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NEW WINE IN A VERY OLD BOTTLE:
CANADIAN PROTESTANT MISSIONARIES AS FACILITATORS OF
DEVELOPMENT IN CENTRAL ANGOLA
1886-1961

by Paul C. Byam

Dissertation submitted to the School of Graduate Studies and Research
of the University of Ottawa in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History.

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To my development team:
Christian Béchar, Jesse Bolan, Zandra Brown, Morris Grimshaw,
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There is an Umbundu proverb which states: "If one crane in the band is limping, the whole band limps with it." Thank you for "limping" with me.

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ABSTRACT

NEW WINE IN A VERY OLD BOTTLE: CANADIAN PROTESTANT MISSIONARIES AS FACILITATORS OF DEVELOPMENT IN CENTRAL ANGOLA, 1886-1961

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1997

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Professor Victor M.P. da Rosa
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This dissertation assesses the role played by Canadian Protestant missionaries in promoting development in Central Angola from 1886 to 1961. It is a case study of the Congregational and United Church of Canada missionaries who worked principally among the Ovimbundu during the heyday of Portuguese colonialism in Africa. The study focuses briefly on the cultural background of the missionaries and the social and scientific advance in the Western world that enabled them to become facilitators of development overseas. This background is contrasted with the more lethargic pace of development in mainland Portugal and its overseas territories. Though distrusted by the Portuguese and African authorities alike at the beginning of their enterprise, the Protestant missionaries were soon welcomed more readily into African villages once it became clear that they could provide African communities with a constructive alternative to the depredations of Portuguese colonialism. By focusing primarily on extractive industries and on plantation economies, the Portuguese State had done very little to promote wholesome development in Angola. Many villagers

were forcibly taken from their communities to meet the labour demands of plantations, big companies and public construction projects. The authorities gave little thought to the disruptions that such an exodus caused within individual communities or within the urban districts that did not yet have the facilities to cope with the heavy influx of labourers. To further compound the situation, Portuguese officials tampered with the traditional political structure of African villages, often replacing recognized leaders with their own appointees. Ultimately, they did nothing to preserve the social fabric of Angola and sought, half-heartedly, to replace it with Portuguese traditions. The Protestant missionaries, while seeking primarily to gain Christian converts in Africa, deliberately exposed the Angolans in their mission field to the skills and tools that would enable them to improve their lot under Portuguese domination. Church organization partially replaced the sociopolitical structures that had been weakened or destroyed by Portuguese colonialism. Western education, medical expertise and the application of various agricultural techniques gave the Protestants an advantage that even their Catholic counterparts, ambiguously aligned with the State, did not enjoy. Without seeking to overthrow Portuguese colonialism in Angola, the Protestant missionaries inevitably aided in its downfall by making the Angolans more self-sufficient and keenly aware of their rightful place in the global community.

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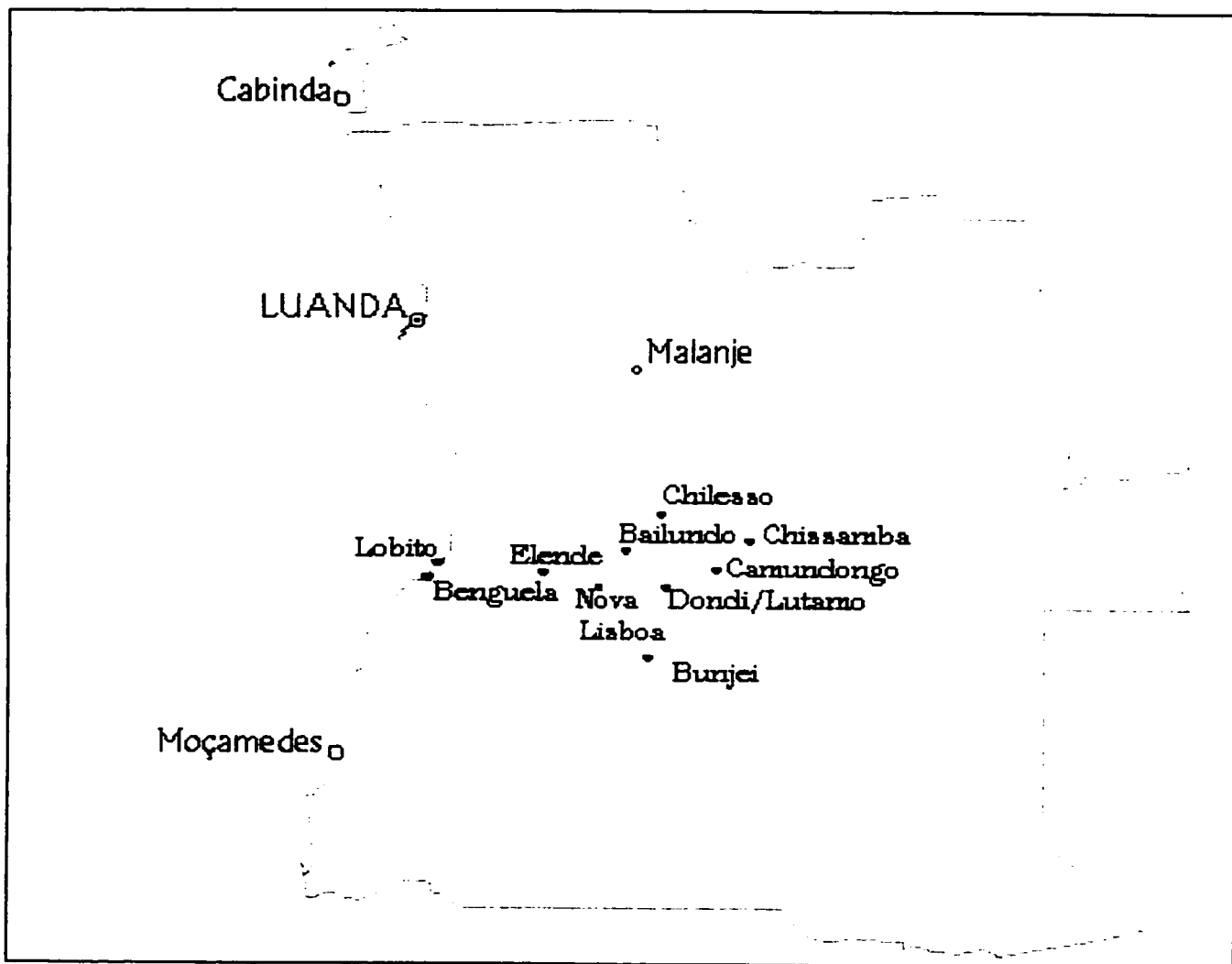
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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ABCFM	American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions
CCFMS	Canada Congregational Foreign Missionary Society
KJV	King James Version (of the Holy Bible)
MPLA	<i>Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola</i>
PIDE	<i>Polícia Internacional de Defesa do Estado</i>
UCC/VIC	United Church of Canada/Victoria University (Archives)
UNITA	<i>União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola</i>
UPA	<i>União de Populações de Angola</i>
WMS	Woman's Missionary Society

ANGOLA



ABCFM / United Church of Canada Missions (c.1961)

- ⊠ Capital
 - Major City
 - Mission Station
- Not to scale



“Reading Class”
Evangelistic Work - Folk Betterment
Angola - Camundongo

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"Rev. Kenneth Prior demonstrating tree planting, 1940"
Currie Institute, Agricultural Department
Angola - Dondi

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CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION

This research effort constitutes an assessment of the role of Canadian Protestant missionaries as facilitators of development within indigenous communities in central Angola. Specifically, it focuses on the work of missionaries from the Congregational Churches and their successors from the United Church of Canada in the Umbundu-speaking region at the centre of the country. Angola, along with Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde and São Tomé and Príncipe, was jealously governed by Portugal and was officially Roman Catholic. Consequently, the activities of any Protestant group that has managed to thrive in this region merit close investigation. This study falls, evidently, within the overlapping domains of African, colonial and religious history: it addresses, in particular, the underlying connection between religious activities and broader social concerns that bear directly on community-building. These concerns include education¹, the provision of medical expertise, and the introduction of new ideas and advanced technologies in rural communities. In addressing these concerns, the missionaries helped to bring the African peoples of rural Angola into the twentieth century at a time when the Portuguese government and other agencies in the "mother" country were arguably still functioning within the obsolete political and economic tenets of an earlier era.

This work does not seek to lionize Protestant missionaries because they have done the altruistic deeds that tend to characterize missionary work in general. Neither does it seek to castigate a group of outsiders for their shortcomings. The missionaries reviewed in the pages

that follow are worthy of close attention because their story provides a peculiar case study on an "alien" agency which knowingly and inadvertently, helped to maintain, alter and then undo the fabric of colonialism in the lusophone world. Finally, they are important in the historical and sociological context because they are foreigners to both Portuguese and African cultures.

It is common knowledge that Africans, for many valid reasons, did not always welcome Christian missionaries with open arms. Christian missionaries (Protestant or Catholic) were usually perceived to be agents or harbingers of yet another form of colonialism which would continue to keep Native populations subjugated to European control, in one way or another. Yet missionaries, despite paternalistic attitudes towards their converts, were usually appreciative of the specific needs of the communities to which they were assigned. They were frequently able to assist the local populations in identifying both short-term and long-term solutions to pressing concerns in education, health, agriculture and small-scale industry. Their success lay in the fact that they provided, through their missions, a viable alternative to onerous models of development which focused more on the economic rewards to the State from specific enterprises than on the general well-being of the Angolans themselves and other colonized peoples in Africa. The Protestant missionary venture was also successful because many of the early missionaries were themselves African converts, many of whom were eventually ordained as pastors and took the message of the Christian Church into the African interior.

These Protestant missionaries were never official agents of the Portuguese State; yet, in submitting to the requisites of Portuguese colonial policy and by maintaining for many decades an official line of silence on the atrocities such as forced labour and excessively brutal forms of punishment committed by the colonial regime, they were accomplices in the promotion of Portuguese colonialism. As one United Church missionary explained in 1963:

There is not a missionary in certain areas of Africa, however anxious he or she may be to maintain neutrality who has not time and again been forced into pseudo-concurrence with authorities, customs, attitudes and practices which could never be called "neutral"!²

This "pseudo-concurrence" appeared at first to be a necessary evil, an inevitable part of being a missionary, which is to say a tolerated guest in a foreign land. Failure or refusal to adopt such an approach to the Portuguese administration might have been sufficiently counter-productive to stifle the missionary venture at its inception. For this reason, missionaries generally took a very long time to speak out against Portugal's atrocities in Angola, despite the humanitarianism and altruism that is associated with Christianity. This is not to say that there were never occasions when European or North American missionaries spoke out against the extreme measures of colonial policies, but missionaries almost never questioned the right of the colonizers to govern the Africans.³ In this regard, the nuanced but significant difference between Catholic and Protestant missionaries lay in the fact that "Catholicism aligned itself with the state" whereas Protestants simply "accepted European authority."⁴

This neutral acceptance of European authority notwithstanding, Canadian Protestant missionaries were less likely to question Portuguese officials than others, given their own hesitation to challenge government authority at home. As one representative of the United Church of Canada pointed out, "[o]ne...has to take seriously the fact that Canadians have achieved the 'good life' without ever having experienced a revolution." Indeed, Loyalists had made the express decision not to join in the American revolution against the British Crown, and society in early French Canada "was founded on respect for authority and order." As a result of these traditions "Canadians have just an awful time sympathising with revolutionaries."⁵ In addition, the same author argues that the "average Canadian" appears to have difficulty appreciating "his or her collusion in the suppression of others."⁶ Although these positions are generalizations, they do suggest cultural reasons for the Canadian missionaries' delay in openly criticizing the Portuguese regime, until the 1960s.

Conversely, although the Protestant missionaries did not accord themselves any mandate for the liberation of the Africans from Portuguese rule for the better part of eight decades, their churches, schools and hospitals infused a new sense of community into their mission field. Those Africans who benefited from these new opportunities were ultimately empowered to challenge and gradually overthrow the yoke of Portuguese imperialism. By the time that many of these missionaries began to openly denounce Portuguese atrocities in Angola in the 1960s, a revolution, led by Africans who for the most part had been raised or educated within Christian communities, was well under way in the land of the Blacksmith

Prince.⁷ Given their long history in Africa by that time, the Portuguese were not pleased to witness such a development.

Successive Portuguese administrations maintained that they had been in Angola for many centuries and like other powers, they claimed that they had a *missão civilizadora* ("civilizing mission") to undertake in Africa. Beyond that, by the twentieth century, an even greater myth emerged as a number of Portuguese and lusophile intellectuals argued that the Portuguese had a special understanding of the Africans that other colonizing powers did not. It was argued that the Portuguese had become agents par excellence of the Westernization and the Christianization of the tropics on the one hand and on the other have tropicalized Western Christendom. The Portuguese had supposedly become "more frank and sympathetic carriers...than other Europeans returning from the tropics" of those elements of culture and the "libertarian attitudes" that they acquired in the tropics. Indeed, it was proposed that the blending of the races in Portugal's overseas territories had somehow allowed for the disintegration of "the more rigid Western and Christian values" through "Luso-tropical symbiosis."⁸

This lusotropical myth, untenable and unpalatable to most careful observers of Portuguese society in the tropics, especially in Africa, remained a viable argument for as long as Portugal could hold both the outside world and the agents of African nationalism at bay. It was founded on the superficial observations of Portuguese society abroad and on misguided assumptions that the presence of race mixture in that society could be equated

with harmony between the races. By offering up to the world a superficial view of an assimilationist tendency in Brazilian society, with its obvious degrees of race mixture and apparent interracial harmony, the Portuguese sought validation of their claims that lusotropicalism was devoid of racism. In reality, they were "lacking substantial evidence of racial harmony in Asia and Africa"⁹ and the fundamental sociopolitical dimensions of miscegenation in Brazil were misrepresented. They comfortably ignored real problems in colonial society in a bid to shore up a floundering imperial enterprise. Instead of lusotropical harmony, what remained in Portugal's African territories even up to the granting of independence in the 1970s was a deep-seated disdain for the African communities on the part of White settlers and a belief that Africans still had to be led by Whites.

In an address to the Legislature of Angola in May 1961, the Portuguese Minister for Overseas, Adriano Moreira, revealed how strong this sentiment was when he insisted that Angola was one of numerous lands that Portugal had "salvaged from the neglect of history."¹⁰ Portugal's fascist leader, António de Oliveira Salazar, expressed this point of view even more clearly in an interview with the French press in 1964:

People thought the Whites could be completely replaced by the Blacks. But that is not true. The [W]hites are the only ones able to plan a programme, organise a job[.] Someone to have understood this is Tschombe [sic].¹¹

The paternalism of the Portuguese State towards the Africans was unmistakable and the reference to Moïse Tshombe, the leader of the separatist province of Katanga in the former Belgian Congo, whose regime was heavily supported financially and militarily by White

(Belgian) interests, served as a justification for Portugal's refusal to even consider the possibility of independence in its African territories. The "motherland" did nothing to nurture the aspirations of the African masses for a peaceful transition to independent statehood.

In this context, the resilience of the local peoples of Angola and their capacity to adapt new ideas to their traditional cultures must also receive special attention. The success of the missionary ventures on the whole depended on the cooperation of the African communities who saw in them a way out of the quagmire of Portuguese rule. This was especially important in the case of Protestant missionaries who faced considerable opposition from petty officials. Their missionary experience suggests the indispensability of partnerships and the near symbiosis that developed between two different communities that were initially, but perhaps never fundamentally, alien to each other. This partnership - albeit uneven at first - between a visiting, proselytizing, White Protestant group and a Black, resident, sometimes detribalized community were enhanced by the mutual need for achievement and growth. This growth was achieved over several decades, in the face of negative pressures from a suspicious and somewhat hostile government which was an inefficient administrator in the first instance and a reluctant host to almost all missions in the second.

Far more than any other foreign group, missionaries took the time to learn the local languages and dialects and to observe the many facets of local culture. They were not only equipped with the Bible and with catechism: Protestant missionaries were also technicians, medical practitioners and trained educators. In sharing their faith and their own appreciation

of egalitarian ideals, they also disseminated technical knowledge that addressed the daily, corporeal needs of their African brethren. The early Protestant missionaries, foreign and African alike, paved the way for the successful establishment of the Protestant churches in Angola. Their achievements form a very important part of the history of missionary work in that country and were founded on a careful study of the communities in which they lived and worked.

The usefulness of missionaries in offering historians and other researchers vital knowledge about Africa cannot be overemphasized. It is true that missionaries meticulously gathered information for their own purposes, and while few scholars dare to feign sufficient competence to question those purposes, they do tend to acknowledge that "they are not the purposes of statesmanship or scholarship."¹² For one thing, missionaries, "probably more than any other single group, kept the myth of savagery alive. The more 'savage' a place, the greater the missionaries' mundane as well as supermundane rewards." Although there were many "level-headed observers" who did not subscribe to this type of imagery, there were those who drew on such imagery to impress the missionary societies and the congregations in their homelands. Although most were probably well aware of the nature of their exaggerations, "the image they cast before them was that of heroes doing battle with cannibalism, lust, and depravity - the forces of 'darkness'."¹³ In effect, Africa loomed in their imagination as the Devil's last stronghold, where slavery and other demoralizing institutions continued to flourish.¹⁴ Hence, many researchers show a marked preference for selecting

material that was not compiled by missionaries as the basis of their own work, fearing that the material is tainted by an intensely subjective, religious bias that no longer lends itself as readily to contemporary academic debate.

The missionary, however, if not strictly a "scholar," is almost always an itinerant student and researcher. It is evident, especially in the early years of European expansion, that a number of Christian missionaries never took the time to observe or investigate thoroughly African ways of life. Having acquired some competence in local languages, they sometimes made the erroneous assumption that they understood African culture.¹⁵ Yet the missionary generally makes observations that go beyond the simple requirements of perfunctory chronicle, and the biases through which such observations are made are often more predictable than those of shrewd statesmen and supposedly objective scholars. For this reason, scholars need to tap into this wealth of information. It was put together by people whose own personal culture became interwoven to some extent with that of the people they sought to convert to their faith, long before other foreign agents arrived on the African scene.

As is borne out in the correspondence and missionary records consulted for this study, these missionaries were aware that they had to administer to the corporeal and intellectual needs of their fellow humans as well as to the spiritual aspects of their existence. In their own way, often on an individual basis, they worked with the multitude to divide up their proverbial fish and loaves of bread¹⁶ as far as this was possible. By the 1920s, these missionaries were focusing more ardently on improving the physical conditions under which

the Africans lived and developing the human being in his or her entirety, acknowledging this approach as the *sine qua non* to saving souls for Christ. An increasing number of missionaries adopted this view of complete human development as the twentieth-century progressed.¹⁷

Although the missionaries continued to betray some paternalistic elements in their writing and their actions, it can be argued that theirs was a paternalism that helped feed the hungry as opposed to that of the Portuguese "father" in Lisbon or Luanda who, when asked for bread, remained content, far too often, to give his African "child" a stone.¹⁸ This was very much the result of a system which offered the often illusory promise of advancement to the impoverished underclasses in cities such as Lisbon and Oporto. Many of them could only attain that new status by "lording it over" the Africans in Portugal's colonies.¹⁹

Protestant missionaries had an ambivalent function in supporting the Portuguese government's colonial policy of integrating the Africans into Portuguese "civilization." On the one hand, these Protestants promoted literacy in the Portuguese language and they helped establish "Christian communities" in the Angolan hinterland. Insofar as this activity dovetailed neatly with Portuguese colonial policy, the authorities had few complaints. The misgivings of the Portuguese government came from the fact that these missions achieved this much without recourse to Portuguese funds or Portuguese personnel.²⁰ This degree of independence from Portuguese control appeared to undermine the loyalty of the Africans to the Portuguese State and way of life.

It was the custom of the colonial administration to classify the Protestant missions according to their national origins as American, British, Canadian, Swiss and so forth. The Angolan Protestants "felt a loyalty to their foreign benefactors and at times even identified themselves as 'British,' 'Swiss,' or 'American'" but inevitably remained subject to the jurisdiction of the Portuguese colonial administration. As the Protestants depended on foreign sources for the financing of their activities in Angola, the Portuguese openly accused them of "being a denationalizing influence." This "charge was self-substantiating" since the "Portuguese government's harassment led Angolans to associate oppression, deprivation, and poverty with Portugal, whereas opportunity, facilities, and affluence were associated with England, Holland, Switzerland, Canada, and the United States."²¹

By conducting a successful programme of education and self-help, independent of Portuguese funds, Protestant missionaries represented an insidious threat to Portugal's desire to maintain firm and unquestioned control over the peoples of Angola. The missionaries provided a new framework for development through a more enterprising approach to the amelioration of the human condition. Whereas Portuguese colonialism - and indeed, colonialism in general - remained principally, a demanding, extractive process that focused heavily on the establishment of plantations for export crops and the extraction of mineral wealth, the Protestant villages in central Angola sought a greater balance between the needs of the colonial market and the replenishment of the community's resources.

To argue that the Canadian Protestant missionaries were simply and purely facilitators of development, is to argue that they in no way interfered with or obstructed the natural evolution of African culture in Angola. This is, of course, an idealistic scenario and it is doubtful that any influential foreign agency might be so innocuous as to function purely as a catalyst in the dynamic process of culture change. Although these missionaries assisted Africans in impoverished areas in meeting the challenges of the twentieth century, it was inevitable that the credo of the missionaries and the beliefs of numerous African groups would come into conflict with each other from time to time. As well, these missionaries were the product of a progressive, highly assertive culture that had been forged throughout the 1800s and had "tamed," modernized and Christianized much of the vast expanse of Canada by the turn of the century. Yet changes wrought by these missionaries provoked fewer challenges to the welfare of African communities when compared to those wrought by Portuguese colonialism: it is these changes and modifications that lie at the centre of this study.

The religious convictions of these missionaries, which fuelled their zeal to serve abroad, ran counter to the lusotropicalist myth espoused by the Portuguese government under Salazar. The actions of the colonial administration and the Protestants were therefore irreconcilable for the most part. It was the reactions of the African population that gave the lie to the official intentions of the one and validated the work of the other, wherever the basic needs of African communities were being addressed. The wars of liberation that broke out

in the 1960s allowed many Africans to reassert their sovereignty over their own persons and their territory long before that right would be reaffirmed through a legal framework within a new, independent nation.

Selection of Topic and Methodology

It is worth repeating that the excessive jealousy of Portugal in maintaining unquestionable control over its overseas possessions automatically placed greater emphasis on the operations and intentions of "alien" agents within its domain. Successful Protestant missions on the whole become all the more conspicuous and their story requires both a careful re-telling and interpretation since their experiences under the Portuguese regime differs in many ways from those of the preferred Roman Catholic missions. In addressing this issue, the secondary sources on Angola and on religion in Angola provide the larger context for the interpretation of missionary roles in colonial history.

As mentioned earlier, the Protestant missionaries discussed in this work were at first Congregationalists and were later identified as members of the United Church of Canada which was formed through the union of the Methodist Church, the Congregationalists and most of the congregations from the Presbyterian Church in Canada in 1925.²² Before the formation of the United Church, the Congregationalists worked under the banner of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM),²³ about which more will

be said later. They were not the only Canadian Protestant missionaries working in Angola as the Baptist Church maintained a very strong presence in northern Angola. It is hoped that the contribution of the Baptists will be the subject of a subsequent project. However, it is the literature of the missionaries of the United Church of Canada, that is highlighted in this investigation. The time frame selected for the study of their work corresponds to the date of their entry into Angola and the establishment of the United Church in the first instance. The end of this period of study corresponds to the beginnings of Angola's armed struggle for independence. The period 1886 to 1961 also corresponds roughly to the period in which the Portuguese State actually established and maintained its physical presence and administrative authority as a colonial power throughout Angola.²⁴

The primary sources consulted for this work are predominantly letters that missionaries in the field wrote back to their boards, home churches, colleagues, families and friends. The principal repository for this material is the United Church of Canada/Victoria University Archives at the University of Toronto, Canada. This body of written and photographic primary evidence is the only thorough and continuous collection that provides a comprehensive picture of what the United Church missionaries were doing in Angola in the period under review. From 1886 to 1961, more than sixty different missionaries were appointed to Angola by the Congregationalists and their successor, the United Church of Canada Board of Foreign Missions and Board of Overseas Missions.²⁵ The Woman's

Missionary Society of the Congregational and United Churches also sent more than fifty missionaries of their own in the same period.²⁶

During those five decades the Protestant Churches lived through many troughs and peaks in their relations with the Portuguese authorities and with the African populations. The collections at these Archives have provided both first hand accounts and an insight into the motives of various bodies involved in missionary activity in Angola. Some of the details within these letters have been further clarified through discussions held with a number of missionaries at special meetings of the Angola Memorial Fund in Burlington and Toronto. Many of these missionaries spent more than half their lives in Angola, working at several mission sites.

For the purpose of this dissertation, the personal histories and anecdotes contained in the missionaries' letters have been reviewed chronologically in the first instance in order to reveal the continuity in the overall missionary effort. Thereafter, they have been assessed in accordance with specific themes which, in some cases, run the gamut of the period under study and in other cases, pertain to a particular phase of the colonial period. The letters themselves suggest to the researcher a useful chronological framework for presenting the work of the missionaries in question, as they progressed with their efforts, but this progression was not always neatly linear. In assessing their contribution to rural society in Angola, the different facets of their labour have been discussed under the specific themes of education, medicine and agriculture. In so doing, discussions on culture change and

development are, at times, intermarried with economic, missiological and political considerations. This affords a more comprehensive argument about development and the role that these missionaries played in promoting it. In establishing this broad framework a wide range of secondary sources was consulted.

The principal English-language histories written specifically on the Church or on Christian religion in Angola address a breadth of missionary activity that involves many denominations and numerous issues relating to the methods of proselytisation and the internal structures of the churches themselves. Most noteworthy among these are works by Lawrence Henderson, a prolific writer and himself a missionary to Angola for several years. In his work on the Church in Angola, Henderson explains the similarities in the "planting" of the various denominations in Angola. He argues that despite the obvious differences between denominations, be they Catholic or Protestant, there is one Church in Angola.²⁷ In responding to his work, this thesis does not seek to refute or even dispute his argument. Instead, it seeks to elucidate further the reasons for the success of the Protestant denominations within this greater "Church" given that the principal denominational division, separating Catholicism from Protestantism, held political relevance for the Portuguese authorities and subsequently, for the African membership of the different churches. Rather than placing emphasis on the comparisons between the several denominations in Angola, it measures the modest success of the Protestant groups against the missed opportunities and misdirected goals of the Portuguese administration.

Texts written by missionaries such as John Taylor Tucker and W. Sidney Gilchrist include reasonably clear and thorough first hand accounts of the nature of missionary work, but, owing to their immediate focus, do not always present the wider context against which their work can be evaluated. Eduardo dos Santos' work on religions in Angola provides indispensable background information on the missionary effort in Angola but is restricted in the scope of its investigation to the early phases of missionary activity. Other histories of Angola and Portuguese Africa, such as works by Basil Davidson, David Birmingham, James Duffy, Richard J. Hammond, Douglas L. Wheeler, René Pélissier, Gerald J. Bender, Malyn Newitt, and W. Gervase Clarence-Smith to name just a few, provide useful arguments and present the general context of Portuguese colonial history. By contrast, this dissertation seeks to expand upon this knowledge, by focusing more closely on a specific group and discussing their impact on Angolan society up to the revolutionary period in the 1960s.

The writings of the African scholar Fola Soremekun on the multifaceted subject of the Ovimbundu, resistance and revolt, and religion in Angola, have been especially helpful both in establishing the general context of this dissertation and in providing specific insights into the political and social situations that have at times been glossed over by other authors. This work seeks to expand upon these themes while placing an additional emphasis on Canadian Protestant missionaries.

There also exists a voluminous body of historical and political works on the Angolan Revolution itself, and on the civil war which followed it. The central concerns of this particular segment of Angolan or Portuguese colonial historiography often tend to leave missiological questions on the periphery of the investigative process. The question of missions is never so far removed that it becomes unimportant, but its role in shaping a new awareness within Portuguese Africa seldom appears beyond the role of missions in promoting literacy in Africa. This study seeks to implicate missionaries in a process of cultural adjustment and change that goes beyond the process of alphabetization and addresses the larger question of development.

As regards the historiography on Canadian missionaries, this dissertation draws on the general works of Robert Wright, Ramsay Cook, Richard Allen and David Marshall and complements the contributions of authors such as George Rawlyk, Ben Smillie and recent work by Sharon Cook who focused on Baptists, the United Church and Anglicans respectively. The common threads that unite all Christian missionary activity are present in all of these writings but the differences that result from changes in time, place and background are what makes each work distinctive.

The question of development cannot be dealt with in a simplistic fashion as both in theory and reality it is the product of a number of variables, few of which are mutually exclusive. In its simplest form development requires a broad-based approach that marries together tangible factors such as natural resources and capital with intangible factors such

as education, skill, goal setting and commitment. In addressing this issue, this study returns to the arguments of E.F. Schumacher²⁸ and other commentators on development. This particular school of thought expounded the position that an intermediate level of technology was favoured for those countries seeking to advance their technological base but lacking the capital necessary to bridge the gap that exists between them and the industrialized nations.

The importance of the struggle to "develop" is central to the prolonged imbalance in colonial structures between a given metropolis and the territories over which it enforced its jurisdiction. The tendency to equate development with economic growth through the generation and accumulation of capital surplus, has marred opportunities for more wholesome development by subordinating or sacrificing other concerns to the demands of international markets and financial institutions. Although some leading twentieth-century economic theorists such as W.W. Rostow make some mention of noneconomic factors that have effected change in modern societies, their dominant focus remains capital formation and the accumulation of "social overhead capital" as a measure of wealth.²⁹ In adopting this philosophy for development, both industrialized and industrializing countries have tended to set standards for economic development that are highly extractive, socially exacting and exploitative, and environmentally unsustainable in the long run.³⁰

To the detriment of most developing countries, "development" has long meant the imitation or borrowing of economic, political and juridical standards from the European, North American or Australasian³¹ powers as a means of being accepted among the so-called

"civilized" nations. This tendency of the developing world to emulate or embrace hastily disparate norms from the developed world, interfered with what might otherwise have been the natural evolution of developing societies. Instead of gradually bridging the gap, developing societies felt or were obliged to leap beyond their means, only to fall into the proverbial abyss. For many nations, the post-independence story is about climbing back out of this abyss to stand on surer ground. Angola under the Portuguese provides an example of this predicament.

In many Third World countries such as Angola, the tangible factors of development are ever-present but the true proprietors of the physical wealth of the country have been denied the opportunity to expand their knowledge or skill in order to avail themselves fully of this wealth through an indigenous technology. The contribution of the missionaries in this area is assessed by determining whether their methods in various disciplines constituted a hindrance or a help to the process of development through endogenous and adapted technologies.

Consequently, the term "facilitators" as applied to the United Church missionaries remains the crucial part of this assessment. Generally, a facilitator may do any combination of the following: convene all interested parties; suggest new approaches to problem-solving; help redefine the issue; help to distinguish between the key issues and the varied interests of all parties involved.³² Undeniably, these missionaries had interests of their own, but their activities and rate of success were also determined by the express desires or requests of the

African peoples within their fields of operation. While they were not devoid of all prejudice or subtle forms of cultural intrusion, there is little evidence to suggest that they imposed their codes and mores on the Africans by way of coercive physical means in the period 1925 to 1961.³³ The success of their efforts depended upon the cooperation of the African villages and the incorporation of local tradition based on tribal affiliation or networks.

The missionaries presented in this study helped some Angolans find that firmer footing they so eagerly sought while still living under the yoke of Portuguese colonialism. The Africans knew where they wanted to go: the missionaries helped them get closer to their goal. This for the most part, did not involve leaping into the abyss. Instead a gradual process of schooling to develop literary skills provided a new basis for social development. The introduction of suitable, intermediate technologies in agriculture helped, until the wars of liberation erupted, to stabilize communities that were in decline. Vigorous public health and hospital training gave the Africans the wherewithal to contend with debilitating and demoralizing diseases. Finally, the attempt to include Africans as equal partners in leadership and fellowship within the Church in a manner that maintained certain traditional community networks, restored a sense of control that had been eroded over time through the machinations of Portuguese empire-building.

Admittedly, there is a tendency in this work to be favourable to the position and influence of the missionaries as the primary sources uplift their role and most secondary sources are highly critical of Portuguese activities in Africa. Most of the primary source

material was written and collected by missionaries who sought to give very inspiring, though not necessarily inaccurate, accounts of the work to be done in Africa. The few documents within the archival collections of the United Church that appear to have been written by African Angolans (mostly letters and brief accounts of early contacts with missionaries) represent the views of those Africans who received training from the missionaries at some stage in their lives. The contrasting views on missionaries are expected, needless to say, from Portuguese commentators hostile to the presence of outsiders, or from other Africans who viewed all or most Whites as outsiders and destroyers of their traditional ways. Even so, glimpses of this latter group's point of view still come through the words of the missionaries themselves. Whereas some accounts belie the cultural prejudices of the given missionaries, others suggest a reasonable amount of objectivity on the part of the commentator. As most of these accounts are coherent with the information presented in the secondary sources even where details may be strikingly different, they serve to augment the history of a region of the world that remains for the most part, understudied by scholars.

Moreover, inasmuch as the presence of missionaries within African communities influenced the way in which those communities developed during the twentieth century, the African communities themselves effected change within missionary stations and enhanced the missionaries' knowledge of humanity and the world. The benchmark of a successful mission venture was the founding of an African Church that was eventually run and maintained by the Africans themselves.

The world of the Africans in Angola deserves special mention in any attempt to explain the successes, or at times the failures, of the Protestant missionaries. The indigenous peoples of Angola are traditionally identified as belonging to at least ten major groups,³⁴ nine of which are Bantu speakers. The principal groups are the Ovimbundu, the Kimbundu, the Kikongo and the Lunda-Chokwe. Each of these groups tended to occupy a specific region of Angola and when the missionaries came to Angola they established relations not with "Angolans" but with different peoples who had formed communities and exercised their own jurisdiction over these communities in their ancestral domains within Angola.

Each of these groups possessed a culture and religion that served to define them as a people. In their religious practices they acknowledged multiple supernatural beings, some anthropomorphic and others that either assumed various forms or were completely amorphous. In many Bantu traditions there was a supreme being who could be and was easily identified with the Christian God, but there were other deities and ancestral spirits who intervened in the day to day events of human life.³⁵ Some of these were good, others were evil, and still others were amoral in their behaviour. African religions focused on the family, which was composed of "the departed members, the living, and those yet to be born."³⁶ The Bantu peoples were strong believers in the connection between this life and that of the spirit world of their departed relatives. Consequently, their departed ancestors were greatly honoured and ceremoniously revered, their family heads, kinsfolk and village leaders

were respected and a high premium was also placed on child-bearing with a view to ensuring themselves a future.

