the eclipse of the Sun took place on 16/2/1980 between 9-10 am.; K. Herschell reported that he was on his way to Tshofa and had to use his headlights. Many people in their gardens thought that it was the end of the world and cried out to God to save them while others called to the Christians to pray for them so that they would be saved.

<sup>231</sup> Mfumu Mulwila, Interview, Kamina II, 13/5/1981; Kasongo Nkinda, Interview, Bulundu, 8/5/1981 (this man is Shilasa's pastor).

<sup>232</sup> Ilunga Kazembe, Letter, Lwamba, 28/12/1980 to author; Mpanga Bubi, Interview, Kamina II, 19/5/1981 mentions Febe from Kikungulu (Kabongo) who is gifted in this way; cf. Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets*, pp.225-30; H. W. Turner, *HAIC*, II, pp. 152, 153.

having moral difficulties it is frowned upon by the CPZ. There are cases where the *mulombi* has informed a client that God has ordered him to lie with her so that she will conceive.<sup>233</sup>

Dominique from the village of Kijuki in the Zone of Manono not only professes to be able to make women conceive but says that God has given him the gift of being a midwife so that he actually participates in child delivery.<sup>234</sup> Leadership questions the motives of men like Dominique when there is often a history of adultery in their lives. For this reason this practice is not permitted by the CPZ but it is doubtlessly carried on in certain quarters.<sup>235</sup>

## Medicines or Faith

A number of Independent churches have experienced conflict over the use of medicines but this has never been a point of discussion in the CPZ.<sup>236</sup> We have seen how Burton's time in South Africa caused him to modify his views slightly so that he agreed to taking quinine where it was necessary.<sup>237</sup> Salter tended to keep away from medicines, but there was never any conflict and it was always left to the conscience of the individual. Burton tended to encourage the believers to trust God for healing and that at the beginning of the work he did not want C. Taylor, a medical student in his last year of studies to start a clinic at Luamba for fear that the people should trust more in medicine than in the Lord.<sup>238</sup>

The CEM only once had a qualified medical doctor and he stayed only a very short time. The CPZ has clinics in different areas, but it cannot be claimed that it has made a considerable contribution to the facilities that are available, although before 1960 the picture was much different from what it is today.<sup>239</sup> It is a common complaint of the leadership of the CPZ that the missionaries have not done more in the area of medicine.

In the light of this it is easy to understand that there has been no great debate over medicine and faith. However, having said this, it must be pointed out that there are *balombi* who accuse people of trusting more in hospitals and medicines than in God. Oscar Lupusa once ordered a woman to take her premature baby out of the hospital so that he could pray for it and when the baby died he said it was because the mother did not have faith in God.<sup>240</sup> Yet, Oscar and the other *balombi* would go to the hospital if they were ill. For this reason medicine or faith has not become an issue of importance.

## Other Spiritual Gifts

The CPZ acknowledges other gifts of the Holy Spirit as recorded in 1 Corinthians 12:8-10. Among the gifts which are the most active in the churches are the gifts of utterance. The CPZ has tried to encourage those who manifest these gifts to do so in the church setting and during the normal services when they have opportunity for prophetic exhortation and encouragement. Many *balombi* work within this setting and do not feel restricted. In addition to this kind of practice there are also private consultations where the *mulombi* is asked for advice and counsel on any particular problem. This is also considered normal, since the man who is in contact with the mind of God should surely be able to have wise words of instruction for a needy believer in the same way that a pastor should be able to guide those who come to him for personal advice.

<sup>233</sup> Ilunga Kazembe, *supra*, ft. nt. 232; cf. E. Andersson, *Messianic Movements*, p.112 who records the similar practice where a prophet who is purportedly driving out an evil spirit sleeps with a woman.

<sup>234</sup> Ilunga Kazembe, *supra*, ft. nt. 232; cf. H. W. Turner, *HAIC*, II, p. 153; this was done prior to 1960 by Enoke Numbi cf. Missionary Y (anonymous but known to author) Letter, 15/5/1981 to author. The thought of a male midwife in this part of Congo is abhorrent.

<sup>235</sup> This would be true where the pastor is not too keen to intervene in the affairs of the *mulombi* for fear of being charged with being unspiritual.

<sup>236</sup> Cf. those Independent Churches which have not permitted the use of medicines; H. W. Turner, *HAIC*, II, pp. 142-144; F.W. Welbourn, *East African Rebels*, London, SCM, 1961, pp. 31, 32; Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets*, pp. 223-228; D. B. Barrett, *Schism and Renewal*, p. 273; B. Jules-Rosette, 'Prophecy and Leadership in the Maranke Church: A Case Study in Continuity and Change', in *African Christianity: Patterns of Religious Continuity*, eds. G. Bond, W. Johnson and S. Walker, New York and London, Academic Press, 1979, p. 115.

<sup>237</sup> Cf. *supra*, chapter 1 B.

<sup>238</sup> Yumba wa Nkulu, Interview, Mwanza, 13/12/1980.

<sup>239</sup> Dr. Cherer Penny was with the CEM from 1953-1954; prior to 1960 there were fully equipped maternity hospitals at Kabondo Dianda, Kikondja, Katombe, Kisanga, Kashukulu and Kipushya. A number of these were fully subsidised by the *Reine Astrid* fund set up by the Colonial Government. All the clinics had fully qualified nursing staff with SRN and SRM certificates and diplomas. They were also well-equipped with instruments and medicines. However, after 1960 most of the same clinics were run by unqualified staff who did not have any medicines. Kipushya has been one exception since there has been continued missionary nursing staff until 1981.

<sup>240</sup> Ngoy wa Kyulu, Interview, Kamina II, 5/11/1980.

Kisonga Bueni says that often when he is praying for someone the Lord gives him a vision of what is going on in that person's life. In this way he is able to instruct each person in an individual way.<sup>241</sup> A certain *mulombi*, who for good reasons must remain nameless, was approached one day by a man named Numbi and his wife. The woman was very ill and needed prayer but as soon as the couple entered the *mulombi's* home the latter turned to the man and asked him why he had come to see him since he was living such a deceptive life. The *mulombi* went on to reveal how Numbi had stood beneath a certain tree with another young woman and that the two of them had made a blood covenant that they would belong to each other for ever. The revealing of this information to the man in front of his already sick wife was such a blow to the woman that she became mentally unbalanced as a result. The pastors of the station chided the *mulombi* and told him that obviously God had made known this thing to him but that he had acted unwisely. He should have spoken to the man alone and not in the presence of his wife.<sup>242</sup>

I have already mentioned some aspects of the *balombi's* work which resemble the diviners' in Luban tradition, but there is an overlapping in some of these with what is acceptable. It is not uncommon for students to consult the *balombi* to find out whether or not they will pass their State exams. At Kamina II one class of finalists asked a visiting *mulombi* how they would do. Everyone who was told he would pass ended up failing.<sup>243</sup> At Luamba all those who wrote the State exam failed. The *balombi* told the *préfet* (headmaster) of the school that the "*Banabakaji badja ñeni yonso ya ba élèves*" ("women (witches) are eating up all the students' intelligence").<sup>244</sup>

The word of knowledge is used in the same way as the word of accusation, already seen in the section on *katole* meetings. The *mulombi* stands and accuses someone in front of the entire assembly or he may make an indirect accusation such as: "There is a woman in this meeting who has stolen someone's child", or "There are people in this meeting who *futulula* (mock) the *balombi*. It is they who have the true words of God so God is going to judge them".<sup>245</sup>

## Dreams

As E. Hodgson, a CEM missionary, once wrote:

If truth shows us...that there was ever a Living God, a wonder-working Christ, active angels as ministering spirits, the Holy Spirit poured out upon mankind: and if the Bible is a supernatural revelation of and from God: then it is perfectly natural and logical that we should expect to-day also, visions, angel visitations, revelations and dreams. (*Out Of the Darkness*, London, Victory Press, 1946, pp.166f.)

Western Pentecostals cite Joel 2:28-29, often as a support text for the importance of the work of the Holy Spirit in the life of the Christian. In verse 28 of that chapter the prophet says: "And it will come about after this that I will pour out My Spirit on all mankind; And your sons and daughters will prophesy, Your-old man will dream dreams, Your young men will see visions" (New American Standard Bible).

In spite of the reference to dreams and visions in this text, these phenomena are not common among Western Pentecostals. However, this is not the case with African peoples who have a much more meaningful dream life. As Sundkler affirms, dreams are not an easy subject to study.<sup>246</sup> It appears that for the Muluba, there is little difference between the sleeping and the waking life of an individual.<sup>247</sup> For this reason the majority of the Baluba believe that nearly every dream is significant. This is not uncommon in Africa<sup>248</sup> but its importance amongst the Baluba has

<sup>241</sup> Interview, Kamina, 27/3/1981; at the conclusion of this interview Kisonga Bueni (Abele) prayed with me before my departure. After the prayer he began to tell me a number of matters of a private nature concerning my work. There was no way in which he could have been told of these matters since they were known to myself alone; Ronald Monot, Interview, Lubumbashi, 26/7/1981 told me that he had a similar experience with Abele when he was holding meetings in the Kimabwe area.

<sup>242</sup> D. Womersley, Interview, Kamina II, 8/1/1981; the *mulombi* concerned is known to the author.

<sup>243</sup> This was Maloba Kazadi.

<sup>244</sup> Ilunga Kazembe, Letter, 28/12/1980.

<sup>245</sup> 'Recorded prophecies, Lubumbashi, 1/11/1974', given to the author by Tshango Mapambo.

<sup>246</sup> *Bantu Prophets*, p. 265; cf. Evans-Pritchard, *Witchcraft among the Azande*, p.21.

<sup>247</sup> Cf. Pauw, *op. cit.*, p.; 87; Baëta, *op. cit.*, p. 13; Evans-Pritchard, *Witchcraft among the Azande*, p.1.

<sup>248</sup> In my research into the dream life of the Baluba nearly every student in the secondary school at Kamina II, who was questioned, believed that every dream was important. In a discussion with church leaders I was told that many dreams were unimportant. However, all believed that they had been prepared in their dreams for the blows of the future; cf. Umba Nzadi Pierre, Ngoy Maloba, Yumba Pita, Ilunga Mulopwe Sambula, Interview, Kabongo, 25/10/1980; nearly all authors on African religion and the Independent Churches indicate the importance of dreams; E. Andersson, *Messianic Movements*; Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets*, pp. 265-275; Oosthuizen, *Post-Christianity*, p.123; H. W. Turner, *HAIC*, II, p. 30;

been brought home to me many times when interviewing candidates for the ministry in the CPZ who wish to attend the *Institut Biblique*. I have not kept figures but it would not be an exaggeration to say that at least 50% had said that dreams had a part to play in their call to the ministry.<sup>249</sup>

The CPZ believes, as we can see from Hodgson's statement, that God still talks to people through dreams and visions, but it has never tried in any way to legislate how one is to handle such phenomena. When an individual has a dream he wants to know what that means and it is only the *balombi*, as well as a number of pastors, who have stepped into the breach. The interpretation of dreams has become a common activity of the *balombi*.<sup>250</sup> One *mulombi* goes so far as to ask those who come to consult her to tell her their latest dream before she will pray for them.<sup>251</sup> If they do not remember she will tell them what they dreamed and what it means.<sup>252</sup> Perhaps she feels that she finds a precedent for this in Nebuchadnezzar's dream interpreted by Daniel.

In the case of Nday Shilas, his *mufundiji* (teacher-pastor) and the section pastor for Samitanda, both of whom live in the same village as Shilas at Bulundu, see nothing wrong with the interpretation of dreams. They have never tried to hinder him in anyway and are well aware of what is being done since one of them is always present when Shilas prays for the sick.<sup>253</sup>

H. W. Turner says that in the Church of the Lord (Aladura) it is only the "untrained dreamers" who are not able to interpret their own dreams; they accept the "theory of interpretation by opposites" or they have to seek out "an experienced interpreter".<sup>254</sup> But in most cases he says that the more experienced dreamers are able to interpret their own dreams by what he calls the "interpretation of the Spirit within them".<sup>255</sup> Although the CPZ has no clear instruction on the interpretation of dreams there are those who feel that the indiscriminate interpretation of dreams is not a New Testament practice and that in the Old Testament it was only ever unbelievers who had to have their dreams interpreted for them. For this reason they tend to discourage the practice of interpretation since they also believe that it creates reliance upon a third party, automatically retracting from the communion which should exist between the Christian and his Lord.<sup>256</sup>

## Angels

According to the Baluba the *Bamwikeulu* (angels) are beings which have never had human bodies and who live in the regions of the stars. Generally, they have had little if anything to do with terrestrial beings but they are said to help people when they have exceptional good fortune or make a miraculous escape from almost certain disaster.<sup>257</sup> The CPZ has, as we saw earlier in what E. Hodgson recorded, affirmed its belief in activity of angels and the possibility of their intervention

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F. Welbourn and B. Ogot, *A Place to Feel at Home*, p.78; J. Fabian, 'Dream and Charisma: "Theories of Dreams" in the Jamaa-Movement (Congo)', *Anthropos*, 61(3-6) 1966, p. 545 says that "the Jamaa are deeply concerned with dreams ...and are seldom satisfied not to attribute some deeper significance to their experiences"; Evans-Pritchard, *Witchcraft among the Azande*, pp.135, 136; W.H. Crane, 'Indigenization in the African Church', *IRM*, vol.53, 1964, p.412; cf. Ngoie Kibambe, 'Elected as *Commissaire du Peuple*', *Contact*, No. 555, February 1983, pp.12,13 tells how he dreamed two years previously that he would become a member of the Zairian Parliament.

<sup>249</sup> Cf. Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets*, p. 267; Jules-Rosette, *African Apostles*, p.65; Welbourn and Ogot, *A Place to Feel at Home*, p.78 indicate that in the African Israel Church of Nineveh, Kivuli proclaimed that God is only able to speak to his children through dreams.

<sup>250</sup> Cf. A number of the Independent Churches have the same feature; H. W. Turner, *HAIC*, II, p.30; Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets*, pp.268, 269, 271-275; E. Andersson, *Messianic Movements*, p.172; Welbourn and Ogot, *A Place to Feel at Home*, p.79; MacLean and Solomon, 'Divination' p.29 showed that among the Lulua it is the diviner who is the interpreter of dreams; J.D.Y. Peel, *Aladura*, p.170.

<sup>251</sup> Ilunga Lusambo, Interview, Kamina II, 8/11/1980 regarding Penwela from Kilomboi.

<sup>252</sup> *supra* ft. nt. 251.

<sup>253</sup> Kasongo Nkinda Roger, Interview, Bulundu, 8/5/1981; while at Bulundu on the 8/5/1981 I asked *mulombi* Nday Shilasa to interpret a pseudo dream for me: "I dreamt that I was on a journey from one village to another with a very heavy load on my head (in Shaba all loads on carried on the head); as night fell I came to village where the people would not receive me but forced me to go on in spite of the time of day. I left the village ... I awakened. What does this mean?" Shilasa replied: "You obviously were going on a journey on which you should never have embarked on in the first place. That is why the people turned your way from the village. You must make sure that the next journey you plan is really in the will of God". When it was pointed out to him that I had not ready dreamed this he admitted that in interpreting dreams he made up much of what he said but believed that he was nevertheless, able to help some; at Lulenge over Christmas of 1991 I had a woman come and ask if I would be willing to interpret the dream she had had. I later found out that she was a local *mulombi* and probably wanted to know if I was of the Spirit or not.

<sup>254</sup> *HAIC*, II, pp. 124, 125.

<sup>255</sup> *Ibid.*, p.125.

<sup>256</sup> Kasongo Tshikala, Interview, Kamina, 21/5/1981.

<sup>257</sup> W. Burton, *Luba Religion*, p.73.

in human affairs. Hodgson even taught a course of studies on the work of the angels pointing out that they were there to serve the Christian, but that they were never ever to be worshipped.<sup>258</sup>

In recent years there has been a trend toward placing more and more importance upon the work of the angels. This emphasis, it would seem, stems from the influence of the interpretation of Psalm 119 as it is held by the *Kitawala* in Shaba. In the Kiluba Bible the Hebrew alphabet which divides the text has been Kiluba-ised by the translators and maintained in the text. The *Kitawala* maintain that these names- *Alepe*, *Befe* and the others – are the names of angels.<sup>259</sup> This is now being taught by some pastors in the CPZ and anyone wishing to have blessing upon his journey must know in which name to pray.<sup>260</sup>

In this kind of climate it is no wonder that the *balombi* have started to emphasise the work of angels. Sundkler tells how angels often appear during dreams and during prayer for the sick and tell the prophet how the person is to be healed amongst the Zionists of South Africa.<sup>261</sup> There are close parallels with this among the *balombi*. The *balombi* tell patients that their angel is responsible for healing them<sup>262</sup> and that they carry out blood tests and give people injections.<sup>263</sup> An example of an angelic operation was retold recently by V. Gordon concerning a young man who was suffering greatly from a strangulated hernia. He was in great pain and the swelling was so great that he had to wrap himself with a *kikwembe* (a women's garment wrapped about the waist like a skirt). As he slept one night God came to him in a dream and told him that he would heal him. His wife on the bed next to him could hear him talking but could not make out what he was saying. The same night while he was asleep an angel came down and told him that he was going to heal him but that he must go and preach the gospel to his people among the Bene Kanyok. The angel then operated on him, removed the cause of the problem and sewed him up again. The next morning when he awoke the swelling was gone and in a few days he was strong enough to go and preach to his people as commissioned by the angel.<sup>264</sup>

Orebanjo, in West Africa, writes in his *Lectures* about being in contact with "your guardian angel" and of being "seized away" by the same angel to another world.<sup>265</sup> This is similar to what is taught by some of the *balombi*, who say that they had their own special angel who goes everywhere with them and on the journey the angel leads the way. For this reason if they are travelling they maintain that they cannot stop if they meet someone since their guardian angel would then leave them behind.<sup>266</sup> At Ngoy Mani the *balombi* paint their houses white on the outside so that the angels can see them and come to their help at a moment's notice if necessary.<sup>267</sup>

## Writing in Tongues

One practice which is known among the *balombi*, but one which is peripheral, is that of writing in tongues. D.B. Barrett, mentions the related practice of writing under inspiration in reference to the Baluba Kasai and the Bene Lulua of the *Eglise de la Foi en Messie Jésus Christ*.<sup>268</sup> It is difficult to determine just how this custom started, but it would seem that in the Kabongo area it was Mwenze Meshake from Kaboto who started this. André the *mufundiji* (local preacher) at Nyembo is one of those who have followed Meshake's example.<sup>269</sup>

When Meshake was questioned on the matter he confessed that people had encouraged him to do this although he did not see any direct benefit from it.<sup>270</sup> It is reported that Meshake was able to interpret the squiggles that he wrote on paper, but some suggest that all he did was follow the

<sup>258</sup> E. Hodgson, 'Mwendela Dibuku dya Leza ne Bamwikeulu' ('Angels According to the Bible'), mimeographed notes, Kikondja, Feb. 1960, No. 20, MJPP.

<sup>259</sup> For a detailed understanding of the interpretation of Psalm 119 according to the Kitawala cf. Appendix 1.

<sup>260</sup> Kabamba Ilunga, Interview, Kamina II, 29/11/1980; E. Andersson, *Messianic Movements*, p.108; Peel, *Aladura*, p.150 and Angels in the Cherubim and Seraphim Society; H. W. Turner, *HAIC*, I, p. 15; Oosthuizen, *Post-Christianity*, p. 132.

<sup>261</sup> *Bantu Prophets*, p.249.

<sup>262</sup> '*Bijila bifwaninwe kuyuka yense mulombi*', No.4, DGPP; Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets*, pp. 249, 250; the *mufundiji* from Kinkunki, Interview, Nyundwe, 4/7/1981 told me that when he was at Dilolo Gare in 1940 his wife was healed by two angels who told her not to worry about going to any more hospitals. According to him she still has the marks of the injection they gave her in the upper arm.

<sup>263</sup> Lunda Kateba and Jeushi Ngandu, '*Bijila bifwaninwe kuyuka yense mulombi*', No. 5.

<sup>264</sup> V.Gordon, 'Angelic Operation', *Contact*, No. 554, January 1983, p.10 had the story told her by Pastor Ilunga Lombe wa Kayembe.

<sup>265</sup> Orebanjo, *Spiritual Lectures Compilation* (12 correspondence course lessons) Benin, Kaduna and Shagamu, n.d. [various dates from 1952] n.page cited in H. W. Turner, *HAIC*, II, p. 124.

<sup>266</sup> *Supra*, ft. nt., 263, No. 13.

<sup>267</sup> Ilunga Kazembe, Letter, 28/12/1980.

<sup>268</sup> D.B. Barrett, *Schism and Renewal*, pp.178f.

<sup>269</sup> Kazadi Mwanabute, Interview, Kamina II, 27/5/1981; Banze Mwadi, Interview, Kamina II, 5/5/1981.

<sup>270</sup> Banze Mwadi, 5/5/1981.

steps of the *bambuki* to get information out of his inquires. After that he made up what he wanted as he went along.<sup>271</sup> At the station of Kabondo Dianda the same idea of writing in tongues was brought out into the open when a letter that came from a meeting of *balombi* at the village of Kakoma was presented to the pastors as they gathered for special days of prayer with the local Christians at Kabinda in 1978. Makobo Mpanga, who was present at the meetings, saw the letter which was nothing more than zigzag lines all over the page.<sup>272</sup> There are also some like Mosesa, an elder at Kilubi, Samitanda, who interpret any squiggles or doodles made on the ground by others, but this is not a widespread practice.<sup>273</sup>

## Exorcism

The casting out of evil spirits is a common feature of African witchcraft but is also a common feature of New Testament Christianity and for this reason I have not mentioned it in the section dealing with aspects which resemble traditional religion.<sup>274</sup> The CPZ has taught that demons are to be cast out in the name of Jesus, but in many cases the *balombi* have introduced new methods for exorcising *bibanda* (evil spirits).<sup>275</sup> One of the most noteworthy is performed by making the person drink palm oil mixed with water or salt. The individual is then meant to vomit and said to have vomited out the evil spirits.<sup>276</sup> This is similar to the purification rite practiced by the Zulu Zionists and is mentioned by other writers.<sup>277</sup>

One rite which is not directly connected to exorcism but which concerns the driving away of demons is performed by the Ngoy Mani *balombi* who smear themselves with oil all over their bodies and then at night rush around the village shouting and supposedly chasing away the demons.<sup>278</sup> Some *balombi* strike and pummel those who are possessed to expel the spirits.<sup>279</sup>

## The Influence of Local Events since 1960

Local events in Congo/Zaire since 1960 have undoubtedly had a lot to do with creating conditions under which the appearance of the *balombi* has been encouraged. First of all, the war, which followed the declaration of Independence on 30 June 1960, was the most dramatic experience for the majority of the population living in central and northern Katanga. The 'troubles', the name by which the war is referred to in Zaire today, disrupted life completely in North Katanga for more than four years and was not completely over until 1967.<sup>280</sup> The Balubakat youth movement or the *jeunesse* as it was better known was a continual menace to the population and Kabongo chieftainship had borne the brunt of much of their frustration.<sup>281</sup> The Christians were frequently harassed by the *jeunesse* because of their previous contacts with the white missionaries. Again they were suspect because they refused to wash in the special water prepared

<sup>271</sup> Kazadi Mwanabute, Interview, Kamina II, 27/5/1981.

<sup>272</sup> Makobo Mpanga, Interview, Kamina II, 27/5/1981; R. Monot, Interview, Lubumbashi, 26/7/1981 told me of a man in the Katea area who writes in squiggles and then interprets them. He is not however, regarded as a *mulombi*.

<sup>273</sup> Kazadi Kaluka Bwana, Interview, Kamina II, 27/5/1981; Banza Ngoy Muyampe, Interview, Kamina II, 27/5/1981.

<sup>274</sup> Cf. Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets*, p.239 on the parallel between the casting out of evil by the Zulu diviner and by the Zulu prophet.

<sup>275</sup> On the methods employed in the groups involved in exorcism in Africa cf. M-L. Martin, *Kimbangu*, p.77; in the Salvation Army in the Congo; E. Andersson, *Messianic Movements*, p.129; among the Bapostolo; Jules-Rosette, *African Apostles*, pp.44,143, 193; in the Aladura, H. W. Turner, *HAIC*, II, p.146; C.G. Baëta, *Prophetism in Ghana*, p.109; J. Van Wing, 'Le Kimbanguisme vu par un témoin', *Zaire*, 12(6)1958, p.614.

<sup>276</sup> Ilunga Nday, Interview, Kikondja, 11/12/1980.

<sup>277</sup> Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets*, pp. 239, 240; Oosthuizen, *Post-Christianity*, p.131; D.B. Barrett, *Schism and Renewal*, p.274; Jules-Rosette, *African Apostles*, p. 93; Jules-Rosette, 'Prophecy and Leadership', p.114 on vomiting spirits in the Maranke Church; H. W. Turner, *HAIC*, II, p.108 regarding drinking of water in the exorcising of spirits; MacLean and Solomon, 'Divination', p.26 say that the Bena Lulua have exorcists who practice vomiting.

<sup>278</sup> Ilunga Kazembe, Letter, 28/12/1980.

<sup>279</sup> *Ibid.*, Kazembe reports that there are some *balombi* who believe that evil spirits can be cast out by beating and punching the individual but this does not seem to be common; Ilunga Nday, Interview, Kamina II, 6/11/1980; cf. Baëta, *Prophetism in Ghana*, p.21; Pauw, *Religion in a Tswana Chieftaindom*, p.179; D.B. Barrett, *Schism and Renewal*, p.274; Oosthuizen, *Post-Christianity*, p.131; E. Andersson, *Messianic Movements*, p.156.

<sup>280</sup> On the war in the Congo and the cessation of the Katanga cf. chapter 7 Section a; also C.C. O'Brien, *To Katanga and Back: A UN Case History*, New York, Universal Library, 1966, pp.83-85, 143, 144, 146-154; R.Dayal, *Mission for Hammaraskjold: The Congo Crisis*, London, OUP, 1976, pp. 163, 164; J. Gérard-Libois, *Sécession au Katanga*, Brussels, CRISP, n.d., pp. 146-148; A.P. Merriam, *Congo: Background of Conflict*, Evanston, Northwestern UP, 1961, p.263.

<sup>281</sup> Cf. Tshibangu, *Historie du Zaire*, Bukavu, Ceruki, 1976, p.134; C. Hoskyns, *The Congo since Independence: January 1960-December 1961*, London, OUP Sponsored by the Royal Institute for International Affairs, 1965, pp.218, 219; the *Jeunesse* was the youth movement of the Balubakat, the political party led by Jason Sendwe (Baluba of Katanga). This party was avowedly against Tshombe and his secessionist policies of the Conakat party (Confédération des Associations Tribales du Katanga).

by the *banganga* to render them bullet-proof or invisible when they had to man the barriers against Tshombe's Conakat troops.<sup>282</sup>

Like everyone else in the area, Christians had to keep a low profile in order to keep out of the way of Tshombe's *gendarmes* who were bent on teaching the rebellious Baluba a lesson for not going along with the secession from the Congo.<sup>283</sup> For this reason many of the Christians fled into the forests away from the villages and roads.<sup>284</sup> Gathered in small groups they felt cut off from the rest of the world and often wondered what was going on back in their villages. They hunted small animals and dug for wild roots since many were not even able to go near their gardens for fear of betraying their positions to those who were unsympathetic.<sup>285</sup>

In spite of this difficult existence much time was spent in prayer seeking God for His protection and help in daily needs.<sup>286</sup> It was during these times of prayer that spiritual gifts were first manifested abundantly. Ilunga Mukena who came from Kampako said that it was during the times in the forest that he first heard what he called "singing in the Spirit" or "singing in tongues".<sup>287</sup> Ilunga Ngoie Jean says that the Lord began to give gifts to the Christians in order to encourage them and direct them through very difficult time.<sup>288</sup> On one occasion it had been heard that Conakat troops were looking for them but prophecy was given which told them not to fear for all of the soldiers would be turned back at a particular place. At the spot named, all that was evident to show that soldiers had ever been there were army boots scattered everywhere.<sup>289</sup> During the same period, while *mufundiji* Jilibert was praying, it was revealed to him that Jason Sendwe, the Balubakat leader, would be killed,<sup>290</sup> and that the paramount chief of the Baluba at Kabongo, Dibwe Boniface would be killed by his own people.<sup>291</sup> During this time it would appear that healing was not the most important gift, since people sought guidance and consolation. For this reason the prophetic gifts played an important role.

It was toward the end of this troubled time that Adese's work commenced.<sup>292</sup> Adese was originally from Musao but prior to 1960 had spent some time at the mission at Kisanga. During the troubles she had moved back to Musao with the pastors in order to get away from the *jeunesse*.<sup>293</sup> She had been unwell for a long time and was already an elderly woman. God is supposed to have appeared to her while she was ill and to have commissioned her to a healing-preaching ministry.<sup>294</sup> She started out by making long trips visiting churches in the Kabongo chieftainship where she went as far as Kitengie.<sup>295</sup> By this time the war was over, but the pastors at Musao decided because of age and her lack of scriptural knowledge it would be best for her to remain based at Musao.<sup>296</sup>

<sup>282</sup> Christians were often forced to go to the barriers to fight against the Conakat since the *jeunesse* maintained that if they stayed at home they would pray for the *jeunesse* to be killed in the battles; Banze Mwadi, Interview, Kamina II, 5/5/1981; regarding the persecution of Christians who refused to wash in the *manga*; cf. Banza Mulwani, Interview, Kamina II, 2/12/1980; Mwilambwe Ngoy Tunkele, Interview, Kamina II, 2/12/1980; Banze Kalolo, Interview, Kimabwe, 9/1/1979; Ilunga Nday, Interview, Mwanza, 14/12/1980 was one of the leaders of the *jeunesse*. He said that they believed that they became bullet-proof after washing in the special water prepared by the *banganga*. There were several taboos which went along with this *manga*. They were not permitted to wash their hands in cold water, only warm. They also were not permitted to have sexual relations with any woman; cf. Roger Anstey, *Leopold's Legacy*, pp. 225, 258; R. Dayal, *Hammar skjold*, p. 184; C. Hoskyns, *Congo since Independence*, p.218; McLean and Solomon, 'Divination', p.33, ft. nt., 10.

<sup>283</sup> R. Dayal, *Hammar skjold*, p.184.

<sup>284</sup> Banza Mulwani, Interview, 2/12/1980; Mwilambwe Ngoy Tunkele, Interview, 2/12/1980; Dayal, *op. cit.*, p.184.

<sup>285</sup> Mwilambwe Ngoy, Interview, 2/12/1980.

<sup>286</sup> Ilunga Ngoie Jean, 'Questionnaire: Kabongo' 15/5/1981; J. Robinson, 'The Missionary...Church...1962-63' (... his) *CEMR*, No. 314, pp.3, 4.

<sup>287</sup> Ilunga Mukena, Interview, Kamina II, April 1976; singing in tongues is a common practice in some Western Pentecostal worship services.

<sup>288</sup> Ilunga Ngoie, 'Questionnaire: Kabongo', 15/5/1981.

<sup>289</sup> *Supra*, ft. nt., 288.

<sup>290</sup> *Supra*, ft. nt., 288; cf. Tshibangu, *Histoire du Zaïre*, p.134 regarding the death of Sendwe; for details on Sendwe's life cf. Van der Meerch, *Fin de la Souveraineté Belge: Documents et Réflexions*, Bruxelles, Institut Royal des Relations Internationales, 1963, p.83; there were a number of *balombi* who had this message regarding the death of Sendwe.

<sup>291</sup> Ilunga Ngoie, 'Questionnaire: Kabongo', 15/5/1981; cf. Tshibangu, *Histoire du Zaïre*, p.134; Gérard-Libois, *Sécession au Katanga*, pp.134, 148 on Kabongo's death. Also Ministre de l'Intérieur (Directeur du Service Territorial), 'Rapport Annuel 1960, Etat du Katanga', Elisabethville, 15/11/1961, Archives de la Région, Shaba; it was during the same period when the *jeunesse* was active at Kabongo that they crossed the Lomami to Mukaya where the CEM missionaries E. Hodson and E. Knauf were arrested and hacked to death; M. Jacques, Interview, Kamina, 7/5/1980.

<sup>292</sup> This woman is known by different names: Adese, Adisi, Adeshi and Esta Mbolela.

<sup>293</sup> Pastor Masangu, Interview, Kisanga, 18/2/1982.

<sup>294</sup> Banze Muta Seta, Interview, Musao, 8/10/1981; Ina Banza Nsenga, 11/8/1982; Kitamba Ngoi Nsenga, Interview, Kamina II, 20/5/1981.

<sup>295</sup> Elaidia Shimba, Interview, Musao, 7/10/1981.

<sup>296</sup> *Supra*, ft. nt., 295; Superintendent H. Womersley, 'Revival News', *CEMR*, No. 393, August 1969, p. 14.

Elaidia Shimba says that she was illiterate and asked the pastors to make sure that she did not do anything that was against the Word of God.<sup>297</sup>

Unlike Abele, where people came and left the same day, the people who came to see Adese built a camp where they stayed while she prayed for them. David Womersley says that many of the healings were gradual so that bones straightened out gradually as she prayed and patients with tuberculosis slowly recovered their strength.<sup>298</sup> Since the people themselves built the camp and their relatives kept them fed they were not a burden to the church.<sup>299</sup>

People from far and wide went to see her to be prayed for, including the Governor of North Katanga, Kambola.<sup>300</sup> Often those who returned home healed expressed new zeal for the worship of God and for prayer. A number of these became the nucleus of what later became the *balombi* movement. Others looked at the gifts acquired by these individuals and wondered why they could not have the same power to operate healings. "If God is everywhere why do we have to go all the way to Musao?"<sup>301</sup>

Some of those who began to fulfil a healing ministry were known to itinerate among the churches of a given area visiting and encouraging the Christians. Where they prayed for the sick they left such a profound impression that the local pastors would often challenged the believers to seek the same gifts. They did not wish to be dependent upon itinerant *balombi*.<sup>302</sup> Other *balombi* relocated after the war and so spread the practice where they went.<sup>303</sup> In this way there was a build up in the number of those who were recognised as gifted healers or *balombi*.

Another development which must have contributed to the direction which the *balombi* movement has taken in more recent years, is the emphasis which was placed upon a return to *authenticité*.<sup>304</sup> I am not saying that this emphasis upon *authenticité* on its own was sufficient to create this movement, but *authenticité* represents a movement which was already happening in every other African country once colonialism was terminated. However, in Zaire, with one or two other states, *authenticité* was the result of legislation. Thomas Kanza, admitting that a definition of authenticity is not easy, looks upon it as "self-consciousness, self-awareness or self-realization".<sup>305</sup> Mobutu himself describes it as:

...a dictate of conscience for the people of Zaire that they should return to their beginnings in search for the values of the ancestors in order to appreciate those which contribute to the country's harmonious and natural development. It is the refusal of the people of Zaire blindly to espouse imported ideologies. It is the affirmation, by a man of Zaire or by any man wherever he may be, of the mental and social structures that are his own (Address by His Excellency General Mobutu, General Assembly, United Nations, New York, for October 1973, UN Documents A/PV.2140, P.51, cited in T. Kanza, *The Rise and Fall of Patrice Lumumba: Conflict in the Congo*, Boston, G.K. Hall, 1979, p.355)

In order to establish *authenticité* as Zaire's political philosophy, President Mobutu Sese Seko introduced many new laws and made many sweeping changes. The name Congo was changed to Zaire,<sup>306</sup> and all citizens had to drop the use of foreign names to be replaced by authentic African names.<sup>307</sup> As one of the protagonists of the new policy declared:

Pour bâtir cet Etat, il fallait à la fois éliminer tout ce qui était d'importation étrangère, adopter concrètement nos valeurs authentiques (Sakombi Inongo, « Conférence du Commissaire d'Etat à l'Orientation National : Sur L'Authenticité, » [Dakar] n.d., [c.1973] p.9, DGPP)

<sup>297</sup> Elaidia Shimba, 7/10/1981.

<sup>298</sup> David Womersley, Interview, Musao, 8/10/1981; D. Womersley, 'Some highlights of 1970', *CEMR*, No. 411, Feb. 1971, p.4.

<sup>299</sup> H. Womersley, 'Revival News', p. 14; *supra*, ft. nt. 295.

<sup>300</sup> D. Womersley, Interview, Musao, 8/10/1981; Mwilambwe Ngoy Tunkele, Interview, Kamina II, 13/5/1981; Mfumu Mulwila, Interview, Kamina II, 13/5/1981.

<sup>301</sup> Milambwe Ngoy Tunkele, 13/5/1981.

<sup>302</sup> *Supra* ft. nt. 301.

<sup>303</sup> An example is Oscar Lupusa who originates from near Kashukulu. He was first regarded as gifted during the colonial days when he was arrested at Albertville (Kalemie) and accused of being *Kitawala*. After reunification of the Katanga he moved to Kamina where he was an elder in the Sabongo church before leaving to join the AOG Shaba.

<sup>304</sup> On *authenticité* in Zaire cf. Thomas Kanza, *The Rise and Fall of Patrice Lumumba: Conflict in the Congo*, Boston, G.K. Hall, 1979, pp.354-356; Tshibangu, *Histoire du Zaire*, pp.161-163.

<sup>305</sup> Kanza, *op. cit.*, p.355.

<sup>306</sup> Tshibangu, *op. cit.*, p.161.

<sup>307</sup> 'Ordonnance-Loi No. 72-039 du 30/8/1972', signed by President Mobutu Sese Seko; Article I says that anyone who baptises a Zairean with a foreign name will be subject to a term in prison from six months to five years; cf. Tshibangu, *Histoire*, pp. 161, 190.

More significant for this present study was the way that *Mobutisme* struck out at the imported religion of the white man.<sup>308</sup> Engulu Baangampongo made it quite clear that now Zaire had its own religion and did not need what had been imported: "Our religion is based on belief in God, the Creator, and ancestor worship. Our dead relatives are still alive. They protect us and intercede for us".<sup>309</sup> Authenticity had been interpreted by many Government officials as "the religion" of the State,<sup>310</sup> so that although there was never any question of missionaries having to leave<sup>311</sup> there was considerable friction between the State and the Church. This was greatly accentuated in relationships between the State and the Catholic Church, since Cardinal Malula had openly attacked *authenticité*.<sup>312</sup>

All these pressures, and especially the continual accent in schools and in the media on the need to return to the way of the ancestors, has undoubtedly had a conscious as well as an unconscious effect on the religious life of the Zairean.<sup>313</sup> This emphasis together with an inherent tendency for what is African and what is custom is certainly one reason for the explosion in the number of the *balombi* since 1973. During this period the *balombi* have mushroomed by more than 900%.<sup>314</sup> Even if one is sceptical about these figures I believe that they demonstrate the important part that the doctrine of *authenticité* has had in promoting the *mulombi* phenomenon.<sup>315</sup>

The medical factor has also contributed to the growth in the number of *balombi*. For the majority of the population in Zaire there is little in the way of medical help available, except perhaps in the large centres. Even where medicines can be obtained, prices are nearly always based on the black market and are so inflated that most people could never obtain them. Even in government hospitals patients are given a prescription so that the relatives can go off and look for the drugs at some black-market outlet.<sup>316</sup> For this reason anyone with a healing ministry is a real asset to the community and highly sought after.

### The *Mulombi* and the Local Church

It is not possible to delineate any one position held by the local churches when it comes to appraising the work of the *mulombi* and his contribution to the church. Individual members often

<sup>308</sup> Engulu Baangampongo, 'Declaration' [source unknown]. This was originally broadcast over the radio: *Voix du Zaïre*, from Kinshasa, 4/12/1974; T. Kanza, *Patrice Lumumba*, p.355 asks the question of *authenticité*: "can this doctrine of self-identity be made into a religion? Once launched, of course, the idea can no longer be controlled by their originators; for they give rise to fanatics and zealots who evolve, deform, or shape them into extremes which their inventor might possibly not have desired, but which he will be unable to prevent or to guide".

<sup>309</sup> Engulu, *supra*, ft. nt. 308; Tshibangu, *Histoire*, shows how "Toute cérémonie débute par une libation aux mânes des ancêtres pour les associer aux diverses activités des vivants".

<sup>310</sup> Kanza, *Patrice Lumumba*, p.355.

<sup>311</sup> In Shaba the Authorities went out of their way to let the missionaries know that they wanted them to remain, even when the foreign traders were forced to leave. When there was some misunderstanding between missionaries and local Government officials over a law relating to illegal sects in Zaire, there was a telegram rapidly dispatched from the Governor of Shaba to all Zones and Sous-Régions in Shaba: "DEMENDEZ [sic] A TOUS LES AGENTS SOUS VOS ORDRES DE CESSER IMMEDIATEMENT A TRACASSER MISSIONNAIRES ETRANGERS NOTAMENT PROTESTANTS QUI NE SONT PAS CONCERNES PAR CETTE LOI FULL STOP" (Takizala Lunya, Telegram No. 247/4116 du 3/2/1972 Archives Zone Kamina).

This message was later repeated by Engulu Baangampongo (Commissaire d'Etat aux Affaires Politiques), Letter, Kinshasa, 8/11/ 1975 aux Commissaires de Régions (Tous), AZKamina; religion was no longer to be taught in school hours although there was nothing to prevent it being taught outside normal hours; cf. Engulu, 'Declaration'; Mutombo Kalenga, 'Rapport à la Comité Exécutif de la CPZ', Kamina, 22/1/1975 following a letter from the Département d'Education Nationale, No. EDN/S.P./823/CAB/1686 confirms this position regarding religion in schools being out of the question; of the rules prevented open-air meetings, cessation of prisons and hospitals for the purpose of preaching the Christian message. In Catholic institutions the statue of Mary had to be replaced by a photo of Mobutu.

<sup>312</sup> The Catholics had been harder hit by the measures of *authenticité* than were the Protestants. The removal of statues of Mary and their replacement by photos of Mobutu smacked of sacrilege. Huge posters erected by the Mouvement Populaire de la Révolution (MPR) read: "Mobutu Notre Seul Sauveur" (Mobutu our only Saviour). Many Christians began to see him as some type of the Antichrist; cf. what Tshibangu says about Cardinal Malula in *Histoire du Zaïre*, p. 161.

<sup>313</sup> The author taught religion to the six-year of the secondary school at Kamina II when the legislation regarding religious instruction was passed. There was an immediate change in the attitude of most students to the Christian message. Many believed that their president had to be right and the missionaries wrong and a good number stopped attending church services altogether even though they were enrolled at the CPZ school.

<sup>314</sup> There were 43 stations in the CPZ in 1973. If I am generous in my underestimation and say that each station had one *mulombi* at that time then there is an increase of about 900 plus percent on the estimated 400 *balombi* in the CPZ today (1982).

<sup>315</sup> cf. H. W. Turner, *HAIC*, I, p. 6 indicates the importance of national feeling in the growth of Independent Churches in West Africa. I do not wish to overemphasise the point but like Turner, I would believe that there is a relationship between the rise of the *balombi* and the nationalistic emphasis of *authenticité* in Zaire.

<sup>316</sup> I know of Government hospitals in Zaire where not even aspirins are stocked.

hold views other than those held by the leadership of the church and among the leaders themselves that may well be a certain ambivalence over the entire question. It is therefore necessary to present the three positions which are commonly held within the CPZ churches.

### The *Mulombi* Is Totally Acceptable in the Local Church

For the majority of the ordinary members in the CPZ<sup>317</sup> the *mulombi* is the embodiment of all that has ever been talked about in the church about the availability of the Spirit, the power and the gifts of God. To refuse the *mulombi* would be tantamount to rejecting the gifts of God and to shun all blessing. The presence of the *mulombi* assures immediate answers to questions of every nature as well as healing from sickness and for some, protection from evil spirits.<sup>318</sup> In fact, he is the panacea for all of life's problems.

The local church pastor who holds to this view does not always do so because of conviction but rather by compunction. The *mulombi* keeps throwing out a verse, well-known from the missionary days: "Quench not the Spirit".<sup>319</sup> There is a nagging fear that to try and direct or instruct the *mulombi*, especially when one does not enjoy personal guidance by the Spirit, would be to quench the Spirit; rather than fight against God it is better to let things drift. It has already been pointed out that the *balombi* accuse the pastors of not being men of the Spirit.<sup>320</sup> Some pastors do not wish to be branded as being unspiritual and although inwardly they would rather see things done differently they go along with the *balombi* in everything.

This 'hands off' policy has undoubtedly contributed to the growth of the *balombi*. However, many church leaders see the beneficial side of this movement. Numbers of non-Christians have been converted and added to the church as a result of answers to prayer, healings, and fulfilled prophecies.<sup>321</sup> At Kikondja the younger brother of Chief Kikondja vowed that he would never have anything to do with the church and spent all his money on opening bars in all the large centres on the Lualaba. After he fell ill he visited all the hospitals possible in Shaba, the diviners and the *banganga* but still found no help. Finally, in desperation he turned to a *mulombi* in the CPZ at Kikondja and after being healed he turned his entire estate over to God. He sold his bars and put all his money into the work of the church.<sup>322</sup> There are hundreds more like him across the CPZ field.

Not only are there healings, converts and the power of God displayed there are other material benefits that accrue as the result of the *balombi*. When people come to be prayed for they seldom come empty-handed. They generally bring gifts with them: money, livestock, or food and in some cases clothing.<sup>323</sup> Some may realise that to restrict the work of the *balombi* is to restrict the flow of these gifts. At Musao those who came to be prayed for by the prophetess participated in the church work so much that they even built an all-brick church building as well as a very comfortable house for Adese.<sup>324</sup> However, it must also be remembered that in accordance with the Luban custom all guests are automatically fed by the host and this feeding can become a considerable burden on the local church if there are a lot of visitors always coming to be prayed for by the prophet. At Musao the patients had relatives bring them food so as not to burden the local church.<sup>325</sup>

Undoubtedly, there is considerable prestige attached to the church or village if there is a *mulombi* of renown residing there.<sup>326</sup> Where a pastor and a *mulombi* work hand in glove, the *mulombi* could easily become a lever in the hands of the pastor to get his people to do whatever he wished, but it is also true that the pastor becomes a lever in the *mulombi's* hands in many

<sup>317</sup> By 'ordinary' members is meant those who are not Pastors.

<sup>318</sup> Some *balombi* encourage their followers to move away from their villages to come and live where they are. They say that the the *bibanda* (evil spirits) cannot live in the area because of the power they possess; Ilunga Kazembe, Letter, 28/12/1980; Peel, *Aladura*, p.280 for a parallel concerning prophet-people relationships.

<sup>319</sup> 1 Thess. 5:19.

<sup>320</sup> Oscar Lupusa, Interview, 1/11/1981.

<sup>321</sup> Kisonga Bueni Abele, Letter, Lusaka, 26/2/1981 to author says that God showed them in 1959 that Lusaka would become crowded with Christians and this vision has now come true; Oscar Lupusa, Interview, 1/11/1981 says that it was because of him that the church at Sabongo was full of people.

<sup>322</sup> Kayumba Kingi George, Interview, Kalombo, 19/4/1981.

<sup>323</sup> This matter was discussed in an Executive Committee of the CPZ at Kamina, 27-29/8/1975, Minute No. 16 where it was decided that individuals should only bring gifts if prompted by the Lord.

<sup>324</sup> Elaidia Shimba, Interview, 8/10/1981.

<sup>325</sup> H. Womersley, 'Revival News', *CEMR*, No. 393 Aug. 1969, p.14.

<sup>326</sup> Banza Mukanda Jason, Interview, Bulundu, 8/5/1981 indicated that this is one reason why pastors are hesitant to put too much of a tight control on the *balombi*.

instances.<sup>327</sup> The people would be reluctant to go against the word of the *mulombi* for fear that they were going against God himself.

### The *Mulombi* Is Totally Unacceptable in the Local Church

This position is held by a number of pastors but it is unlikely that many church members would be as radical as to reject the *balombi* out of hand. It was seen earlier from the survey conducted that 43% of all *balombi* included were regarded by the church leadership to work in a way which was unacceptable.<sup>328</sup> It is generally these 'unacceptable' characteristics which have turned pastors against the *balombi*.

The first reason for outright rejection is the fear of the loss of control. Since 1960 when the missionaries left and the work was thrust upon the Congolese, a good number of station pastors have tended to act in the same autocratic manner as did the missionaries who were there before them.<sup>329</sup> They have been used to making all decisions and claimed that the *balombi* are a rebellious element which will not submit to them.<sup>330</sup> They maintain that if the *balombi* were permitted to minister they would usurp all authority on the station and that although they would remain as pastors they would be such in name alone.<sup>331</sup> In other words, it is expedient to reject the *balombi* for fear that once they are established they will be regarded as the only credible leadership.

On occasion a station pastor has seen what he considers to be excesses on a neighbouring station where there are *balombi* so he decides that he will tolerate nothing in the way of spiritual gifts on his station.<sup>332</sup> Therefore, he launches an all-out attack against the *balombi*. Usually, instead of dampening the spirits of those who are interested, this has the opposite effect, and causes them to accept the claims of the *balombi* that the pastors are not men of the Spirit.<sup>333</sup>

Some pastors reject the *balombi* because they are concerned about the strong tendency to schism. This is because the *balombi* are often encouraged by their followers to become free agents. After all, they claim to be responsible to no one but God.<sup>334</sup> These schisms often result from personality clashes where there is strong leadership on a station; perhaps the *mulombi* will not listen to counsel<sup>335</sup> or becomes frustrated with the limitations that have been placed upon his ministry. Oscar Lupusa is a good example of this. He had been disciplined by the pastor and elders of Kamina for what they considered to be foolish behaviour. He did not wish to submit to the discipline meted out to him and replied to the board: "*Ngidi mubukata mwa Babiloni*" ("I am in the midst of Babylon"). In other words, the pastor and elders represented repressive anti-God forces, while he was Daniel, God's representative fighting for the truth.<sup>336</sup> He later left the CPZ and joined the AOG Shaba after he had taken a good percentage of the congregation with him.<sup>337</sup> The pastors fear this kind of thing happening and so disallow spiritual manifestations which they believe will lead to the phenomena surrounding the *balombi*.<sup>338</sup>

Another reason why some pastors reject the *balombi* is the personal interpretation they have placed upon some of the CPZ legislation regarding them. The CPZ took measures to counter those

<sup>327</sup> In the incident of the digging of *manga* in the Sungu churches it was clear to all involved that the pastor had been used to give credence to what the *mulombi* Ilunga Kalala Léonard, was doing; cf. *supra* ft. nt. 148.

<sup>328</sup> cf. *supra*, p. 473.

<sup>329</sup> cf. Chapter 2.

<sup>330</sup> It is common to hear a pastor or leader in the CPZ complaining: "*Kebadipo ne kikokeji*" ("They are insubordinate"). Generally, all that this means is that the people do not accept everything the individual says. Most pastors of stations believe that they should be obeyed without question. For this reason questions indicate that there is *bupondo* (rebellion).