The cosmogony which gave rise to African religious traditions was compatible with the Biblical account of creation and God's relationship with humans all the way back to the Garden of Eden. There was the tradition among many peoples in Africa that God had once lived among them on earth "but then removed himself to the heavens to avoid being inconvenienced by some careless person's inconsiderate behaviour."³⁷ As stories from the Bible revealed more similarities between Old Testament Hebrew culture and elements of African culture, many Africans became more receptive to Christian teachings. In so doing, they observed that Western culture generally had less in common with the older Biblical culture than African culture had.³⁸ Thus, while it is argued that "Christianity had a disintegrating effect on African culture"³⁹ this disintegration was due more to the Europeanization or Westernization of African society than to Christianity itself, which was absorbed into African culture with greater ease once Africans themselves could read and interpret the scriptures from their own cultural standpoint.

At the same time, one may routinely observe that Christianity, though monotheistic, is itself generally compatible with basic Bantu beliefs in that it also entails belief in the existence and active involvement more than one supernatural being in the daily affairs of human beings. Quite apart from the Christian Deity who is often described or depicted as

being three "persons" in one. there are all the other host of heaven. such as seraphim. cherubim. thrones dominations. virtues. powers. principalities. archangels and angels.⁴⁰

For Roman Catholics there was also the Blessed Virgin in all her manifestations. as well as a multiplicity of saints. many of whom had lived long after the Biblical period had come to a close. Moreover. though scoffed at by many Westerners. there remained a "Christian folklore" of sorts that perpetuated belief in the existence of ghosts (of departed souls) and other members of the spirit world who were agents of good or bad. such as Father Christmas. Much of this had already been incorporated into European society during the Middle Ages. when the popular Christianity of that day "absorbed into itself a great deal of the pre-Christian religion of its peoples."⁴¹ The very fear that many African societies had of witches was mirrored in an enduring belief in the "evil eye" and in the sorcery of *bruxas* that was shared by many people in the more remote parts of Portugal.⁴² for example.

None of this was completely new to the history of Christianity in Africa: since the days of Antiquity. before the fall of the Roman Empire. there had been much struggle and compromise within a vibrant African Church. In Eastern and Northern Africa. Christianity had found an early home. The Christian traditions of Ethiopia or Egypt could be traced back to the ancient Aksumite and Coptic kingdoms and beyond.⁴³ Coptic Christians have never abandoned their ancient tradition which holds that Saint Mark was the "first Apostle of Egypt and was martyred in Alexandria."⁴⁴ Moreover. Northern Africa. even before it fell under the jurisdiction of the Roman world. had become an important part of Christendom's heritage

and remained so up to the advent of Europe's Dark Ages. Perhaps chief among the African-born Christians of that era was the celebrated Bishop of Hippo, Saint Augustine, who was born in Tagaste, Numidia (now Souk Ahras, Algeria) to a non-Christian father, a member of the small town's ruling élite, and a Christian mother. Following his conversion to Christianity, Saint Augustine, a prolific writer, became the most dynamic Christian theorist of his day. His legacy continued to influence the Western Catholic Church as well as the reformist tendencies of the early Protestants long after "Christian Africa" had faded into relative oblivion from Europe's perspective, and there are still echoes of Augustinian thought in contemporary Christianity.⁴⁵

Neither the Christianity of the Ancient World, nor that of Ethiopia before the age of European expansion, seemed to have made any substantial or lasting connection with most of sub-Saharan Africa, however. Outside the Ethiopian empire, the favourable response that Christianity received from African peoples during the colonial period was aided, not by the legacy of Saint Augustine or any similar figure of African provenance, but by two other factors: Christianity's universality and translatability, and the fact that it appeared to be the religion of the poor, into whose ranks many Africans had fallen on account of colonialism. The first factor bears some relationship to the success of "indigenization" (discussed below) since, given the absence of an official language for Protestant Christianity, Africans were able to make the Holy Scriptures their own in their own tongues almost from the inception of the missionary venture. The second remained relevant so long as African communities

could secure an alternative to the misery they faced under harsh colonial régimes through the agency of their churches.⁴⁶

Fundamental Bantu philosophy also required that people show respect for one another as persons who were both spiritual and human, individuals but part of a greater, unified community.⁴⁷ Quite apart from the respect shown to elders and neighbours, this philosophy governed the way adults or parents treated children. This ideal was nurtured within the family circle and further encouraged within the larger grouping of the clan and the greater community. The failure of the Portuguese authorities to treat the Africans as persons was one of the gravest injuries to the Bantu sense of "self."

The key guardians of religion and cultural heritage were the priests or "diviners," more usually referred to in the literature as "witch doctors" who are discussed in Chapter Five. These individuals appreciated the continuity between the past and the present and possessed a great knowledge of healing which they guarded jealously. Their counsel was heeded by the entire community, by the chiefs and kings as well, and much of the ritual of community life centred on them. When their knowledge of herbs and other remedies failed, they would then blame illnesses or drought on evil forces or the presence of certain unwanted visitors in their midst, who perhaps were displeasing to a given deity or the ancestors.

Needless to say, the missionary was often seen as a threat to the traditional role of the witch doctor and the witch doctor, in turn, was often viewed with disdain or distrust by the missionary. Missionaries who had had medical training, however, were eventually able to

win over the confidence of the villagers, and sometimes even that of the witch doctor, through their own "power" to heal stubborn cases of illness.

Bill Freund posits that conversion to Christianity was a cultural choice for Africans and not simply a political one. A "peasant Christianity sustained by semi-literate cultivators" had emerged in some parts of Africa before 1940. As these people could not seriously expect to enter professions or obtain clerical jobs *en masse*, this cultural change reflected the "atrophying of older religious values" as the new faith reaffirmed material changes in everyday life.⁴⁸

It should also be noted that African "nationalism" (in the contemporary sense of that word) had begun among an African bourgeoisie composed of Blacks, *mestiços* and even a few Whites born overseas. Students who came from this background and managed to go to Lisbon to study soon formed important groups which called for a certain measure of reform within their colonies. The *Liga Ultramarina* was born in 1910, roughly for this purpose, and was followed by the "Colonial League" a few years later. Moreover, *O Negro*, the first African newspaper published in Lisbon, emerged in 1911. This "nationalist" movement was heavily influenced by the wave of Pan-Africanism that was sweeping across the continent in this period.⁴⁹

In 1919, a federation of Portuguese African parties was founded as the *Liga Africana*, supporting W.E.B. DuBois' Pan-Africanist views. The *Liga Africana* was superseded in part by the rival *Partido Nacional Africano* (PNA), formed in 1921, which was more inclined to

follow the ideas of Marcus Garvey. They were both led by a "moderate and reformist" *assimilado* elite, and were both incorporated into the Movimento Nacionalista Africano, founded in 1931.⁵⁰ African educational and political ambitions were also promoted by the *Casa dos Estudantes do Império* which was established in Lisbon by the Portuguese government in 1945 to provide a social and administrative centre for students from its overseas possessions. For the most part the students, who were mostly Whites, ran the *Casa* themselves. (Amílcar Cabral, the influential African nationalist from Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde, later became the President of the Cape Verde section of the *Casa*.)⁵¹ Thus, a core group of African intellectuals who would come to challenge the legitimacy of Portuguese rule, was well established from very early on. In transforming themselves into a *bona fide* vanguard of African resistance, they too would seek out converts from among their compatriots in the colonies.

The combination and interrelation of religious, social, economic, and political factors lent a compelling momentum to change and conflict within colonial Angola. In the chapters that follow a number of related themes will be considered. Chapter Two will discuss the background of the Protestant missionaries in question and the way in which they organized themselves for carrying out the work of their church overseas. Chapter Three will address the nature of the general missionary experience in Africa and Angola and the reality of Portuguese colonialism. Subsequent chapters will address specific areas of contribution, such

as education, health and agriculture, all leading to a conclusion as to the role played by these missionaries as facilitators of development in rural Angola.

The missionaries had brought new wine to the Portuguese colony, and those Africans who drank of it, gaining a new appreciation of their potential and their place in the world, became intoxicated with a rejuvenated desire for a political voice, a better standard of living, and ultimately independence. This proverbial wine could not be contained in the old "bottle" of Portuguese colonialism any longer, and by 1961 the old wineskin had begun to burst.⁵²

NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

1. Education, in this context, is defined broadly to include various kinds of training; however, at given points in this discussion, education will mean instruction at the primary, secondary and tertiary levels, with a heavy focus on literacy and vocational training.
2. United Church of Canada/Victoria University (hereafter, UCC/VIC) Archives, Sidney Gilchrist Correspondence, 1963, 96.021C, Box 1, File 8. Letter from Sidney Gilchrist at Missão Evangélica, V. Teixeira da Silva, Angola, October 1963, 2.
3. Ali A. Mazrui, Political Values and the Educated Class in Africa (London and Ibadan: Heinemann, 1978), 153. Mazrui states that many European missionaries "reaffirmed that imperial 'right' and warned the subject peoples against 'the sin of disobedience'." The position of the Church in the process of colonialism is also discussed by Albert Memmi in his work The Colonizer and the Colonized, Translated by Howard Greenfeld (London: Earthscan Publications, 1990). Translation of Portrait du Colonisé précédé du Portrait du Colonisateur (Paris: Éditions Buchet/Chastel Corrêa, 1957). On page 138 he reviews the situation thus: "Contrary to popular belief, the colonialist never seriously promoted the religious conversion of the colonized. The relations between the church (Catholic or Protestant) and colonialism is more complex than is heard among thinkers of the left. To be sure, the church has greatly assisted the colonialist: backing his ventures, helping his conscience, contributing to the acceptance of colonization - even by the colonized. But this profitable alliance was only an accident for the church. When colonialism proved to be a deadly, damaging scheme, the church washed its hands of it everywhere....Conversely, while the colonialist rewarded the church for its assistance by granting it substantial privileges - land subsidies and an adequate place for its role in the colony, he never wished it to succeed in its goal - that is, the conversion of all the colonized."
4. Thomas Masaji Okuma, "The Social Response of Christianity in Angola: Selected Issues" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Boston University Graduate School, 1964), 184. As Fola Soremekun indicates: "Easier it was for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a Protestant mission to exist and proselytise in the colony of a Catholic state." Fola Soremekun, "Religion and Politics in Angola: The American Board Missions and the Portuguese Government, 1880-1922." Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines, Volume XI, Number 43, 1971, 341.
5. Rodney M. Booth, The Winds of God: The Canadian Church Faces the 1980s (Geneva: The World Council of Churches; Winfield, British Columbia: Wood Lake Books, Inc., 1982), 54.
6. Rodney M. Booth, The Winds of God, 97.
7. The name Angola is derived from the term "Ngola," which referred initially to a bar of iron and became the title of the ruler of the Mbundu Kingdom of Ndongo. The Ngola was known as the

"Blacksmith Prince" on account of the Mbundu legend in which the earliest ancestor of the Mbundu, Ngola Kilaji, was taught how to smelt and forge iron by the people of another personage, Bembo Kalamba. See David Birmingham, Trade and Conflict in Angola: The Mbundu and their Neighbours under the Influence of the Portuguese, 1483-1970 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), 18-19.

8. Gilberto Freyre, The Portuguese and the Tropics: Suggestions Inspired by the Portuguese Methods of Integrating Autochthonous Peoples and Cultures Differing from the European in a New or Luso-Tropical Complex of Civilization, Translated by Helen M. D'O. Matthew and F. De Mello Moser (Lisbon: Executive Committee For the Commemoration of the Vth Centenary of the Death of Prince Henry the Navigator, 1961), 65. A few of Gilberto Freyre's monographs discuss the concept of lusotropicalism or the study of lusotropicalism. In short, the belief was that the peoples of the lusophone (Portuguese-speaking) world enjoyed a common culture and that ethnic or racial differences did not lead to racial prejudice within this special community of nations.

9. Gerald J. Bender, Angola under the Portuguese: The Myth and the Reality (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1978), 19.

10. Adriano Moreira, Portugal's Stand in Africa (New York: University Publishers, 1962), 167.

11. António de Oliveira Salazar, interview in the French newspaper, L'Aurore, September 1964 as quoted in Eduardo de Sousa Ferreira, Portuguese Colonialism from South Africa to Europe (Freiburg, Germany: Aktion Dritte Welt, 1972), 35. Footnote 58.

12. Paul Bohannan, Africa and Africans (Garden City, New York: The Natural History Press, 1964), 3-4.

13. Paul Bohannan, Africa and Africans, 5.

14. See discussion in Fola Soremekun, "Religion and Politics in Angola: the American Board Missions and the Portuguese Government, 1880-1922," Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines, Volume XI, Number 43, 1971: 341-342.

15. See argument in Nya Kwiawon Taryor, Sr., Impact of the African Tradition on African Christianity (Chicago: The Strugglers' Community Press, 1985), 71.

16. "And he commanded the multitude to sit down on the grass, and took the five loaves, and the two fishes, and looking up to heaven, he blessed, and brake, and gave the loaves to the disciples, and the disciples to the multitude. And they did all eat and were filled: and they took up the fragments that remained twelve baskets full." Matthew, 14:19-20, KJV.

17. UCC/VIC Archives, Canada Congregational Foreign Missionary Society (CCFMS), Angola Mission, General Correspondence, March - May 1922. Letter from Mr. Hollenbeck to Mr. Moore, Secretary, CCFMS, 13 May, 1922: "In my view of missionary work I differ with that of some people, in that I think it is in full accord with the teachings of Jesus that we give attention to the

development of the whole man and recognize the importance of saving the physical man in his physical environment as an aid in saving the soul."

18. "If a son shall ask bread of any of you that is a father, will he give him a stone? or if *he ask* a fish, will he for a fish give him a serpent?" Luke. 11:11. KJV.

19. A great debt is owed to Charles R. Boxer for his contribution to the historiography on the Portuguese overseas empire. In The Portuguese Seaborne Empire, 1415-1825 (London: Hutchinson and Company Publishers Limited, 1969) and Portuguese Society in the Tropics: The Municipal Councils of Goa, Macao, Bahia and Luanda, 1510-1800 (Madison and Milwaukee: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1965), he presents a persuasive argument as to the impoverished state of Portugal and the opportunity for social upliftment that was accorded the lowest strata of Portuguese society once they had emigrated to the colonies.

20. Lawrence W. Henderson, Angola: Five Centuries of Conflict (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1979), 152.

21. Lawrence W. Henderson. Angola: Five Centuries of Conflict. 152.

22. United Church Renewal Fellowship. Our Inheritance, 1925-1975. (Barrie, Ontario: United Church Renewal Fellowship, 1975), 10.

An excerpt of the Basis of Union of The United Church of Canada reads thus:

"1. The name of the Church formed by the Union of Presbyterian, Methodist and Congregational Churches in Canada, shall be 'The United Church of Canada.'

"2. It shall be the policy of The United Church to foster the spirit of unity in the hope that this sentiment of Unity may in due time, so far as Canada is concerned, take shape in a Church which may fittingly be described as national."

23. "Nos fins de 1880 chegaram a Benguela os primeiros missionários da Junta Americana de Comissários para Missões Estrangeiras (American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, em 1962 chamada The United Church Board for World Ministries). Eram eles W.W. Bagster, da Califórnia, William Henry Sanders, filho de missionários, nascido no Ceilão, e Irmão leigo S. T. Miller, liberto dos E.U.A." Eduardo dos Santos, Religiões de Angola (Lisboa: Junta de Investigações do Ultramar, 1969), 253.

24. Lawrence W. Henderson, Angola: Five Centuries of Conflict (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1979), 160. Henderson actually suggests that Portugal fulfilled this role from 1920 to 1960 through the establishment of administrative authority, transportation networks and communication networks in Angola.

25. UCC/VIC Archives. The United Church of Canada Angola Mission 1925-1976. Finding Aid 43, 83.012C. See Appendix.

26. UCC/VIC Archives, United Church of Canada Woman's Missionary Society. Finding Aid 90. 83.058C Vol.I. See Appendix.
27. Lawrence W. Henderson, The Church in Angola: A River of Many Currents (Cleveland, Ohio: The Pilgrim Press, 1992), Chapter 1. Translation of A Igreja em Angola: Um rio com várias correntes (Lisbon: Editorial Além-Mar, 1990).
28. Dr. E.F. Schumacher is acknowledged as the originator of the concept of Intermediate Technology for developing countries. The variables of development presented here are based primarily on his discussion of the issue in Small is Beautiful: A Study of Economics As If People Mattered (London: ABACUS), 1974. Other authors, such as P.D. Dunn, prefer the term "Appropriate Technology" in order to avoid any implication that Intermediate Technology is something "inferior," "second rate" or "a stage to something more desirable." See P.D. Dunn, Appropriate Technology: Technology with a Human Face (New York: Shocken Books, 1979), 40-41.
29. See W.W. Rostow, The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto. Third Edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), Chapters 2 and 3.
30. "Development, as classically defined, included activity primarily concerned with increasing the Gross National Product (GNP) of nations...that were significantly less productive than the industrialized nations. In more recent years, especially during the 1970s, a more humanistic view of development has been taken, largely as a consequence of the growing number of formal studies in the field, disappointment with development progress, the evolution of thought and opinion resulting from extensive considerations in world fora such as the United Nations, and movements resulting from environmental and population issues." Donald D. Evans, "Appropriate Technology and its Role in Development," in Appropriate Technology in Third World Development. International Development Resource Books, Number 14, ed. Pradip K. Ghosh (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1984), 7.
31. "Australasian" is used here for want of a better term, to acknowledge the advanced position of Australia and New Zealand as industrialized countries vis-à-vis their immediate neighbours, such as Papua New Guinea and Western Samoa, which were once administered by them as League of Nations Mandates.
32. This expanded concept of a facilitator is based on currently accepted roles within business and negotiation frameworks.
33. In the neighbouring Belgian Congo, there had been cases where the *chicotte* had been used by Protestant missionaries to punish the Africans. This behaviour was not approved of by their home boards, however. For the Protestants in Angola as well as in the Belgian Congo, the racial stratification that led to such aberrations was less of an issue within the Church as there was seldom "a non-missionary European population" in their villages. See Ruth M. Slade, English-Speaking Missions in the Congo Independent State (Brussels:ARSC, 1959), 176; The Belgian Congo, Second Edition (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), 35; and King Leopold's Congo: Aspects of

Development of Race Relations in the Congo Independent State. Reprint (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press Publishers, 1974), 153.

34. See Norberto Gonzaga. Angola: pequena monografia (Lisbon: Agência-Geral do Ultramar, 1968), 56-60.

35. See discussion in Lawrence W. Henderson, The Church in Angola, Chapter 1.

36. John Mbiti, "Man in African Religion." in Africa and the West: The Legacies of Empire, eds. Isaac James Mowoe and Richard Bjornson. (Westport Connecticut: Greenwood Press, Inc., 1986), 59.

37. Kwesi A. Dickson, "African Traditional Religion: Monotheism or Polytheism?" in Africa and the West: The Legacies of Empire, eds. Isaac James Mowoe and Richard Bjornson (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press Inc., 1986), 69.

38. Nya Kwawon Taryor, Sr., Impact of the African Tradition on African Christianity, 66-67.

39. A. Adu Boahen, ed., Africa under Colonial Domination, 1880-1935, International Scientific Committee for the Drafting of A General History of Africa, UNESCO, General History of Africa VII, Abridged Edition (Paris: UNESCO; London: James Currey Limited; Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1990), 222.

40. The concept of nine orders of angels comes out of medieval angelology but is still acknowledged by many Christians as having relevance in the contemporary world.

41. See Adrian Hastings, The Church in Africa, 1450-1950, The Oxford History of the Church, ed. Henry and Owen Chadwick, Paperback Edition (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 72.

42. Richard A.H. Robinson, Contemporary Portugal: A History (London: George Allen & Unwin Limited, 1979), 30. A further point might also be made at this juncture to distinguish "simple sorcery" from "diabolical witchcraft." Jeffrey Burton Russell describes witchcraft as a term that "embraces a wide variety of phenomena." From medieval times onwards it became explicitly associated with demons and devil worship in Europe. Simple sorcery or "low magic," was merely "the first element in diabolical witchcraft" in Europe, and was usually practised by "the uneducated and unsophisticated." It is "the mechanical performance of one physical action in order to produce another, such as performing sexual intercourse in a sown field in order to assure a good harvest or thrusting pins into an image to cause injury." See Jeffrey Burton Russell, "Witchcraft," in Magic, Witchcraft, and Religion: An Anthropological Study of the Supernatural, Second Edition, eds. Arthur C. Lehman and James E. Myers (Mountain View, California: Mayfield Publishing Company, 1989), 203-204. The difference between the two obviously bore no relevance to the missionaries who opposed all such practices, viewing them as pagan and superstitious ritual, and therefore inevitably associated with things diabolical. By contrast, they would have had considerable significance to many African communities where witches (who performed evil magic) were hunted

and removed but where other forms of magic were favourably received.

43. See Adrian Hastings, The Church in Africa, 1450-1950, Chapter 1.

44. Elizabeth Isichei, A History of Christianity in Africa: From Antiquity to the Present (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company; Lawrenceville, New Jersey: Africa World Press Inc., 1995), 17.

45. There is no shortage of works on Saint Augustine of Hippo and his teachings. Many of his own writings have been preserved to the present day. For some illuminating accounts of Saint Augustine's life, the era in which he wrote and the early Christian Church in Africa, see John M. Rist, Augustine: Ancient Thought Baptized (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994; John R. Willis, A History of Christian Thought: From Apostolic Times to Saint Augustine, 3 Volumes, (Hicksville, New York: Exposition Press, Inc., 1976), especially Volumes 1 and 2; M. C. D'Arcy et al. Saint Augustine (New York, Meridian Books, 1957); William Augustus Banner, The Path of St. Augustine (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield, 1996; and Gervase Corcoran, Saint Augustine on Slavery (Rome: Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum, 1985).

46. An engaging discussion of these two factors and the question of indigenous churches is presented by Kwame Bediako in Christianity in Africa: The Renewal of a Non-Western Religion (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press Limited, 1995), Chapters 4, 7 and 8.

47. Lawrence W. Henderson, The Church in Angola, 19-23.

48. Bill Freund, The Making of Contemporary Africa: The Development of African Society since 1800 (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), 157.

49. See discussion in Mario de Souza Clington [African name: Ary Kemptiov Zirka], Angola Libre? (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1975), 116-117.

50. Ronald Chilcote, Protest and Resistance in Angola and Brazil: Comparative Studies (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1972), 82-83.

51. See Patrick Chabal, Amílcar Cabral: Revolutionary Leadership and People's War (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), Chapter 2, especially Footnote 25.

52. "No man putteth a piece of new cloth unto an old garment, for that which is put in to fill it up taketh from the garment, and the rent is made worse. Neither do men put new wine into old bottles: else the bottles break, and the wine runneth out, and the bottles perish: but they put new wine into new bottles and both are preserved." Matthew, 9:16-17, KJV.

CHAPTER TWO PROTESTANTISM IN CANADA AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE UNITED CHURCH

Canadian Protestants and the Building of A Nation

The nineteenth century saw the heyday of Christian missions, at home and abroad. Missionaries moved into regions of Africa and Asia both ahead of and alongside soldiers, traders and colonial officials. The missionaries often had to struggle against the most exploitative and dishonest aspects of Western culture, but their evangelism was still intimately linked with imperialism and the concept of the "white man's burden."¹ The challenge of maintaining Christian influence in daily life in Europe and North America was difficult enough, but at least most people in these regions of the world could appreciate some long-standing connection between Christianity and their cultural traditions. Peoples of other lands could not be expected to exhibit the same degree of preconditioning in the face of missionary incursions into their space and cultures.²

The last decades of the nineteenth century were also distinctive in that they were "marked by an unprecedented mixture of piety and patriotism" that was evident in all areas of daily living. Whereas older churches in Europe and the United States were troubled by a decline in church attendance and "religious influence," Canadian churches reported a steady increase in attendance.³ One author notes that:

Public leaders vied with each other to show that they personally and the parties or groups that they represented were worthy witnesses of His kingdom in Canada. Somehow their earthly dominion seemed to be purer, more holy, more

Christian than those ancient, corrupt, worldly and apostate nations of old Europe, or even their own North American neighbour, the United States. Most Canadians were convinced that their homeland was a better, more Christian country than any other, and that its promise of physical and spiritual progress seemed unlimited and unquestionable.⁴

There was much enthusiasm for progress across British North America, as well a conviction that "Canadian energy, Canadian ambition, Canadian self-reliance, skill and enterprise" were responsible for that progress.⁵

The triumph of Protestantism in Canada, especially in the larger conurbations of English-speaking Canada, seems to lie in its close connection to the politics of nation-building and social reform. Regardless of their particular Christian denominations, many believers question the correctness of the Church's participation in politics as an institution. It is this involvement that has continued to shape the Church's own vision of its purpose at home and abroad. Scepticism about the role of the Church in politics has its base in both the Biblical record and the early history of the Church.

As one church historian explains, for some believers there appears to be a contradiction between what takes place in the real world of politics and the principles of Christian love as outlined in the New Testament.⁶ New Testament Christians seemed relatively indifferent to politics as they tended to concentrate on the celestial kingdom that was soon to come. In addition, the political activities of the Church since the conversion of Emperor Constantine in the fourth century, such as the "holy crusades," have seemed to many to be more of an embarrassment than a badge of honour to modern-day Christianity.

At the same time, arguments that follow a Judaeo-Christian tradition, remind us that God calls for the establishment of a "just society" on earth. In order to "fulfil this mandate, theology must be political and politics must be accountable to God."⁷ For this reason, many churches in Canada eventually became political advocates for the disadvantaged. It is in this specific capacity that Protestant missionaries increasingly became an agency for liberation through development in Angola, and less of a disinterested party in the machinations of the Portuguese colonial regime. Inevitably, despite the need to remain neutral as outsiders in a Portuguese territory, their interest in politics facilitated the force of nationalism that was already emerging in Africa. As Sidney Gilchrist emphasized in one of his letters:

I am interested in politics. Who is not? Who can be other than interested in that which intimately affects all our and dreams for the world in which we live and the reign of God in the hearts of men?! [sic]⁸

This "interest" in politics had to be tempered with caution in Angola, but it was an essential part of the Protestant spirit in Canada and was transported overseas. In order to understand how this interest evolved into a political force in its own right, one has to revisit the political origins of modern Canada.

In the 1800s the clergy of the leading Protestant Churches and the High Anglicans (who tended to bear a closer, more traditional resemblance to the Roman Catholic Church) accepted the authority of the Bible which they held to be divinely inspired and believed that eternal life was the ultimate goal to be attained by Christians. They all believed that humans were sinners by nature and could not avoid the fire of hell without the help of a saviour or

redeemer, in the person of Jesus Christ. Protestants placed emphasis on the individual's relationship with God, and the individual's transformation through a new, redeeming relationship with God the Son.⁹ They then moved forward to effect this transformation in their communities, particularly in the cities and towns which presented the renewed evangelism with its first major challenges. This social transformation took on an even more singular importance as the idea of Canadian Confederation began to take root and the Dominion of Canada came into being in 1867.

Protestant Churches, National Sentiment and Social Reform

Canadian Confederation provides a useful point of departure for the discussion of the Protestantism in Canada and missionary efforts overseas. It provided a focus on Canadian identity which had an impact on the missionaries' approach to their calling. In order to understand the concepts that stirred at the heart of the United Church from 1925 onwards, it is necessary to acknowledge that it is composed of different denominations who each had their own reasonably distinct history before the union was consummated in the 1920s. It is also imperative to understand the long tradition of Protestantism in general that helped to shape the Canadian polity from its inception in 1867, and Canadian society from an even earlier period. In establishing this tradition, the churches drew on the strength of national sentiment and on the desire for social reform.

Initially, it appeared that Canadian Protestants were in favour of Canadian Confederation as it held some promise for strengthening their political connection with the British Empire while reinforcing a nationalist sentiment that was already evident from the Atlantic colonies to the Pacific. The alternative, for the various British North American colonies, seemed to be the very undesirable prospect of annexation by the United States of America.¹⁰ Irrespective of the desire to remain politically distinct from the United States, in the social sphere, the Canadian character that was evolving was not altogether divorced from other social concerns and theological preoccupations present in the rest of English-speaking North America. Hence the continued capacity for joint ventures in mission activity, such as the combined ventures of the ABCFM in Angola beginning in the 1880s.

Despite the fact that most people in British North America had tended to identify themselves as primarily, members of reasonably distinct religious communities,¹¹ they continued to exhibit certain common traits and attitudes. One such attitude among Protestants was the general disdain they held for Roman Catholics. In the latter half of the 1800s, most Protestants viewed the Roman Catholic Church with contempt and distrust. They considered the Roman Catholic Church to be a "monolithic machine," bent on world domination through the agency of its priests. Protestants considered it their duty "not only to resist further encroachments of Roman power but to rescue those already under its bondage" and tended to identify the Roman Catholic Church with "ignorance, semi-pagan religious practice and

hostility to free institutions."¹² This partially explains the perseverance of the Protestant missions in Portuguese Angola alongside the activities of their Catholic counterparts.

Throughout the period 1890 to 1930, Protestants in Canada adopted a more vigorous programme of social reform than they had previously entertained in the 1800s. Whereas evangelism had replaced a more stringent Calvinism earlier on in the 1800s, it was further galvanized and transformed by a new "social gospel," which had also taken root in Europe and the United States of America.¹³ This social gospel was less preoccupied with grand questions of theology and far more concerned with meeting genuine human needs in a way that was faithful to the true spirit of the gospel.¹⁴ In so doing, it was expected to strengthen the kingdom of God by providing viable alternatives to the new social paradigms that stemmed from the writings of Marx and Engels or Charles Darwin.

This new approach to social problems did not emerge as a singular or unified philosophy at a specific time or place. It took shape gradually in the minds of different people as a response to specific social questions. Yet, these issues were similar from place to place and one can discern a general pattern that came to characterize the social gospel. Most "Social Gospellers" believed that perfection was attainable in this world and that social conditions had to improve in order for humans to attain that perfection. It was held that individual efforts to effect change must be superseded by collective action to that same end, and that legislation could create a social ambience that was "conducive to morality."¹⁵

The social gospel was also closely associated with "theological liberalism" which was evident in Protestant, particularly Presbyterian, thinking in English Canada by the 1890s. It was particularly evident in the branch of the Presbyterian Church at Queen's University in Kingston, where influential people like Principal Grant came to identify Christianity with "modern progressive western civilization."¹⁶ Quite apart from the influence of Queen's University, Toronto emerged as the largest centre of Presbyterianism in Canada and as the metropolitan centre for "bureaucrats, editors, and educators who assumed a much greater role in formulating policy and propagating positions than had earlier generations of leaders." These leaders, especially after the establishment of the Committee on Moral and Social Reform in the late 1800s, were able to "educate, organize, and act in defence of the moral and social values they considered essential for national righteousness and well-being."¹⁷

The Canadian social gospel, as one church historian explains, maintained the focus of earlier moral reform campaigns while absorbing a nationalistic outlook. This particular outlook was adopted, in part, as a result of the Protestant Churches' "association with efforts to assimilate foreign immigrants, and All Peoples' missions became seedbeds of advanced social thought."¹⁸ Consequently the social gospel and the vibrant Protestant revival that produced it came to define much of Canada's national culture in that period.

There had been, however, a much longer tradition of nationalism at the heart of Canadian Protestantism in general since before Confederation. The Methodist Episcopal Church severed its American connections in the wake of Canadian Loyalist reactions to the

War of 1812, thereby fostering a nationalist viewpoint and placing special emphasis on a Canadian ministry. This was considered by many to be the "hallmark of Canadian Methodism." Moreover, the connection of most Christian Churches to their mother Churches across the Atlantic "had become largely nominal, symbolic and sentimental" by the 1850s.¹⁹

The Protestant Churches had been very active in the movement to unite Canada and shared the profound sense of nationhood and community that was prevalent throughout Canada at that time. In effect, all denominations accepted the basic premise that the new Dominion would be a Christian state.²⁰ As the new nation progressed in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the spirit of nation-building grew among the Protestant groups. Religious and national revival effectively became two sides of the same coin. As Robert A.

Wright states:

The Protestant churches had preceded the birth of the nation and they identified deeply with Canadians' emergent sense of nationality and community. The leaders of all the Canadian churches had been swept up in the euphoric nationalism of the Laurier era...²¹

This all led to a more coordinated and cooperative approach to social reform that would in turn lead to the reorganization of some church structures and attempts at various forms of union among the various Protestant denominations.

The social reform and "social purity" movements took place during Canada's "transitional decades." Canada in the 1800s has been described as a "sparsely-populated, barely post-colonial state where farming and staples production predominated." By the 1920s

it had evolved into a country where the Native peoples had been "firmly marginalized." and the focus of economic activity had shifted in favour of industry and finance. Consequently, "urban living had become the rule rather than the exception." especially in an English Canada that was "centred on and dominated by the Toronto-Ottawa axis."²²

Alongside the emergence of the Canadian urban industrial working class came the development of an "urban bourgeoisie" which sought to "regenerate" Canadian society through philanthropic programmes. The well-educated members of this bourgeoisie who led these social reform initiatives had definitely learned from both English and American sources. As one commentator observes:

Then, as now...there was a constant tension between the temptation to copy or import and the equally strong temptation to claim that Canada was different - less corrupt, healthier - and that social remedies ought not to be imported for non-existent social ills.²³

This entire process of nation-building, urbanization, marginalization of autochthons and social regeneration, would later provide the missionaries in Angola with an understanding of the effects that Portuguese colonialism was having on Angola's peoples. Although they could not appreciate the history and culture of the Ovimbundu and others until they had actually lived and worked among them, they did have an appreciation for the social upheavals caused by an industrial revolution and its political ramifications in a colonial setting. Until they could adjust their own social remedies to meet the cultural reality of the

African communities, they first sought to apply the social remedies with which they had grown familiar in their own cultural milieu.

Church Union in Canada

The Methodist, Presbyterian and Anglican Churches were predominant among the Protestant denominations in Canada²⁴ in the 1800s and early 1900s and it was they who pushed this religiously grounded social reform movement forward. The Methodists, in particular, had emerged from the nineteenth century as the largest Protestant body in Canada and, together with the Baptists and Congregationalists, they made evangelicalism the dominant feature of Protestantism in the Dominion.²⁵

The new Presbyterian Church in Canada that was formed by the Union of 1875, became the largest Protestant denomination in Canada until the Methodist Church attained a similar union in 1884.²⁶ In sheer numbers, up to that point, only the Roman Catholic Church was better represented in Canada. Despite differences in opinion on some concerns, such as forms of worship or relations between Church and State, a number of traditions were common to most Canadian Presbyterians. Canadian Presbyterians by this time enjoyed a "single Scottish and Scotch-Irish tradition" and had "no connections, physical or emotional, with English or Welsh Presbyterianism, and...it had virtually no close contacts with

Presbyterianism in the United States."²⁷ despite a well-delineated heritage that could be traced all the way back to John Calvin's interpretation of Christian doctrine in the 1500s.

Throughout most of the nineteenth century, the Presbyterians in Canada maintained an "evangelical conservatism" and adhered to "the doctrine of God's moral government over the world" until the trend towards "evangelical liberalism" took root in the Church during the 1890s.²⁸ From 1875 onwards, the Presbyterian Church in Canada "represented the aggressive Presbyterianism of urbanized, industrialized, expansionist central Canada" and persevered with "crusades against intemperance, sabbath profanation, public and private immorality, Roman Catholic power and all semblances of church-state connection."²⁹

Methodism, which had its origins in John Wesley's revivalist appeal to faith and moral and ethical behaviour within a "moribund" Church of England in 1739 and the subsequent expulsion of the Methodists from that Church,³⁰ came to define Canadian Protestant culture in much the same way as Presbyterianism had. The Methodist Church also became more focused on the growing urban centres and, after the union of the six main divisions of Methodism in 1884,³¹ the Methodist churches were reorganized in structure and location to reflect the changing Canadian reality. Increasingly, the rural basis in the organization of Methodism grew weaker, and the smaller Methodist churches welcomed the church union in 1884 as they were faced with greater overhead costs for the intensified pace of church construction in the cities. At the same time, lay preaching and camp meetings, which had been the backbone of Methodism, particularly Wesleyan Methodism, in the "rural frontier

society." was in decline by the late 1800s. Even the smaller churches reduced their reliance on lay preaching and camp meetings towards the end of the nineteenth century. In its place, a "settled professional ministry" was established, along with permanent places of worship "strategically situated in the better residential areas of the city."³²

Congregationalists, for their part, are more difficult to identify as a single denomination since the term appears to have been used even more loosely than the term Methodist or Presbyterian in North America. They had certainly exerted a reasonably dominant influence in New England by the late 1700s, and slowly became more commonplace in Canada in the 1800s. Before 1812, there was only one church that bore the name "Congregational" in Upper Canada. It had been erected by Scottish settlers in Martintown, Glengarry County in 1804.³³ By the end of the 1800s, however, Congregational churches would be far more prominent in Canada, but would still exist in the shadows of other Protestant denominations. They too would share in the spirit of social reform that was sweeping through Canada in the 1800s, relying as well on sensational preaching to attract followers to their Christian lifestyle.

In general, the Congregationalists, along with the Baptists, seemed to be "orthodox heirs" of the Separatist³⁴ movement during Elizabethan times and the early Puritan tradition in North America. Like the Baptists, they believed that "ultimate authority resided in a local worshipping community whose members were bound to God and one another by a covenant of belief."³⁵ Indeed, the "constructive principle" of Congregationalism is the "complete

independence of each local congregation of believers, under the authority of Christ as head over the church."³⁶ In particular, this basic principle came out of the six principles that had been laid down by the Puritan Party in England in the 1500s.

The first of these principles called for the abolition of the name and functions of the archbishops and archdeacons. The second required that the offices of the ministers of the church, such as bishops and deacons be returned to their apostolic functions. This required that bishops preach God's word and pray and that deacons fulfil their role in taking care of the poor. The third stipulated that every church should be governed by its own ministers or presbyters and not by bishops. The fourth required that there be no ministers at large: instead, every congregation should have its own minister. The fifth and sixth, respectively, objected to people standing as candidates for the ministry and insisted that ministers be chosen in an open and fair way by the congregation and not be chosen solely by the bishop.³⁷

Congregationalists were especially noted for their monthly meetings at which it was held that "the Holy Spirit guided the church to a consensus in the transaction of its business."³⁸ It was perhaps this characteristic of church governance or polity that assured the success of the Congregationalist missions that were started in Angola in the 1880s. The absence of a pronounced hierarchical structure encouraged the early formation of churches and Christian villages that seemed truly African and autonomous in nature within a few years of the establishment of the missions.

At the same time that churches were dealing with social gospel issues in a way that responded to the growing appeal of Marxist theories, they were faced with an ongoing scientific challenge. This reached its peak with society's gradual acceptance of Darwinian thought and generalizations on natural selection and evolution. The churches met this challenge at first by embracing the discipline of "Natural History." A number of natural history societies were formed in Canada, and they advanced scientific claims as they applied to agriculture, industry and commerce, perpetuating the "British tradition of popular science." They too, were drawn from among the educated, urban middle classes, and included ministers of the church. The study of nature "was almost a religious duty" for many churchmen.³⁹

Natural history became part of a "Victorian amalgam of science and religion, of fact and feeling, and of that sense of intellectual progress and popular participation." It became a means through which humans could harness and control nature and it served as an instrument which revealed the Almighty's purpose to humanity. Although, with the gradual triumph of Darwinian approaches near the turn of the century, natural history was relegated to the back benches of scientific inquiry, it left its mark in the creation of Canada's scientific institutions, in Canadian literature and in the reshaping of Canadian intellectual life in the twentieth century.⁴⁰ The vision of these denominations all extended beyond Canada's borders, however, as they all sought to share their light with those perceived to be living in darkness overseas. The missionary venture was met with renewed vigour and dedication, and a new

body of Christian soldiers journeyed onward into distant parts of the world to win souls over to Christ's kingdom.

The Presbyterian Church was itself deeply involved in overseas missions, particularly in India and China but also in the Caribbean region, in Trinidad and British Guiana. Mission work was generally composed of three parts: evangelism, medical work and education. In its missions, medical work held a paramount importance as it brought the missionaries into meaningful contact with the community and it helped convince the local populations of the genuine, selfless intentions of the missionaries. Hospitals were constructed in every mission field and quite frequently, affiliated medical schools were established in order to train native physicians and nursing staff.⁴¹

Education and evangelism were more or less two sides of the same coin as they progressed hand in hand. Presbyterian mission schools were modelled on Canadian institutions and their facilities were "designed to roll back the illiteracy, ignorance, and superstition found in underdeveloped countries." As the development of a native ministry was indispensable to the success of the Christianizing effort, theological seminaries were also established "as the coping stones of missionary educational systems." Such schools and colleges "provided the models and high standards copied by the particular state systems of education which developed later."⁴² The Methodists and Congregationalists had similar traditions.

General questions concerning the Protestant Churches and the social gospel in Canada notwithstanding, the relevance of a growing membership of Afri-Canadian churches in the 1800s must be considered here. As Dorothy Shadd Shreve indicates, both Baptists and Methodists had begun to exert a considerable influence on African populations within the United States and this process took root in the Canadian colonies in the early 1800s. As regards the heritage of the United Church in Canada, it was the influence of Methodism that was most pronounced in this regard, and despite the ambiguity with which many Canadian Wesleyan Methodists viewed their Black brethren, their membership grew. Moreover, owing to the disappointment of many Black members with White Christian churches in the United States of America, a number of separate church bodies were formed for Blacks. These included the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church (AMEZ), organized in 1796 in New York, the African Methodist Episcopal Church (Bethel) (AME), founded in Philadelphia in 1816. In the late 1830s, the AME had already established overseas missions in Haiti and West Africa.⁴³

By the 1820s the AME had already extended its activities into Upper Canada, with congregations in Malden, Gambia, Niagara and Fort Erie, boasting memberships of eighty-five, six, twenty and thirteen respectively. It officially entered upper Canada in 1838. By 1840, the AME family of churches in Canada also included churches in London, St Catharines, Toronto, Amherstburg, Hamilton and Brantford and an Upper Canadian Conference was organized in Toronto in July 1840. By the 1850s, the AME Church in

Canada was seeking greater autonomy from the American Church and in 1854, its desire to sever its connections with its parent body was made clear at the Canadian Conference in Chatham in 1854. In 1856, this process was completed and the British Methodist Episcopal Church (BME) was established, enjoying even greater security from the Slave Laws that had recently been introduced in the United States of America with a view to deterring runaways from fleeing to Canada.⁴⁴

The fact that the British Empire had abolished slavery more than a generation before the United States, made Canada a land of refuge for many more American Blacks in the mid-1800s.⁴⁵ Many American Churches faced a huge dilemma over slavery as on both sides of the argument there were those who claimed to be "God-fearing" and those who were perceived to be "self-seeking, egotistical types." Churches such as the Unitarians and Congregationalists escaped the "schism" of the period as they were mostly located in the Northern states where political opposition to slavery was strong. The Society of Friends (Quakers), was also in favour of abolition and it too maintained its unity. Episcopalians and Lutherans "took no political stance, determined to remain disentangled from political matters." The Baptist, Methodist and Presbyterian Churches, were, however, caught up in the imbroglio and became internally disunited over the issue. This was an additional factor that ensured that their Canadian counterparts would continue to pursue their own path as national churches.⁴⁶

By 1860, an estimated 40,000 Black immigrants had settled in Canada West. As a result, the Black churches grew in size and stature. Although there was a "reverse exodus" to the United States in the years following the American Civil War,⁴⁷ Canadian Protestant Churches in general, regardless of denomination or pigmentation, could not have missed the implications of the establishment of vibrant, self-supporting Black communities for development for their own missiological aspirations overseas.

The full effect of this experience in influencing churches such as the United Church of Canada remains to be explored, but there was certainly a keen awareness of the exemplary role that individuals from those communities could play in Africa. The first African American to serve as a missionary in West Central Africa was Samuel Miller, who was appointed by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in 1880. He was an ex-slave who had been emancipated after the American Civil War and was a graduate of Hampton Institute of Virginia.⁴⁸ Within a short space of time other African-American Protestant missionaries became established in Angola. Not surprisingly, this development caused the Portuguese government great concern, given the degree of autonomy that such missionaries enjoyed.⁴⁹

The Establishment of the United Church of Canada

Over time, people in Canada became impatient with purely spiritual solutions and embraced a socially and scientifically-minded "gospel" more readily. Secular forces more characteristic of big business and the political arena became more dominant in the society whereas church attendance and religious influence declined. A controversy between a fundamentalist outlook and modernist aspirations caused a veritable schism in many churches in Canada, especially in western and central Canada.⁵⁰ This development was particularly noticeable in the period 1920 to 1930 and the "growing dominance of secular values" has been perceived as an element underlying the union of the Methodist, Presbyterian and Congregational Churches in 1925.⁵¹ In general terms, the new religious institution, in the wake of the social gospel, reflected the change in the basic structure of the community. It provided a means of adjusting to new social conditions and demands while maintaining "religious interest as an effective basis of social organization in areas of change where traditional systems of social control, including that of the church, were breaking down."⁵²

This reorganization of society was reflected in the drive towards church union in Canada. Despite the distinctions made among the Protestant bodies in Canada, "denominational reunions" in the late 1800s had encouraged Canada's Methodists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists and Anglicans to contemplate some form of "organic union" for Protestantism. In 1902, the Methodists, Presbyterians and Congregationalists

again considered the issue of union on a non-episcopal basis and a Joint Committee was established to determine the basis of this interdenominational merger. This process produced an agreement four years later, called the Basis of Union, embodying the "essentials of faith and polity in a United Church in Canada."⁵³ The formal establishment of the United Church of Canada took place on 10 June 1925. It was composed overwhelmingly of most Methodist and Presbyterian churches, but a rift had ensued within the ranks of the Canadian Presbyterians and, consequently, many Presbyterian congregations (roughly one-third of them) did not join the United Church.

Upon its establishment, the United Church immediately became Canada's largest Protestant denomination, with a membership that represented twenty percent of the Canadian population. Robert A. Wright describes it as "the most theologically open-minded denomination in Canada" which has, since its inception, been accused of "doctrinal looseness and accommodation to secular society." Conversely, or perhaps, accordingly, he stresses that the United Church also deserves its reputation as "the most tolerant and socially aware denomination in Canada."⁵⁴

From 1925 onwards, the United Church viewed itself as a "national" church, in the sense that it did not have any particular "ethnic" base, as had the Presbyterian Church, which was Scottish in origin, or the Anglican Church, which was still officially known as "the Church of England in Canada" until it was officially renamed "the Anglican Church of Canada" some decades later. Even the Roman Catholic Church in Canada, which had many

more members than the individual Protestant Churches, did not qualify as a national church in this particular regard as "it took its orders from the Pope." The United Church therefore saw itself as "the only major Christian denomination free to be the authentic voice of indigenous Canadian Christianity" and its role as a national church required it to function "as the conscience of the nation."⁵⁵

At the same time, it has been argued that non-religious transformations in the society also influenced the changes reflected in the formation of the United Church. As the concepts of biological and social evolution became more widely accepted in society, traditional, fundamental religious faith was gradually supplanted by faith in human progress. The rise in living standards, improvements in transportation, the gold rush in the Yukon, greater knowledge about the world, general improvements in education, the growing availability and influence of newspapers, the steady shift upwards in the business cycle and the strengthening of a working-class consciousness all enhanced Canada's urban-industrial nexus and reinforced community spirit in the cities.⁵⁶

The United Church readily embraced the spirit of internationalism and pacifism that most of the Canadian Protestant clergy adopted in the 1920s. Internationalism, which has been described as "the greatest of the liberal reform movements in the Western world in the 1920s"⁵⁷ was part of the vision of the "new world order," which was exemplified in the formation of the League of Nations. Together with pacifism, it revealed the "bankruptcy of war as a glorious institution." Pacifism on its own had gained ground after the First World

War when many Canadians observed the enormous profits that a few businesses had made from the war and grew wary of the connection between war and capitalism and imperialism. considered to be the "international arm" of capitalism.⁵⁸

Socially and politically the missionaries of the United Church could relate to some of the problems faced by their African brethren as Canada was itself facing a new period of transformation after World War I. The continued belief that Christians everywhere should be united as one people gave impetus to the formation of the United Church in 1925. So too did the challenges of the age such as urban growth, increased migration to Canada and the widespread dislocation of communities. These challenges and the local union church approach had already become pronounced in western Canada where it made little sense to build a church and appoint a minister for every single denomination in small communities scattered across the vast expanse of the prairies.⁵⁹ Although these themes took a different form in Africa, the basic challenge was part of a shared human experience, and the missionaries of the United Church, who hailed from diverse regions across Canada from Vancouver to Pictou County, Nova Scotia, were already well placed to deal with the themes of diversity and dislocation.

During the depression there was a sustained effort to make the United Church commit itself to a socialist programme. This effort reached its apogee in 1933 at the Toronto Conference held at Emmanuel College (University of Toronto) where a series of resolutions was passed, declaring *inter alia* "that the application of the principle of Jesus to economic

conditions would mean the end of the capitalistic system."⁶⁰ That report also identified as legitimate goals for building a Christian society, the socialization of natural resources, transportation, banks, and other major industries and services and similar demands were repeated in 1935. The United Church did not, however, commit itself to revolutionary social programmes, but like other Protestant bodies, it remained predisposed to the evolution of Canadian society, openly supporting penal reform, birth control and civil liberties. Throughout the thirties and even during the war, the United Church also reiterated its pacifist position, and though known by this point for its "theological vagueness," it issued a statement of faith in 1940 and a catechism in 1944. Neither document was the product of "fundamentalist theology," but they both reflected a return to the central themes of the Bible at a time when many Canadians had begun to study theology "with unaccustomed seriousness."⁶¹

Whatever might have been lacking from its theology, the United Church seemed to prosper throughout most of the contemporary era because many individuals within the Church hierarchy and general membership believed that they could adopt a more practical approach to their religion. It was believed by many within the Church that people had to feel appreciated and see the fruits of the spirit at work in order to embrace the faith and obtain their salvation. By having too many ready-made answers, it was believed that Christians had begun to neglect these basic elements of their own faith:

In the conviction that "Christ is the Answer" to the world's needs and problems we have perhaps failed to appreciate the unique quality of Christ's listening to people. The sinners and the social outcasts were saved not merely because he had a different answer for them than anyone else but that he took them seriously as persons, listening, asking questions and understanding them. It was only then that they understood his answers. Perhaps we understand so little because we listen so little.⁶²

The success of the United Church's missionary work in Africa rested heavily on the approach the Church had adopted in Canada, which involved a more open-minded and flexible approach to social change and to the social customs of other peoples.

Organizing the Missionary Venture in Portuguese West Africa

The genesis of a conscious Canadian effort within the structure of the ABCFM became increasingly evident by the 1920s. In the same period that the Canadian nation began to assert itself abroad in the political arena, the Canadian Protestants were also forging a new identity for themselves within the family of Christ. In many ways their work in Asia, Africa and the Caribbean and their continued and deepening contact with the many peoples in these regions helped them to redefine who they were and what their purpose was.

Identifying an exclusively Canadian component in the missionary effort or body in Angola is a difficult task, in the early years 1880-1920, since the responsibility for sending missionaries abroad was handled by an American body. Even in later years there were missionaries who were not Canadian-born, but who served under the auspices of the United

Church of Canada.⁶³ Be that as it may, the Canadian element in the Congregational, and later, the United Church missionary venture coloured the vision that the missionaries had of the world as a people who had themselves also come up from colonialism, but had at the same time, enjoyed a certain degree of camaraderie and cultural similarities with a number of the most powerful and prosperous nations on the planet.

The Canadian Congregational Foreign Missionary Society had been organized on 13 May 1881, and for a few years their principal occupation was collecting money for other societies. The Canadian Society made an arrangement with the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), to send out missionaries under their auspices and Canadian congregations contributed ever increasing sums of money to the common North American "pool" or funds in order to support missionary activities overseas, once it had been announced that they had missionaries of their own, beginning with the commissioning of their first missionary, Reverend Walter T. Currie, who hailed from Toronto.⁶⁴

For many years, The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions presided over the missionary activities of a number of North American churches. The shift from a missionary body functioning under the auspices of the ABCFM in the United States to an autonomous Canadian entity run by the United Church of Canada was realized in the 1920s. One of the clearest examples of the nature of this "changeover" can be found in the records of the Canadian Woman's Foreign Missionary Board. In the 1920s the Canada

Congregational Woman's Board of Missions and the Canada Congregational Foreign Missionary Society were attempting to define their jurisdictions more clearly in what they referred to as the West Africa Mission field (Angola) and within the general Missionary structure. This development was in keeping with developments within Canada that would lead to the formation of the United Church of Canada in 1925. A major concern of the Woman's Board of Missions was the question of its jurisdiction over the girls school at Dôndi and the Means School,⁶⁵ which, together with the Currie Institute for boys remained the flagships of technical and vocational education for Protestants in central Angola.

The American "parent" body had begun to appoint American missionaries to these schools even though much of the groundwork and initial financing for these institutions had been carried out by Canadians and through gifts from their home congregations.⁶⁶ These appointments did not please the Canadians who had been working in the mission field in Angola and who expected to be allowed to carry on the work they had started as a community. The rivalry was neither internecine nor caustic: it was nevertheless very evident and revealed that there existed a stronger sense of community among the Canadian missionaries than was perhaps expected by their American colleagues. Moreover, letters to and from the Board suggest that much more was underfoot to establish two separate bodies (American and Canadian) where there had previously been only one, and to regularize and settle questions of payments due for certain activities that had so far been carried out under the joint auspices of American and Canadian congregations.

From 1925 the organization of the Angola Mission underwent a number of changes that reflected developments both in North America and in Africa. There were, to begin with, three Home Boards functioning in Canada and the United States. The first, from the Canadian perspective, was the Board of Foreign Missions, The United Church of Canada, which was renamed the Board of Overseas Missions in 1945. The second was the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, which was in fact the oldest of the Boards, and the third was the Woman's Missionary Society, The United Church of Canada. Representatives from all three Boards met every year as the Joint Consultative Committee to discuss cooperative work.⁶⁷

In Angola there were two principal bodies that dealt with mission work. The Mission Council of the Angola West Africa Mission was comprised of missionaries from the United Church of Canada whereas the West Central Africa Mission was composed of ABCFM missionaries. Representatives of both of these boards met with a few African representatives as the Board of Trustees (later renamed the Board of Managers), to consider matters that concerned the Central Institutions at Dôndi.⁶⁸

The members (as opposed to a few representatives) of Angola West Africa Mission and the West Central African Mission, convened each year at the Joint Meeting of the Angola West Africa Mission and the West Central Africa Mission. In 1955 they formed one entity, the United Mission, which in 1957 merged with the Church Council, forming the Council of the Evangelical Churches in Central Africa. Moreover, in 1958, the Committee

of Missionaries was established to deal with matters that dealt exclusively with missionary personnel of the United Church of Canada.⁶⁹

The United Church of Canada Woman's Missionary Society was formed in 1925 with the coming together of the Canada Congregational Woman's Board of Missions, the Women's Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church in Canada and the Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church in Canada. The Home and Overseas Missions were reorganized to form separate departments whereas matters dealing with Finance, Home Organization, Literature, Periodicals, as well as Scholarship and Candidates, were dealt with by other departments. The home missions were placed under the Executive Secretary of the Home Missions Department, and the foreign missions worked under the Executive Secretary of the Foreign Mission (later Overseas Missions) Department.

The women's work encompassed the whole of the modern century's missionary ideal: medical service, including clinics and nursing, but also hospital building, financing and administration; education from the primary to the university level; evangelism, visitation and social service. By the 1950s, control of many of these mission enterprises had been transferred to local leadership.⁷⁰

In Canada, the Home Missions Department worked with the destitute, with immigrants and with Aboriginal peoples. On Aboriginal reserves, they ran hospitals and schools. In urban areas, they had boarding schools and homes for children who came from out of town. The Woman's Missionary Society gradually handed over many of the schools and hospitals that it had established in Canada - particularly in western Canada - to government administrations.⁷¹

In the mission fields of Angola, Honan, South China, West China, Hong Kong and Formosa, India and Nepal, Japan, Korea, Northern Rhodesia and Trinidad, the Society worked in cooperation with the United Church's Board of Overseas Missions. In 1962, the Society's overseas missions work was merged with that of the newly created Board of World Mission, whilst the home missions' work was merged with that of the Board of Home Missions. Also in 1962, the Board of Women was established to deal with additional matters and other work was undertaken under the general operations of the United Church Boards, where women were finally able to participate more as equals with the men in the United Church's organizational structure.⁷²

There is a tendency even among women's groups themselves to refer to their internal church organizations as "auxiliary" bodies. Their histories, however, do not bear this out as women's groups, particularly in the missionary field, have formed the backbone of a sustained evangelical effort. Indeed, one might view the use of the term "auxiliary" as a way in which the women in the church have humoured their menfolk for years. They were, however, subordinate to the clergy which was all male until very recent times. Yet in their myriad roles, especially as deaconesses, they took charge of the important human and social duties that no one else did, especially comforting the sick and the poor.⁷³ The Angolan case was certainly no different as the letters and reports bear out. Even where initial contacts were established by the males in the group, much of the follow-up activity was carried out by the

women in the community who came to Angola as missionaries or who were converted to the cause from among the Africans themselves.

By the 1960s, the missionaries of the United Church of Canada and their counterparts within the United Church of Christ in the United States of America were integral members of the Church of Christ in Central Angola.⁷⁴ They had more or less achieved the goal they were seeking at the outset of the missionary venture back in the 1880s, of establishing an African Church that was run by Africans.

Walter Currie was one of nine Canadian missionaries sent out by the Missionary Societies of the Canadian Congregational Churches between 1886 and 1895, all of whom were among twenty-two Canadian missionaries who were sent out to missions in Angola, India, Japan, and Turkey in the same period. These included, Mrs. Clara Wilkes Currie (Walter Currie's first wife) of Brantford, Ontario, Mrs. Marion Webster of Seaforth, Ontario, Reverend Wilberforce Lee of Melbourne, Mrs. Agnes Carter Lee of Cowansville, Miss Minnie Clarke of Guelph, Ontario, Reverend Frank W. Read and Mrs. Annie Williams Read of Montreal, Quebec, Miss Amy Johnston of Brandon (who married Walter Currie on Christmas Day, 1894), Miss Helen Melville and Miss Maggie Melville of Toronto, all of whom were sent to Bié, Angola.⁷⁵

The first Canadian station, which Walter Currie had established in Chissamba, Bié in 1888,⁷⁶ grew phenomenally from the turn of the century, onwards. It had taken Walter Currie

approximately seven years from his arrival in 1886 before he carried out his first baptism, but he quickly succeeded in planting the church among a receptive African community. He was greatly helped in this effort by Avirahama (Abraão or "Abraham") Ngulu, who had worked alongside Walter Currie, almost from his arrival in Angola. Avirahama Ngulu was baptized, and went on to establish the Church of Christ among his people in the late 1800s.⁷⁷ In 1929 he became the first of a long line of African pastors from the Evangelical churches in Angola. That list included Israel Cassoma (Bailundo), Alberto Catema (Chissamba), Jorge Chilulu (Dôndi), Jessé Chiula Chipenda (Bailundo), Chiwale (Bunjei), Lumbu (Chissamba), Paulino Ngonga (Elende), Horácio Rodrigues (Bailundo), Enoch Salupula (Chilessso), and António Chico Wambu (Dôndi).⁷⁸

Currie's missionary venture showed encouraging progress at the start of the new century. In 1906 there were 150 church members on register. By 1926 this number had risen to 3,000 and twenty years later, the church had increased five-fold to boast a membership of 15,000. The church was described very early on as an "organization of Africans for Africans." Almost no Canadian money went into the construction of Angolan Church buildings as the African and Congregationalist principles of self-support and self-government were adhered to as strictly as possible. Instead, the buildings were constructed and paid for by the members themselves. Moreover, also keeping to Congregationalist tradition, ministers were not ordained until congregations called them to service and openly supported them in

this endeavour. In the first sixty years after the planting of the church there were only twenty ordained ministers.⁷⁹

The first woman from the Congregational Woman's Missionary Board to work at that mission, Minnehaha A. Clarke of Guelph, Ontario, took up her duties in 1890.⁸⁰ In the years 1926 to 1927 ten missionaries from the Society were serving there, frequently in cooperation with the American Congregational Church, in the fields of education and medical work. The major concerns of the medical activity at that time were the campaigns against leprosy and tuberculosis,⁸¹ both of which feature prominently in Chapter Five.

The Protestant missionaries from the ABCFM were so well known and experienced, that in 1922, John Taylor Tucker (from the Canadian mission) was instrumental in forming the Angola Evangelical Alliance, and became the representative of all Mission Societies and Protestant churches in Angola, with the exception of the Seventh-Day Adventists, in all matters dealing with the Portuguese government. In 1948 it was decided that this should be a full-time occupation, and so the Tuckers moved to Luanda, where Mrs. Tucker conducted a Bible Class for some 125 Ovimbundu labourers. Later on the Tuckers moved to Lisbon, where Reverend Tucker accepted the position to represent all the missions in the Portuguese Empire. At the same time, he became the head of the Missionary Orientation Centre in Lisbon, which helped new missionaries find lodging, and teachers, and also helped to familiarize them with "Lusitanian culture." Both Reverend and Mrs. Tucker continued to teach at the Theological Seminary in Carcavelos for many years thereafter.⁸²

The missionary calling plunged a body of Canadian Protestants into a world in which the Portuguese were attempting to hold absolute sway. Its frontiers were poorly defined in the 1880s, but by the 1920s the Portuguese presence was slowly being felt everywhere in Angola. Portuguese traditions and regulations did not give these missionaries the wide berth they had enjoyed in previous years but they were still allowed considerable leeway through their helpful association with African leaders. It was a colonial world that was sufficiently distinct and removed from the colonial world of British North America to make outsiders adopt an extremely cautious attitude in their dealings with the Portuguese. Yet, for Christians who believed that they had a commission to go into all the world to win souls for Christ, Portuguese Angola was an ideal challenge. The nature of this challenge is the subtext of the following chapter.

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

1. See discussion in John S. Moir, Enduring Witness: A History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada (The Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1987), 146.
2. A similar argument concerning mission theology in the United States in the 1890s is made in William R. Hutchison, The Modernist Impulse in American Protestantism (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1976), Chapter 4.
3. John S. Moir, Enduring Witness: A History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada (The Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1987), 192.
4. John S. Moir, Enduring Witness, p. 192.
5. Journal of Education for Upper Canada, III (1850), 40 as quoted in Laurence S. Fallis, Jr., "The Idea of Progress in the Province of Canada: A Study in The History of Ideas," in The Shield of Achilles: Aspects of Canada in the Victorian Age, ed. W.L. Morton (Toronto and Montreal: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1968), 171.
6. See Ben Smillie, Beyond the Social Gospel: Church Protest On the Prairies (Toronto and Saskatoon: United Church Publishing House and Fifth House Publishers, 1991), 24.
7. Ben Smillie, Beyond the Social Gospel, 24.
8. UCC/VIC Archives, Sidney Gilchrist Correspondence, 1963, 96.021C, Box 1, File 8. Letter from Sidney Gilchrist at Missão Evangélica, V. Teixeira da Silva, Angola, October 1963.
9. High Anglicans differed in their approach from other Protestants in that they believed that salvation could be achieved through good works as well as faith, and stressed the sacraments and continuous association with the church by means of these: baptism, confirmation and holy communion. See discussion by D.C. Masters, Protestant Church Colleges in Canada: A History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966), Chapter 1.
10. John Webster Grant, Canadian Confederation and the Protestant Churches (Reprinted from Church History, Vol. XXXVIII, No. 3, September 1969), 3. See also John S. Moir, Enduring Witness, 134. He suggests that the churches were favourable to the idea of confederation "[w]ithout exception". He did, however, mention that individuals were not always as forthcoming in their support for confederation as their religious leaders and he provides the example of citizens of Pictou, Nova Scotia, marching to the American consulate on 01 July 1867, bearing a petition requesting admission into the American republic.

11. John Webster Grant, Canadian Confederation and the Protestant Churches, 2.
12. John Webster Grant, The Church in The Canadian Era: The First Century of Confederation. Volume Three of A History of the Christian Church in Canada. General ed. John Webster Grant (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1972), 82.
13. The question of the "social gospel" is discussed at length by Richard Allen in the first chapter of The Social Passion: Religion and Social reform in Canada 1914-28 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), 1973.
14. One detractor from the view that Social Gospellers had abandoned or deviated from their theology argues that "rather than abandoning traditional understandings of Christianity, they [social gospellers] endeavoured to transform older manifestations of piety." Ian Manson, "Ernest Thomas and the Theology of the Methodist Social Gospel," Canadian Methodist Historical Society, Papers. Volume 9, 1991 and 1992, 51-52.
15. John S. Moir, Enduring Witness, 192-193.
16. Ramsay Cook, The Regenerators: Social Criticism in Late Victorian English Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), 184, 185.
17. Brian J. Fraser, The Social Uplifters: Presbyterian Progressives and the Social Gospel in Canada, 1875-1915 (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, Published for the Canadian Corporation for Studies in Religion/Corporation Canadienne des Sciences Religieuses, 1988), 71.
18. John Webster Grant, The Church in the Canadian Era: The First Century of Confederation (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1972), 101.
19. John S. Moir, The Church in the British Era: From the British Conquest to Confederation. Volume Two of A History of the Christian Church in Canada. General ed. John Webster Grant (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1972), 189-190.
20. John S. Moir, The Church in the British Era, 194. This presumption on the part of the denominations stems from the accepted motto of the new Dominion from the Book of Psalms: "He shall have dominion also from sea to sea, and from the river unto the ends of the earth." Psalms, 72:8.
21. Robert A. Wright, "The Canadian Protestant Tradition 1914-1945," in The Canadian Protestant Experience 1760 to 1990, ed. G.A. Rawlyk (Burlington, Ontario: Welch Publishing Company Inc., 1990.), 151.
22. Mariana Valverde, The Age of Light, Soap and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885-1925 (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Inc., 1991), 15.

23. Mariana Valverde. The Age of Light, Soap, and Water. 16.
24. Richard Allen. The Social Passion. 8.
25. See argument by Goldwin French. "The Evangelical Creed in Canada" in The Shield of Achilles: Aspects of Canada in the Victorian Age, ed. W. L. Morton. (Toronto and Montreal: McClelland and Stewart), 1968.
26. John S. Moir. Enduring Witness. 144-145.
27. John S. Moir. Enduring Witness. 143.
28. Brian J. Fraser. "The Public Pieties of Canadian Presbyterians." in Church and Canadian Culture, ed. Robert E. VanderVennen (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, Inc., 1991), 89, 93-94.
29. John S. Moir. Enduring Witness. 144.
30. Steve Bruce. Religion in the Modern World: From Cathedrals to Cults (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 114-115.
31. The six main divisions of Methodism were the Wesleyans (specifically the English and Canada Conference Wesleyans), the Episcopal Methodists, the Methodist New Connection, the Primitive Methodists and the Bible Christians. The Wesleyans and the New Connection united in 1874, and the union of all the divisions was completed in 1884. The speed with which Methodism was established in Canada is worth noting. Only one of these bodies existed in Upper Canada in 1824 but all six had been established in the colony by 1844. See C. Mark Steinacher. "A Synopsis of 'Homogenization of Methodism. An examination of the convergence of aspects of polity revivalist practice in Upper Canadian Methodism, 1824-1884'." Canadian Methodist Historical Society, Papers, Volume 9, 1991-1992.
32. See discussion in S.D. Clark. Church and Sect in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1948), 333-336.
33. John Webster Grant. A Profusion of Spires: Religion in Nineteenth-Century Ontario (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 40.
34. The Separatists, who were all originally Puritans, did not share in the usual Puritan goal of a national church which awaited the direction of the monarch or of Parliament to reform the church. They believed that the members of the church should form themselves into spiritual societies, irrespective of what the state or the national church (from which they quickly separated) was doing. See argument in Samuel R. Jackson. A Handbook of Congregationalism (Toronto: Congregational Publishing Company, 1894), 9-10.
35. John Webster Grant. A Profusion of Spires, 31-32.

36. Samuel N. Jackson. A Handbook of Congregationalism. 62.
37. Samuel N. Jackson. A Handbook of Congregationalism. 9.
38. John Webster Grant. A Profusion of Spires. 31-32.
39. Carl Berger. Science, God and Nature in Victorian Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983), 10. Berger mentions three ministers of the Gospel who viewed the study of nature almost as "a religious duty." These were Charles Bethune, who founded the Entomological Society, Robert Campbell, of St Gabriel Street Presbyterian Church in Montreal, and "the free cleric" David Honeyman, who resigned his position in Antigonish and eventually became the provincial geologist.
40. Carl Berger. Science, God, and Nature in Victorian Canada. 77-78. Berger argues that natural history lived on in the feelings of "such representative Victorians as Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Sir Robert Borden, who found pleasure in this appreciation of nature." Wilfrid Laurier could recall the "plumage, songs, nests, colours, and number of eggs" of the birds around Athabaskaville in his younger days and Robert Borden "knew the botanical names of all the Canadian wildflowers that he cultivated in his garden" but "never learned the names of half the members of his Unionist caucus." The animal stories of Charles G.D. Roberts and Ernest Thompson Seton, Archibald Lampman's poetry and S.T. Woods' nature essays apparently drew their inspiration from the tradition of natural history.
41. John S. Moir. Enduring Witness. 153.
42. John S. Moir. Enduring Witness. 153-154.
43. See Dorothy Shadd Shreve. The AfriCanadian Church: A Stabilizer (Jordan Station, Ontario: Paideia Press, 1983), Chapter 6.
44. Dorothy Shadd Shreve. The AfriCanadian Church. 78-81. See also John Webster Grant, A Profusion of Spires, 155-156.
45. See Dorothy Shadd Shreve. The AfriCanadian Church. Chapters 1 and 6.
46. Thomas A. Askew and Peter W. Spellman. The Churches and the American Experience: Ideals and Institutions (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Book House, 1984), 118-121.
47. John Webster Grant. A Profusion of Spires. 155, 156.
48. On this issue, see discussions in John Taylor Tucker. Angola: The Land of the Blacksmith Prince. 43 and Thomas Masaji Okuma. "The Social Response of Christianity in Angola." 94.
49. An interesting account of African-American missionaries in Portuguese Africa is given in Chapter 6 of Lillie Molliene Johnson's dissertation, "Black American Missionaries in Colonial Africa, 1900-1940: A Study of Missionary - Government Relations" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University

of Chicago, December 1981).