<sup>331</sup> Kazadi Kaluka Bwana, Interview, Kamina II, 14/5/1981 and 27/5/1981. He is a pastor at Kampako and maintains that until the pastors took a firm stand the *balombi* acted as though they were the authority on the station.

<sup>332</sup> Mfumu Mulwila, Interview, 13/5/1981.

<sup>333</sup> From the 'Questionnaires' I gather that a number of the most anti-*balombi* pastors are those who have strong *balombi* followings on their stations. Rather than diminish the number of followers this tends to increase them.

<sup>334</sup> Kazadi Kaluka Bwana, *supra* ft. nt. 331.

<sup>335</sup> Kasongo Tshikala, Interview, Kamina, 21/5/1981 says that the pressure from peers is the most important factor in turning the *mulombi* away from, what he called, sound advice. Men like Oscar Lupusa find it very difficult to accept discipline from the pastors and it is for this reason that he has joined the AOG Shaba. Kasongo Kyoma of Kisaha also crossed the station pastors and found himself excluded from the CPZ for a year; Ilunga Madika and Kazembe Tshikala, Interview, Kamina II, 9/3/1981; they are the senior pastors at Kashukulu. I have heard that Kasongo Kyoma has since been reinstated.

<sup>336</sup> Ngoy Kisula, Interview, 8/11/1980; Kasongo Tshikala, Interview, 21/5/1981 says that Lupusa tells everyone he has come out of the darkness since he left the CPZ.

<sup>337</sup> This is the same sort of thing that transpired at Kisanga with Ndeme Teusa who took over sixty young people with him; Ngoy Masangu, Interview, Kisanga, 18/12/1980.

<sup>338</sup> This was discussed in the 'CPZ-Comité Restreint, 23/1/1981', held at Kamina.

aspects of the *balombi*'s work which it considered found their origins in Luba traditional religion, or which were unscriptural and lead to sinful acts. Included were a number of the items seen earlier in section 2 of this chapter: methods of consultation which resemble *lubuko* (divination),<sup>339</sup> "smelling out" *manga*,<sup>340</sup> accusations of witchcraft,<sup>341</sup> the shutting of *balombi* away by themselves in rooms with women for prayer,<sup>342</sup> and the anointing of the sick by the *balombi*.<sup>343</sup> For the pastor who does not appreciate all the background to this legislation the *balombi* mean trouble. He sees in his mind's eye a traditional religion having full sway once again on his station. For him the *mulombi* become synonymous with fornication, adultery and problems. He takes the easy way out and prohibits anything that resembles the practices of the movement.

Finally, a factor mentioned earlier in connection with baptism in the Holy Spirit is significant. There are pastors who have never spoken in tongues and who are afraid of the spiritual gifts because they do not know how to handle a meeting or person if there is any manifestation of a spiritual gift.<sup>344</sup>

### **The *Mulombi* Is Basically Good if Properly Directed and Kept within Acceptable Norms**

There are some *balombi* who are genuinely gifted but many are just like the *bambuki* that our fathers used to consult. We reject totally the sort of thing that they do. Some *balombi* are really blessed with the gifts of the Holy Spirit and we accept them but as for the others we know all about them (Yumba wa Nkulu, Interview, Mwanza-Sope, 13/12/1980 [my translation]).

The above words of the late President of the CPZ express, in brief, the official position of the CPZ with regard to the *balombi*. There is neither total rejection nor total acceptance of their work in the church. Each individual has to be judged on his own merits according to acceptable norms.

It is not my intention to handle the subject of tradition until later, but one cannot speak of norms until one has examined what understanding the Christian community has of what is considered to be acceptable practice. In the case of the *balombi*, the CPZ has been forced to work out a new tradition, since none of the patterns left from the missionary days has been much help in facing questions which are unlike anything existing in western Pentecostalism.

There has been a conscious effort on the part of the legislative bodies of the CPZ<sup>345</sup> to give direction to the Christian community, but most of the directives have been of a general and negative nature. They have not contributed to a better understanding of the problems as seen by the leadership or by the membership.<sup>346</sup> It would seem that it is only at the local church level, and at the station level, that this is going to be worked out satisfactorily. Kikondja is an example of a station which has acted in a positive way to help clarify to all of its *balombi* as well as to its

<sup>339</sup> cf. 'Compte-Rendu de la 13ème Conférence de la 30-CPZ, Kabongo, 18-21/8/1982', Part II, Chapitre 1. 1. 1. a.

<sup>340</sup> *Ibid.*, 1. 1. b.

<sup>341</sup> *Ibid.* 1.1.c ; H.W. Turner, *HAIC*, I, p. 85.

<sup>342</sup> 'Compte-rendu 13ème Conférence de la CPZ', Part II, Chapitre 1. 1.1.d.1.

<sup>343</sup> *Ibid.* Part II, Chapitre 1. 1. 1. d. 2.

<sup>344</sup> cf. *supra*, ft. nt. 189.

<sup>345</sup> The main legislative body of the CPZ is their Annual Conference; cf. Chapter 7, E.

<sup>346</sup> 'Compte-Rendu de la 13ème Conférence de la CPZ, Kabongo 18-20/8/1982', Part II, Ch. 1 [My English Translation follows]

1.1 Concerning the *balombi*.

Because of the affairs involving the *balombi*, the conference says that the pastors must come down against these things in their churches and that action be taken in the following way :

a) Divination:

Because of the spirit of divination, the conference says that people must not be allowed to inquire of the one who is praying for them: "Tell me what it is that is causing me this sickness?" or "By what means has this suffering come upon me?"

b) Digging for *manga* in the churches:

Concerning the digging of *manga* in churches, the conference says that it refuses this kind of action since digging for *manga* belongs to the actions of the non-Christian.

c) Witchcraft accusations:

Concerning witchcraft accusations, the conference rejects completely this kind of action in the CPZ churches since it is non-Christian.

d) Adultery or fornication among the *balombi*:

Adultery is a sin which is common these days as part of the work of the *balombi* in many places. The conference says that in order to prevent this sin among the *balombi*:

1) We disallow the shutting away of *balombi* in rooms alone with women.

2) We disallow the anointing with oil of the sick by the *balombi*.

Again concerning the *balombi* a final word of advice is that the pastors must seek to find ways to help those who have gifts of the Holy Spirit. They need to hold seminars with them and to teach them what the Scriptures declare so that they reject what does not accord with the Bible.

members what it regarded as acceptable. Jeushi Ngandu and Pastor Lunda Kateba Edi, conducted a seminar over several days to help instruct the *balombi* of the station. The basis of all instruction was a stencilled, run-off sheet, entitled: *Bijila Bifwaninwe Kuyuka Yense Mulombi* ( Rules that every *mulombi* must know).<sup>347</sup>

In this are 36 questions which have taken on the form of canon law; there is much in them that is similar in style to the directives found in the *Didaché*, another document written for a new Christian community wrestling with matters of culture and conduct.<sup>348</sup> The statement from the *Didaché* concerning the false prophet could easily fit into this list: "Let every apostle ... be received as the Lord; but he shall not abide more than a single day, or if there be need, the second likewise; but if he abide three days, he is a false prophet".<sup>349</sup> I can do no better than reproduce the rules here with brief comment where necessary.<sup>350</sup> They show how the Kikondja leadership has attempted to provide guidelines which show how far a 'Spirit person'<sup>351</sup> can go before he is seen to have left the Orthodox or traditionally acceptable path.

1. It is not good, if you find someone who is sick while you are travelling, to say to them: "Follow me home; I will pray for you there".

Many of the *balombi* have been in the habit of praying for the sick only when they are at home as though it was the place that was holy and therefore the only place where they could perform miracles.

2. It is not good to say to the person for whom you are praying: "Go and get the money that you have withheld from God" and then when they bring it to take it all for yourself.<sup>352</sup>

As stated earlier this happens when the *mulombi* says that the individual is suffering as a result of withholding what is properly God's, but he then accepts the money for himself since he is supposedly God's servant and mouthpiece.

3. It is not good to say to people: "come to my place since I have the gift of healing".

This is because the gift is from the Lord and it is the Lord who heals and not the *mulombi*. To say that one has the gift is to say that it is they themselves who are responsible for healing and not the Lord who is the giver of the gift.

4. It is not good to say to people that the angels are coming to heal them. Preach Jesus!

There have been a number of the *balombi*, as has been stated, who have indicated that the angels were directly involved in healing the sick as they pray.<sup>353</sup> The thought here is that the *mulombi* is to preach and teach about Jesus for he is the healer. If angels are involved they are to be regarded as secondary.

5. It is not good to tell people that the angels have tested their blood and that they have not got sufficient red blood corpuscles.<sup>354</sup> They have been given two injections [during prayer] but there is one more to come. Just preach about the power of Jesus to heal.

Together with this recent emphasis among the *balombi* to speak of angels and their work of healing, many have started to say the kind of things that we read above. Some have been known to say: "The angels have come with a quinine tablet and have given it to you; you will certainly get

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<sup>347</sup> Twite Kitobo was the one who signed the list of rules but he did not make up the list or participate in the teaching seminar since he was in bed dying of cancer (he died not long after this in December 1980). Those responsible for the notes and for the seminar were Lunda Kateba Edi (died November 1981) and Jeushi Ngandu Mwine Nkimbi.

<sup>348</sup> *The Didaché*, also called, *The Teaching of the Apostles*, appears as in the original Greek text in J.B. Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers*, rev. and ed. J.R. Harmer, London, Macmillan, 1898, pp. 217-225. It includes 16 short chapters. When I cite from the *Didaché* it is from this text and the numbering of the text itself is followed not the pages in the book.

<sup>349</sup> *Didaché* 11:5.

<sup>350</sup> I have not reproduced the original Kiluba text since it is unlikely that there are those who would benefit from it.

<sup>351</sup> Cf. H. W. Turner, *HAIC*, I, p. 85 has a parallel here with rules and guidelines given for men who tend to err from the right path. cf. Turner, *HAIC*, II, pp. 133-140.

<sup>352</sup> Cf. *Didaché*, 11:6,12.

<sup>353</sup> Banza Mijibu claimed that angels were responsible for healing when he prayed. Some of those who were prayed for by him maintained that they had seen angels; Mpanga Bubi, Interview, Kamina II, 19/5/1981; *supra*, Angels, pp.24ff; H. W. Turner, *HAIC*, II, p.123; Jules-Rosette, *African Apostles*, p.35.

<sup>354</sup> The majority of people are anaemic because the basic foods lack iron and protein.

well now”<sup>355</sup> or “An angel has come down and performed an operation on you so that you are now healed”<sup>355</sup>.

6. It is not good to say to someone that they should go and get their father and mother and come back with them since this is divination.

The reason for calling the mother and father is to find out who is responsible for the sickness and to pin the blame on one or the other.<sup>356</sup> The CPZ is especially against any practice which is considered to resemble *lubuko* (divination).<sup>357</sup> Anyone who engages in this kind of action is automatically regarded as having gone too far.

7. It is not good for a person to come and say: “I have come to ask why it is that my child has died,” or for football players to come and ask which team is going to win. This is to divine.

8. It is not good to tell people that the demons where they live have become a really strong force so that they had better move to where you live, or for them to ask you: “Where shall we move?”

Often when a family has lost a number of children or where they have been continually plagued by ill health or misfortune then the *mulombi* will tell them that the evil spirits at their present village are bringing all this upon them and that they had better move to a new village or to where the *mulombi* resides. This makes them responsible to the *mulombi* who then becomes their overlord.<sup>358</sup> In a number of cases large villages, clinics or camps have grown up around a *mulombi*.<sup>359</sup>

9. It is not good for a man to go and ask from the *balombi*: What about this man and that man? This is to divine.

A person may visit the *mulombi* with the intention of finding out about different people to see if they have been doing anything against him.

10. It is not good to choose only certain days for gatherings.

Some *balombi* will only work on given days and at certain times.<sup>360</sup>

11. It is not good to forget about the preachers and the elders of the churches: they are the servants of God.

From the point of view of the church, the independent spirit has caused more problems than any other. Most *balombi* consider themselves to be a cut above the ordinary *bafundiji* (local church pastors). They arrange meetings and nights of prayer and even direct activities in the local church. They will say that they are the servants of God, filled with the Spirit, and intimate that the *bafundiji* are not the real servants of God.<sup>361</sup>

12. It is not good to be sent only into the big villages; one should also visit the little ones.

<sup>355</sup> Mpanga Bubi, 19/5/1981; cf. *supra* ft. nt. 353.

<sup>356</sup> Ilunga Nday, Interview, Kikondja, 11/12/1980.

<sup>357</sup> Cf. *supra* ft. nt. 346 1.1 a.

<sup>358</sup> Ilunga Kazembe, Letter, 28/11/1980 writes of a *mulombi*, Yolo from the village of Kapwasa, Ngoy Mani; he has his own camp full of followers all of whom are directly responsible to him. They even have to cultivate his gardens. If they wish to leave his camp and return to their own villages he tells them that God does not want them to leave and threatens them with the fear of death if they go.

<sup>359</sup> *Supra* ft. nt. 358; this is also true at Lusaka where Kisonga Bueni lives. The population of the village is now almost entirely Christian. Kisonga Bueni says that there are 300 Christians and only three non-Christians at Lusaka; Interview, 27/3/1981; the village of Katembetombo in the chieftainship of Kikondja was disbanded as a result of the Government's policy to force villages to collect together in one central place. However, Mufundiji Spejoni had a vision from God that the village was to be re-established. He moved back and many followed him so that today there is a healthy community there once again; Mfumu Mulwila, Interview, Kamina II, 25/5/1981; cf. Mwene-Batende, 'Quelques aspects du prophétisme au Zaïre', *CRA*, 6(11) 1972, pp. 79, 80 says that: « les prophètes sont considérés comme les personnages plus forts que les sorciers et les Eglises apparaissent comme une véritable protection contre toutes sortes d'esprits maléfiques ».

<sup>360</sup> Cf. H.W. Turner, *HAIC*, II, p. 134 where revelations are supposed to be limited to certain days: “besides Wednesday's, revelations ought to be limited to once a month for regular members”.

<sup>361</sup> Cf. *The Didaché* 15:1-3 which points out that their own teachers and prophets are the bishops (held a-pastors) and deacons (servers), from their own midst.

Obviously, the *balombi* like to visit the large villages since they feel that there is more profit to be made there. For this reason the smaller villages are often neglected.

13. It is not good if when you are travelling along to say to a needy person: "I cannot stop to speak with you now as my angels have gone on ahead and I do not want to be left behind".

Those who emphasise the work of the angels in the ministry, as stated earlier, say they have guardian angels who accompany them wherever they go.<sup>362</sup> If they were to be left behind by the angels some terrible thing could befall them.

14. It is not good to lie about God and say that God has sent you on a mission to a certain place and all you are going to do is to visit your friends.

If one is a *mulombi* of renown, every movement has to be one of consequence. In order to do the ordinary one has to make up a story that sounds convincing just to get away from your home surroundings and to visit a friend.

15. It is not good to stop laying hands on the heads of the sick when you pray for them.

It has been a custom in the CEM and today in the CPZ to lay hands on the sick and to pray for them. However, some *balombi* have taught that unless the person who lays his hands on another is a powerful *mulombi*, filled with the Holy Spirit, the demon or demons will leap upon and overcome him.<sup>363</sup>

16. It is not good to talk about war and to say that it is coming and then no war comes.

After the troubles in Shaba during 1976-78 with the Katangese uprisings there have been a number who keep prophesying that war is going to start, but it does not.

17. It is not good to force a person and to say that unless he believes in God, God will reveal everything about his life.

Sometimes a non-Christian takes a sick child to a *mulombi* who would say that unless he first believes in Christ he will not pray for the child. He may even threaten the man with the wrath of God.

18. It is not good to say to a man that his wife is no good and that because she does not obey God he is to divorce her and marry another.

Polygamy has never had any place in the CPZ and divorce and remarriage has not been allowed. Some see 'spiritual' sanction as one way around the prohibitions.

19. It is not good if when you pray for someone to pray out in a loud voice and to name all the wrong things that they have done so that others can hear.

As outlined in the section on confession and *katole*, a sick person often confesses his sins to the *mulombi* if he is requested to do so or if the *mulombi* has a 'revelation' and makes this known to the individual.<sup>364</sup> The *mulombi* may well pray out in a very loud voice asking God to forgive all the sins which he then names. This can cause severe complications, since usually there are other people involved and before long all the neighbourhood knows all the details.

<sup>362</sup> Cf. Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets*, p. 219 with his "dream angel" and *supra* ft. nt. 353.

<sup>363</sup> Cf. E Andersson, *Messianic Movements*, pp. 135, 136 who points out that in the Salvation Army *ngunzist* movement in the Lower Congo, the members refused to shake hands with the 'unclean' for fear of contamination and loss of holiness.

<sup>364</sup> Adese would often ask a sick person if there was anything he wanted to confess before she prayed; Kitamba Nsenga, Interview, 20/5/1981. As seen in the section on *katole* *supra*, confession has played an important role in this movement. However, it is not just the *balombi* who have sins confessed to them; in most churches in the CPZ the call to believers is to: "*Jyoka kudi Mfumwetu*" ("Come back to the Lord"). The thought is that the people will come forward and confess their sins to the pastor of the church or to the elders. In a series of seminars held in the local church at Kamina II between 14/3/1981 and 14/5/1981 members were asked to elaborate upon their understanding of the work of the *mulombi*. Many said that the *balombi* had revelations which helped them to direct those who consulted them. These revelations were in every instance meant to encourage the confession of sin; cf. Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets*, pp. 211-213 on confession and purification.

20. It is not good to chase your wife from your bed and to refuse to eat the food that she prepares for you and to say to her: "You are menstruating so we will have separate beds".

As in most of Africa, there are strict laws amongst the Baluba concerning women at the time of menstruation. There is also much that is similar between Luban custom and Jewish laws on the same subject found in the Pentateuch. The result has been that many *balombi* and even a number of local pastors have tried to introduce these laws to the church. For this reason in some areas women who are menstruating are not allowed to attend Communion, sing in the choir or pray.<sup>365</sup>

21. It is not good to say anything without first being directed by God.

Some *balombi* believe that because they are recognised prophets, they have to have something to say on every occasion and on every matter. They make up things that have not been revealed to them so as not to lose face.<sup>366</sup>

22. It is not good to say to someone: "do not go to the hospital. I will pray for you all the time that you stay here".

As stated earlier there is generally no conflict between medicine and faith in the CPZ.<sup>367</sup> There have been cases where the *balombi* prevented people from going to the hospital for medical treatment and because the person died the church was charged with the responsibility.<sup>368</sup> In several cases the *balombi* have sent and called people to come out of the hospital since their presence there showed that they did not have faith in God to heal them.<sup>369</sup>

23. It is not good to want to sit on the highest seat in an assembly or elsewhere, and to say that it is because of the gifts that God has given you that you have been recognised in this way.

Occasionally the *mulombi* fancies himself as an authority and wants to judge cases or to direct the local assembly.

24. It is not good to wear a white robe and say that this is what you wear when you pray for the people.

The CEM and later the CPZ has always been against the wearing of clothes that distinguish one class of people from another. However, the wearing of white robes is a well-known feature of the Independent churches.<sup>370</sup>

25. It is not good to make people drink water and to sprinkle water on them while you pray.

The significance of water and its part in tradition religion in Africa is well-known. Something of its use by the *balombi* has already been seen but not all. Burton says that there was always water or groves associated with the headquarters of a *vidye*.<sup>371</sup> Many of the *balombi* rather than place their hands on the head of the sick person will make him drink water which they claim has special healing power. Often the water is collected from the first rains after the long dry season and for this reason it is supposed to be especially efficacious.<sup>372</sup> One *mulombi* from Kolwezi visited another station where he produced a large enamel bowl full of water. He placed this in the middle of the

<sup>365</sup> Cf. Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets*, p.219; H. W. Turner, *HAIC*, I, pp.84, 100; II, p. 43.

<sup>366</sup> Cf. H. W. Turner, *HAIC*, II, p.133; E. Andersson, *Messianic Movements*, p.80.

<sup>367</sup> Cf. *supra* **Medicines or Faith**.

<sup>368</sup> Ilunga Nday, Interview, Kikondja, 11/12/1980 says that this happened at Bukama. The parents and relatives of the dead person wanted to charge the church with the responsibility for the death because the *mulombi* was a member of the CPZ.

<sup>369</sup> Ngoy wa Kyulu, Interview, Kamina II, 5/11/1980 says he was in hospital having his appendix removed in 1979 when a child was hospitalised for the same reason. The *mulombi* sent to the parents to tell them they should take the child to him immediately since the cause of the sickness was *mwita wa ntolwe* (meat from a small animal which is supposed to poison the person). He said that someone wished to kill the child but that if it was removed from the hospital it would recover. Ngoy wa Kyulu said he tried to persuade the parents not to take notice of what the *mulombi* said but they went away with the child.

<sup>370</sup> Cf. Jules-Rosette, *African Apostles*, p.23; *supra* ft. nt. 100.

<sup>371</sup> *Luba Religion*, p. 50.

<sup>372</sup> Ntala Dyuba, Interview, Kamina II, 20/5/1981 is from the Kikondja chieftainship and is familiar with this practice.

church and told everyone that they were to wash in the water to preserve them from all *bibanda* (evil spirits). At the same time they would be given the Holy Spirit.<sup>373</sup>

26. It is not good to anoint women with oil on the stomach or on the place that is painful. This is sin. Neither must you throw oil in the eyes of the sick or make them drink it.

As stated earlier, numbers of the *balombi* have had moral problems because they started anointing women with oil on different parts of their body.<sup>374</sup> Since moral downfall has been the cause of the demise of more *balombi* than any other factor, the leadership is keen to stamp out anything that can lead to sexual sins.<sup>375</sup> The practice of causing people to vomit after drinking water or oil has already been mentioned.<sup>376</sup>

27. It is not good to put out the lights in the house at night when you are praying and then to say to the person in the room: "Look at the vision".

The *mulombi* makes the person look at a bright light for a considerable period whereupon he extinguishes it. The impression of the extinguished light in the blacked out room continues for several seconds. The *mulombi* then says: "You have seen a vision of the glory of God".<sup>377</sup>

28. It is not good to grow a beard and to stop shaving.

This is one example where a new tradition: that of growing a beard like the *bapostolo*, is rejected in the face of old tradition, the CPZ tradition. In the light of the Mosaic instruction to Israel a number of the *balombi* have taught that the 'spiritual ones' should not shave.<sup>378</sup>

29. It is not good to make phone calls in the Spirit so that you call: "Hello! Kyembe [any name at random] Yes, Yes".

Some claim to have communication via the Spirit with other *balombi* and to hold conversations with those who are far away as though they were on the telephone.<sup>379</sup>

30. It is not good to belittle other workers and to say that they are worthless and do not have eyes to see.

There is considerable competition and rivalry between the *balombi* so that pride in one's own ability often results in heated arguments and the belittling of other men and their gifts.

31. It is not good to become a male midwife to help mothers give birth, and to say that God is giving you this gift.

It has already been stated that some have gone as far as to open maternity clinics.<sup>380</sup>

32. It is not good to pray for people in houses since it is best for all ministry to be in the church building.

<sup>373</sup> 'CPZ-Comité de district Kamina, 5/12/1980', No. 3.

<sup>374</sup> Ngoy Kijila Mapamba Zelebubele, Interview, Kalombo, 18/4/1981 was a disciple of Enoke Numbi and says that it was the anointing of the area which troubled the sick person that resulted in Enoke's downfall; cf. 'CPZ-Comité Exécutif, 24-28/2/1976', No. 2 where it was first affirmed that *balombi* should not anoint the sick; cf. *supra* ft. nt. 346, 1.1. d, 2.; D. B. Barrett, *Schism and Renewal*, p. 274 says that the anointing of sick with oil is one of the features of what he calls "Indigenous Christianity", but it is also a feature of Pentecostal Christianity; cf. John Carter, 'Divine Healing', (leaflet) n. pl., n. publisher, n.d., p.3.

<sup>375</sup> Ngoy Masangu Samwele, Interview, Kisanga, 18/12/1980 said that the *mulombi* Ndeme Teusa started taking young girls into a little white house he had built. He would disrobe them and anoint them with oil all over their bodies. The result was that it was not long before he was forcing them to lie with him; cf. *supra* ft. nt. 374.

<sup>376</sup> Ilunga Nday, Interview, Kikondja, 11/12/1980; cf. *supra*, **Exorcism**.

<sup>377</sup> Ilunga Nday, 11/12/1980.

<sup>378</sup> Cf. Jules-Rosette, *African Apostles*, pp.208, 210 says that the head is shaved since the evil spirits are supposed to lodge in the hair on the head. The beard is, however, as 'the glory of God'. I was told once while travelling on the train with *Bapostolo* that they shaved their heads in order to stop the demons dwelling there; December 1981 Lubumbashi to Kamina.

<sup>379</sup> Cf. Barrett, *Schism and Renewal*, p.274 says that this is common among Independent Churches.

<sup>380</sup> Ilunga Kazembe, Letter, 28/12/1980 confirms that Dominique does this; Ntala Dyuba, Interview, 20/5/1981 says that he knows of one *mulombi*, Numbi Ishimele of Mpinda in the Kikondja chieftainship, who did this up to the time of his death in 1980.

Because of malpractice and because of men falling into adultery when alone with women in closed homes, it is the policy of the CPZ that all *balombi* pray in the church building. It is required also that others should be present so as to allow no room for suspicion and to protect a *mulombi* from false accusations. However, many of the *balombi* have ignored this ruling.<sup>381</sup>

33. It is not good to shout out just the name of a book and the verse if you are prophesying.

There have been many extremes in the area of charismatic gifts. One of them is the shouting out of a Bible book, a chapter and verse without repeating the words found in that place. Someone who is supposedly "seized" by the Spirit will shout out something like: "Ephesians 10:6" - a chapter and verse that is nonexistent.

34. It is not good to make people take off their shoes when they are praying.

This custom is justified from Moses' experience before the burning bush:<sup>382</sup> The *balombi* tell the people that they are on holy ground and should leave their shoes outside. This is a common feature in many Independent churches in Zaire as well as elsewhere in Africa.<sup>383</sup>

35. It is not good to always pray in a house with women and a strange man. [cf. No. 32]

36. It is not good to refuse counsel from the Word of God and to do those things which are not recorded in the Bible.

It is not uncommon for a *mulombi* to say that he has the Spirit of God and that he does not need to read the Bible.<sup>384</sup> Those who take this stand maintain that everything is clearly revealed to them and that it is only those who are unspiritual who need to study the Bible. Since the CPZ believes that its doctrines and its practices are thoroughly founded upon the Bible they are quick to take disciplinary action against those who claim to do away with the Bible.

This note is appended to the previous rules:

N.B. The phrase: "I am going to ask God about this," (so as to consult the prophet) only appears in the Old Testament. We do not find it at all in the New Testament. Even the Apostles of Jesus did not work in this way.

One thing that is evident from the legislation, whether at the local church or conference level, is that the Scriptures are seen as the final court of appeal. Station pastors are expected to conduct seminars for the *balombi* "*ne kwibafundiya musakila Mukanda Ukola, ne kupeleja bobyia kebilonda'po mukanda wa Leza*" ("to teach them what the scriptures require, and to reject those things which are not according to the Bible").<sup>385</sup> Therefore, any *mulombi* who disregards the Bible is not a 'Spirit Person' as far as the CPZ norms are concerned. He would not participate in the seminars which are, as far as the CPZ can see, are essential for the positive direction of all *balombi*.

However, there is another important fact that comes out of this legislation: officially the CPZ considers that the *balombi* can fit into scriptural parameters. This means that in spite of doubts about the *balombi*, they generally look at the phenomenon in a friendly way. Pentecost and spiritual gifts go together so that to be unfriendly would be to go against Pentecostal doctrine. Direction is the important factor. Pastors realise that when a *mulombi* has manifested spiritual gifts, especially if some of the gifts are of the more spectacular kind<sup>386</sup> they come under tremendous pressure from their peers because of the powers they seem to command.<sup>387</sup> The CPZ wants to see the *mulombi* working within the context of the community and the local church. Where this happens he works in collaboration with a pastor and elders as one of a team. The leadership realise that the

<sup>381</sup> Cf. Turner, *HAIC*, I, p. 85 where the prophet is directed to pray for people in the church and not in his home.

<sup>382</sup> Exodus 3:2-5.

<sup>383</sup> Cf. Barrett, *Schism and Renewal*, p.274; cf. *supra*, ft. nt. 102.

<sup>384</sup> Ilunga Lusambo, Interview, 19/5/1981 says that Edise of Kalushinge went to the village of Kilomboi at Kapamai and said that the Bible was not important and she had everything revealed to her on a huge tablet. This trip took place during the second week of March 1981; I have already stated that many of the *balombi* are unable to read. Some like Adese get others to read the Bible for them; Kitamba Nsenga, 20/5/1980; otherwise they discard the Bible completely.

<sup>385</sup> Cf. *supra* ft. nt. 346, II, Ch. 1.1.d; cf. No. 36 *supra*.

<sup>386</sup> 1 Corinthians 12:8-10.

<sup>387</sup> Cf. *supra* Chapter 5.

gifts of God are operative in the individual and know that he plays an important part in the outworking of the gifts but they see the possibility of glorifying the man more than the giver. The *mulombi* is a channel through which the gifts are available to the church and they believe that as long as he remains a channel the gifts will flow. But they feel that as soon as he becomes the object of adoration not only will he draw the attention of believers away from Christ but he will no longer be of help to the community. He will become a threat since he will have gone beyond scriptural norms and lead his followers away from God, even if they do not realise it.<sup>388</sup>

### The *Mulombi* and the Ministry

It has been underlined in the several sections dealing with the phenomena surrounding the *mulombi* that it is not always possible to give any one point of view which will adequately portray the position held by all *balombi*. The same is true here.

I have not come across any *mulombi* who sees himself as a Moses leading his people out of Egyptian captivity<sup>389</sup> although, there is at least one who believes that the restriction placed upon him in the CPZ were equivalent to being held in continual darkness.<sup>390</sup> Nor have I met one who has seen himself as an Elijah calling down the fires of judgment upon an idolatrous nation<sup>391</sup> or a John the Baptist summoning a people to repentance in preparation for the coming Messiah and judgment.<sup>392</sup> In fact, one conspicuous feature has been the lack of any kind of apocalyptic message. This is strange in a community where in both the established church and in nativistic movements the apocalyptic is important.<sup>393</sup> Neither have the *balombi* become involved in giving advice on any of the ethical issues of the day, which is surprising in a country notorious for its corruption and the immoral treatment of its inhabitants. So they do not see themselves as reformers even when they are dissatisfied with the establishment.<sup>394</sup>

It is probably true to say that the *balombi* see themselves in one of two ways, depending on upon their relationship to the CPZ. Those who gravitate towards independency and who have been, as they believe, restricted in the actions by the Church, see themselves as the sole survivors of true Christianity. They are the upholders of the work of the Spirit in a Church which they feel has lost touch with the power of God.<sup>395</sup> Usually they see themselves as called to lead men and women to a place of blessing and liberty in the area of spiritual gifts and healing.<sup>396</sup> They regard themselves as God's gift to the Church but have different interpretations of what this means.

Some would believe that they are prophets in the sense of Ephesians 4:11, but they would prefer to think that they had filled a multiple office of apostle and prophet. Because of this they would certainly be above pastors, evangelists and teachers in ministerial importance. It is for this reason that as the 'Spirit' people they are in a position to command, direct and assume authority over the pastors. God is the only one to whom they have to give account of their actions. In the light of this it is easy to understand why those who hold to this position to not take direction from a pastor and never consider attending a seminar taught by pastors on the work of the *balombi*.<sup>397</sup> How could a pastor who has a written Bible as the only claim to authority pretend to direct an individual who is in direct communion with the Spirit?

<sup>388</sup> Kisonga Bueni Abele, Interview, Kamina, 27/3/1981 acknowledges the debt he owes to those who helped him in the early years when he first began to use spiritual gifts. He says that it was through this direction that he was kept from error.

<sup>389</sup> Cf. Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets*, p.107.

<sup>390</sup> Kasongo Tshikala, Interview, Kamina, 21/5/1981 of Oscar Lupusa after he left the CPZ.

<sup>391</sup> 1 Kings 18:20-40.

<sup>392</sup> Matthew 3:1-12.

<sup>393</sup> The apocalyptic element in the preaching of the pastors and missionaries of the CPZ (and earlier in the CEM) has been considerable. One look at the hymn book of the CPZ is sufficient to underline the importance given to the future, to the return of Christ and the heavenly Kingdom; cf. *Nimbo ya Bupandiji* (Songs of Salvation) Kamina, CPZ, 1981 Nos. 156-169; the *Kitawala* is a strong movement in the immediate area of the CPZ and well-known for its messianic message at its beginning (Today it does not seem to have this emphasis any longer, at least not among the cells in Shaba). The *Kishila* movement which sprang up in 1979 was a nativistic or revitalization movement with a message based on hope of a new regime to be administered by the *Bakishila* and their head – the Mwabi.

<sup>394</sup> Andersson, *Messianic Movements*, p. 185 wrote that the lack of ethical teaching in the *Khaki* movement was most evident.

<sup>395</sup> Men like Oscar Lupusa declare openly that they are men of the Spirit while the Pastors are not. For this reason they believe that they are carrying on in the true traditions of the Bible while the Pastors are not; Lupusa, Interview, 1/11/1980.

<sup>396</sup> Banza Mpoyo, Interview, Lulenge, 22/12/1981.

<sup>397</sup> All those pastors who have held seminars for the *balombi* have found that many would not attend; Jeushi Ngandu Mwine Nkimbi, Interview, Kikondja, 11/12/1980; Ngoy Kisula, Kamina, 8/11/1980; Kazadi Kaluka Bwana, Interview, 27/5/1981.

The second group of *balombi* are generally fewer in number. These tend to work in close cooperation with the leadership of the CPZ and see themselves in the light of Pentecostal teaching on the gifts of the Spirit.<sup>398</sup> They have gifts which are beneficial to the whole church, but they are nevertheless, subject to the same rules and guidelines as any member of the CPZ. They do not see themselves as a spiritual elite.

### The *Mulombi*'s Understanding of Scripture

A study of the Independent Churches in Africa shows us that even where many of the leaders are illiterate the Scriptures generally continue to hold a place of prominence.<sup>399</sup> Interpretations of various portions vary greatly but this does not detract from the centrality of the Bible. Since the CPZ calls itself a Church of 'The Book' many, though certainly not all, of the *balombi* claim to follow in the same scriptural tradition.

However, only very few themes are well known by the majority of the CPZ members. There are portions which are known by heart which are often repeated, but the majority do not even possess Bibles.<sup>400</sup> I have been in many villages where the only person with a Bible was the pastor.<sup>401</sup>

As has already been seen in the section on education, what can be said with regard to the pastors and elders can be said with regard to the *balombi*. They nevertheless, claim to follow in the CEM tradition. When it comes to practices such as shoe removal, beards, or sex taboos they can usually find a verse to prove that what they are doing is perfectly scriptural. They have not, as yet, tried to justify polygamy nor have they said that the whites had another Bible but some have said that the missionaries did not teach them all about the gifts of the Spirit.<sup>402</sup>

And a few of those who are illiterate, like Adese, had others read the Bible to them regularly and have even asked the pastors to keep them from doing those things which were not in line with the Scriptures.<sup>403</sup> But they have been the exception rather than the rule. All this may lead one to wonder whether the *balombi* are not a phenomenon belonging to a totally oral culture. It is not possible to generalise here since a good number of the *balombi* are able to read but not all. Most of the second group I have noted would be literate. There are also a number of pastors who are *balombi* and they can all read.<sup>404</sup> Both of these would regard themselves as being in perfect harmony with the Scripture.

There is however, one group of *balombi* who feel little but disdain for the Bible. For them Scriptures are necessary only for the unspiritual who do not experience the direct revelations that they enjoy. In this group prophecy and vision supersede the Bible. One *mulombi* from Kapamai taught it was not useful for her to study the Bible since God revealed everything to her as though it

<sup>398</sup> Cf. 1 Corinthians 12:12-30.

<sup>399</sup> Cf. Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets*, pp. 275-278; cf. the Bible in Aladura churches, H. W. Turner, *HAIC*, II, pp. 83, 84, 328-30; Jules-Rosette, *African Apostles*, pp. 88, 89; Oosthuizen, *Post-Christianity*, pp. 56, 100; D.B. Barrett, *Schism and Renewal*, pp. 127-134 indicates the importance of the Scriptures in the vernacular and its relationship to independency.

<sup>400</sup> There are a number of the older pastors of the CPZ who are capable Bible teachers and who would be well able to teach on the major themes of biblical doctrine but generally they do not. Portions like Galatians 5:19-21 are often quoted while the accompanying section on the fruits of the Spirit in verses 22-23 of the same chapter are almost completely neglected. Much is said about the importance of morality and interpersonal relationships as well as repentance and judgment; cf. Phillip Turner, 'the Wisdom of the Fathers and the Gospel of Christ: Some Notes on Christian Adaptation in Africa', *JRA*, 4(1) 1971, pp. 49, 50; since the economic crisis brought about by the increase in oil prices in 1973, inflation in Zaire has been the cause of great poverty. Bibles in the local languages have had to be paid for in hard currency by the churches and missions ordering them from the Bible Societies. They are then sold in Zaire in local currency but this does not make it possible to reorder with the sale of the Bibles since local currency cannot be used for purchase of paper outside the country or for paying printing costs. Bibles are difficult to purchase throughout the country and are often sold at black market prices. One could pay as much as three weeks wages for a Bible in Zaire on the black market.

<sup>401</sup> Cf. Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets*, p.275; V.E. Hayward, 'African Independent Church Movements', *IRM*, vol. 52, 1963, p.169; I have conducted teaching seminars for pastors and church members in many areas of the CPZ work. Included have been the major Christian doctrines. Experience would lead me to believe that the majority of the leadership in the CPZ does not understand biblical doctrine.

<sup>402</sup> On the thought that the missionaries had another Bible cf. especially H. W. Turner, 'The Hidden Power of the Whites: The Secret to Religion Withheld from the Primal Peoples', in his *Religious Innovation in Africa: Collected Essays on New Religious Movements*, Boston, G.K. Hall, 1979, pp.271-288; H. W. Turner, *HAIC*, II, pp. 83, 84 and the extra books of Moses; Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets*, p.278; E. Andersson, *Messianic Movements*, p.75.

<sup>403</sup> Elaidia Shimba wa Mukombe, Interview, Musao, 8/10/1981.

<sup>404</sup> Kisonga Bueni Abele is a pastor at Lusaka; Kasongo Kyoma is a pastor at Kisaha; Kitenge Bwana-Kucha is a pastor at Kongolo and Oscar Lupusa a pastor with the AOG Shaba at Kamina; cf. the subsection on **Education, Age and Gender** where I note that there are a lot of *balombi* who do not read at all (but this cannot be said of all).

were written on a great big blackboard.<sup>405</sup> This is the party which is against the *Institut Biblique* at Kamina II. These declare that they need no instruction since they have the Spirit to teach them everything. They are generally hostile to the leadership of the CPZ and the latter are not very sympathetic toward them saying that their own confession alienates them from the only rule of faith accepted by the CPZ.

### The *Mulombi* and the Power Base of the Church

Prior to 30 June 1960 there were some 50 CEM missionaries in the Congo on 13 mission stations.<sup>406</sup> For the most part the missionaries were totally in charge of all operations on their own stations and all Congolese pastors were directly responsible to the missionary. After the evacuation of all but a handful of missionaries, who stayed on to man Kamina, missionaries were never again in charge of any station.

When they did return it was never in the numbers known previously, so that their influence was never as great as it had been. As late as January 1983 there were only 19 missionaries on three stations<sup>407</sup> to serve a total of 68 stations in today's CPZ.<sup>408</sup> In addition to this, not only did the power leadership move from the hands of the missionaries to the Africans, but even when the missionaries did return their presence was never again felt locally on the stations in the way it had been prior to 1960.<sup>409</sup>

This is important because it is doubtful that the *mulombi* phenomenon would have developed had the Belgian Colonial Government stayed in power and the missionaries had been present in the same way that they were prior to Independence. There are several reasons for saying this. First, many aspects of the activity of the *balombi* are considered syncretistic by the missionaries and they most certainly would have tended to suppress this movement from the start. Under African leadership the *mulombi* movement has, in most cases, been left completely unchallenged until more recent times.<sup>410</sup> Again, during the colonial era the missionaries were very conscious of their delicate position before the State and keen not to let anything prejudice the authorities against them.<sup>411</sup> It was not unknown for those who misbehaved to be threatened with discipline from the Belgians. Those accused of rebellion have been in some cases handed over to the State, especially where *Kitawala* or other subversive groups were involved.<sup>412</sup> In this way the absence of the missionary and a change in leadership has proved to be a positive factor in the advancement of the *balombi*.

Prior to 1960 the Colonial Government forbade any kind of meeting in the countryside other than in a recognised church building. This was because the *Kitawala* gathered illegally in the open-air and the colonial powers did all they could to put an end to their existence, which was regarded as a threat to the harmony of the Congo.<sup>413</sup> Large prayer meetings were organised on some of the main stations only when there was a missionary president. According to those who remember that epoch, frequent periods of prolonged prayer were relatively rare.<sup>414</sup> One missionary

<sup>405</sup> Ilunga Lusambo, 19/5/1981; Ilunga Kazembe, Letter, 28/12/1990 says that the same attitude against the study of Scripture is prevalent among the *balombi* at Ngoy Mani; Baëta, *Prophetism in Ghana*, p.97 records what Frank Kwadzo Do said about visions: "Sometimes the scene is enacted before my eyes as on a cinema screen".

<sup>406</sup> Cf. *CEMR*, No. 283, June 1960, p.24.

<sup>407</sup> Cf. *Contact*, No. 555, Feb. 1983. The only stations where there are still missionaries are Kamina and Kipushya. At Kamina they are divided between the town and Kamina II (11 km toward the military base). Since 1976 the Ronald Monots have been located in Lubumbashi making this the third station with missionary personnel.

<sup>408</sup> 'Compte-Rendu de la 13ème Conférence de la CPZ, Kabongo, 18-21/8/1982', *Liste des participants à la Conférence*, pp.1-4, DGPP.

<sup>409</sup> Cf. *supra*, ft. nt. 407.

<sup>410</sup> J. Robinson, Interview, Kamina II, 19/3/1981 said that the Belgian Government officials were continually on the lookout for anything that was out of the ordinary. Missionaries were responsible to the State for everything that took place on their stations. This included such matters as the granting of travel passes. For this reason the missionaries kept close control over everything. Any activities which the missionaries feared would be interpreted in the wrong way by the Officials were stopped; it is only since 1979 that the CPZ has attempted to make more of a concerted effort to formulate a common stand with regard to the *balombi*.

<sup>411</sup> J. Robinson, *supra*, ft. nt. 410.

<sup>412</sup> Nkulu Ina Banza, Interview, Kamina II, 12/5/1981 was a teacher in the CEM primary school prior to 1960. He says that any student who had contacts with the *Kitawala* was immediately expelled and in some cases reported to the Authorities.

<sup>413</sup> This threat was very real to the Colonial Administration and is evident in reports like that written by R. V.G. Wauthion (Commissaire de District Tanganika, Albertville) Report, Albertville, 15/1/19 [year not known as destroyed by termites] Chapitre V, p. 5, AZMN "Influence du Mouvement Kitawala au Congo Belge", in which he describes the threat that the *Kitawala* poses especially to the white population; the Archives of the Zone at Malemba Nkulu are full of secret reports (they were secret during the Colonial era) on the *Kitawala*.

<sup>414</sup> Mwilambwe Ngoy Tunkela, Interview, Kamina II, 13/5/1981; Banze Mwadi, Interview, Kamina II, 5/5/1981.

who organised special prayer for the baptism in the Holy Spirit did so at a site just outside the main station for privacy. However, he says that he was thoroughly reprimanded by senior missionaries and accused of having “clandestine gatherings in the forests” where all sorts of “queer things were happening”.<sup>415</sup> The same person was so convinced that he was doing the right thing that he built palm frond shelters in the centre of village streets and held the same kind of meetings.<sup>416</sup> It appears that this sort of meeting was the exception rather than the rule during the colonial period. However, since those times the African leadership have often encouraged prayer conventions where the man or woman with spiritual gifts has been encouraged to participate. It is certain that this encouragement has been in part responsible for the increase of phenomena associated with the *balombi*.

The change in power base has not been without tensions. This is not surprising when one considers the trauma through which Congo passed during its early days of independence. With few exceptions there was little in the way of planned transition from missionary to African leadership.<sup>417</sup> In addition, no one could predict what was going to happen from one day to the next. The whole Church could have fallen apart, but it did not: it held together and although the structures had to be modified, the church continues to grow. There is no way that the pre-1960 structure could cope in the 1980s. In this modified structure, no *mulombi* has taken his place alongside a Pastor as part of the new leadership of the CPZ. The Zairian pastors cannot, as has been the case in some denominations and in some other countries, simply take over the role of the departed missionary.<sup>418</sup>

The most important question in the context of the *balombi* is: who is going to run the church - the *balombi* or the pastors? An earlier section demonstrated that in many cases there is an increasing friction between the *balombi* and the pastors. It is evident that the two classes of leadership are going to have to work out a *modus vivendi* between them if the church is going to prosper. This makes it necessary to look again at the two groups of leaders. One is the institutional leader while the other is charismatic.

The institutional leader is divided into two categories. There is the “wise man” type who has inherited certain norms which he believes he has to maintain at all costs.<sup>419</sup> Philip Turner points out that: “Wise men are good peacemakers but bad prophets”.<sup>420</sup> This group would include the majority of pastors in the CPZ anxious to maintain tradition and hesitant to launch out on unexplored terrain. For them the work of the *balombi* and the gifts of the Spirit are to a great extent an unknown quantity. The “wise man” may not be very well-educated but he is generally well esteemed by those over whom he has charge. He sits on a platform during all the meetings even when he is not speaking – whether he is himself a good speaker or not is irrelevant.<sup>421</sup> He sets up and he puts down and is what some writers call “the chiefly type”.<sup>422</sup> His word is final; no one can gainsay his commands.

The second group within the institutional category is what some have called the “bureaucratic type”.<sup>423</sup> He is generally younger and perhaps better educated than the “wise man”. He may well be at loggerheads with him over change. In the CPZ most of the graduates from the *Institut Biblique* would be included under this heading. They are often regarded with suspicion by the old pastors and have had more exposure to the study of the work of the Spirit than have most of the “wise men”. A number of a “bureaucratic” type pastors who have received station pastor status have also become men of the “chiefly” type. This seems to be a common phenomenon. Those who are the “chiefly” group, whether “wise men” or “bureaucrats” believe that any opposition

<sup>415</sup> W.B. Hawkins, Letter, Nottingham, 9/6/1981 to author.

<sup>416</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>417</sup> There was a meeting of missionaries and African pastors held to discuss matters which involved them both: ‘*Myanda mitabijibwe mu kitango kyetu kya ku Mwanza*’ (‘Matters which were accepted in our gathering at Mwanza’), Mwanza, 16-17/7/1959, AZEM, Kamina; this included the handing over of authority to the Congolese pastors to baptize; cf. Minute No. 9; E. Rowlands, Interview, Margate, Kent, 20/2/1983 says that it was only in 1959 when Independence was certain that the CEM started taking measures to hand over authority to the African leadership. He says that in spite of this some of the missionaries had not handed over finances or other responsibilities by the time they were evacuated in 1960.

<sup>418</sup> A.F. Walls, Interview, Aberdeen, 21/12/1982 says that this happened with the Presbyterians in Ghana.

<sup>419</sup> Philip Turner, ‘The Wisdom of the Fathers in the Gospel of Christ: Some Notes on Christian Adaptation in Africa’, *JRA*, 4(1) 1971, pp. 53-55; Mwene-Batende, ‘Quelques aspects du prophétisme au Zaïre’, pp. 82, 83.

<sup>420</sup> P. Turner, ‘Wisdom of the Fathers’, p. 55.

<sup>421</sup> Cf. Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets*, p.107.

<sup>422</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.106,107; Pauw, *Religion in a Tswana Chieftdom*, London, OUP for the IAI, 1960, pp. 71, 72; in the CEM/CPZ there have been some chiefs who have become Christians but they have not been chiefs who became active in the leadership of the church as they have been in some countries.

<sup>423</sup> G. Bernard, ‘Prophétisme et mouvements religieux contemporains en Afrique’ in *Construire l’Afrique Construire le monde*, [Kinshasa] Publication Extension Universitaire Lovanium, 1968, p.138 cited in Mwene-Batende, ‘Quelques aspects du prophétisme au Zaïre’, pp. 82, 83.

to their decision is a flagrant violation of the will of God, the Gospel, and open rebellion indicative of a backslidden state.<sup>424</sup>

It has already been demonstrated how the *mulombi* sees himself as God's gift to the church, and upholder of the true spiritual message. He sees himself as the man endowed with the gifts of the Spirit – the true charismatic. Yet given the chance he too may become the “chiefly” type, as autocratic as the pastor without the restraints of tradition and Scripture.

To reconcile what appears to be two diametrically opposed positions of leadership will only be possible with compromise. The pastors will have to recognise that the *balombi* have a valid contribution to make provided that they are willing to operate within the parameters of Scripture. The *balombi*, for their part, will have to acknowledge the role of the pastor as being necessary and scriptural. But this will first require recognition of the primacy of Scripture. When they do this they are more likely to be able to convince the pastors of the legitimacy of their own position. It is unlikely that there will be any sudden and dramatic change in attitudes and I cannot see the charismatic element taking over the leadership of the CPZ unless eventually there are enough institutional leaders who become charismatic.

### The *Mulombi*, Bible Reading, and Theological Education

The leadership of the CPZ, excluding the *balombi*, believe that the only way to correct these aspects which they see as unscriptural in the CPZ churches is to establish sound doctrine as the norm. To do this would mean extra effort on the part of all members of the CPZ to have a greater understanding of the Scriptures. The CPZ declares its solid support for the Scriptures as the base of its faith in practices:

Les Ecritures, connues sous le nom de la Bible, sont la parole inspirée de Dieu, la règle de foi et de conduite infaillible et pleinement suffisante. (CPZ, « Base de Foi », [Kamina], n.d., préambule).<sup>425</sup>

It was mentioned earlier that the Bible is not always well known but this does not mean that it is not highly revered.<sup>426</sup> It is probably the most sought-after book in Zaire and is certainly the most popular book in the area served by the CPZ.<sup>427</sup> It is not only the CPZ which claims to base its teaching upon the “pure truth of the Bible” since most of the churches in the same area, whether missionary churches<sup>428</sup> or Independent African Churches<sup>429</sup> justify their doctrines from Scripture.<sup>430</sup>

There is no one way of interpreting Scripture, although context is generally ignored and allegory abounds. The sycamore tree that Zachaeus climbed to see Jesus, shows us that if we really decide to have a real experience with Jesus we need extra faith.<sup>431</sup> This faith lifts us up to see and know him. The sycamore tree is faith and the climbing of it faith in action. The grave clothes in the empty tomb are the vestiges of the earthly life; they are the sins we have to forsake if we wish to attain unto the resurrection.<sup>432</sup> Most Christians in the CPZ do not know that Jordan and Israel really exist. The Jordan is death, the place through which we pass on our way to heaven. Israel, the promised land, is synonymous with heaven.

I have questioned many as to when and how they became Christians. Most will say that it was when they were baptised; others say that they were saved<sup>433</sup> when they confessed their sins

<sup>424</sup> I have seen young men who opposed the ‘wise men’ on matters of change, but who once in positions of leadership themselves were often more dictatorial than the older ‘chiefly type’. A number of these are men who have been through the Bible school system. Although I have divided the leadership into institutional and charismatic categories this does not mean that the institutional leader is automatically excluded from being charismatic. Any institutional leader who becomes a *mulombi* automatically becomes charismatic in the sense in which the word is used here.

<sup>425</sup> This is repeated in the ‘Projet du Règlement d’Ordre Intérieur’, accepted by the 13<sup>th</sup> conference of the CPZ at Kabongo in August 1982, Article 4, Foi et croyance, DGPP.

<sup>426</sup> Cf. H. W. Turner, *HAIC*, II, pp. 83, 84.

<sup>427</sup> The CPZ bookshop in Kamina is now the central supplier for the Bible Societies for the Province of Shaba. It is not uncommon for 10,000 Bibles to be sold out completely within a matter of weeks of their arrival. There is a constant demand for Bibles in many languages but the main languages stocked there are: Kiluba, Tshiluba and Swahili. Most of the New Testaments in Kisongye are sent directly to the Kasai.

<sup>428</sup> By missionary churches is meant those which were started by missionaries with the help of African evangelists.

<sup>429</sup> By African Independent Churches is meant those churches which have had no direct link with missionaries at the commencement although there is a strong possibility that the founders were once attached to a mission church.

<sup>430</sup> Cf. the place of the Bible in the Independent Churches in Oosthuizen, *Post-Christianity*, pp. 55-57, 91; Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets*, pp.275-278.

<sup>431</sup> Luke 19:2-7.

<sup>432</sup> John 20:5-7.

<sup>433</sup> This word ‘saved’ is, evangelical terminology for the conversion of an individual.

and kept the *bijila* (the interdictions and laws). Many of the candidates for the *Institut Biblique* and a good number of the senior station pastors believe that the teaching of salvation by faith and the work of the Grace of God would only lead to lawlessness;<sup>434</sup> they hold that it would be impossible for an individual to become a Christian without first confessing his sins to an elder or to a pastor. They would not recognise as valid any salvation resulting from the reading of Scripture unless this conversion was followed by confession to the leadership or before the church. For this reason salvation has become associated with confession, baptism and law keeping.<sup>435</sup>

During the missionary epoch there were only 13 stations in the CEM, and there was for the most part a fairly consistent programme of instruction in practice and doctrine on every station. This instruction was concentrated on the training of the leadership who were usually called into the main stations for annual courses.<sup>436</sup> However, since 1960 there has been little if any consistent teaching except where the missionaries have held seminars on stations in the different districts.<sup>437</sup> African pastors, as stated earlier, were in many cases completely unprepared for the task that was thrust upon them when Independence overtook everyone in 1960.<sup>438</sup> This means that the pastors have not been able to teach and instruct the *balombi* and they have not been able to teach their own members as to how to respond to the phenomena surrounding the *balombi* and their work.<sup>439</sup> Often they have been afraid of the phenomena and of the *balombi* as has been explained elsewhere.<sup>440</sup>

However, a number of station pastors have seen the need to become involved with the *balombi* in a positive way. From the response to the *Questionnaires* it is apparent that only seven stations have done anything in a specific move to help the *balombi*.<sup>441</sup> This number does not include many of the other stations where the *Questionnaires* indicated that the pastors often called the *balombi* to speak to them individually. It has already been noted what has been done at Kikondja during December of 1980 where Jeushi Ngandu and Edi Lunda Kateba were directly involved in the teaching and planning of a group seminar. *Balombi* from all over Kikondja station were called to attend. This had not been the first time that Jeushi had organised such a seminar for the *balombi*; the first one had been held in July 1977 and resulted from a request by Stani, a well-known *mulombi* in Samitanda. The meetings were convened at the village of Kyembe (Samitanda) where *balombi* from a number of stations including Kapamai, Kikondja, Sungu, and Kabongo were present.<sup>442</sup> The programme was very similar to that taught later at Kikondja and although the majority of the *balombi* seemed to accept the counsel they were given, there were those like André Kashosho (Kalui) who did not find it so easy to acquiesce.<sup>443</sup> Jeushi believes that this sort of seminar is the only answer in helping to relieve the tension which exists between *balombi* and the institutional leadership.<sup>444</sup>

At Kimabwe the leadership has organised regular training for all workers during the year.<sup>445</sup> This includes the *balombi* who have been encouraged by the presence of Abele Kisonga Bueni

<sup>434</sup> The author was once called 'Ante Kidishitu' (Anti-Christ) when he taught that salvation was a matter of faith and not of works (Ephesians 2:8-9) even when he emphasised the need to practice good works as a result of faith. However, the Pastor who called him by that name later changed his mind and he was invited on numerous occasions to teach the workers of his station.

<sup>435</sup> Cf. B.A. Pauw, *Religion in a Tswana Chieftdom*, p.162; Philip Turner, 'The Wisdom of the Fathers', pp. 52, 53 on legalism in the African Church.

<sup>436</sup> This happened at Kabongo, Kikondja and many other stations.

<sup>437</sup> This has been confirmed by the 'Questionnaire'. Of 28 stations which replied to this section, 14 indicate that there has been no formal instruction given by the leadership since 1960. The remaining 14 stations state that it is only since 1977 that they have started having regular training sessions each year. Six of the 14 have only ever had one teaching seminar conducted by the pastor and the remaining eight stations have had a total of 33 sessions between them (of those 12 had been held on one station and six on another). This was information gathered up until 1980.

<sup>438</sup> D. Womersley, 'Problems of Young Churches- No.4', *CEMR*, No. 385, Dec. 1968, p.16 says regarding the problems of taking over from the missionaries: "It is ... no wonder that for those who had suddenly to take the final responsibilities in 1960, the task was often overwhelming, for not only had they to deal with the large work, but it was during a time of war and famine".

<sup>439</sup> With some exceptions it is only since the first class of graduates from the four-year cycle left Kamina II in June 1976 that numbers of these men have taken it upon themselves to instruct the workers of the stations by holding fairly regular seminars.

<sup>440</sup> The earlier policy that all workers had to have been baptised in the Holy Spirit and spoken in tongues was not enforced and there were a number of station Pastors who had never had this experience. It was for this reason that the legislation was re-introduced in 1982; cf. 'Projet du Règlement d'Ordre Intérieur', Article 26: A. d.

<sup>441</sup> Four of these stations had Kamina II graduates who are either directly involved in teaching or in organising the courses or the materials to be presented.

<sup>442</sup> Kabamba Ilunga, Interview, Kamina II, 29/11/1980 was given this information by Sampsoni Kanantwa from Pambwe who was present at the meetings from the 25/7/1977.

<sup>443</sup> *Supra* ft. nt. 441.

<sup>444</sup> Jeushi Ngandu, Interview, Kikondja, 11/12/1980.

<sup>445</sup> Banze Kalolo, 'Questionnaire: Kimabwe'.

who gives helpful teaching on the work of the Spirit.<sup>446</sup> Many who would not accept the advice of men whom they consider to be without the Spirit, would accept help from Abele.<sup>447</sup> At other stations including Kabongo and Kamina the pastors have made an effort to encourage the attendance of the *balombi*,<sup>448</sup> yet many of them failed to attend.<sup>449</sup> Apart from those who are ready to submit to pastors' instruction, there are some, generally unknown to the leadership, who are reluctant to declare themselves openly as *balombi* for fear that they will find their liberties curtailed.<sup>450</sup> Jeushi says that even at Kikondja where there was a good turnout, there were a number who were afraid to come.<sup>451</sup> As a result the leadership that Kikondja have considered making attendance at such sessions mandatory for all who wish to be recognised as *balombi*; if they fail to respond to this pressure they may well find that they no longer have the privilege of working freely within the CPZ.

The emphasis on literature has been continued with the publication of books that have been written in the vernacular and aimed at the local needs. These include a number of works which have been designed to help in the area of spiritual gifts and the work of the Spirit.<sup>452</sup> The *Nshintulwilo* (Interpretation) series was written to help missionaries as they toured district seminars and covers all the main doctrines of the Bible. It was such a success that it was sold in the CPZ bookstore at Kamina. This included a booklet on the Holy Spirit and a section on the work of the prophet in the booklet on Christ.<sup>453</sup>

Associated with the literature work is that of the district visitation seminars and the *Institut Biblique Central* Kamina II. District seminars were introduced in 1974<sup>454</sup> and originally involved eight missionaries who spent one month of each year in different districts of the CPZ. During that time they taught one of the main doctrines of the Bible to pastors of that particular district. For different reasons this programme ran out of momentum until there was only one missionary trying to do all this work. There are now four who continue but instead of tackling an entire District it has been found that it is more practical to spend less time on one station before moving to another.<sup>455</sup>

The *Institut Biblique* is comprised of a central institute with 11 branch schools in affiliation with, and supervised from Kamina II.<sup>456</sup> The branch schools are spread throughout the Province of Shaba. The Kasai has its own two-year cycle at Kipushya but this is hardly sufficient for the needs of that growing District.<sup>457</sup> The two-year cycle followed by the branch schools is geared to local needs and is aimed at preparing local pastors. The schools have already influenced the *balombi* in the immediate areas where they are located. Ilunga Kazembe says that at Luamba the *balombi* are no longer able to do exactly as they wish, since the students have taught so much about the work of the Spirit that the people no longer accept everything the *balombi* say and do.<sup>458</sup> The same is true at Kabondo-Dianda where Ilunga Nday says that not only difficulties over the *balombi* but over other doctrines were gradually overcome as the graduates from the branch school returned home to their assemblies.<sup>459</sup>

In one or two instances *balombi* have attended branch schools as full-time students and this has undoubtedly modified their practices and attitudes. In this manner the ongoing reading of Scripture is bound to gradually affect the work of the *balombi*. This will be in a direct and indirect way. Direct, in as far as it will modify their own view of the Scripture, and indirectly as it brings about a change in the attitudes of the pastors and ordinary members. Whether this change will be regarded as positive in terms of what the *balombi* now practice remains to be seen.

## Partial Conclusion

It is evident in many of the phenomena associated with the *balombi* are not new. They can be found in greater or lesser degrees in most African movements. Perhaps the most significant

<sup>446</sup> Banze Kalolo, Interview, Kamina II, 9/3/1981; Kisonga Bueni Abele, Interview, Kamina, 27/3/1981.

<sup>447</sup> Nevertheless, there are some *balombi* like Ilunga Ntombe and Twite Nday from the Kimabwe station who have not accepted the counsel given them by Kisonga Bueni; Banze Kalolo, 'Questionnaire: Kimabwe'.

<sup>448</sup> Ilunga Nshimba, 'Questionnaire: Kabongo', Ngoy Kisula, Interview, 8/11/1980.

<sup>449</sup> Kabila Bakola Dibwe, 'Questionnaire: Kashukulu'; Ilunga Nshimba, 'Questionnaire: Kabongo'; Ngoy Kisula, 8/11/1980; Jeushi Ngandu, Interview, 11/12/1980.

<sup>450</sup> Ngoy Kisula, 8/11/1980; Jeushi Ngandu, 11/12/1980.

<sup>451</sup> Jeushi Ngandu, 11/12/1980.

<sup>452</sup> J. Robinson, *Mushipiditu*, Kamina, CPZ; D.S. A. Womersley, *Kodinda wa Kamo*, (First Corinthians) Kamina, CPZ, 1982.

<sup>453</sup> *Nshintulwilo No. 1*, Kamina, CPZ, n.d. is on the Spirit; *Nshintulwilo No.2*, Kamina, CPZ, n.d. is on the Person and the work of Christ but includes a section on the work of the prophets; pp. 18-21.

<sup>454</sup> 'CPZ-Comité Exécutif, Kamina, 24/9/1974', No. 18.

<sup>455</sup> The CPZ is divided into areas or Districts for administrative purposes. They include: Kasai, Tanganika (or Nord), Central, Kamina, Lualaba Nord, and Lualaba Sud. Kinshasa and Zambia are not included in any District yet.

<sup>456</sup> There were 11 branch schools of Kamina II as of September 1982.

<sup>457</sup> The two-year school at Kipushya does not come under the jurisdiction of Kamina II.

<sup>458</sup> Ilunga Kazembe, Letter, 28/12/1980.

<sup>459</sup> Ilunga Nday, Interview, 6/11/1980.

factor in the *mulombi* movement is the overall combination of phenomena and the Pentecostal setting which has provided the momentum for the growth of the movement. In terms of what was at first regarded as essential for the formation of such prophet movements there are none of what E. Andersson calls “führende Individuen”.<sup>460</sup> It used to be thought that leaders of this type were vital to the formation and continuation of prophet movements but this is now known to be incorrect. In this the *balombi* resemble closely the prophets in the churches amongst the Igbo and Ibibio (of Nigeria) rather than the more organised charismatic leaders with a hierarchical structure amongst the Aladura groups of the Yoruba.<sup>461</sup> In addition to this lack of charismatic leadership there is the striking absence of any messianic element in the message of the *balombi*. Both of these elements were previously regarded as prerequisites to prophetism but it is evident that they are not.<sup>462</sup> The old models for prophetism are not comprehensive enough for what is happening today and that includes what is happening in southern Zaire.

Another factor which is significant although it is not unique, is that the *mulombi* movement has remained entirely within the parameters of the CPZ. It has become an integral part of the Church without producing churches of its own. There are other groups which resembled the *mulombi* movement. One is the *Kereke ea Moshoeshoe* in Lesotho. It remained within the Paris Evangelical Mission for a number of years before emerging as a separate Church. However, the *Kereke ea Moshoeshoe* was the result of one charismatic leader and it is much more organised than the *mulombi* movement.<sup>463</sup> Again, there are some similarities between the *mulombi* movement and the Martha Davies Confidential Benevolent Association, in Sierra Leone. However, the ‘prayer mothers’, as they are better known, are different because the group was formed as an independent organisation even though it was never meant to take members from the established churches and it never attempted to become a church in the common sense of the word.<sup>464</sup> Perhaps the *mulombi* movement has not produced churches of its own because of the *laissez-faire* attitude of the CPZ. It would appear that hyper-independency, in the western sense, curtails independency, in the African sense.

Another important difference in this movement lies in the prime reason for the emergence of the *balombi*. Most prophet movements point to a lack of emphasis on the work of the Spirit, healing and the need for power to overcome evil forces and witchcraft as having provided the initial impetus for their *raison d’être*. With the *balombi* there is every indication that the movement owes its existence to the emphasis that has been placed upon these very factors by both the CEM and the CPZ.

One of the strengths of the *mulombi* movement has been the place it has given to healing; however, there has been little in the way of integration between healing and evangelism in this movement. The Church is going to have to learn to relate the two if it is to exploit the strength to the fullest and make healing an integral part of its overall evangelistic ministry.<sup>465</sup> Western Christianity would see one of the greatest weaknesses of this movement in its complete disregard for the relationship between the Spirit and the Person of Christ. To the majority of *balombi* the Spirit is a power rather than a person. As such, Spirit in this movement bears all the hallmarks of the Old Testament and has more in common with the doctrine of the Spirit in Judaism than in the New Testament. This is nothing new but if the CPZ wishes to emphasise the New Testament aspect of its doctrine it will need to re-establish the place of the work of the Spirit within the New Testament context.

When looking at the reason for the growth for the *mulombi* movement it is necessary to remember the importance of the age-old question in Africa - the problem of causality. The phrase seen earlier: “*Naenda kukalomba*” (I am going to go and enquire about it) shows that there is a need within the Luban social structure to have answers to certain kinds of questions. Contrary to the Western thought pattern, the Muluba, like most Africans, wants to know about the “who” more than the “why”. As in the case of Frank Kwadzo Do, the leader of a prayer and healing group in Ghana, individual Baluba feel “an unbearable lack that there should be no place to which people, could properly turn when they wanted to know about themselves, their loved ones and their

<sup>460</sup> E. Andersson, *Messianic Popular Movements*, p.258.

<sup>461</sup> A.F. Walls, Aberdeen, 22/3/1983; I am grateful to the members of the Post Graduate Seminar, Department of Religious Studies, University of Aberdeen for emphasising this point during an earlier presentation of first draft of this study to the seminar on 26/4/1983.

<sup>462</sup> *Supra* The *Mulombi* and the Ministry.

<sup>463</sup> G. M. Haliburton, ‘A Prophet and a Politician in Lesotho’, *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 7(2) 1975, pp. 114-116.

<sup>464</sup> I.M. Ndanema, ‘The Martha Davies Confidential Benevolent Association’, *The Sierra Leone Bulletin of Religion*, 3(2) 1961, pp. 64-67.

<sup>465</sup> H. Turner, *HAIC*, II, p. 157.

affairs".<sup>466</sup> This is especially true in the Christian context where the individual is "forbidden every dealing with fetish priests, medicine-men and all of the other oracles that people normally consult".<sup>467</sup> Like Kwadzo Do, many Luban Christians conclude that there can be little wrong in turning to God himself believing that he must surely be happy to provide the information which they seek. In the CPZ most Baluba see God as doing this through his spokesmen – the *balombi*.

There is, as stated earlier, undoubtedly a reintegration of old and new within the *mulombi* movement.<sup>468</sup> The *balombi* are consciously trying to bring about changes in existing order so that in its simplest sense this is also a revitalisation movement.<sup>469</sup> The *balombi* are trying to reintroduce and reemphasise many aspects of traditional religion and relate them to Christian practice.<sup>470</sup>

Some of these aspects have a counterpart in Christianity and have a long history in the CPZ. One such would be confession. Within the CPZ confession of sin has been a feature associated with renewal of faith and has been considered as evidence of free consecration and dedication. This has been true since the 'Luban Pentecost' in 1920 when for the first time many Baluba were baptised in the Holy Spirit and spoke in tongues.<sup>471</sup> At that time Burton recorded that his time had been "fully occupied ... listening to confessions of sin.... The burdened ones have forced themselves upon me whether I would or no".<sup>472</sup> However, confession of the *katole* type is regarded by the CPZ as falling within the traditional mould and as being incompatible with acceptable practice.

The CPZ has already made a big step in establishing the Bible as the touchstone for all doctrine and practice. Yet it is one thing to make this declaration and another to implement all it entails. The way in which this entire question is handled will most certainly determine the direction that the *mulombi* movement will take and whether or not it will remain a permanent feature of the CPZ.

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<sup>466</sup> C.G. Baëta, *Prophetism in Ghana*, p. 97.

<sup>467</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>468</sup> *Supra*, **The Mulombi and Traditional Religion**.

<sup>469</sup> A.F.C. Wallace, 'Revitalization Movements', *American Anthropologist*, 58(2) 1956, pp. 265-267.

<sup>470</sup> *Supra*, **The Mulombi and Traditional Religion; The rules for the *Balombi* to know**.

<sup>471</sup> *RFBWFPB*, No. 17, p. 5.

<sup>472</sup> *Ibid.*, p.5.

## Chapter 7

### The Church Since 1960

#### A) Upheaval and Extension

Independence came to the Belgian Congo on 30 June 1960.<sup>1</sup> Among other things, pressure from the group known as the *évolués* had resulted in the Roundtable Conference at Brussels in January 1960. At that time Independence was promised for the Belgian Congo.<sup>2</sup> It had only been the year before that King Baudouin had made a speech promising the organisation of free elections and universal suffrage leading to eventual independence.<sup>3</sup> For most whites in the colony this promise of independence came as a considerable shock – not least the missions. It was only as a result of this announcement in 1959 that the CEM decided it had better hasten the granting of responsibility for Church government to the African leadership.<sup>4</sup>

In the Katanga two main political parties were formed. The first was the Conakat (*Confédération des Associations Tribales du Katanga*). This party under the leadership of Tshombe, Kalenda and Mulongo was made up mostly of Bayeke, Balamba and Aruund with a very small following of Baluba.<sup>5</sup> The Balubakat (*Baluba du Katanga*) were formed under the leadership of Jason Sendwe, a Muluba from the Kabongo chieftainship. Tshombe and his Conakat party spoke of secession from Congo while Sendwe and the Balubakat were in favour of remaining in a United Congo.<sup>6</sup> Because of strong sentiments which existed between the two parties it was inevitable that trouble would eventually break out between them. What complicated matters for the Baluba was that both chiefs Kasongwa Niembo and Kabongo backed Tshombe. However, although the majority of Kasongwa Niembo's subjects were behind him, the majority of Kabongo's were not.<sup>7</sup> This was why Lubaland was divided later during the Civil War.

In the face of looming conflict many of the whites prepared for the possibility of evacuation well in advance of 30 June 1960.<sup>8</sup> On 8 July 1960 there were uprisings in a number of military camps in the Katanga when the Congolese NCOs mutinied against their Belgian officers and on 11 July the Katanga seceded from the Congo to form an Independent State.<sup>9</sup> The youth movement associated with the Balubakat, known as the *Jeunesse*, went on the rampage and because they were determined to kill whites and all Africans who had close dealings with the whites it was decided to evacuate all CEM missionaries to Kamina Base.<sup>10</sup> From there they were flown by the Americans to Salisbury (Harare).<sup>11</sup> Others at Kongolo in the north were forced to flee in a motor launch while they were fired on by the rebels from the bank of the Lualaba; they escaped with the clothes they were wearing and were evacuated through Tanganyika (Tanzania) to Britain.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Kanza, *The Rise and Fall of Patrice Lumumba: Conflict in the Congo*, Boston, G.K. Hall, 1979, pp. 152-164.

<sup>2</sup> R. Slade, *The Belgian Congo*, pp. 11, 16, 17; R. Anstey, *Leopold's Legacy*, pp. 220-230, 237-260.

<sup>3</sup> Tshibangu, *Histoire du Zaïre*, pp. 90-95; R. Slade, *The Belgian Congo*, pp. 50, 51.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *supra*, pp. 176, 177.

<sup>5</sup> R. Slade, *The Belgian Congo*, p. 64; R. Anstey, *Leopold's Legacy*, p.225; T. Kanza, *The Rise and Fall of Patrice Lumumba*, pp. 34, 35, 37.

<sup>6</sup> T. Kanza, *Patrice Lumumba*, p. 37; T. Tshibangu, *Histoire du Zaïre*, p. 99; Jason Sendwe was from the Kabongo chieftainship and had been educated by the Methodists at Kanene. His fellow Methodist, Moïse Tshombe, was from the Aruund, and did not have the same feelings about remaining in the Central Government as did Sendwe. On Sendwe, by one who knew him quite well cf. H. Womersley, 'Jason Sendwe as I knew him', *CEMR*, No. 334 September 1964, pp.5,6; Womersley had married Sendwe at Kabongo in 1933.

<sup>7</sup> C. Hoskyns, *The Congo since Independence: January 1960-December 1961*, London, OUP sponsored by the Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1965, p. 281; cf. Etat du Katanga, 'Rapport annuel 1960, Etat du Katanga', Elisabethville, 15/11/1961, ARShaba, p. 18 regarding Kasongwa Niembo being pro Tshombe.

<sup>8</sup> 'AB-CEM, Kabondo Dianda, 16-19/7/1960', No. 9: "that each missionary be given two months allowance in advance with the thought that we cover the possibility of the need to get out of the Congo if an emergency did arise. 10. That we insist on all Medical and Educational Accounts being entirely separate from missionaries' personal accounts before the end of June 1960. 11. That we pay non-subsidised Schools their financial help for the next three months in advance".

<sup>9</sup> T. Tshibangu, *Histoire du Zaïre*, pp. 110, 111; M. Jacques, Interview, Kamina 7/5/1980; *Telegraph and Argus*, 'A Narrow Escape from Congo: A Couple's Experience', *Telegraph and Argus*, Bradford, 4/8/1960. n.p. (found in AZEM Preston) records Shelbourne's escape; the places where there were military uprisings in the CEM area included Manono, Kabondo Dianda and Kongolo.

<sup>10</sup> 'God will Lead', *CEMR*, No. 286, September 1960, p.17 Etat du Katanga, 'Rapport annuel 1960, Etat du Katanga', Elisabethville, 15/11/1961, p. 19 says with regard to the Balubakat victims : « leurs victimes étaient : l'élite intellectuelles, l'élite coutumière et l'élite religieuse ».

<sup>11</sup> I was in Salisbury when the evacuation took place.

<sup>12</sup> 'A Narrow Escape from Congo', *Telegraph and Argus*, 4/8/1960; 'Independence and then-', *CEMR*, No. 287, October 1960, pp. 7-9; those from Kongolo were evacuated via Kabalo and Albertville (Kalemie) to Dar es Salaam. From there they were flown by the Royal Air Force to Britain. Those evacuated via the royal Air Force had to pay their fares home while those evacuated to Salisbury did not have to pay the Americans; cf. H. Chick who was evacuated from Kongolo

The only missionaries not to evacuate were those at Kamina.<sup>13</sup> They did, however, later join the other missionaries in Salisbury at a conference when it was decided that Kabongo, Luena, Kabondo Dianda, Kikondja and Kamina would be kept open.<sup>14</sup> D. Womersley returned to Kabongo, but was forced by UNO troops to leave. Shortly after this the *Jeunesse* from Kikondja and Malemba Nkulu with others from Kabongo were responsible for the death of Chief Kabongo and many members of his family.<sup>15</sup> Luena was taken over by the *Jeunesse* as were all the other places named for reoccupation except for Kamina which remained a Conakat island.<sup>16</sup> A party of missionaries attempted to visit Kikondja, but they were threatened with death and told never to return.<sup>17</sup> Elton Knauf spent some time at Lulungu during the early days after 'les événements' broke out but returned to Kamina when the *Jeunesse* threatened the area. He promised, however, that he would return later with help for the clinic and food. In the meantime the *Jeunesse* had heard that there were *bazungu* (whites) living near Lulungu and decided to invade the area. When Knauf decided that he must return to Lulungu with the promised supplies, E. Hodgson, who was the Field Superintendent at the time, said that he would go with him. Others of the missionaries at Kamina tried to dissuade him since he was not known at Lulungu, which was some 300 or more kilometres from Kikondja, his home territory. Hodgson determined to go. Reports maintain that when the two men reached Mukaya, 64 kilometres from Lulungu, they were stopped at a barrier manned by the *Jeunesse*. The *Jeunesse* then offered to release Knauf, but he would not leave Hodgson; they were both marched down a trail into a forest where they were hacked to death. Both men died praying for their attackers.<sup>18</sup>

Because of the civil war it was only in September 1962 that Kipushya was reopened. But it was not even possible for several years to visit many of the stations which lay in the Balubakat area.<sup>19</sup> Travel was not permitted from one side to the other so that even members of the same family were cut off from each other.<sup>20</sup> The Balubakat *Jeunesse* not only picked on the whites, they terrorised the local population almost without distinction. Christians were forced to man the roadblocks against Tshombe's forces and some of them lost their lives in this way.<sup>21</sup> The *Jeunesse* washed themselves in a special *bwanga* prepared by the *banganga* to make them bullet-proof. Because the Christians would not submit to this ceremony the *Jeunesse* accused them of praying that they would be shot by the Katangese and would not leave them unattended. Some Christians were killed for refusing to wash in the mixture.<sup>22</sup>

At the same time Tshombe's troops made forays into northern Katanga shooting people indiscriminately, burning villages and destroying crops.<sup>23</sup> Because the *Jeunesse* seldom distinguish

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wrote to Llywelyn Williams, M.P. complaining that he had to pay; Peter Thomas, Letter, Foreign Office London, 6/7/1961 to Llywelyn Williams regarding the bill sent to H. Chick by Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Letter, Ref. XF34/54 for £182.2.0d on 12/5/1961, AZEMPreston.

<sup>13</sup> M. Jacques, Interview, Kamina, 7/5/1980 says that the following people remained at Kamina: D. and B. Womersley, C. Whittam, H. and J. Womersley and M. Jacques.

<sup>14</sup> 'GFC-CEM, Salisbury, 29, 30/8/1960-1/9/1960', *List of those Present*; H. Womersley, 'Brief Report of the Proceedings of the General Conference held at Salisbury on 29<sup>th</sup>, 30<sup>th</sup> August and on the 1<sup>st</sup> September 1960: Mr. Womersley's Report on the Situation in the Congo', AZEMPreston; 'GFC-CEM: Conference notes 1960', HWPP.

<sup>15</sup> 'Rapport annuel 1960, Etat du Kapanga', p.18; Kabongo's son who has recently been chosen to be the Paramount Chief (in 1980) has taken the following praise name: *Kakupa kasoke kasanguikle ke bomi* (the little bone which was burned has been raised up and is now alive). This is in clear memory of his father who was burned to ashes by his murderers; M. Jacques, Interview, Kamina, 7/5/1980 says that his father was a hard man and was not very popular.

<sup>16</sup> M. Jacques, Interview, 7/5/1980; Ngoie wa Kyulu, Interview, 12/2/1980.

<sup>17</sup> H. Berry, Interview, Lusaka, Zambia, 11/6/1980 said that the only thing that saved them was that they were not Belgians.

<sup>18</sup> M. Jacques, Interview, 7/5/1980; H. Womersley, 'Modern Missionary Martyrs', *CEMR*, No. 290, January 1961, pp. 10-12; H. Womersley, 'Now It's Kabongo's Turn', *CEMR*, No. 290, January 1961, p. 16; Elizabeth Donald, 'Teddy Hodgson- the last dramatic mission of mercy', *Sunday Companion: The Christian Weekly*, 22/7/1961 pp. 12-15 (as told to E. Donald by James Salter); they were both killed on 23/11/1960, cf. 'Extrait d'acte de Décès', signed by G. Kayembe, Elisabethville, 28/2/1961, AZEMPreston; *CPC Procès-Verbal 40e Session de l'Assemblée Annuelle, Léopoldville mars 2 au 8, 1961*, Léopoldville, p. 6 paragraph 1360.

<sup>19</sup> F. Ramsbottom, Interview, Colne, Lancashire, 16/7/1980; 'The Outgoing Party', *CEMR*, No. 311, October 1962, p.16.

<sup>20</sup> H. Womersley, 'They Escaped across the Frontier', *CEMR*, No. 299, 1961, pp. 4-6; D. Womersley, 'The Story of the Letters', *CEMR*, No. 297, August 1961, pp. 6-9.

<sup>21</sup> Banze Kalolo, Interview, 9/1/1979; Ilunga Madika Pierre, Interview, Lulenge, 19/12/1981 said that Pastor Ntambo Timoté from Lulenge was shot and killed in an encounter with the Katangese troops and mercenaries; J. Robinson, 'Treasures Eternal', *CEMR*, No. 289, December 1960, p.3 tells of one of the leading elders at the Luena CEM church being killed.

<sup>22</sup> Ilunga Nday, Interview, 14/12/1980 said that only the breaking of the taboos was supposed to render the wearer vulnerable. It was forbidden to wash in cold water or to have any sexual relations; Mwilambwe Tunkele, Interview, Kamina II, 2/12/1980; Banza Mulwani Wakutompwa, Interview, Kamina II, 2/12/1980; D. Womersley, 'Up before a Firing Squad', *CEMR*, No. 291, 1961, p.9 where a Christian was ordered to wash in the *manga* or be killed. He refused and was killed.

<sup>23</sup> R. Dayal, *Mission for Hammarskjöld: The Congo Crisis*, London, OUP, 1976, p. 184 says that Tshombe's army moved to North Katanga in February 1961, they burned villages and shot people indiscriminately. "The units then fanned out,

between friend and foe and because Sendwe lost all control over their actions, the majority of the population was caught in the crossfire.<sup>24</sup> This forced the Christians, along with the others, to flee into the countryside. Many Christians were persecuted by the *Jeunesse* for failing to identify themselves with their cause and for refusing to submit to the washing ceremonies. Although some were killed it is difficult to know how many actually lost their lives, and initial reports tended to be exaggerated.<sup>25</sup>

By this time the missionaries, for the most part, had gone and the local churches had to learn to get along on their own in spite of the chaotic situation. They had not been ready for what had happened, but as H. Fedherau wrote of missions and churches throughout the Congo: "Ready or not...independence came....For the first time in 60 years Congolese Christians were without the missionaries! Ready or not, they had to take over".<sup>26</sup> It is certain that the uncertainty of the times contributed to the influx of people into the CEM churches so that by 1965 it was estimated that 40,000 members had been added since 1960.<sup>27</sup> Most of the growth took place in the established assemblies, but there was also a new trend to evangelise those areas which had previously been outside the CEM area appointed by the CPC.<sup>28</sup> Refugees from places like Kongolo found themselves at Albertville (Kalemie), and soon a Pentecostal assembly was formed in this town formerly evangelised by the Brethren.<sup>29</sup> The same thing happened at Nyunzu and in other towns. In the early 1960s evangelists sent out from Kamina began to hold meetings at Kaniama in the Mutombo Mukulu chieftainship. Eventually a permanent work was established there.<sup>30</sup> A number of former primary school teachers left employ to evangelise at Mitwaba and Dilolo.<sup>31</sup> Most of the extension between 1960-1970 took place in the Katanga (Shaba). However, in the 1970s there was a shift to the Kasai Oriental.

This was mainly through the work of Ronald Monot, a Swiss missionary who had previously served with the Garenganze Evangelical Mission. Because of his emphasis on the gifts of the Spirit and tongues Monot had been asked to leave the GEM. He later joined the CEM<sup>32</sup> and travelled widely throughout the Katanga holding meetings. In the early 1970s he was invited to hold meetings with the number of churches in the Kasai Oriental but soon felt that if there was to be in a durable work in the area he would have to build on new foundations since the older established Presbyterian churches had traditions in them which he believed were incompatible with NT practice. He held that many of the pastors were polygamous and drank alcoholic beverages.<sup>33</sup> In addition, he was asked by the leaders from Kipushya, in the Kasai Oriental, to hold a campaign at Mbuji Mayi, the capital.<sup>34</sup> Meetings commenced in March 1971 in a large tent as the number of converts grew it was decided to construct a permanent building on the same site where the tent had been standing.<sup>35</sup> Monot remained in Mbuji Mayi for nine months before handing over the work to Ilunga Dyabupemba Félix, one of his fellow helpers during the campaign. Mbuji Mayi became the centre for the evangelism of the Tshiluba speaking parts of the province, and within a very short

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spreading fire and terror in the countryside, and villages began emptying themselves into the surrounding bush to escape the advancing scourge".

<sup>24</sup> Hoskyns, *The Congo since Independence*, p. 218; R. Dayal, Hammarskjöld, p. 185; H. Womersley, 'Editorial Jottings', *CEMR*, 334, September 1964, pp.17-18 tells of Sendwe's death.

<sup>25</sup> R. Ralph, 'And Others Were Tortured', *CEMR*, No. 315, 1963; David Womersley, Interview, Kamina II, 9/7/1983.

<sup>26</sup> 'Planting the Church in Congo and the emerging Situation Today', *Practical Anthropology*, Vol. 8, 1961, p.29.

<sup>27</sup> In 1960 there were 985 churches in the CEM; in 1965 there were 1200 churches; in 1960 there were 29,500 baptised Christians while in 1965 there were reported to be 70,000 believers; by 1975 it was reported that there were 2,400 churches and 145,000 believers. I find it difficult to accept these figures because when I tried to find out what the figures were most of the stations did not even have any records of their own. For the other figures cf. 'Annual Statistics from 1915', HWPP; H. Womersley, Letter Bedford 19/2/ 1978 to Colin Whittaker, HWPP; There are reliable statistics only up to 1960 and these are included in the graph in Appendix No. 5. cf. H. Womersley, 'The Elisabethville Exhibition', *CEMR*, No. 300, 1961, p.9 said that the CEM was the biggest Church in the Katanga at that time (Protestant).

<sup>28</sup> Lubaba Pierre Maskoth, 'Some Further Notes Sent by Another Mwanza Leader', *CEMR*, No. 331, 1964, pp.2, 3.

<sup>29</sup> W.M. Dalby, 'The Establishing and Growth of the Church among the Refugees in Adverse Circumstances', *CEMR*, No. 320, 1963, pp.13, 14.

<sup>30</sup> D. Womersley, 'Over 100 Decisions for Christ in Mutombo Mukulu', *CEMR*, No. 300, 1961, pp.4,5; D. Womersley, 'Editorial Jottings', *CEMR*, No. 296, 1961, p.19.

<sup>31</sup> Banza Sha Bana, Interview, Kamina, 22/11/1980.

<sup>32</sup> Ronald Monot, Interview, Lubumbashi, 24/2/1980 became an Associate Missionary with this CEM/ZEM; cf. 'CEM-Field Business Meeting held at Kamina on November 20<sup>th</sup>-21<sup>st</sup> 1967', No. 8.

<sup>33</sup> R. Monot, Interview, 24/2/1980.

<sup>34</sup> It had been less than 10 years earlier that the Mennonite Mission had offered to give the CEM a number of homes and property for their work at Mbuji Mayi. F. Ramsbottom believes that the CEM should have seized the offer at that time. However, because of staffing problems at the time it was decided not to accept the Mennonite proposals. Interview, Colne, 16/7/1980; cf. 'Meeting of the Home Council of the CEM, November 2 1964', No. 6: "We do not favour or recommend the acceptance of the Bakwanga Mbuji Mayi proposition in view of our staffing obligations for Kipushya and Kamina". AZEMPreston.

<sup>35</sup> M. Jacques, 'Concrete Evidence' *ZEMR*, No. 423, 1972, pp.1-3.

time there were 30 daughter assemblies started from Mbuji Mayi. Many of these were larger than the mother assembly with 1,500 people gathering in the Communion services on a Sunday morning.<sup>36</sup> Other assemblies were started by Monot and his team at Mwene Ditu in 1973 and at Lusambo in 1974.<sup>37</sup> From the Kasai Monot moved to Kiambi in Shaba where a number of churches were opened including some which included a number of Bambote or Pygmy people. Later in 1977 the Monots moved to Lubumbashi where they became involved in the opening of the first French-speaking Protestant church in that city.<sup>38</sup>

Other churches have been started in most of the large centres of Shaba. The most recent places to have CPZ churches are Kananga (ex-Lulabourg) and Kinshasa. There are presently attempts being made to have permission granted by the Government of Zambia for work to be started in that country.<sup>39</sup> It is very difficult to know the exact number of churches or members in the CPZ. Only the Kasai keeps records of all the churches and since the 60s there have not been accurate records kept in most of the churches in Katanga/Shaba. Some have maintained that there are now 3,000 assemblies in the CPZ. I find this hard to substantiate and would tend to believe that 2,000 would be more realistic. There are probably about 150,000 to 250,000 members with 500,000 adherents, although it is hard to be accurate.<sup>40</sup> The Government programme of *changa changa* (Swahili- for regrouping of villages into one central village) certainly reduced the number of villages and churches in the early and mid-1970s.

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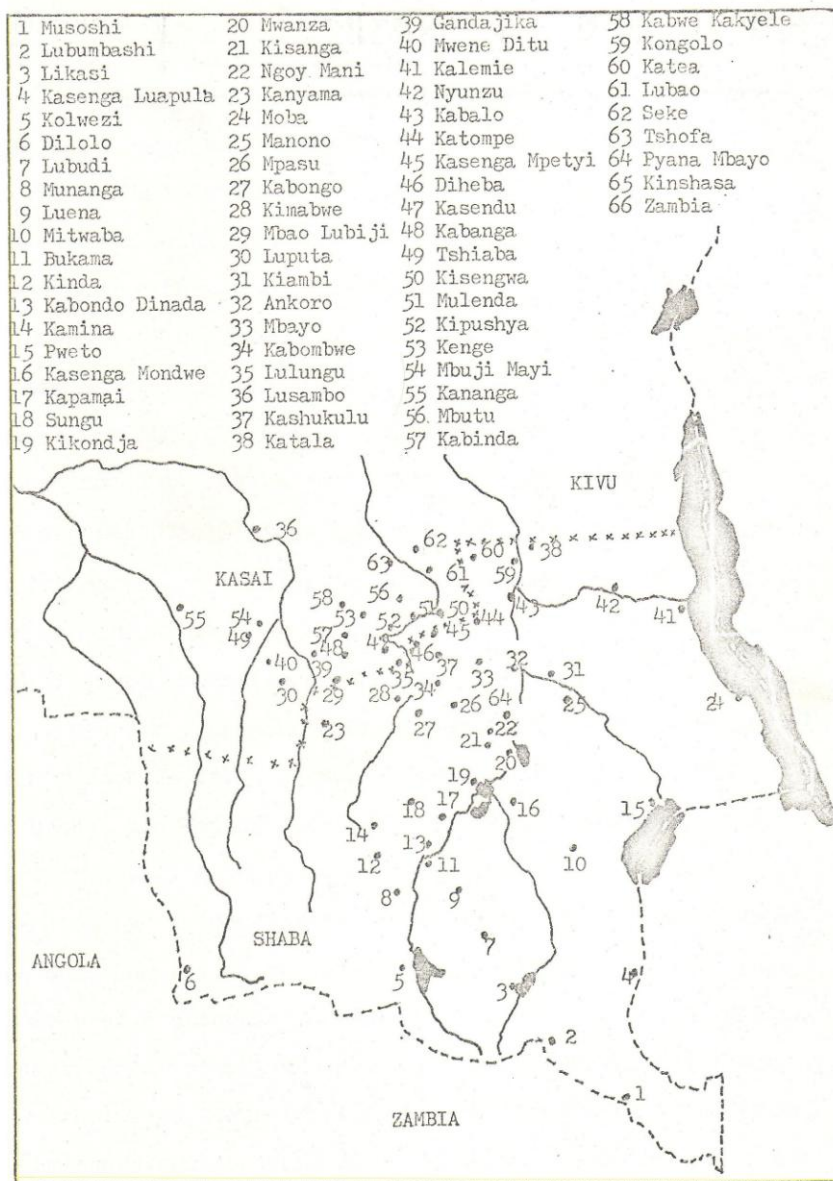
<sup>36</sup> Ilunga Dyabupemba, Interview, Lubumbashi, 25/2/1980; R. Monot, Interview, 24/2/1980; Kabongo Kabuya, Letter, Kamina II, n.d. [1980] to author; the original pastor for Mbuji Mayi was to have been Samuel Mupoya; however, he was killed after a motorbike accident (he was stoned by the villagers although the child he struck lived) and Banza Jason was sent to replace him. Dyabupemba was to be his assistant. Banza Jason did not get on to well so Ilunga Dyabupemba replaced him; cf. EPCO(CEM), '11ème Conférence annuelle 14-17 juillet 1971', Kabalo, No. 10.

<sup>37</sup> D. Garrard, *ZEMR*, No. 442, 1973, p. 9; S. Monot, *ZEMR*, No. 453, 1974, p. 10.

<sup>38</sup> Dyabupemba, 5/11/1980.

<sup>39</sup> CPZ, 'Myanda Mitabijibwe mu Kitango kya Comité Exécutif ya Kamina 14-25 juin 1979', Chapitre II. 2 a) The CPZ agreed to starting a work in Kinshasa as the result of a call by CPZ members who now live there; II, 2b) mentions Mumba and Lumba Francis who had come from Zambia. It was agreed in principle that the CPZ start a work in Zambia provided that Government acceptance was forthcoming. Up until July 1983 this acceptance had not been granted by the Zambian Government.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Appendix No. 5.



CPZ STATIONS IN 1982

## B) The Move to Independency within the CPZ

Prior to 1960 there had never been any churches leave the CEM to join some other group or to form their own separate Church. It would have been more or less impossible under the Belgian system. There had, however, been individuals who had split off to join the *Kitawala*.<sup>1</sup> After 1960 there is more of a tendency to independency within the CEM/EPCO(CEM)/CPZ.<sup>2</sup> The first manifestation of this took place in 1973 when Efraim Kayumba took over 40 churches from the EPCO(CEM). Kayumba had grown up in the Kikondja area and received his primary education under the CEM.<sup>3</sup> He later moved to Elisabethville (Lubumbashi) and after further education joined the bank there. He started meetings in his own home and later became responsible for the CEM churches in Elisabethville.<sup>4</sup>

In June 1960 when the missionaries and African leaders gathered at Kabondo-Dianda to choose local leaders for the Legal Representation of the CEM many thought that he was the ideal man for the task. However, most of the Congolese had little confidence in him and opted for Jonathan Ilunga, an older man who was then senior overseer at Luena. Kayumba was chosen as his assistant.<sup>5</sup> A number of the Africans noticed immediately that Kayumba was not happy with the decision and believed that from that moment he began to plan the formation of his own Church.<sup>6</sup> Since Kayumba was the Secretary for the CPC in the Katanga he travelled widely and was well known in CPC circles. As a result he was invited by the Swedish Pentecostal Churches to visit their churches in Sweden.<sup>7</sup> On his way to Sweden it was arranged for him to spend several weeks visiting Pentecostal churches in Britain.<sup>8</sup> It is not known what transpired while he was in Sweden, but while he was in Britain the only hint that he was thinking of splitting off from EPCO(CEM) was while he visited Joan Goodwin, a former CEM missionary at Wakefield.<sup>9</sup> He returned to Elisabethville toward the end of May 1963, but it was not until the second part of the year that there was any indication of a change.<sup>10</sup>

J. Fowler and J. Robinson had been involved in the distribution of clothing and food to those who were suffering from the effects of the war. They sent on ahead of them a truck loaded with supplies for the people at Kikondja. Ngoy wa Kyulu was on his way past Kikondja when the truck arrived. He says that the leaders would not receive the supplies and ordered the driver to return to Kabondo since they were not going to be bought with clothes and food. As a result the supplies were returned to Kabongo Dianda where the chief was asked to distribute them.<sup>11</sup>

At the end of September 1963 a meeting was called at Kikondja to which the pastors from Mwanza, Kisanga, Kabondo Dianda and Kikondja were invited by Kayumba. At this meeting Kayumba declared that the members of the CEM had been kept in bondage by the missionaries and that H. Womersley and others had been keeping all the money which had been sent to them from overseas.<sup>12</sup> Kayumba is said to have promised them that if they left the CEM and joined him they would all be well paid, the women would have electricity to cook on, and they would have their

<sup>1</sup> Sha Yoano of Pyana Mbayo, cf. *supra*, chapter 2 A) **The Ex Salves and their place in the Spread of the Christian Message in the CEM Field**; Mukumbi Moraise cf. *supra* ch. 6 **The Precursors**; *supra* on Kitawala ch. 4, C).

<sup>2</sup> I use CEM for the Congo Evangelistic Mission; EPCO(CEM) for the Eglise Pentecôtiste du Congo (Congo Evangelistic Mission), and CPZ for the *Communauté Pentecôtiste au Zaïre*. I have linked these together because during the span of years from 1960-1972 the Church was first the CEM then EPCO(CEM), then CPZ.

<sup>3</sup> Mfumu Mulwila, Interview, Kamina II, 4/4/1981 says that because of his early contacts with Hodgson, Kayumba was very much liked by the Kikondja missionary.

<sup>4</sup> 'AB-CEM, Kikondja, 5,6/8/1957', No. 8.

<sup>5</sup> Yumba wa Nkulu, Interview, Mwanza, 13/12/1980; Ilunga Ngoy wa Mbuya Kalulwa, Interview, Kamina, 15/5/1980.

<sup>6</sup> Yumba wa Nkulu, 13/12/1980.

<sup>7</sup> CPC, 'Procès-Verbal de la 41e Session du l'Assemblée Annuelle, Coquilhatville, 26 février au 4 mars 1962', pp. 3, 4, 6, 8.

<sup>8</sup> F.J. Emmett, 'Pastor Ephradimi Kayumba in the Midlands and Wales', *CEMR*, No. 314, 1963, p.16.

<sup>9</sup> D. Womersley, Interview, Kamina II, 13/6/1982; the tour took place in 1963.

<sup>10</sup> H. Womersley, 'Editorial Jottings', *CEMR*, No. 320, 1963, p.17; cf. EPCO(CEM), 'Myanda ya kitumba ku Kamina le 16-19 août 1963', *List of Delegates* shows that Andelé Twite Kitobo was one of the delegates at the missionary-African conference at Kamina only matter of days before the Kikondja meeting. It is apparent that nothing was mentioned about a possible split at that time.

<sup>11</sup> Ngoie wa Kyulu, Interview, 12/2/1980.

<sup>12</sup> Yumba wa Nkulu, Interview, 13/12/1980; 'Kitumba kyadi ku Kidondja kya Kayumba Efaladimi', UNPP, states that "Ephraim Kayumba had written a letter to ask the people at Kikondja: Is the Church of the C.E.M. in bondage or in liberty?"; cf. 'Kitumba kya Bakulampe du Makwidi' (A meeting of the elders at Mkwidi) 30/10/1963, No. 3: "The real reason why the people at Kikondja are leaving the CEM is because of the teaching of Kayumba. He says the following things:

- a) We do not want to work together with the whites from the CEM who have always been with us.
- b) To remain together [in the work] with the whites from the CEM who we have always had with us is to be kept in perpetual bondage"[my translation].

own schools and hospitals. He also said that new missionaries would come and help them who would not be like the old ones.<sup>13</sup>

Two letters were written after this meeting. The first was a circular letter to notify all the churches of the EPCO(CEM) that they had withdrawn from them. They thanked them for the work they had done on their behalf in the past and said that although they wished to remain in fellowship with them they would direct their own work from that point on.<sup>14</sup> The second, which appears to have been written later, declared that they were now free to direct all their own affairs including: churches, schools, hospitals and Bible Schools. At the same time new missionaries, presumably Swedish, were going to come and replace the old.<sup>15</sup> Kayumba describes a meeting in his book about Polo Mwepu saying that in August of 1963 Polo Mwepu had been to Lubumbashi to see him and to ask for counsel regarding the church at Kikondja. He says that later in a meeting when the Mwanza pastors were present the Kisale churches chose to follow him into a new Church which they had called the *Eglise Evangélique de Pentecôte au Katanga*.<sup>16</sup>

A special meeting was called at Makwidi to discuss this development and the African leaders of the CEM decided to send a delegation of eight men to meet with the Kikondja leadership to tell them that they were free to leave, but that they would have to vacate the church property.<sup>17</sup> When word of the decision reached Kikondja it was reported that Polo Maka said he would shed the blood of anyone who would try and make them leave the buildings. As a result only three of the delegation were brave enough to make the journey.<sup>18</sup> Their declaration was not accepted and they soon left.