50. This rift within church bodies and between congregations seems to have been particularly marked in Protestant churches of more than one denomination. Quite apart from the "Peoples' Churches" that sprung up in many parts of western Canada after World War I as a form of "defection" from the Methodist Church, there was a schism among Canadian Baptists in both central and Western Canada, involving "un-Christ-like warring factions." See comments made by George Rawlyk in Champions of Truth: Fundamentalism, Modernism and the Maritime Baptists (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990), 79 and S.D. Clark, Church and Sect in Canada, 431.

51. S.D. Clark. Church and Sect in Canada, 431.

52. S.D. Clark. Church and Sect in Canada, 433.

53. Robert A. Wright, "The Canadian Protestant Tradition 1914-1945." in The Canadian Protestant Experience 1760-1990, ed. G. A. Rawlyk (Burlington, Ontario: Welch Publishing Company Inc., 1990), 151.

54. Robert A. Wright, "The Canadian Protestant Tradition 1914-1945." 154.

55. David Lochhead, "The United Church of Canada and the Conscience of the Nation." in Church and Culture in Canada, ed. Robert E. VanderVennen (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, Inc., 1991), 26-27.

56. See S.D. Clark, Church and Sect in Canada, 430-431.

57. Robert A. Wright, "The Canadian Protestant Tradition 1914-1945." 154.

58. Robert A. Wright, "The Canadian Protestant Tradition 1914-1945." 154-155.

59. The United Church of Canada, Voices and Visions: 65 Years of The United Church of Canada, (The United Church Publishing House, The United Church of Canada, 1990), 3-4:

"Church leaders had been discussing a possible merger since 1902. why had union finally come about? It was partly inspired by the intense discomfort Christians always feel whenever they hear those few words from John 17, 'that they may all be one' - a unity necessary 'so that the world may believe.'

"Motivation for union also came from practical concerns about the place of Christianity in Canada. World war I, the growth of cities, the influx of immigrants, the settling of the West had all contributed to social change and dislocation. Who would provide moral and spiritual direction for Canada's new and often widely scattered citizens? What schools would they go to? And how would they view the confusing and sometimes acrimonious divisions in the Church? What should be done about the liquor problem? Who would care for the demoralized native populations? Couldn't the churches address all of these issues more effectively if they worked together?"

60. Record of Proceedings of the 9th Toronto Conference. The United Church of Canada, 1933, 19, as quoted in John Webster Grant, The Church in the Canadian Era, 146.
61. John Webster Grant, The Church in the Canadian Era, 146, 150-152.
62. UCC/VIC Archives. Anne E. (Nancy) Copithorne Personal Papers, Box 3, File 129. Addresses: Working Papers, Dr. C.A.S. Elliott, "The Walls Are Down." Address to Board of World Mission Dinner, March 16, 1966.
63. For example, Walter Strangway was born in the United States and Anne Copithorne was born in Ireland.
64. Edward M. Hill, Canadian Mission, Cisamba, West Central Africa (Montreal: "Witness" Printing House, 1895), 3.5.
65. UCC/VIC Woman Foreign Missionary Board General Correspondence, Untitled Document.
66. UCC/VIC Woman Foreign Missionary Board General Correspondence, Untitled Document.
67. UCC/VIC Archives, The United Church of Canada Angola Mission 1925-1976, Finding Aid 43, 83.012C.
68. UCC/VIC Archives, The United Church of Canada Angola Mission 1925-1976, Finding Aid 43, 83.012C.
69. UCC/VIC Archives, The United Church of Canada Angola Mission 1925-1976, Finding Aid 43, 83.012C.
70. United Church of Canada/Victoria University Archives, United Church of Canada Woman's Missionary Society Fonds, 1886-1972, Fonds 505, Series 0, Subseries 0, Finding Aid 90.
71. UCC/VIC Archives, United Church of Canada Woman's Missionary Society Fonds, 1886-1972, Fonds 505, Series 0, Subseries 0, Finding Aid 90.
72. UCC/VIC Archives, United Church of Canada Woman's Missionary Society Fonds, 1886-1972, Fonds 505, Series 0, Subseries 0, Finding Aid 90.
73. For a more detailed discussion on the role of women in this capacity in the Methodist Church in Canada, see Cora Krommenhoek, "'The Church Should Have Championed the Woman's Cause': Women's Liberation and the Methodist Church in Canada 1874-1925," Canadian Methodist Historical Society, Papers, Volume 9, 1991 and 1992.
74. The United Church of Canada, "Angola," in Outreach, 1966 edition, 9.

75. Edward M. Hill. Canadian Mission, Cisamba, West Central Africa, 14.
76. William T. Gunn. In the Footsteps of David Livingstone: The Canadian Congregational Work in Angola, West Central Africa (Toronto: The Canada Congregational Foreign Missionary Society and the Canada Congregational Woman's Board of Missions, circa 1925), 5.
77. For a brief account on the life of Avirahama Ngulu, see John Taylor Tucker. Ngulu of Angola: Father of the Faithful (Toronto: The United Church of Canada, Board of Overseas Missions, 1951).
78. Lawrence W. Henderson. The Church in Angola, 108-113.
79. Kenneth J. Beaton. Angola Now (Toronto: The United Church of Canada, 1945), 11-12.
80. William T. Gunn. In the Footsteps of David Livingstone, 5.
81. UCC/VIC Archives: Records of the Overseas Missions Department Relating to Angola 1924-1961, Finding Aid.
82. UCC/VIC Archives. Anne E. (Nancy) Copithorne Personal Papers, 86.078C, Box 3, File 132. Working Papers: Selected Writings by Leona Sturkey Tucker, 11-30. See also Biographical Files Collection, Tucker, John Taylor Rev., D.B., D.D. (Africa), Biography (1882-1958), brief excerpt from Board of Overseas Missions Minutes, 1968.

CHAPTER THREE THE COLONIAL SETTING

Early Contacts with Angola

Christian missionary activity in Angola began as early as the 1480s with the arrival of Portuguese adventurers led by explorers such as Diogo Cão to the Kingdom of the Kongo and the Kingdom of the Ngola.¹ Portugal was outwardly a devoutly Catholic country and was seeking both the fabled African Christian Kingdom of Prester John and the conversion of souls to the Roman Catholic faith. Portuguese (as well as Spanish) monarchs, ministers and missionaries all accepted "the close and inseparable connection between cross and crown, throne and altar, faith and empire."² For centuries, missionary activity in what is today Angola, was almost exclusively the domain of the Roman Catholic Church in Portugal as the Portuguese Crown had obtained, through the *Padroado Real*,³ the right to appoint its own bishops and other ecclesiastical officials within its realms. This authority automatically excluded the establishment of missions that were accountable directly to the Holy See, in particular, to *Propaganda Fide*, and allowed the Portuguese Roman Catholic Church considerable independence within the possessions of the Portuguese monarch.

These early contacts were soon sullied, however, by the emphasis placed on trading goods, especially slaves and precious metals. From very early, the Portuguese Crown commissioned men such as Manuel Pacheco and Baltasar de Castro to conduct an economic survey of Africa's west coast, especially after the Ngola had sent gifts of silver bracelets to

the Portuguese who at the time were residing in the court of Afonso, the King of the Congo. Despite the fact that Baltasar de Castro's six-year survey suggested strongly that there were no famed silver mines to be found in the region, people continued to entertain dreams of huge silver mines for more than a century thereafter.⁴ This quest for mammon remained the principal force behind Portuguese activity in Africa and was sufficiently infectious to corrupt many of the early clergy who went to Africa. Quite a number began to take part in the slave trade, converting slaves into specie rather than converting souls for the kingdom of God.

The intimate relationship that existed between Church and State ensured in this context that, for the most part, the Church remained a principal agent of the Crown - or at least of its representatives at the relevant centres of colonial authority. In so far as the Portuguese government chose to limit the upward mobility of those governed through the application (or misapplication) of legislation, that mobility would also be limited within given State and ecclesiastical institutions. The major challenge of at least four centuries of Portugal's involvement in Africa was that of obliging the African peoples to accept the authority, if not the legitimacy, of these institutions. Colonial administrations in Africa were styled to meet the material conditions of the colonies as perceived by the metropolitan régime. Such administrations tended to have a very military character, especially in the period immediately following "pacification" or conquest. Individual officers usually exercised a wide range of discretionary powers and a small number of "all-purpose local administrators" in the interior of the colonies tended to retain a great measure of control.⁵

During the Pombaline era⁶ wherein the Church (particularly the Jesuits) lost much of its power base and thereby its ability to exercise its traditional influence in both secular and sacred matters, missionary activity was at an all time low in the Portuguese colonies. This was especially obvious in Africa. It was also symptomatic of the decline Roman Catholic activity in general, as there were only 270 Roman Catholic missionaries throughout the whole world at the beginning of the nineteenth century.⁷ By the 1800s, however, interest in overseas missionary activity was reawakened in Portugal and in the rest of Catholic Europe and both French Catholic missionaries and those under the direct control of the Holy See established themselves in what was previously an almost exclusively Portuguese enclave in Africa.⁸

The arrival of the French Order of the Holy Ghost in 1865 ushered in a new phase of cooperation between the Portuguese government and the Holy See. The Vatican had called on the Holy Ghost Fathers to revive the work of the catholic missions begun by the Capuchins in Portuguese West Africa. The Italian Capuchin Order had formerly attempted to make inroads in the region, only to be frustrated in its attempt by the Portuguese government in Lisbon who showed little interest for or appreciation of the work that the Order had been doing. The Holy Ghost Fathers had much better success in advancing work of Catholic missions in Angola. By agreeing to submit to the jurisdiction of the Bishop of the Congo rather than to Propaganda Fide in Rome, they won the confidence of the Portuguese government.⁹ As the Holy Ghost Fathers conducted Catholic missionary work in Angola,

there was a "unity of control" that aided the colonial government in extending its control beyond the coastal regions, to occupy the whole territory.¹⁰

The transformation of coastal Africa by the Portuguese began through an increasingly uneven trading relationship with the African kingdoms and was made complete by physical subjugation of the last African kingdoms in Angola and Mozambique in the early twentieth century. The initial effect of Portuguese trade with the Bantu kingdoms in the age of exploration was to reorient the attention of these kingdoms to the coast. Although the coastal zone had deposits of salt, a principal commodity of pre-European trade, before the arrival of the Portuguese "the Bantu world faced inland with its back to the sea."¹¹

By 1575 the Portuguese had had very little success establishing themselves as traders in Angola despite a hundred-year presence on the coast. Their thirst to discover the inland resources of Africa combined with the need to establish the profitability of their presence probably led the inauguration of the wars of conquest in that year.¹² This initiated a number of wars with the African kingdoms, including what might be termed the first major war of resistance against the Portuguese led by the very powerful Queen of Ndongo, Nzinga.¹³ During the period of military slaving following the "Angolan Wars" of the seventeenth century, primarily against the Mbundu and the Bakongo, the number of slaves shipped out of Luanda each year probably exceeded 10,000. One estimate suggests that one million slaves were shipped to the Americas throughout the hundred-year period in which these Angolan Wars were conducted.¹⁴ Before this military era, slaves were purchased by

pombeiros (traders) in the markets of the "remoter peoples on the borders of Kongo and Angola" or were obtained from conquered Mbundu chiefs as tribute.¹⁵ *Mestiço* agents known as *aviados* or *feirantes* also supervised commercial activities in the interior that had formerly been the responsibility of Europeans.¹⁶

Further south, Portuguese military penetration inland from Benguela also followed the penetration of other agents such as the *sertanejo* ("backwoodsman") into the Ovimbundu kingdoms in the seventeenth century. The first Portuguese traders to reach the courts of the Ovimbundu kings were "private individuals" who depended upon "the goodwill of their customers" rather than Portuguese firepower, for their security. However, Portuguese military campaigns reached the borders of Ovimbundu country in the early 1700s and soon the slave trade from Benguela to the Americas rivalled and even surpassed the commerce going out of Luanda.¹⁷ The Portuguese were also aided in their conquest of African kingdoms by African auxiliary or mercenary armies known as the *guerra preta*. *Sobas* (African chiefs or sub-chiefs) allied with or in the employ of the Portuguese would organize this rudimentary African soldiery into units that fought alongside Portuguese troops.¹⁸ It is evident that the few Portuguese soldiers on the ground in Africa in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries would hardly have survived a full-fledged African assault without their aid, especially during the competition with the French, Dutch and English for slaves along the Loango Coast, north of the Congo River, in the latter half of the eighteenth century.¹⁹

The Portuguese moved to conquer the Ovimbundu kingdoms after their discovery that a significant trade was being conducted between the Ovimbundu and the English and the French at the coast to the northwest. As the Ovimbundu adopted the Portuguese style of building massive stone forts, this military campaign required field guns for siege warfare. By 1776, the Portuguese eventually defeated Bailundu, the largest of the Ovimbundu kingdoms, but they did not fully subdue the Ovimbundu until more than a century later.²⁰ Charles Boxer argues that both the slave trade and the "extreme unhealthiness" of Angola were drawbacks to the "sound development" of that colony. Malaria and other tropical diseases "whose cause and cure were then unknown" gave Angola the reputation of being "a white man's grave" well into the 1900s. This is why Angola remained a penal settlement for so long as it was difficult encourage anyone to go there voluntarily from as early as the mid-1600s.²¹

As Angola served as a dumping ground for vagabonds, vicious criminals and levies of Gypsies whom the Crown deemed undesirable and strove to expel from Portugal, very little was done to encourage wholesome development in the region. The concentration of "virtually all efforts" on the very profitable slave trade "stultified the healthy development of Angola"²² and so the potential agricultural and mineral resources of Angola received very little attention for several centuries. The salt trade, the potential exploitation of copper which was frequently seen in use in the region, especially for bracelets, the exploitation of iron ore deposits and the search for silver mines all had a greater allure for the Portuguese than agriculture. The quality of iron ore in particular encouraged the Portuguese to build two iron

foundries in the Luanda region, bringing Basque smelters to operate them, but the high mortality rate among Europeans and the general shortage of labour in the region severely constrained these operations.²³

Consequently, the slave trade excluded, Angola remained an economic backwater of the Portuguese empire, but would quickly gain importance upon the loss of Brazil. Hence, the creation of a powerful slave owning and slave-trading class of Whites, an intermediate class of *mestiços* and a continually increasing class of "detrribalized" Black Africans was the result of focusing almost all efforts on the slave trade in Angola for more than two hundred years.²⁴ The abolition of slavery in 1878 was a factor that affected the Ovimbundu kingdoms as they had supplied the middlemen or agents for this trade from the interior. They quickly turned their attention to trade in ivory wax and honey, however, maintaining their viability for another few decades.²⁵

The ability of the Ovimbundu kingdoms to adapt to the new circumstances and imitate the features of Portuguese warfare, such as building massive stone forts for their own defence, suggests strongly that their own leadership was capable of carrying out the kinds of developmental changes that the Portuguese later believed could only be done under European tutelage. Their resilience and adaptability as traders *par excellence* in Angola suggested a degree of initiative that was increasingly overlooked by later Portuguese authorities.

Quite apart from their skill at long-distance trade, the Ovimbundu conducted an important internal trade where the “arts of haggling and bargaining were developed to a fine degree.” Their transactions were also done in the open with witnesses in attendance and they had devised a number of regulations that required the payment of indemnities to the wronged party in the case of unethical business practices. By the 1800s, the Ovimbundu had incorporated the idea of credit into their business dealings, a development that was likely the result of their exposure to the Portuguese concept of *negócio de banzo* (“trust trade”). Moreover, they also had a remarkable talent from keeping track of rates and various items of exchange, given that they had no exclusive currency of exchange.²⁶

Given their readiness to adapt to changing circumstances around them, it was ironic that later Portuguese administrations were more eager to employ *degredados* and other European settlers in their bid to “civilize” the Angolan interior. The failure to develop Angola along modern lines thereafter could hardly be blamed on the traditional Angolan leadership whose torch was finally and forcibly extinguished when the wars of pacification drew to a close in the 1920s.

Protestant Missions and the "Scramble" for Portuguese Africa

Angola's first obvious exposure to Protestant missionaries came with Dutch penetration of the coastal zone. Luanda and interior regions though trade and alliances with

African potentates and the forcible (i.e. military) displacement of the Portuguese in the seventeenth century.²⁷ The tradition began again from the mid-1800s through the journeys of the celebrated explorers, Livingstone, Stanley and Cameron; however, Protestantism did not truly take root in Angola until the latter half of the 1800s. By the 1880s and the Congress of Berlin (1884-1885) Protestant missionary activity in Africa had grown in intensity.

The Congress had been prompted by several factors, most of which had little to do with Africa *per se*. However, the keen competition among European nations to defend their "rising mercantile interests" had accelerated the partitioning of Africa. The establishment of the Congo Independent State as a personal fiefdom of King Leopold II of Belgium in 1879, the new direction of French colonialism under Jules Ferry, the proposed Anglo-Portuguese treaty of 1884 which acknowledged "Portuguese primacy along the coast" near the mouth of the Congo River, and Bismarck's sudden announcement of the existence of German protectorates in Togo, Cameroun and Southwest Africa (Namibia), also in 1884, triggered new antagonisms and prompted the German Chancellor to propose a European conference on Africa.²⁸

At the Congress, the European powers involved in the "Scramble for Africa" agreed to allow missionary activity within the borders of their African possessions²⁹ in addition to other important decisions concerning the legitimacy of territorial claims and the process of effective occupation of the continent. Portugal, forced to accede to the provisions of the Congress for the survival of its African empire, was now obliged to accept the presence of

foreign missionaries within its domain, and to allow them considerable berth to carry out their work.

Further to the agreements made at Berlin, there was the national humiliation of 1890 when Britain issued an ultimatum to Portugal, demanding that the Portuguese armed expedition into Nyasaland (Malawi) be withdrawn.³⁰ Not wishing to sever relations with Great Britain, the Portuguese government complied, effectively abandoning its old *contra costa* dream of combining Angola and Mozambique into one contiguous entity in southern Africa,³¹ but remained suspicious of British and German designs towards what remained of Portuguese Africa and of the activities of foreigners operating within its territory. The British ultimatum added to the embarrassment of the Portuguese monarchy at home, thereby strengthening the cause of republicanism. Overseas, the effect of the embarrassment was to strengthen Portugal's resolve to consolidate its hold on the colonies and thus shore up its fading international prestige. It is in this period that Protestant inroads into "Catholic" Angola first become a major concern for the Portuguese authorities and Roman Catholic groups.

Protestant missions (and indeed the Protestant Churches) did not enjoy the same traditional relationship with the Portuguese state as the Roman Catholic Church had. The Roman Catholic Church in Portugal had not experienced a reformation as it had in England, Germany, Switzerland or France. There were very small Protestant congregations in Portugal but these groups had been transplanted there from Great Britain. These included the Lusitanian (Anglican) Church, the Plymouth Brethren, the Methodists, and the Presbyterians.

On sporadic occasions the work of these small groups was hindered by Catholic clerics or local government officials; however, the national government tolerated their existence in Portugal, having little reason or occasion to take any special notice of their activities. By the very late 1800s, the first Protestant missionaries from Great Britain, the United States, Canada, and Switzerland had applied in Lisbon to obtain permission to work in Angola. This development took place just as the European powers were establishing the rules for their occupation of Africa. Thus, Portugal was faced with a completely new and perplexing question on the relationship between the Church and the State. They were now challenged to deal with religious bodies that could not be considered churches from the Catholic point of view.³²

Whilst some African leaders did not tolerate or encourage the establishment of missions in their states, others saw a use for missionaries in the conduct of their foreign policy. African rulers often welcomed these missionaries in order to avail themselves of their "specialist skills for internal political and developmental purposes." Yet in every case, even among those kings who converted to Christianity, some attempt was made to attenuate or restrict the full "spiritual impact" of the missionaries.³³ In fact, the first Protestant missionaries in the modern period were often subject to the authority of African kings to an even greater degree than they were to the colonial administrations.

The first ABCFM missionaries discovered very quickly that Portuguese control "extended only a few miles inland" and they had to obtain permission from the rulers of the

different kingdoms in order to enter those domains. Hence the Kings of Bailundu and Bié had to grant them permission to enter their realms and would, on occasion, expel them from their domains at will.³⁴ As African monarchs had not been party to the agreements made at Berlin, they were not bound to guarantee religious freedom for all faiths in their domains. Moreover, owing to rivalries between kings, the missionaries effectively became "prisoners" of their hosts. This became apparent when the King of Bailundu, Ekwikwi II, refused to allow them to move on to Bié, insisting that he was the only one who should be allowed to have "white children or white slaves."³⁵

The relationship between Protestant missionaries and colonialism is a complex one to define and becomes an even greater analytical challenge as the mission concept evolved during the twentieth century. Whereas for many Africans the early Christian missionaries were often indistinguishable from traders, soldiers and settlers who followed or accompanied them, the modern missionary effort had a few characteristics that set it apart from earlier colonial ventures. The work of White missionaries in emphasizing "the virtues of regular labour, obedience, individual effort and responsibility" suited the exigencies of plantation and industrial capitalism. However, since the 1800s, modern missions have benefited from "autonomous sources of finance, recruitment and control" and the ability to "transcend national boundaries and even at times denominational divisions." There is also the advantage of having pioneered African education, "often making it impossible for the colonial powers

to throttle this process." Moreover, they have made a wider range of contributions that have helped Africans to challenge colonial rule.³⁶

Much of the fear and suspicion displayed by the Portuguese authorities stemmed from the precarious position they held in Africa in relation to the other European empires.³⁷ Indeed, the very establishment of Portuguese power in Africa and elsewhere was facilitated to a great extent by interstate or inter-tribal rivalries prevalent at the time of their arrival on the scene. In manipulating these rivalries, the Portuguese obtained a strong foothold and then slowly expanded their control inland.³⁸

Portuguese fire power became an important factor in the internal politics of African kingdoms from very early on, but lacking the economic, technological and military strength of rival European powers, Portugal was unable to occupy most of the regions it claimed in Africa until the era of the Scramble. By then, much of the African continent that had once fallen under some degree of Portuguese influence, was already in the possession of other European states, owing to the inadequacy of earlier Portuguese attempts at occupation and settlement. As Britain, France, Belgium and Germany began to expand their respective domains across the African continent in the 1880s, the Portuguese quickly found themselves far behind in a race that they themselves had started back in the fifteenth century. Portugal, having fallen behind in the race to colonize, industrialize and reform its social structures, held on tenaciously to its African territories as the most obvious symbol that it was still an international power.

As a small European state with a smaller population than even smaller geographical entities such as Belgium and Holland, Portugal was never able to fully occupy its colonies in the manner outlined at the Congress of Berlin in 1884-1885. Most of the inroads of Portuguese colonization were made by the *mestiço* sons of Portuguese explorers in the early centuries, and even then most regions under their influence or control paid little more than lip service allegiance to the Portuguese Crown.³⁹ In later years, the expansion of Portuguese control was financed by banks in other European centres, most notably in France. By the turn of the century, the myth of centuries of Portuguese rule in Africa had already been laid bare, but was not yet strongly contested. The modern-day African challenge to Portuguese colonialism would, however, not be long in coming.

With particular reference to Angola, a major problem for Portugal was the debate over rights of passage through and ownership of the Congo Basin and Delta in the 1800s, mentioned briefly above. Portugal had pressed its claims to this region for quite some time without very much success, in the face of mounting pressure from Britain, France and Germany. Angola's southern border was also ill-defined as German interests pressed north and eastward from the area now known as Namibia. Angola had mostly been used up to that time as a source of slave labour both for other parts of Africa and for the Americas. Portugal was very sensitive about its own failure to "develop" other thriving industries in this region, particularly in those regions that lay behind the nascent but lucrative fishing and agricultural concerns along Angola's southern Atlantic coastline.⁴⁰ Furthermore, for part of Angola's

history the colony had even been governed by Brazilians on behalf of the Portuguese Crown. Portugal was, therefore, painfully aware of its tenuous hold on the entire colony. Failure to maintain possession of any one segment could plausibly result in a rapid erosion of Portuguese control over the rest of the colony.

During the First World War and later on in Portugal's republican era, the Portuguese financial situation "took a turn for the worse" following the decision to fight in the war on the side of the Allies. Gervase Clarence-Smith argues that this decision had actually been prompted by unofficial hostilities between Germany and Portugal in Southern Angola in 1914, and by the conviction that if the German Empire were victorious, it was likely to appropriate most or all of the Portuguese territories. The World War had cost Portugal an estimated 60 to 80 million pounds sterling. A significant percentage of this expenditure had resulted from the unofficial hostilities that had taken place in Angola in 1914 and 1915 and in Mozambique after the Germans had retreated from German East Africa. The huge military expense became an even greater financial encumbrance following the campaigns launched by republican authorities to extinguish the independent African polities and place them all under the firm control of the Portuguese State.⁴¹

Even in areas where simpler economies operated, the Portuguese were still at a disadvantage to other European states. In southern Angola, which came under Portuguese domination some time after the northern and central regions, there was a simple organization of exchange in the absence of fixed markets. Usually individual traders or small groups

moved from household to household to exchange their goods. The kraals of powerful rulers also functioned as quasi-markets where goods such as beads, cloth, cattle or tobacco were used as currency. In both cases, it was clear that neither system had actually been incorporated into the Western market system where Portuguese money had been accepted as the basic means of exchange. Furthermore, when European money was finally recognized as the medium of exchange, British and German coins were found in circulation far more frequently than Portuguese paper notes.⁴² While the Portuguese government desired to improve the economic condition of Angola for Portugal's own benefit, the impetus and wherewithal for economic development in Angola lay elsewhere. Effectively, Portugal could not rule what it considered its own house.

Moreover, conquest and pacification had depended as much upon African assistance as it did upon the assistance of other foreign agents. The African (i.e. Black) colonial army and police force in the Portuguese zones harked back to the pre-colonial period when communities of Africans, *mestiços* and Indians (often from Goa) were formed around Portuguese forts. Moving inland from Luanda and Benguela, these communities carried out the conquest of the interior on Portugal's behalf during the Scramble.⁴³ The co-opting of local forces for the conquest of various regions is not unique to the Portuguese empire; yet the degree to which the Portuguese seemed to depend on everyone else for the maintenance of what had become its major possession after the loss of Brazil was paradoxical. It explains at

the same time the intense jealousy that Portugal bore towards outsiders in its realm and the continued presence of such outsiders in important roles within the colonies.

This tenuous Portuguese control lent itself to what several critics of Portuguese colonial history have termed "uneconomic imperialism." The Portuguese seemed content at first, to obtain possessions around the world at whatever the cost to the national purse, simply for the sake of having them:

Precisely what absorbs us, what gratifies us, what consoles us is to put a finger on the map here and there; to say in ringing tones, "We have eight; we have nine: we are a colonizing nation, we are a maritime people!"⁴⁴

Profitability was perhaps assumed, but did not become *the* priority for regions like Angola until the twentieth century was well under way and the *Estado Novo* sought to balance its budgets. At that point, the colonies became "an indispensable basis for the expansion of the home market"⁴⁵ as suppliers of raw materials and purchasers of goods produced in Portugal. The Portuguese sought to maintain an empire that was comparable to the later empires of their wealthier rivals without having experienced the full effects of an industrial revolution at home. Having followed "no classical (i.e. European) pattern of colonial exploitation, industrialization or early capital accumulation" during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and diverging from "standard patterns of Western industrial development" for the better part of the twentieth century,⁴⁶ Portugal remained the "Sick Man" of western Europe for many decades.

At the time of the Scramble, when other maritime nations in Europe had already been investing vast amounts of capital abroad, Portugal was a net importer of capital. The Portuguese monarchy suffered through prolonged financial difficulties and defaulted in part on its foreign debt by the early 1890s. Unlike Great Britain and other leading maritime nations, Portugal still did not boast a prosperous middle class to boost Portuguese entrepreneurship at home and overseas, and so the bulk of immigrants to the overseas possessions came from a mostly illiterate peasantry. British and French interests were responsible for developing most of its modern infrastructure by constructing docks, introducing gasworks, and constructing railway lines and street-car lines.⁴⁷

Even after such modern development was under way, Portugal tended to remain "an agrarian society of more or less medieval character, without state support but *conditioned to prevent development* [emphasis mine]."⁴⁸ Portugal's principal export was wine, which "accounted for three times as many sales as any other product" and its other leading export commodities were "cork, sardines and fruits."⁴⁹ Portugal had certainly not established an industrial base to match that of its neighbours and even though Salazar's government in *O Estado Novo* ("the New State") was composed of "an alliance of landed proprietors, bankers, merchants and industrialists of moderate means"⁵⁰ the Portuguese economy continued to lag behind that of other Western European countries. This was the result of a deliberate policy - the *Modelo Económico* - which sought to promote industrial development while arresting the rate of inflation and hindering "the formation of a potentially disruptive urban proletariat."⁵¹

The *Modelo* complemented what were deemed to be the three principles that dominated Salazar's actions: the belief in Catholicism (tempered by the understanding that the Church and the State could not have the same policy in all matters); the distaste for popular government; and a hatred of Communism.⁵²

After the First World War Portugal was obliged to focus on its domestic market as its economy could not compete on the world market. Its capitalist system became burdened with high production costs owing to the virtual absence of modern production procedures. This in turn led to low wages, which in the context of the domestic market also led to low prices. Consequently, the State, "which represented the landed proprietors, had to support the latter financially in order to achieve profits in spite of low prices." Resulting from this policy, therefore, was "a direct association between the landed proprietors and those in power."⁵³ Overlaid upon this entire structure, was the "will of Salazar [which] was absolutely proof against the modern world and the needs of the nation."⁵⁴

Until the relative boom years of the Angolan and Mozambican economies from the late 1930s onwards, the far-flung empire remained an economic burden, sustained more out of prestige than out of any distinct economic imperative. This weakness, which was both economic and demographic in nature, made the Portuguese all the more dependent on the harsh measures of military control and on the involvement of foreign agencies such as French banks, Belgian entrepreneurs, British investors and foreign religious missions. Both Angola and Mozambique, though politically under Portuguese control, had become the economic

domain of foreign investors as the Portuguese investors were too weak to control or develop these huge regions of southern Africa.⁵⁵

In fact, well into the twentieth-century, Belgian entrepreneurs took most of the initiative in northern Angola. Portuguese capital had been hesitant to enter the colonies in any significant way with the exception of trade, banking and shipping, which were protected sectors. The Belgians usually extended their activities in the Belgian Congo into Angola and the diamond mining company they co-established in 1917 in northeastern Angola (discussed in more detail in Chapter Six) became one of the dominant companies within the Portuguese empire.⁵⁶ Almost throughout its African territories in this period, Portugal used chartered companies "as a device to attract foreign capital to save an important part of its empire." The bankrupt Portuguese state allowed some of these companies to function as "governing agencies" well into the twentieth century.⁵⁷ With this and other factors in mind, it would not be an exaggeration to say that virtually the entire process of colonizing Angola, Mozambique and other territories had been done by proxy.

Even by the 1930s, areas of the Lunda district in northeastern Angola were still unexplored and had not been brought under the effective jurisdiction of the Portuguese colonial apparatus.⁵⁸ Painfully aware of its weaknesses in comparison to other world powers, the Portuguese State repeatedly attempted to display its prowess before the African population. This constituted a recipe for even further conflict, both with the Africans and

with any agency that seemed to ally itself more closely with African communities than with the Portuguese society. It was in this setting that the Protestant missionaries became a major concern for the colonial authorities.

As the expansion of Portuguese administration in Angola was coeval with and to some degree dependent upon the spread of missionary influence, an uneasy ambivalence characterized the relationship that developed between the Portuguese government and these particular foreigners. It was clearly more favourable for the Portuguese state to govern Africans who had acquired some level of Christian acculturation and some degree of Westernization, as opposed to those who had remained in a more "barbarous" or "pagan" state of existence. It was not in their interests, however, to govern Africans who might come to exhibit divided loyalties because the agent of this acculturation was not Portuguese at all.

Conflict and Compromise with Portuguese Colonialism

In the contested regions of Angola during the Scramble, foreign missionaries were already active and were perceived by many Portuguese as part of the greater challenge to their continued hold on this region of Africa. The agreements made at the Congress of Berlin, mentioned earlier, permitted the missionaries to remain in these regions but did not protect them from intermittent harassment by local officials and Portuguese traders who resented their growing presence and influence.

During the period of the Portuguese Democratic Republic (1910-1926) the Protestant missions in northern and central Angola came into considerable conflict with the colonial government. Government depended on taxes and customs dues and the Africans paid a heavy price through hut taxes for the specious benefit of having a colonial administration imposed on them.⁵⁹ Among the Bakongo, there was resistance and outright revolt against Portugal's attempts to collect taxes and to send workers to cacao plantations in São Tomé. The most ardent resistance seemed to come from those who had been associated with the already suspect Protestant missions. Up to that period, the Portuguese had only managed to occupy a small part of the Kingdom of the Kongo and colonial authorities were worried about rumours that Great Britain and Germany had already made plans between themselves to divide up Portugal's overseas possessions.⁶⁰

Protestant missionaries in particular, did not profess the state religion and were apt to conduct their activities in languages other than the official state language. Moreover, they had a different cultural background and a penchant for installing themselves in the interior of the colonies in order to educate the African masses living there, outside direct Portuguese influence and supervision. They introduced ideas that ran contrary to the State's official position on a number of issues. In many ways, these missionaries posed a threat to the colonial administration through their obvious capacity for undermining the goals of the Portuguese polity. A considerable number of African Angolans welcomed the individual missionaries into their regions and villages, often in a bid to get leverage against the

influence of local petty officials and traders. At times these traders were able to encourage local kings or village leaders to expel missionaries, but these missionaries were often invited to return over the course of time.

The warm reception extended to missionaries was sometimes the result of the past history of a region where Christianity had made inroads in earlier centuries. For example, the people of the Kongo region of Angola were aware of their Catholic past which dated back to early cultural exchange and cooperation between their kingdom and the Portuguese monarchy. This period of goodwill between the two peoples, however short-lived it might have been, had added a new dimension to how many of the people of the Kongo had come to view themselves. This appreciation of their own historical development made it easy for both Catholic and Baptist missionaries to establish themselves in that region of Angola in the late 1800s.⁶¹

As an agency for the acceptance of new commodities, crops, and commercial enterprises and as a group that boasted "technical and artisanal skills" Christian missions also constituted a bulwark of capitalist values in Africa. Yet, as Freund argues, there was an irony in this position as a number of missionaries were the product of "declining classes and regions in the West, such as small-town southern Germany or the North American Great Plains in the era of Fascism, populism and rural radicalism."⁶² Many of them assumed their vocation as a reaction against the "new industrialised, concentrated capitalism" in their countries of origin. They embraced and encouraged the values of an earlier capitalism

which included "Western family structure, individualist orientation and the self-justifying work ethic." However, very few missionaries contested the political and economic structures and arrangements imposed by colonialism. Segregation, land alienation and migrant labour went unchallenged for many years.⁶³

Genuine mission work faced an additional handicap as the missionaries were often advised by their societies at home not to disclose in public forums or through the regular press the injustices they continually witnessed in Angola. The Portuguese authorities would be apt to interpret such action as interference in their internal affairs and might thereby gain grounds for expelling missionaries from the territory. This would only result in a complete reversal of all the missionaries had been trying to accomplish. As a result of this stance, for many decades missionaries were unable to draw on the support or influence of the international community in order to encourage the Portuguese authorities to correct many of the injustices committed against Africans in the overseas territories. Moreover, in many parts of the so-called "free world," there were many minorities still struggling to have their civil rights recognized and protected.