Kayumba who was well-known in Lubumbashi, was friendly with a number of lawyers and did not anticipate having any problems in the courts. Prior to the reunification of the South and the North Katanga he had been responsible for the CEM churches in the South as the Assistant Legal Representative. Somehow he had managed to get his own PC during the division of the Katanga and after reunification claimed that all the churches in the south were his.<sup>19</sup> H. Womersley who was one of the *conseillers* and a former Legal Representative wrote to the Government and had them put pressure on Kayumba to vacate the properties since, according to the *Statuts* of the EPCO(CEM) all property belonged to the Church and not to the individual congregation.<sup>20</sup> Evidently, Kayumba lost his case in the courts for he told his followers that they would have to start making bricks so as to build their own churches. It was at that time that most of his followers began to realise that they had been hoodwinked and another meeting was called by the Kikondja leaders at Kibila to rethink their position. As a result of this most decided to return to the EPCO (CEM) although Polo Maka and Enoke Numbi did not.<sup>21</sup>

Although the break caused by Kayumba caused great anxiety among the EPCO (CEM) leadership at the beginning, it seems as though the majority of those who left later returned to the Church. Kabamba Nzazi, Pastor at Likasi, was left with only 15 people in his church after the split. He believes that most of those who had left returned within a few years. He maintained that many new members were added to his church in the interim and that it was difficult to know the total

<sup>13</sup> Yumba wa Nkulu, 13/12/1980; Lunda Kateba Edi, Interview, Kikondja, 11/12/1980 said that the people were made great promises by Kayumba. He was sorry that he had been persuaded to sign the original declaration, but soon saw that he had been wrong and was one of the first to try and rectify the situation.

<sup>14</sup> This was signed by André Kitobo, Polo Sulubika (Maka), Aron Kitwa, Nogie Paul, Letter, Kikondja, 1/10/1963 to the Ba Représentants légaux ba Congo Evangelistic Mission ku Kamina, UNPP.

<sup>15</sup> Kayumba, Polo Sulubika, K. André and 41 others, 'Kitumba Kya bapasteurs ne Bafundji ba ku Kikondja pa Mafuku a Kweji 30 ne 1 dya Septembre ne Octobre 1963 - Eglise Evangélique de Pentecôte au Katanga', UNPP; cf. D. Womersley, 'Over 1,000 Separatist Churches', *CEMR*, No. 328, 1964, p. 8.

<sup>16</sup> E. Kayumba, *Bumi bwa Polo Mwepu Mwingidi wa Leza* (The Life of Polo Mwepu the Servant of God), Lubumbashi. Eglise Evangélique de Pentecôte, 1968, pp. 8,9; Kayumba et al., 'Kitumba kya ba pasteurs', 1963; Ordonnance-Loi, No. 73-013 du 14/04/1973 signed by President Mobutu Sese Seko includes the 45 Communauté Evangélique de Pentecôte au Shaba, p. 3.

<sup>17</sup> Kitumba kya Bakulumpe ku Makwidi, Nos. 1,2, 6; Yumba wa Nkulu, Interview, 13/12/1980.

<sup>18</sup> Yumba wa Nkulu, 13/12/1980 said that the three to go were Katongola Afesa from Kabongo, Mateo Katongola from Katombe and himself.

<sup>19</sup> Ilunga Ngoi wa Mbuya Kalulwa, Interview, Kamina, 15/5/1980; 'Statuts de l'Eglise Pentecôtiste du Congo (Congo Evangelistic Mission)', read on the matter of withdrawal: « Conditions d'Entrée, de Sortir et d'Exclusion...Celui qui désire sortir ou qui est exclus n'a pas à revendiquer sur les biens de l'association ». DGPP.

<sup>20</sup> Ilunga Ngoi, 15/5/1980; D. Womersley, (ex-Représentant Légal Suppléant de la CEM, Kamina) Letter, Kamina, 4/2/1965 au Secrétaire, bureau Général Protestant du Katanga, Elisabethville, confirms that all the concessions which formerly belonged to the CEM now belong to the Eglise Pentecôtiste du Congo, EPCO(CEM) and that E. Kayumba had previously acted on behalf of the CEM; Ilunga Jonathan (Représentant Légal, Eglise Pentecôtiste du Congo, Kamina) Letter, Kamina, 19/6/1965 à l'Administrateur Principal de Territoire de Kolwezi, ADRBJShaba.

<sup>21</sup> Yumba wa Nkulu 13/12/1980; Lunda Kateba Edi, 11/12/1980; E. Kayumba, *Bumi bwa Polo Mwepu*, pp. 8, 9.

number of those lost because of the division.<sup>22</sup> One thing that did happen as a result of the split and that was the opening up of an avenue for those within the EPCO(CEM) who were not content with their lot. By having another Pentecostal group in the Katanga the dissidents could always threatened the EPCO(CEM) leadership that they would join Kayumba if they did not get what they wanted. The local pastor Maurice at Mpele in the Kabongo chieftainship left the EPCO(CEM) and then claimed the buildings but soon found that he ran into the same problems which had been encountered earlier by Kayumba.<sup>23</sup>

It would seem evident that the break between Kayumba and EPCO(CEM) was a direct result of Kayumba's personal ambitions. He was a persuasive man with a sharp mind and must have thought that with the friends he had in high places he could make his plans work. Certainly, the break between South and North Katanga must have been regarded as a factor in his favour. D. Womersley says that Kayumba was a good evangelist and could soon fill a building with people. However, he was not such a good pastor and had a hard time keeping people for long.<sup>24</sup> In addition, it would seem that he misjudged the Swedish connection. He must have believed that he would obtain help from Sweden both in the way of finances and personnel. He probably received some good offerings while he was there and interpreted that to mean that they were going to continue to support him on a regular basis which they had never meant to be the case.<sup>25</sup> Therefore, although he called himself *évêque*, wore long robe like a Catholic priest and enjoyed the limelight, this was not enough to convince his followers that he was doing the right thing.<sup>26</sup>

Kayumba had his own Bible School in which he had a number of teenage girls and students. These were attired like Catholic sisters and attended to his every need. It is reported that they slept with him on his journeys around the country. It is also reported that he had a wife in Kinshasa and another in Lubumbashi.<sup>27</sup> Ilunga Mbuya says that there were many splits within the Kayumba group.<sup>28</sup> Even today one group calls itself "Réveil" while another "Evangélique". Kayumba then became involved in politics and dropped out of the Church scene. Ilunga Ngoy Mbuya Kalulwa says that he pleaded with Kayumba to get right with God and to return to the CPZ before the latter's death in 1973, but he would not.<sup>29</sup>

In 1968 a small group of churches which must have been opened from Kongolo and which was made up of non-Luban peoples decided to withdraw from the EPCO(CEM). The churches based at Samba in the Maniema were under the leadership of Rashidi Rubeni.<sup>30</sup> The only record of their withdrawal that is known is a letter from Rashidi to Ilunga Jonathan. In this letter he complains that in the eight years of their existence they had never once received a visit from him. He goes on to say that none of the pastors or school teachers had ever been paid, that this was obviously only a church for the Baluba and that he only ever thought about himself.<sup>31</sup> Since this was only an isolated group of churches in a Province far from Kamina nothing was ever done about this as far as can be ascertained.

Apart from the tendency to independency which I have already mentioned in the chapter on the *balombi*, the next major split within the ranks of the CPZ did not take place until the late 1970s and the early 1980s. The reasons for this split are complex and although it is not easy to pinpoint them all I will mention a number of contributing factors. Some of them will be clarified later in the

<sup>22</sup> D. Womersley Interview, 13/6/1982; D. Womersley, 'Likasi: A Large Thriving work in a Busy Mining Town', *Contact*, No. 540, 1981, p. 9.

<sup>23</sup> H. Womersley, (Conseiller) Letter, Kamina, 18/4/ 1969 à F. Lubuku Useni (Administrateur de Territoire, Kabongo); H. Womersley explains to the Administrateur that Maurice left the EPCO(CEM) for Kayumba's group, ADRBJShaba; Ilunga Jonathan, Letter, No. 193/Rep. Leg./I.J./69, Kamina, 25/2/1969 à l'Administrateur, Chef du Territoire de Kabongo regarding those at Mpele who had joined Kayumba, ADRBJShaba.

<sup>24</sup> D. Womersley, Interview, Kamina II, 13/6/1982.

<sup>25</sup> I know the organisation of the Swedish Pentecostal Church quite well since I have had it explained to me in some detail by Martin Tornell, Interview, Stockholm, 20/9/1983.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. E. Kayumba, *Bumi bwa Polo Mwepu*, title page.

<sup>27</sup> Mfumu Mulwila, Interview, Kamina II, 24/11/1982.

<sup>28</sup> Yumba wa Nkulu, 13/12/1980; Ilunga Nogi, 15/5/1980; D. Womersley, 'Home Call of Ephraim Kayumba', *ZEMR*, No. 441, 1973, p. 14; at times there was confusion between the two Churches cf. E. Kapanzi (Le Directeur Provincial, Chef de Service d la Justice et du Conentieux, Kolwezi) Letter, No. 312./0547/DIRECONT./65, Kolwezi, 22/11/1965 au Chef du Camp. UMHK, Kolwezi, ADRBJShaba.

<sup>29</sup> Interview, 15/5/1980; D. Womersley, *CEMR*, No. 441, 1973, p.14; There was one time in 1974 when there was a request from the *Eglise de Pentecôte* to renew fellowship with the CPZ, but the CPZ did not follow this up and nothing ever materialised. cf. 'Comité Exécutif, Kamina, 24/9/; 9074, No. 1.

<sup>30</sup> Samba is on the West Bank of the Lualaba River near Kasongo. Kasongo is on the East bank; Rashidi Rubeni had been one of the delegates at the ninth annual conference of the EPCO(CEM) held at Kipushya in July 1967, cf. List of Delegates. ACPZKipushya.

<sup>31</sup> Rashidi Rubeni, Letter, Samba, 8/12/1968 au Représentant Légal de l'Eglise Pentecôtiste du Congo, Kamina, ADRBJShaba.

chapter under the section on trends in the Church.<sup>32</sup> I believe that this split which took place in 1979-1980 and which is commonly called the *Assemblées de Dieu* de Shaba or just *Assemblées de Dieu*, has its roots in an organisational problem within the CPZ. The last General Conference of the CPZ had taken place in 1973 and the *Comité Exécutif* of the CPZ had decided on its own that there would be no more conferences.<sup>33</sup>

A number of church Districts began to air their discontent since they felt that they could not voice their opinions and there were difficulties which needed to be discussed. At the same time there was a growing mistrust between some of the Districts, especially Kabongo, and the Administration of the CPZ at Kamina. As a result the Kabongo District had a meeting where they made several strong recommendations about the Administration of the CPZ. This came to head in the *Comité Exécutif* at Kamina from 28 June to 5 July 1976. Among the resolutions passed by the Kabongo District was the call for an annual conference in 1976 and the placement of their own Assistant Legal Representative and Treasurer in the Administration.<sup>34</sup> Apart from castigating a number of people who were considered to be behind the “rebellion”, Kahingo Kalala Mucheha, pastor and overseer of the Kabombwe station was removed from his post.<sup>35</sup> This decision by the *Comité Exécutif* was considered to have been unfair and dictatorial by many including the majority of the *bene* Kabongo (people from Kabongo).

In 1979 Nkongolo Mwambay who had been second Pastor and overseer of the Mushoshi station near the Zambian frontier, requested to be moved to another station since he could not get on with the first pastor Mwanabute Ngenda. The *Comité Exécutif* gathered at Kabondo Dianda ruled that while he was waiting for his appointment he should return home to Kabalo.<sup>36</sup> Nkongolo claims that he wrote to the Legal Representative several times, but never received any reply. After a year he decided he would look for some other Pentecostal group with which to work since he believed that he still had the call of God to serve him.<sup>37</sup> These are two of the better-known leaders of the AOG Shaba. There are men like Maloba Nyemba, a graduate from the four-year course at the *Institut Biblique* Kamina II, who believed that the Administration of the CPZ and the missionaries were against him and persuaded his friend and classmate Ilunga Mbwele to join him in the AOG Shaba. Others like Oscar Lupusa, who was disciplined for his actions as a *mulombi*, left the CPZ to have greater liberty in the AOG Shaba.<sup>38</sup> During the first quarter of 1980 a number of these people got together and decided to send a delegation to Isiro to request permission from the *Communauté des Assemblées de Dieu au Zaïre* to set up a branch work in Shaba.<sup>39</sup> It is not known what the Legal Representative of the CADZ said but it is gathered that he was not interested in becoming involved in Shaba.<sup>40</sup>

However, when the delegation returned from Isiro they made their way to the *Division Régionale Bureau de Justice* for the Province of Shaba and after presenting the documents were soon recognised as an official branch work of the CADZ.<sup>41</sup> The President of the Regional Synod of the ECZ complained to the *Commissaire de Région* that the judiciary did not carry out Government policy and changed the instructions which had been given to them by the ECZ. Because of the way that the CADZ had been granted legal authority to worship in the province of Shaba, wa Kadilo said that chaos had resulted in the heart of an ECZ member – the CPZ.<sup>42</sup> It seems that this acceptance was later reversed since a group from the AOG Shaba went to Zambia to ask Canadian

<sup>32</sup> Cf. *infra* ch. 6 Section E) **Trends in the Church...**

<sup>33</sup> It was held that there was too much work to do during the dry seasons for the time to be spent holding conferences; Ilunga Ngoi, ‘Myanda yesambile Rev. Ilunga Ngoi wa Mbuya Kalulwa, Représentant Légal, ku ba Membres ba Comité Exécutif ku meso kwa kushilula kitango’, (What the Rev. Ilunga Ngoi wa Mbuya Kalulwa, Legal Representative, said to the members of the Executive Committee before the start of the meeting [my translation]) n.d. [February 1978] p.5; he said that it had been agreed that in the place of the annual Conference they would hold an Executive Committee and that this was what had been done every year excepting for 1977 (because of the Shaba war). “...and of course in every Executive which we have held there has never been any thought that we needed to have an annual conference. I totally refuse to have one” [my translation].

<sup>34</sup> CPZ, ‘Compte-Rendu wa Kitango kya Comité Exécutif Extraordinaire wikele ku Kamina mu le 28 juin ne 05 juillet 1976’, No. 4.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid*, section: Madingi ne Butyibi ku boba Batenwe mu Mwanda uno wa District ya Kabongo 2:- (The council and judgment given to those who were involved in this affair with the District of Kabongo [my translation]).

<sup>36</sup> CPZ, ‘Comité Exécutif, Kabondo Dianda, 25/2/1979’, Chapitre III, 1. c.

<sup>37</sup> Nkongolo Mwambay, Interview, Kamina II, April-May, 1980.

<sup>38</sup> These events and these individuals are known to me personally.

<sup>39</sup> Nkongolo Mwambay, Interview, April-May 1980.

<sup>40</sup> CPZ, ‘Compte-Rendu de la Première session ordinaire du Comité Exécutif tenu à Kamina du 13-15 juin 1980, No. 9 a. notes that the Legal Representative did not know the people who claimed to have received authority from him to start a branch in Shaba.

<sup>41</sup> Ngoy Kimba Wakadilo (Président Régional du Synode de l’ECZ Shaba), Letter, No. 0031/CP/SRS/ECZ/80, Lubumbashi, 21/5/1980 au Commissaire de Région à Lubumbashi, ASRHLKamina.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid*.

Pentecostal Assemblies missionaries to become involved with them in Zaire. They wanted them to help pay the hundred thousand Zaires necessary to launch a new *Communauté* and to gain PC.<sup>43</sup> The PAOC did not feel that they were in any position to help this group although they did send two missionaries to see some of the churches which the AOG Shaba claimed they had started.<sup>44</sup> When I last spoke to a Pastor of the AOG Shaba he maintained that they were busy collecting the sum required to launch their own Church and hoped to have all the requirements fulfilled before the end of 1982.<sup>45</sup>

In April 1980 Ilunga Ngoy wa Mbuya Kalulwa sent out a circular letter to all station overseers in which he warned them about the lying propaganda of the AOG Shaba. He accused the AOG Shaba of sheep stealing and said that people were only joining them because they believed that they could gain some title which they did not have in the CPZ.<sup>46</sup> It does appear that there has been a power struggle between the Legal Representative of the AOG Shaba - Mutoka Chini - and some of the other senior leaders, but it is doubtful that all of the Ilunga Ngoi's charges can be substantiated.<sup>47</sup> At least they are a gross oversimplification of the problem.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Garry Skinner, Interview, Kitwe, Zambia, 20/9/1980; John Lynn, (Regional Director for Africa, Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada) Interview, Lusaka, Zambia, 16/7/1983.

<sup>44</sup> Ilunga Dyabupemba, Interview, Kabongo, 26/12/1981.

<sup>45</sup> Ilunga Mbwele, Interview, Kabongo, 26/12/1981.

<sup>46</sup> Letter, No. 30-CPZ/SSA/RL/052/80, Kamina, Avril 1980 kudi Bakelenge ba Pasteurs Responsables ba 30-CPZ (To all Pastors responsible for stations in the CPZ [my translation]).

<sup>47</sup> Ilunga Dyabupemba, Interview, Lubumbashi, 5/7/1983; Nkongolo Mwambay, Interview, April-May 1980.

<sup>48</sup> As H. Richard Niebuhr points out, forms of government, ethnic or regional differences, as well as many other factors are often the basic sources of division in existing church groups and that doctrinal points are not always the most important factors. H. Richard Niebuhr, *The Social Sources of Denominationalism*, Cleveland and New York, Meridian Books-The World Publishing Company, 1957, pp. 14,15, 79.

### C) Missionaries and their new role and relationships in the change from Mission to Church

Although transition from missionary to African leadership had begun in 1959 and 1960 it is doubtful that the transition would have been so abrupt had it not been for the evacuation.<sup>1</sup> A skeleton force of missionaries remained at Kamina, but it was first thought that the CEM would not be able to return to work in the Congo as they had done previously. In the CEM conference held at Salisbury in August 1960 it was suggested that the Mission consider the possibility of relocating in Northern Rhodesia (Zambia). There were possibilities that they could commence missionary work amongst the Ba-Ila or the Kaonde who had a language similar to Kiluba.<sup>2</sup> Because of the uncertainty and the difficulty of maintaining so many missionaries in Salisbury some decided to wait in Northern Rhodesia, some in Southern Rhodesia and others in South Africa until the picture was clearer as to the future. A number returned to the homelands to wait for definite news.<sup>3</sup>

In the Congo the situation at Kamina was not always easy because even though the missionaries had handed over to Jonathan Ilunga the work of Legal Representative, he was not available for consultation for the greater period of the time between 1960 and 1963. This was because he was in the Balubakat territory and could not travel freely to Kamina.<sup>4</sup> However, the missionaries realised that decisions had to be taken so a meeting was called in Kamina with church leaders from nearby stations. Pierre Nzadi was then chosen as Assistant Legal Representative to help "until relations can be re-established with Brother Jonatani Ilunga" (there is no 'th' sound in Kiluba).<sup>5</sup>

By 1963 the situation in the Katanga had settled down considerably. The African leaders of the CEM gathered at Ngoy Mani to discuss the return of the missionaries.<sup>6</sup> At almost the same time the missionaries from Congo joined others in Kitwe, Zambia to discuss a possible return of staff to the Congo.<sup>7</sup> Andele Lubinga from Kabengele was in Elisabethville at the time and had been brought to Kitwe for the meetings.<sup>8</sup> Plans had been made previously for the H. Butlers to go to Luena, but Lubinga had written a letter saying that the pastors of the area had not been notified and had not discussed the possibility. The missionaries sensed that it would not be wise to arrange for their return until such time as those who were at Kamina would have the opportunity to discuss this with the leadership of the church.<sup>9</sup>

From the Kitwe meeting an invitation was made to the Congolese leadership to hold a conference together with the missionaries at Kamina to discuss the future role of the missionary in the Pentecostal Church.<sup>10</sup> A meeting was arranged between the two groups for the month of August 1963. Before they met the African leaders decided to call another meeting of pastors to discuss their strategy.<sup>11</sup> In this meeting at Katombe in July 1963 the pastors underlined what had already been decided at Ngoy Mani. The missionaries could return, but they wanted a different kind of working relationship with them. Financial dealings would have to be out in the open and there would be no distinctions between black and white workers. At the same time the pastors said they wanted to know the directors of the Mission overseas and to correspond with them. They said missionaries would have to fit in with what the pastors said in the future.<sup>12</sup> The Katombe

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *supra*, Ch.7, A).

<sup>2</sup> 'GFC-CEM, Salisbury, 29, 30/8/1960-1/9/1960' No. 15; CEM, 'Minutes of the Business meeting held at Kitwe, January 1961', No. 2, 3. The last minute mentions R. Skinner and Jack Muggleton of the Canadian Pentecostal Assemblies who are in agreement that the CEM work in cooperation with them in N. Rhodesia (Zambia), AZEMPreston.

<sup>3</sup> James Salter, Circular Letter, Preston, 2/3/1962 AZEMPreston, asks the missionaries what they feel they would like to do from that date and suggest that there are other fields like Sierra Leone where missionaries were needed; W.B. Hawkins and E. Hodgson, Circular Letter, Salisbury, 31/8/1960 to missionaries on furlough indicate that there have been great changes in the Congo and that some could feel unable to fit into the new regime. AZEMPreston.

<sup>4</sup> Ilunga Ngoi wa Mbuya Kalulwa, Interview, 15/5/1980 said that he was at Manono and later at Albertville (Kalemie) as well as other places in the CEM territory.

<sup>5</sup> H. Womersley Letter, Kamina, 11/9/1961 to Fellow-workers in the CEM. This was the first meeting between missionaries and African leaders since June 1960 when Ilunga Jonathan and Ephraim Kayumba had been chosen as the Legal Representatives.

<sup>6</sup> 'Conférence régionale des Eglises Protestantes au Nord Katanga', Ngoy Mani, 2/4/1963, ACPZ Kipushya.

<sup>7</sup> CEM, 'Minutes of the meetings held in Kitwe on 28<sup>th</sup>-29<sup>th</sup> March and 4<sup>th</sup> April 1963' AZEMPreston; CEM, 'Report on Meetings held in Kitwe', 28, 29/3/1963 and 4/4/1963, AZEMPreston.

<sup>8</sup> CEM, 'Report of meetings held in Kitwe', *supra* ft. nt. 6

<sup>9</sup> *Supra* ft. nt. 7

<sup>10</sup> Ilunga Ngoi, Interview, 15/5/1980 says that he had a letter from Burton inviting him to a meeting at Kamina.

<sup>11</sup> 'Myanda ya Kitumba kya ku Katombe', Katombe, 20/7/1963, ACPZKipushya.

<sup>12</sup> *Supra*, ft. nts. 6,11.

Conference recorded one minute which indicated clearly the tone of the meetings: "Concerning the return of the missionaries the meeting says: We agree to the return of the missionaries but whichever missionary refuses to obey what we want must not return".<sup>13</sup>

When the missionaries and the Congolese gathered at Kamina in August 1963 the minute from Katombe was modified to read "... whichever missionary refuses to work well with us must not return".<sup>14</sup> The missionaries agreed that the African leaders should be responsible for the handling of their own finances, but missionary funds were not included in the agreement.<sup>15</sup> The name of the Church was changed to *Eglise Pentecôtiste du Congo* (Congo Evangelistic Mission) and the Legal Representatives were confirmed.<sup>16</sup> The most important thing for the missionaries was the clarification of their new role. While they would be regarded as advisers they would be involved in the development of five areas of work. These included: teaching in Bible schools; medical work and the starting of a school for the training of medical staff; the writing of books on the Christian faith and practice; teaching and organising secondary schools; radio ministry.<sup>17</sup> The medical training school has never been possible since the ZEM has never been able to obtain the services of a medical doctor. However, there was a school of midwifery at Kipushya established by Joan Bond. Radio work has never been established because of government restrictions.

The change from Mission to Church has not been without its problems in Congo/Zaire. There have been a number of issues which have tended to sour relationships between the missionaries and the African leadership. Although these issues are numerous they are all related to either finances or to what the Church regards as the independence of the missionaries. Although these two items will be examined separately the discussions and problems over them have generally been raised simultaneously. It has already been demonstrated elsewhere that the missionaries never had much trust in the ability of the African leaders to handle finances.<sup>18</sup> This lack of trust was felt keenly by the Congolese since it led to a feeling on their part that the missionaries were not being honest over the handling of money and wanted to keep it all for themselves. It is then this lack of mutual trust which has continued to contribute toward misunderstanding on both sides. Because the African Church did not understand how the missionaries were supported and because they never handled any of the finances which came from overseas they believed that they were being deprived of what was rightfully theirs. At the same time there was a principle which the missionaries regarded as absolutely essential for the new Church in Congo and that was that it should be able to support itself. As far as they were concerned, any moved to support the Congolese Church with finances from overseas would be a backward step.<sup>19</sup>

It is doubtful that the missionaries understood what the African Church had in mind when it said in its conference at Ngoy Mani that there should be nothing hidden when it came to finances.<sup>20</sup> It would appear that what the Church really wanted was to have direct contact with the CEM office at Preston so that finances would come directly to them and they could budget them as they saw fit.<sup>21</sup> The African Church was convinced that there were sums of money given for the work in Congo/Zaire which never got to them. They believed this money was taken by the missionaries for their own needs or placed in their own overseas accounts before it ever got to Africa.<sup>22</sup>

It was for this reason that the EPCO (*Eglise Pentecôtiste du Congo*) wanted to have direct contact with Preston. The African leadership wanted all correspondence with the Congo to be done through their bureau, and for all moneys to be handled by themselves. In 1968 the General Conference insisted on joint treasureship with *sanduku umo* (one treasury).<sup>23</sup> The missionaries agreed to having all finances designated by the Preston office for the EPCO sent directly to the EPCO, but added that they did not believe that it was right that the EPCO should expect the missionaries' personal money to be handled by them. As missionaries they were paid and

<sup>13</sup> *Supra* ft. nt. 11, Minute No. 3.

<sup>14</sup> 'Myanda ya Kitumba ku Kamina, 16-19/8/1963', No. 4, ACPZKipushya.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, Nos. 1,2,3.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, Nos. 8,9.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 5.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. *supra* Ch.1, **Leadership**: pp.82f.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p.83.

<sup>20</sup> *Supra*, ft. nt. 11, No.1.

<sup>21</sup> EPCO(CEM), 'Kitango kya Comité Exécutif, Kamina, 17-19/6/1967', Nos. 9,12.

<sup>22</sup> I was in meetings of the Comité Exécutif of the CPZ in June 1979 when statements like these were made; cf. D. Womersley, 'Report on the problems between Mission and Church as expressed in the Comité Exécutif at Luena', February 1978, (handwritten report) DWPP; P. Kasongo, Ngoie, Mosesa Ilunga, Letter, Lulungu, 8/7/1966 au Secrétaire de la Congo Evangelistic Mission, Preston, AZEMPreston; The names given in the letter were made up by an anonymous author complaining that the missionaries kept all the money sent from overseas. Although this was not an official letter and written by someone with an axe to grind, it nevertheless, expressed what some of the EPCO Pastors were thinking.

<sup>23</sup> EPCO, '9ème Conférence annuelle-Kamina 10-16 août', No. 6 c; H. Womersley, Letter, Kamina, 20/8/1968 to Joe [Robinson], David [Womersley], and Fred [Ramsbottom], HWPP.

supported by churches in the homelands which gave not to the EPCO but to them as individuals.<sup>24</sup> They insisted that if the African Church forced the issue they would be forcing them to leave the work in the Congo to go elsewhere.<sup>25</sup> These issues were raised periodically until 1975 when the CPZ issued the missionaries with what they regarded to be an ultimatum – *sanduku umo* or you go.<sup>26</sup>

Under the circumstances the missionaries felt they had to agree, but on two conditions; first, there must be joint missionary and African treasurers; second, any change in treasurer would have to be in consultation with the missionaries and a replacement would have to be acceptable to them. The CPZ accepted these conditions and the decision was passed to the home office of the ZEM at Preston.<sup>27</sup> At the time there were restrictions on the transfer of funds out of Britain. The Bank of England was not in favour of transferring funds for British nationals to a bank account held in the name of a foreign association. Before this decision was communicated to Zaire the CPZ unilaterally changed the treasurer without consulting the missionaries on the field.<sup>28</sup> The missionaries then explained to the CPZ administration that the Bank on England did not agree to the arrangement and that in addition to this they had gone against their word in changing the treasurer thereby invalidating the accord.<sup>29</sup>

The pressure on the ZEM missionaries with regard to finances and other matters has undoubtedly been influenced by the literature and the doctrine of the ECZ. The ECZ, and the CPC before it, sent out regular circulars and held seminars in which the policy of direct contact with the *Eglise mère* was emphasised. Again, the seminars pointed out that “ le représentant ... est:- le gérant de la caisse missionnaire – le responsable de tous les biens missionnaires, dons étrangers, ... ”.<sup>30</sup> It was shortly after the seminar mentioned above that Ilunga Ngoy wa Mbuya Kalulwa (ex Jonathan Ilunga) sent out a circular letter to all CPZ pastors in which he indicated that the reception of funds by the missionaries from *bulaya* (overseas) was illegal. He said that if the Government knew what they were doing the Church would get into trouble and it was very likely that they would all be expelled in the same way that the Greek traders had been ordered out of the country the year before.<sup>31</sup>

Has there been any change in what then appears to be an intransigent position held by the ZEM missionaries? It is almost certain that the ZEM missionaries have contributed more to EPCO/CPZ funds than they would have had they not been under constant pressure from the leadership. The ZEM was almost totally responsible for the construction of the administration buildings at Kamina which were completed in 1981.<sup>32</sup> In addition to this, a Land Rover was purchased for the use of the Legal Representative, and contributions to the *Caisse Centrale* of the CPZ have been increased considerably.<sup>33</sup> Not all ZEM missionaries are happy with the change in policy and some of them believe that this is a short-term action which will lead to greater alienation in the future. They believe that the African church leaders regard the gifts as proof that what they

<sup>24</sup> H. Womersley, Letter, Kamina, 21/10/1968 to G. Atkinson, T. Billsborough, J. Parker, J. Robinson and D. Womersley, HWPP, includes a copy of the reply given to the memorandum presented to the CEM by the EPCO demanding that the CEM be dissolved.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> D. Womersley, Verbal report to an emergency meeting of the missionaries of the CEM at Kamina; Kamina, 18/6/1975.

<sup>27</sup> ‘CPZ, Myanda isambilwe mu kitango kya Comité Local wa kipwilo ne ba missionnaire bamo le 18 juin 1975 mwanda wa lupeto lutamba ku bulaya’, Nos. 1-7, DWPP; cf. CPZ, ‘Comité Exécutif, 27-29/8/1975’, Chapitre 1 No. 3 b. “concerning the payment documents of the missionaries, they had replied. They agreed to all money from Preston going directly into the *Caisse Centrale* from where it would be divided into the different accounts”.

<sup>28</sup> The previous treasurer of the CPZ had been Mutombo Kalenga. He was replaced by Ilunga Mulopwe Sambula who was for a time the Coordinator of the schools, Treasurer and Secretary of the CPZ all at once.

<sup>29</sup> Restrictions were lifted not long after this by the next Government in Britain and it is possible that something could have been worked out with the Bank of England at a later date. However, by that time the missionaries no longer considered letting the church leaders handle their private income.

<sup>30</sup> ECZ, ‘Procès-Verbal du séminaire du 10 au 18 mars 1974 sur le recours à la Bible pour un Christianisme authentique: vers le renouveau de l’église et de ses ministères’, No. 4; H. Womersley and H. Butler, Letter, Kamina, 17/9/1969 to Fellow-workers of the CEM, HWPP.

<sup>31</sup> Ilunga Ngoy wa Mbuya Kalulwa, Letter, No. 30-CPZ/RL/010/75, Kamina, 19/2/1975 aux Pasteurs Responsables. Included in this letter was a circular entitled ‘Myanda ya ku vuluka Po mushilula kutela Bintu byo mudi nabyo pa Station yenu’, (Matters to remember when you begin to record the things that you have on your station [my translation]); Note No. 8 c. in which he says that the missionaries are rebellious and act in an illegal manner, DWPP; D. Womersley, ‘Report on problems between Mission and Church’, Luena, February 1978.

<sup>32</sup> Ilunga Ngoy, ‘Memorandum de la Communauté Pentecôtiste au Zaïre présenté à Mr. T.A. Billsborough Secrétaire de la Mission Evangélique au Zaïre lors de sa visite au Zaïre’, Kamina, 5/6/1981, DGPP; In the Comité Exécutif, Kamina, 27/8/1981-1/9/1981’ Chapitre III 2 left out of the minutes, but agreed to that the missionaries would contribute 30,000 Zaïres to the Caisse Centrale for 1981.

<sup>33</sup> *Supra* ft. nt. 32 ‘Memorandum’, A.

have been saying all along is correct and that there is more money in *bulaya* just waiting for them to tap into.<sup>34</sup>

The second major point of conflict has been the independence of the CEM and its missionaries. The question that was first asked in the 60s was: How can there be a national Church and a Mission at the same time? The CEM had surrendered its PC when it had become amalgamated with the Congolese Church to form the EPCO(CEM), and the local leaders knew that there was only one PC. What they did not like was that in spite of there being only one Church the missionaries continued to have their own meetings to discuss business. They did not wish the missionaries to continue to hold their own meetings.<sup>35</sup> In 1968 when finances were an issue it was said that the CEM no longer existed. The African leaders demanded that the CEM be disbanded and voted to affiliate themselves to the Assemblies of God in Great Britain. They argued that the CEM missionaries were already affiliated to the AOG so there should be no problem for them being accepted.<sup>36</sup> Two of the African leaders had just returned from a visit to England and they were certain that the AOG was the answer to the financial dilemma.<sup>37</sup> They pointed out that after all there was no CEM church in *bulaya*, but there was an AOG Church.

The conference wrote to the AOG in care of Walter Hawkins, an ex-CEM missionary, who was at that time Missionary Secretary for the AOG. In the letter they pointed out that the CEM missionaries were hardhearted and refused to help them in anyway. They particularly turned on Harold Womersley as the one who was against them and the cause of their difficulties.<sup>38</sup> They said they wanted to be affiliated to the AOG since the CEM was now *kifwe* (dead).<sup>39</sup> The CEM missionaries did not know that the African leaders had written to the AOG as well as to the CPC informing the latter that they were no longer in union with the CEM. When they found out, they were upset and pointed out to the leaders that the Church had been premature in writing to the CPC since they had not yet received a reply from the AOG. They also told the Congolese leaders that EPCO had no more right to dissolve the CEM than the missionaries had to dissolve the EPCO. The missionaries said that only the CEM missionaries themselves, the Home Reference Council, and the Trustees were in any position to dissolve the CEM. They maintained there was always business which concerned the missionaries as a group, and would not agree to discarding their meetings. Nevertheless, they wanted to work in unity with the EPCO and would make every effort to work out any misunderstandings.<sup>40</sup>

The AOG replied to the EPCO request for affiliation in December 1968:

Now beloved we cannot enter into an "Affiliation" with you. This is because your church is already mature and it is developing continually in the power of the Spirit of God. It is a church that is already under the leadership of the Congolese who know perfectly well how to direct it. Anyway, we want you to go ahead and to continue to grow in the blessing of God without trusting in anything other than in God himself. (W. Hawkins (Secrétaire Général des Missions) Letter, London, 10/12/1968 kudi Ilunga Jonathan, Bakelenge Baledi ba Bipwilo (AAOGMissions Nottingham)).

This answer was drafted after consultation with the CEM missionaries and Home representatives when they met together with AOG missionary personnel to discuss the affair. Both groups believed that the request was motivated by a desire to find a way of having more finances for the pastors and local churches in the Congo.<sup>41</sup> In spite of this reply the question of the dissolution was raised

<sup>34</sup> Many of the ZEM missionaries are afraid of giving money to the CPZ since they believe that it is already mismanaging the finance at its disposal. It is for this reason, they believe that the station pastors are not sending money to the central fund. In addition to this, they have no sympathy with the system of centralised church government. cf. on missions and finance Roland Allen, *Missionary Methods: St. Paul's or Ours?* London, World Dominion Press, 1960, pp. 49-61.

<sup>35</sup> EPCO(CEM), 'Kitango kya Comité Exécutif, Kamina, 17-19/6/1967', No. 9.

<sup>36</sup> EPCO(CEM), '9ième Conférence annuelle-Kamina 10-16 août 1968', No. 6 A. "Concerning the Conferences which we hold separately, the missionaries with theirs and we with ours, the meeting says that this must stop; from now on we will have only one Conference and our PC is one"; No. 6 B. "Collaboration (working together) Concerning this working together, the assembly says that we must all work together, both Congolese and missionaries, under one name – E.P.C.O. the name C.E.M. must die. Concerning this question the entire assembly says that all of us in the EPCO will work out an affiliation (a union) with the Church of the Assemblies of God that is overseas" [my translation]; Ilunga Jonathan *et al.* [101 other names] Letter, No. EPCO/01/Assemblée/68, Kamina, 17/8/1968 à Walter Hawkins, AAOG-OMCNottingham; H. Womersley, Letter, Kamina, 20/8/1968; H. Womersley, Letter, Kamina, 15/10/1968 to W. Hawkins, AAOG-OMCNottingham.

<sup>37</sup> CEMR, No. 377, April 1968 p.15, mentions Othniel Beseka Yumba and Jonathan Ilunga being in Britain for a month and visiting AOG churches; cf. T.A. Billsborough, 'Easter Monday at Preston', CEMR, 379, 1968, pp. 10, 11.

<sup>38</sup> Ilunga Jonathan, Letter, Kamina, 21/8/1968 kudi Walter Hawkins, AAOG-OMCNottingham.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>40</sup> H. Womersley, Letter, Kamina, 21/10/1968.

<sup>41</sup> AOG-OMC, 'Minutes of the Oversees Missionary Council, 7,8/11/1968', No. 3: "For the last 8 years, the one big contention between white and black has been finance. The Congolese leaders wanted all gifts to go to the Field and not to Preston.

by the Congolese leaders in the very next conference in 1969.<sup>42</sup> It was even suggested that the CEMR be published in English and Kiluba or English and French and that someone from the Congo be sent to Preston to run the office.<sup>43</sup> They would change the name of the office from CEM to EPCO and take over the bank account of the CEM for the EPCO.<sup>44</sup>

The ZEM missionaries are continually told by the administration of the CPZ that their position is illegal and that if the Government knew about them they would be thrown out of the country.<sup>45</sup> They say that the Mission is "*Un Etat dans un Etat*" and that until it is done away with there can never be unity between everyone in the CPZ.<sup>46</sup> Is not clear just how these long-lasting differences will be resolved. They are certainly linked to preference for Church government and social patterns. The CPZ administration has tended toward centralisation of government while the missionary is an avid believer in Congregational and decentralised church government. The Administration looks at the Methodist churches all around it and takes them as its pattern. The Methodist missionaries do what the bishop says and go where he tells them, and it is clear that this is what the Legal Representative, Ilunga Ngoi wa Mbuya Kalulwa, thinks he should be doing with the missionaries working with the CPZ. However, they are not cooperating and will not go along with his plans. It could well be that we have here what J.D.Y Peel calls an encounter with traditional authority patterns. He says that "any church which, for doctrinal or other reasons, sets itself against the authority pattern of its society, will find its work so much harder".<sup>47</sup>

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They claimed they were now doing work formerly done by missionaries, and wanted to divide income between 70 missionaries and Congolese, through the hands of 1 white and one national treasurer. Basically, they were wanting to control all monies sent to the Field with a view to appropriating more for the nationals", AAOG-OMC Nottingham.

<sup>42</sup> EPCO(CEM), 'Comité Exécutif, 11/2/1970', No. 9; cf. H. Womersley and H. Butler, Letter, Kamina, 17/7/1969; EPCO(CEM), 'Comité d'Administration, Kamina, 29/4/1969', No. 3.

<sup>43</sup> H. Womersley, Letter, Kamina, 20/8/1968; H. Womersley and H. Butler, Letter, Kamina, 17/9/1969; cf. 'Memorandum', *supra* ft. nt. 32.

<sup>44</sup> H. Womersley, Letter, 20/8/1968; EPCO(CEM), 'Comité Exécutif, 28/4/1969', No. 1; EPCO(CEM), 'Comité Exécutif, 28/4/1969' No. 1; EPCO(CEM), 'Comité d'Administration, Kamina, 29/4/1969', No. 3.

<sup>45</sup> Ilunga Ngoi wa Mbuya, Letter, 19/2/1975, No. 8; the Womersley, 'Report from Luena, Feb. 1978'; the same matter was raised in the *Comité Exécutif* in 1979 when I was present; D. Womersley, 'Report on Eglise du Christ au Zaïre (ECZ) Synod held at Kinshasa 10-17 March 1973', DWPP.

<sup>46</sup> In verbal reports made in 'Comité Exécutif', 13-25 juillet 1979; D. Womersley, 'Report from Luena, Feb. 1978'.

<sup>47</sup> J.D.Y. Peel, *Aladura: a Religious Movement Among the Yoruba*, London, OUP for the IAI, 1968, p. 257; cf. Chester E. Larson, 'Count on God', *Congo Mission News*, No. 227, April-June 1970, p. 3.

## D) The Change from CPC to ECZ as seen by the CPZ

The Congo Protestant Council (*Conseil Protestant du Congo*), formed in 1925, was the outgrowth of the Congo Conference first held in 1902 at Stanley Pool.<sup>1</sup> The CPC was never meant to be a legislative body, but was designed to coordinate missionary activity in the Congo. It also became an important means of presenting a common front for Protestants when there were problems with the Catholic Administration.<sup>2</sup> In CPC conferences practical issues were often discussed in an attempt to tackle such matters as polygamy and baptism. It also played an important role in the setting up of relief for missionaries who were cut off from assistance during the Second World War. The CEM became a member of CPC in March 1932.<sup>3</sup>

During the colonial era the CPC was not supposed to influence the internal policies of any member, but after 1960 there was a gradual change in this policy. This is in spite of the insistence of the CPC, and later the ECZ, that it did not involve itself in the affairs of the members. The first indication of any change was in 1962 when the CPC said it would arbitrate between missions and the churches they had founded. This was where the daughter church wished to join the CPC while the mission did not.<sup>4</sup> At the same time the CPC emphasised the need for missions which had not amalgamated with the church it had found it to do so. This was because the control of the Church should be totally in the hands of the Congolese leaders.<sup>5</sup> This matter of single identity between Mission and Church was emphasised continually until 1970 when in the 49<sup>th</sup> session of the CPC a declaration was made stating that missions no longer existed in the Congo. This thereby forced the merger of missions and churches which had not yet done so.<sup>6</sup>

By 1965 recommendations as to how members should pay their pastors and train their young people were being made.<sup>7</sup> At the same time missions were being urged to make more financial contributions to the churches and for the churches to make direct contact with the overseas *Eglise mère* rather than go through the missionary.<sup>8</sup> In 1969 the General Assembly of the CPC wrote to the Government asking it not to grant PC to any new churches or missions since it believed that there were sufficient Protestant churches in the Congo already.<sup>9</sup> However, the important decision of 1969 was a study of possible union of all the members within one united *Eglise du Christ au Congo*. The results of the decision were to be put to the next General Assembly.<sup>10</sup>

At the 49<sup>th</sup> General Assembly held at Kinshasa in 1970 there was a major change in the Constitution. The CPC became the *Eglise du Christ au Congo* and the individual member churches were fused together in one Church body. Each member was thereby called a *communauté* of the ECC.<sup>11</sup> This change did not come about without opposition. A number of the churches considered that organic unity would only prove a backward step since they were certain that it would lead to

<sup>1</sup> cf. E. M. Braekman, *Histoire du Protestantisme au Congo*, p.264; C. Irvine, *The Church of Christ in Zaire*, p. xv; Alfred Stonelake, *Congo Past and Present*, pp. 59-68; William Kerr, 'Congo Protestant Council (Conseil Protestant du Congo)', in Burton L. Goddard et al. eds. *The Encyclopedia of Modern Christian Missions*, pp. 202, 203.

<sup>2</sup> William N. Kerr, 'Congo Protestant Council', pp.202-203; Wakelin Coxill (General Secretary CPC) *Circular Letter*, No. 35/C.11, Leopoldville, 21/12/1935, AAOG-OMCNottingham.

<sup>3</sup> E. M. Braekman, *Histoire du Protestantisme au Congo*, pp. 264, 265; CPC, *Constitution* (Revised and Rectified 1955): "Article 2: Object Its object shall be to unify and develop the work of Protestant Evangelical Missions in the conventional basin of the Congo; to foster the Church of Christ in Congo; and to relate the Protestant Christian community effectively to the Authorities and to Christian bodies in other lands.

The fundamental character of the Council as a consultant to the body is recognized. As such it may not take actions tending to modify the doctrinal basis or the internal policy and practices of any mission related to it".

Minutes of the CPC, No. 9 March 14-19, 1932 Paragraph 240 A.

"The application of the Congo Evangelistic Mission for membership in the Council was presented. The constitutional requirement of attendance at a Council meeting of the representative of an applying mission before membership can be voted, was deemed to have been fulfilled by the attendance at the Katanga-Kasai regional conference last September at Elisabethville of two C.E.M. representatives, the Rev. Wm. F.P. Burton and the Rev. James Salter, and the mission was elected a member of the Council."

AAOG-OMCNottingham.

<sup>4</sup> CPC, *Procès-Verbal*, 41<sup>e</sup> session de l'Assemblée annuelle, Coquilhatville, 26/2/1962-4/3/1962. 1412, No. B. 2, 3.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, No. F.2,3; E. Grove, 'Notes on the future of the GEM I. Fusion.' N.d., n. pl.. GRRPP.

<sup>6</sup> CPC, *Procès-Verbal*, 46<sup>e</sup> session de l'Assemblée annuelle, Bukavu, 28/2/1967-6/3/1967, 1554 No. 1; CPC P.-V. 48<sup>e</sup> session... Kinshasa, 23-31/3/1969, 1590 6°, 7°; I.B. Bokeleale and Masamba M. 'Formal statement concerning the dissolution of the Missions as autonomous institutions', Kinshasa, 8/3/1970 (Attached to the minutes of the 49<sup>th</sup> session of the General Assembly of the CPC held at Kinshasa) DGPP.

<sup>7</sup> CPC, P.-V. 44<sup>e</sup> session de l'Assemblée Générale annuell à Luluabourg 27/2/1965-6/3/1965, 1509 5 a.b.

<sup>8</sup> CPC, P.-V. 46 session 1967, 1554 C. 2; 1555 A. 3,6; I. B. Bokeleale, 'From Missions to Mission: The Church in Zaire and New Relationships', *IRM*, Vol. 62, 1973, pp. 435, 436.

<sup>9</sup> CPC, P.-V. 48<sup>e</sup> session, 1969, 1590 7°.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* 1590, 11°.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. the Constitution adopted by the 49<sup>th</sup> session of the CPC at Kinshasa, 8/3/1970 Articles: 1,6,14; Robert L. Nicklaus, 'All things New', *Congo Mission News*, No. 227, April-June 1970 pp. 4-9; Chester E. Larson, 'Count on God', *Congo Mission News*, No. 227, p. 3.

interference in each Church's affairs. This was in spite of the constitutional safeguards against this taking place.<sup>12</sup> Because there were many delegates who were afraid of any kind of link with the World Council of Churches, a declaration was signed from the Assembly. This stated that the ECC would not affiliate with the WCC or the Evangelical Alliance but would remain neutral.<sup>13</sup>

Some of the former members of the CPC who were not happy about what had happened at Kinshasa regarded the changes as illegal.<sup>14</sup> One of these was the EPCO(CEM). The EPCO(CEM) voted in its Executive meeting in May 1970 that it was not in favour of the forced union under the ECC. The *Comité Exécutif* suggested that contacts be made with other Pentecostal Churches in the Congo to see if something could be worked out between them. At the same time a letter of resignation was sent to the ECC.<sup>15</sup> D. Womersley stated in a circular letter that:

...legislation was already in motion to do away with all other legal representation other than that of the President of the E.C.C. This would have limited the independence of individual churches to worship in the way they wished. (Your Missionaries in the Congo, [D. Womersley] Circular letter, Kamina, March 1971 to Prayer Partners)

Jonathan Ilunga and Mutombo Wilson made a journey to Kinshasa in February 1971 where they met with leaders from other churches which were not in favour of the ECC union. Together they drafted out new Statutes, a Constitution and a *Règlement d'Ordre Intérieur* for a group which was called the *Conseil des Eglises Protestantes au Congo*. These were immediately deposited with the Justice Department.<sup>16</sup> When the first General Assembly of the CEPSCO met in February 1972 there were already 15 full members, 15 more expected as full members and another 11 were regarded as provisional members. Since there were only 53 churches regarded as communities of the ECC at Kinshasa in 1970, this total shows that the majority of churches in the Congo were not in favour of organic unity in the ECC.<sup>17</sup>

However, in spite of this rejection of Bokeleale's plan by the majority of the Protestant Churches in the country this new alliance did not last for long. Because of a prominent place which had been given to the name of William Lovick as *Secrétaire Général Suppléant* of the CEPSCO, it is believed Bokeleale persuaded the President, Mobutu Sese Seko, that this was a missionary attempt to reinstate their rule.<sup>18</sup> The missionaries were blamed for having been behind this division.<sup>19</sup> CEPSCO which by 1972 had become CPZA, was outlawed and the *Ordonnance-Loi* No. 73-013 of the 14/2/1973 forced all the Protestants to return to the ECZ fold by making the ECZ the only Protestant Church in Zaïre. Yet the *communautés* have not lost their individual PCs.

The transition from Church to community and missions to Church was heralded by the ECZ as a major victory for Christianity on the African continent.<sup>20</sup> The ECZ maintained that because of the doctrinal diversities in Protestant denominations in Europe and North America these differences had been imported by the missions to the Congo. The ECZ maintained that divisions were foreign to African society and that if the differences in the communities were to be resolved the stress on western doctrines in the Congolese Church would have to go. The Bible alone would be

<sup>12</sup> Robert Niklaus, *supra* ft. nt. 11, p. 4; William Deans and Eric Grove, 'The C.P.C. becomes "The Church of Christ in Congo"', *Echoes of Service*, 99 (1505), pp. 84-86; cf. *Constitution*, *supra* ft. nt. 11, Article 14.

<sup>13</sup> 'Formal declaration concerning the General Policy of the Church of Christ in Zaïre', signed by I.B. Bokeleale and Masamba M. (revised after the change in the name from Congo to Zaïre) 8/3/1970, DGPP.

<sup>14</sup> It was reported that the vote on the change on the Constitution was taken in the early hours of the morning when of the more than 100 delegates only 42 were present. This would normally have invalidated the vote. Bokeleale was accused of using the list of candidates and their signatures in his justification of the constitutional changes presented to the Justice Department in order to make the vote appear legal; CEPZA, 'Déclaration des Eglises Membres effectifs du Conseil des Eglises Protestantes au Zaïre (C.E.P.ZA) réunis en Assemblée Générale Extraordinaire du 31/1 au 1/2/1972', Kinshasa, 1/2/1972 (Paragraphs without numbers cf. No. 6,7); W. Deans and E. Grove 'The C.P. C. becomes "The Church of Christ in Congo"', p. 84; Roy Leeming, Interview, Manchester, 20/7/1983; he was one of the delegates at the conference.

<sup>15</sup> EPCO(CEM), 'Comité Exécutif, Kamina, 19, 20/5/1970', No. 1; Your Missionaries in Congo [David Womersley] Circular Letter, Kamina, February 8, 1971 to Prayer Partners, said that the missionaries were not behind the decisions which were made although they were in favour of them, DWPP.

<sup>16</sup> Your Missionaries in Congo [David Womersley] Circular Letter, Kamina, March 1971, to Prayer Partners, DWPP; CPZA, 'Déclaration des Eglises Membres effectifs du CEPZA...31/1/1972-1/2/1972'; also the documents: 'Statuts', 'Constitution du Conseil des Eglises Protestantes au Zaïre' (revised); 'Règlement d'Ordre Intérieur du Conseil des Eglises Protestantes au Zaïre annexe à la Constitution' (revised) all show the date of original deposit as 16/2/1971, DWPP.

<sup>17</sup> For the figures cf. 'Conseil des Eglises Protestantes au Congo, Assemblée Générale Extraordinaire du C.E.P.ZA tenue à Kinshasa du 31/1/1972-1/2/1972, III, 1.a.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. CEPZA, 'Statuts', 'Constitution' and 'Règlement d'Ordre Intérieur', where Lovick features on all the documents as one of the chief signatories; David Womersley, Interview, Kamina II, 9/7/1983; R. Leeming, Interview, Manchester, 20/7/1983.

<sup>19</sup> D. Womersley, Interview, 9/7/1983; cf. I. B. Bokeleale, 'Unis', *Flambeau*, Vol. 33, 1972, p.32.

<sup>20</sup> I.B. Bokeleale, 'From Missions to Mission', *IRM*, Vol. 62, 1973, p. 433.

emphasised as well as love and unity.<sup>21</sup> The conservative churches and missions in the Congo/Zaire were afraid of some of this language since to them it smacked of ecumenism and they could not see how doctrine could be divorced from the Bible in practice and in theory. They were convinced that their fears were real when they read articles like those of S. Boyenge where the author wrote about the need to “démystifier certains notions telles que: paradis, ciel, enfer etc....”<sup>22</sup>

Since the ECZ has become the undisputed spokesman of Protestantism in Zaire it has made it a policy to correct what it saw as the wrongs in Protestant faith and practice. To do this it has had to advocate changes at the centre of most of the communities. One of the most sought-after changes has been centralisation of the government of each community enabling easier direction by the ECZ at Kinshasa. This has not always been presented or attempted in the same way. The ECZ has continually, stressed that the Church in Zaire should do everything in a biblical way. During a series of seminars conducted at Kinshasa in March 1974 entitled ‘Sur le recours à la Bible pour un Christianisme authentique: Vers le renouveau de l’Eglise et de ses ministères’, centralisation was again pressed. It was suggested that the Church in Zaire should do away with titles since they were not biblical. The names of the leaders of the community should be changed to fit into the scriptural pattern. The title of President was not found in the scriptures so Presidents should be called Apostles; likewise, teachers should be called Doctors, regional presidents of the ECZ – Bishops, local pastors – Prophets, and Legal Representatives – itinerant evangelists.<sup>23</sup> Assani voiced the opinion that in each community there should no longer be a multiplicity of leaders at the top and that instead of having a *Secrétaire Général*, a *Président* and a *Représentant Légal* there should just be one person who was head of all. At about the same time it was suggested that elections for the heads of communities were not scriptural and that elections were the cause of splits within the communities. The head should be so à vie. Shortly after this Bokeleale who was from a Congregational Church – the Disciples of Christ – was ordained as a bishop. Later again, Bakatushipa Katombe, regional president of the ECZ in the Kasai Occidental and from the Presbyterian Church was consecrated bishop.<sup>24</sup>

In the same seminar it was suggested that regional presidents of the ECZ would be moved if the need presented itself and some interpreted what was said about unity to mean that the ECZ was going to consider imposing pastors and teachers on communities whether they liked it or not.<sup>25</sup> Suggestions were made as to how each community should run its offices and how young people should be brought in who would make the operation efficient.<sup>26</sup> The ECZ had long made known its ideas on how each community should be receiving financial aid directly from Europe or North America and how its young people should be given grants to study overseas.<sup>27</sup> As far as the ECZ was concerned the missionaries had long been the source of conflicts and divisions and the ECZ consistently taught that the missionary should not be regarded other than as an ordinary member of the community. He was an adviser or *technicien* and should certainly be directed by the Legal Representative or bishop.<sup>28</sup>

By continual pressure on the communities even those which have been most antagonistic toward the ECZ policies have gradually succumbed. With the CPZ it has been the younger men in the Administration, like Ilunga Sambula, who have obviously been quick to try and implement the ECZ programme. This is obvious from the way in which the Administration has tended toward more and more control over the stations. At the same time the younger men are quick to point out what

<sup>21</sup> Senza Ebong Bongeye, ‘L’Eglise du Christ au Zaïre entre la Bible et la Théologie’, *Flambeau*, Vol. 33, 1972, pp.10, 11; Mavumilusa Makanzu, *La Vision de l’Eglise du Christ au Zaïre pour les cent ans à venir*, Kinshasa, ECZ, février, 1973, chapitre II/1-2, pp. 20, 21, 31.

<sup>22</sup> ‘L’Eglise du Christ au Zaïre entre la Bible et la Théologie’ p. 17.

<sup>23</sup> ‘What does the ECZ want to correct in the Christianity of Zaire?’ (a summary of the written materials presented at the seminar of the ECZ at Kinshasa in March 1974) AZEMKamina, II, e.

<sup>24</sup> R. Leeming, ‘Mifwatakanyo imo imo pangala pa “Bumi bwa Kipwilo” Kudi Pasteur Assani’, (Some thoughts on the “Life of the Church”, by Pastor Assani [my translation]) report given by Leeming in Kiluba, n.d. [from the 1974 seminar at Kinshasa]; Bokeleale (Président, Représentant Légal) Circular Letter, No. 349/SG/ECZ/80, Kinshasa, 28/5/1980 aux responsables des communautés de l’Eglise du Christ au Zaïre. In the 13 folio sheets Bokeleale presents his thesis that the elections are the basis of the dissensions in the communities. He says that there is no such thing as a mandate for those chosen by God in the Bible and that if a man is chosen as an elder or pastor or Legal Representative, then he should be that for life. RMPP. This was written not long before his own mandate was due to expire; Bakatushipa’s affair was discussed at the ‘6e synod National de l’ECZ tenu à Bukavu du 17-24/8/1981’, cf. the report given at the ‘CPZ-Comité Exécutif, Kamina, 28/8/1981 au 1/9/1981’, No. 14 presented by Mudimbi Katomba Mbwele attached to the *Compte-Rendu* of the same meetings.

<sup>25</sup> *Supra* ft. nt. 23, VI a, c.; cf. ECZ, ‘Comité Exécutif, 23-25 janvier 1975’, II A.

<sup>26</sup> ECZ, ‘P.V. 1977, Lac Munkamba du 1er au 6 août 1977’, 57, H. 1.

<sup>27</sup> Bokeleale, ‘From Missions to Mission’, pp. 434-436; Jean Bokeleale (The General Secretary), Letter, Kinshasa, 6/4/1970 to Representatives of Overseas Mission Boards and Churches, p. 2. AAOG-OMC Nottingham.

<sup>28</sup> The term ‘*technicien*’ in the place of ‘missionary’ became common throughout the country but it was only used by the leadership of the communities and not by ordinary members.

Bokeleale says or what the ECZ say when there is any point of difference in an Executive Committee and some station pastor differs with administrative policy. This aspect will be developed in the next section of this work. The virtual marriage between the ECZ and the State has clearly influenced communities' religious and practical life. It is not possible to belong to the ECZ and remain aloof from its policies, at least as far as the CPZ is concerned.

## E) Trends in the Church (CPZ) from the 1960s to the 1980s

### Centralisation

Prior to 1960 each station in the CEM was an independent unit within the whole organisation.<sup>1</sup> Although there were policies of the CEM which influenced each station, each station was, nevertheless, responsible for those matters which concerned it alone. This included matters of practical doctrine such as baptism, marriage and divorce and many other items.<sup>2</sup> Each station overseer or senior missionary was his own 'boss'. All decisions of any weight had to be made by him so that he did not even have to discuss his plans with his fellow missionaries on the station if he did not wish to do so. The senior missionary was responsible for the handling of the finances even if there was a local man to help him with the distribution and the bookkeeping. He always kept the *caisse* (the money box). He had to be present at every baptismal service and preferably had to baptise.<sup>3</sup> He was the one who was responsible for the appointing of local church pastors and for the planning of all extension, overseeing all primary schools, and many other activities such as short-term Bible Schools or special days of prayer. In all, he was the *Bwana Mukubwa* (the big boss) and even junior missionaries had to fulfil his requests. Toward 1950 many senior missionaries began to delegate most of the preaching on the station to the local leadership. However, they continued to sit on the platform, many of them, with all their family.

It is not clear just what the missionaries had in mind for the future, and the local leadership. Most of the missionaries came from small independent Pentecostal churches<sup>4</sup> which enjoyed local church government even where they did not enjoy congregational government.<sup>5</sup> These missionaries believed that the autonomy of the local church was the 'scriptural' way of church government. They were afraid of centralised church government since it spoke of formal denominational churches and "too much boss".<sup>6</sup> As senior missionary supervised local churches, saw them being established and maturing, he probably believed that he was perpetuating the congregational pattern on his station. His first concern was not with the macro-plan of the CEM. If he was on the Executive Council of the Mission he may have been more concerned with the overall extension of the CEM, but generally the station was foremost in his thinking. There is evidence that even the members of the EC thought a lot about their own stations since it was there that the subsidised schools and maternities were built.<sup>7</sup> J. Robinson indicates that one of the reasons why there was no central Bible School prior to 1960 was that missionaries did not travel, and did not see the needs of other mission stations. They thought that what they were doing was sufficient.<sup>8</sup> They were certainly thinking in terms of the local church and Congregationalism, but did not manage to bridge the gap between what they knew at home and what they were in fact building in the Congo. They did not see that the local church was not autonomous. Perhaps they thought that one day it would become mature enough to acquire autonomy, but it is likely that they did not think about this very much. Most of the missionaries never thought that Independence would really come until 1959 when it was too late to change any policies or to try and inculcate new philosophies of church government.

Missionaries may have discussed church affairs with the local leadership, but it is doubtful that they ever talked together about the principles of Mission policy or of church government. When the missionaries left the stations in 1960 the old patterns were continued by the pastors who succeeded the missionaries. These men had no concept at all of Congregationalism. It was something which would have been completely foreign to them since they had never been exposed to it and there was nothing similar to Congregationalism in local society. However, the station had become a new form of reality to them. Although the station finds no parallel in any Western ecclesiology it became the unit which counted. Today it is not autonomous local churches, but the *shitashoni* (station) which is important. There are also parallels to the station in local society. Both the Baluba and the Basongye had *malopwe* (chiefdoms) and sub-chiefdoms. So in ecclesiastical terms the *shitashoni* is equivalent to a *bulopwe* (a kingdom) or a sub chieftainship. The CEM or

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<sup>1</sup> cf. *supra* ch. 2 D) p.95.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *supra* ch. 4 on the *Kitawala C*), p. 159.

<sup>4</sup> By independent here is meant 'non- denominational'.

<sup>5</sup> Churches like Bethshan Tabernacle in Manchester were autonomous but not congregational. However, the Pentecostal church at Preston was congregational.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *supra* Burton on church government, ch. 2 D) p. 94.

<sup>7</sup> Queen Astride maternities were built at Kabondo Dianda (C. Yesson), Kikondja (E. Hodgson), Katombe ( F. Ramsbottom); this was pointed out to me by E. Rowlands.

<sup>8</sup> J. Robinson, Interview, Kamina II, 19/3/1981.

CPZ collectively became the *bulopwe butuntulu* (whole kingdom). Since the missionary was a *Bwana Mukubwa* the Congolese/Zairean Pastor sees himself in the light of the nearest equivalent which is the *Mulopwe* (chief). After all, the station belonged to *Bwana X* so now it must belong to him.<sup>9</sup> *Bwana* (Mr) looked after the *caisse* so it will become the pastor's personally. He will place all his family in positions of responsibility, according to Luban custom, to make sure that everything is done properly. This is also the right thing for a Muluba to do. He remembers the senior missionary telling his assistant way to go and visit and what to do next, so he does the same. Anyone who dares to question the way he runs a station is a *mupondoki* (a rebel) and does not wish to *kokela lupusa Iwandi* (obey his authority).<sup>10</sup> He does not see this as out of line with what is required if one is to govern the *shitashoni* properly.

Most stations never have enough money in the central fund to pay the local church pastors a proper wage or to carry out station projects. Stations are supposed to have treasurers and separate 'keepers of the safe', but many Pastors order the safe keeper to open the trunk whenever they wish and others have done away with a treasurer and safe-keeper altogether.<sup>11</sup> Not all stations have gone to these extremes but the majority have.

Since the mid-1970s there has been a gradual trend toward decentralisation of the government of the EPCO(CEM)/CPZ. This follows a continual emphasis by the CPC/ECZ on the need for central government. In practical terms the centralisation has been felt in a number of different areas. The first has been an attempt to do away with the General Conferences, and the voting of church officers by the Conference.<sup>12</sup> According to the *Statuts* of the CPZ, and earlier the EPCO(CEM), all administrative offices in the church have a four-year mandate. They are eligible for re-election for successive terms of four years.<sup>13</sup> The last General Conference to hold valid elections of church officers took place in 1968. At that time Jonathan Ilunga (now Ilunga Ngoi wa Mbuya Kalulwa) was re-elected as *Représentant Légal*. There was no Conference in 1972 and since Jonathan Ilunga was in England in 1973, it was decided that there would be no vote on his mandate until his return.<sup>14</sup> However, between 1973 and 1982 there was no General Conference. It would seem that this was the decision of the Legal Representative himself ratified by the *Comité Exécutif*.<sup>15</sup> For a time the mention of a conference was equivalent to *bupondo* (rebellion) so it was not regarded as wise to voice the possibility of having one. Finally, in 1982, after much pressure from a number of Church Districts and especially from the Kasai, it was agreed that a Conference would be held at Kabongo in August.

At the Kabongo Conference the Administration attempted to do away with the mandates of the elected members. The arguments used were those employed by Bokeleale, the President of the ECZ. He said that the mandates were the cause of division in the Church and that elected members should remain in office for life. The Conference rejected this idea and insisted that if an officer fulfilled his duty as he should, he would not have to fear the election; but that the doing away of the vote would lead to even greater despotism.<sup>16</sup> Because the Administration had not expected to be defeated on the issue no nominations had been put forward for office. Since the newly accepted constitution insisted on a time limit between nomination and election it was decided that the vote for Church officers would be postponed until 1984 when the next biennial conference would be held at Kamina.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Cf. H. Womersely, 'Salute to Brother Vale', *CEMR*, No. 325, p.2: "The Congolese responded to brother Vale's very forceful character, giving him an obedience and respect granted to few"; *La Voix des Chrétiens Opprimés*, Circular Letter, n.d. [1980] IV. 3 "Nos Pasteurs sont devenus de vrais Empereurs et Monarques dans leurs Stations".

<sup>10</sup> *La Voix des Chrétiens Opprimés*, *supra*, ft. nt. 9; Ilunga Ngoi wa Mbuya Kalulwa, 'Myanda Yesambile Rev. Ilunga Ngoi wa Mbuya Kalulwa, Représentant Légal, ku ba membres ba Comité Exécutif ku meso kwa ku shilula kitango', Luena: [février 1978] p. 4. "You who wish to bring division whether you are white or black, should know that you're not a child of God" [my translation]. DWPP.

<sup>11</sup> I spent three weeks at the station of Luena in 1977 with David Womersley holding a seminar for pastors. The safe was in our living room and the pastor was both keeper of the safe and treasurer. He had no books and kept no record of what came in and what went out. At Manono Umba Solomon got into trouble with the elders of the Church over the finances because he kept no records. Katontoka, who was at Kolwezi treated all finances as his own and eventually was forced to leave the church and station because of financial difficulty. He moved to Manono where he replaced Umba Solomon, but soon put pressure on the elders to have all money put in his care.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *supra* ft. nt. 10 Ilunga Ngoi wa Mbuya Kalulwa p.5; CPZ, 'Compte-Rendu de la 13<sup>ème</sup> Conférence tenue à Kabongo du 18 au 21/08/1982', Deuxième Partie Chapitre IV, 4.1.

<sup>13</sup> 'Statuts de la Communauté Pentecôtiste au Zaïre', *Administration* a, b, c.

<sup>14</sup> CPZ, 'Comité Exécutif, Kipushya, 31/10/1972-3/11/1972', No. 21.

<sup>15</sup> CPZ, 'Comité Exécutif, Kashukulu, 7/1/1974', No. 4; Ilunga Mulopwe Sambula, Interview, Kamina, 11/11/1980; *supra* ft. nt. 10 Ilunga Ngoi said there would be no conference; CPZ, 'Comité Exécutif, Kamina 28/6/1976, 5/7/1976', No. 9 1.A.

<sup>16</sup> CPZ, 'Compte-Rendu de la 13<sup>ème</sup> Conférence... Kabongo 18-21/8/1982', Partie II, Chapitre IV 4.1.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

The stations in the CPZ have been divided into administrative districts since the early 1960s. Each station falls under the jurisdiction of one of seven Districts.<sup>18</sup> Each District is entitled to send two members to the Executive Committee of the Church. These delegates are chosen by the District and ratified by the General Conference. Since there have been no Conferences for nine years there has been a change. Ilunga Ngoi now sends invitations to the delegates to attend the *Comité Exécutif*. In this way it is possible that men who are not chosen by any District can, nevertheless, represent that District. This has happened where men like Lunda Kateba, and Mbuya Mukala Mwana were invited privately to sit on the *Comité*.<sup>19</sup>

Another area where the centralisation has brought about changes is in the choosing and placing the Pastors of stations and their Assistants. According to the procedure previously accepted by the EPCO(CEM) any station which chooses a Pastor as overseer or Assistant had to submit the name of that person to the District Committee. If the District was in agreement it took the name to the *Comité Exécutif*. The individual would then be placed on probation for two years before being accepted as a Pastor with full rights.<sup>20</sup> In October 1979 Ilunga Ngoi wrote a circular letter to all station pastors stating that he alone was in the position to appoint Pastors of stations and their Assistants. He went on to say that he did not recognise anyone appointed by stations even if they were known by the District. He wanted to know every Pastor personally and to have a *dossier* on them at Kamina.<sup>21</sup> At the next *Comité* at Kamina in 1980 the appointment of Pastors was again raised. The members of the Executive ratified an earlier decision made at Kipushya that there were already well established channels for the choosing of Pastors and that these should be maintained.<sup>22</sup> In spite of this the Legal Representative has since appointed and sent out Pastors without consulting the *Comité Exécutif*, the *Comité de District* or even the station concerned.<sup>23</sup>

District Committees were intended to look into affairs at the station level and only after they had been unable to satisfactorily conclude an affair was it to be presented to the *Comité Exécutif*. Since the 1970s there has been a trend toward the circumnavigation of the Districts altogether. From 1976 this avoidance of the Districts has been encouraged by a ruling of the *Comité Exécutif* which states that only the unimportant issues should be dealt with by the District Committees. Other affairs ought to be taken to the *Représentant Légal*. If he is unable to decide what to do he is then to place the matter before the *Comité Exécutif*.<sup>24</sup> By 1981 there were so many letters being sent to Kamina by individuals who had problems on the stations that the Kamina office of the CPZ was not able to deal with them all. This difficulty was brought to the *Exécutif* which ruled that all letters bringing accusations against station Pastors should be returned to the Districts concerned to be dealt with by them. Ilunga Sambula suggested that a copy of the letter should be sent to the central office but this idea was rejected.<sup>25</sup>

## Division of stations

Another area which has been the cause of concern in the CPZ has been a desire to divide existing stations. With the phenomenal growth in the churches between 1960 and 1970 it was evident that the organisational structure left by the missionaries was inadequate. New areas were opened and it was soon seen that it was necessary to start new stations. As early as 1962 it was felt best to divide Katombe into two, creating the new stations of Kabalo east of the Lualaba. In the same year Kikondja was divided to form the new station of Bukama.<sup>26</sup> This pattern was repeated in all the pre-1960 station areas except for Mwanza, Sungu and Katea between 1962 and 1975.<sup>27</sup> In

<sup>18</sup> The seven Districts are listed below as found on the list of Districts in the CPZ Administration in 1980. 1. District Central 2. Lualaba-Nord 3. Kasai 4. Kamina 5. Kabongo 6. Nord ou Tanganika 7. Lualaba-Sud.

<sup>19</sup> The *Comité Exécutif* has two or three full-time missionary representatives of the 30 others who make up the total. J.W. Robinson, who is presently Home Representative of the ZEM is a member when he is on the Field.

<sup>20</sup> CPZ, 'Comité Exécutif, Kipushya, 31/10/1972-3/11/1972', No. 23; CPZ, 'Comité Exécutif, Kabongo Dianda, 25/2/1979' Chapitre III, 1.a.

<sup>21</sup> Ilunga Ngoi wa Mbuya Kalulwa (Représentant Légal), Letter, No. 30-CPZ/SSA/RL/139/79, Kamina, 3/10/1979 au Pasteur Responsable de Station (TOUS), DGPP.

<sup>22</sup> CPZ, 'Comité Exécutif, Kamina, 13-15/6/1980'. Chapitre II, No. 3.

<sup>23</sup> When Nday Kalombo was moved to Likasi, the first that the senior pastor, Kabamba Nzazi, knew of the transfer was when he presented himself with a letter from the Representation. At Kikondja the station was not consulted on the choice of Kasongo Tshikala; verbal report from J.W. Robinson, July 1982; Kasamba Musenge who was the cause of friction at Kabongo was later sent to be second pastor at Katala near Kongolo. All of these changes were made since 1980.

<sup>24</sup> CPZ, 'Comité Exécutif, Kamina, 24-28/2/1976', Chapitre II No. 14.

<sup>25</sup> CPZ, 'Comité Exécutif, Kamina, 13-15/6/1980', Chapitre I No. 11 A.

<sup>26</sup> 'Questionnaires, Kabalo, Bukama'.

<sup>27</sup> The following is a list of the new stations and the old pre-1960 stations from which they have come: Munanga from Luena; Nkinda from Kamina; Kimabwe and Kabombwe from Kabongo; Mpasu from Kisanga; Bukama from Kikondja; Mbayo from Kashukulu; Pyana Mbayo from Ngoi Mani; Kasenga Mpetyi and Mbaio Lubiji from Lulungu; in the Kasai of all the

nearly every instance the divisions were accomplished in an amicable spirit with a certain sense of achievement because of the growth. By 1970 there was a change. The stations I have mentioned were divided for geographical and administrative reasons. The group which is about to be described falls into a different category. For a number of reasons, including problems over leadership and finance, sections in established station areas began to seek independence from the stations to which they were attached. This phenomenon was prevalent in Shaba but not in the Kasai.

Division of this kind has taken place in a number of the pre-1960 stations: Mwanza, Kisanga and Sungu. However, in these areas the sections which requested station status have not been granted such. Initially, the division of the all the stations was regarded as the wise and practical thing to do. In 1968 Kabongo granted station status to its sections at Kimabwe and Kabombwe and there was no indication of any change in policy.<sup>28</sup> But, in 1969 the *Comité Exécutif*, with Yumba wa Nkulu from Mwanza as President, ruled that there would be no further division of any of the oldest stations. Only new areas could be divided into stations.<sup>29</sup> At the time Malemba Nkulu, one of the Mwanza sections, had requested station status. The Mwanza Pastors did not want to divide the station for fear that it would decrease the income from the rich fishing villages along the Lualaba.<sup>30</sup>

The ruling of the Executive was ratified by the *Conférence annuelle* at Kabalo in 1971, but modified by the *Conférence annuelle* at Kabondo Dianda in 1973.<sup>31</sup> The 1973 Conference stated that those areas which wished to have station status should qualify in four areas: they should have over 20 churches; they should have over 500 Christians; they should have sufficient finance to be able to manage their own affairs and to undertake necessary construction of church buildings; they should be at least 50 kilometres from the station which formerly looked after them.<sup>32</sup>

In 1975 Kamina District recommended that Nkinda be granted station status from Kamina Station. The Executive accepted this recommendation in August 1975.<sup>33</sup> At the very next meeting of the Kamina District three of the Sungu sections: Smitanda, Kalui and Nyanga all applied for station status. These applications were turned down, but later it was agreed by the District that Samitanda should be granted full station status since it qualified in all the areas laid down in the 1973 Conference.<sup>34</sup> In spite of this, the *Comité Exécutif* has continued to rule that there will be no division of any of the oldest stations.<sup>35</sup>

All this legislation has not stopped the stations of Musao, Mulongo, Malemba Nkulu and Samitanda from continuing in their efforts to obtain stations status. They all claimed that since they had made request prior to any legislation being passed, the legislation does not involve them.<sup>36</sup> The uproar caused by these sections demanding station status has occupied a portion of most of the Executive meetings since 1975. In one instance physical violence erupted at Kiseba in the Malemba Nkulu chieftainship.

As a result both the Mwanza and the Malemba Nkulu groups involved in the fracas were thrown into prison by the Authorities until the affair was examined.<sup>37</sup> Physical force was not used at

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Basongye stations other than those supervised from Seke area, were previously under the supervision of Kipushya. Today they include Kabwe Kaikele, Kasendu, Kabinda, Kenge, Mulenda, Mbutu and Kisengwa.

<sup>28</sup> EPCO (CEM), 'Kitango kya Comité Exécutif kya bungile pamo ne Conférence Annuelle wa dya kitema wa EPCO, 10-16 août 1968', 1. a; Kusomba Mutombo Shimioni, Interview, Kabongo, 26/10/1980.

<sup>29</sup> EPCO (CEM), 'Comité Exécutif, 28/4/1969', No. 14 b.

<sup>30</sup> D. Garrard, 'Recorded notes', Malemba Nkulu, 12/10/1981; The Nkulu people had started asking for a station in 1969 and it seems clear that this was why Yumba wa Nkulu was eager to have the legislation passed in the next Comité Exécutif. This comment was also made to me by Ngoie wa Kyulu. Both Malemba and Mulongo are situated on the Lualaba and are rich fishing villages.

<sup>31</sup> Ilunga Jonathan, 'Rapport ya Représentant Légal mu Mwaka wa 1970-1971, 11ème Conférence Annuelle du 14-17 juillet 1971', p.1; EPCO(CEM), '11ème Conférence Annuelle du 14-17 juillet 1971', No. 22; CPZ, 'Conférence Annuelle, Kabondo le 25/07/1973', *Misambo isambile mu Kitango*, No. 7.

<sup>32</sup> CPZ, 'Conférence Annuelle, 25/07/73', *Misambo*, No. 7.

<sup>33</sup> CPZ, 'Comité de District Kamina, Kamina: 6-7/5/1975', No. 5, Nogie wa Kyulu PP; CPZ, 'Comité Exécutif, 27-29/4/1975, Chapitre VI No. 39 B.

<sup>34</sup> CPZ, 'Comité de District Kamina, Kinkunki: 22-23/9/1975', No. 2; Banza Mulwani, D. Womersley and D. Garrard, 'Rapport ya misambo ya ku Kilubi, 12-14/3/1982', Kamina II, 17/4/1982, DGPP; CPZ, 'Comité Exécutif, 28/6/1976, 5/7/1976', *Myanda ya station ya Nsungu Mwane, B.*

<sup>35</sup> CPZ, 'Comité Exécutif, 25/2/1979', No. 3; CPZ, 'Comité Exécutif 13-15/6/1980', Chapitre I No. 6; CPZ, 'Comité Exécutif, 27/8/1981-1/9/1981', Chapitre II 1, Chapitre IV 9; CPZ, 'Comité Exécutif, 1-4/7/1982', Chapitre IV No. 8 a.b; CPZ, 'Comité Restreint, 18/3/1980', No. 1.

<sup>36</sup> This was stated at each of the centres visited by the Commission in 1982.

<sup>37</sup> This took place on 10/6/1979; for correspondance cf. the following: Banze Kyoto wa ku Dianda, (Secrétaire Sous-Régional) Rapport, 'Situation Matinales des Zones et Postes, Du 11 Juin 1979', Kamina, 11/6/1979, ASRHLKamina; Mudimbi Katomba, Lunda Kateba, David Womersley and David Garrard (La Commission de la 30-CPZ0, 'Rapport de la Délégation nommée par le Comité Exécutif tenu à Kamina du 27/08/1981 au 01/09/1981', Kamina, 5/2/1982; Umba Nzadi, (Représentant Légal Suppléant) Letter, No. 30-CPZSSA/RL/124/79, Kamina, 30/7/1979 au Commissaire Sous-Régional

the Mulongo but Ilunga Nsenga, the sectional overseer from Mwanza, was called an *espion* and ordered to leave the chieftainship.<sup>38</sup>

A commission sent to look into all the dissension by the Executive was instructed by the *Comité* to order the offending sections to cooperate with the station leadership or be expelled from the CPZ.<sup>39</sup> However, the commission believed that it was rather its task to try and reunite the groups by taking a mediatorial role. It found that in every case there was gross mismanagement of funds by the station Pastors. But apart from finances there were the other factors which are so important in Lubaland: lack of visitation, failure to attend funerals or days of prayer and in some cases even refusal to eat with Christians from the sections. In one instance this failure to eat with the people from the section involved was the result of genuine fear on the part of the station Pastor that he would be poisoned. Another matter of complaint included the failure to provide schools for the people of the area. Lasting reconciliation was achieved only at Malemba Nkulu. Since the commission's visit to the sections the *Règlement d'Ordre Intérieur* has introduced measures which allow for the division of all the stations under set conditions.<sup>40</sup>

## Regionalism

A further issue of importance in recent years is that of regionalism. This has become evident in a number of areas, but it is clearest in the requests for station status. In nearly every instance where sections have requested station status the section has been in a chieftainship which is not the same as that of the mother station.<sup>41</sup> If a pastor on the section was from another chieftainship the areas involved saw this as having a *mweni* (stranger-foreigner) reigning over their chieftainship.<sup>42</sup> Partly because of this and partly to grant added power to the Administration at Kamina, the Conference at Kabongo in 1982, decided that it would introduce the exchange or rotation of Pastors on all stations. It believed that in so doing it will be able to show its members that the CPZ system of administration and that of the Luban and Songye customary organisation are not the same.<sup>43</sup>

Regionalism has also appeared on a much wider scale than that mentioned above. In some instances this regionalism has had an ethnic flavour while in others it has not. For a number of years there has been a growing mistrust between the Administration at Kipushya in the Kasai and the leadership at Kamina. The Basongye have been totally responsible for the organisation of their own outreach and for the placement of their own Pastors and workers. They have tended to remain aloof from some of the policies of the Kamina CPZ and have not accepted what they regard as the unilateral decisions of the Legal Representative, Ilunga Ngoi. For all years that the CPZ did not have its annual Conference, the Kasai has held its own regularly. When the CPZ Executive has been concerned mostly with the lack of finances and sections requesting stations status, the Kasai has been sending young workers to open new stations in distant areas. When the Shaba Administration was giving the stations a deadline by which to pay their contributions to the *Caisse Centrale*, the Kasai was organising retirement funds for its workers and families. When the Kamina Administration was sending out letters demanding information and statistics from the stations, Kipushya had records and regular statistics from all the Kasai including the new Baluba stations.<sup>44</sup>

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du Haut Lomami à Kamina, DGPP; Les membres du Comité Exécutif, 'Le Rapport sur le Conflit qui oppose la station mère de Mwanza à sa section de Nkulu', Kamina, 25/7/1979, DGPP.

<sup>38</sup> Verbal reports given to the Commission sent by the Comité Exécutif to Mulongo, 10/10/1981.

<sup>39</sup> CPZ, 'Comité Exécutif, 27/8/1981-1/9/1981', Chapitre IV 9.b. The written declaration by the Administration which was supposed to be read to the dissenters, threatened them with expulsion if they did not immediately obey the word of the CPZ.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. *supra* ft. nt. 37, 'Rapport de la Délégation', and 'Rapport de la Délégation', Malemba-Mwanza 1-13; CPZ, 'Comité Restreint, 4/2/1982', No. 1; and 'Projet Règlement d'Ordre Intérieur', (revised) Article 27.

<sup>41</sup> Mwanza is in the Mwanza chieftainship, Nkulu in the chieftainship of the same name and Mulongo in the Mulongo chieftainship; Musao is in the chefferie of Kisula while Kisanga is in the chieftainship of Ilunga Mwila; both Samitanda and Sungu are in different chieftainships.

<sup>42</sup> CPZ, 'Comité Exécutif, 1-4/7/1982', Chapitre IV 9 discussed the matter of *beni* (strangers, foreigners) not being wanted; CPZ, 'Comité Restreint, 4/2/1982', No. 1.

<sup>43</sup> CPZ, 'Compte-Rendu de la 13ème Conférence tenu à Kabongo du 18-21/08/1982', Chapitre I 1.6; EPCO(CEM), '11ème Conférence Annuelle du 14-17 juillet 1971', Chapitre IV No. 3 the changing of pastors was accepted; I have been in Executive meetings when it was stated clearly by the Legal Representative and others in the meeting that this "permutation" of pastors would teach the people that the organisation of the Church was not the same as that of the *bene ntanda* (Authorities).

<sup>44</sup> The Kasai also had its problems but not as many as those of the Administration in Shaba. Information concerning the Kasai has been gathered on journeys to the Province since 1973 and from talks with Kasaian leaders. The better-known

In 1979 the Kasai Administration requested that it be given legal recognition in the *Statuts* as a centre of administration for the Kasai. Lubangi Eshiba, the Assistant Legal Representative for the Kasai, maintained that he experienced problems with the Government in the Kasai. This was because the CPZ *Statuts* said that the Legal Representative alone was the only representative of the CPZ with any third party.<sup>45</sup> The *Comité Exécutif* believed that there was some ruse behind this request and some hard things were said against the men from the Kasai. Nevertheless, it was agreed that Kipushya draft a letter laying down exactly what was wanted. This letter was then to be presented to Ilunga Ngoi who would determine whether it was legal or not. If it was legal he would sign it.<sup>46</sup>

During the *Comité Exécutif* in 1981 Ilunga Ngoi again remonstrated with the delegates from the Kasai. He said that when Ngoie Shiso Marcel had been the Assistant Representative at Kipushya the relationships between Kipushya and Kamina had been fine, but that now there was continual conflict. He blamed Lubangi and wanted to know why the Kasai had to have its own conference every year. He declared that everything they did at Kipushya was *munshi munshi* (secret and subversive). Other matters including the location of the Cessna 206 aircraft and the removal of Pastor Nday Kalombo from Mwene Ditu only aggravated relationships between Shaba and the Kasai.<sup>47</sup>

During the General Conference of the CPZ at Kabongo in 1982, the Kasai again raised the question of local autonomy. The Kasains believed that they are more than a mere District and that, being in another Province, their case is special. Ilunga Ngoi maintained he could not understand why a District could want to be on its own since his Administration was so good and he was a father to all. He then told the Kasaians that since they wanted to have their own *siège* they might as well leave the conference room. At that point the entire Kasai delegation walked out of the Conference. The matter was discussed later in private, but no one seems to be clear on what will happen next.<sup>48</sup>

The other major split in the ranks of the CPZ has been between the *bene* Lualaba (the people of the Lualaba) and the *bene* Kabongo (the people of Kabongo). In practical terms this means that there is a division between the people of the Kabongo chieftainship and those who are not. In the CPZ there is a deep-seated mistrust between the *bene* Kabongo and the Administration at Kamina. An agenda from the Kabongo CPZ District drawn up prior to 1970 includes a number of items which indicate the difficulties between the two. The President of the District outlines what needs to be discussed at the next meeting by saying that the “*ba ku Sud*” (the Southerners – *bene* Lualaba) have failed to accept the decisions made by the Districts.<sup>49</sup> He complained that when he went to Kamina he had found the Southerners in conference discussing secret affairs and that he was not even invited to join them. Ngoi Beston, the president, added that everything done in the South was done secretly so that no one ever knew what was going on.<sup>50</sup> He suggested that since the EPCO had grown so much in recent years it should not be lopsided by always having to depend on the South.

He believed that the answer would be to divide the entire Church into two districts: North and South. Each District could have its own *Sulantandant* (Superintendent), but the Church would keep its one Legal Representative.<sup>51</sup> There is no record that these recommendations were ever put to the *Comité Exécutif*. When the Tanganika District suggested that it should have its own Assistant

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include: Lubangi Eshiba, Nogie Shiso Marcel, Mudimbi Katompa, Mpanya Ngoie Kaputula, Kanga Munya, Mbolela Mulaya, Kasemwana Lubembe and Lemo Matungulu.

<sup>45</sup> ‘Statuts de la Communauté Pentecôtiste au Zaïre’, Kabondo Dianda, 27/7/1973, « *Administration* d) la manière dont l’Association est représentée vis-à-vis des tiers par le Représentant Légal ».

<sup>46</sup> CPZ, ‘Comité Exécutif, 25/2/1979’, Chapitre III, 3.

<sup>47</sup> CPZ, ‘Comité Exécutif, 27/8/1981-1/9/1981’, Chapitre VI, NO. 14; Lubangi Eshiba, Mudimbi Katompa and Ngoie Shalumbo, Letter, Kipushya, 1/4/1978 kudi Balulumpe bonso mu mingilo ya CPZ (with copies to the President of the CPZ, the Legal Representative and all the station pastors). An invitation to attend a General Conference at Kipushya from 5-9/7/1978: « Seeing that years have gone by since either the Kasai or Shaba has taken upon itself the responsibility of holding the Annual Conference of the 30-C.P.Z. we in the Kasai have decided to invite you who are the workers of God to come here to Kipushya in July ...in order that we may gather together for our Annual Conference in this year of 1978 » [my translation from Kiluba] ACPZKipushya; the Cessna 206 had originally been obtained by the missionaries of the ZEM for the purpose of enabling them to fly their children to school at Sakeji in northern Zambia. Travel to and from Sakeji was taking six weeks a year from Kipushya and the missionaries felt that they would not be able to continue their work in the Kasai without this air transport. Friends of the Mission contributed towards the project and the aircraft was purchased. However, it soon became a bone of contention since it was mainly used by the Kasaiian leaders while the Shabians thought that it should be located at Kamina; the arguments over the Kasai and Shaba took place in the *Comité* executive at Kamina, 27/8/1981-1/9/1981.

<sup>48</sup> CPZ, ‘Compte-Rendu de la 13<sup>ème</sup> Conférence tenu à Kabongo du 18-21/08/1982’, Chapitre VII, 7.1.

<sup>49</sup> [Ngoi Beston] ‘Myanda yo tukesamba kwetu ku Nord’, n.pl., n.d., [c.1970] No. 1, AZEMKamina.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.* Nos. 5, 7.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.* No. 8.

Legal Representative the idea did not meet with much favour, so it can only be supposed that the Kabongo suggestions would not have been acceptable.<sup>52</sup>

In 1976 the Kabongo District decided that the CPZ had gone too long without the Annual Conference. In its meeting the District declared that a Conference must be held in 1976. Mutombo Kalenga Wilson, son of Ngoie Beston, had been voted out of office by the CPZ Executive the year before. The Kabongo District chose him as the Treasurer for the CPZ to replace Ilunga Mulopwe Sambula a *mwine* Lualaba (man from the Lualaba). Nshimba Bajima, who was then involved in translation work at Kamina II, was chosen by that District to be their *Représentant Légal Suppléant*.<sup>53</sup>

When the Executive gathered in special session to examine what it saw as an act of rebellion by the Kabongo District, the Legal Represented declared openly that there would be no Conference. He said that the Conferences only led to confusion and brought a bad name on the CPZ. The *Comité* agreed that Kabongo had no right to choose Mutombo since Sambula had been elected by the entire Executive, including members of the Kabongo District. The members said that they were saddened that Kabongo had tried to introduce regionalism by choosing Nshimba Bajima. Because David Womersley and Umba Nzadi had received minutes of the Kabongo meeting they both came in for their share of the blame. Ilunga Ngoi said that David Womersley encouraged Kabongo to split off from the CPZ. On another occasion he said that it was a tactic of the missionaries "*diviser pour régner*".<sup>54</sup> He said that Womersley had promised Kabongo the missionaries would join them if it split off and had told the *bene* Kabongo that the *bene* Lualaba were trying to trick them. Kahingo Kalala Mucheha, pastor from Kabombwe was accused of wanting to oust Ilunga Ngoi from the Legal Representation and was expelled from the CPZ.<sup>55</sup>

Divisions on stations such as that Kolwezi where Mbuya Mukala Mwana was the Pastor, were blamed on the element from Kabongo. It has become commonplace to hear pastors from the cities in the South blame the *bene* Kabongo for any problem that arises on a station.<sup>56</sup> The number of people from the Kabongo chieftainship who joined the *Assemblée de Dieu de Shaba* was again proof, as far as the Administration was concerned, of the rebellious nature of the *bene* Kabongo.<sup>57</sup>

At the 1982 Conference of the CPZ held at Kabongo station, the differences between the Administration and the Kabongo District came to a head. The Kabongo representatives requested that the first item of business to be discussed should be the mandates of the elected officers because it had been 14 years since the last vote. However, this was turned down by the floor as the Administration explained that the new *Règlement d'Ordre Intérieur* had to be discussed in the commissions before any other business could be undertaken. As it was very the last day of the Conference the Kabongo delegates believed that this was a ruse by the Kamina Administration to remain in office. They registered their objection by walking out *en masse* except for those from the station of Kabongo itself. They did not return.<sup>58</sup>

Another matter which has involved some regionalism is the matter of station limits. Where limits have never been clearly defined, or where there are new stations which join older ones, there is often the question of which villages belong to a station. The *Comité Exécutif* has repeatedly ordered stations with boundary difficulties to take their problems to the Districts involved. Nevertheless, there have been arguments over limits and villages in a number of areas. As early as 1969 Pastor André Lubinga of Luena claimed a number of villages which lay in the Bukama station, since they were in the Kabengele chieftainship. Chief Kabengele was also involved in the affair. The *Comité Exécutif* ordered Lubinga to return the villages to the care of Kabayo Mwadyavita and wrote a letter to Chief Kabengele saying: "Our pastors are workers of God and they cannot enter into affairs which have to do with the boundaries of chieftainships" (free translation).<sup>59</sup> In more recent times the best example of this particular kind of occurrence has been at Kampako where

<sup>52</sup> This was raised in the *Exécutif* in July 1979.

<sup>53</sup> CPZ, 'Comité Exécutif, 28/6/1976, 5/7/1976', No. 4, 1°, 2°, 3°.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.* No. 9, 1: A,B,C; No. 9, 2; Umba Nzadi started his pastoral work in the Kabongo area although he is from Kasongwa Niembo. Because of his many contacts at Kabongo he is often accused of being pro *bene* Kabongo; D. Womersley, 'Report on the problems between Mission and Church as expressed in the *Comité Exécutif*, Luena, February 1978', DWPP; CPZ, 'Comité Exécutif, 28/6/1976, *Madingi* 4.

<sup>55</sup> *Supra* ft nt. 53, *Madingi* ne butyibi kuboba batenwe mu mwanda uno wa District ya Kabongo [Counsel and judgment given to those who were part of the troubles caused by those in the district of Kabongo], 2.

<sup>56</sup> CPZ, 'Comité Restreint, 7/6/1982', Mbuya named the troublemakers as Nkulu Twite, Kongolo wa Baluba and Mundeke wa Ngoy; cf. 'Comité Restreint, 13/2/1982', No.2; CPZ, 'Comité Exécutif, 27/8/1981-1/9/1981' Chapitre IV No 7.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. *supra* Chapter 7, B) p. 9.

<sup>58</sup> This took place at the Conference held at Kabongo from 18-21/8/1982. The Kabongo delegation left on 21/8/1982.

<sup>59</sup> EPCO (CAM), 'Comité Exécutif, 28/4/1969', 3, E.

there are six villages involved. Kimabwe claims that it is willing to let Kampako have the villages, but the people themselves do not want to be attached to Kampako but to Kimabwe.<sup>60</sup>

## Government Involvement in Church Affairs

Something new which has come to light since the 1960s is the involvement of the State by the Church in Church affairs. This seems to be a common phenomenon in many of the Protestant Churches in Zaïre. In the CPZ this first became evident where there was internal strife involving a pastor or a person of some standing in the church. Most often the matter was purely an internal one, yet letters were sent to station Pastors with copies to the State. For example, in 1974 the *Comité Exécutif* passed a minute which said that the Legal Representative should write a letter to the State and to all the churches of the CPZ telling them to stop the work of one Ngoy Kalonda because he called himself the “*Pasteur Responsable*”, but had false documents.<sup>61</sup> I have seen letters where most of the first page was taken up with the names of Government officials to whom copies had been sent.<sup>62</sup>

The conflict between the sections requesting station status and the stations themselves, well illustrates State involvement in Church affairs because of Church invitation. In 1977 Lubaba Bikomo, pastor of the station at Mwanza, requested the *Commissaire de Zone* to summon the ‘rebellious’ pastors from Nkulu to a meeting to be held under the *Commissaire*’s direction. In the *Procès-verbal* (the recorded verbal report) the *Commissaire* asked Lubaba Bikomo why he had insisted on having the meeting. The Mwanza Pastor replied that it was because the Nkulu section no longer recognised the station at Mwanza and did not take its reports or finances to the station as it should. The *Commissaire* said he found it bizarre that he should be called arbitrate in a manner which was solely to do with the church and asked Lubaba Bikomo if he did not find that he was acting against the rules of the Church in holding the meeting. Lubaba did not reply directly but intimated that he was willing to take any measure which would terminate the insurrection.<sup>63</sup> This was the commencement of a long series of charges and counter charges with letters back and forth to the State.<sup>64</sup> By 1980 Ilunga Ngoi wrote to the *Commissaire de Zone* at Malemba Nkulu asking that he ensure the safe installation of new local pastors from Mwanza who would be taking over the churches at Nkulu. This letter was passed to the *Commissaire de Sous-Région* at Kamina who replied to the Legal Representative and said that it was not the work of the State to install Church workers, but the work of the Legal Representative. He added that the actions of any of the *fidèles* of the CPZ was Ilunga Ngoi’s affair and that he would be held responsible by the State for any trouble at Nkulu.<sup>65</sup> Similar involvement with the State has taken place in different areas of the CPZ including Mwene Ditu, Kampako-Kimabwe, Mulongo, and Kolwezi.<sup>66</sup>

The writing of letters to the State became so involved that in 1982 the Legal Representative suggested to the *Comité Exécutif* that anyone writing letters to the State should automatically be expelled from the CPZ. The Executive accepted this recommendation, but as late as the General Conference in August 1982, Ilunga Ngoi threatened those who did not obey the CPZ decisions with reprisals from the State.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>60</sup> CPZ, ‘Comité Exécutif, 27/8/1981-1/9/1981’, Chapitre II, No.3.

<sup>61</sup> CPZ, ‘Comité Exécutif, 3-4/6/974’, No.12.

<sup>62</sup> Ilunga Ngoi wa Mbuya Kalulwa, Letter, No.30-CPZ/SSA/RL/274/81, Kamina, 6/10/1981 au Révérend Pasteur Responsable de Station (TOUS), Transmis copie pour information au: Citoyen Gouverneur de Région du Shaba à Lubumbashi, -Citoyen Gouverneur de Région du Kasai-Oriental à Mbuji May [sic]- Citoyen Gouverneur de Région du Kasai-Occidental à Kananga, -Citoyen Commissaire de Zone de la Région du Shaba et 2 Kasai (TOUS), DGPP.

<sup>63</sup> Commissaire de Zone, (Malemba Nkulu) Lubaba Bikomo, Kilongo Shipamba *et al.*, ‘Procès-Verbal, No. 32/of 547/J.05/77, Malemba, 11/7/1977, ASRHLKamina.

<sup>64</sup> Poshi Kaluba Fundi Wansese (Commissaire de Zone Assistant), Letter, No. 32/0133/J.05/79, Malemba, 30/1/1979 au Commissaire de Sous-Région du Haut Lomami à Kamina, ASRHLKamina, says that he was involved in the Mwanza-Nkulu dispute by the pastor of Mwanza in 1977; Mudyavita Mutomo (Pasteur Responsable), Letter, No. 008-CPZ/S.NK/002/80, Malemba Nkulu, 18/7/1980 au Commissaire de Région à Lubumbashi: « Nous avons l'honneur de vous informer qu'il existe un conflit au sien de la communauté pentecôtiste [sic] au Zaïre, entre la station de Mwanza et section [sic] Nkulu », ASRHLKamina; Mudyavita Mutombo (Pasteur Responsable), Letter, No. 006-CPZ/S.NK/002/80, Nkulu, 16/7/ au 1980 chef de Collectivité de Nkulu à Butombe, ASRHLKamina; Massibu Kundi (Commissaire Sous-Régional), Letter, No. 3072/0264/HL/80, Kamina, n.d. [1980] au Représentant Légal de la 30-CPZ Kamina, ASRHLKamina.

<sup>65</sup> Ilunga Ngoi wa Mbuya Kalulwa, Letter, No. 30-CPZ/SSA/RL/149/80, Kamina, 4/7/1980 au Commissaire de Zone Malemba Nkulu, AASRHLKamina; Atali Mtisano (Commissaire de Sous-Région, Haut Lomami), Letter, No. 3072.

<sup>66</sup> Lubangi Eshiba, Interview, Kipushya, 20/1/1981; Les Membres de l'Elgise Pentecôtiste 30° C.P.Za. Mwene Ditu [27 names], Letter, No. 014/C.P.Z./MDMUS/79, Mwene Ditu; 16/11/1979 au Représentant Légal 30<sup>ème</sup> C.P.Z. Kamina, DGPP.

<sup>67</sup> Ilunga Ngoi wa Mbuya Kalulwa, ‘Rapport ya Représentant Légal ku Conférence Annuelle ya le 17 août 1982’, Kamina, 16/8/1982, p.5, DGPP: « You have been sitting there doing nothing; now I am going to ask the authority of the State to

## The Constitution (*Règlement d'Ordre Intérieur*)

An important development in the government of the CPZ has been the acceptance of a written constitution. As a result of the pressure applied by the CPC the Annual Conference of the EPCO(CEM) in 1968 discussed the possibility of introducing a Constitution. This would be a document which would clarify the *Statuts* of the Church and lay down rules to help in the everyday administration of the EPCO(CEM). Twenty members of the pastoral, educational and missionary arms of the Church were chosen to examine the entire question had to draw up a proposed Constitution.<sup>68</sup> Nothing was ever done. The project was raised regularly in Conferences and Executive Committees until 1991 when the Kasai leadership decided that it would draw up its own recommendations which it took to the *Comité Exécutif*.<sup>69</sup> The *Comité Exécutif* said that it would examine them after the meeting. Again the matter was left.