Much of the hesitation to even contest the action of the host government within the colonies was the result of directives from within the organizational structure of the Home Boards back in North America and Europe. In observing the work of the mission at Dôndi in the 1920s, a visiting Mission Board administrator complemented the mission on setting a clear example "the right way of dealing with the Portuguese Colonial authorities." He

hoped that the pattern they had established in Portuguese West Africa could be started in Portuguese East Africa. Thereupon he took the liberty of restating what he termed the "essentials in successful dealing with government" in many fields in which the Board was active. He listed the following points in his report:

1. Accept and obey the laws of the country as they are. Seek amelioration of bad conditions and the modification or adaptation of laws to suit the needs of the work or the people by the direct approach which is open and regular rather than by any hostility and criticism.
2. Always try to secure the point of view of the officials with patience and sympathy. Martineau says: "Pure sympathies produce clear intellect."
3. Make it a point to talk things over with officials frequently rather than "try to have as little to do with them as possible." More misunderstandings are bred by silence than by frankness and good will.
4. Search for and make use of the best qualities in the officials with whom you have to deal. If you seek their worst sides you will surely find them!
5. Do not dwell upon, nurse and exaggerate stories of wrong and injustice. It produces a toxin in the mind which unfits one for direct dealing with the facts.
6. When it seems necessary to follow out a case of injustice first make very sure that you have all the facts exactly. Then approach the necessary officials directly and fearlessly, but without a pugnacious spirit. More good will be accomplished by one wrong righted in this way than by a hundred complaints which fail for lack of tact and exactness.⁶⁴

The missionaries were obviously being admonished to have much more than just a modicum of caution. As guests in the domains of a somewhat unpredictable host, they could not risk

upsetting the authorities if they wanted their work to continue in Angola. Yet, the fine line between caution and complacency was crossed in a few occasions, whenever these very missionaries failed to acknowledge or openly condemn actions on the part of their hosts that went against the very core of the religion that the missionaries were supposedly trying to promote by example in Angola.

One could be certain that not all missionaries felt hampered or restricted by such a cautious approach. In fact, there were a number of missionaries who continued to believe in their own superiority over the Africans. As Sidney Gilchrist wrote in the 1960s:

[T]here are missions and missions and missionaries and missionaries.... There are many sects and individual missionaries who still really think that the African by nature has certain limitations, inferiorities and gene-linked tendencies and weaknesses. There are others who really feel in their inmost hearts (whatever they may mouth in public utterance) that the Africans were created for the advantage of God's more worthy creatures - especially those whose skins are (to the much greater masses of humanity) repulsively lacking in pigment.⁶⁵

There is no clear indication as to how many missionaries still held to these views or to what degree such prejudices lingered with others. It is evident, however, that an increasing number of missionaries were favourably disposed to the cause of African nationalism after the Second World War.

It has been argued that Protestantism in Angola is in effect a "tribal religion." Even though the Western technical civilization that these missionaries helped to introduce into Angola had a detribalizing effect, Protestantism served to maintain traditional cultures at the

same time. These Protestant groups began churches that inherited the social structures of the various ethno-linguistic groupings.⁶⁶ Some impressive evidence exists for supporting this argument when the correlation between areas of mission activity and ethno-linguistic regions is made and when comparisons are drawn between the organization of the churches and African mass parties as regards youth and women's groups, for example.⁶⁷

As a consequence of such concerns the colonial authorities introduced various pieces of legislation over time in order to curb the influence of foreign agents. One example of these measures was the Decree of 09 December 1921 that obliged the missionaries to use Portuguese as the language of instruction in their schools. Thenceforth the Canadian missionaries who went to Angola would first spend at least eight months in Portugal learning the new language before assuming their duties in Africa.

Almost without exception, the Portuguese intended to establish nothing short of direct rule in their possessions. The striking result of pacification was the disappearance of African kings and their kingdoms. Many rulers were simply deposed or were forced into exile. This was both the result of the Portuguese conquest and the undermining of the authority of the chiefs through economic changes which deprived them of control over the economic resources of their regions and people. It quickly became impractical or undesired for migrant labourers to submit to the control of the chiefs. The chiefs were equally unable to exert their influence over farmers who moved out of the traditional villages and denied the chiefs their usual control over communal property.⁶⁸ Douglas L. Wheeler emphasizes the fact that many

Africans "were caught between allegiance to their village life and the attractions of the town, without full satisfaction from either"⁶⁹ as traditional African authority and so society went into a pronounced decline.

Although the Portuguese sought the cooperation of an influential sector of the African population in maintaining the colonial régime, their failure to attract the support of any other group or class lost, for them, both political support and an important medium through which they could communicate with the African masses.⁷⁰ Malyn Newitt posits that half-hearted attempts by the authorities to accord some status and prestige to the catechists of the Catholic missions were in part an overture in this direction. Be that as it may, no convincing efforts were made to endear any influential sector of rural society to the Portuguese administration. The removal of the traditional chiefs throughout Africa inadvertently and inevitably allowed alternative forms of leadership to emerge within the African communities. Although this process was curiously delayed in the Portuguese colonies, it also took root, despite Portugal's intransigence in the face of the inevitable.⁷¹

Lying at the heart of the matter was the fact that in practice, the Portuguese colonial régime was openly and bitterly racist, even though legal codes and State philosophy tended to emphasize differences in culture rather than race or colour bar. Hence distinctions made on the basis of race were poorly concealed under the veil of cultural assimilation. Racism remained a fundamental part of a system that sought always to maintain the status of the colonizer to the detriment of the colonized:

Racism appears then, not as an incidental detail, but as a consubstantial part of colonialism. It is the highest expression of the colonial system and one of the most significant features of the colonist. Not only does it establish a fundamental discrimination between the colonizer and colonized, a *sine qua non* of colonial life, but it also lays the foundation for the immutability of this life.⁷²

The poor excuse that what applied in Angola was not racial discrimination but cultural inequality fell apart when Portugal stepped up White immigration to Angola and it became plain just how culturally impoverished many of the European settlers were and how racially stigmatized the situation really was.⁷³ Lusotropicalism was a lusophile's dream but an African nightmare. It was a thin veil that only partially concealed the true purpose and application of Portuguese policy towards the African. A brief review of this policy makes these complications evident.

Portugal's Native Policy

The Portuguese formulated their native policy at a time when they had little control over their colonies and were not in a position to "conduct the sort of experiments in social engineering that theorists might have wanted." From the 1880s to the early 1900s, pacification was the main concern. After 1891, the paramount concern was the pressing need to reduce colonial deficits and then the need to respond to the lobbying of concessionaires and the metropolitan commercial classes who were seeking economic privileges in the

colonies. The social and economic changes that were affecting the African populations in the colonies were also a concern, though subordinate to the others.⁷⁴

Yet, despite the urgent reality of the situation, Portuguese legislators "never lost sight of idealistic objectives, and these coloured the colonial rhetoric and the language of decrees." What emerged, as a consequence, were three distinct Portuguese Native Policies or perhaps "a trinity in which one 'native' policy took on three different manifestations." The ideal, long-term objective of the Native Policy was stated first. This was followed by the actual provisions of the colonial legislation which were intended to provide a framework for day to day administration. The third and final aspect was the policy that was executed by the local *chefes dos postos* (district officers) and the *regedores*, through their own interpretation and application of the law.⁷⁵

The Portuguese created a new administrative structure in which the *régulo* - the village chief or headman - was given the new administrative title of *regedor*. The *regedor* could also be an *assimilado*, and regions areas that contained *assimilado* or European communities were known as *concelhos*.⁷⁶ Malyn Newitt explains that the *regedor* was viewed as the government's agent in the villages and was expected to assist the Portuguese authorities in collecting taxes, in recruiting labourers and carriers and, in a later period, in maintaining the compulsory cotton-growing campaigns. The *regedor* was exempted from taxation and labour, and even this exemption was contingent upon his meeting the government's demands. He had no other privileges and could exercise no separate or

independent authority over his people. Frequently, the task of the *regedor* was assigned to government soldiers as precious few members of the traditional chiefly families wished to assume the hated duties of the *regedores*. On occasion, traditional chiefs would still be recognized by their people as legitimate leaders and arbiters alongside the government's *regedor*. The low status of the *regedor* guaranteed that the White Portuguese administrator exercised a much more direct control over the African population than his counterpart in most other European colonies.⁷⁷

The long-term objective of this Native Policy, seems to have been "fairly consistent" throughout the last hundred years of Portuguese rule in Africa. Unlike their British counterparts, the Portuguese made no claim to respect "the paramountcy of African interests." They, instead, sought to assimilate or integrate Africans into their society. The Africans were to be converted to Catholicism, were expected to become Portuguese in their cultural expression and would become part and parcel of the "wage-earning, market-oriented economy." This was what the Portuguese concept of "civilization" meant. To attain the classification *civilizado*, an African could apply to the local administration for a certificate which would identify him as such. Upon receipt of that certificate, the African "theoretically enjoyed all the rights and obligations of a white Portuguese." Nevertheless, when Portugal's colonial rule ended, relatively few Africans had attained the formal recognition of the State as "civilized" people, chiefly as they saw no personal advantage in abandoning the status of *indígena* (Native).⁷⁸

It is argued that colonial policy was chiefly concerned with the African who was classified as an *indígena*. Under Portuguese law, the *indígena* was understood to play varied roles - those of taxpayer, labourer, producer within a traditional economy, and potential *civilizado*. The "multifarious legislation" regulating the life and activities of the *indígena* acknowledged the interrelationship of these roles. Although a comprehensive labour law was introduced in 1899 and a land law followed in 1901, Newitt points out that the codification of all the decrees which regulated the life of the *indígena* was not done until the early days of the *Estado Novo* (New State), and was embodied in the *Estatuto Político Civil e Criminal dos Indígenas* in 1929. When the legislation was revised in 1954, the term *assimilado* came to replace *civilizado*, but it was only fundamentally changed in the major reforms of the early 1960s, when the distinction between *indígenas* and *civilizados* was removed "by the law's magic," giving everyone, in principle, equal rights. This change in the Native Code, as Pélissier indicates, had come too late and "appeared merely as a concession to foreign pressure."⁷⁹

One historian contends that Portugal's failure to enforce an effective policy of assimilation "the theoretical guarantee of continued sovereignty" was due to multiplicity of factors. The "traditional problems" of Portugal's poverty, underdevelopment in Angola, ethnic diversity among the African populations, a dearth of health, welfare and education facilities and a lack of Portuguese supervisory personnel had plagued successive Portuguese administrations. The situation was further compounded by the consequences of forced labour

and the "hostile attitude" of certain European colonists toward the education of Africans. He points out that corporal punishment was relatively commonplace and that the European official, as well as the settler, viewed the whip (*chicote*) and the wooden paddle (*palmatória*) as symbols of European supremacy in Angola over the "child-like African." The extent and acknowledgement of African rights "remained an exclusively Portuguese decision." For Africans, that kind of treatment suggested that slavery had not really come to an end⁸⁰ and this sentiment was a further indictment of the emptiness of Portugal's so-called *missão civilizadora*.

Although all of the abovementioned factors were important, it is clear that the policy of assimilation would not be effectively enforced if it would result in the ultimate displacement of Whites from positions of authority. This type of social change was not desirable to European society in Portugal or the tropics. The legacy of slavery and the racial prejudices that were reinforced by that institution turned assimilation policy into outright hypocrisy.

It is well understood that slavery was still the dominant economic activity in Angola as late as 1911. There were also two "subordinate types" of labour relations co-existing with slavery. First there was a certain amount of "proletarian wage labour" which included freed slaves immigrant sailors from the northern Angolan enclave of Cabinda, and destitute Whites and *mestiços*.⁸¹ Such wage earners formed a "skilled labour aristocracy," which placed them in an intermediary position between masters and slaves. The other type of labour was "serf

labour" which the Africans who had been dispossessed of their lands by the settlers were forced to provide. The services rendered by workers were normally carried out in exchange for grazing rights and would usually be required of them at the peak of the agricultural or fishing periods. Forced labour was not used in southern Angola before 1911, but it was legally instituted throughout Portugal's empire in 1899.⁸²

Although the ex-slaves provided the base of a "stable proletariat" from 1911 onwards, the rapidly expanding fisheries industry employed an abundance of forced labour in the 1920s.⁸³ The labour code of 1911 established two types of forced labour, and this pattern remained fundamentally unchanged up to 1962. Gervase Clarence-Smith refers to the most common type of forced labour as "obligatory labour." Every male native was required to pay an annual tax and was expected to perform a certain yearly period of salaried work. He was exempted from this second requirement if he could prove that he had some other means of earning "a sufficient monetary income." The authorities made a distinction between *voluntários* (those who met their labour obligations without direct intervention from the State) and *contratados* (those who had to be coerced to "offer" their labour in service to the state. There also existed forced labour proper, which is to say, labour for the State on public works for which no remuneration was earned by the labourers.⁸⁴

The 1928 Native Labour Code for the Portuguese colonies in Africa has been described as "a very long and complex decree of 428 articles and very superior to earlier regulations on the topic."⁸⁵ This code contained "norms on recruitment and the regulation of

the labour contract, oriented and directed with a view to the protection of the native." Detailed regulations concerning food, lodging and clothing, aid to workers, social assistance, women's and minor's work, the hours of work, compulsory rest periods, workers' transportation and labour accidents⁸⁶ were also laid down by the Code. The Code remained in force from 1928 to 1962 when Portugal issued a new Rural Labour Code. It is noteworthy that although it prohibited forced labour or compulsory work for private purposes, it authorized such labour for public works. The Code allowed for such forced labour to execute public works for the government or the municipality:

...where there is urgency or for reasonable motives when voluntary workers are not sufficient for the purpose; in cases of force majeure or public calamity; to carry out projects in the interests of the natives that the Code listed very carefully, including the cultivation of certain areas reserved to the natives.⁸⁷

Hence, there were three limitations on the freedom to choose work. There was compulsory work for the public interest, compulsory work for the benefit of the natives and compulsory work as correctional punishment which, according to the seriousness of the offence, could extend to one year. Furthermore, it was clear that only the "Government of the Homeland," and not the governors of the colonies, had powers to decree forced labour.⁸⁸ The question remains as to what all this meant in practice.

Indeed, the true failure of the assimilation policy in Angola was placed at the Portuguese doorstep as Portugal embarked upon a massive programme of White settlement which was especially marked after 1940. The policy of settling Portuguese farmers in the

hinterlands of the overseas empire was designed to guarantee Portuguese sovereignty, to develop the colonial economies and to "civilize" the local populations. Portugal's planned settlement programmes in rural Angola in the period 1900 to 1960 were designed to bring about rural economic development.⁸⁹ Between 1900 and 1950 they were more of a disaster than a success. Most of those who came in that period were virtually penniless and illiterate and quickly adopted attitudes that were somewhat reminiscent of the old *vaqueiro* mentality during the Portuguese settlement of Brazil in the sixteenth century. Many quickly abandoned their agricultural engagements and migrated from rural Angola to the cities, thereby displacing Africans from urban jobs. Others moved into commercial enterprises as soon as they possibly could. Conversely, a number of the Portuguese immigrants who became agricultural settlers (*colonos*) had been skilled workers such as shoemakers, tailors, blacksmiths, and even businessmen (facing bankruptcy) back in Portugal.

A number of these Portuguese immigrants lived in dire poverty in the Angolan interior and had to beg for food from the very Africans they despised, who, according to Governor-General Norton de Matos, never failed to share their limited supplies with these impoverished Europeans. Norton de Matos actually argued that the government's funds would be more wisely spent in buying clothes for the settlers and sending them back to Portugal.⁹⁰ He also campaigned at one point, against the use of African labour on the farms of *colonos* as he perceived that the *colonos* were using the government's financial subsidies to acquire African labour cheaply, and did not devote as much energy to their farms as a

result. He argued of the *colono* who was able to acquire African labour that "he stops working and becomes an employer, foreman or overseer and moves down from producer to parasite."⁹¹ Poor Whites in particular, achieving social mobility for the first time in their lives by coming to Angola, transformed themselves from *saloios* (rustics or "hicks") to *senhores* almost overnight, obviating the likelihood of having to compete with the African masses for semi-skilled and unskilled employment. To most of them, the very idea of performing manual labour in Africa was degrading and a popular saying among *colonos* and *saloios* was: "*trabalho é para o cachorro e o preto*" ("manual labour is for the dog and the Black").⁹²

The result of all these competing views is what one author calls "a double major interdependent truth." It was held by some that Europe could not survive without Africa, nor could Africa without European civilization. The contending anti-colonial view maintained that the European presence was a political obstacle that was replete with dangers, irrespective of the benefits that accrue to Africa through necessary cooperation with Europeans. One part of Portuguese overseas doctrine could reconcile the notions of missionary colonialism and freedom of self-determination, "for in reaching this necessary stage of maturity peoples can be incorporated into the political nucleus on which they depend."⁹³ In the Portuguese view:

[T]he ideal of overseas policy is based on the coexistence of multiracial units under a pluri-continental political unit, that is an external unity which would tolerate divergences domestically, while in current world thinking self-determination almost always assumes independence through secession.⁹⁴

The Portuguese ideal was simply never realized, especially as the "nucleus" upon which the Angolans were made to depend could only show strength through its military and policing powers. Even under the Democratic Republic, an almost medieval and feudalistic cascade of contempt continued to permeate society long after superficial political changes had created a supposedly modern state.

The Africans were not the only ones who felt ignored and mistreated by the Portuguese government. The feudalistic characteristics of Portuguese society were so onerous that there were many Angolan-born Whites who resented their own lack of political power in the colony and the position of prestige that was accorded those Whites who had been born in Portugal. Among these Angolan-born Whites, a pro-independence sentiment soon gained momentum. In 1928, Norton de Matos - who under the *Estado Novo* now bore the title of "High Commissioner for Angola" instead of "Governor-General" - approached Lisbon, on behalf of some of these Portuguese inhabitants, to entertain their growing concerns. Portugal's reaction was swift and unaccommodating, and Norton de Matos was summarily dismissed. This setback did not bring political activity among Angola's Whites to an end: in 1929 White settlers formed the *Liga Nacional Africana* ("African National League") to pursue their interests and later *mestiços* and Blacks were admitted to its ranks.⁹⁵

Angola eventually became the first territory in southern Africa to face open rebellion in the age of decolonization. Owing to Portugal's political rigidity and the economic weakness, the Portuguese State could not reach compromises with African nationalism as its

counterparts were doing elsewhere in Africa. Fearing that its colonies would break all economic links with the metropole upon independence, Portugal intensified emigration from Europe, which involved greater land alienation at the expense of the Africans, in favour of more European settlement schemes. The "colour bar" became even more blatantly obvious and the status of *mestiços* and *assimilados* deteriorated. This trend in Portugal's colonial policy in the 1950s ran counter to the general trend in colonial Africa at that time.⁹⁶

As Boxer argues, those modern Portuguese writers who maintain that the Portuguese did not have feelings of colour prejudice or discrimination towards Black Africans "unaccountably ignore the fact that one race cannot systematically enslave members of another on a large scale for over three centuries without acquiring a conscious or unconscious feeling of racial superiority."⁹⁷ Bender goes further, to demonstrate the great inequalities that existed between White employers and Black employees in Angola. He reveals that the average White employer earned "between ten and one hundred times more than his African employees, which established an almost insurmountable barrier in life-style between them." Given that most contact between the races in colonial Angola involved master-servant or employer-employee relations, "most racial interaction reinforced the dichotomous view that whites were superior and blacks inferior."⁹⁸

Despite all the Portuguese statements to underline the deceptive absence of a colour barrier and a virtual blending of cultures where Portuguese culture of necessity, enjoyed a paramouncy, the gaps between the Portuguese and the Africans seemed widen over time and

became more difficult to bridge. While African influences on the Portuguese in Angola cannot be entirely discounted, despite a lengthy Portuguese presence in Angola, even by 1961, Portuguese culture had remained almost hermetically sealed off from African culture. The few Africanisms that slipped in from time to time, were often branded as a form of retrogression, to be eliminated like harmful bacteria from the blood. Yet, the true course of "infestation" was in the reverse. Portuguese culture was forced upon Africans in both urban and rural areas, and very little African influence permeated Portuguese modes of dress, cuisine or music in Angola. In fact it was not until 1968 that radio stations in Angola were allowed to play African music and even then, this was permitted only as a ploy by the military who perceived its potential to disseminate Portuguese propaganda to the African masses.⁹⁹ The colour barrier was real and the religious culture of brotherhood and equality that the Protestants sought to promote in Angola, was in direct conflict with it.

The Mission Field in Central Angola

The abovementioned details notwithstanding, this study of the Canadian Protestant missionaries does not simply reveal a case of reaction to external pressures. The Protestant missionaries were themselves undergoing significant ideological changes throughout the first half of the twentieth century. These missionaries were charged with the responsibility of bringing Christianity to the "heathen"⁽¹⁰⁾ peoples of the world. Some of the disdain for certain

"pagan" practices comes across quite poignantly in some of the letters written as late as the 1940s. Moreover, in the early years of their activity, "Christianity" also meant all the cultural trappings of Western civilization. From about the late 1930s, however, the concept of missionary work (and responsibility) had undergone a major redefinition and many missionaries, particularly within the United Church, began to embrace the concept and the reality of "indigenization."¹⁰¹ Indigenization was especially favoured because it encouraged African churches (parishes, dioceses, and so forth) to manage their own affairs: to take responsibility for their organization from the lowest rung to the top echelon and to manage, as far as possible, their own financing and expenditure.

From the earliest periods of contact with Westerners, the African peoples had repeatedly demonstrated a capacity to create their own Christian culture and a number of indigenous, "prophetic" churches emerged, slowly at first, and then with greater spontaneity from the 1920s onwards.¹⁰² Kimbanguism (named after Simon Kimbangu), Disco Christo and other millenarian, "Ethiopian," or "Zionist" movements became prominent in this period, especially as an outlet for African political and social voice as a rejection of most aspects of Westernization.¹⁰³

Angola had had its own experiences with modified forms of Christianity and separatist or "Nativist" churches, dating back to the early eighteenth century. Around 1704-1706 in the Kongo kingdom, a Bakongo prophetess known as Chimpa Vita or Dona Beatriz (Beatrix) emerged as the leader of a syncretic Christian movement that was quickly dubbed the

"Antonian heresy" since she claimed that she had died and been resurrected as the Portuguese-born, Saint Anthony of Padua. She preached doctrines that were extremely radical for that day, featuring Black saviours and saints and an African Madonna. She decried Catholic missionaries and Roman Catholic rituals, while reportedly performing miracles and raising local aspirations of the coming of a Black Messiah. She gained disciples throughout the region and was even preceded by female disciples who cleared the path for her as she travelled. The Portuguese had her captured and burned as a heretic but a few anti-Portuguese African prophets continued to emerge in Angola from 1891 onwards, such as a youth known as Mona N'Engana Nzambi (literally "Son of God"), who apparently suffered from elephantiasis, and others in Bailundo (1902), Kongo (1913-14), and elsewhere at later dates.¹⁰⁴ Nevertheless, the success of more traditional churches and the continual suppression of African independent church movements by the Portuguese made Angola a notable exception in Africa for the relative absence of indigenous syncretic churches in this century.¹⁰⁵

Even when the Westernization of African communities was no longer held to be necessary in bringing the true message of Christ to Africa, the process of indigenization did not favour the development of African independent or indigenous Churches; rather, it gave Africans control within the more established churches that had been transplanted from Europe and the Americas. Indigenization was not always as straightforward a process as it might have seemed on paper as very frequently the locals chosen to run the indigenous

churches approximated the European or North American ideal - a not uncommon experience in several Asian congregations.¹⁰⁶ These local or native pastors were often educated overseas or simply outside their native territory, and had acquired Western mores and tastes. Consequently, they were likely to perpetuate these wherever possible within their communities. Be that as it may, indigenization marked a new beginning for the Asian and African churches in the twentieth-century.

What also provoked this change in thinking on the part of the Protestant Churches with regard to the Westernization of their flock was the inspiration drawn from individuals such as Mohandas (Mahatma) Gandhi in India and the evangelist Toyohiko Kagawa in Japan, who had demonstrated a spiritualism and a magnetism that was almost messianic in character. Both men had been exposed to anglophone Protestant communities in their youth and they had both received an education in the West. Gandhi's international stature was practically carved in stone as he championed both Indian nationalism and the cause of the "untouchables" within India. His popularity with Canadian Protestantism was virtually assured. Toyohiko Kagawa's popularity with Canadian Protestants followed favourable acknowledgement of his activities by Reverend J.K. Unsworth of the United Church of Canada who saw both him and Gandhi as leading lights in Eastern spiritualism.¹⁰⁷ During the interwar years, most Protestants in Canada came to accept that there were characteristics in many other, and often older cultures, that deserved closer attention and even emulation.

Angolans were able to identify themselves even more with the Protestant churches being established in their midst since they were encouraged to be active participants in the organization of these churches. The Africans themselves shouldered most or all of the locally incurred expenses, such as pastors' salaries. Usually a flat rate of contribution was assessed for each member in keeping with the belief that everyone should contribute equally to the work of the church. Local treasurers were appointed by Christian elders to oversee the financial organization of each church community and reliance on funds from groups overseas was cautiously avoided wherever possible. In this manner "the process of Africanization in the Protestant Church" was accelerated.¹⁰⁸

Foreign missionary societies continually raised money for mission work at home, but these funds were not sufficient to sustain the missionary effort. In 1920 the Congregational Church in Canada raised \$134,000 to fund missionary work through what was known as the Forward Movement but the money needed to carry out the work of the Chissamba station alone in the period 1910-1920 was at least \$10,000 a year.¹⁰⁹ In fact, by 1910, it was noted that Canadian Congregationalists had not yet reached a donation rate of one dollar per member for foreign missions.¹¹⁰ The Protestant bodies believed in having a self-supporting community that was able to "maintain its own services and pay its ministers" but they also acknowledged that there was a great need for schooling at many levels, and for "hospitals and institutions for the blind, insane, deaf-mutes, orphans, lepers, and fallen women."¹¹¹ These institutions could not be funded entirely on donations from the missionaries' home churches.

It remained to the African churches, therefore, to provide money and labour for the missionary enterprise in their villages and surrounding districts. They funded missionary work in their areas as an investment in their own future, and revealed to the foreign missionaries just how fervent African Christianity was in Angola.

At the same time that missionaries were opening their minds to other possibilities and while many Western nations grudgingly began the process of decolonization, initially by granting autonomy to key areas of their empires, the Portuguese grew firmer in their resolve to hold on to their overseas domains. They insisted that their colonies were not "colonies" at all but were "overseas territories," which is to say, provinces of Portugal itself. This was an extension, or perhaps a perpetuation, of the myth of a five-hundred-year presence in Africa on the part of Portugal. It reaffirmed the myth regarding the existence of one great Portuguese State and compounded the problems of the African peoples who were denied (full) citizenship within the Portuguese nation unless they were *assimilados*.

It is this negative atmosphere of ultracolonialism and uneconomic imperialism that makes a study of Protestant missionaries in Angola all the more interesting and challenging. Portugal claimed to be the oldest European power in Africa and was in no wise prepared to lose any of its control or influence there, either to other European or Western powers or to the Africans themselves. The Protestant missionaries, in their turn, while not hesitating to render to Caesar the things that were Caesar's, had come with renewed vigour to introduce a whole new world of beliefs, methods and customs to the African population. The two

influences were at cross-purposes and although the newcomer was obliged to function within the restrictions of the older, more established patterns laid down by the Portuguese, opportunities for misunderstanding and conflict on different levels persisted and then deteriorated even further after 1961.

The mission field for the Protestants under consideration in this study covered a vast central region of Angola which comprised much of the Angolan plateau. Bailundo, Bunjei, Camundongo, Chilessso, Chissamba, Dôndi and Lutamo, Elende and Lobito - to name the principal loci of mission work for the United Church of Canada - were part of a general network of stations in the Angolan hinterland. This region became a hinterland when compared with the more bustling centres of colonial activity such as Luanda, Benguela and Moçamedes: however, the missionaries' accounts reveal considerable activity at the village level in many sectors of the Angolan interior.

According to the census figures, the total population of Angola in 1960¹¹² was 4,830,449. Approximately eighty-six percent of them belong to the five major ethno-linguistic groups: Umbundu (1,746,109); Kimbundu (1,053,999); Kikongo (621,787); Chokwe (396,264); and Ganguela (329,259).¹¹³ Each of the five major Protestant mission areas focused its attention on one of these five major groups. For the Baptists, mission activity centred on the Kikongo. For the Methodist Church, missions were established among the Kimbundu. The (Plymouth) Brethren established themselves primarily among the Chokwe whereas the South Africa General Mission (SAGM), who became the Africa

Evangelical Fellowship in 1965, worked within the very heterogenous and widely dispersed Ganguelas. The focal group of this dissertation, the United Mission, worked principally among the Ovimbundu (Umbundu), who constitute the largest ethnic grouping in the country and were the principal indigenous group inhabiting the central region of Angola.¹¹⁴

The ABCFM missions were established among the Ovimbundu who are also referred to by their language, Umbundu and were often called Bailundos by the Portuguese.¹¹⁵ They constituted roughly thirty-seven percent of the Angolan population in the period under study. Although the term Ovimbundu or Umbundu covers numerous groups throughout much of central Angola,¹¹⁶ the members of this ethno-linguistic family have been described as the most homogenous African group within Angola and their language served as the language of trade well into the Angolan interior.

The problems faced by the Protestant missionaries in the early years fell roughly into two categories: those associated with acclimatization and environmental health and those created for them by the petty officials in their regions who were opposed to their presence. Throughout the period under study a good number of missionaries fell victim to various ailments such as fevers and dysentery which occasionally hindered their ability to work or obliged them to return home. This was not uncommon, especially for the low-lying coastal region of Angola, which, as mentioned earlier, had earned itself the reputation of being a "white man's grave."¹¹⁷

In the early period a number of these cases had been fatal. Some illnesses, it would appear, were contracted on board the vessels that brought the missionaries to Angola from the United States or from Europe. At other times diseases were contracted while the missionaries were stationed at or near the coast while arranging transportation to the interior. Such was the case with Mrs. Currie, who succumbed to a fatal illness in 1886, not long after she and Walter Currie arrived in Angola.¹¹⁸ These losses were a considerable setback to the early missionary effort as they often involved the loss of a spouse at the same time as they involved the loss of a partner in the field after so much time had been invested in preparing for and going through with the long ocean voyage to Angola.

The missionaries pushed further and further into Angola's heartland just as the Portuguese were extending a more firm control in the same region. It was therefore inevitable, given this setting, that those officials who were actually "on the ground" would come to see the missionaries as their adversaries. As the new churches gained more followers, the officials and small traders intensified their opposition to the "intruders." Hence, the constant friction that existed between the missionaries and the agents of the colonial government became an even greater problem than that caused by illness. Problems with petty officials took many forms. In some cases the legitimacy of the missionaries to operate in certain regions of Angola was challenged in a direct manner. Most other challenges came indirectly and were usually directed against those Africans who were being taught or assisted by the missionaries or who attended their religious services.

The work of the missionaries was often undermined by officials who would arrest young African males accused of loitering and other minor "offences" and force them to labour in road gangs or even "deport" them to other areas such as São Tomé as *serviçais* to work on cacao plantations. Against these forces missionaries had no power and their appeals for clemency or to have these decisions overturned often fell on deaf ears. Many colonial officers and agents frequently exhibited their unquestionable displeasure at the presence and influence of the North Americans and non-lusophone Europeans in this Portuguese sphere of activity - and inactivity.

It was the lower-placed district officials who usually gave the most opposition to the missionaries within the administrative structure. Following published attacks against the foreign missions by the administrator of Bié in 1916, the British Consul General was obliged to approach the Governor-General in Luanda to clarify the situation. He subsequently informed Rev. John T. Tucker in writing of the outcome of this meeting:

In previous conversation with me his Excellency stated that he was aware that the missions have a definite legal position in this country, and he showed no desire to defend the attitude taken up by the administrator of Bié in the article he published in the "Jornal de Benguela" in which he claimed that the existence of foreign missions in this country south of the Congo Basin was illegitimate.¹¹⁹

In fact, in 1919 the Governor of Benguela wrote to the Dôndi Mission acknowledging "the interesting account dealing with the important work already accomplished by this mission." He thanked them for having extended a "cordial invitation" to visit the Dôndi mission again

and consented to do so as he found it was "always a pleasure...to observe the development of a noteworthy work made so by its ideals and its processes."¹²⁰

Nevertheless, in spite of the Governor's friendly language and the legality of the missions' existence, petty officials and Portuguese traders did much to convince local chiefs that the missionaries were a disruptive influence in their territories and should therefore be expelled. Indeed, they might often have done so with the Governor's tacit blessing. One report from Bié in 1920 complained that the mission's outstations "in villages not claimed by traders as under their jurisdiction" had been subjected to a great deal of discrimination. The *cipaios* had come to those villages repeatedly to obtain labourers to do construction work between Belmonte and Etapi in Bailundo, but had not visited the other villages at all. The workers received neither food nor remuneration and the work was "pushed right through the hungry season." This had driven the labourers "to straits" and many of the people in these villages were "getting ready to scatter." Church attendance had declined simultaneously and the different treatment of the two sets of villages suggested that a plan had been concocted "to frighten the people" away from the missionaries.¹²¹

When such tactics ceased to bring about the desired result, over time other methods of intimidation were introduced or colonial demands for labourers increased. These methods targeted the African population directly although, not infrequently, one desired aim was to harass the missionaries into leaving. The colonial authorities were principally concerned with collecting taxes and with creating a significant labour pool on the Angolan plateau. For

this reason. census figures from the early part of the twentieth century reveal “less-than-honest mistakes” which reflected “the desires of the local officials to maximise revenue.” Boys were “aged” and placed in the “youngest adult categories” instead of the “oldest child categories” in order to “maximize the number of people eligible for forced labour, contract work, or tax payment.”¹²² It is in this regard that the underdevelopment of Angola, in particular of the interior, left Angolans with a thirst for more knowledge and more power over themselves.

There is the argument put forward by a Hawaiian-born Protestant missionary that the Church itself disrupted Angolan society because the loyalty paid to the traditional rulers and the *sekulus* became secondary to that of loyalty owed to the Church. In addition, there were evident parallel structures between church organization and the organization of the modern political parties. Christianity, including both Catholicism and Protestantism, inevitably provoked a social revolution in Angola:

The Christian ideals, such as the worth of each individual before God and the love of one brother for another regardless of race or color, have appealed to the African's longing to be free from bondage to the white man and have reconstituted revolutionary influences in African life.¹²³

This is certainly not a point to be taken lightly. The strength of the Church in Angola remained its ethnic affiliations and presented an element of closeness and support that outclassed the social formations that the colonial authorities were seeking to impose. The

ways in which the social revolution became the basis of a political revolution is revealed in the following chapters.

The tenacity of the missionaries in the face of Portuguese pressures was also admired and the fact that many missionaries brought their families to Angola or started them there further aided cultural exchange, education and devotion to mission life. Sidney Gilchrist remarked that his son Ian was able to maintain a rapport with the African people that perhaps no other missionary had, simply because he had learned "perfect Umbundu" growing up among them and had also acquired "the perfect manners - African manners" that he and his siblings had "got ingrained into their systems." This aided his rapport with the Angolans when he eventually came to work alongside his father as a physician.¹²⁴ Dr. Gilchrist noted that this did not occur with all missionary children. In spite of that, it is reasonable to assume that the level at which missionary children interfaced with African culture usually gave them an abiding and keen appreciation of the subtleties of that culture that was superior to what their parents had acquired.

In contrast, the colonial setting did not allow for enhanced interplay between the Portuguese and the Africans. There was always significant interaction between these two communities, but social pressures were always at work to keep them as distinct as possible even if legislation or the silence of the law on certain racial matters might have suggested otherwise. The Portuguese were not prepared to enter into communion with the Angolans but

offered instead, from their lofty altars in Lisbon and Luanda, the bitter gall of assimilationist rhetoric. Many Angolans turned instead to communities where they were welcomed as equals and allowed to taste the new wine that had come from unexpected sources.

NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

1. The much celebrated voyage of Diogo Cão and his crew and their legendary contacts with the Kongo kingdom clearly mark the beginning of Portugal's contact with Angola. The account can be found in numerous sources including Charles R. Boxer, The Portuguese Seaborne Empire.
2. Charles R. Boxer, The Church Militant and Iberian Expansion, 1440-1770 (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), 77-78.
3. Charles R. Boxer, The Church Militant and Iberian Expansion, 77-78. "The Portuguese Padroado Real can be loosely defined as a combination of the rights, privileges, and duties granted by the papacy to the crown of Portugal as patron of the Roman Catholic missions and ecclesiastical establishments in Africa, Asia and Brazil. These rights and duties derived from a series of papal Bulls and Briefs, beginning with the Brief Dum Diversas of Nicholas V in 1452, and culminating in the Brief Praecelsae Devotionis of Leo X in 1514."
4. A. Da Silva Rego, Portuguese Colonization in the Sixteenth Century: A Study of The Royal Ordinances (Regimentos) (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1965), 97.
5. Bill Freund, The Making of Contemporary Africa, 136. Freund refers to the term *rois de la brousse* ("kings of the bush") which the French used for such local administrators in the countryside.
6. Sebastião José de Carvalho e Mello, the Marquis of Pombal, was a virtual dictator in Portugal for twenty-two years during the eighteenth century. He followed a policy of "regalism *à outrance*" which led to the ruthless suppression of the Jesuits within the Portuguese empire as they swore allegiance to the Pope and not to the Portuguese Crown. The Pombaline dictatorship and its legacy are discussed at length in Charles R. Boxer, The Portuguese Seaborne Empire, 177-203.
7. H. Paul Johnson, A History of Christianity (New York: Atheneum, 1980), 450 as found in Lawrence W. Henderson, The Church in Angola, 24.
8. Lawrence W. Henderson, The Church in Angola, 24-26.
9. Thomas Masaji Okuma, "The Social Response of Christianity in Angola," 20-21.
10. John Taylor Tucker, Angola: The Land of the Blacksmith Prince, 123.
11. David Birmingham, The Portuguese Conquest of Angola (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), 3.
12. Richard Gray and David Birmingham, Pre-Colonial African Trade: Essays on Trade in Central and Eastern Africa before 1900 (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), 170, 171.

13. For a captivating account of this Queen Nzinga's story, her campaigns against the Portuguese and alliance with the Dutch, see Ibrahama Baba Kaké, Anne Zingha: Reine d'Angola, première résistante à l'invasion portugaise (Paris: ABC, 1975).
14. David Birmingham, The Portuguese Conquest of Angola, 26.
15. David Birmingham, The Portuguese Conquest of Angola, 24-25. *Pombeiros* was derived from the word *Mpumbu*, which denotes a people who lived near Stanley Pool. The young adult slave paid as tribute was called a *peça da India*.
16. Douglas L. Wheeler and René Pélissier, Angola (London: Pall Mall Press Limited, 1971), 49.
17. David Birmingham, Central Africa to 1870: Zambezia, Zaire and the South Atlantic (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 85.
18. Douglas L. Wheeler and René Pélissier, Angola, 37.
19. See Phyllis M. Martin, The External Trade of The Loango Coast, 1576-1870: The Effects of Changing Commercial Relations on the Vili Kingdom of Loango (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972), Chapter IV.
20. David Birmingham, Central Africa to 1870: Zambezia, Zaire and the South Atlantic, 86. See also Wheeler and Pélissier, Angola, 26: "The nineteenth century was the heyday of Ovimbundu trade monopoly from Benguela to the Upper Zambezi. Ivory, wax, dye weed, slaves and wild rubber were the chief commodities traded by these men, called *Mambari* by the Barotse of Zambia. Ovimbundu trade caravans ranged from Benguela and Catumbella, a town well-located for the caravan trade, to the plateau and soon out-competed other African peoples as well as the Portuguese *sertanejos*. The greatest period of their hegemony was during the rubber boom, 1874-1916. One Ovimbundu trader in the employ of the Portuguese *sertanejo* Silva Porto, called Domingos Cakahanga, made a successful transcontinental journey from Benguela to the mouth of the Rovuma in Mozambique. With the wars, famines and epidemics of the 1902-16 era, the Ovimbundu lost out as the chief traders of the central plateau. New factors - such as the railroad built from Benguela to Katanga, the frontier with the Belgian Congo and Northern Rhodesia, Portuguese control, the end of the rubber boom - undermined their position."
21. Charles R. Boxer, Portuguese Society in the Tropics, 133.
22. Charles R. Boxer, Portuguese Society in the Tropics, 119, 120.
23. See Richard Gray and David Birmingham, Pre-Colonial African Trade, 164-168.
24. Charles R. Boxer, Race Relations in the Portuguese Colonial Empire, 1415-1825 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), 39.

25. Keith Somerville. Angola: Politics, Economics and Society (London: Pinter Publishers, Inc., 1986) 14-15.
26. Fola Soremekun. "Trade and Dependency in Central Angola: The Ovimbundu in the Nineteenth Century," in The Roots of Rural Poverty in Central and Southern Africa, eds. Robin Palmer and Neil Parsons (London: Heinemann Educational Books Limited, 1977), 84-85.
27. Eduardo dos Santos. Religiões de Angola, 201. "A penetração do protestantismo em Angola é muito antiga. Com efeito, ela começou, intensamente, em 1641 com a chegada dos calvinistas aquando da ocupação de Luanda pelos Holandeses. Os templos católicos foram profanados e o culto protestante foi tornado obrigatório. E não foi somente em Luanda que a sua influência se fez sentir: também ao longo da costa, desde Benguela, e mesmo no interior, nos reinos do Congo e da Jinga, onde os Holandeses conseguiram alianças com os potentados."
28. See Robert W. July. A History of the African People (Prospect Heights, Illinois: Waveland Press, Inc., 1992), 263-270.
29. See Eric Axelson. Portugal and the Scramble for Africa, 1875-1891 (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1967), where this is discussed at length.
30. Douglas L. Wheeler. Republican Portugal: A Political History, 1910-1926 (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1978), 41.
31. See discussion in H.L. Wesseling. Divide and Rule: The Partition of Africa, 1880-1914. Translated by Arnold J. Pomerans (Westport, Connecticut and London: Praeger Publishers, 1996, especially 297-299.
32. Lawrence W. Henderson. The Church in Angola, 254.
33. Richard Gray. Black Christians and White Missionaries (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1990), 61.
34. Thomas Masaji Okuma. "The Social Response of Christianity in Angola: Selected Issues." (Ph.D. Dissertation, Boston University Graduate School, 1964), 171.
35. John Taylor Tucker. Drums in the Darkness (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1927), 65.
36. Richard Gray, Black Christians and White Missionaries, 59-60.
37. "Portugal was the lowliest of the colonizing powers in Africa, and it was nothing in Europe without its colonies: so much so that it came to insist that Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea were integral parts of Portugal, just like any province of the European country named Portugal." Walter Rodney, How Europe Underdeveloped Africa (Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1982), 186.

38. Charles R. Boxer, Four Centuries of Portuguese Expansion, 1415-1825: A Succinct Survey (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1969), 39.
39. This is a common theme in the history of European empires, but the Portuguese took an exceptionally long time to subjugate the rulers in the areas that they claimed for themselves. In comparison to its neighbours, Portugal was undeniably the "Sick man of Western Europe" as explained in Richard J. Hammond, Portugal and Africa, 1815-1910: A Study in Uneconomic Imperialism (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1966), Chapter One.
40. Portuguese attempts to develop Southern Angola are discussed at length in W. Gervase Clarence-Smith, Slaves, Peasants and Capitalists in Southern Angola 1840-1926 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).
41. Gervase Clarence-Smith, The Third Portuguese Empire 1825-1975: A Study in Economic Imperialism (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985), 117.
42. W. Gervase Clarence-Smith, Slaves, Peasants and Capitalists in Southern Angola, 1840-1926 65.
43. Walter Rodney, How Europe Underdeveloped Africa, 144.
44. Eça de Queiroz, Cartas da Inglaterra, 20 as quoted in Richard J. Hammond, Portugal and Africa, 139. The concept of "uneconomic imperialism" constitutes the major indictment by economic and other historians against the profitability of Portuguese colonialism. See also arguments in James Duffy, Portuguese Africa (London: Oxford University Press, 1968) and Gerald J. Bender, Angola under the Portuguese.
45. Eduardo de Sousa Ferreira, Portuguese Colonialism from South Africa to Europe, 48.
46. Elizabeth Leeds, "Salazar's 'Modelo Económico': The Consequences of Planned Constraint," in Portugal in Development: Emigration, Industrialization, the European Community, eds. Thomas C. Bruneau, Victor M.P. Da Rosa and Alexandre Macleod (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1984), 13.
47. Richard J. Hammond, Portugal's African Problem: Some Economic Facets (New York: The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1962), 12-13.
48. Eduardo de Sousa Ferreira, Portuguese Colonialism from South Africa to Europe, 47.
49. Frank B. Tipton and Robert Aldrich, An Economic and Social History of Europe, 1890-1939 (Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), 28.
50. Eduardo Guerra, Evolução da Economia Portuguesa (Lisbon, 1967), 20, as quoted in Eduardo de Sousa Ferreira, Portuguese Colonialism from South Africa to Europe, 47.

51. Elizabeth Leeds. "Salazar's Modelo Económico." 13-14.
52. Charles E. Nowell, Portugal (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1973), 150, 155.
53. Eduardo de Sousa Ferreira, Portuguese Colonialism from South Africa to Europe, 47.
54. Mário Soares, Portugal's Struggle for Liberty, Translated by Mary Gawsorth (London: George Allen & Unwin Limited, 1975), 37.
55. Walter Rodney, How Europe Underdeveloped Africa, 191.
56. W. Clarence Gervase-Smith, The Third Portuguese Empire, 128-129.
57. J.D. Fage, A History of Africa, Third Edition (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), 399.
58. Daniel Spikes, Angola and the Politics of Intervention: From Local Bush War to Chronic Crisis in Southern Africa (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 1993), 7.
59. Keith Somerville, Angola: Politics, Economics and Society, 18.
60. See argument in Henderson, The Church in Angola, 249-250.
61. Lawrence W. Henderson, The Church in Angola, 30-47.
62. Bill Freund, The Making of Contemporary Africa, 157.
63. Bill Freund, The Making of Contemporary Africa, 157.
64. UCC/VIC Archives, United Church of Canada, Woman's Missionary Society, Overseas Missions, Angola, General Correspondence 1924, Box 1, File 2. Report by Ernest W. Riggs (writing from Dôndi) to the Members of the West Africa Mission, 22 October 1924.
65. UCC/VIC Archives, Sidney Gilchrist Correspondence, 1963, 96.021C, Box 1, File 8. Letter from Sidney Gilchrist to Dr. John Reuling, Rev. Chester Marcus, Rev. J.L. Tucker and Rev. Roy Webster, 23 July 1963.
66. A more thorough argument is found in Lawrence W. Henderson, "Protestantism: A Tribal Religion," in Windows on Africa: A Symposium, ed. Robert T. Parsons (Leiden, The Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 1971), 61-80.
67. Thomas Okuma, Angola in Ferment: The Background and Prospects of Angolan Nationalism (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1962), 54-57.
68. Malyn Newitt, Portugal in Africa: The Last Hundred Years (London: C. Hurst & Co. (Publishers) Ltd., 1981), 104.

69. Douglas L. Wheeler and René Pélissier. Angola. 132.
70. Malyn Newitt. Portugal in Africa. 105-106.
71. Malyn Newitt. Portugal in Africa. 105-106.
72. Albert Memmi. The Colonizer and the Colonized. 140.
73. James Duffy. Portuguese Africa. 298.
74. Malyn Newitt. Portugal in Africa. 100.
75. Malyn Newitt. Portugal in Africa. 100.
76. Homer A. Jack. Angola: Repression and Revolt in Portuguese Africa (New York: The American Committee on Africa, 1960). 6.
77. Malyn Newitt. Portugal in Africa. 104-105.
78. Malyn Newitt. Portugal in Africa. 100-101.
79. Malyn Newitt. Portugal in Africa. 101; Douglas L. Wheeler and René Pélissier. Angola. 194-195.
80. Douglas L. Wheeler and René Pélissier. Angola. 132. 133.
81. W. Gervase Clarence-Smith. Slaves, Peasants and Capitalists in Southern Angola. 32.
82. W. Gervase Clarence-Smith. Slaves, Peasants and Capitalists in Southern Angola. 32.
83. W. Gervase Clarence-Smith. Slaves, Peasants and Capitalists in Southern Angola. 32-33.
84. W. Gervase Clarence-Smith. Slaves, Peasants and Capitalists in Southern Angola. 32-33.
85. Alfredo Héctor Wilensky. Trends in Portuguese Overseas Legislation for Africa. Translated by Frank R. Holliday (Braga, Portugal: Livraria Editora Pax, 1971). 89. Translation of Tendencias de la Legislación ultramarina portuguesa en Africa (Braga, Portugal: Livraria Editora Pax, 1968).
86. Alfredo Héctor Wilensky. Trends in Portuguese Overseas Legislation for Africa. 92.
87. José Maria Gaspar. Problemática do Trabalho em África ("Labour Problems in Africa") (Lisbon, 1965). 177. quoted in Alfredo Héctor Wilensky. Trends in Portuguese Overseas Legislation for Africa. 90-91.
88. Alfredo Héctor Wilensky. Trends in Portuguese Overseas Legislation for Africa. 91.

89. See Gerald J. Bender, Angola Under the Portuguese, Chapter 4.
90. Norton de Matos, Memórias e trabalhos da minha vida, 4 vols. (Lisbon: Editora Maritima Colonial, 1944), 329-30 as quoted in Gerald J. Bender, Angola Under the Portuguese: The Myth and the Reality, 98-99.
91. Norton de Matos, 1933, "Como pretendi povoar Angola", Boletim geral das colónias 9 (October), 95 as quoted in Gerald J. Bender, Angola under the Portuguese, 101.
92. Gerald J. Bender, Angola under the Portuguese, 225.
93. Alfredo Héctor Wilensky, Trends in Portuguese Overseas Legislation for Africa, 8.
94. Alfredo Héctor Wilensky, Trends in Portuguese Overseas Legislation for Africa, 8.
95. H.A. Jack, Angola: Repression and Revolt in Portuguese Africa, 19.
96. Bill Freund, The Making of Contemporary Africa, 274.
97. Charles R. Boxer, Race Relations in the Portuguese Colonial Empire, 56.
98. Gerald J. Bender, Angola under the Portuguese, 226.
99. Gerald J. Bender, Angola under the Portuguese, 224.
100. "Heathen" is a disparaging term that has sometimes been applied to some Christians of rival denominations as well. The term, like "pagan," is often associated with idolatry and with icons viewed as a form of idolatry. As such, Christian denominations that include religious icons among their paraphernalia - such as the Roman Catholic Church - have at times been accused of being "semi-pagan" and idolatrous by other denominations.
101. This aspect of indigenization and the new internationalism is given a fuller treatment in Robert Wright's A World Mission: Canadian Protestantism and the Quest for A New International Order, 1918-1939 (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991); see in particular page 35.
102. Elizabeth Isichei, A History of Christianity in Africa, 276-277.
103. See discussion on independent and prophetic churches in Africa in Adrian Hastings, The Church in Africa, 1450-1950, Chapter 11. A more concise summary of the topic may be found in A. Adu Boahen, ed., Africa Under Colonial Domination 1880-1935, 222-228.
104. Douglas L. Wheeler and René Pélissier, Angola, 153. Wheeler's account is augmented here by the profile of Dona Beatrix presented by Phyllis M. Martin in her Historical Dictionary of Angola (Metuchen, New Jersey and London: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1980), 34, and by Alan

Scholefield's *The Dark Kingdoms: The Impact of White Civilization on Three Great African Monarchies*. (London: William Heinemann Limited, 1975), 44-47.

105. World Christian Encyclopedia: A Study of Churches and Religions in the Modern World, AD 1900-2000 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 143.

106. See argument in Robert Wright, A World Mission, Chapter 5.

107. See Robert A. Wright, "A New Spirituality: The Impact of Mahatma Gandhi and Toyohiko Kagawa on the Canadian Protestant Churches between the Wars." Canadian Historical Association, Annual Conference (1988), Paper No 130, Fiche 69, Grids 1-35. Wright provides a brief profile of J.K. Unsworth in his notes. The reverend was a well-respected, influential minister in Protestant circles. He had originally been ordained as a Congregationalist and was president of the Congregationalist foreign Mission Society from 1907 to 1910. He later served in the Presbyterian Church and eventually joined the United Church in 1925. See also A World Mission, Chapters 5 and 6, by the same author, for discussions the influence of Mohandas Gandhi and Toyohiko Kagawa.

108. Thomas Masaji Okuma, "The Social Response of Christianity in Angola." 198.

109. H.C. Priest, "Facing the Tasks." in Canada's Share in World Tasks, ed. H.C. Priest (Toronto: The Canadian Council of the Missionary Education Movement, 1920), 12. Out of a total contribution of \$14,500,000 to the missionary enterprise in May 1920, the Presbyterian Church contributed \$5,042,303, the Methodist Church, \$4,791,318, the Anglican Church, \$3,400,000, and the Baptist Church, \$1,076,000.

110. UCC/VIC Archives, Canada Congregational Foreign Missionary Society, Angola Mission, General Correspondence, 80.015C, Box 4, File not numbered. Document entitled "A Bright Spot in a Dark Land," June 1910.

111. Arthur J. Brown, Rising Churches in Non-Christian Lands (New York: Missionary Education Movement of the United States and Canada, 1915), 184-185.

112. The period of study for this dissertation ends in 1961. The 1960 census, therefore, gives some insight into the degree of progress made by these missionaries in their goal to win souls for Christ, after approximately eight decades in Angola.

113. Lawrence W. Henderson, "Protestantism: A Tribal Religion," 61. René Pélissier also states that in 1960, roughly eighty-four percent of those classified as indigenas belonged to four major Bantu ethno-linguistic groupings: Ovimbundu, Mbundu [Kimbundu], Kongo, and Lunda-Chokwe. See René Pélissier, Angola: La Colonie du Minotaure (Orgeval, France: Pélissier, 1978), 78.

114. See Lawrence W. Henderson, The Church in Angola, Chapter 3.

115. Ronald H. Chilcote, Portuguese Africa (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1967), 56.

116. See Michael A. Samuels and Norman A. Bailey "African Peoples," in Portuguese Africa: A Handbook, eds. David M. Abshire and Michael A. Samuels (London: Praeger Publishers, 1969).
114. Samuels and Bailey provide an extensive break-down of each of the major language groups in Angola. Under the heading "Ovimbundu" they mention the following: Bailundu; Bié; Wambo; Kiyaka; Ngalangi; Kibula; Ndulu; Kingolo; Kalukembe; Sambu; Ekekete; Kakonda; Kitata; Sele; Mbui; Kissanje; Hanya; Ganda; Chicuma; Dombe; Lumbo; and Sumbe.
117. Gerald J. Bender, Angola under the Portuguese, 65.
118. Edward M. Hill, Canadian Mission, Cisamba, West Central Africa, 9.
119. UCC/VIC Archives, John Taylor Tucker Papers (Correspondence 1892-1918), 86.185C, Box 1, File 1. Letter from H.B.M. Consul-General, Loanda (Luanda), to Rev. John T. Tucker, 31 December 1916.
120. UCC/VIC Archives, John Taylor Tucker Papers (Correspondence 1892-1918), 86.185C, Box 1, File 1. Translation of letter from Governor of Benguela, 3 February 1919.
121. UCC/VIC Archives, John Taylor Tucker Papers (Correspondence 1919-1920), 86.185C, Box 1, File 2. Letter from Bié, Angola (author not specified) to Mr. Tucker, 31 December 1920.
122. Linda Heywood and John K. Thornton, "Demography, Production and Labour: Central Angola, 1890-1950," in African Population and Capitalism: Historical Perspectives, eds. Dennis D. Cordell and Joel W. Gregory (Boulder and London: Westview Press, Inc., 1977), 243.
123. Thomas Masaji Okuma, Angola in Ferment, 50-57.
124. UCC/VIC Archives, Sidney Gilchrist Correspondence 1961-1962, 96.021C, Box 1, File 9. Letter from Sidney Gilchrist to Floyd, 28 October 1961.

CHAPTER FOUR DEVELOPMENT THROUGH EDUCATION

The question of development is readily addressed within the framework of a comprehensive education system. The more aspects of society that such a system encompasses, the more broadly development is understood, accepted and promoted. From the missionary perspective, the development of the entire human being as a spiritual and corporeal entity remained a viable goal, and the very success of their programmes depended upon the foresight shown by individuals, boards and conferences. In the context of Portuguese Africa, however, having such foresight could lead to frustration as the authorities did not share the missionaries' developmental objectives.

It has been argued that one cannot order or purchase development, nor can it be comprehensively planned. Instead, it requires a process of evolution:

Education does not "jump": it is a gradual process of great subtlety. Organisation does not "jump": it must gradually evolve to fit changing circumstances. And much the same goes for discipline. All three must evolve step by step, and the foremost task of development policy must be to speed this evolution. All three must become the property not merely of a tiny minority, but of the whole society.¹

As such, one might also argue that the Portuguese approach to education needed time to evolve as well. Ideally the assimilation of the Angolans to Portuguese culture would take some time, thereby delaying the development of an education system that would encompass the whole society.

Be that as it may, missionaries made considerable progress over a short space of time in Angola, in rendering the African populace who fell under their influence more skilful in adapting to the pace and concepts of modernization. Their training ground par excellence for such skills was the classroom, and it was there, originally insulated from the interference of petty officials of the State, that missionary activity helped mould the hearts and minds of young and not so young Angolans, increasing their wherewithal to eventually question the very basis of Portuguese rule in their country.

It is a well-known, well-documented fact that most Africans in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries had missionaries (foreign and African) to thank for their education: particularly for the gift of literacy. Education - that is, formal instruction in schools - was the forte of missions and many leaders of independent sub-Saharan States have been the product of missionary schools.² Before the heyday of missions, education for most children in sub-Saharan Africa was carried out at home and in the village. Children were socialized into their roles by assisting their elders in carrying out household and community responsibilities such as tending to gardens and herds. More formal education was also given in the form of "intensive instruction in history, philosophy, and religion." This was capped by initiation rites "such as circumcision for boys and, sometimes, clitoridectomy for girls."³ The expansion of Western education under the direction of missionaries transformed African education during the colonial period. It made written examinations, certificates and diplomas the new symbols

of successfully completed rites of passage into modern society. Angola certainly was no different in this respect.

In bringing modern education to sub-Saharan Africa, the missionaries participated directly in the process of development. Although the process would later take new directions that led, on occasion, to criticism of missionary activity itself, it nurtured change. In this process lay the beginnings of an international awareness and the first stirrings of modern nationalism. As Ali Mazrui argues:

Modern political consciousness grew among the educated Africans as they discovered more fully the gap between European moral precepts and European political practice. The moral precepts included the message of Christianity and its compassion; the political practice included the activities of the missionaries and their support for the imperial order. The gap between preaching and performance created disaffection. This intermingled with modern ideas of national self-determination, and gave rise to African nationalism.⁴

This new consciousness grew as Protestant missionary education provided Africans with a global perspective: these Africans came to entertain the view that they were part of a Christian community that reached out to encompass the globe. The very content of the education being offered, afforded the Africans an appreciation of faraway lands and their customs.⁵ In exposing only a limited number of Africans to Western education the missionaries themselves altered "both values and the means of access to power, initiating thereby the process of revolutionary change."⁶ For Angolans in particular, this education provided a sense of universality that diminished the Portuguese tableau of a lusotropical world even more in their eyes. The Angolan students proved to be avid listeners and learners.

in keeping with a popular saying in regions of the country that "the word of a guest is sweet."⁷

Leaders of political movements in Angola had benefited from this exposure, beginning with early instruction in missionary schools or their membership in Protestant churches. António Agostinho Neto, who eventually became the leader of the *Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola* (MPLA) and later, president of Angola, was the son of a teacher and a respected Protestant minister. His father became pastor of the Methodist Church of Luanda when Neto was still a child,⁸ and both the "Protestant conviction that school and church were equally important institutions in the Christian community"⁹ and the fact that the family resided in the vicinity of Luanda, provided Neto with the requisite exposure to missionary and government education.

Jonas Malheiro Savimbi, the leader of the *União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola* (UNITA) had a similar background. As the grandson of a traditional Ochimbundu¹⁰ chief, Sakaita Savimbi, who had taken part in the 1902 Bailundu War, he had a profound appreciation of his African heritage. His Christian heritage came principally from his father, Lote ("Loth") Malheiro Savimbi, an active lay leader and a graduate of the Currie Institute (1921) who established a number of churches in central Angola. Jonas Savimbi was himself educated at the Chilessó rural mission schools and, following in his father's footsteps, he enrolled at the Currie Institute in 1951. He did some of his secondary schooling at a Catholic institution but was later given scholarships by the Protestants to finish his sixth year

of secondary school in Sá da Bandeira (Lubango), and then went to university in Lisbon with other scholarship students from the missions.¹¹ Both leaders, especially in their childhood and early adult life, were representative of the impact of foreign missions in Angola. Jonas Savimbi's missionary education was a reflection of the work done by the ABCFM and the United Church of Canada in particular.

As was mentioned above, many missionaries coming out of North America did so under the auspices of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions¹² and came to Angola via Portugal. In Portugal they would be instructed in the Portuguese language since the Portuguese insisted that all instruction in the colonies be conducted in the official language of the State. Many missionaries, however, were very interested in getting the message of Christ across to the native groups in Angola in their own African tongues and conflicts arose over the use of these languages and the use of languages such as English within classrooms run by foreign missionaries.

It is true that the translation of the Bible and other religious works into African languages was not unique to Protestants in Angola nor to Protestants on the whole. In general, missionaries acquired language skills of the people to whom they were administering their own faith and knowledge. Missionaries were usually the first serious students of other cultures and languages around the globe since the age of Cão and Columbus. However, in an era when Portugal was ardently promoting the supremacy of its own civilization and the so-called advantages that Lusitanians and Lusotropicals (such as the

Brazilian upper class) enjoyed over other groups in understanding and being able to govern Africans, instruction in any language other than Portuguese was deemed completely unacceptable. Accordingly, both Catholic and Protestant missionaries were expected to give instruction in the language of the metropole.

As Douglas Wheeler explains, education and religion were "the two pillars of the assimilation policy." In both areas the missions had unrivalled expertise. The heyday of mission building was from 1880 to 1930, with a mere eight new missions being founded in the period 1930 to 1950. By 1950, the census revealed that almost half of Angola's population was nominally Christian, with 1,500,000 Catholic Africans and 540,000 Protestants. Beyond the story of conversion to Christianity, "mission education constituted the foundation of Angolan education and assimilation" and until the Portuguese government improved its own educational programme by constructing more schools and bringing in more teachers from the metropole, most schools in Angola were, in fact, established and run by missions.¹³

The missionary venture of the Congregationalists and later the United Church, did not abandon its prime goal of instilling Christian values among the Angolans; rather, it sought to educate Africans so that they would assume full responsibility for their own church activities. In 1935, a missionary wrote back to her friends at home, noting the progress that had been made to that point:

We are greatly encouraged by the growing attitude responsibility among our native leaders. The missionary must decrease and the native leadership increase. They can bring much wisdom to many of their own problems which we foreigners never can. On the other hand we can give assistance from our experience and Christian background which is invaluable to them. More and more we see that the missionary must be willing to accept the best from another race as freely as he gives of the best of his race to them. It is only by mutual understanding and fellowship that the Kingdom of God will come in the world.¹³

It was important that the missionaries understand their limitations, and allow the Africans to proceed unencumbered and without "chaperons" in their own land. It is obvious that they did not always realize the occasions when their decisions might have impeded the exercise of African prerogatives. Nevertheless, it is clear that Canadian Protestants could foresee the day when the presence of missionaries would decrease. The Portuguese, on the other hand, could not foresee the same for the Portuguese civilizing mission.

Assessing the full effect of Protestant mission schooling in any given region is an elusive goal, when one considers the limited numbers of pupils or the limited size of classrooms, especially in the earlier part of the period under consideration. Yet, what one might term the "ripple effect" of such education is not to be discounted, given that the ripple effect of the religious message reached many small towns, villages and compounds in outlying regions. Moreover, the select few who could benefit from such instruction were a potential cadre who could and did at times contribute to the spread of education in their areas. The success of their work depended on the readiness of other Africans to accept their message and on the goodwill of Portuguese officials at every administrative level. The fact

that the Protestant missionaries were charged with educating the Africans in their schools in Portuguese - a language that they themselves often learned over a period of a few months just prior to assuming duty in Angola - became an increasingly crucial aspect of their relationship with the colonial authorities. The records kept by the missionaries of the United Church in Angola revealed both the complexities of this policy and how quickly they were overcome.

The missionaries took great pride in their modest schools and in the achievements of their pupils. They were encouraged by the eagerness of the latter to gain additional knowledge and then instruct others within their communities despite the hurdles put in their path. Indeed, as suggested at the outset of this study, the faith of the converts reinforced the resolve of the Protestant missionary effort, making many individual missionaries more African in their outlook.

Throughout Africa, many mission stations were involved in small-scale rural development programmes but the main effect of such an enterprise was to draw people away from their rural setting and into the colonial bureaucracies, thereby forming a new African middle class.¹⁵ To some extent, this also held true for the United Church missions, but their general effect appears to have included the transformation of the nature of the rural community rather than to create, simply, a "brain drain" that flowed towards the larger towns. In certain areas, Christian villages were established, the converts having removed themselves physically from their old compounds or former village structures. The missionaries typically saw this as a positive development from the point of view of the practice of their faith, but

it also marked an important point of departure and transformation for people who were increasingly able to run their own affairs even more effectively and independently of the Portuguese. The Portuguese officials could look upon this development as the undermining of their control; however, healthier, more prosperous communities that depended less and less on funds from the central administration certainly constituted a favourable achievement in practical terms. It was simply that Portugal's fear of having its authority undermined in what it held to be its own house remained the principal concern.

All things considered, these societal changes were not detrimental to Angolan society where the presence and influence of such villages meant that the Africans in general had begun a process of self-improvement in public health and economic well-being. Furthermore, from among those Africans who did become "upwardly mobile" through exposure to missionary education and later university education through charitable grants, the new political elite emerged. Doubtless, the traditional village system had been undermined in part through cultural changes inspired by Protestant mission activity, but the old system had already become effete in the face of an ever expanding colonial regime whose cause was being advanced by soldiers, officials, traders, company agents and Catholic missionaries.

Lawrence W. Henderson explains that the earliest period of mission education in Angola before 1920 "was characterized by a lack of government action and freedom for missions to shape educational institutions to serve their ends."¹⁶ In effect, education for the African masses (as opposed to the Portuguese, *mestiços* and *assimilados*) became the domain

of the Christian missions more by default than by the express will of the colonial government.¹⁷

Catholic education had been significantly expanded under the Holy Ghost Fathers after they established themselves in Angola in 1865. They had enjoyed more success than both the Jesuits and the Capuchins in planting Catholicism in the Angolan plateau, particularly in the highlands of the Huila District. Along with the training of a small indigenous clergy, the Holy Ghost Fathers founded schools in which they trained Angolans to be skilled artisans and industrial workers, thereby assisting the colonial government's building programme.¹⁸

The Catholic missions encouraged memorization of prayers and elements of doctrine among the ordinary church members. Reading was not a requisite of this training, except perhaps for those who entered the seminary with a view to pursuing a religious vocation. The Protestants, however, had a different approach. They wanted individuals to be able to read the Bible in their own language. They gave a higher priority to literacy as reading the Bible and other Christian literature remained a very important aspect of their educational programme. Communicating with the Africans in their own language and providing written materials served to reinforce the Christian message.¹⁹ Their schools were to be above the mere catechist level and "catechist-teachers," armed with New Testaments and hymnbooks, were expected to instruct their pupils how to count, read, write and sing hymns in their village schools.²⁰

More frequently than the Catholics, the Protestants conducted their proselytizing of the Africans through the services of an African clergy. As a consequence of this, they were the first to actually render a number of African languages in written form and they conducted many of their lessons and services in these languages. A number of the African students learned English as well and only a few learned Portuguese.²¹ In fact, in the early years, many Protestants were more apt to actively teach a European language along with the given African language. Samuels argues that not all Protestant missionaries had accepted the fact that they were teaching in Portuguese territory under the rules set at the Congress of Berlin. Some believed that the study of English would be more beneficial in the long run. Among Protestant groups the Baptist Missionary Society (BMS), the Plymouth Brethren and the ABCFM taught English most frequently.²²

The fact that the ABCFM taught in English in the early years was difficult to miss. John Taylor Tucker reports that when Governor-General, Norton de Matos visited the Chissamba mission in September 1913, he was not pleased to observe that the students were not proficient in Portuguese. On a visit to one of the garden's he asked the student gardener, Lumbo, what several of the plants were and received the polite reply was "Olostrawberries," "Oloturnipi," and "Olocarroti, sir." The Governor-General's entourage found some mirth in this, but he indicated that the situation had to be remedied. He was more impressed, once back at the school, when Reverend Tucker showed him the diglot manuscript of Portuguese lessons in Umbundu. He indicated his approval by offering to print the work "*Lições de*

português (Ovipama via português)" at the National Press, at no charge to the mission. The mission leaders declined the Governor-General's offer. Reverend Taylor did not favour their decision, as he saw the gesture as a means by which the vernacular would have gained recognition.²³

The decision to forego the free use of the National Press was not completely foolhardy as the missionaries were establishing their own printing press in central Angola. The problem of hiring a printer for the West African Mission became a particularly difficult one in 1922 as that person had to be "familiar with the Portuguese language and that of the vernacular which [was] Umbundu," apart from being able to recommend what equipment was needed to make the press that already existed, satisfactory.²⁴ The mission press remained a vital part of the education enterprise since it allowed the missionaries and the churches to disseminate a considerable amount of important material themselves, especially for the purposes of teaching. As the apparatus used in printing "had not developed much beyond a handicraft" and could still be carried in small packages for most of the nineteenth and early twentieth century, many mission stations in Africa were equipped with printing presses. They printed numerous primers and segments from the Bible "to meet local needs and test experimental versions."²⁵ The press was a definite boon to missionary work and another reason for Portuguese authorities to be uneasy about the presence of foreigners in their midst.