In July 1982 the Executive insisted that the project be ready to present to the Conference at Kabongo in August.<sup>70</sup> Within days of the Conference the Commission sat to examine the recommendations to be put before the Conference. The Conference itself commenced a day late because the Administration spent the time up to the last minute typing and duplicating the *Règlement* for the delegates.<sup>71</sup>

After the presentation of the reports the *Règlement* was the first item of business at the Conference. It was presented as: *Projet du Règlement d'Ordre Intérieur de la Communauté Pentecôtiste au Zaïre* (CPZ). The reading of the articles and their discussion took two full days. Not all points were agreed upon by the Conference, but after several modifications the *Projet* was accepted.<sup>72</sup> The *Règlement* is comprised of 37 articles and a short preamble.<sup>73</sup> It includes, among other items, the statement of faith in which it stresses the Pentecostal position. The CPZ declares that it is free to evangelise throughout Zaïre as well as in other African countries as it sees the need.<sup>74</sup> The powers of the Administration and its officers are outlined as are the powers and responsibilities of the Pastors of stations, sections and local churches.<sup>75</sup> Another important matter is the function and responsibility of the Conference, *Comité Exécutif*, District, Station and Section.<sup>76</sup> In the light of the trend to centralisation one interesting statement is that « *La conférence de la CPZ est l'organe Suprême de la Communauté Pentecôtiste au Zaïre, et responsable de la sauvegarde du patrimoine de celle-ci. Actes 15 :1-31* ». <sup>77</sup>

There was an attempt by some in the Administration to do away with the office of President since it had been merely an honorific position. This is because of the lack of definition of responsibilities the President never really knew what he was expected to do. In addition to this, he lived at Mwanza which was inaccessible since there were no railways or good roads going to Mwanza. People found it easier to go to Kamina to see Ilunga Ngoi than to go to Mwanza to see Yumba wa Nkulu. The present *Règlement* clearly defines the work of the President and makes him mainly responsible for the supervision of the doctrine and teaching in the CPZ. He is also the President of the *Conseil d'Administration* of the CPZ.<sup>78</sup> The Legal representative remains, however, the real head of the CPZ. He is a spokesman for the Church in all areas including relationships with the State. He is the director will Church departments and they had to executor all the CPZ, expected to ensure that all decisions taken by the Conference are enacted.<sup>79</sup>

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help the Church against those who cause trouble and especially where there are those who want their own stations" [my translation].

<sup>68</sup> EPCO(CEM), '9<sup>ième</sup> Conférence Annuelle-Kamina du 10-16/8/1968', No. 9.

<sup>69</sup> CPZ, 'Comité Exécutif, 27/8/1981-1/9/1981', Chapitre VI No. 12.

<sup>70</sup> CPZ, 'Comité Exécutif, 1-4/7/1982', Chapitre IV 6.

<sup>71</sup> Commission responsible for the drawing up of the *Règlement d'Ordre Intérieur* included: Ilunga Ngoi wa Mbuya Kalulwa, Kumwimba Nsenga, UMba Nzadi, Ngoy Maloba, Ilunga Dyabupemba, Lubangi Eshiba, Mudimbi Katompa, Yumba Nkasa, Yumba Pita wa Bwana, David Womersley and David Garrard.

<sup>72</sup> CPZ, 'Compte-Rendu de la 13<sup>ième</sup> Conférence Tenue à Kabongo du 18-21/8/1982', Chapitre VI 6,1.

<sup>73</sup> cf Appendix No. 2.

<sup>74</sup> *Règlement*, Art. 6.

<sup>75</sup> *Règlement*, Arts. 7,13,15-23,26,28,30.

<sup>76</sup> *Règlement*, Arts. 11,12,23,24,25,28.

<sup>77</sup> *Règlement*, Art 11.

<sup>78</sup> *Règlement*, Arts 14,15.1-5.

<sup>79</sup> *Règlement*, Art. 19.1-7.

## The reasons for these trends in the Church

There are usually good reasons for developments within any society. I will not attempt to explain all the reasons for these changes since many are the result of complex situations which do not always give themselves easily to analysis. Some of the reasons which seemed to be behind the changes will be looked at and the rest will be left open to the reader to interpret. The first concern is with the trend toward centralisation. The point has already been made that the group from which the missionaries of the Pentecostal church originally came were local church oriented. They acted in a positive way to keep away from centralising tendencies. However, once left on their own the African leadership did not have anything in common with the frame of reference which was part of the *Weltanschauung* of their white predecessors.

It would seem only reasonable to suppose that the Congolese/Zairean leadership would fall back upon its nearest frame of reference in matters pertaining to the church – local traditional patterns. There was nothing quite the same, but as I have indicated there are similarities between the station unit and the traditional unit of the chieftainship. There are even similarities between traditional leadership with *balopwe* (chiefs, kings) and *bamfumu* (counsellors or lords) and the Pastors of the station with all the local church *bafundiji* (local pastors or teachers).

Bengt Sundkler has shown how in the South African setting and in the pattern for Zulu chieftainship has become the norm for church government in the Independent Churches.<sup>80</sup> There are certainly parallels between what is happening in the Zionist churches and the trend in centralisation in the CPZ and other churches like the Garenganze, Brethren Assemblies.<sup>81</sup> It was seen in the treatment of Luban society that central government was the only kind of rule known.<sup>82</sup> Even when a chieftainship has its own chief it still maintained its traditional ties with the *Mulopwe* and the capital of the Luba Empire. This enhanced the unity of the Kingdom and added to the feeling of belonging. The *Mulopwe* was the undisputed head and apart from the remote possibility of his being removed by his counsellors there was no one who would dare to gainsay his command. Likewise his counsellors or lords were the heads of their appointed realms; they were answerable to no one but the *Mulopwe*.

This can help us to understand what has happened among the majority of the Luban churches in Shaba. At the station level, as I pointed out, the station becomes equivalent to the sub chieftainship. The *bafundiji* owe their allegiance to the station Pastor. However, following Luban patterns each pastor (or sub-chief figure) is part of the greater *bulopwe* (kingdom) with a paramount chief or king. During the days of the missionaries there was a director of the CEM, but the one who was a spokesman for the Mission was the Legal Representative. In the earliest years Burton was the Director and Legal Representative, but he later gave the duty of Legal Representative to H. Womersley. In the eyes of the African leadership the Legal Representative was the man with the real power. He was the one who wrote the letters to the Government and he was the man called in to sort out problems of various kinds. For this reason he becomes the equivalent of the paramount chief. He is the real head of the Mission or in this case the EPCO (CEM)/CPZ. Since the leadership remembers H. Womersley being the Legal Representative from 1935 to 1960, and since it does not know anything about what the missionaries did in their Conferences in matters concerning mandates, it assumes that he was there for life. Besides the *Mulopwe* is the *Mulopwe* for life.

Undoubtedly, the effect of local traditional patterns and assumptions have played the most important part in the developments in the Church since 1960. It would appear that most of the trends, especially those to decentralisation and regionalism, can be accounted for as a result of this factor alone. Western society is more concerned with the individual and individual needs, whereas African society is more concerned with the family, the clan, and the people as a whole. Hence where Western Christianity tends to stress the salvation of the individual and individual commitment, it is not strange that African Christianity tends to emphasise group salvation, group

<sup>80</sup> *Bantu Prophets in South Africa*, 2ed., pp. 100-106.

<sup>81</sup> My observation of what is taking place in the Garenganze community as a result of personal contact with members of that group. cf. also articles like that written by W.T. Stunt, "Conflict A.F.K.-G.E.M.", *Echoes Quarterly Review*, 22(4) 1970, pp.25-31; in 1980 an anonymous circular letter was sent to the missionaries and to some of the stations of the CPZ as well as to the Administration at Kamina. It was from a group calling itself: La Voix des Chrétiens Opprimés, Communauté Pentecôtiste au Zaïre.[The voice of the the Oppressed Christians...] In this letter the group attacked what it called « le DESORDRE qui règne en Maître dans notre Communauté C.P.Z.-Z.E.M. ». It suggested that there should be more efficient centralisation where the Legal Representative would be the director of all the missionaries as well as all other affairs. V 1.a and 2. b, f.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. *supra* Chapter 3, A) pp. 101-102.

commitment and solidarity.<sup>83</sup> Sin is not so much an individual matter as a failure to conform to group standards and expectations.<sup>84</sup> So where some forms of Western Christianity tend to favour Congregationalism and local autonomy, not only is the concept missing from Luban and Songye patterns, but it would be contrary to those patterns.

The choosing of *bamfumu* in the chieftainship is the responsibility of the *Mulopwe*, although he may ask the counsel of some of his closest advisers or his uncles. He chooses only those who he believes will fit into the overall policy of the *bulopwe* and would never dream of choosing someone who he knew was openly opposed to him and to his rule. In the same way, the Administration feels perfectly justified in choosing for the pastorate those who are known to be in favour of its overall plan for the CPZ. The Legal Representative does not see it is necessary to have the advice of every Pastor in Conference because, according to traditional Luban patterns, his is the prerogative to do as he wills. The Executive Committee would be equivalent to the leading *bamfumu*. In the traditional setting where there are *bamfumu* who go against the *Mulopwe* they would most certainly be put to death.

In this case they are, like Kahingo, expelled from the CPZ.<sup>85</sup> There must not be discord within the inner group so those who are not in favour of policies are regarded as sewing discord. It is best for them to be kept out of the decision-making body so that a consensus can be arrived at. Centralisation is something that the CPZ aims at since it encourages this effective consensus while individualism or autonomy inhibits it.<sup>86</sup>

The difficulty that the CPZ is experiencing over the division of stations and regionalism must certainly be understood in terms of local traditional patterns. The Commission which was sent to look into the differences between the stations in the sections found that in nearly every case the local chiefs had played an important part in encouraging the sectional Pastors to secede from the station. This was because they did not want the finances from the chieftainship going to another. In Luban tradition the chief or sub-chief never took his *milambu* (offerings) to an equal or to someone who was subservient to himself, but to his overlord. The *milambu* was a sign of submission or loyalty. To these chiefs the transfer of funds to another chieftainship meant that they were subservient to another chieftainship.<sup>87</sup>

There are strong traditional kinship ties between people of certain areas. The Administration wants to show its members that customary and ecclesiastical organisation and administration are not the same. It believes that it can accomplish this in two ways: First, by rotating the station Pastors and again by creating its own boundaries which ignore those of the established chieftainships. However, in the light of church history it is doubtful that it will achieve its goal.<sup>88</sup> I confess that I do not entirely understand the reasons for the mistrust between the *bene* Kabongo and the *bene* Lualaba.<sup>89</sup> If it were merely a division between the *bene* Kabongo and the *bene* Kasongwa Niembo it would be possible to understand this in the light of the historical division of the *bulopwe* (kingdom). But it does not appear to be related to this. There is definitely a certain tension between the people of the Kikondja chieftainship and those of the inland villages and this does have its history in the background of the people. It is possible that in the CPZ the *bene* Kikondja have become representative of the southerners while the *bene* Kabongo are the representatives of the inland dwellers.<sup>90</sup> There is, nevertheless, a very strong kinship feeling between the people of the Kabongo chieftainship. This could be important because although Kasongwa Niembo is also large chieftainship it is not nearly as densely populated. The other members of the Baluba come from smaller chieftainships and it could well be that there is still some sense of feeling on the part of the *bene* Kabongo that "we are the real Baluba" since Kabongo chieftainship was the heart of the Empire until its division.<sup>91</sup>

Part of the problem existing between the people at Kipushya and the Administration at Kamina is undoubtedly ethnic in nature. The two peoples, the Basongye and the Baluba have different traditional structures. The Baluba Lolo (Shaba) was a large tribe with a well-defined hierarchy. At its head was the *Mulopwe* at the Capital. The Basongye people are made up of a

<sup>83</sup> Cf. H. R. Niebuhr, *The Social Sources of Denominationalism*, Cleveland and New York, Meridian Books- The World Publishing Company, 1957, p. 31.

<sup>84</sup> Cf. Ilunga Ngoi wa Mbuya Kalulwa, *supra* ft. nt. 10: "You who wish to bring division whether you are white or black should know that you are not a child of God". [my translation]

<sup>85</sup> Cf. *supra* Chapter 7 B) p. 9.

<sup>86</sup> Cf. Philip Turner, 'The Wisdom of the Fathers and the Gospel of Christ: Some notes on Christian Adaptation in Africa', *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 6(1) 1971, pp. 45-68.

<sup>87</sup> This was especially evident in Musao and Mulongo.

<sup>88</sup> Cf. *supra* ft. nt. 43, p. 26.

<sup>89</sup> *Supra*, Chapter 7, E) **Regionalism** pp.27f.

<sup>90</sup> Cf. *supra* chapter 3, A) p. 101.

<sup>91</sup> Cf. *supra* chapter 3, A) pp.101-102 regarding the hearland and *mwipata*.

number of different clans. They never had one paramount chief who was head over all the clans until the Belgians made Lumpungu the Paramount Chief over all the Basongye. For this reason they are not traditionally so inclined to centralisation in the same sense as are the Baluba. They are more clan oriented and so tend to look more to the autonomy of the local station rather than to Kipushya as a centre of the work in the Kasai. This is undoubtedly why the Basongye feel threatened by the Baluba. Since the work among the Baluba Kasai is relatively new there have not yet been any obvious differences between the stations other than at Mwene Ditu. It will be interesting to see what will develop in the future as the Baluba Kasai outnumber the Basongye in the Province of Kasai Oriental.<sup>92</sup>

It is necessary to look at other factors which gave way to the trend toward centralisation in the CPZ. It has already been noted how the CPC, and later the ECZ, emphasised the need for greater control of the churches by a centralised Administration. This trend became even more marked from the mid-1970s. It was then that a number of younger men were included in the administrative staff of the CPZ. After the nationalisation of all the schools in 1974 the Department of Education in the CPZ was disbanded. However, in 1978 the Zaire Government returned the control of the schools to the Churches. This meant that the CPZ had to reconstitute its Education Department. Ilunga Mulopwe Sambula, previously a school director at Kabondo Dianda, was called to be the *Coordinateur* for all the schools. Kumwimba Nsenga was invited to be the *Chef de Personnel*. At the same time Sambula was the Secretary General of the CPZ and he later acquired the added responsibility of Treasurer.<sup>93</sup> This is significant, for although there was no official link between the control of the Education Department and the running of the CPZ, it soon became obvious that the Education Department was behind many of the ideas that were being advocated by the CPZ Administration. In practice it was inevitable that there should be a marriage between the Education Department and the Administration of the CPZ. Sambula was paid by the Education Department and not by the Church, even though he was officially a full-time officer in both. In addition to this Ilunga Ngoi, the *Représentant Légal*, is not literate in French so that all official communications with the Government and the ECZ had to be composed by Sambula. So prominent was Sambula's part in the Administration that in February 1978 Ilunga Ngoi felt it necessary to declare to the Executive that he knew everything that was going on in the office and was totally in charge.<sup>94</sup> This is not to suggest that Ilunga Ngoi was merely a traditional figurehead. He was the man in charge, but there were times when it seems that there were things being done of which he was not aware.

The members of the Education Department were important in other areas of the CPZ Administration. At the meetings of the *Comité Restreint* a select group which was supposed to handle urgent matters between Executive meetings, three of the seven or eight members were from the Education Department. They were usually left to implement any decisions that had been made.<sup>95</sup> It was also members of the Education Department who were responsible for drawing up the first draft of the Constitution (*Règlement d'Ordre Intérieur*). The Education Department has also become the watchdog of the stations. Men who are known to be favourable to the policies of the Kamina Administration or who are friendly with the Legal Representative have been placed in strategic places throughout the country to keep the Administration informed of what is going on in the churches. The Legal Representative is not ashamed to declare that he has his eyes and ears everywhere.<sup>96</sup>

Perhaps the significance of the men in the Education Department who have contributed so much to the Administration of the CPZ is not merely that they are an educated *élite*, but that their proximity to the Legal Representative makes them the counselling body. They have become the

<sup>92</sup> Cf. *supra*, ft. nt. 66; Jan Vansina, *Kingdoms of the Savanna*, pp. 29, 30, 159; Lumpungu III, Mutamba, Interview Kabinda, 15/1/1981.

<sup>93</sup> CPZ, 'Comité Exécutif, 23-25/1/1975', No.21; CPZ, 'Comité Exécutif, Kamina, 24-28/2/1976', No.05; Sambula was never voted on by any Conference so his position according to the *Statuts* is not clear. In addition to this, he was chosen as secretary to the Legal Representative and never as General Secretary of the CPZ; cf. CPZ, 'Comité Exécutif, 3-5/6/9074', No. 11.

<sup>94</sup> Cf. *supra*, Ilunga Ngoi, ft. nt. 10 p. 6 of the minutes.

<sup>95</sup> The *Comité Restreint*, as stated earlier, was a consultative body which first started meeting at the request of the Legal Representative at the end of 1979. Although it did not have any legislative powers, it concerned itself with the maintenance of order in the CPZ at a time when the CPZ was becoming more and more involved with the State than ever before. The *Comité* became a means whereby the Representation made the membership of the CPZ believe that missionaries were involved in the decision-making of the CPZ. This group did not keep any minutes (except once 23, 24/2/1982) and what was decided was rarely enacted according to the decision of the group but according to the powers of the Administration itself. It was disbanded by the Conference at Kabongo in August 1982 (I kept my own record of the minutes).

<sup>96</sup> Ilunga Ngoi made this statement in the Comité Exécutif at Kamina in August 1981. I have heard him repeat this on different occasions.

people to whom he turns when there are decisions to be made. This is why their ideas are being accepted rather than the ideas of the Executive which gathers normally once a year and possibly twice. Not all of the older men are happy about what they see as a Church being run by *bansongwalume* (youngsters). There are also some signs that the relationships between the Legal Representative and those in the Education Department are not what they used to be, so this role could change.

An important factor in the implementation of the centralisation policy has been the Methodist connection. It is significant that the men in the Education Department, who have been the strongest advocates of centralisation as presented by the ECZ, are men who were taught by the Methodists at Mulungwishi.<sup>97</sup> This was because prior to 1960 the CEM did not have secondary schools, and the brightest students were sent elsewhere.<sup>98</sup> While these men were at the Mulungwishi they were obviously exposed to the Methodist system of church government. When they saw that the Methodists had secondary schools, hospitals and doctors, grants for students to study overseas, financial help for the payment of the pastors and for the building of churches, they were convinced that this system of church government was the answer for the CPZ. The importance of this connection is limited to those areas where the CEM/CPZ members have come into contact with the Methodists.

The importance of the younger better educated men being in positions where they have become counsellors to the Legal Representative is clear. Because of their position they are well placed to present the ideas they have learned *chez les Méthodistes*. Since the 1960s and Methodists have spread to most areas of Shaba where the CPZ is located. In this way most of the Shabians are familiar with the Methodist system of government. In addition to this, the Methodist Bishop for North Shaba, who received his primary education in the CEM and who has two brothers in prominent positions in the Executive of the CPZ, is now located at Kamina so that it is necessary for the members of the CPZ to draw comparisons between the two systems. I have heard Executive members discussing a problem in the church and then go on to add "The Methodists would do it this way", or "The Methodist Bishop would just tell his missionaries that they were to locate in the new area and it would be done".<sup>99</sup> I have not come across any opposing tendency to this influence although there are, as has been seen, some of the older men who do not like the prominent position played by the younger element in the Administration.

One might ask the question: How has the arrogation of power by a few been possible? In part this has already been answered in the treatment of the influence of traditional patterns. Undoubtedly, there are combinations of factors including the assumption of power through a vacuum because the structure made it possible and the assimilation of local structures where the people feel at home. The structure left by the missionaries was basically Congregationalist, but there was also a General Council of missionaries and an Executive Committee. Even under the CEM system, toward 1959 the missionaries began to feel that the power of the EC had got out of hand and the structure was changed in order to provide the possibility of greater participation by the majority. However, when the missionaries transferred authority to the African leadership it is evident that the place of the Conference and the Executive was not understood in the same terms as it had been by the missionaries. As stated earlier, the real power now became resident in the *mukulumpe* (the old one, the head, the chief) – Jonathan Ilunga. Because he acquired these powers it was then up to him to interpret the place of the other legislative bodies in the existing structure. It became his right to invite certain counsellors to be closer than others. This was the way traditional Luban society functioned.

This assumption of power through a vacuum was also accentuated by the civil war. The missionaries left the stations thereby making possible the abrupt change in Church government. This abrupt change, accompanied by the tensions and chaos of war, left people in some confusion as to the correct way to tackle their problems. During the period of the war there was little time to think about Church government, but once peace was restored and the churches began to fill with hundreds of new converts the leadership had to work out some way of making decisions which would benefit everyone. Since Jonathan Ilunga had been known to be a man in whom the leadership had confidence and since they believed that he was able to give them direction in areas

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<sup>97</sup> Ilunga Mulopwe Sambula, Interview, Kamina, 7/7/1983. Those in the Education department who were educated at Mulungwishi include: Banza Mulosa, Ilunga Bamuyeja, Ilunga Mulopwe Sambula and Kumwimba Nsenga (I have learned that since September 1983 there has been a big change in the personnel in the Education department. M. Jacques, Telephone interview, 27/11/1983).

<sup>98</sup> Cf. *supra* education in Evangelism Chapter 2 C) p. 93.

<sup>99</sup> This was said in the *Comité Exécutif* held at Kamina August 1981.

of difficulty, the stations granted him the right to make decisions which they were not willing to make themselves.

According to traditional patterns it is not good to say “no” to someone since you could find that there will be severe repercussions in the future. If however, you can get someone else with greater authority than yourself to say “no” for you, then that is preferable. In this way the Legal Representative acquires the role of authority ascribed to him by the leadership. This then gives him the right to decide on issues, including the appointment of close advisers. Besides, there has to be someone who knows the overall plan who can act on behalf of the whole Church.

When it comes to making decisions on the CPZ there is no one correct way since there are several levels of reality. What makes it all the more complicated is that they interlock. This is because the Constitution was not written down, but established in canons developed by the missionaries. A tradition in one area was not always the same in another. For example, Burton came out of the Brethren and was a strong believer in everything being done properly and in order. Although he believed very much in the gifts of the Spirit and taught about the power of God to heal, he did not allow emotionalism to play much of a part in the Mwanza services.<sup>100</sup> Another matter about which he held very strong views was divorce and remarriage. He absolutely disallowed the latter. Up to the present this tradition has been continued at Mwanza. The station church on Kayembe Hill still does not permit the use of the *kyondo* (wooden talking drum). Order is very important, and the same views with regard to marriage and divorce are held by the Zairean leadership.

Kikondja was supervised by E. Hodgson, who although from the same church at Preston, was a man of completely different temperament. Little that was unusual seemed to bother him, and he did not restrain the enthusiasm of the lake dwellers in the meetings. He even encouraged them to use indigenous musical instruments in their worship.<sup>101</sup> When it came to practical issues of doctrine Hodgson was much more lenient than Burton since he believed that although the African Christians live during the New Testament epoch, many of the Old Testament injunctions were applicable to their way of life and culture.<sup>102</sup> For this reason when it came to questions of marriage and divorce he was not as strict as was Burton. The same leniency is evident today on the Kikondja station. As a result of this kind of practice by different missionaries it is common when discussing a doctrinal or practical question to have the senior Pastor of a station say: “Oh! But Bwana Homazele (Womersley) would never have done that”. This missionary tradition is often confused with what is the ‘correct’ tradition and can even include such questions as the ‘right’ day on which to have a prayer meeting, the correct order of meetings on a Sunday and whether the sermon should be before or after the Communion.<sup>103</sup>

Often any attempt to modify or change what has been done previously is regarded as an attack on the central message of Christianity. Philip Turner and Bengt Sundkler point out that this is a well-known feature of African Christianity, and that often the first missionaries and their converts are regarded as the upholders of the only true tradition.<sup>104</sup>

From time to time since 1960 the leaders of the Church have discussed matters in Conferences or Executive meetings where policy was decided. However, this policy, which was only recorded in minutes of the meetings was not generally enacted in every area of the EPCO(CEM)/CPZ. There were several reasons for this. The most important reason would be that the canons laid down by the missionaries were perpetuated on each station, and although they were not written in any document they were known by the people of the area to be accepted church rules. These traditions were best-known and were enacted when there was a question of correct procedural practice. The decisions recorded in the minutes of the Conferences and Executive meetings were generally not passed on to all the local pastors or to the members of the churches so that they did not concern them. There have been times when some Pastors attempted to emphasise a minute which was of particular interest to themselves and to stations, in which case it might have been passed on to the local church leaders. However, a glance at the minutes shows

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<sup>100</sup> For many years prior to 1960 Burton was not in charge of the station at Mwanza since he was kept busy as the Field Director. E. Rowlands says that during a long period he spent working at Mwanza he never once heard anyone speaking in tongues there. He heard one missionary complaining that he might as well have joined a Brethren mission; Interview, Margate, Kent, 20/2/1983.

<sup>101</sup> On Hodgson's ideas about the indigeneous church and the need to adapt to local needs, cf. *Out of the Darkness*, pp. 183-186.

<sup>102</sup> David Womersely, Interview, Kamina II, 9/10/1980.

<sup>103</sup> I have found this out from experience. Order of services and days become very important. In 1979 'Comité Exécutif, 14-25/7/1979', it was suggested that there should be uniformity throughout all the churches of the CPZ.

<sup>104</sup> Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets*, pp. 55,227; Philip Turner, 'The Wisdom of the Fathers', pp. 47-52.

that they were neither digested nor passed on since the same questions were raised at frequent intervals by the Pastors.<sup>105</sup>

It is still too early to know how the *Règlement d'Ordre Intérieur* is regarded. Probably it is seen in one way by the *élite* of the Administration and in another way by the majority of the Pastors and members of the CPZ. It is too early to know if and how the legislation will filter down to the majority, and whether or not the members will find it to be relevant. If the *Règlement* are found not to work or if they are overtaken by events they will probably be ignored. Africa has a way of making rules and then not worrying about them. After all, why be bound by some written decree if it does not work? A written constitution is something which is completely foreign to the majority of the Baluba. Oral tradition can be moulded according to the circumstances of life, but written legislation can be far too rigid. A written constitution is certain to be viewed differently than it would be in the West.

The Basongye and the Baluba are both accustomed to the discussion of affairs at every level. Matters at the local level would not be taken to a high level unless they could not be resolved. It is likely that those matters which have been ignored by the stations and which are practiced against CPZ policy have been regarded as being affairs which do not have any real bearing upon the local situation. Rather than trying to implement something which seems to be totally irrelevant or even out of line with traditional local practice, the stations have continued to follow procedures with which they are familiar. Apart from that, although there has been a great emphasis toward centralisation at the administrative level, there has not been the same degree of involvement at the local church and membership level. Most members would feel little in common with Kamina so believe that there is no reason for doing what Kamina wants even if they were aware of what Kamina wanted. As a result, something which is a problem at Luena need not concern Kongolo. One might say if some stations do not want to have any dancing in their meetings that is fine, but why should we stop dancing because of them? This is the way we have always done it. There may be a minority who want to do things by the book, and it is likely that Kamina will apply the *Règlement* where it suits the Administration, but it is also likely that the Administration will do its best to forget those aspects of the *Règlement* with which it does not agree so this will work two ways.

One example of how this works today and of how the traditions established by the missionaries are implemented is evident in what happened when a new Pastor was chosen for the Kikondja Station. The Administration chose a new head Pastor to replace Lunda Kateba after his death. Three delegates going to Mulongo to look into the differences with Mwanza, were asked to take the new man – Kasongo Tshikala – and introduce him since they were passing through Kikondja. When they arrived at Kikondja they were informed that the station elders had had no say in the appointment of the man. They decided that this was not the way things should be done so called a meeting of the Kikondja leaders to discuss the affair. After some time the elders decided that they would accept Kasongo since they thought that he was a good man, but they did not want the Administration to appoint his Assistant. They immediately chose one of their own number since that was the way the *bene* Kikondja always chose their leadership.<sup>106</sup> What has been the reason for the fragmentation of station units and the desire on the part of sections to have their own autonomy? There are a number of reasons as has been intimated elsewhere. Generally, there has been less contact between the sections in the stations than there was during the colonial period. Prior to 1960 every church on a station was visited at least once a year from the station. Since that time there are villages which have not received a visit for two or even three years. Many of the station Pastors and their Assistants are seldom seen away from the station itself.<sup>107</sup> Section Pastors are expected to take all offerings to the station centre at regular intervals, but other than this there is little or no contact between the station Pastors and the Christians in their area.

There are reasons why the Pastors do not visit as they should. First, the concept of visitation is one which is different from that held by the missionaries. Undoubtedly, there are Pastors who believe that as the *Révérend Pasteur Responsable*, people should come to them rather than them go to the people. After all, the people go to the *Mulopwe* and not the *Mulopwe* to the people. There are other factors involved. One which is important is age. Some Pastors are at the age where in the West they would be retiring, but they do not. They are not as strong as they used to be and are not able to visit as they once did. They do not retire since retirement is another new concept.

<sup>105</sup> The requests for station status are one example and another is the question of how to handle the *balombi*.

<sup>106</sup> J.W. Robinson, Interview, August, 1982.

<sup>107</sup> CPZ, 'Comité Restreint, 18/3/1980', discussed the problem of the lack of visitation but came to no satisfactory conclusion. cf. the complaints voiced by 'La Voix des Chrétiens Opprimés' in their circular letter, n.p., n.d. [1980] III, 3 DGPP.

In Africa the importance of age and wisdom outweigh any other when it comes to leadership. Again most realise that when a man stands down that will be the end of any financial help for him. Some stations do have pensions for retired pastors; they continue to support them at the same level as all other workers which means they have a sub-subsistence income. Since most Pastors control the purse strings and get a lot of extras they are not willing to retire. For this reason in the CPZ men do not retire; they either die or are removed from office.<sup>108</sup>

Along with this failure to visit, the reason for alienation of the sections, most Pastors have been guilty of mismanagement of funds. It is true that the concept of management may be altogether absent or that as Pastors of a station they have believed that what they did with the funds was their affair. Nevertheless, the handling of finance has been a regular item on the agenda of the Executive Committee.<sup>109</sup> The Administration has tried to help stations to organise the finances, but the Pastors are always dipping into the funds. Finances are generally brought to the station from where they are divided between the workers. Some stations seldom have anything left over by the time the Pastors are paid with the result that the sections are neglected. The local church pastors believe that they are left out unfairly, and are convinced that if they had their own station they would be able to apportion the money properly. For this reason the lack of finances on the sections has been the main factor in causing sections to request station status. The *shitashoni* is seen as the panacea for all local and financial difficulty. On stations where there have been regular visitation by Pastors, where prayer meetings and conventions have been held on different sections at regular intervals and where the finances have been divided evenly, the tendency to station division has not been apparent.<sup>110</sup>

When it comes to Government involvement by the Church in Church affairs it is likely that Government bureaucracy has become a model which the Church has followed. The Government set the stage by requiring copies of important letters to be sent to different departments. It is only a short step from writing a letter to the local Zone to inform the *Commissaire* that you are holding a special series of meetings, to informing him that you are disassociating yourself from the actions of an individual or group.<sup>111</sup> Even during the Belgian days the State was very involved in Church affairs and the African leaders remember that.

Since the topic at hand is power structures in the Church and the way in which the Church should work as a whole, it is not out of place to mention the informal power structure of the *balombi*. The way in which the *balombi* produced an alternative power structure within the CPZ was demonstrated in Chapter 7. The nature of the difficulties which were produced by the *balombi* has their parallel in those which we find in the government of the CPZ as a whole. The inability to come to a consensus on all matters has led to confusion in a number of areas of Church life. In the case of the *balombi* the leadership have thought about the problems and have generally come to an effective consensus as to what to do. The result has been a form of canon law which outlines the kind of thing that is acceptable to the Church.<sup>112</sup> The successful adaptation in one sphere shows, theoretically at least, that this could be done in another. Whether this positive outlook will be applied in connection with the present governmental situation or not depends on the way the churches all look at the question. However, it would seem that there is a difference here because the measures taken to work out a policy on the role of the *balombi* were the result of a corporate decision.

Most of the Luban Pastors were concerned about the *balombi* since they had *balombi* on the stations. For this reason they were able to come to a collective agreement. It was something 'they' had decided. But, in the governmental debate much that has been legislated is either believed to be irrelevant, as far as a majority of station Pastors are concerned, or is regarded as being against the principles and policies for which the Pastors stand. Rulings have been introduced by the Administration and a minority of the members of the Executive who were keen to see a policy in force. There may even be a majority in favour of a ruling, but if there is a strong minority which ignores the legislation there is at present no way of forcing that minority to accept the majority rule. If the Administration tries to force the issue by calling upon an outside party like the State, then it is

<sup>108</sup> CPZ, 'Comité Exécutif, 14-25/7/1979', Chapitre I, 4.

<sup>109</sup> Ilunga Nogi wa Mbuya Kalulwa, 'Rapport ya Représentant Légal ku Comité Exécutif 1<sup>ère</sup> Session Ordinaire 1980' No. 4°, p. 2; CPZ, 'Comité Exécutif, Kamina, 19-20/5/1970', Cotisation ya Caisse Centrale; CPZ, 'Comité Exécutif, 31/10/1972-3/11/1972', No. 24; CPZ, 'Comité Exécutif, 3-5/6/1974, No. 15; CPZ, 'Comité Exécutif, Kabondo Dianda, 25/2/1979', Chapitre IV, No. 1.

<sup>110</sup> The stations which have had some of the most regular visitation and where there are no signs of splits include: Kamina, Kabongo, Kabondo Dianda, Kikondja and Kashukulu.

<sup>111</sup> The Government requires notification of all conventions and special meetings where there is an influx of people into any one area.

<sup>112</sup> Cf. *supra* Chapter 6 on the *Balombi*, (the Rules applied at Kikondja) pp. 32-38.

very likely that the groups like the *bene* Kasai and the *bene* Kabongo will feel that they have to leave the CPZ.

## CONCLUSION

It has been the purpose of this study to present, in broad outlines, the central themes of the history and development of the CEM/ZEM and the Church which it founded in Congo/Zaire - the Eglise Pentecôtiste du Congo/*Communauté Pentecôtiste au Zaïre*. Some aspects of this history have already been dealt with in books by WFP Burton and Harold Womersley. However, apart from Burton's *Luba Religion, Proverbs of the Baluba, The Magic Drum* and one or two other articles in journals and encyclopedias, most of Burton's writing was directed toward a readership comprised of church people, and specifically those of the Pentecostal faith.<sup>1</sup> The same is true of H. Womersleys books except for his most recent *Legends and History of the Luba*.<sup>2</sup>

In Chapter 1 the background of the Mission has been outlined indicating the significance of the duration of Burton's stay in South Africa both in the support of the fledgling Mission and in forming patterns of policy which had bearing on the development of the indigenous principles in the CEM. It was also by means of the contacts in South Africa that Burton and Salter were able to enter Congo under the auspices of the Pentecostal Mission and so became established at Mwanza in Central Katanga. The affiliation with the PM lead to the unusual situation where the two men became legal heads of a society to which they did not belong. This finally forced the rupture of relationships between themselves and the PM and precipitated the difficulties with the Belgian Authorities over PC, and the right to remain in the Congo.

We saw how the first missionary post was established and the significance of the healing of Tentami. The latter had the effect of making people believe that the missionaries had some kind of very powerful *manga*. This concept of power is an important one which recurs throughout this history and spans the years from the initial planting of the Mission to the present age of the *balombi* in the CPZ. I am convinced that it was this emphasis from the beginning of the Mission which gave credibility to the message of the Pentecostal missionaries when there was considerable mistrust of the white men and his presence in the Luba and Songye lands. The centrality of healing, tongues, spiritual gifts and the proximity of God in Christ Jesus were ideas that became real to the converts of the CEM. The result was that *Vidyé Mukulu* (The Great Spirit, The Ancient Spirit) was no longer the Transcendent One who could only be approached through the *bavidye* because he was unknowable. He became *Tata* (Father), and *Leza wami* (My God) through the revelation of his *Mwana* (Son) Jesus. He is the *Leza wa lusa* (The God of mercy) who cares for his people, heals them, protects them from the host of malevolent spirits and guarantees them a secure and blessed afterlife (*Bumi bwa nyeke kadi bumi bwa dyese ne nsangaji* - eternal life and a life of blessing and joy).

The important place given to the chiefs as the heads of communities is another factor that figures regularly in the extension of the CEM during the pre-1960s. In spite of this place given to the *balopwe* there were relatively few chiefs who became Christians. This was undoubtedly because of the pressures placed upon them, as the guardians of traditional custom and belief, to adhere to the ways of the ancestors. This is brought out clearly in Chapter 3 where I outline the structures of Luba society.

In Chapter 2, which deals with the development of the Mission as a whole, the important place given to strategy in the expansion of the Mission is underlined. The expansion was not haphazard, but followed a carefully devised plan to evangelise the area allotted to the CEM by the CPC. This pattern seems to have been followed throughout the Colonial period. Relationships with other Protestant missions were good. They were not marked by the disputes over territory which were prevalent in some areas of Africa. However, the matter of limited resources played its part throughout the history of the CEM. During the earliest days this meant a combination of shortages of personnel and finance; however, after the early 1950s the work of the Mission was well known in Britain and personnel difficulties were not as marked as they had been earlier. Nevertheless, there were still times when there were not enough experienced men to staff existing stations or to open new areas and towns.

Hindsight is always easier than foresight, but it is evident that one of the most obvious lacunae in CEM strategy was the failure to become involved in the commercial centers at an earlier date. Apart from Kongolo, Luena, and Kamina, which is no longer the commercial center it once

<sup>1</sup> W.F.P. Burton, *Proverbs of the Baluba*, Elisabethville, Editions de la Revue Juridique, n.d. [c.1958]; W. Burton, *The Magic Drum: Tales from Central Africa*, London, Methuen, 1961; W. Burton, *Luba Religion and Magic in Custom and Belief*, Tervueren, Belgium, 1961; W. Burton, 'Congo Evangelistic Mission', *Encyclopedia of Modern Christian Missions*, pp. 199, 200; Burton, 'The Country of the Baluba in Central Katanga', *The Geographical Journal*, 70(4) October 1927, pp. 321-342.

<sup>2</sup> Harold Womersley, 'Religions and History of the Baluba' Unpublished MS, n.pl., n.d.; the published version of this *Legends and History of the Luba*, ed. by T.Q. Reeve, Los Angeles, Crossroads Press, 1984 is now available.

was but which has an estimated population of over 100,000,<sup>3</sup> the CEM/ZEM has never had a missionary in any of the industrial centers. Ronald Monot is an exception, but he is only affiliated with the ZEM and decides his own strategy.<sup>4</sup> The Mission is going to have to make positive steps in this direction if it is going to cater to the needs of the burgeoning population in the cities like Lubumbashi, Mbuji Mayi and Kananga.

Considering the problems brought about by the lack of resources during the earliest days of the CEM, it is unlikely that the Mission would have spread and consolidated the way it did had not been for the part played by the ex-Angolan slaves. These men were able to extend the area over which the CEM held jurisdiction at a time when the missionaries lacked personnel and would never have been in any position to anticipate advancing into new areas. However, more important than the advance was the way in which the ex- slaves were able to interpret the Christian message in terms of the local culture. They are the real heroes of the planting years.

One is tempted to wonder what would have happened had the resource question not been the problem it was. Although it is hypothetical, it is likely that there would not have been the same emphasis on every member evangelism that there was. It is also doubtful that the indigenous principles would have been developed as far as they were. The missionaries believed that they had achieved the ultimate in the implementation of these principles in the Congolese Church, or they used terminology which sounded as though they had. But we saw that in general the ideal was never reached during the missionary era.

One aspect in the development of the Mission which I did not mention was the important place given to literature. The translation of the Bible into the local languages was one of the earliest priorities. The Garenganze Evangelical Mission was responsible for the translation of the Scriptures into Kiluba while Fred Johnstone was responsible for the translation of the Kisongye New Testament. The Old Testament in Kisongye is still in the process of being translated.<sup>5</sup> It was only after 1960 that the missionaries gave themselves to the writing of Bible commentaries and books on doctrine for the use of the local churches. Most of these books were written in Kiluba, but some have been translated into Kisongye, Kiswahili and Tshiluba.<sup>6</sup> As a result there is more religious literature available than there is of anything else in the local languages. This may become important in the establishment of a doctrinal position in the Church since more people read the CPZ publications than read the minutes of the business meetings.

The unique form of government of the CEM may have its advantages as far as the missionaries were concerned, but it has also created its difficulties. The Belgian Authorities could not understand to whom the missionaries belonged and the African was, and probably still is, convinced that the real authority behind the missionaries lives in *bulaya* (overseas). Since every Church must have an *église mere*, where is the *église mere* of the ZEM? It is unlikely that this relationship will ever be thoroughly understood by the CPZ.

Chapter 3 shows us what was taking place in local society when the Pentecostal missionaries arrived in the Katanga in 1915. It gives background to the history of the CEM and helps us to see the parallels between traditional practices in the developments which have occurred in the CEM/CPZ. This is evident especially in the areas of Church government and religious practice. In this chapter some of the serious rifts in the local society, including the Luban secession wars, the coming of the slave traders and the advent of the white man were examined. This helps us to understand how the CEM played an important part in restoring some of the sense of security in the society which had lost confidence in many of its traditional values. This accounts for much of the acceptance of the Mission and its message.

Chapter 4 is concerned with relationships; perhaps it would be more accurate to say lack of relationships. I have spent considerable time and space on those aspects of Belgian policy which had direct bearing upon the work of the CEM. For more than 35 years the CEM experienced difficulties in its relationships with the Belgian Government. These difficulties were undoubtedly magnified by the part which the Catholic Church played in the Government of the Congo and were complicated by the particular doctrine and practice of the Pentecostals. Government suspicion and

<sup>3</sup> At one time Kamina was more of an industrial center than it is now with light industrial factories. Most of these have closed but the population of the African *cit * continues to grow because it is a strategic railway centre; many traders have moved here from the Kasai. It is still the center of government for the Haut Lom mi but this would not account for the dense population. The only industry which remains is a brewery.

<sup>4</sup> On Ronald Monot cf. *supra* Chapter 7, A).

<sup>5</sup> The Kisongye Old Testament is not expected to be completed for another 4-5 years because the translators are unable to continue the work full-time. The entire new translation of Old and New Testaments were not completed until 2012.

<sup>6</sup> There are approximately 20 books which have been written in Kiluba. Some of these are presently out of print. The CPZ attempts to print and reprint those books which are in greatest demand by its members. The CPZ has its own press at Kamina but the output has not been great recently and there have been difficulties obtaining paper.

mistrust of the CEM meant that the CEM was in the Colony for at least 12 years without any legal status, and the right to permanent occupation of Mission lands was withheld. This meant that advance was hindered for many years. In addition to this, the Government's attitude until the late 1940s, must have caused the CEM to go on the defensive. This resulted in a playing down of certain aspects of the Pentecostal doctrine by some of the missionaries. Together with difficulties over relationships with the Catholics, this problem was the single most significant hindrance to the work of the CEM during the Colonial years. The *Kitawala* were a continual threat as far as the Belgians were concerned, and the Catholics did not lose much time in identifying them with the Pentecostals. This added to the already tense relationships by bringing extra pressure upon the CEM in what the missionaries saw as clear evidence of a Government-Catholic plot to eject them from the Congo.

In Chapter 5 a number of men who have been regarded as healers or prophets within the CEM during the Colonial epoch, were introduced. This aspect of the 'prophetic' is developed in Chapter 6 under the study of the *Balombi* movement. Chapter 6 examines the phenomena which have occurred between the 1960s until the present day. The growth of this movement is one of the most important occurrences in the Church since 1960. This is evident in the popularity ascribed to it by the ordinary people. They are the ones who are concerned with things like power, protection, healing and direction in their lives, all matters which are present in this movement. In spite of the Pentecostal teaching on the same topics, the majority of CPZ members obviously believe that there is a marked difference between doctrine and practice and that the reality is missing in many of the churches. However, they do not see the *balombi* and their teaching as being in any way contrary to the Pentecostal doctrine. Instead of talking about power, healing and direction they would say: Now we see it and experience it.

The conclusion to chapter 6 mentioned that hyper-independency in the Western sense curtails independency in the African sense.<sup>7</sup> This needs clarification. One of the major factors in the development of the *balombi* movement is the marked ambivalence in the attitude of the CPZ leadership toward the *balombi*. Even those who have not been in favour of what the *balombi* were doing, have been hesitant to alienate themselves from the members by taking any action against them. This has tended to make the *balombi* believe that almost anything is permissible. Apart from this, many *balombi* have become an important part of local church life. This is especially true in the villages away from the main stations where they are unlikely to be hindered by any station Pastor. There has generally been no need for the *balombi* to think in terms of independence since they already have it.

In addition to this, it is likely that the trends which are described in chapter 7 have had a bearing upon the development of the movement. The upheaval of the early 1960s was, as has been explained, very much part of the reason for the spread of the phenomena since people were looking for answers to their problems. While the leadership of the African Church was finding its feet in the new role left to it by the missionaries, there was a considerable power vacuum. This gave room for those who claimed to have communication with the Holy Spirit, to assume the role of leadership even where it had not been designated by any Church structure. For this reason the *balombi* became people to be reckoned with in the Church. The power struggles in the CPZ between certain blocks: the Kasaians against the Shabians, the *bene* Kabongo against the *bene* Lualaba, the people of sections against the Pastors on the stations, has left the door wide open to the *balombi* to assume this power. It is only laterley that the size of the *mulombi* phenomenon has reached such proportions that these groups have been forced to look away from their own immediate differences to what is happening throughout the Luban area. In this way certain steps have been taken to try and establish a framework within which the *balombi* can work. Nevertheless, the freedom accorded to the *balombi* can be seen in terms of hyper-independency which has curtailed the splitting off of the *balombi* to form the independent churches which are prevalent in Africa.

The growth of the Pentecostal Church in Zaire has been something which has surpassed anything experience by any Pentecostal church in Britain.<sup>8</sup> It is probably safe to say that there are over 250,000 members in the CPZ and in addition an equal number of adherents. However, there are signs that the steady increase in numbers since the 1960s has levelled off. There are not the converts that there used to be. Many members are becoming disenchanted with what they see as political infighting in the Church. They just want to get on and enjoy their Christian experience, but the bureaucratic attitude of the CPZ is making this more difficult all the time.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *supra*, Chapter 6, **Conclusion** (on the *Balombi*).

<sup>8</sup> Although I do not have figures from all the Zairian Pentecostal Churches, I have been told by members from other Pentecostal groups that their membership is comparable to that of the CPZ.

The early stages of the CEM were marked by times of difficulty which have their parallel in the difficulties of today's Zaire. They were problems of change and uncertainty just as there are today. Today's anxieties have been brought about by a changing world, rapid inflation,<sup>9</sup> worsening communications within the country, unemployment, lack of food in the cities, lack of medical treatment, unequal opportunities for education, corruption at every level of government, business and education, continual military harassment and many other things. In the beginning of the CEM the Church had something to say about the changes in society, and presented a clear ethical stand on most issues. However, the Church has become increasingly harmless and remote in today's world. It has little to say on these problems at the heart of the Nation. As H. R. Niebuhr states, when any Church gets to the position where it is formal and ethically harmless, it tends to alienate the lowest strata of society. This is because it has no way of meeting the psychological needs and does not set forth an ethic which is appealing to the ordinary person. Niebuhr says that when a Church reaches this position it becomes irrelevant and open to the persuasive manner of the first person to come along. He says that this person will have little trouble launching a new movement.<sup>10</sup> In this case it is just such a movement that is represented in the *balombi*.

During the first 30 years or more of the CEM the Mission and the members knew what it was to experience opposition to their faith. But even when it was the Government which was restricting expansion, or *bambudye* attempting to force converts to deny their faith in Christ, the opposition could be understood in terms of light and darkness, good and evil. Now the opposition is not so much from without, from those forces which speak of the forces of darkness, as from within. It is not the unbelievers who are persecuting the Christians; it is the Christians themselves who are at odds with one another. This is something new, and they do not know how to handle it.

This makes the *balombi* even more of a viable alternative. Even where they do not speak up on the issues of the day, they are talking about things that matter, like power (*bukomo*) and the powerlessness of the Pastors in the Church. They are seemingly meeting some of the psychological and physical needs of the people. It is for this reason that as far as the majority of members of the CPZ membership are concerned, the *mulombi* has replaced the Pastor in importance; what he says and does is relevant.

Unless the CPZ can resolve the differences which were described in Chapter 7 and come to grips with the major issues of the day, it is hard to tell how long it will be before there will be even greater fragmentation within the Church. Only a return to the emphasis of the Christian message with the centrality of Christ, the work of the Spirit in providing what is lacking in human experience, and a clear directive on the major issues of the day, can bring about a change in the present impasse and enable the CPZ to become relevant once more.

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<sup>9</sup> In September of 1983 there was a devaluation of over 400%.

<sup>10</sup> H. Richard Niebuhr, *The Social Sources of Denominationalism*, Cleveland and New York, Meridian Books-The World Publishing Company, 1957, pp. 31, 32.

## APPENDIX 1

### The Kitawala interpretation of Psalm 119

The interpretation given below has been taken from the written record of the same by Kalumba Byalonga an Ex-Kitawla member from the *Localité* of Butombe in the *Zone* of Malemba Nkulu, *Sous-Région* of *Haut-Lomami* and the *Province* of Shaba, Zaïre. I have seen this interpretation elsewhere in the area which means that it is well-known in the Upemba depression as well as inland from the Lualaba. I have kept the Luban names for the 'angels' but translated the body:

#### The Names of the Angels and their Work as seen in Psalm 119

- Alepe*: The angel who gives out blessings to all who pray in his name; Ps. 119:7.  
*Befe*: The angel who commands men to keep the law and forces them to observe it; Ps. 119:9.  
*Ngimele*: The angel who gives the spirit of wisdom to all who ask him; Ps. 119:24. The spirit is only received when one is born again according to the baptism of Paul.  
*Dalefe*: The the angel who helps all who are near to death. All those who are near to death should pray in his name; Ps. 119:25.  
*Hé*: This is the angel that brings the ability and understanding to an individual so that he is able to keep the law; Ps. 119:33.  
*Vao*: This is the angel who informs God about all the sufferings of people. If a person has problems in his life he should call this angel during the night and he will inform God; Ps. 119:41.  
*Zaine*: He is the angel to ask to turn away all wrath; Ps. 119:49.  
*Tyefe*: The angel to whom one prays so that all evil affairs may be taken from us; Ps. 119:57.  
*Tefe*: Is the angel to whom we pray to redeem us from all our sins; Ps. 119:65.  
*Yoda*: The angel who counsels us and advises us. If by chance we do not listen to him he strikes us; Ps. 119:73.  
*Kape*: The angel to whom one calls when sick or has fainted and is at the point of death; Ps. 119:81.  
*Lamede*: The one you call when you want to confess your sins to God; Ps 119: 89.  
*Meme*: The angel to whom you pray if you want to do some divine act; Ps. 119: 97.  
*Nune*: The angel from whom you ask help if you are going to go on a journey. If a man is going to go on a journey you perform what is called: to swear an oath, or a *vao*. The man holds the sex organs of the woman while the woman does the same to her husband. Then the woman says: "Have a good journey. There is nothing that will harm you other than that which comes from my vagina". They then have intercourse after which the woman sits upon the road note<sup>1</sup> and then gives it to her husband. This is called that a *vao* or a sworn oath for a journey. In some instances the woman will sleep the night with the road note between her thighs before giving it to her husband in the morning; Ps. 119:105.  
*Sameke*: This is the angel to whom you pray when you just about to die because of some sin. You pray to him and he will forgive even if you do die; Ps. 119:119.  
*Aine*: The angel to whom one calls when in a difficult discussion; Ps. 119: 121.  
*Pe*: The angel to whom you pray when you want to thank God for something good that he has done for you; Ps. 119:137.  
*Tezade*: The angel to whom one makes request to learn whether or not he is justified; Ps. 119:145.  
*Kope*: The angel who shows us immediately if we are justified or not; Ps. 119: 152.  
*Lese*: The angel who sets us free from suffering; Ps. 119:153.  
*Shine*: The angel upon whom we call if we are being persecuted; Ps. 119:161.  
*Tau*: The angel to whom we take our affairs and our prayers; Ps. 119:169.
- Note when anyone prays to these angels it must be done at night. Again it is necessary to remove all your clothing and to pray when you are naked. Even if you pray during the day it is best to pray when you are naked.

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<sup>1</sup> In Congo or during the Colonial days all movements were closely regulated by the Authorities and any journey had to be authorised by the local Administration. The person who wished to travel would then receive a 'road note' or *feuille de route* which would indicate the identity of the individual and the destination as well as the duration of the journey. This practice has been perpetuated in Zaire under the new Government.

## APPENDIX 2

### THE CONSTITUTION OR REGELEMENT D'ORDRE INTERIEUR

The Règlement produced here in its entirety were originally drawn up by a commission which included the following: Ilunga Ngoi wa Mbuya Kalulwa, Ilunga Mulopwe Sambula, Yumba Pita, Yumba Nkasa, Kumwimba Nsenga, Banza Mulosa, Lubangi Eshiba, Mudimbi Katompa, Umba Nzadi, Ilunga Dyabupemba, David Womersley and David J. Garrard. It was written up in its original form on the 16 August 1982 at Kamina and slightly revised by the General Conference of the CPZ at Kabongo held from 18-21 August 1982. I reproduce the revised edition as accepted by the Conference:

#### PROJET DU RÈGLEMENT D'ORDRE INTÉRIEUR DE LA COMMUNAUTÉ PENTECÔTISTE AU ZAÏRE (CPZ)

PREAMBULE : La Communauté Pentecôtiste au Zaïre est une association des Eglises locales ayant pour base :

-La croyance de toute la Bible en tant que parole de Dieu en mettant un accent particulier sur ce que nous lisons dans les Actes des Apôtres ch 2 v 1-4 « Ils furent tous remplis du Saint-Esprit et se mirent à parler en d'autres langues ».

#### ARTICLE 1 : DENOMINATION

Il a été fondé en date du 15 novembre 1915, une association sans but lucratif, dénommée « Congo Evangelistic Mission » en abrégé C.E.M. reconnue par l'arrêté royal du 10 octobre 1932 (*Bulletin Officiel du Congo Belge* N° 11 du 11 novembre 1932, page 619) dont le nom est changé en Association des Eglises « Eglise Pentecôtistes du Congo-Congo Evangelistic Mission », en abrégé « EPCO-CEM » dont les Statuts furent approuvés par l'arrêté ministériel N° 63 du 28 février 1967 et publié à la 1<sup>ère</sup> partie du *Moniteur Congolais* N° 6 du 15 mars 1967 page 200. Actuellement dénommée « La Communauté Pentecôtiste au Zaïre suivant (Ordonnance-loi N° 73-013 du 14 février 1973 modifiant la loi N° 71-012 du 31 décembre 1971 réglementant l'exercice des cultes) article 1<sup>er</sup> N° 30.-

#### ARTICLE 2 : SIEGE

Le siège social et administratif est fixé à Kamina, B.P. 380, Tél. N° 70, 16, Av. Mama Yemo, Sous-Région du Haut-Lomami, dans la Région du Shaba République du Zaïre. Succursale à Kipushya, Sous-Région de Kabinda Kasaï-Oriental.-

#### ARTICLE 3 : BUT DE LA C.P.Z.

Les objectifs de la Communauté Pentecôtiste au Zaïre sont les suivants :

- a) Evangélisation et culte
- b) Formation Biblique et théologique
- c) Enseignement et toutes les œuvres scolaires
- d) Œuvre médicale et sociale
- e) Littérature

#### ARTICLE 4 : LA FOI ET CROYANCE

Les Ecritures connues sous le nom de la Bible, sont la parole inspirée de Dieu, la règle de foi et de conduite infaillible et pleinement suffisante. La base de foi arrêtée en quelques points ci-dessous n'est pas prévue pour être un credo de l'Eglise, mais une base d'unité en vue d'un Ministère du plein Evangile ( 1Cor. 1 :10).

-1.- NOUS CROYONS que la Bible est la parole inspirée de Dieu 2 Timothée ch 3 v 15,16 ; 2 Pierre ch 1 :21.-

-2.-NOUS CROYONS en l'unité du Seul Dieu vivant et vrai, qui est l'Eternel « Je Suis » existant par Lui-même, et qui s'est révélé comme un Seul Etre en trois Personnes : Père, Fils et Saint-Esprit. Deutéronome 6 :4 ; Marc 12 :29 ; Matt. 28 :19.-

- 3.-NOUS CROYONS à la naissance virgine, à la vie sans péché, au ministère miraculeux, à la mort expiatoire, à la résurrection corporelle, à l'ascension triomphante et à l'intercession continuelle du Seigneur Jésus-Christ, ainsi qu'à sa seconde venue prémillénaire, espérance vivante proposée à tous les croyants. Esaïe 7 :14 ; Matt. 1:28 ; Hébr. 7 :26 ; 1 Pierre 2:22 ; Actes 2:22 ; 10:30 ; 2 Cor. 5:21 ; Hébr. 9:12 ; Luc 24:39 ; 1 Cor. 15:4 ; Actes 1:9 ; Eph. 4:8-10 ; Rom. 8:34 ; Hébr. 7:25 ; 1 Cor. 15:22-24, 51-57 ; 1 Thés. 4:13-18 ; Apoc. 20:1-6.-
- 4.- NOUS CROYONS à la chute de l'homme, qui avait été créé pur et droit, mais qui est tombé par une transgression volontaire. Genèse 1:26-31 ; 3:1-7 ; Romains 5:12-21.-
- 5.- NOUS CROYONS au salut par la grâce, par le moyen de la foi en Christ, qui mourut pour nos péchés, fut enseveli et ressuscité des morts le troisième jour, selon les Ecritures, et par le sang duquel nous avons la Rédemption. Eph. 2:8 ; Tite 2:11 ; 3:5-7 ; Romains 8:15 ; 1 Cor. 15:3,4.  
Cette expérience est aussi connue sous le nom de la nouvelle Naissance; elle est une opération instantanée et complète du Saint-Esprit, moyennant au préalable, la foi en Jésus-Christ et accordée par sa grâce. Jean 3:5,6 ; Jacques 1:18 ; 1 Pierre 1:23 ; 1 Jean 5:1.-
- 6.-NOUS CROYONS que le baptême par immersion est ordonné à tous ceux qui se sont réellement repentis et qui ont vraiment cru de tout leur cœur en Christ comme leur Sauveur et Seigneur. Matt. 28:19 ; Actes 10:47, 48 ; 2:38, 39.-
- 7.- NOUS CROYONS au baptême du Saint-Esprit dont le signe initial est le parler en d'autres langues, selon que l'Esprit leur donne de s'exprimer en nouvelles langues. Actes 2:4 ; 10:44-46 ; 11:14-16 ; 19:6 ; Esaïe 8:18.-
- 8.- NOUS CROYONS que les dons du Saint-Esprit et les Ministères ont été établis par Dieu dans l'Eglise; ainsi qu'il en est fait état dans le Nouveau Testament. 1 Cor. 12:4-11, 28; Eph. 4:7-16.-
- 9.- NOUS CROYONS à la sainteté de la vie et de la conduite en obéissance au Commandement de Dieu. « Vous serez saints car je suis saint ». 1 Pierre 1:14-16 ; Hébr. 12:14; 1 Thés. 5:23; 1 Jean 2:6; 1 Cor. 13.-
- 10.-NOUS CROYONS que la délivrance de la maladie par la guérison divine est comprise dans l'Expiation. Esaïe 53:4,5 ; Matt. 8:16, 17 ; Jacques 5:13-16.-
- 11.- NOUS CROYONS que la Sainte-Cène est ordonnée à tous les croyants baptisés jusqu'au retour du Seigneur. Luc 22:14-20 ; 1 Cor. 11:20-34.-
- 12.- NOUS CROYONS au Bonheur éternel de tous ceux qui croient réellement à notre Seigneur Jésus-Christ et au châtiment éternel de tous ceux dont les noms ne sont pas inscrits dans le livre de vie. Daniel 12:2,3 ; Matt.23:46 ; 2 Thés. 1:9 ; Apoc. 20:10-15.-

#### ARTICLE 5 : DECLARATION

Nous, membres effectifs de la CPZ :

- 1° Convaincu des méfaits des conflits, et divisions au sein de la Communauté Chrétienne. 1 Cor. 1:10 ; Tite 3:10,11.
- 2° Sachant que la Bible condamne sans équivoque le péché sous toutes ces formes. Gal. 5:19,20 ; Eph. 5:3-6.
- 3° Considérant la Parole de Dieu qui demande aux Chrétiens de rester unis et de s'aimer les uns les autres dans un amour fraternel. Jean 13:34,35.

D'un commun accord, nous nous déclarons liés dans un corps unifié qui prend le nom de la Communauté Pentecôtiste au Zaïre dont le Christ est la Tête.

#### ARTICLE 6 : RAYON D'ACTIVITÉ

- A) La Communauté Pentecôtiste exerce ses activités sur toute l'étendue de la République du Zaïre.
- B) Elle peut aussi, dans la mesure du possible, étendre ses activités dans d'autres pays d'Afrique où le besoin se fait sentir.

#### ARTICLE 7 : ADMINISTRATION

- a) La Communauté Pentecôtiste au Zaïre est administré par un conseil d'administration comprenant :
 

- 1 Président	- 4 Représentant L. Supp.
-1 Représentant Légal	- 1 Trésorier
-1 Secrétaire Général	- 1 Délégué par District

- b) Les personnes chargées de l'administration de la Communauté sont élues et révoquées par la majorité des membres effectifs. Elles ne peuvent être choisies que parmi les membres effectifs.
- c) La durée du mandat des personnes chargées de l'administration est de 4 ans. Elles sont rééligibles.
- d) Aucun acte de disposition ne peut être pris par les membres effectifs chargés de l'administration de la Communauté sans l'accord préalable de la majorité des membres effectifs réunis en conférence.
- e) La Communauté est représentée vis-à-vis de tiers par le Représentant Légal. (En cas d'absence ou d'empêchement de celui-ci, il est remplacé par un des Représentants Légaux Suppléants.)
- f) Le Conseil d'Administration se réunit au moins deux fois par an à une date fixée au préalable. En cas de besoin, le Représentant Légal peut convoquer une session extraordinaire. Le Représentant peut, si besoin il y a, inviter des Conseillers à participer, sans droit de vote, aux sessions du Conseil d'administration (Par conseiller entendez : Les membres effectifs compétants ne faisant pas partie du Conseil d'Administration).
- g) Le Conseil d'Administration étudie les problèmes importants à caractères administratifs se posant dans la Communauté et, qui n'ont pas pu trouver solution au niveau local. Il en fait le rapport à l'Assemblée Générale (Conférence).

#### ARTICLE 8 : STRUCTURES

Les organes de la Communauté Pentecôtiste au Zaïre sont :

##### A) AU NIVEAU CENTRAL

- |                       |                             |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------|
| a) Conférence         | b) Conseil d'Administration |
| c) Président          | d) Représentation Légale    |
| e) Secrétaire Général | f) Comité Exécutif          |

##### B) AU NIVEAU LOCAL

- District
- Station
- Section
- Eglise locale

#### ARTICLE 9: MEMBRES

La Communauté Pentecôtiste au Zaïre est constituée de deux catégories de membres suivants :

- a) Les membres ordinaires
- b) Les membres effectifs

Les membres ordinaires sont ceux qui confessent leur foi en Jésus-Christ, baptisés et affiliés effectivement à une paroisse (Eglise locale) reconnaissant l'autorité de la Communauté conformément à ses structures arrêtées à l'article 8 du présent règlement d'ordre intérieur.

Les membres effectifs sont les personnes éclairées, choisies parmi les Pasteurs, membres ordinaires et les missionnaires se trouvant au Zaïre.

#### ARTICLE 10 : CONDITIONS D'ENTREE, DE SORTIE ET D'EXCLUSION

##### A. CONDITION D'ENTREE

##### 1° Est membre ordinaire

- Toute personne qui reçoit le Christ Fils de Dieu comme Seigneur et Sauveur et qui est baptisée. Matt. 28:19 ; Marc 16:16.
- adhérant effectivement à l'une des églises locales de la Communauté.
- participant selon ses possibilités à la vie et l'œuvre de la Communauté.
- rendant témoignage en tant que chrétien sauvé par le sang du Christ dans sa vie en tout temps et en tout lieu.
- respectant l'autorité hiérarchique R.O.I. et doctrine de la Communauté.

##### 2° Est membre effectif

- Toute personne désignée conformément aux dispositions de l'article 9 du présent règlement d'ordre intérieur.

-Tout membre du Comité Exécutif.

3° Toute entrée d'une Secte ou d'un groupe religieux au sien de la Communauté est inacceptable.

**B. CONDITION DE SORTIE**

a) Tout membre ordinaire peut quitter l'association en déposant sa lettre de démission à son pasteur.

b) S'il est membre effectif, il déposera sa lettre de démission à la représentation légale qui exposera le cas au Comité Exécutif, qui à son tour informera la Conférence Annuelle.

**C. CONDITION D'EXCLUSION**

La Communauté peut prononcer l'exclusion d'un membre ordinaire ou effectif qui ne se conforme pas aux règles de l'Association.

Ces mêmes mesures restent d'application à l'endroit des membres ordinaires ou effectifs qui se rebellent en groupe, s'ils résistent aux conseils (Lire Matt. 18:15 ; Tite 3:10).

Tout membre ayant quitté l'Association ou exclu ne pourra pas revendiquer une part des biens de celle-ci.

**ARTICLE 11 : CONFERENCE**

La Conférence de la CPZ est l'organe Suprême de la Communauté Pentecôtiste au Zaïre, et responsable de la sauvegarde du patrimoine de celle-ci. Actes 15:1-31.

- 1. Elle se réunit, une fois tous les 2 ans, sauf en cas d'urgence. Elle se déroule sous la direction d'un Président, Vice-Président et un Secrétaire élus séance tenante.
- 2. Ont droit d'assister et droit de vote les membres effectifs et les délégués des Stations.
- 3. Les membres effectifs doivent être notifiés par une lettre du Représentant Légal adressée à chaque station de la Communauté au moins trois mois avant la date prévue pour la Conférence.
- 4. Pour que la Conférence siège valablement le quorum de la majorité simple doit être atteint.
- 5. Pour qu'une décision de la Conférence soit valable, il faut qu'elle soit acceptée par la majorité de membres réunis en assemblée.

**ARTICLE 12 : FONCTIONS ET RESPONSABILITES DE LA CONFERENCE**

La Conférence a pour mission de :

- 1. Veiller à la paix et à la concorde entre les stations comportant la Communauté Pentecôtiste au Zaïre et se prononcer sur tous les problèmes intéressant l'Association.
- 2. Tracer en grande ligne le programme de l'évangélisation et de la vie de l'Eglise. Arrêter le programme du développement social suivant le besoin de l'Association.
- 3. Voter le budget bi-annuel de la Communauté lui proposé par le Conseil d'Administration par le canal du R.L.
- 4. Recevoir et approuver les rapports
  - 1° du Président
  - 2° du Représentant Légal
  - 3° des Présidents de districts (par le canal du R.L.)
  - 4° des départements
- 5. Elire et mettre fin à la fin du mandat du
  - 1° Président
  - 2° Représentant Légal
  - 3° Secrétaire Général
  - 4° Représentants Légaux Supp.
- 6. Créer la Commission des sages chargés de traiter les problèmes urgents lors de l'assemblée générale.
- 7. Veiller à la vie spirituelle doctrinales et morale de la Communauté.
- 8. Fixer les dates et lieux de la conférence.
- 9. Fixer les modalités de désignation des membres du Comité Exécutif et les entériner.
- 10. Sur proposition du Comité Exécutif, établir la mise en place des pasteurs de station.
- 11. Créer dans la mesure du possible, des nouvelles stations que lui propose le Conseil d'Administration.

- 12. Arrêter la procédure de : 1° 'Congés, 2° Soins médicaux et 3° la mise en retraites de serviteurs de Dieu.

#### ARTICLE 13 : LE CONSEIL D'ADMINISTRATION

Le Conseil d'Administration est chargé de :

- 1. L'administration générale de l'association suivant le programme établi par la conférence.
- 2. L'étude des problèmes importants à caractère administratif se posant dans la Communauté, et, qui n'ont pas pu trouver solution au niveau local.
- 3. Prendre sous réserve d'approbation par la conférence acte de disposition, avec accord préalable de la majorité de ses membres.
- 4. Soumettre par le canal du Représentant Légal, le rapport à la conférence.
- 5. Proposer les membres du Comité des finances à l'approbation de la conférence.
- 6. Les membres du conseil d'administration sont également membres de la commission de nomination.
- 7. Le nombre de membres du conseil d'administration est défini à l'article 7 du présent R.O.I.
- 8. Le Conseil d'Administration est aussi chargé du contrôle des départements au moins une fois par an.
- 9. Chercher voies et moyens de trouver les bourses d'études à octroyer aux candidats désirant les études à l'intérieur du pays comme à l'étranger.

#### ARTICLE 14 : PRESIDENT

Le Président de la Communauté Pentecôtiste au Zaïre est le responsable du Conseil d'Administration.

#### ARTICLE 15 : LES FONCTIONS DU PRESIDENT

- 1. Il préside le Conseil d'Administration.
- 2. Il veille sur l'enseignement Biblique et sur la doctrine de la Communauté.
- 3. Il travaille en étroite collaboration avec le Représentant Légal.
- 4. Il rend compte de ses responsabilités devant la Conférence.
- 5. Assure la réalisation des objectifs de l'association et veille sur la vie spirituelle de celle-ci.

#### ARTICLE 16 : ELECTIONS ET CONDITIONS D'ELECTION DU PRESIDENT

- 1. Le choix de la personne devant présider la Communauté devra se faire à la lumière de la parole de Dieu selon 1 Tim. 3:1-7 ; Tite 1:5-9 ; « S'il s'y trouve quelque homme irréprochable, mari d'une seule femme, ayant des enfants fidèles, qui ne soient ni accusés de débauches ni rebelles. Car il faut que l'Evêque soit irréprochable, comme économe de Dieu ; qu'il ne soit ni arrogant, ni colérique, ni donné au vin, ni violent, ni porté à un gain honteux, mais qu'il soit hospitalier, aimé des gens de bien, modérés, juste, saint, tempérant, attaché à la vraie parole telle qu'elle a été enseignée, afin d'être capable d'exhorter selon la saine doctrine et de réfuter les contradicteurs ».
- 2. Pour être élu Président de la Communauté, le candidat doit :
  - 1° Etre de nationalité Zaïroise.
  - 2° Avoir exercé les fonctions de Pasteur pendant 5 ans au moins.
  - 3° Etre un bon Pasteur avec une vie sacrée.
  - 4° Etre instruit, capable et compétent.
  - 5° Faire preuve de compétence et d'expérience éprouvée en matières pastorales.
  - 6° Jouir d'un bon témoignage de ceux du dehors afin de ne pas tomber dans l'opprobre.
  - 7° Etre digne d'homme de Dieu pour diriger valablement la Communauté.

#### ARTICLE 17 : PROCEDURE DE L'ELECTION DU PRESIDENT

- 1. Le Président sortant annonce au Conseil d'Administration l'expiration de son mandat, au moins 6 mois avant la date de la session de la conférence pour leur permettre de méditer sur la personne valable pour le poste du président.
- 2. Pendant la session, la Conférence crée une commission spéciale de sages composée de 14 membres (non candidats).

3. La commission spéciale reçoit et examine toutes les candidatures retenues et les analyse chacune pour rétablir les priorités et les valeurs.
4. Cette commission spéciale peut aussi insérer les noms de nouveaux candidats parmi les autres.
5. Avant de présenter les noms de candidats à la séance plénière de la Conférence, la commission spéciale se réunira avec les membres du conseil d'administration (commission de nomination) de la Communauté pour une étude approfondie des candidatures.
6. Après avoir établi les priorités, la commission spéciale veillera à ne présenter qu'une à trois candidatures à la séance plénière qui procédera au vote final en secret.
7. Une fois tous les éléments réunis pour le vote final, la Conférence procédera à une méditation, à des lectures Bibliques et à une prière d'intercession, pour chercher la volonté divine.
8. En cas d'égalité de voix, le Président doit renvoyer le cas au Comité de sages.

#### ARTICLE 18 : ELECTION, CONDITIONS ET PROCEDURES D'ELECTION DU REPRESENTANT LEGAL

Les dispositions des articles 16 et 17 ci-dessus du présent Règlement d'Ordre Intérieur concernant l'élection, conditions et procédures d'élection du Président, s'appliquent mutatis mutandis au Représentant Légal.

#### ARTICLE 19 : POUVOIR DU REPRESENTANT LEGAL

1. Le Représentant Légal est élu par la Conférence pour un terme de 4 ans. Il est rééligible. Cette même Conférence peut mettre fin à son mandat.
2. En cas d'absence ou d'empêchement: Le Représentant Légal peut être remplacé par un des représentant légaux suppléants.
3. En cas de décès, démission acceptée par la Conférences l'incapacité physique permanente, le conseil d'administration se réunira d'urgence pour désigner un des représentant légaux suppléants qui assumera les fonctions du Représentant Légal jusqu'à la prochaine Conférence.
4. Le Représentant Légal est le porte-parole de la Communauté sur le plant tant national qu'international.
5. Le Représentant Légal coordonne et dirige les activités de tous les départements.
6. Le Représentant Légal est l'agent d'exécution des décisions et de programmes fixés par la Conférence, le conseil d'administration et du Comité Exécutif.
7. En cas des différends : Entre l'Etat et la Communauté.

Le Représentant Légal, après avoir pris des renseignements précis concernant les différends, les exposera au Conseil d'Administration qui cherchera des solutions.

Au cas où une solution équitable n'est pas trouvée, le Représentant Légal doit en sa qualité du responsable numéro un de l'administration de la Communauté prendre ses responsabilités pour trouver la solution.

#### ARTICLE 20 : LE SECRETAIRE GENERAL

Le Secrétaire Général est le responsable du département du secrétariat général de la Communauté.

- Il coordonne toutes les correspondances administratives de la Communauté sous la supervision du Représentant Légal.
- Il est chargé de la diffusion des instructions.
- Il centralise les rapports des stations.
- Il coordonne les projets tels que définis dans les objectifs de la Communauté.
- Il établit les statistiques.
- Il tient à jour les dossiers et les archives de la Communauté.
- Il est le technicien du Représentant Légal.

#### ARTICLE 21 : ELECTION, CONDITIONS ET PROCEDURES D'ELECTION DU SECRETAIRE GENERAL

Les dispositions de l'article 18 ci-dessus du présent R.O.I. concernant l'élection, condition et procédure d'élection du Représentant Légal, s'appliquent mutatis mutandis au secrétaire général.

#### ARTICLE 22 : ELECTION, CONDITIONS ET PROCEDURES DES ELECTIONS DES REPRESENTANT LEGAUX SUPPLEANTS

Les dispositions de l'article 18 ci-dessus du présent Règlement d'Ordre Intérieur concernant l'élection du Représentant Légal, s'appliquent mutatis mutandis aux représentants légaux suppléants.

#### ARTICLE 23 : COMITE EXECUTIF

1. Le Comité Exécutif est composé du
  - Président
  - Représentant Légal
  - Secrétaire Général
  - 4 Représentants Légaux Suppléants
  - délégués des districts, à raison de 3 membres par district
  - délégués des départements
  - 2 conseillers
  - des missionnaires désignés par le Conseil d'Administration
2. Le Comité Exécutif se réunit au moins deux fois par an.
3. Le Comité Exécutif a pour mission de:
  - a) Arrêter les modalités d'application des problèmes qui lui sont soumis par la Conférence et le conseil d'administration.
  - b) Veiller à l'exécution des décisions de la Conférence dont la coordination est assurée par les départements chacun dans son domaine.
4. S'occuper des problèmes urgents qui se posent entre les sessions de la Conférence.
5. Etudier les points à figurer à l'ordre du jour de la Conférence.

#### ARTICLE 24 : DISTRICT

1. Le district est une entité ecclésiastique regroupant un certain nombre de station d'une ou plusieurs zones administratives ayant la facilité de communication.
2. Son comité est constitué des
  - Pasteurs Responsables
  - Pasteurs Responsables adjoints
  - 1 Pasteur sectionnaire par station
  - Autres délégués désignés localement (délégués des départements)
3. Le comité de district se réunit au moins une fois par an sous la présidence d'un Président en exercice désigné parmi les Pasteurs Responsables de stations membres (peut être reconduit) pour
  - 1° Tenir des réunions de prières pour l'édification de l'Eglise.
  - 2° Appliquer les décisions de la Communauté.
  - 3° Etudier et trouver solutions aux problèmes qui se posent au niveau des stations qui le compose.
  - 4° Exercer le rôle du porte-parole des stations au Comité Exécutif.
  - 5° Transmettre les rapports de ses réunions (compte-rendu) au Représentant Légal.

#### ARTICLE 25 : STATION

1. La station est un centre des églises locales.
2. Son administration est composée :
  - a) d'un Pasteur Responsable
  - b) d'un Pasteur Responsable adjoint
  - c) des Pasteur Sectionnaires

- d) d'un Secrétaire et
- e) d'un Trésorier
- 3. La station a pour mission de:
  - a) proclamer l'Evangile
  - b) visiter régulièrement les églises locales
  - c) organiser des réunions de prières
  - d) organiser des séminaires d'études bibliques
  - e) communiquer aux églises locales les décisions de la Communauté
  - f) recueillir des données statistiques des églises locales et en faire le rapport annuel détaillé au Représentant Légal
- 4. En cas d'urgence, le Pasteur Responsable de station, peut convoquer un conseil élargie de station auquel prendront part, outre les membres de droit, 2 autres pasteurs locaux pour statuer le cas.

## ARTICLE 26 : RESPONSABILITE DES PASTEURS

- A) Du Pasteur de station  
Le Pasteur de station est responsable de la station placée sous sa direction. Il s'occupe à ce titre :
  - a) de l'administration générale de la station
  - b) de l'organisation des cultes et réunions de prières
  - c) de l'enseignement de la pure doctrine
  - d) de l'enseignement concernant le Saint-Esprit et les dons spirituels, de ce fait il doit nécessairement être baptisé du Saint-Esprit. Luc 24:49
  - e) de la bonne marche des églises locales
  - f) de l'exécution des décisions de la Communauté
  - g) de contrôle de toutes les activités de la station
  - h) de visites des églises locales au moins 2 fois par an et informer l'autorité supérieure
- B) Du Pasteur Responsable adjoint de station  
Le Pasteur Responsable adjoint est le plus proche collaborateur du Pasteur Responsable de station. A cet effet
  - a) Il remplace le Pasteur Responsable de station en cas d'absence ou d'empêchement.
  - b) Il est chargé des visites régulières des églises locales au moins une fois par trimestre et en fait le rapport au Pasteur Titulaire.
  - c) Il assiste et conseille au cours de ses visites, les nouveaux convertis, les choristes et les membres des groupes de prières.
  - d) Il travaille en étroite collaboration avec les anciens des l'Eglises, au service d'accueil.
- C) Du Secrétaire de Station  
Le Secrétaire de station est chargé de :
  - 1° Rédiger sans droit de signature, les correspondances
  - 2° Réceptionner toutes les correspondances et les soumettre à l'étude du Pasteur Responsable de Station pour formuler la suite à donner
  - 3° Rédiger les P.V. des réunions
  - 4° Tenir à jour les dossiers du personnel de la station
  - 5° Tenir à jour les archives de la station
  - 6° Etablir les rapports annuels sur toutes les activités de la station
- D) Du Trésorier de station  
Le trésorier de station est un agent chargé de la gestion financière de la station. A ce titre :
  - 1° Il tient à jour la comptabilité de la station (Livre de caisse)
  - 2° Il perçoit les offrandes, dimes, cotisations et dons des Eglises locales.
  - 3° Il établit les rapports financiers sur les recettes et les dépenses de la station après chaque opération.
  - 4° Il établit annuellement les rapports financiers à transmettre aux autorités hiérarchiques.
  - 5° Le trésorier ne peut engager aucune dépense sans l'avis préalable du comité du comité des finances de la station.

## ARTICLE 27 : CONDITIONS DE SCISSION DE NOUVELLES STATIONS

Pour avoir une nouvelle station reconnue par la Communauté, il faut remplir les conditions ci-après :

- a) Avoir une infrastructure adéquate pouvant abriter la station (l'Eglise en matériaux durables).
- b) Avoir au moins 40 Eglises locales.
- c) Totaliser au moins 1.000 fidèles.
- d) Etre à une distance d'au moins 50 Km de la station-mère.
- e) Fonctionner sous contrôle du conseil d'administration pendant au moins un an.

**N.B.** : Ces conditions ne concernent pas les nouveaux centres d'évangélisation.

## ARTICLE 28 : LA SECTION

1. La section est une subdivision d'une station placée sous la surveillance d'un pasteur sectionnaire.

### LES RESPONSABILITES DU PASTEUR SECTIONNAIRE

Excepté le remplacement du Pasteur Responsable en cas d'absence ou d'empêchement, toutes les autres attributions prévues à l'article 18 section B du présent Règlement d'Ordre Intérieur concernant le Pasteur Responsable Adjoint, s'appliquent mutatis mutandis au Pasteur Sectionnaire.

## ARTICLE 29 : ÉGLISE LOCALE

- 1) L'Eglise locale est un ensemble de croyants d'une localité donnée, baptisés par immersion sur leur confession de la foi en Jésus Christ et guidé par un Pasteur local ou Anciens de l'Eglise par défaut. 1 Corinth. 1:2.
- 2) En tant que pivot de la chrétienté, l'Eglise locale a pour objectif d'organiser des cultes pour la proclamation de l'Evangile dans le monde.
- 3) Elle est dirigée par un Pasteur local assisté d'un collège des anciens, parmi lesquels sera désigné un trésorier chargé des activités financières de la dite église.
- 4) Le Pasteur local est sous la responsabilité du Pasteur Sectionnaire.

## ARTICLE 30 : LES RESPONSABILITES DU PASTEUR LOCAL

Les responsabilités prévues à l'article 26 section A du présent Règlement d'Ordre Intérieur (R.O.I.) concernant le Pasteur de Station s'appliquent mutatis mutandis au Pasteur local.

## ARTICLE 31 : FINANCES

- 1) La Communauté Pentecôtiste au Zaïre reçoit ses ressources des contributions données volontairement selon les possibilités
  - a) des membres: Offrandes, dimes, cotisations et les collectes.
  - b) des amis: Dons et legs
  - c) des sociétés missionnaires étrangères: dons
  - d) contribution des départements
- 2) Les ressources des églises locales sont réparties de la manière suivante :
  - 1° 10% à la caisse de l'Eglise locale
  - 2° 50% au Pasteur local
  - 3° 20% à la caisse de station
  - 4° 20% à la caisse centrale
- 3) Les dons d'outre mers entre dans la Communauté par deux moyens :
  - a) Une contribution annuelle déterminée.
  - b) Participation à des projets spécifiques.
- 4) Les comptes annuels sont soumis au conseil d'administration qui à son tour fait le rapport à la conférence.

#### ARTICLE 32 : COMITE DES FINANCES

- 1) Pour raison d'efficacité, le comité des finances est mis sur pied pour:  
-Examiner trimestriellement un rapport de la situation financière.
- 2) Chaque année le comité des finances fait appel à un expert-comptable pour vérifier les Livres de caisse et les bilans de la C.C. et des départements et établir le rapport à présenter au Conseil d'Administration.

#### ARTICLE 33 : RELATIONS

- 1) La Communauté Pentecôtiste au Zaïre reçoit des missionnaires qui viennent des diverses Églises Pentecôtistes par le canal du Bureau de Preston.
- 2) Ce bureau notifie la proposition d'envoi des missionnaires au Représentant Légal qui la soumet à son tour à l'approbation du Conseil d'Administration.
- 3) L'affectation des nouveaux missionnaires se fait après la consultation du Conseil d'Administration avec des missionnaires déjà en place.
- 4) Le départ des missionnaires en congé (normalement après 4 ans) ou départ définitif doit être notifié au Représentant Légal au moins 3 mois avant.

#### ARTICLE 34 : DEPARTEMENTS

- 1) La Communauté Pentecôtiste au Zaïre dispose des départements suivants :
  1. Département de l'Évangélisation et littérature
  2. Département de l'Institut Biblique
  3. Département de l'Éducation Chrétienne
  4. Département des Œuvres diverses
- 2) Chaque département fonctionne sous la responsabilité d'un directeur qui présentera son rapport annuel au Conseil d'Administration.
- 3) Les directeurs des départements sont nommés par le Conseil d'Administration.
- 4) Il existe au sein de chaque département un Comité composé de 4 personnes dont 2 désignées par le Conseil d'Administration les 2 autres par le département.
- 5) Un trésorier est nommé par le comité du département.
- 6) Chaque département établira la proposition du plan de travail et le soumettra à l'approbation du Conseil d'Administration.
- 7) Chaque département est administré par son propre Règlement d'Ordre Intérieur approuvé par le Conseil d'Administration.

#### ARTICLE 35 : ACTE DE DISPOSITION

Aucun acte de disposition ne peut être pris par le Représentant Légal de la Communauté sauf sur décision de la majorité des membres effectifs réunis en Conférence.

#### ARTICLE 36 : MODIFICATION DU REGLEMENT D'ORDRE INTERIEUR

Aucune modification ne peut être apportée au présent Règlement d'Ordre Intérieur sans l'accord des 2/3 des membres effectifs, réunis en Conférence.

#### ARTICLE 37 : DISSOLUTION

- a) La majorité des 2/3 des membres effectifs prononce la dissolution de l'Association.
- b) En cas de dissolution, le patrimoine de la Communauté Pentecôtiste au Zaïre et les biens seront affectés à une association sans but lucratif poursuivant les mêmes activités que les nôtres.
- c) Tout membre ayant quitté l'association ou exclu avant sa dissolution ne pourra pas revendiquer une part des biens de celle-ci.

FAIT A KAMINA CE 16 AOUT 1982

LA COMMISSION CHARGÉE DE L'ÉLABORATION

Révisé par la 13<sup>ème</sup> Conférence de la 30-Communauté Pentecôtiste au Zaïre, Kabongo 18-21/8/1982

[The inconsistencies in the numbering and punctuation of the text are part of the original typescript]

## APPENDIX 3

### LOCAL SONGS SET TO LOCAL TUNES COMPOSED BY AFRICANS

Tu mu totanga Leza wa ba Daniele,  
Ye Mushindañani wadi ne Mosesa,  
We ba kunkwije ne pa dijiba,  
We ba lamine ku mafuku onso.

We worship Him the God of Daniel's band,  
He is the overcomer that was with Moses,  
He guided them through the sea, [The Red Sea]  
He kept them every day.

#### Chorus

Leza wi Leza wa ba pa kala,  
Ne Batwe netu monka dyalelo.  
Nanshi tu Mu pei mityima yetu,  
Yesu Ekale mo ke njibo yandi.

God, you are the God of those of long ago,  
And you are ours today.  
So we give him our hearts so that  
Jesus will have them for his home.

Wa ba Meshake ne Abendenego,  
Shandalaka ba elwa mu mudilo,  
Ne batwe netu monka dyalelo,  
Twendejibwe monka mu ntumbo yandi.

You are the God of Meshach and Abednego and  
Shadrach who were cast into the fire,  
You are our God today,  
We are led also by his glory.

Yesu Wi tu lombole dyalelo,  
Mu makasa mikovu ya malwa.  
Tu Mu fwijanga, tu Mu fwijanga,  
Kiselwa kyetu kya a selele

Jesus show us today,  
In your hands [are] the marks of suffering.  
We continually thank Him, We continually thank Him  
For the burden he bore for us.

Yesu enka'ye Mukudi wetu,  
Aye enka Kilongoji wetu.  
Dishinda aye, Bumi bwa nyeke,  
Pano udi monka mu ntumbo yandi.

Jesus alone is our redeemer,  
Only he is our leader.  
He is the way, Life eternal,  
Now he is again in his glory.<sup>1</sup>

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Ntumbo ne ntumbo na mwene biyampe  
Bine nkembila Mulopwe.  
Ntumbo ne ntumbo na mwene biyampe  
Bine nkembila Mulopwe.

I have seen the splendour of the glory.  
Truly I will sing to the King.  
I have seen the splendour of the glory.  
Truly I will sing to the King.

#### Chorus

Ntumbo... ntumbo ne ntumbo na mwene  
Ntumbo... ntumbo ne ntumbo na mwene.

I have seen the glory, glory, glory,  
I have seen the glory, glory, glory.

Na pele ku lombamba pamo na musolwe  
Udila mu ntanda mutupu (repeat first  
two lines)

I refuse to pray like a sparrow  
That is chirping in the wilderness.

Nsenswe ku lombamba bifika kudi abe,  
  
Abe Mfumwami wa dyese (repeat)  
Pano mutyima wami ubaimana  
Bine nkembila Mulopwe

I love to pray about the things  
that reach through to you.  
O my blessed Lord.  
Now my heart stands up within me  
Truly I will sing to the King.<sup>2</sup>

---

Natokwa dyalelo, nki dipo ne mambo,  
  
Nansha adi ko, na lekelwa'o.

I am cleansed (Happy, blessed, white) today,  
I no longer have any sin,  
Even I had it I have been forgiven it.

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<sup>1</sup> 'Tu mu totanga Leza wa ba Daniele', in *Nimbo ya Bupandiji*, No. 265

<sup>2</sup> 'Ntumbo ne ntumbo na mwene biyampe', in *Nimbo ya Bupandiji*, No. 262

Nankyo mwa Leza nka twela'mo.  
Mu yoya ntanda ya nsangaji ne buya.  
Pa ku pwija lwendo tu ka shikata'mo  
Mwipata mwa Leza.

For this reason I will enter God's presence.  
In that land of happiness and beauty.  
When we have completed our journey we shall  
Dwell in the royal enclosure of God.

### *Chorus*

Mwipata mwa Leza, mu Yelusalema,  
Ngidi ne njibo mikata mulu  
Ya ngubakilanga Mfumwetu;  
Kadi ñendanga'ko, bine nkekalamo,  
Lwendo po lu ka pwa,  
Yesu u ka ngita  
Ku ka shikatamo.

In the royal enclosure of God, in Jerusalem,  
I have a great house in heaven  
Which the Lord is building for me;  
I am going there, truly I am going to be there,  
When the journey is complete,  
Jesus will call me  
To go and dwell there.

Ne nsangaji yetu, pa ku mona Yesu;  
Kokwa ne bamalaika ba ntumbo  
Ba kembila Mwana-Mukoko,  
Ne ku mu sasula, amba: U fwaninwe.  
Pa kwi tu paika tu ka mwimbidila  
Konka ku kipona.

And our joy, when we see Jesus  
Over there with the angels of glory.  
They shall sing to the Lamb,  
And exalt his name saying: You are worthy.  
When he comes to fetch us we shall sing to him  
Who alone is upon the throne.

Mulunda wa ntanda, pano witabija,  
Yesu kukwita twenda bukidi,  
Ke tu swele amba u shale;  
Yesu u kevwana shi ulondolola,  
U ka ku lekela ne ku ku tokeja  
Mu mashi makole.

O friend in the world, believe now,  
Jesus is calling you. Let's go quickly,  
We do not want you to stay behind;  
Jesus will hear you if you respond,  
He will forgive you and purify you  
In his holy blood.<sup>3</sup>

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Ebiya Mfumwetu ukaya kutekuna Kipwilo ne kwiya kona ntanda:

Lwito:

Tunangeipo nandi:

Bwa Enoke, Yehova Leza wa mutekwine ehn.

Enoke wanangile ne Leza myaka tutwatusatu ebiya Yehova Leza wa mu tekwine ehn.

Lwito:

Tunangeipo nandi:

Bwa Enoke, Yehova Leza wa mutekwine ehn.

Yehova Leza wa mutekwine, Yehova Leza was mutekwine ehn.

Then the Lord Jesus will come to take up his Church and come to destroy the world:

Call:

Let us walk with him:

Like Enoch, Jehovah God caught him up O...

Enoch walked with God for three hundred years then Jehovah God caught him up O...

Call:

Let us walk with him:

Like Enoch, Jehovah God caught him up O...

Jehovah God caught him up, Jehovah God caught him up O...<sup>4</sup>

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Yoano'mba namwene lupona lukatakata lutoka tô ne wadi wikelepo, diulu ne ntanda kebimunyema

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<sup>3</sup> 'Na tokwa dyalelo' in *Ñimbo ya Bupandiji*, No. 180.

<sup>4</sup> Author unknown, recorded by me on 31/5/1982 by Kazadi Mwanabute at Kamina II.

mpala, ne kobyayo ehn:

Lwito:

Yehova mwine bukomo!

Diulu ne ntanda ehn. Kebimunyema mpala ne kobyayo ehn.

Ebiya bafu bakatampe ne batyetye baimene kumeso a lupona luno'lu, enka diulu ne ntanda ne kobyayo ehn.

Lwito:

Yehova mwine bukomo!

Diulu ne ntanda ehn. Kebimunyema mpala ne kobyayo ehn. Ebiya lufu ne kalunga nyembo byaelwe mu dijiba dya mudilo, luno namino lolufu lwa bubidi ke dijiba dya mudilo.

Lwito:

Yehova mwine bukomo!

Diulu ne ntanda ehn. Kebimunyema mpala ne kobyayo ehn.

Bakelwe'mo, Bakelwe'mo mu dijiba dya kalunga nyembo bakelwa'mo ehn.

Lwito:

Yehova mwine bukomo!

Diulu ne ntanda ehn. Kebimunyema mpala ne kobyayo ehn.

John said: I saw a great white throne and he who was upon it, heaven and earth and all that was in them fled away from before him O...

Call:

Jehovah the almighty (possessor of all power)

Heaven and earth O.. and all that is in them fled away from before him O...

Then the dead, great and small stood before his throne, only heaven and earth and all that was in them O...

Call:

Jehovah the almighty (possessor of all power)

Heaven and earth O.. and all that is in them fled away from before him O...

Then death and the place of the dead was thrown into the lake of fire; this death is the second death which is the lake of fire.

Call:

Jehovah the almighty (possessor of all power)

Heaven and earth O.. and all that is in them fled away from before him O...

They will be thrown into it, they will be thrown into the lake of fire, they will be thrown into it O...

Call:

Jehovah the almighty (possessor of all power)

Heaven and earth O.. and all that is in them fled away from before him O...<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>5</sup> Author unknown, recorded by me on 31/5/1982 as sung by Kazadi Mwanabute at Kamina II.

## APPENDIX 4

### LIST OF MISSIONARIES OF THE PM/CEM/ZEM 1915-1983<sup>1</sup>

Names	Dates
Burton. William Frederick Padwick	1915-1960
Salter. James	1915-1965
Blakeney. Joseph	1915-1915
Armstrong. George E. S.	1915-1915d
Richardson. Julia	1915-1917°
Hodges. Augusta	1915-1917
Aaronson. Ruth	1915-1915°
Gatzke. Victor	1917-1919
Burton. Hettie Helen	1918-1952d
Toerien, Anna (Mrs Thomas)	1918-1927
Bakker. C.	1918-1918
Rickhow. Anna	1918-1918
Salter. Alice	1920-1922 <sup>2</sup>
Taylor. Cyril Eustace	1920-1935d
Hodgson. Edmund	1920-1960d
Johnstone. Frederick Dean	1920-1941
Johnstone. Sarah	1920-1941
Meester. A.	1921-1923
Brookes. E.	1922-1922d
Horler. Hugh	1922-1923
Horler. C.	1922-1923
Hazelwood. Cissie (Mrs. Thompson)	1922-1931d
Hebden. Marjorie V. (Mrs. Taylor)	1922-1936
Thomas. Rupert C.	1923-1927
Thomas. (Mrs)	1923-1924d
Oman. Axel A.	1924-1936
Oman. Helen	1924-1936
Womersley. Harold	1924-1970
Effemy. Norman	1924-1925
Hall. William Wallace	1924-1959
Hall. Frances	1924-1959
Smith-Turner. Josephine (Mrs. Womersley)	1925-1970
Vale. Garfield	1926-1934
Vale. May E.	1926-1934
Boshoff. Josina M.	1926-1935
Maier. Anna W. (Mrs Gittings)	1926-1936
Gittings. Leonard	1926-1936
Etienne. André	1926-1927
Mullan. James E.	1926-1984
Entwistle. Amy	1926-1958
Saunders. Owen	1928-1929
Parkinson. Reginald	1929-1930
Hartwright. Cyril	1929-1930
Turpin. Alice T.	1928-1932d
MacDonald. Agnes	1929-1930
Gallup. Bertha I.	1929-1943
Ward. Dorothy E. (Mrs. Fowler)	1930-9067
Thompson. William J.	1930-1967d

<sup>1</sup> This does not include those missionaries who are not affiliated to the CEM/ZEM but who work with the CPZ ie. Van Gansbeke, Jacques and Mylene from 1982 and Gudgeon, Peter from 1983. These missionaries work with Ronald Monot and are supported independently. This list has not been updated for the computerised version.

<sup>2</sup> She returned to Britain after this to be with her husband who was the Home Representative, but she did not retire from the work of the Mission.