As a result of the language issue in particular, many Portuguese grew to distrust the presence of foreign missionaries as a threat to Portuguese culture and control in Africa.

Measures were taken to limit their influence in Angola, especially by promoting an image of them as subverters of Portuguese culture:

Supported by powerful societies in Europe and America, they [foreign missions] have resources amounting to hundreds of thousands of dollars for their maintenance, development and for propaganda. Promoted and established outside any spirit of our national and religious traditions and all relations with the people, the economy and the Government of Portugal, they are very far indeed from being themselves models of our dominion, centres of radiation of our language, our ideas, our customs and a centre of support for our emigrants and settlers.²⁶

This reference to Portuguese "dominion" and to the need to support Portuguese settlers gives a clear indication of the second class status that was intended for Africans in Angola. In very realistic terms it was this attitude towards the Angolans and not the powerful influence of foreign missions that eventually undermined Portuguese dominion. The Portuguese traditions were to enjoy absolute paramountcy in Angola; as such, there could be no true lusotropicalism as the tropics would only be allowed to be the host or carrier for an insidious European vector. This vector was all the more dangerous because even in the early years of the Democratic Republic, roughly seventy-five percent of the population of European Portugal was illiterate.²⁷

As the Portuguese historian A.H. de Oliveira Marques indicates, the Democratic Republic pushed forward with reforms in education, but the success of these reforms was quite limited. It established two normal schools in 1911 and proceeded with reforms in "technical education." By an act of 1911, the former School of Industry and Commerce was

to be transformed into two university-level institutions - the *Instituto Superior Technico* (Engineering) and the *Instituto Superior do Comércio* (Commerce)- both of which incorporated "up-to-date disciplines, methods and equipment." The *Instituto Superior de Agronomia* (Agronomy) and the *Escola de Medicina Veterinária* (Veterinary Science) were to be established in a similar manner, formed out of a previous institution and raised to the level of "upper colleges" of education. Beyond that, following an act of 1918, more technical schools concerned with agriculture, industry and commerce were opened across Portugal.²⁸

Along with the creation of the University of Lisbon and the University of Porto in 1911, immediately ending the exclusive position enjoyed for centuries by the university at Coimbra, and the founding of the *Junta Orientadora dos Estudos* "to promote research and postgraduate studies," these developments should have greatly transformed Portuguese society. Instead, the lack of sufficient resources "hindered the recruiting of instructors and the adequate equipment of libraries, laboratories and other research centers." Consequently, when the Democratic Republic was ended in 1926, Portugal still faced the problem of achieving mass education and less than fifty percent of the population could be considered literate.²⁹ This did not bode well for the colonies as the Republican government had numerous educational plans for them as well but took very little action overseas in order to bring them to fruition. Even the establishment of bureaus of Native Affairs did little more than separate the education for rural Angolans from that of Europeans and *assimilados*. As

these bureaus failed to administer African education the reality was that "rural Africans would continue to be educated by missions or not at all."³⁰

Despite the obvious similarities among Protestant groups, there were factors that served to distinguish them from each other. One such factor that affected mission work and the role that education played in it was their background before their arrival in Angola. Samuels argues that the ABCFM had the most highly educated missionaries among the Protestant groups and a wide educational gap existed between them and all other missions. He explains that most ABCFM missionaries had attended public schools and had embraced the American concept of the "common school." More than half of the missionaries were graduates of "major colleges in the United States and Canada, many had also attended theological schools, and most of the women had training or experience as teachers."³¹

A new era began in December 1921 when the High Commissioner³² Norton de Matos published "Decree No. 77" which prohibited the use of African languages in schools, except as parallel aids to the Portuguese texts. Administrative officials would thenceforth have to licence all local village teachers and none of these teachers could be licensed unless they could speak Portuguese.³³ This decree was promulgated at the very time that missionary work was making great inroads in Angola and the situation was further compounded by the government's assumption of authority over all education in Angola. The decree offered a free concession of land of up to 500 hectares and the free harvesting of timber for buildings along with annual subsidies for qualified European teachers in mission schools and for African

teachers in permanent rural schools. The Protestant missions never accepted these subsidies, however, and Henderson suggests that it is not possible to say whether they would have been granted if claimed.³⁴

Protestant autonomy as regards mission schools was very important: schools were the most effective and most widely used means of evangelization in sub-Saharan Africa. As Henderson explains:

In Angola the word escola did not refer simply to an academic institution: it meant the church as an ecclesiastical organization and in fact referred to the Christian community. The Umbundu word Ndukuasikola, literally, "I am of the school," meant "I am a Christian."³⁵

According to the Annual Reports of the West Central Africa Mission of the ABCFM, the Protestant school population in one region of central Angola grew to 12,596 in 1920 from 4,176 ten years earlier.³⁶ Reading was necessary for membership in the church and the rise in the number of pupils was followed by an equally rapid rise in church membership, which stood at 625 in 1910 and rose to 8,475 in 1930.³⁷

Decree 77 brought an end to the missions' own systems of education wherein they had published their own books and trained and assigned their own teachers. Henceforth, instead of a mission diploma, students were to receive an official certificate which depended chiefly upon mastery of Portuguese. Decree 755 of 26 March 1928 made it mandatory for the mission schools to have a teaching staff of Portuguese nationality for the execution of the

Portuguese course. These teachers were to have as a minimum the third year of *liceu* (secondary school), or the course of the higher grade primary schools.³⁸

The WMS of the United Church of Canada reported in 1926-1927 that the opening of the Currie Institute (in 1914) had improved the possibilities for training for African church leaders. However, the new government regulations which required the missions to have "teachers with Portuguese certificates," had forced the Chissamba and Camundongo missions to close their many outstation schools temporarily. In the Chissamba area alone there had been thirty-eight outstation schools in the 1926-1927 year and the number was expected to rise to fifty or sixty in the following year. These village schools were essential to the existence of "an educated, self-propagating Church."³⁹

It was not long before the missions were able to restart the process of education in the villages with the aid of qualified personnel who had been trained in Portugal. There were also the girls' boarding school, kindergarten and station day schools at missions. Enrolment in the day schools was limited on account of the shortage of funds to hire additional staff. The missionary in charge of education held classes for the teachers "emphasizing correct methods of teaching, the necessity through drilling and receiving" and lesson plans. The teachers, in turn, instructed classes of approximately thirty students in rudimentary skills and Bible classes.⁴⁰ At the girls' boarding school, the students cultivated large fields of "corn, peanuts and other produce." They worked "half a day for pay, and half a day for their food" as a form of training in self-support.⁴¹

In September 1929, a vocational school for girls was opened in Camundongo, with an enrolment of seventeen students aged seventeen to twenty, who "had little opportunity for training in the villages." The curriculum included "Bible reading, writing, foods, household management, home nursing, child care, sewing, gardening and basketry." More village schools were also opened in the mission field, for small children as well as "married men and women." All of them did not remain open all of the year as villages were not always able to send enough funds to keep them in operation and the missions usually had a very limited operating budget of only a few thousand dollars. But those schools that stayed open, often with the help of graduates from the Currie Institute, did well and strengthened the foundation of mission education in the remoter districts of central Angola.⁴²

The African churches assumed a heavy responsibility in helping to fund the work of teachers and preachers in distant outstations, and were praised for their generosity, given "their poverty and the drain on their resources for taxes." At a "thankoffering" in the 1928-1929 year, the gifts of the Native church amounted to \$400.⁴³ In 1944, the churches at Bailundo, Chilleso and Elende reported a total offering of \$2,209.35, \$3,179.06 and \$2,006.00 (US) respectively, even though the average wage in that period did not surpass six cents a day "against which the government levied taxes amounting to the cash earned by fifty to a hundred days' labor per year." The figures reported did not even include "offerings for special purposes or gifts of labor and love."⁴⁴

In 1949, the Angolans demonstrated their devotion to learning and the missionary effort once again when a major literacy campaign was conducted in Angola under the direction of Dr. Frank C. Laubach. As an ABCFM missionary in the Philippines, he had developed a method of literacy instruction which was commonly referred to as "Each one teach one." Laubach material included a number of charts and booklets relating the image of "some easily recognized object" to a letter in the language that the students spoke. His method was eventually adopted in several countries.⁴⁵ During the campaign in 1949, more than 1,000 Africans came on foot from miles around to attend the sessions and sixty-four missionaries attended from "all the missions in Angola." Four hundred teachers received certificates at that time and 400 students graduated from the programme.⁴⁶

It was only with the abundant support and even the direction of the African churches that the missionary venture continued to succeed. The indispensability of African leadership in establishing and strengthening the Church in Angola was in keeping with the Umbundu proverb "*Unene wongandu kovava*" ("the strength of the crocodile is in the water").⁴⁷ Without the assistance and encouragement of the Africans, the missionaries would have had to dust their feet and move on from Angola at a very early date.

The mission schools were able to set their own pace in Angola with minor interference from the Portuguese authorities until 1949. In 1950, Angola embarked upon a new system of education through *O Ensino Rudimentar*, the Rudimentary Education Act. This Act provided detailed instructions on the curriculum, outlining conditions for what should be

taught, at what stage, and by whom. This law implemented the Missionary Accord of 1940 between Portugal and the Holy See. Henderson argues that no one expected it to be enforced rigidly⁴⁸ as it would have outlawed all Protestant schools, forcing all African pupils to attend Catholic schools, as the Catholic Church had been charged with the administration of the rudimentary schools. Henderson quotes Father Silva Rego on this issue:

The rudimentary education is entrusted...to the Catholic missions. The State freed itself of this education and requires that the Catholic missions undertake it, but and this is important, the State does not give the necessary resources to make it possible.⁴⁹

Despite inadequate State funding for Catholic schools the new act reinforced the Catholic educational system by establishing normal schools which prepared teachers for the execution of the rudimentary curriculum. The main goal of the rudimentary education, according to the educational authorities was:

...to contribute to the elevation of the native masses by means of the first level of instruction regarding the realities of life of the people who are underdeveloped [pouco evoluidos] without alienating them from their class, their traditional hierarchy or from physical labour.⁵⁰

Agricultural work and manual arts were incorporated into the programme in order to obviate the creation of *calcinhas* ("short-pants"). This was a pejorative term for young men who had become strangers to their traditional sociocultural background, but who were not welcomed by the ruling class.⁵¹

Henderson explains that *O Ensino Rudimentar* had the opposite effect of what its creators had intended. It established the machinery by which more pupils could be officially

registered with the education department but demanded that parents and teachers spend an unreasonably long time acquiring the necessary documents. Those students who were successful were the few who could master both the official language and the "maze of bureaucratic requirements." The terminology was changed in 1956 to *Ensino de Adaptação* (Education for Adaptation)⁵² but aside from the shortening of the course by one year, no fundamental changes were made.⁵³

Government intervention in education between 1921 and 1951 served to impede the development of mass education. The figure of 12,596 students in ABCFM mission schools in one area of Angola in 1920 was ironically 369 more than the number officially registered in all the Protestant schools in Angola in 1954.⁵⁴ From 1926 to 1960, the Salazar régime focused more on the resettlement of the overwhelmingly "poor and illiterate Portuguese immigrants" than on the development of African education. It was a sad irony that these immigrants and the *degradados* were expected to carry out the *missão civilizadora* in Angola.⁵⁵ It was all a myth and was repeatedly exposed as such in the years that followed.

Needless to say, secondary education in Angola was not widely available by the 1950s, even though education expanded in that period. Secondary education had been available before 1933 only in Catholic seminaries and a few private schools or *colégios*. In 1933 the government built the first official high schools (*liceus*) in Luanda and Sá da Bandeira.⁵⁶ The *liceu* course, being very theoretical and classical, did not fulfil all the educational needs of the colony in the eyes of many educators and so vocational education

was instituted at the secondary level. The first government vocational schools were opened in the early 1950s and offered courses in commerce, electricity, mechanics and home economics.⁵⁷

In 1960/1961, only seven and a half percent of all school-age Angolan "young people" (roughly ages five to fourteen) were in school. Henderson indicates that this percentage was much lower than the corresponding figure for British colonies before independence, although it was higher than the percentage in the territories controlled by France.⁵⁸ Moreover, he goes on to note that the "few dozen students who finished secondary school in Angola each year, had to seek higher education elsewhere if, indeed, their academic accomplishments, will, and resources combined to give them such an opportunity."⁵⁹ To this end, Protestant missionary societies established scholarship programmes to assist Angolan students in their pursuit of higher education abroad.⁶⁰

The literacy campaign on the part of the missionaries continued well into the latter part of this century and Africans themselves continued to place a high premium on this valuable skill. James Ormiston gives an interesting account of the impact of literacy skills and the boost this gave to the missionary cause as late as 1957:

Not far from Wozi is another town situated on the top of a steep hill. So steep in fact that one must crawl on hands and knees to make the final pitch. No Christians had ever been invited to this town and to be perfectly frank, no Christians were wanted. Then one man learned to read. This man read the books about God and wanted to become a Christian. The chief opposed the idea but seeing how much good the reading seemed to do this man, he agreed to ask some other Christians from Wozi to come and teach more people to

read. Of course, they came and little by little the good news is being heard in that town too. This is the essence of what we learned at Wozi. Who can measure the power of a drop of printer's ink? Literacy is evangelism. A man came running to Dr. Sadler after reading the Gospel of Mark for the first time and said, "I know it is true because I can read it myself."⁶¹

The empowerment gained from reading achieved a two-fold purpose. First, it brought more Angolans into the Christian fold, thereby vindicating the Protestant effort. Second, it allowed the Angolans to enter into another world to which they had been denied entry because they did not meet the standards laid down by the colonial administration.

The American Board and Canadian Congregationalists founded the Currie Institute in 1914 as a response to the desire for more professionally-trained leaders. It was established for the training of local village leaders rather than "the more assimilated elite of the Catholic seminaries." Carpentry, masonry, agriculture and tailoring were included in the Institute course along with the Bible and the three R's "so that the village leader would be able to live on a higher standard and serve as an example to his people."⁶² In 1916, the ABCFM also established the Means School for girls, which began with fourteen students that year.⁶³

The basic education that the students received at the different missions was modified according to the specialization required, but basic literacy remained the vital component, especially as it enhanced the effective communication of the Gospel message. Certain subjects were tailored to meet the separate expectations that were set for young males and young females in much the same way that men and women were still encouraged and expected to play distinctly social roles in Canadian society. Everything had to be done

incrementally, in accordance with the students' level of accomplishment and the activities designed for each mission.

Edith M. Clark records the nature of this graduated progress in Angola. She had studied at the Faculty of Education at the University of Toronto from 1916 to 1917 and had also obtained her B.A. degree in Household Science there in 1923. Having taught at public schools in Canada and at Macdonald Institute in Guelph, she had obviously acquired a sensitivity for developing different skills for various levels of students.⁶⁴

She had attended a writing school in Camundongo in early November, 1957 that was directed by her colleagues Frances Walbridge and Reverend James Ormiston at which "simple story-writing" was being taught to the "newly literates." She spent the last half of November in Dôndi "teaching nutrition to two classes of nurses-in-training" as well as holding six classes with the students at Dôndi's Theological Seminary. It had recently become a "Union" institution and included a few students from the American Methodist Mission in Northern Angola as well as those from the United Church of Canada's missions.⁶⁵ The fact that students came to these classes at Dôndi from different regions and even from different missions, suggests the degree to which mission activity and influence was spreading outwards into the vastness of the countryside to touch new communities. It also suggests that a new crucible existed, if only potentially at first, for advancing a new sense of nationalism and internationalism in the years that followed.

Of all the mission stations where personnel from the United Church of Canada's were active, Dôndi was the most advanced, offering the most comprehensive range of education opportunities. Quite apart from the medical training offered at the Sara Hurd Scott Memorial Hospital, the Currie Institute for Young Men boasted the Trades Building at which carpentry, masonry, tailoring and weaving were taught, along with an extensive agricultural programme. It was reportedly the finest building of its kind in the entire province.⁶⁶

At the Means School, which was a short drive by car from the Currie Institute, the young women were exposed to a variety of subjects which included home economics, some agriculture including some animal husbandry, and Bible class. In 1940 there were 180 girls at the school.⁶⁷ This pattern was repeated at other schools where resources permitted, maintaining its heavy vocational aspect. Even by the early 1960s, free primary education for all children in Angola was still not available, and a number of adolescent girls were still being taught in small mission schools. At a small Domestic School in "Bombé Lombé" in 1962, a former graduate of the Means School was teaching a few fifteen- and sixteen-year-old girls to read, following the Laubach method. They also learned to sew, to knit, to weave grass baskets from local grasses and to make cookware out of clay.⁶⁸

Education for Africans in Angola remained limited in its scope and availability throughout the entire colonial period. However, Protestant education was moderately successful in central Angola because the missionaries, the local churches and the students put great effort into making their education programmes accessible and as relevant to local needs

as was feasible. These programmes focused heavily on technical and vocational training for artisans and for those who sought lower-level employment in education, medicine and agriculture. As the missionaries strove to become efficient speakers of local languages, their students were further encouraged to press on with their own work. The obvious attempts on the part of the missionaries to be students themselves of another language and culture earned them the confidence of the Angolans into whose midst they had come. There was a spirit of sharing and an exchange at many levels, and this opened the way to a new era of development and community improvement in rural Angola.

Anne Copithorne made reference to her attempts to learn and converse openly in the Umbundu language. She was making slow progress and her teacher often broke into laughter at her mistakes. She also gave the nurses a great deal of amusement as she was at the stage where she would forget much of the Portuguese that she had learned and would address them "in a grand mixture of Portuguese and Umbundu."⁶⁹ For a considerable period, Copithorne complained that most of her Umbundu went in one ear and out the other, but every once in a while she was able to retain some of it. The local folk were pleased to hear her speak more Umbundu, even when she made mistakes.⁷⁰ One Sunday, when the nurses were not around she visited the patients in the hospital and spoke to them in Umbundu, asking how they all were and understanding the replies.⁷¹

In retrospect, the major drawback to the early missionary effort in Angola was not language; rather, it was the continual harassment meted out to African students by petty

government officials who distrusted the presence and influence of the missions. Many young males would be forcibly rounded up and transported to other regions of Angola to do various kinds of gangwork. In later years, as independence movements mounted and gained success across Africa, stiff intervention and brutal harassment would continue through the agency of the Portuguese Secret Police - PIDE. The indirect target of the official "witch-hunts" would be the foreigners, but it was the Africans who suffered directly the tortuous "inquisitions" of the Portuguese overlords - an extremely burdensome, political consequence of their exposure to missionary education.

Although the missionaries did not intend to start or encourage a political revolution against the Portuguese authorities, their work as educators inevitably gave many Africans the wherewithal for understanding "the system," what maintained their place in it and how it could eventually be undermined. As surely as the tree lies in the seed, the key to their earthly salvation from Portuguese domination lay open to them in "black and white" through the gift of literacy. Indeed, the factors that served to ignite, strengthen and advance the zeal for independence, came from many sources.

Inevitably, the spread of this education altered traditional village society as it created a young educated African elite who virtually usurped the position of the village headman. Chiefs or headmen required assistance from people who could read and write Portuguese, especially as the Portuguese officials were constantly requiring statistics from the village elders - the *sekulus*. The villagers in general also requested the aid of this elite group in their

midst in order to resolve matters concerning taxes, birth certificates and land registration. In so doing the villagers would often bypass the office of the chief in their dealings with the Portuguese authorities.⁷²

Be that as it may, it was the Africans who clamoured for this education as it was "the quickest route by which the Africans [could] raise their status in the Portuguese society." A minimum of a fourth class (fourth grade) diploma was necessary for entry into government positions in the administrative, postal and health services. Education was the "key towards dignity, job opportunities and economic wealth."⁷³ There is, at best, only scant evidence that missionaries openly celebrated aspects of the students' African heritage in their schools. Despite that, continued association with Protestant missionaries remained desirable for the perpetuation of African culture as the ethnic and village orientation of mission programmes permitted many communities to survive intact, in spite of the depredations caused by Portuguese colonialism. In addition, Protestant schooling was often the only recourse available to many rural communities who sought to attain social and economic benefits in a country dominated by the Portuguese. Through this association, they finally regained a voice in colonial circles. Whether the Portuguese authorities always wished to hear that voice was a different matter.

Reverend J. Arthur Steed, who was born and grew up in Cumbran, South Wales, began his missionary duties at Chissamba in 1920. Appreciating "the African's love of, and capacity for music and pageantry," he organized an African choir, translating a number of

musical works into Umbundu.⁷⁴ In translating part of the psalms for the fiftieth anniversary jubilee of the founding of the first Protestant Mission at Chissamba, he could have had no idea that the opening words of a psalm, rendered as the much loved "*Sivaya*," in Umbundu decades earlier,⁷⁵ would become a personal anthem during the liberation struggles of the 1960s, even though the words had nothing to do with warfare at all. Indeed, it became common knowledge that anyone caught singing that psalm in Umbundu would be deemed a rebel and silenced by the Portuguese.

Yet the voice of the rebels could not be silenced after 1961. The Portuguese had taken far too long to accept even some of the most basic responsibilities of a modern state. Indeed, the very question of social welfare, an area that is heavily related to both education and medicine, remained the responsibility of the Catholic Church, Protestant missions, and private charity until as late as the 1950s with the passage of the Native Statute of 1954. Under the terms of the statute, the centralization and coordination of welfare activities were managed by a provincial commission of rural welfare in each of the overseas territories. In 1962, it was merged into the provincial institutes of labour and social welfare, thereby allowing a single agency to direct both urban and rural welfare activities agency.⁷⁶ The structural development was somewhat impressive, but the Portuguese were already far behind in the race.

Overall, non-Portuguese sources have suggested that there were just under 80,000 students enrolled in Protestant mission schools of all kinds in 1955. Portuguese figures also

show a marked increase in the number of schools and school children in Angola in the 1960s. The number of students in public and private primary schools alone bears this out with a rise to 153,586 in 1963/1964 from fewer than 20,000 in 1951.⁷⁷ In 1966 there were 225,000 students in primary schools and "schooling stations" and in 1967/1968 the number stood at 363,000.⁷⁸ In addition, there was an increase in the number of students in secondary and technical school and a university had been founded in Luanda. This was all too little too late for a country that had been crying out for attention for decades.

Portugal had failed to make education an early cornerstone of its development strategy and had therefore obliged the African masses to look elsewhere for assistance in this area. The Ovimbundu made use of Protestantism "as a channel for their aspirations. What was initially a structure established to convert them to Christianity became, at the same time, the nucleus for an alternate, Ovimbundu-controlled structure."⁷⁹ Portugal missed a vital opportunity to promote its own cause through a fundamental medium of social and political development. It was a weakness of Portuguese governance that would cost the Portuguese State dearly in the long run. The Protestant missionaries were fortunate to have entered reasonably early into a domain in which they had special skills and were allowed to pursue most of their programme without major interruptions until the early 1960s. In so doing they played a significant role in helping rural Angolans to transform themselves from illiterate masses in a Portuguese system of governance to an educated underclass in the contemporary

world. Education had turned their water into wine and the mere potential for growth and personal development seemed intoxicating.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

1. E. F. Schumacher, Small is Beautiful, 140-141.

2. It was inevitable that most of Modern Africa's leadership outside the regions dominated by Islam, would have obtained some form of mission education in their youth. There are many reports that illustrate this point:

Eighty-five percent of all elementary education in Africa is still being provided by missionaries. In great areas the only medical care an African can get is from a Christian missionary. Meet an African leader like Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana and you will discover he was educated in a mission school. When asked if he will continue to allow missionaries to work in independent Ghana he replied: "Certainly. We have what we have because of missionaries."

The Observer (United Church of Canada), September 1, 1957, 10.

3. Patrick Manning, Francophone Sub-Saharan Africa, 1880-1985 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 99.

4. Ali A. Mazrui, Political Values and the Educated Class in Africa, 153.

5. Ali A. Mazrui, Political Values and the Educated Class in Africa, 153-154.

6. Claire Robertson, "Social Change in Contemporary Africa," in Africa, Third Edition, eds. Phyllis M. Martin and Patrick O'Meara (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1995), 314.

7. Letter from Margaret Dawson, Dôndi, Angola, 27 February 1949, entitled "Up and Down With Education," published in Angola Airmail, (United Church of Canada, circa 1951), 54.

8. Daniel Spikes, Angola and the Politics of Intervention, 13-14.

9. Lawrence W. Henderson, The Church in Angola, 163.

10. "Ochimbundu" is the singular of "Ovimbundu"; many works avoid making this distinction in English by simply employing the term "Umbundu" to represent the language, an individual, or the entire ethno-linguistic group.

11. Daniel Spikes, Angola and the Politics of Intervention, 13-15; Lawrence W. Henderson, The Church in Angola, 165-166. Spikes suggests that Lote Savimbi was a Congregationalist pastor; however, Henderson explains that he was in fact "an effective lay leader" and not a pastor.

12. "Em Angola Central cooperam duas sociedades missionárias, a American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions e a Board of World Mission of The United Church of Canada. Dessa cooperação resultou o Conselho ou Sínodo Geral, das Igrejas: Bailundo, Bundjei, Camundongo, Chilessso, Chissamba, Dôndi, Litoral e Elende." Eduardo dos Santos. Religiões de Angola, 207.
13. Douglas L. Wheeler and René Pélissier. Angola, 133.
14. UCC/VIC Archives, Alice and Walter Strangway Personal Papers, Box 1, File 6. Letter from Alice K. Strangway at Missão de Chissamba to friends, 01 November 1935.
15. David Siddle and Kenneth Swindell, Rural Change in Tropical Africa: From Colonies to Nation-States. (Oxford, UK: Basil Blackwell Ltd.) 1990, 141. The argument outlined at this point describes a situation that was more appropriate in a number of ways to missionaries who were clearly working hand in hand with colonial officers who came from a similar background as the missionaries themselves. The pattern is not readily applicable to the United Church missions, as their missionaries were "outsiders" to both the Portuguese colonizers and the local Africans and as Portuguese colonial policy still favoured Europeans and *mestiços* over Black Africans. Consequently, their connection to colonial Portuguese bureaucracy was slight, if at all discernible. Still, the following passage is instructive:
- Mission schools were all too pleased to see their better pupils succeeding in the offices of the colonial bureaucracy, as they began to find their places as members of the new urban African middle class. This process began surprisingly early. Communities of freed slaves in Freetown, Monrovia and Libreville spearheaded the invasion of new value structures. Often hated or despised as "black men in white clothes", some kind of cultural quislings, nonetheless they provided role models for indigenous Africans who were soon separating themselves from their rural backgrounds, precursors of a generation of white shirted, besuited urbanized Africans who were already divided from their rural heritage well before independence.
16. Lawrence W. Henderson. Angola: Five Centuries of Conflict. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1979), 154.
17. Lawrence W. Henderson. Angola: Five Centuries of Conflict, 153.
18. Thomas Masaji Okuma. "The Social Response of Christianity in Angola." 21.
19. Michael A. Samuels and Norman A. Bailey. "Education, Health and Social Welfare" in David M. Abshire and Michael S. Bailey eds., Portuguese Africa: A Handbook. (New York: Praeger Publishers Inc., 1969), 179, 180.
20. Lawrence W. Henderson. Angola: Five Centuries of Conflict, 153-154.

21. Michael A. Samuels and Norman A. Bailey. "Education, Health and Social Welfare." 179.
22. Michael Anthony Samuels. Education in Angola, 1878-1914: A History of Culture Transfer and Administration. (New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University, 1970), 79.
23. John Taylor Tucker. A Tucker Treasury: Reminiscences and Stories of Angola, 1883-1958. Selected and Prepared by Catherine Tucker Ward (Winfield, British Columbia: Wood Lake Signature Books, 1984), 71.
24. UCC/VIC Archives, Canada Congregational Foreign Missionary Society, Angola Mission, General Correspondence, January-February 1922, 80.015C, File 57. Letter from G. A. Moore, Secretary to Mr. Glaze, 17 January 1922.
25. T. Price. "The Missionary Struggle with Complexity," in Christianity in Tropical Africa: Studies Presented and Discussed at the Seventh International African Seminar, University of Ghana, April 1965, ed. C.G. Baëta (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), 111.
26. This is an excerpt from the Preamble to Decree No. 12 485 of 13 October 1926, as quoted in Alfredo Héctor Wilensky, Trends in Portuguese Overseas Legislation For Africa, Translated by Frank R. Holliday (Braga, Portugal: Livraria Editora Pax, 1971), 76, Footnote 10. Translated from original text in Spanish Tendencias de la Legislación ultramarina portuguesa en Africa, (Braga, Portugal: Livraria Editora Pax, 1968).
27. Frank B. Tipton and Robert Aldrich. An Economic and Social History of Europe, 1890-1939, 117.
28. A.H. de Oliveira Marques. History of Portugal, Volume II: From Empire to Corporate State (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1972), 142.
29. A.H. de Oliveira Marques. History of Portugal, Volume II, 142-143.
30. Michael A. Samuels and Norman A. Bailey. "Education, Health and Social Welfare." 179.
31. Michael Anthony Samuels. Education in Angola, 74.
32. Norton de Matos was appointed Governor General of Angola in 1912 and is considered to be the chief architect of "the extractive system's extension through Angola, and of its regulating principles and practice." The Republican title of "High Commissioner" had been briefly substituted for the term "Governor General" by the time of his return to Angola in 1921. Basil Davidson, In the Eye of the Storm: Angola's People, (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1972), 112, 113.
33. Lawrence W. Henderson. Angola: Five Centuries of Conflict, 151, 154.
34. Lawrence W. Henderson. Angola: Five Centuries of Conflict, 154.

35. Lawrence W. Henderson. Angola: Five Centuries of Conflict. 155.
36. Lawrence W. Henderson. The Church in Angola. 76.
37. Lawrence W. Henderson. Angola: Five Centuries of Conflict. 155.
38. This portion of Decree 755 is quoted in Lawrence W. Henderson. Angola: Five Centuries of Conflict. 155-156.
39. UCC/VIC Archives. Second Annual Report of The Woman's Missionary Society of The United Church of Canada, 1926-1927 (Toronto: The Armac Press. Limited, 1927). 127-128.
40. UCC/VIC Archives. Second Annual Report of The WMS of The United Church of Canada, 1926-1927. 128.
41. UCC/VIC Archives. Third Annual Report of The Woman's Missionary Society of The United Church of Canada, 1927-1928 (Toronto: The Armac Press Limited, 1928). 118.
42. UCC/VIC Archives. Fifth Annual Report of the Woman's Missionary Society of The United Church of Canada, 1929-1930 (Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1930). 143-144.
43. UCC/VIC Archives. Fourth Annual Report of the Woman's Missionary Society of The United Church of Canada, 1928-1929 (Toronto: The Armac Press Limited, 1929). 160.
44. Lawrence W. Henderson. The Church in Angola. 111.
45. Lawrence W. Henderson. The Church in Angola. 148. footnote 21.
46. UCC/VIC Archives. Twenty-Fifth Annual Report of the Woman's Missionary Society of The United Church of Canada, 1949-1950 (Toronto: The United Church of Canada Publishing House. 1950). 113.
47. Lawrence W. Henderson. The Church in Angola. 87.
48. Lawrence W. Henderson. Angola: Five Centuries of Conflict. 156.
49. Father Silva Rego is identified as the missiologist at the Overseas Colonial Institute in Lisbon. His assessment of the situation appears in "Alguns problemas sociológico-missionários da Africa negra" (Lisbon: Estudos de Ciencias Políticas e Sociais. No. 32. 1960). 104-5, and is quoted in Lawrence W. Henderson. Angola: Five Centuries of Conflict. 156.
50. This passage is quoted in Lawrence W. Henderson. Angola: Five Centuries of Conflict. 157. The original source from which it is drawn is not mentioned except for the reference to the "educational authorities."

51. Lawrence W. Henderson. The Church in Angola, 145.
52. The order of this terminology presented by Michael A. Samuels and Norman A. Bailey in Portuguese Africa, 180, appears to be an erratum. It is *ensino de adaptação* that replaced *ensino rudimentar* in 1956 and not the reverse. In either case, there was no remarkable improvement to the system in 1956.
53. Lawrence W. Henderson. Angola: Five Centuries of Conflict, 157.
54. Lawrence W. Henderson. Angola: Five Centuries of Conflict, 158.
55. Michael Andrew Mawema. "British and Portuguese Colonialism in Central African Education." (Ed.D. Dissertation, Columbia University Teachers College, 1981; Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms International, 1982), 163.
56. Lawrence W. Henderson, Angola: Five Centuries of Conflict, 158. Before the 1930s there was, however, one high school established in Luanda (1917).
57. Lawrence W. Henderson, Angola: Five Centuries of Conflict, 159. Henderson mentions that a vocational school had actually been built at Luanda between 1876 and 1880, but had never functioned. The vocational schools inaugurated in the 1950s are referred to in Portuguese as industrial e comercial.
58. Lawrence W. Henderson, Angola: Five Centuries of Conflict, 159.
59. Lawrence W. Henderson, Angola: Five Centuries of Conflict, 159-160.
60. One example of this was the "Gilchrist Memorial Angola Student Trust Fund," now called "The Angola Memorial Scholarship Fund," which was established by the United Church of Canada and the sons of Sidney and Frankie Gilchrist. Under this fund Angolan students have been trained at the secondary and tertiary levels in many different fields of study.
61. UCC/VIC Archives Anne E. (Nancy) Copithorne Personal Papers, General Correspondence 1956-1958, Box 1, File 70. Letter from James Ormiston at the Dôndi Mission to friends [in Canada] 16 December 1957.
62. Lawrence W. Henderson, Angola: Five Centuries of Conflict, 154.
63. John Taylor Tucker, Angola: The Land of the Blacksmith Prince. (London: World Dominion Press, 1933), 49.
64. UCC/VIC Archives, Biographical Files, Clark, Edith Myrtle (Miss), (B.A.), Biography (1896-1985), (Angola).