Geddes. John Harold	1930-1940
Mullan. Mary G.	1930-1934
Yesson. Cyril	1932-1960
Yesson. Frances	1932-1960
Hodgson. Linda	1932-1933d
Bartlett. Emmeline M.	1932-1941
Blythe. Arthur C.	1933-1945
Blythe. Edith N.	1933-1945
Burnett. Lydia A.	1933-1944
Swettenham. Bessie A.	1933-1965
Clarke. Irene G. (Mrs. Bradshaw)	1933-1939d
Brown. Alfred	1934-1964d
Ramsbottom. Fred	1934-1970
Ramsbottom. Isabel	1934-1970
Fowler. James	1934-1967
Wigglesworth. Leslie	1934-1953
Geddes. Elfrida	1935-1940
Edwards. Hannah	1936-1939
Bradshaw. William M.	1936-1944
Hall. Ethel	1936-1958
Fentiman. Phyllis	1937-1946
Knauf. Elton G.B.	1937-1960d
l'Anson. Ernest	1938-1941
Hugo. Maurice	1938-1955d
Lee. Elvyn G.	1938-1957
Lee. Phyllis	1938-1957
Sanderson. Annie	1938-1940
Richardson. E. Hunter	1938-1953
Richardson. Sarah (Sally)	1938-1953
Clement. Grace	1938-1951
Hodgson. Helen M.	1939-1952d
Brown. Mary E.	1939-1964
Berry. Joseph Harold	1939-1964
Wigglesworth. Alice	1939-1960
Hartmann. Emil	1939-1959
Hartmann. Hanny	1939-1959
Nosworthy. Thomas A.	1940-1943
Nosworthy. Dora	1940-1943
Wigglesworth. Ruth	1943-1953
Knauf. Gwen C.	1944-1960, 1971-1974
Ralph. Phyllis	1945-1964
Jacques. Mary	1945-1983
Butler. Horace	1945-1970
Newbery. Robert	1945-1948
Newbery. Lola	1945-1948
Newington. David	1945-1953
Newington. Loreen	1945-1953
Hawkins. Walter B.	1944-1960
Hawkins. Hilda	1944-1960
Rhodes. John (Mrs. Bond)	1946-1978
Day. Walter	1946-1948
Day. Ruth	1946-1948
Billsborough. Elsie	1946-1950
Garbutt. Olive	1947-1960
Robinson. Joseph W.	1947-
Robinson. Margaret	1947-
Hockley. Will	1947-1959, 1971-1981
Topple. Beatrice (Mrs. Hockley)	1947-1959, 1971-1981
Willis. Dorothy (Mrs. Brinkman)	1947-1960, 1965-1976
Emmett. John F.	1948-1959

Emmett. Ruth	1948-1959
Brinkman. Wilfred C.	1949-1960, 1965-1976
Gordon. Don J.	1949-1960, 1982-
Bethell. May	1949-1953
Goodwin. Joan	1949-1959
Klaver. Paul	1950-1953
Klaver. Henni	1950-1953
Styles. Alice	1950-1960
Butler. Elsie	1951-1970
Hugo. Margaret	1952-1955
Hall. Lilian (Mrs. Evans)	1952-1958, 1965-1972
Brighton. Violet (Mrs. Gordon)	1952-1960, 1982-
Partridge. Cynthia B.	1952-1959
Womersley. David S. A.	1953-
Vale. Bronwen (Mrs. D. Womersley)	1953-
Hardman. Kathleen	1953-1956
Penny. Cherer (Dr)	1953-1954
Penny. Esmé	1953-1954
Fowler. Arthur	1953-1955
Fowler. Annie	1953-1955
Spraggins. Stanley E.	1955-1959
Spraggins. Norah	1955-1959
Maclean. Margaret	1955-1958
Grimwade. Ruby	1955-1959
Pattendden. Ruth (Mrs. Betts)	1955-1960, 1967-1972
Turpin. Esther	1956-1960
Rowlands. Edmund	1956-1964, 1966-1979
Anderson. John	1956-1960
Anderson. Gwen	1956-1960
Barnes. Eliza (Lily)	1957-1960
Smith. Malcolm	1957-1958
Whitham. Clifford J.	1957-1960
Morris. Enid	1958-1959
Aves. Dorothy	1958-1959
Dalby. William	1958-1965
Dalby. Anna	1958-1965
Brereton. Audrey	1958-1960
Hawksley. Ernest	1958-1961
Hoper. Margaret (Mrs. Hawksley)	1958-1961
Rawnsley. Marion (Mrs Leeming)	1958-1960, 1967-1978
Chick. Howell	1958-1960
Chick. Blodwen	1958-1960
Ashman. John Williams	1958-1960
Schroder. Winsom	1958-1960
Atkinson. Muriel (Mrs. Witham)	1959-1960
Atkinson. Heather (Mrs. Rowlands)	1959-1964, 1966-1979
Picken. Catherine	1959-1960
Walker. Peter	1959-1960
Walker. Ruth	1959-1960
Miles. Maurice	1959-1959
Forsythe. M. Lylea	1959-1960
Jenkins. Ian	1959-1959
Jenkins. Eirwen	1959-1959
Engstenberg. Margaret	1959-1960
Tinker. Louie	1959-1960
Shelbourne. John	1959-1960
Shelbourne. Muriel	1959-1960
Leeming. Roy	1960-1960, 1967-1978
Waller. David E.	1965-1973
Waller. Margaret L.	1965-1973

Evans. Edward J.	1965-1972
Morris. Robin	1966-1975
Morris. Cathie	1966-1975
Herschell. Kenneth D.	1967-1981
Monot. Ronald	1968- <sup>3</sup>
Smith. Esther (Mrs. Herschell)	1968-1981
Bettes, Len	1968-1972
Gaze. David J.	1968-
Gaze. Julie	1968-
Mason. Robert	1969-1973
Moss. Phyllis	1970-1972
Walker. Sandra M. (Mrs. Mason)	1970-1973
Bond. Clifford	1970-1978
Jukes. Sheila (Mrs. Monot)	1970-
Quirie. Jennifer	1971-1978
Garrard. David John	1973-
Garrard. Ruth Joy	1973-
Seymour. Carol	1973-
Munn. Duncan	1973-
Munn. Christiane	1973-
Ramsey. Andrew	1973-
Ramsey. Lyn	1973-
Lee. Maureen	1973-
Given. Peter	1973-
Given. Elaine	1973-
Norcross. W.	1978-1979, 1981-1982
Norcross. L.	1978-1979, 1981-1982
Coenradi. Robert	1980-
Hawes. Gillian	1980-1982
Caudell. Joan	1981-1983
Emmett. David	1981-
McKillop. Gordon	1982-
McKillop. Sybil	1982-

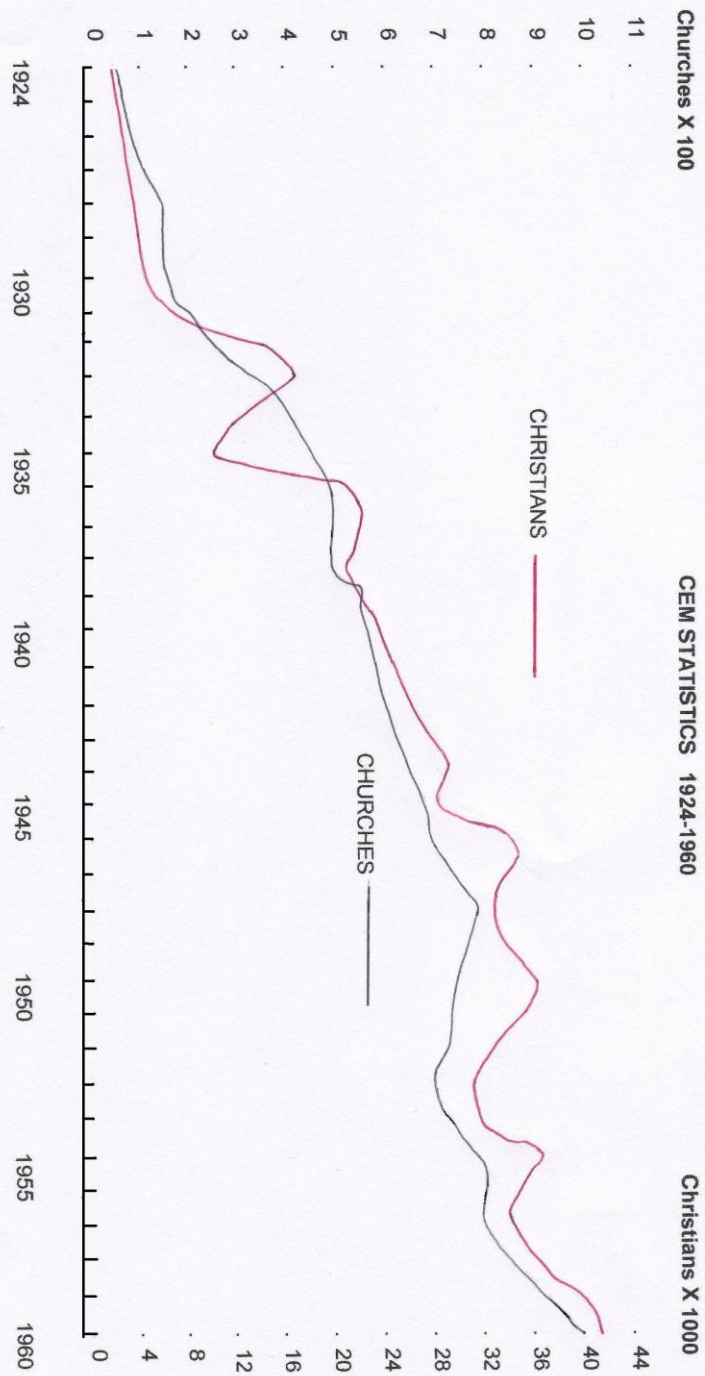
d - Died while on the Field or on furlough as members of the CEM.

° - Spent more time in the Congo but not with the CEM/PM. That time is not listed here.

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<sup>3</sup> Affiliated to the CEM/ZEM but self-supporting and not directed by any group of missionaries or the Missionary Council.

# APPENDIX 5



APPENXIX 5 CEM STATISTICS 1924-1960

## APPENDIX 6

### LIST OF STATIONS AND PASTORS IN 1980(CPZ)<sup>1</sup>

Mwanza	Lubaba Bikomo-Yumba wa Nkulu <sup>2</sup>
Ngoy Mani	Nkulu Balanda
Kabondo Dianda	Banze Yombi Umbamba
Kipushya	Ngoie Shalumbo
Kisanga	Masangu Kijima Samwele
Kikondja	Twite Kitobo
Ngungu Mwane	Kasongo Mutante
Seke	Tshite Kalombo
Kabongo <sup>3</sup>	Nkokwa Banza Afesa
Katompe	Lukuma Muhinge
Kashukulu	Kazembe Tshikala
Lulungu	Kalenga Nomba
Kongolo	Ngoy Lenga
Katea	Maloba Nshingo Kalonda Komu
Kamina	Nzadi Umba
Luenia	Lubinga wa Ngoi
Lubumbashi	Ilunga Lupweka
Likasi	Kabamba Nzazi
Lubao	Ya Musenge Mabula
Kabalo	Kabila Dibala Diwi
Kalemie	Kasongo Sumbula
Kasendu	Nkoshi Yamba
Mbutu	Nkongolo Ngoie
Dipeba	Mwepu wa Mposhi
Kasenga-Mpetshi	Kolomboshi Mwenze
Pyana Mbayo	Ngoi Dibwe
Manono	Ilunga wa Ngoi Katontoka Kafula
Mulenda	Kapenga Kalwiba
Kengye	Kitombole Mbobo
Bukama	Kabayo Mwadyavita
Kabinda	Kasemwana Lubembebe
Nyunzu	Moma Kalumba
Kolwezi	Mbuya Mukala Mwana
Mpasu	Kumwimba Masangu
Kaniama	Ntumba Mudimbani
Munanga (Mwana Mwadi)	Kalenga Boido
Kimabwe	Umba Kalonda
Ankoro	Banza Lufngula Kintuntanki
Katala`	Kitenge Bwana Buka
Kisengwa	Djibu Loshi
Kabombwe	Umba Ngoy Mututyi
Kapamai	Monga Mfumwabana
Mbuji Mayi	Katanga Munya
Lubudi	Ilunga Mpuji wa ku Mutyi
Mbayo	Ngoy Mukangala

<sup>1</sup> There have been a number of changes since this date; the list is chronologically arranged according to the records of the CPZ. Some of the dates on the CPZ records are not always in line with the missionary dates. This list is taken from the 'Liste nominative de Pasteurs responsables des stations, 30-Communauté Pentecôtiste au Zaïre, pendant l'Exercice 1980', ACPZKamina.

<sup>2</sup> Yumba wa Nkulu was not the actual pastor although in many ways both pastors were co-equal. Yumba was the President for the entire Communauté.

<sup>3</sup> The Administration has listed Kabongo here since it was in 1933 that it became part of the CEM (it was founded in 1917 by the Methodists).

Mitwaba  
Mbao Lubiji  
Lungenda  
Ngandajika  
Nkinda  
Kagensa Lwapula  
Moba  
Lusambo  
Diololo  
Tshofa  
Kasenga Mondwe  
Mushoshi  
Mwene Ditu  
Kiambi  
Pweto  
Luputa  
Kinshasa  
Zambia

Banza Shabana  
Kongolo wa Kongolo  
Naweji Tshikopu  
Kitumbika Nshinso  
Kumwimba Ngobe Kanyangu  
Katandula Kapia Kalala  
Ngoy Nyembo wa Banza  
Mbolela  
Ngoy Mwepu Kebembe  
Lemo Matungulu  
Kanyanga wa Monga  
Mwanabute Ngenda  
Nday Kalombo  
Ngoy wa Ukola  
N'Kong'Avantu Mwila  
Ilunga Kalenda  
Ilunga Munyamba  
Mumba Gabriel

## APPENDIX 7<sup>1</sup>

### Ex-slaves who became active in the work of Evangelism in the CEM area

The list is not complete. I include Kabongo because although it was originally under the Methodist Mission, it was taken over by the CEM in 1933. The names of the villages include those where the individual may have pioneered or merely pastored for a time.

#### Key

- # in the group to settle at Kabongo
- x from Kole's mission at Kisamba (also written- Chissamba, Chisamba)
- + later rejected Christianity or joined the *Kitawala*
- ~ belong to other tribes and eventually found their own homes elsewhere
- ° from Brethren Mission in Bié
- u origin of mission in Angola unknown

1. Kalanda Jefata ~ u Sungu/Busangu district 1 he was from Angola and eventually returned home<sup>2</sup>
2. Kamwanga # x + Kitebele<sup>3</sup>
3. Kanditu u a young man who remained at Mwanza<sup>4</sup>
4. Kanolochi u Kisamba<sup>5</sup>
5. Kangolololo # ~ Kime came from Mulongo<sup>6</sup>
6. Kaluashi u Kabongo/Lubiai, Katombe (there is question as to whether he was a slave in Angola but he was converted to Christianity in Angola)<sup>7</sup>
7. Kibanda # x Kabwila, Bwandu, Kakinda<sup>8</sup>
8. Kiofwe Yoano, Kipushya, Katenta, Katombe and Kashukulu. He was from Masengai sold as a slave to pay the debt for a man and his family. He never went Angola but was converted because of the early evangelists at Katombe<sup>9</sup>
9. Madika # x + taught school at Lubiai Kabongo but never had a church<sup>10</sup>
10. Mulomba # x Kabongo; he was very old and only helped on the station<sup>11</sup>
11. Musoka u Katombe, Mangi<sup>12</sup>
12. Mushinkula u Ngoy Mani station area<sup>13</sup>
13. Mutombo Kusomba Shimioni # x Kitebele, Madia and Kibanza area, Lubiai/Kabongo station<sup>14</sup>
14. Mweni wa Mvula (Shaleshi Kangoi) u Bunda (he was the first to be baptised in the Spirit and speak in tongues in 1920)<sup>15</sup>
15. Ndwaki u worked near Ankoro on the Luvidyo River<sup>16</sup>
16. Ngidioni u Katombe<sup>17</sup>
17. Ngoloma (ex-Katwamba) x Kikondja/Kipamba, Mulenda<sup>18</sup>
18. Nguba # x Tombe, Kitebele<sup>19</sup>
19. Petelo Majondo ° Kisanga<sup>20</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Formerly part of Chapter 2 A; ft. note 72

<sup>2</sup> Questionnaire, Sungu

<sup>3</sup> Ilunga Ngoie Jean, Interview, Kamina, 31/8/1981

<sup>4</sup> David Womersley, 'List', July 1983

<sup>5</sup> Burton, *God Working*, pp. 208, 209

<sup>6</sup> Ilunga Ngoi, 31/8/1981.

<sup>7</sup> CEMR, No. 132, p. 1164; CEMR, No. 45, pp. 736, 737; Questionnaire, Katombe; Kusomba Shimioni, Interview, Kabongo, 26/10/1980 and Kamina 28/8/1981.

<sup>8</sup> Ilunga Ngoie, 31/8/1981.

<sup>9</sup> Kiofwe Yoano, Interview, Lulenge, 21/12/1981; CEMR, No. 38, p. 610; CEMR, No. 9, p. 100.

<sup>10</sup> Ilunga Ngoie, 31/8/1981.

<sup>11</sup> *Supra*, No. 9

<sup>12</sup> H. Womersley, Letter, Bedford, 18/5/1983 to author; cf. CEMR, No. 40, p. 645; Questionnaire, Katombe.

<sup>13</sup> Ngoy Masangu Samwele, Interview, Kamina, 18/12/1980.

<sup>14</sup> Ilunga Ngoie, 31/8/1981; Kusomba Shimioni, Interview, Kabongo, 26/10/1980 and Kamina, 28/8/1981; H. Womersley, CEMR, No. 87, pp. 595, 596.

<sup>15</sup> Burton, *When God Changes a Village*, London, Victory Press, 1933, pp. 28, 29; Burton, Letter, Mwanza, 8/1/1920 to [Th. Myerscough,] Preston, p. 2.

<sup>16</sup> H. Womersley, Letter, 18/5/1983

<sup>17</sup> Kiofwe Yoano, Interview, Lulenge, 21/12/1981; Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p. 180.

<sup>18</sup> Lunda Kateba, Interview, Kamina II, 26/8/1981; Kusomba Shimioni, 26/10/1980 and 28/8/1981; CEMR, No. 3, p. 21.

<sup>19</sup> Ilunga Ngoie, 31/8/1981.

20. Saulu # x Nkimbi, Kabenga<sup>21</sup>
21. Shabeta u Mwanza, Luamba<sup>22</sup>
22. Shakatela u ~ Kabenga, Kabu (he was a Musanga and died at Sampwe near Bunkeya)<sup>23</sup>
23. Shakayobo ° evangelised around Mwanza then returned home to Kipushya<sup>24</sup>
24. Shakitu u Mwanza area<sup>25</sup>
25. Shalumbo ° Mwanza area, Nogy Mani, Mpyana Mbayo, Kipushya and the Basongye<sup>26</sup>
26. Shalumingu u Kisala area<sup>27</sup>
27. Shambelo x Kabenga, Ngoi, Ilunga Mwila, Busangu/Kalui, Twadi<sup>28</sup>
28. Shamutete u Busangu area<sup>29</sup>
29. Shandjinji ° Ntwadi on the Lovoi and Kabondo Dianda station. He was a very old man when he returned home<sup>30</sup>
30. Shatomi u Kipamba, Masangu (he was a Bemba)<sup>31</sup>
31. Shayoano ° + Mutombo/Pyana Mbayo (a convert of Shalumbo's' through him Mudishi was converted)<sup>32</sup>
32. Shimete Ngoi u a woman who evangelised at Katombe<sup>33</sup>
33. Shavita u Mwanza, Ngoy Mani, Mpyana Mbayo, Kasongwa Mule (there is a possibility that this is the same man as Shabeta *supra* no. 21)<sup>34</sup>
34. Zwao # x Tombe, Nguba, Kamungu, Lubiai/Kabongo<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Goy Samwele, Interview, Kisanga, 18/12/1980; *CEMR*, No. 86, p. 579; *CEMR*, No. 189, pp.2291-2292.

<sup>21</sup> Ilunga Ngoie, 31/8/1981.

<sup>22</sup> H. Womersley, Letter, 18/5/1983.

<sup>23</sup> Lunda Kateba, 26/8/1981; the prefix Sha- on the following names means: 'Father of...' So Shakatela is 'Father of Katela'.

<sup>24</sup> *RFBWPB*, No. 11, p. 7; Burton, *When God Changes a Man*, pp. 35,57.

<sup>25</sup> *RFBWPB*, No. 11.

<sup>26</sup> Burton, *When God Changes a Man*, pp. 3-132; the whole book is about his life from youth to old age; Ngoie A. Marcel, *Muwa wa Shalumbo, (The Life of Shalumbo written in Kisongye )* n.pl., 1968, p. 17; *RFBWPB*, No. 11, p. 3; Moorhead, *Congo Forests*, p. 145; *CEMR*, No. 68, pp. 211, 212; he died in 1937.

<sup>27</sup> D. Womersley, 'List', July, 1983.

<sup>28</sup> Kusomba Shimioni, 26/10/1980 and 28/8/1981; Lunda Kateba, 26/8/1981; *CEMR*, No. 3, p. 21 (his own testimony); *CEMR*, 23 Feb. 1922 in 'Letter from Salter'; *CEMR*, No. 11, pp. 123,124; *CEMR*, No. 13, p. 162.

<sup>29</sup> Questionnaire, Sungu.

<sup>30</sup> *CEMR*, No. 83, p. 516.

<sup>31</sup> Banza Dikolo and Ilunga Kabale, Interview, Kamina Cité, 11/7/1983.

<sup>32</sup> *CEMR*, No. 34, p. 523; Burton, *Mudishi*, p. 47.

<sup>33</sup> H. Womersley, Letter, 18/5/1983.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*; and D. Womersley, 'List', July 1983.

<sup>35</sup> Ilunga Ngoie, 31/8/1981.

## APPENDIX 8<sup>1</sup>

### The Matters Discussed by the Church Elders at Mwanza Conference June 1935

1. Paying for the dead. This is not good since it is the same as worshiping an evil spirit. 1 Corinthians 10: 21
2. Inheritance of the wife of a dead man. This is not necessary. If the husband dies the wife should go back to the home of the parents and claims on the dowry should be forgotten. The children belong to the relatives of the husband.
3. The divorce of women or the forsaking of a husband by the wife. It is no right to chase away one's wife or for the husband to run away from [abandon] his wife. 1 Corinthians 7: 10-11.
4. The striking of a wife. This is bad. If a wife is not obedient she should be taken to the elders. If she does not listen to two or three of them she should be taken to the missionary so that he should know about it. The husband should also be there. Ephesians 5:22-33.
5. Drinking of alcoholic beverages. Any brother, whoever he may be must not be allowed to the table of the Lord if he drinks. Ephesians 5:18; 1 Corinthians 6:19-20. Every kind of alcohol, palm wines, beer from grain, is all bad. Only unfermented palm juice is permitted.
6. Cicatrisation is bad. We will put this to the lady missionaries to teach the women little by little. If they do this in the future it will die out. 1 Corinthians 6:19-20.
7. The wearing of mourning bands is not good.
8. To cause someone to go through the ceremonies of impurity is forbidden.
9. To go through the ceremony of purification is forbidden.
10. To brew spirits for sale is forbidden.
11. To eat with those who have been expelled from the church is not good. 2 Thes. 3:6; 1 Cor. 5:11.
12. Girl's initiation into womanhood is forbidden.
13. To sleep with a woman without being married to her according to accepted tradition is forbidden.
14. Dancing is forbidden. 2 Thes. 5:22; 1Cor. 10:31.
15. Making agreements of a personal nature, a believer with an unbeliever is not wise. 1 Cor. 6:1-11.
16. To buy tobacco and alcohol from unbelievers must not be done.
17. If a man turns away from his sin and says to himself I want to return to the church do we accept him immediately? Do we make him wait? Make him wait a while but let him sit at the back of the church in the services. (The acceptance is to full rights and to the communion)
18. To ceremonially sweep out the ashes is forbidden. (This is a custom after a very serious family quarrel when the house is swept out to declare at a complete separation from that household)
19. To smoke hemp is forbidden.
20. Is it good for Christian to be a soldier? No. It is not good. Matthew 5:38-48; 1 Thes. 5:15 (the construction could mean: Is it good for Christian to have anything to do with war?)

[Translation mine from the Kiluba Text]

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<sup>1</sup> Formerly part of Chapter 2 B; ft. nt. 59

## APPENDIX 9<sup>1</sup>

### Minutes of General Field Council of CEM Jan 1928

GFC, Included here are the minutes of the GFC January 1928 because they turned out to be a complete list of the general organisation of the CEM, including the principles of its government and its financial policies:

“Minutes of the Field Council Meetings of the Congo Evangelistic Mission. January 1928

#### General Organisation

Mr. Burton and Mr. Salter are recognised as the permanent Directors of the C.E.M. All other officers are appointed by the Field Council, their term of office being from one field council to the next.

The General Field Council is composed of all missionaries on the field, with power to decide the affairs of the mission.

A decision cannot be made without the majority of two thirds of the votes, all missionaries being entitled to a vote, while those who have been more than two years on the field are given an additional vote.

A recorder shall be appointed, to keep the minutes of the Council meetings up to date. These minutes shall be signed, and a copy sent to the Home Council.

All correspondence is to be kept, but the files are only to be accessible to the Directors of the Mission.

In view of the fact that Government consent must be obtained for these offices, Mr. Burton is permanently recognised as Legal Representative, and Mr. Salter as Deputy Legal Rep.

#### EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

An Executive Council shall be appointed, consisting of four members, to act with the director, in carrying on mission business between the Field Council meetings. Any two may make decisions with the Director. This Executive Council shall be composed of men only, and only those who have been on the field at least two years.

The Executive Council shall regulate the arrangement of furloughs, it being suggested that 3 or 4 years is sufficient for a first term on the field, and 5 years for subsequent terms.

The travelling expenses, to and from Conference, and the general administrative expenses of the mission shall be met from the General Fund.

The Executive shall receive the application of candidates, for rectification, as soon as the Home Council has decided as to their acceptability as missionaries.

In the absence of the Treasurer (Mr. Hall) the Executive shall have power to fill the position until the next Field Council meeting.

#### DISTRICT CONFERENCES

It is proposed that District Conferences are a satisfactory means of encouraging fellowship, the missionaries coming together, with the Director or one of the Executive Council in the chair where possible, to encourage one another in the faith, and to offer suggestions on local problems to the Executive Council.

The Following have been adopted as District Conferences;:-<sup>2</sup>

Northern  
Kipushya  
Katenta

Central  
Kisanga  
Ngoymani  
Mwanza  
Kikondja

Southern  
Kabondo Dianda  
Busangu

The matter of ant-proof and fire proof stores is regulated to these District Conferences to arrange.

<sup>1</sup> Formerly ft. note 12, Chapter 2 D.

<sup>2</sup> The list of stations and District Conferences by June 1935 'GFC-CEM, June 1935', 3(b) added Katombe and Mutengwa to the Northern District and Kabongo to Central. Kikondja was changed to Southern.

See also Educational Committee report regarding a central store of school material for each District.

### STATION ORGANISATION

The senior missionary on each station is given the right to direct the general policy of his own station, and no subordinate on the station, or person taking temporary charge shall be permitted to alter that policy without reference to the senior missionary first, and then to the District Conference.

An amicable arrangement should, as soon as possible, be arrived at, whereby single workers shall be given their own work on the station. All buildings on Mission land are regarded as mission property, whether put up at personal or at mission expense.

Before buildings are put up, plans for them must first be submitted to the building committee.

The expenses of the building are to be taken from the General Fund,<sup>3</sup> as the need arises.

The members of each mission station shall pay their own taxes.

The policy of the mission is to occupy untouched parts of the country in preference to those already occupied by the Catholics.

A map has been drawn up, delineating the boundaries of each mission station's supervision, and Bro. Burton is deputed to arrange such boundaries, both with regard to the various stations of the C.E.M. and also between this mission and others bordering upon it.

Superintendent missionaries authorised to pay the evangelist's wages, [sic] all other claims upon the Evangelists' Fund must first be presented to the mission treasurer, to be referred to the Executive before payment.

Industrial Work shall be regarded as station work, the profits or losses being shared by those on the station.

In addition to supplying material for the magazine, each head of the station shall be responsible to send a quarterly report of the work on his station, to headquarters, with the second copy to Mr. Salter.

### FINANCES

It is the policy of this mission to keep from incurring debt.

For General policy we recognise the financial year as beginning on Oct. 1<sup>st</sup> (when the gardening season starts).

The mission books shall be audited half-yearly, and an annual balance sheet printed for the magazine.

Each mission station shall be provided with account books for keeping mission accounts.

Missionaries either going to the field for the first time, or returning from furlough, shall be expected to look to the Lord for the supply all of their outfit and passage money.

Missionaries going home on furlough shall be provided with £20 for a rest on arrival, plus the money with which to get home, but they must look to God individually to provide for the needs while at home.<sup>4</sup>

The General Fund shall be equally divided between all on the field with the following exceptions:-

a. Personal, undesignated gifts must be recognised as belonging to the individuals to whom sent, but a similar amount must be deducted from their share of the General Fund.

Notification of all such gifts, however, [sic] small, must be sent to the treasurer. (Gifts for a designated purpose will, of course, be used for that purpose).

b. We agree to look to God for one fifth extra support for those who run stations alone.

c. Missionaries' children be provided for in the following proportion of the adult's share.

From the ages of birth to six THREE SIXTEENTHS

From six to nine years.....Three Eighths

From nine to twelve.....One half

From twelve to sixteen.....Five Eighths

From sixteen to eighteen.....One quarter

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<sup>3</sup> This policy was not always continued and it worked out that each station became responsible for its own building projects.

<sup>4</sup> This was later changed to one month's allowance.

The mission account shall be kept in pounds sterling at the Elisabethville branch of the Standard Bank, and the Treasurer shall notify the missionaries of their share as the money comes to hand.

The mission account shall be in the name of the "Congo Evangelistic Mission."

The Furlough Fund may be drawn upon for an emergency, the amount withdrawn to be replaced as soon as possible.

#### GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS

Where possible, our missionaries should take a vacation of a month per year.

No candidate shall be accepted for the field unless baptized with the Holy Ghost with evidence of speaking in tongues, as in Acts 2:4.

Applications to the mission, from countries where no Home Council exists, should address the application to the Field Mission Secretary, for decision and settlement by the Executive Council.

As soon as possible examination papers shall be prepared, and our missionaries coming to the fields should be expected to pass language examinations at the end of six and twelve months.

All literature for use in the mission is to be the concern of the Educational Committee.

#### NATIVE EVANGELISTS AND CHURCHES

The local church affairs ought to be dealt with by the church.

All monies received for the support of evangelists must be passed through the Evangelists' Fund.

The treasurer shall administer the native funds.

The shortage from the Native Evangelists Fund be met from the General Fund.

Typewritten instructions ought to be put up in each school, defining the responsibility of the evangelists to keep their houses in repair, and clean the chapels with the help of the native Christians.<sup>5</sup> Also a request to white men to respect the buildings.

For superintendents boundaries see no. [sic]

The station superintendents shall each arrange his [sic] own baptismal services in the absence of a dissenting voice in the church.

The native evangelists shall fill in monthly report forms giving account of their work, and shall present these, with the church offerings, at the end of each month, at the Mission Station.

Each station superintendent shall take up regular correspondence with the supporters of the native evangelists under his care.

The Directors shall appoint and place native evangelists and out stations in conjunction with the station superintendent.

Visiting missionaries shall examine the gardens of the native evangelists, to see that they are cared for. We do not discourage native Christians from building near the mission stations but all natives must be discouraged from building within 300 (400) meters of mission sites.

Native evangelists' wages may be up to 35 francs per month, at the discretion of the heads of stations. Also a mosquito net or blanket be supplied to each evangelist, the cost not to exceed 35 francs each.

The tax of the native evangelist is paid by the mission.

The evangelists receive two francs per child, for each of their children under the age of seven years.

Each native evangelist is allowed one month's holiday per year, without loss of pay.

Where a native minister has been discharged in one district, he shall not be employed in another without first corresponding with the one who discharged him.

A small help may be given to the evangelist, in paying their dowries, provided the wives come in to receive the training at the Bible-school.

At the Field Council Meetings of January 1928 the various offices were filled as follows:

Treasurer Mr. Hall

Secretary Mr. Burton

Executive Council Mr. Hodgson, Mr. Hall, Mr. Taylor, Mr. Womersley, and the Directors.

The Executive Council is given power to fill the office of Treasurer in Mr. Hall's absence.

Building Committee Mr. Burton, Mr. Hodgson, Mr. Womersley.

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<sup>5</sup> Cf. R. Slade, *English-Speaking Missions*, p. 215.

Education Committee Mr. and Mrs. Burton, Mr. Thomas, Mr. Vale, Mr. Womersley, Mr. Johnstone.

Magazine Editor Mr. Burton (with everybody's full permission given to him to revise letters and matter sent for the magazine)."

## APPENDIX 10<sup>1</sup>

### Rules for Every CEM Local Church

The following is a copy of the rules or regulations which were to be pinned to the wall of every church in the CEM. This copy comes from E. Hodgson and is presently in the collection of MJPP. [My translation of the Kiluba text]:

“These are the rules of the churches of the ‘Congo Evangelistic Mission’

All local evangelists should read these rules to all the Christians gathered in their churches. When you have read them to the church attach them to the church walls so that they can be always seen and understood. Titus 2:15

1. It is forbidden in our church for a person to preach unless he has a letter of authority and the local evangelist and elders are happy to give him a chance to speak. 2 Cor. 10:18; Proverbs 12:8; Acts 18:27; Romans 16:1; Phil. 2:29, 30.
2. In this church a person must not stand to preach without the Bible in his hand and the Word of God in his heart. Isa. 8:20; Rev. 22:18.
3. It is not permitted for Christians to choose names for themselves which glorify them and belittle others. We reject names like Nsenga (Mediator) or Bukomo (Powerful) and Kapitene (Captain) Mat. 20:26-28; Rom. 1:1; Phil. 2:9-11; Acts 4:10; Mat. 18:20.
4. In our Church, or even in our homes, it is forbidden to prophesy saying: “I have been taken hold of by the Spirit,” and then say a lot of things that do not accord at all with what is written in the Bible. 2 Cor. 2:17; Rom. 16:17.
5. In our church it is unacceptable for a person to point to another and say: “You are a witch” or “You have sin in your life”. Rom. 2:1; 1 Cor. 11:28 & 31.
6. It is forbidden that any Christian should gather sick people together at church as though it were a clinic. The sick people should call upon the elders to pray for them according to the scriptural pattern. James 5:14; John 5:3-15; Lk. 4:24.
7. It is forbidden for a person to say that the Spirit which he has is more powerful than that of all the others and to say that he can give people the Holy Spirit. 1 Cor. 12:11-13; Acts 11:16-18.
8. It is forbidden to gather together in groups to worship in the countryside because the Belgian Authorities are on the lookout for Kitawala in the countryside.
9. Now Christians, do not be afraid of false prophets who want to try and reveal secrets to you. They only want to lead you into sin. All good things should be known by all openly. Mat. 2:27; John 3:20-21.
10. Again it is forbidden that anyone dance in our church. Dancing is of the flesh and has nothing to do with the Holy Spirit. Jude 19. The thoughts which give the desire to dance do not come from heaven; they are earthly thoughts which belong to the animal creation and demons. James 3:15.

So everything which is forbidden is sin and cannot help the Church of God because it is not of the Holy Spirit. All these things grieve the Holy Spirit and disturbed the true word of God. Eph. 4:29-30.

Anyone who does these things which are forbidden has sinned against God and against the Protestant Mission – the Congo Evangelistic Mission. In addition to this anyone who knows that these things are being done and does not make them known has also sinned. Rom. 1:32.

The leader of the churches 2 Cor. 11:32  
E. Hodgson, Kikondja 12/6/1951”

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<sup>1</sup> Previously footnote 25 Chapter 2 D.

## APPENDIX 11<sup>1</sup> Codes and Laws of the Belgian Congo

Décret du roi souverain-28 décembre 1888. cited in O.Louwers and I. Grenade, eds., *Codes et lois du Congo Belge : Textes annotés d'après les rapport du Conseil colonial, les Instructions officielles et la jurisprudence des Tribunaux*, 3ed. Brussels, n.p., 1927, pp. 783, 784

For purposes of reference I cite the decree as in Louwers and Grenade without the annotations and footnotes:

- « 28 décembre 1888.- Décret du Roi souverain...
1. Les institutions religieuses, scientifiques ou philanthropiques créés par le gouvernement sont administrées et représentées, et leur capacité civile est réglée de la manière indiquée par le décret qui les établit.
  2. Les associations privées qui ont pour but de s'occuper d'œuvres religieuses, scientifiques ou philanthropiques peuvent par décret spécial, recevoir la personnalité civile dans les limites et aux conditions déterminées aux articles 3, 4, 5 et 6 ci-après.
  3. La personnalité civile doit être demandée par requête adressée au Gouverneur général.  
La requête énoncera:  
1° L'objet spécial en vue duquel l'association est constituée;  
2° La dénomination qu'elle portera;  
3° Le siège de l'association, lequel ne pourra être qu'une localité située sur le territoire de l'Etat Indépendant du Congo.  
Indépendamment de toutes autres pièces et justification que le Gouverneur général pourra réclamer, la requête devra être accompagnée:  
a) D'une liste complète des membres effectifs, dressée conformément à l'article 4 ci-après;  
b) D'une déclaration indiquant, conformément à l'articles 5, le ou les membres effectifs qui seront les représentants légaux de l'association.  
La requête et ses annexes devront être signées par la majorité au moins des membres effectifs.
  4. Les associations qui sollicitent et celles qui ont obtenu la personnalité civile sont tenues de produire, chaque fois qu'elles sont requises par le Gouverneur général, une liste donnant les noms, prénoms, profession, nationalité et résidence de tous leur membres effectifs.  
Sont seul réputés membres effectifs dans le sens du présent décret les membres de l'association résidant dans l'Etat Indépendant du Congo, et ils ne sont réputés tels que pendant le temps qu'ils y résident.  
La liste des membres effectifs doit être signée par la majorité au moins de ces membres.
  5. Les associations reconnues comme personnes civiles agissent par l'organe d'un ou plusieurs membres effectifs, chargés comme représentants légaux de ces associations, d'administrer et de gérer leurs affaires.  
Le mandat dont le ou les représentants légaux d'une association sont investis est officiellement constaté par une déclaration remise au Gouverneur général et portant la signature de la majorité au moins des membres effectifs. Cette déclaration doit être renouvelée chaque fois qu'un changement survient dans la représentation légale de l'association.  
Si le mandat donné aux représentants légaux d'une association est limité à un temps déterminé, il en sera fait mention dans la déclaration.  
La déclaration peut indiquer un ou plusieurs membres effectifs chargés de remplacer temporairement comme suppléants, le ou les représentants légaux en cas d'absence, de décès ou de cessation de mandat de ces derniers.  
Les représentants légaux et leurs suppléants doivent, pour pouvoir agir légalement, être agréés par Nous.  
Ils pourront toutefois être agréés provisoirement par le Gouverneur Général et Notre agrégation sera réputée acquise si aucune décision contraire n'est intervenue dans les six mois qui suivront le dépôt de la déclaration visée au deuxième alinéa du présent article.
  6. Lorsque, par suite de décès, d'absence, de refus d'agrégation ou de non accomplissement des formalités exigées par l'article 5, une association cessera d'avoir un représentant légal au Congo, le Gouverneur Général pourra commettre une ou plusieurs personnes pour la représenter et administrer provisoirement ses affaires.

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<sup>1</sup> Previous foot note 2, Chapter 4 A.

Si cette administration provisoire dure plus de deux ans sans qu'un représentant légal ai été désigné conformément à l'article 5, la dissolution de l'association pourra être prononcée par décret, et le Gouvernement disposera de l'avoir social, selon qu'il le jugera convenable en l'affectant à une destination se rapportant autant que possible au but pour lequel l'association avait été fondée.

7. Toute institution ou association légale peut ester en justice, contracter et transiger.  
Elle peut acquérir à titre onéreux ou gratuit, aliéner et échanger toutes espèces de biens meubles, sauf les restrictions apportées à ce droit par décret.
8. Elle peut acquérir à titre onéreux ou gratuit, aliéner, échanger et prendre en location des immeubles, mais seulement dans la mesure que le Gouverneur Général jugera nécessaire ou utile pour réaliser le but de l'association, et sans que, dans aucun cas, elle puisse détenir dans l'Etat, même en location, plus de 50 hectares de terres, dans une même location, plus de 50 hectares de terre, dans une même localité, à moins d'une autorisation spéciale donnée par décret.
9. Le bénéfice de la personnalité civile pourra être retiré après enquête, par décret, à toute institution ou association qui cesserait de s'occuper exclusivement de l'objet en vue duquel elle a été fondée ou reconnue, qui porterait atteinte à l'ordre public, ou qui ne fournirait pas avec exactitude et sincérité la liste de ses membres effectifs lorsque cette liste sera réclamée en vertu de l'article 5.

Le retrait de la personnalité civile étant prononcé, le gouvernement disposera de l'avoir social de la manière indiquée [sic indiquée] au deuxième alinéa de l'article 6 ».

## APPENDIX 12<sup>1</sup>

The following is a copy of the 'Statuts Association MBUDJE' signed in 1973 by the officers of the Mbudye at Malemba Nkulu as they were recorded in the Archives of the Sous-Région Haut Lomami at Kamina.

### Statuts Association MBUDJE

#### Chapitre 1

Art I. Il a été créée depuis l'entiquité [sic] par NKONGOLO MWAMBA et KPANGA PANGILE MAFUMU, une Association sans but lucratif appelée MBUDJE [sic]

Art. II L'Association MBUDJE a pour but de préserver la coutume surtout à l'investiture coutumière de Chef.-

Art. III L'Association ne peut en aucun cas être dissoute et ainsi ses règlements restent invariables.-

#### Chapitre II Administration

Art. I L'association est dirigée par un Président ( KIKUNGULU) secondé par le vice Président (TUSULO) et le secrétaire (TSHIKALA).

Art. II Les membres effectifs de l'association sont : 1. KAMANZI 2. NSENGA. 3. MUSENGE. 4. INA BANZA.-

Art. III. Le Président et son Adjoint sont nommés par KIKUNGULU ET TUSULO.-

Art. IV. Le secrétaire et les membres effectifs sont nommés par le Président de l'Association moyennant un prix.-

Art. V. Les membres cités aux articles 1 et II du Présent [sic] chapitre sont susceptibles [sic] de révocation en cas d'une faute lourde après un ou deux avertissements.-

#### Chapitre III Attributions

Art. I Le Président dirige, prend les décisions et parle au nom de l'Association. Il est remplacé par son adjoint en cas d'absence ou malade [sic].-

Art. II Le secrétaire joue aussi le rôle du Trésorier de l'Association.-

Art. III Le KAMANI est un militaire et doit chaque fois se mettre à la foule au moment où les MBUDJE se trouvent à la maison.-

Art. IV. Le Nsenga est un platon [sic planton] et doit être en contact permanent avec le comité directeur au moment où les MBUDJE sont en action.-

Art. V. Le Musenge est un maçon ; il est le seul à construire la hute [sic hutte] au moment où le Chef va être investi.-

Art. VI. Le INABANZA est un juridique et doit trancher les différents qui opposent les MBUDJE.-

#### Chapitre IV Ordres intérieurs

Art. I. Le MBUDJE doit avoir une conduite irréprochable en tout moment et en tout lieu.-

Art. II. Le MBUDJE en activité ne doit pas se mettre en contact avec les personnes non membres.-

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<sup>1</sup> Formerly part of footnote 23 Chapter 4D.

Art. III. Tout Chef coutumier est membre de droit de l'Association MBUDJE et doit par consigne être investi comme MBUDJE si non il ne sera pas reconnu comme Chef par les MBUDJE en activités.-

Art. IV. La violation du secret de l'Association doit être sévèrement puni.-

Art. V. Le part des tenues en dehors de la scène est strictement interdit.-

Art. VI. Les réunions tout ordinaires qu'extra ordinaires sont obligatoires.-

Art. VII. Sans autorisation, une personne non affiliée ne doit pas arriver dans les lieux secrets de MBUDJE.-

Art. VIII. A l'exception des grands centres, la préparation à la danse doit se faire en dehors du village.-

Art. IX. Tout MBUDJE qui se place en terre de la danse doit obligatoirement être accompagné par une ou deux femmes.-

Fait à Malemba le 8 Novembre 1972

LE SECRETAIRE  
(Tshikala)

Sé

LE PRESIDENT  
le Kikungulu

sé (finger print)

LE VICE PRESIDENT

(Tusulo)

Sé

LES MEMBRES EFFECTIFS.-  
KAMANZI, NSENGA, INA BANZA, MUSENGE

## SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY AND NOTES ON ORAL AND OTHER SOURCES

Please note that this is not intended to be a complete Bibliography of all sources since this would make the notes most cumbersome and repetitive. For this reason it is necessary to consult the comments in the footnotes for the full information regarding the sources. I have attempted to include all printed and published sources but not all the unpublished sources are included in this bibliography.

### I: Important Sources

**A) Oral Sources:** most of the oral materials were collected between June 1980 and August 1982, but other important material has been gathered during the years I have spent in Zaire from 1973. Generally I have found people most helpful and willing to explain in detail those matters for which I have requested clarification. My informants have been one of the most important sources for many parts on the research as most of them have lived through the period which I have described and have been able to tell things from their point of view. This has helped to give balance since both missionaries and Africans have been consulted. I have also included a balance of oral sources since I have consulted Christians and non-Christians, specialists on traditional religion and custom and many pastors and ordinary members of the CPZ. I have also spoken with *balopwe* (kings) among the Baluba and chiefs among the Basongye to give an overall view from both sides. It would not be practical to list all sources here since I have over 157 on record. Some were interviewed only once; others were consulted over a number of days and others have been consulted at frequent intervals. Among those who need to be mentioned because of the important contribution to this research are the following:

Lunda Kateba Edi- former pastor of Kikondja station CPZ died in 1991.

Ngoy wa Kyulu- of the chiefly line of Bunda Kings, and Pastor at Kamina II (age c. 75).

Umba Nzadi Pierre- Pastor of Kamina CPZ station (age c. 60+).

Yumba Wa Nkulu- formerly President of the CPZ and Pastor at Mwanza, died in 1982 at about 78 years of age.

Womersley. David S. A., – Missionary born in Zaire (c. 55).

Womersley. Harold – Missionary from 1924-1970. Ex- Legal Representative all of the CEM from 1935 to 1960 (age c. 82).

**B) Written Sources:** as in the case of oral sources I do not attempt to itemise each document I have consulted. Those documents consulted find a place in the footnotes. I list the main sources so that those wishing to do research in this area will know where to find the documents:

**1. Unpublished Materials:** Unpublished documents including letters and reports have been consulted in Zaire and in Archives in Europe. The archives in Zaire are generally a shambles. Materials are pilfered by students so that a document found on one visit is rarely found on any subsequent visit. In addition to this, most archives in Zaire are not now classified. If they are it is not uncommon to find dossiers are mixed up so that the contents are not the same as the note on the jacket. For this reason I have not recorded any dossier numbers for the archival materials in Zaire. Because the materials I have used come from archives and private papers I will list these separately:

#### a) Archives Consulted:

##### i) Zaire:

Archives d'Episcopat Kamina Shaba- these archives contain books and journals from the Belgian epoch as well as some of the colonial annual reports, Belgian Government *Codes et Lois*, hand-books for the administrators and papers outlining the Catholic position. There is not too much of value from the unpublished sources in this archive.

Archives de la Communauté Pentecôtiste au Zaïre – Kamina – these archives contain a great deal of information on the stations and the Education Department of the CPZ. I have only had very limited access to these because of the strained mission relationships with the

Administration of the CPZ. They have all the minutes of the Executive Committees and Conferences since 1960.

Archives de la Communauté Pentecôtiste au Zaïre – Kikondja –here I consulted the letters and record books as well as statistics and diaries. These were concerned with the Kikondja area alone.

Archives de la Communauté Pentecôtiste au Zaïre – Kipushya - what I did not have access to at Kamina CPZ I was able to find in these archives. In addition, these archives included all minutes of the Kasai Oriental annual conferences. Records and statistics were well preserved here.

Archives de la Communauté Pentecôtiste au Zaïre – Musao- These archives were helpful only in providing materials on Adese the *mulombi*. They contain several registers of all who attended her 'clinic' with the dates of their admission and the dates of their healing.

Archives de la Communauté Pentecôtiste au Zaïre – Mwanza – Contained letters and documents showing title to land. This included maps and letters giving the CEM the right to evangelise in certain villages.

Archives de la Mission Libre Suédoise, Bukavu, Kivu - Contained many documents from the colonial era including certificates of *agrégation*, requests regarding PC, relationships with the State, requirements for PC, statistics and reports.

Archives de la Région Shaba à Lubumbashi – There is very little from the Colonial period but some reports from the time of the Independent State of Katanga were interesting. There were also annual governmental reports containing statistics on the churches and missions.

Archives de la Sous-Région Haut-Lomami à Kamina, Shaba – Again lacked material from the colonial period. These archives do however hold numbers of letters from the post independence period which outline policy on Churches from the State point of view. There are also Government ordinances here which have referred to the *Authenticité* policies of the Government. Letters on the differences between the CPZ and the breakaway groups are found here.

Archives de la Sous-Région Kabinda, Kasai Oriental – these archives contain more material than any other archives I have visited in Zaïre. However, because of the shambles it requires hours and hours to locate anything of any value. Everything is covered with dust and termites have also destroyed much that is valuable. Because of the Belgian policy which required the sending of multiple copies of letters to every District, documents have been preserved here which were destroyed elsewhere during the Civil War (1960-67). There are registers and many letters here which bear upon this present study.

Archives de la Zaïre Evangelistic Mission, Kamina- most of the CEM archives were given to the CPZ but there are still some reports which are of value.

Archives de la Zone Kamina, Shaba – Contains nothing of value from the colonial period but does have documents from the post-19 60s. Most of these deal with State-Church policies and the illegal communities and sects.

Archives de la Zone Malemba Nkulu, Shaba – Contains some of the oldest records and reports from the colonial epoch that I have seen. Also contains much in the way of secret reports and letters on the *Kitawala*. There were also a number of important letters referring to the CEM/PM.

Archives Division Régionale Bureau de Justice, Shaba à Lubumbashi – The documents from these archives were valuable since they contributed to a greater understanding of the Government position in this study and its reluctance to grant land title as well as the difficulties over PC.

Archives Régionale Bureau d'Affaires Politiques Shaba, à Lubumbashi – after Kabinda these archives were the most helpful I consulted in Zaire. There is a rough classification system and still a certain amount of valuable documentation available. Much that had to do with the CEM and Government relationships came from these archives as well as policy on secret societies and the Kitawala

## **ii) Europe:**

Archives Africaines Bruxelles, Ministère des Affaires Etrangères Belgique. These archives were helpful toward the beginning of the research as they gave me much to look out for in Zaire. I consulted files which had to do with the PM, the CEM, the American AOG and the British AOG. cf. P.M. Dos. XIV; AOG M.P. Dos. VI.

Archives of the Assemblies of God, Overseas Missions Council, Nottingham – these archives include the Minutes of the Pentecostal Missionary Union which were vital to the first part of this work. There also letters and some written reports as well as a number of circular letters from the CPC.

Archives de la Congrégation des Pères du Saint Esprit, Chevilly La Rue, Paris – Contain all the information which I gathered from the Catholic point of view regarding the relationships between the Catholics and the CEM. The following are the dossiers consulted: Boîte 375 Dossiers Nos. II, IV, V, VII, IX; Boîte 376 Dossiers No. A I, A II, B I, B II, B III, B IV, B V; Boîte 377 Dossiers Nos. A II, AV, B VII; Boîte 380.

Archives of the Zaire Evangelistic Mission, Preston, England – these archives contain the minutes of the Missionary Council meetings of the CEM/ZEM but most of the material which belonged to Salter, including the earliest records and reports have not yet been placed in these archives.

## **b) Private Papers:**

Emmett. John –Personal papers and letters regarding his work in Congo. They include his own diaries. He lives in Birmingham.

Garrard. David J., – Papers gathered during 10 years in Zaire. Minutes of Missionary Council meetings, Executive meetings and Documents regarding the State and Church.

Herschell. Kenneth – Materials on the CEM/ZEM work among the Basongye. Statistics and records from Kipushya prior to 1960. Now held at Kipushya.

Jacques. Mary – Papers which belonged to E. Hodgson. These include many of the courses he taught at Kikondja. They are held at Kamina.

Monot. Ronald – Private papers on Church and State matters and ECZ. Held in Lubumbashi.

Mpanya Ngoie Kaputula Pierre – old workbooks and papers, medals from the Belgian era. Held in his care at Kipushya.

Ngoy wa Kyulu – Church records, especially from the Kamina District. Held at Kamina II.

Raymond. G. Robert – Papers on the Garenganze Evangelical Mission and the ECZ/CPC. Held at Lubumbashi.

Umba Nzadi Pierre – Private collection of minutes and papers related to the division with Kayumba. Held in Kamina.

Womersley. David -Collection of minutes, church letters, dealings with the CPC/ECZ. Held at Kamina II.

Womersley. Harold - a vast collection of papers gathered over many years. This includes letters, reports, minutes of Executive Councils, Conferences, Administrative Boards. Much of what I consulted belonged at one time to James Salter, the first home representative of the CEM. I am greatly indebted to Harold Womersley for making these papers available to me and allowing me to photocopy all that was relevant to this study. This collection is presently held at Bedford.

**c) Reports and important documents from the above sources:** I list the materials alphabetically and then alphabetically and chronologically under the authors. This means that if there are documents with no date I have placed them first on the list unless there is some means of gauging when the document was written. If there is a report which covers a long period of time I have placed it in order of the earliest date. Where there are two letters written on the same date by the same person I have placed them in order by number or alphabet:

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## 2 Published Sources :

a) I note as a separate source the official publication of the CEM/ZEM. For this reason I will not be including all material from this publication in the list of published books and articles. Although the publication of the Mission is primarily for a church audience it has many important facts of historic value including dates and events which took place during the Belgian era. I have had the complete set of: *Congo Evangelistic Mission Reports/Zaire in Evangelistic Mission Reports/Contact with Zaire Evangelistic Mission*, made available to me for the study for which I am most thankful to Mr. Tom Billsborough and Mr. David Womersley. Prior to the first issue of the: *Congo Evangelistic Mission Report*, in July-August 1923 there were a number of letters published by Burton, Salter and other missionaries in the Congo at the time. These were called variously: *Letters from the Congo*, *Report from Bros. Burton and Salter*, and *Report from Bro. W.F.P. Burton*. All of these earliest 'letters' were published privately and sent out after being printed by the Apostolic Faith Mission Press in Johannesburg, South Africa. They all bore numbers so that although the name changed it is easy enough to keep track of them. By issue No. 21 the name became *Congo Evangelistic Mission*, and by September 1921 the numbers had been dropped and the publication was called: *Congo Evangelistic Mission: Report of the Work*. The magazine was then printed in Preston and distributed from England. I have had access to nearly all of the earliest 'letters' except for numbers 18-20. The magazine is therefore *The Congo Evangelistic Report* from No. 1 (July-August 1923) to No. 421 (December 1971); *The Zaire Evangelistic Mission Report* from No. 422 (January 1972) to 518 (January 1980); *Contact with Zaire Evangelistic Mission* from No. 519 (February 1980 to the present). This magazine is published by the Zaire Evangelistic Mission. 355 Blackpool Road, Preston, Lancashire, England.

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