65. UCC/VIC Archives, Anne E. (Nancy) Copithorne Personal Papers, General Correspondence 1956-1958, 86.078C, Box 1, File 70. Letter from Edith M. Clark to Friends, December 1957.
66. Frank E. Archibald, Salute to Sid: The Story of Dr Sidney Gilchrist. (Windsor, Nova Scotia: Lancelot Press Limited, 1970), 66.
67. UCC/VIC Archives, Anne E. (Nancy) Copithorne Personal Papers, General Correspondence, July 1940, Box 1, File 13. Letter from Nancy at Missão de Camundongo to her mother, 24 July 1940.
68. UCC/VIC Archives, Sidney Gilchrist Correspondence 1961-1962, 96.021C, Box 1, File 9. Letter from Lillian Taylor, Hospital do Dôndi to Roy, 13 August 1962.
69. UCC/VIC Archives, Anne E. (Nancy) Copithorne Personal Papers, General Correspondence, September 1940, Box 1, File 14. Letter from Nancy at Missão de Camundongo to her mother, 27 September 1940.
70. UCC/VIC Archives, Anne E. (Nancy) Copithorne Personal Papers, General Correspondence October 1940, Box 1, File 15. Letters from Nancy at Missão de Camundongo to her mother, 04 and 10-11 October 1940.
71. UCC/VIC Archives, Anne E. (Nancy) Copithorne Personal Papers, General Correspondence, December 1940, Box 1, File 17. Letter from Nancy at Missão de Camundongo to her mother, 11 December 1940.
72. Thomas Okuma, Angola in Ferment, 44.
73. Thomas Okuma, Angola in Ferment, 40.
74. UCC/VIC Archives, Steed, Joseph Arthur (Rev.), M.A., B.D., D.D., (Angola), Biography (1883-1961), Excerpts from Bay of Quinte Conference Minutes, 1961 and Minutes of the Board of Foreign Missions, April 1932.
75. UCC/VIC Archives, Biographical Files, Steed, Joseph Arthur (Rev.), M.A., B.D., D.D., (Angola), Biography (1883-1961), Excerpt from the Drayton Advocate, "The Late Dr. Steed."
76. Michael A. Samuels and Norman A. Bailey, "Education, Health and Social Welfare," 194.
77. UCC/VIC Archives, J. Murray MacInnes Personal Papers, 86.286C, Box 1 of 1, File 3, Papers on Educational System of Angola, 1965, (two manuscripts), "The School System of Angola," 7, 11. The manuscript cites Portugal, Instituto Nacional de Estatística, Anuário Estatístico do Ultramar, 1950, '51, Lisboa, 1952 as the source for 1951. The source for 1963/64 figures is unclear.
78. Members of the Liberation Front, Revolution in Angola (London: The Merlin Press Limited, 1972), 23.

79. Linda M. Heywood. "Unita and Ethnic Nationalism in Angola." Journal of Modern African Studies, 27, I (1989), 50.

CHAPTER FIVE DEVELOPMENT THROUGH A MINISTRY OF HEALING

As indicated in the previous chapter, the fundamentals of the education process neither start nor end in the classroom, but reach out into other areas of life. One of the strongest areas of missionary work that helped perhaps more than any other in legitimizing the presence of missionaries among the Africans lay in the medical field. Progress in tropical medicine had certainly been the leading scientific achievement that permitted an increasing number of Europeans to settle in Africa since the end of the nineteenth century. Once Europeans were able to associate diseases such as yellow fever and malaria with the plasmodial parasites carried by the *Aedes aegypti* and the anopheles mosquitoes (*Anopheles gambiae*; *Anopheles funestus*) respectively, and trypanosomiasis in cattle with the tsetse fly, they were quickly able to combat and control most of the pathogens and establish themselves more securely in tropical regions.¹ By contrast, Africans who were forcibly taken to coastal or swampy regions to work for Europeans, rarely had easy access to the new medicines developed to combat a number of these diseases that were prevalent in these new environments. Moreover, many of them, by virtue of forced migration, crowding in cities and interaction with Europeans, were exposed to completely new diseases.

A significant number of the missionaries who went into the African heartland were physicians or nurses and their qualifications have been included at Appendix A where known. The way had been opened anew for them back in the 1800s by the celebrated success

of Dr. Livingstone - himself both missionary and physician, as well as explorer. These medical missionaries were products of the new scientific age and were seeking to promote new health standards in Africa, especially at the village level. At the same time that they were offering the benefits of their medical expertise, they came up against one of the most influential and revered persons within the African village - the witch doctor. The status of the witch doctor as the practitioner of medicine and magic in traditional African societies was virtually unassailable, unless the modern doctors could demonstrate a greater magic in their medicine. They had to inspire as much awe as the witch doctor in order to gain the confidence and respect of the African communities as great healers. It was the demonstration of this power over a reasonably brief period that allowed many missionary societies to make quick inroads into African kingdoms.

Whoever was blessed with the power of healing was an important scientist, enjoying direct links to the ancestors and the gods. It stood to reason then, that visitors who could harness the power to heal stubborn and deadly ailments were well placed to win the loyalty of the people. All other aspects of the missionary venture would simply fall into place. This aspect of mission work became central to the success of the overall Christian effort around the same time that physicians were actually gaining greater prestige in Europe and the Americas. As scientific and medical research was making great strides forward, displacing hordes of mountebanks and the now legendary "snake-oil salesmen," medical missionaries

became in many ways the vanguard of the new Christian soldiers who were marching onwards to "conquer" the world.

Medical schools, now an essential part of medical training, came into existence in Canada in 1823. Before that, medical training was only available through apprenticeship. Apprenticeship, which was also the practice in the United States and in Europe, entailed a student's indentureship to a practitioner for a period of some three to seven years. The student, often still a boy, learned how to "draw teeth, to cup to bleed, to dress minor wounds...to pound up bark and roots, and make up tinctures, ointments, plasters, [and] blue mass". As medical schools opened in Montreal and Toronto, "good teaching soon developed under well-trained men" who, at the beginning, were frequently military surgeons.²

From that point on, medicine in Canada slowly became the domain of those members of society who had received this tertiary level of education at the medical schools. The first medical degree in Canada was awarded on 24 May 1833 by McGill University in Montreal.³ Thereafter many more universities began to turn out qualified physicians and nurses as well as other technical medical personnel. Up to the First World War, many of these graduates sought postgraduate training in medical centres in Great Britain and Ireland, France, Germany, and Austria. After the War, an increasing number went to American centres although Great Britain and France remained important centres for training. By the time of the Flexner Report (1910), there were eight medical schools operating in Canada of which

two, McGill and Toronto, were reported to be excellent, while the others were given other appraisals ranging from "bad" to representing "distinct effort towards higher levels."⁴

Canadian women fought a tough battle to enter the medical profession, as they did to enter into virtually every male-dominated profession, and a number of them had been obliged to study at schools in Britain and the United States where a number of Medical colleges for Women had been established from the 1850s onward. By the turn of the century, the medical schools at Canadian universities such as the University of Toronto, the Woman's medical college (affiliated with Queen's University), Dalhousie University, Bishop's University and the University of Western Ontario, were turning out more women doctors. A number of religious groups such as the Young Women's Christian Association, the Women's Christian Temperance Union and missionary societies of most Protestant denominations were also promoting the entry of women into the medical field.⁵

Of course the field of nursing had welcomed women more readily, especially after the achievements of Britain's Florence Nightingale in The Crimean War (1854-56), as modern nursing had made a significant contribution to the advancement of surgery. Modern training for Canadian nurses began in 1873 when through two trained nurses and a handful of "probationers" were brought from England as a result of the influence of Dr. Mack of the General and Marine Hospital of St Catharines, Ontario. The scheme of nursing that was put in place included instruction in bed-side nursing, chemistry, sanitary science, popular

physiology, anatomy and hygiene. Thereafter, Canadian nurses went on to develop a reputation for excellence by the early decades of the twentieth century.⁶

The growth of the medical establishment and the exposure that medical personnel had had on account of the First World War was contemporaneous with the social gospel and the renewed energy of the evangelical churches in promoting their missionary ventures. The question of healing is wholly central to the missionary's calling in that the very word "salvation" is derived from the Latin word *salus* which means "health," and both health and salvation were intimately related in the ministry of Jesus Christ.⁷ The sick and suffering feature prominently in the Bible and some of the greatest tests of faith and demonstrations of divine power are centred on the healing of stubborn and seemingly incurable diseases for individuals and even entire groups of people.

With this in mind, it is no great surprise that the missionaries were able to establish themselves with relative ease among the various peoples of the Angolan plateau and elsewhere in the country. Lawrence W. Henderson argues that both Bantu and Biblical cultures shared a common world view in which the visible world was understood to be part of a whole which also included an invisible world of ancestors, spirits, and mysterious powers. Personal and social health or welfare depended on good relations with the whole of reality, visible and invisible.⁸ In this particular realm, the witch doctor played a conspicuously important role.

John Taylor Tucker identified the witch doctor not as someone who bewitches people, but as "a most important personage" who "smells out witches and rids the community of their offensive behaviour." The witch doctor's role was to maintain "a place of power between the spirits who inhabit the other world...and the community which lives on earth."⁹ Witch doctors had a knowlegde of some of the useful medicinal herbs "but [were]...ignorant of proper testing, mixing and dosing." There were also a number of curious remedies for various ailments. These included wearing chicken bones around the neck for throat diseases, rooster feathers around the neck for chest troubles in adults, a piece of deer hide around the ankle for a leg ulcer, and short pieces of grass tied in a bundle and worn at the side of the head to cure fever.¹⁰ Tucker does not state explicitly the effectiveness of such remedies, but it is clear from his account that the power of the witch doctor to heal most of the diseases that were prevalent in Angola was quite limited.

Physicians who visited the heartland of Africa came face to face with widespread cases of leprosy and malnutrition and were hard pressed to relieve the suffering of so many people who had fallen victim to all the attendant devastating complications. To some degree, the spread of many diseases across vast stretches of the continent were due to the sudden, renewed movement of peoples in response to various aspects of colonization. For example, the intensifying of forest clearings, the expansion of plantations and the relocation of people on a massive scale contributed to the spread of sleeping sickness as both the human and the tse-tse fly populations increased. This disease, as well as the bubonic plague, made an

appearance near the turn of the century in West Africa and both were transmitted into different regions of Africa as the construction of railways took infected workers further inland.¹¹

The increased movement of people and commodities in the hinterland of Luanda must have encouraged the spread of large-scale epidemics in the nineteenth century. Smallpox took a heavy toll on Luanda's population in the late 1800s, despite Portuguese attempts to avoid its spread through immunization. In 1864-65, roughly five thousand of the eighteen thousand inhabitants of Luanda died of smallpox. Moreover a combination of a "scorched earth" policy in the wars of conquest, drought, famine, the recruitment of labourers for White farms and the building of the Luanda-Malange Railway from 1888 to 1929 helped spread sleeping sickness, which always led to fatalities, throughout a vast region of Angola. In addition to the above, the forced migration of nonimmunized workers into malarial districts caused the mortality rate to escalate between 1893 and 1904 with an estimated ninety percent mortality rate among infants.¹²

At the end of the nineteenth century, bovine pleuropneumonia reached Angola and killed ninety percent of the livestock. By 1933, the combination of all of these factors was incredibly aggravated even more by the "most serious drought ever recorded" and then compounded by an invasion of locusts (discussed in the following chapter) throughout Angola. By the following year, many of those who had been part of the exodus to urban centres in search of employment were dying in the streets.¹³

Although it would be inaccurate to suggest that Portugal showed no concern about health care in Angola, it was obvious that very little had been achieved apart from sporadic attempts at immunizing the community against certain epidemics. To begin with, statistical information for Angola in government records is far from satisfactory; but it at least reveals from 1959 onwards that there were grave deficiencies in establishments and the staff required to run them. As one author quips: "One may reasonably assume that the majority of the population suffers in unrecorded misery."¹⁴

As late as 1961, there was fewer than one doctor for every 1,000 patients in Angola (0.67: 1000); in Portugal the ratio was approximately eight for every thousand in that year. The overwhelming majority of doctors resided in the towns with roughly one-third of them living either in Luanda or in the outlying district. Although it is typical to find a concentration of physicians in urban zones, their concentration in these areas of Angola was reflective of the fact that their services were intended chiefly for the Europeans who resided there. There were, in 1967, eighteen State hospitals which included four "central hospitals" having 300 or more beds, fifty-six rural hospital centres, sixty-seven private hospitals and health centres, 262 health stations, thirty-five maternity clinics, twenty-six leprosaria and eleven child-care dispensaries. In general the figures were rather low the needs of the people and the level of care given at government facilities did not do very much to improve medical conditions in the colony. Angolans enjoyed very poor health care and Angola's rate of infant mortality remained among the highest in the world.¹⁵

The first medical missionary in Angola was Dr. Ardell Henry Webster. He and his wife, M. Murchie Webster established themselves at the Bailundo mission in 1887.¹⁶ Following from their efforts, many other missionaries followed over the years. These included Dr. William Sidney Gilchrist and his wife Frankie. Together with Alice Moreira, a native of Portugal, they promoted public health education at that mission.¹⁷ Hospitals were built and maintained at all the principal mission stations of the ABCFM and the United Church of Canada and innumerable village clinics and dispensaries functioned under the direction of each hospital's health services.

Mission hospitals were especially appreciated in Angola, as they were constructed to accommodate the family helpers who accompanied the patients. This was an economic necessity to be certain, but it was also recognized as being advantageous for the patients' recovery as separation from the family could delay recovery or even contribute to the patient's illness.¹⁸ After the establishment of the Currie Institute and the Means School at Dôndi in 1914 and 1916 respectively, there were plans to include a "teaching hospital" as part of the Dôndi complex.

In 1926 Dr. Robert George Moffat went to serve there and in 1933 Dr. Veazie Markham arrived in Dôndi and supervised the construction the hospital's "first major block." In the period 1947 to 1956, Dr. Sidney Gilchrist increased the scope of the nurses' training programme that had begun there years earlier. The initial purpose of the nurses' training at the missions was to provide a competent nursing staff for mission hospitals and village

dispensaries. At first, the academic standards of their training was low. It was simply required that students be able to read and write; however, with the passing of time, the general level of instruction rose. The training soon came to serve more than the initial purpose of staffing mission and village health facilities as some of the graduates were able to obtain employment on plantations or even in cities where their earnings were higher.¹⁹

The nursing trainees were eventually required to pass government exams and even after the decline of some centres of mission activity, owing to the outbreak of violence in 1961, the United Church missions were still turning out successful candidates. They went to Luanda, Nova Lisboa (Huambo), Sá da Bandeira (Lubango) and Silva Porto (Cuíto) to study and observe hospital procedure and then write the examinations. In 1962, twenty-one candidates applied to take the government examinations. Of that number fourteen were successful, with four of them doing so well at the written and practical part that they were not required to do the oral examination. Another four were unsuccessful in their attempt and the final three failed to meet all of the requirements.²⁰

A major concern of many of the medical caregivers seemed to lie in getting members of the rural community to learn about particular general health precautions which would obviate the need to treat or even the likelihood of contracting certain diseases that had suddenly become far too commonplace in Angola. They were also committed to training individuals within these communities in basic health care so that they could in turn do much

of the necessary groundwork among their people which the missionaries themselves could not do for want of sheer numbers.

By adhering to a few principles of public health, it has been suggested that approximately seventy percent of the diseases in Angola could have been prevented. Maintaining a balanced diet, providing access to sources of clean water, using soap, eliminating obvious breeding grounds for mosquitos, and using latrines had all been neglected measures that would have vastly curtailed the prevalence of disease in the colony. The Christian village became the basic unit of the public health programme, as each of these villages became an example of a different, healthier way of life. The Protestants excelled at this as their villages were generally easily distinguishable from the Catholic ones by their "orderliness, cleanliness, [the] presence of fruit trees, and general prosperity."²¹ It certainly helped that public health had been a major issue in Canadian cities and towns since the cholera epidemic in 1866²² and the missionaries were able to promote in Angola, finances and the local cooperation permitting, many of the measures that had been applied at home.

The local population responded eagerly to these opportunities as they had been denied such experiences within the usual colonial framework of the Portuguese government. As rural folk, they were in many ways marginalized. They only seemed to have central importance when forced into road gangs or onto plantations which were often far removed from their own places of domicile. Successes in community medicine meant a definite major breakthrough for the entire missionary effort. As the loyalties of the rural folk solidified, the

missionaries were accepted as part of the community even though there remained elements of culture and even authority that still set them apart.

An early and continuing concern for the missionaries was the hold that "paganism" and superstition had on the local populations. They often conceived of their medical successes as necessary in combating what they considered to be the deleterious aspects of local African culture. There is no doubt that sometimes what is termed "superstition" by one person might simply reflect basic ignorance on the part of the observer of aspects of another person's culture or experience. Indeed, cultural arrogance alone makes "superstition" and "paganism" easy words to employ against a whole range of African concepts. However, for most medical personnel, the fear of African adherence to superstition had a very practical effect on the treatment of diseases and could not be discounted in a facile manner.

Sometimes the local treatments produced further harmful effects, such as swollen livers in children, that modern medicine could have avoided.²³ The missionaries hoped to end the vulnerability of their patients to the machinations of others who might play on entire communities in times of peril or illness, or who might interfere with the recuperation of individual patients when stubborn cases of illness arose.

Writing in the 1940s, Anne Copithorne cited two examples of this struggle to win over the confidence of the people. In one case, she and some of the local nurses were entreating a mother whose child was obviously suffering from malaria to bring the child into their compound for treatment. The mother was very reluctant, claiming that the child's illness was

due to an evil spell cast by a member of the community who was opposed to the mother's attendance at the missionaries' church. The mother did not believe that anything could be done to restore her child to good health for this reason. The staff were eventually able to convince her to bring the child inside for treatment and eventually, the child overcame the illness. Cases such as this one constituted a much needed triumph for the missionary cause.²⁴

Anne Copithorne gave another example of the persistence of traditional superstition which did not end favourably. A Christian chief brought in an ailing witch doctor for treatment one day. The witch doctor had apparently been poisoned (perhaps by a rival) and was being treated for malaria at the hospital. He was improving slowly when suddenly he began to insist that he was weak and was going to die and he insisted he should be taken home. Thus, when the staff was away one evening his people took him away, because, as Copithorne notes "his word was law." He was not strong enough for the journey, and so he died on the way. Miss Copithorne saw a greater tragedy in this beyond his death, as the case represented a failed opportunity to demonstrate to the populace the strength of the mission's medicine and, concomitantly, the emptiness of their superstition.²⁵

These challenges were not easily overcome as the spread of medical facilities throughout the rural communities took some time. There were, in particular, very few doctors and nursing staff on hand did the best they could in the absence of doctors, who in many cases were to be found any miles away, again underlying the limitations of the Portuguese colonial system:

Yesterday I wanted a Doctor [sic] very badly for one of the patients but as the nearest is at Galange about 180 miles distant I had to do without. Today the woman looks as if she may pull through so it is encouraging.²⁶

In particular it took some time for the foreign personnel to get acquainted with various tropical diseases. Copithorne mentioned to her mother that her education about tropical diseases was continuing at a quick pace and she would never know what the head nurse might tell her next when she got called down to attend to patients who were suffering from one of the tropical diseases.²⁷ In one account, the hospital had admitted an eight-year-old boy with Kala-Ayar. Although the disease was identified as Kala-Ayar, the staff did not know that the disease was to be found in their region, but were still able to give satisfactory treatment.²⁸

An immediate area for concern for the missionaries was the problem of leprosy which was already widespread and on the increase in Africa by the turn of the century. In fact, those working in Angola noted well into the twentieth century that leprosy seemed to be on the increase among the African population. Leprosy, partly because of the alienation of those it afflicts from their society, and partly because of an almost perverse nostalgia associated with it on account of its many appearances in the Bible as an ages-old scourge, caught the urgent attention of the missionaries throughout their stay in Angola. This disease, numbs digits on the hand and feet and then claims them, leaving many of its victims disabled. Leprosy posed as much of challenge in Biblical times as it was doing in Africa in the early

twentieth century. Yet Biblical accounts revealed that a number of lepers had been healed by their faith in the power of God and modern science had provided the faithful medical missionary with the means to help cure, arrest and prevent the disease from taking too great a toll on the Angolan population.

It probably cannot be attested with absolute certainty that what has been termed leprosy in Biblical accounts is precisely what has come to be known as leprosy or more technically, Hansen's disease, today. Unlike cases of Hansen's disease, where the bacillus *Mycobacterium leprae* progressively affects the patient's nervous system, skin and other tissues, these other diseases might have been serious skin afflictions that had resembled leprosy ulcers or spots. However, the accuracy of the terminology was less important than the responsibility that missionaries believed had been entrusted to them by the "Great Physician," Jesus Christ. In the New Testament, Christ called to his twelve disciples and "gave them power *against* unclean spirits, to cast them out and to heal all manner of sickness and all manner of disease."²⁹ They were further given a specific instruction: "Heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, raise the dead, cast out devils: freely ye have received, freely give."³⁰

Dr. Sidney Gilchrist referred to his leprosy patients as "our leper family." There were people of all ages and from many different ethnic groups. Quite apart from the Ovimbundu from the Bié region, there were the Chokwes who were tall and dark hunters and fighters and came from the forests beyond the Kwanza River. There were also the "Luimbia" who were

of a lighter complexion and lived along the Kukema River, fishing and cultivating crops, the "Gongeles" who came from further south and still other peoples "from the far interior."³¹

Dr. Gilchrist reported that the alarming increase in cases of leprosy had been a recent one in that part of Africa and that it was the result of "the breakdown of tribal taboos and the weakening of the authority of the chief - by-products of white civilization." Before the leprosaria were established, "declared cases" of leprosy were "cast out of the village to live and die in the bush." He had laid the foundations for "effective leper work" in the uplands near the mission and in the "wide Kukema Valley" but it had not been an easy task as many of the first patients returned to the bush again, having found the treatment too painful and too slow. Moreover, there was not a steady or regular supply of the medicine being used to treat leprosy at that time, Chaulmoogra oil, and so "the treatment lapsed over long periods."³²

Anne Copithorne suggests just how irregular this supply still was in the 1940s:

We heard while down at Annual Meeting that a shipment of Chaulmoogra oil had arrived at the coast - for our lepers we are very thankful as we will probably not...get any more until after the war. [I]t comes from Siam.³³

It was difficult enough that the Chaulmoogra oil was hard to come by in Angola but there also seemed to be complications regarding the proper funding of leper work by the Board that was responsible for all mission activities in the region. There are frequent suggestions that the Board did not allot the missionaries funds for lepers. Much of the money for the lepers was raised by friends in Canada and then had to be sent separately in order that it might be applied directly to the needs of the lepers. Moneys for the lepers that ended up

in the general fund was used for other purposes.³⁴ It is unclear exactly why this was so, but it could simply be the result of a mission board having different priorities from the missionaries working in the field. The former was likely to take a global and nominally balanced perspective of medical expenditure, whereas the latter would react to the practical, immediate needs of day to day health care.

Dr. Gilchrist explained that a "full and attractive diet" was an important curative step in the fight against leprosy, but the mission could not always find the necessary funds to purchase enough corn, greens, meat or dried fish to feed the ever increasing numbers of lepers. This became especially critical as the fame of the leper camp spread by "moccasin telegraph" into the interior. The news of the success of the leper camp had even introduced new words into the vocabulary of people who lived at great distances from the mission. Dr. Gilchrist noted the introduction of the word "Zulu" which did not refer to the Zulus of South Africa but was an Umbundu rendering of "*azul metilene*" the Portuguese term for methylene blue, which was also used in intravenous injections to treat cases of leprosy.³⁵

The diagnosis of the disease took some care as the tiny brown spots that marked its early stages often received little attention from the victims until graver symptoms such as the weakened sensation to light touch, appeared. In others, the first sign was a "heaviness" accompanied by a prickly or tingling sensation in the feet or fingers or "nodules under the skin, the ear, nose, forehead or cheeks," producing what was occasionally termed "the lion-like face." Many patients complained of "continual lethargy and [a] feeling of drowsiness"

which they referred to as "*Owesi wa lua*" or "an awful laziness." Diagnosis was usually made by testing the spots for diminished sensation or by scraping the mucous membrane of the nose and examining that tissue under a microscope for the leprosy bacillus. Dr. Gilchrist insisted that even advanced leprosy was curable, but the cure did not replace fingers or undo deformities in feet.³⁶

In spite of the limitations, the missionaries soldiered on against the plague of leprosy using whatever was at their disposal to keep the disease under check. There were many success stories: "Spots began to disappear. Paralyzed fingers regained their strength. Open ulcers healed." Dr. Gilchrist "carried the war into the villages" where "strategic out-patient centres" had been established and local African workers began to administer regular injections to the lepers.³⁷ They further encouraged the lepers to form their own communities where they were able to help each other and administer the necessary medicine to newly-arrived victims of the dreaded disease. As many lepers frequently had other medical problems such as rheumatism and malaria, these too had to be treated.³⁸

A number of creative exercises were recommended at the leper camps for the treatment of the lepers' physical and spiritual needs, including on one occasion, a race at Camundongo which Dr. Gilchrist had recommended:

Here's another problem that my early training did not fit me to meet. How many toes do you need to run? Well, I strike an arbitrary figure of fifty percent, and soon all who have sound feet and most of those who have but half a set of toes are lined up for the race. Some are dressed in a single piece of pounded bark, and some are wrapped in blankets, and many more are clad in

scanty cotton garments...And here they come stamping, stumbling, laughing down the road... The crowd roars and we are all lost in a cloud of dust as the winners cross the finish line.³⁹

The leprosaria were not intended to be hospitals but rather a reasonably self-supporting community where the "residents were able to satisfy their physical, economic, social and spiritual needs." This included physical and occupational therapy to obviate the stiffening of the joints in the hands and feet, which was also carried out through tending to gardens and fields and doing handicrafts.⁴⁰ Both leper camps and tuberculosis sanatoria held out great promise to their residents. For this reason they were given inspiring names. The leprosarium at Dôndi was called "*Elavoko*" meaning "Hope" and the tuberculosis sanatorium was named "*Ekolelo*," meaning "Faith."⁴¹

The tremendous work done by the missionaries in combating leprosy earned them a degree of reverence from their leper family. Even in the 1930s, at a time when treatment was still rudimentary and slow, the patients were full of praise and appreciation for the work done by Dr. Gilchrist and his colleagues which had given them a whole new lease on life:

Now you may say, when you have finished reading all this, 'Oh, apple sauce,' or 'baloney,'But the fact is that here are over three hundred men, women and children whose lives are absolutely in my hands - and yours. They call me 'Father:' [sic] they mix me up in the most embarrassing way with the 'Great Physician' when they pray.⁴²

The work with lepers certainly retained its singular importance throughout the period 1886 to 1961 and beyond. Walter Strangway indicated how intense it was in 1952, as he wrote from the Chissamba Mission Hospital to those at home. He described the job as one that

continued for "52 weeks in the year" and reported that there was always some advance in the methods of treatment and in drugs. They continued to have "new interest, new patients, new cures." He and Edith Radley paid visits to the more than thirty clinics in the villages where treatment was administered, but it was hoped that the number of clinics would be increased to 100 in order to meet the needs of all the people in their area which they saw as their "community." There was certainly a rapid advance in the use of drugs to treat leprosy after the war. Chaulmoogra oil had been replaced by Sulfertone injections, allowing for speedier results: "we can do with this drug in 3 months what we used to do in 12 months with Chaulmoogra."⁴³

In the war against leprosy they also used the Avlosofon or D.D.S. which was taken orally in tablet form, but they feared that this course of treatment was less reliable because their African patients had an old tradition of taking huge doses of medicines at one time, followed by a long rest. They therefore needed "supervision" to ensure that they took their tablets two or three times a day, as was usually recommended. For this reason injections were administered as the patients were "more regular in taking them."⁴⁴

As a result of the new drugs, which quickly made victims of leprosy noninfectious to the rest of their community, the International Leprosy Congress had, by the 1950s, begun to advise that more people receive treatment in clinics in the villages where they resided. This was preferable to placing them in leper camps as they could stay at home near their families and tend their gardens. This was a major advance as it allowed for better treatment of large

groups of people with limited funds. Through this system the patients who were not already disabled or crippled could feed themselves and carry on with the rest of their lives without the limitations that had formally applied.⁴⁵

Apart from leprosy, there were many other illnesses to be treated in Angola and the missionaries of the United Church of Canada would be actively engaged in health care and medical research throughout their stay in the colony. One curious disease that was predominant in the region was a form of scurvy which left huge scabs on the body and claimed the lives of many Angolans. The local people were, not surprisingly, extremely afraid of it. Anne Copithorne makes reference to this disease in her letters but mentions too that the cure for it lay in consuming generous amounts of citrus which was found in abundance in her region of Angola. Pneumonia was also a very common ailment in the region and struck a number of children⁴⁶ as well as adults. There was also a long list of diseases and conditions specifically related to malnutrition in children. The list included pellagra, rickets, night blindness, anaemia, enlarged firm livers, oedema, follicular conjunctivitis, bow legs, knock knees, deformed chests and a great degree of dental caries.⁴⁷ Later on the public health programme included the "Save the Children" programme which focused on prenatal and infant care, as well as on whooping cough and smallpox epidemics in the late 1940s, for which the government provided free vaccinations.⁴⁸

The letters of Alice and Walter Strangway provide a clear insight into the nature of the work and the progress being made on a small scale in Angola during the first half of the

twentieth century. They spent three months in the School of Tropical Medicine in Liverpool in the period 1934 to 1935 and the course they took during this period served them enormously in their hospital work in Angola. Once in their hospital in Angola, they found that their nurse, Miss Brown, had managed to execute her duties quite efficiently in their absence thanks to the cooperation of the local helpers, male and female, whom she had trained in nursing work. Under her supervision, the helpers were sterilizing linens, and the instruments and basins used during surgical operations. They also did all the surgical dressings and attended to the patients giving them baths and other required treatments. The female nurses took care of the babies and prepared their feedings.⁴⁹

The laboratory work at the hospital had also gained a new lease on life. This was due in large part to the gifts of the congregations back in Canada who supplied, among other things, new equipment and tables. The improvement in laboratory methods greatly increased the efficiency of the hospital and the Strangways and their staff were able to make a more effective contribution to the communities they served at their hospital. Armed with their new equipment, they were surprised to discover that as many as fifty percent of their schoolchildren (both boys and girls) had some kind of intestinal parasite infestation. The most common infections were tapeworm, hookworm, roundworm and amoebic dysentery. They were also able to search for malaria parasites in the blood. Previously, there had been a tendency to call every case of fever, malaria, given the prevalence of malaria in the region.

Now, thanks to the new laboratory equipment, they were able to state with certainty whether or not it was malaria before treating the patient.⁵⁰

At that juncture the Strangways also began the initial preparation for a routine testing for syphilis and the examination of tissues to determine whether a growth was malignant or benign. They had already begun to train one of the young male helpers, who was already capable of doing many of the routine examinations.⁵¹ They were also able to do a great deal of research on filarial parasites such as *Onchocerca volvulus* which caused eye conditions (including blindness), skin lesions and subcutaneous fibrous nodules.⁵²

Once people began to appreciate the "new" medicine that was being practised at the mission centres, the staff usually did not have enough to meet the demand. As one missionary wrote from the mission at Camundongo:

I'm coming a-begging. Didn't you used [sic] to send whooping cough vaccine, etc., or rather, get it sent from some drug company. When I came we had a nice supply, but it has all gone, and when I write to Walter he sends me such little dabs of it, that I'm sure it wasn't there you used to get it.... Last year João Chiuvila and his out station nurses did more than 4000 pertussis vaccinations. It's wonderful. But now that people are beginning to understand the use of it, here we are in short supply. If there's any way of starting it coming directly here from Canada I'd surely appreciate it, and we have enough money to pay for any and all costs.⁵³

The African communities began to place a considerable amount of trust in the medical personnel and every time one of them soldiered through a difficult medical procedure and obtained a successful result this confidence in their mission was further strengthened. Once again, the letters of Anne Copithorne offer such an insight.

On one occasion, Anne Copithorne received an exhausted maternity patient for whom labour had stopped. It was "one of the most difficult of difficult deliveries to do," especially as she had never seen it done and had a mere six lines of text book notes for guidance. Happily, the mother gave birth to a live baby. The following night, the mother got a very severe malarial attack, but was able to go home within the week with her baby. The other women on the station who had had a simple midwifery course from Dr. Gilchrist and all the older midwives deemed it a miracle that the ordeal had ended with both a live baby and recuperated mother. The woman's husband, in appreciation for what had been done came later and asked Miss Copithorne if she would be so kind as to name the baby.⁵⁴

Indeed, Anne Copithorne's station was busy with much medical activity as news spread of the success of the facility. She repeatedly faced a number of emergency baby calls. She observed that the midwives often knew what to do but, being new to the procedures, would sometimes "lose their heads in an emergency," saying to her "Ondonda, my wits have gone." There were cases where the mother was unconscious and haemorrhaging, but she was still able to deliver the child; in one case the child was named Fausto Ani after her. In another special case there had been a stillbirth three days before and the patient still had the afterbirth. She was able to remove it and the patient was able to go home on a ten-hour journey on foot thereafter. Consequently, Anne Copithorne remarked that she was making quite the reputation for herself regarding babies, noting as well that the local midwives

thought it to be so marvellous as they themselves had very little experience with those complicated deliveries.⁵⁵

Maternity cases received a great deal of attention from the mission staff as the Ovimbundu themselves placed a very high premium on children and child bearing. In the traditional "tribal" setting, both husband and wife were free to seek out another spouse if no children had been produced within a reasonable period of time. However, Dr. Gilchrist noted that about twenty percent of the Ovimbundu women in his area and in areas where Drs. Strangway and McGowon were working had "abnormally small pelves." While none of them could identify the cause of this with absolute certainty, they had all come to agree that it was the result of a diet deficiency, quite likely in protein.⁵⁶ Given the high premium on child bearing and the success the missionaries had with difficult deliveries, it was no surprise mission stations continued to enjoy the respect of the populace.

E. Jonathan Chingunji, an Angolan worker at the Chissamba Hospital, expressed his people's thanks to the "Christian Churches in America and Canada" that a number of the missionaries had enough love for them to remain even during the distress of the Second World War:

We thank you greatly in that you have returned to us and to our country your children Dr. W.E. Strangway, Mrs. Alice Strangway and their children and Miss Edith Brown, to advance the work of love in Christ....From the time they relinquished their work at the hospital, (to go on furlough) many, indeed, have passed away in death, both natives and white people, for Dr. Strangway has a great talent for performing operations, a talent given to him by Jesus Christ to save the African people from different sicknesses. (see John 14:12.) "Verily,

verily, I say unto you, he that believeth on Me, the works that I do he shall do also, and greater works than these shall he do: because I go to my Father." They love their work, the sick one in the hospital have [sic] no longer discomfort; nothing but peace. They do not even care to rest when there is work to be done, neither by day nor by night.... We are also grateful for the new equipment they brought with them on their return from Canada. By means of this they are able to forward the work of teaching their pupils... May you be quickened to arouse and to cause to be blest the Africa of our Father, the Lord Jesus Christ. Then your reward will be great in heaven.⁵⁷

Further evidence of the importance of the United Church's missions and of the contribution of the Strangways is found in one of John Taylor Tucker's letters in which he spoke about medical missions in Angola. He referred to an important quarterly that Roman Catholic societies publish in Portugal which discussed missiology and gave information regarding details of work. It was acknowledged that one "outstanding superiority" of Protestant missionary activity in the Portuguese empire was in medical services. Padre J. Alves Correia, the procurator in Lisbon of the Missions of the Society of the Holy Ghost, writing in Portugal em Africa for October 1945 mentioned the well-equipped hospitals of the "Evangelical missions" in comparison to the small and ill-furnished dispensaries of the Roman Catholic missions. In the article he posed the question: "Who has not heard of the Fatima of Angola?" referring to Dr. Walter Strangway and the hospital at the Canadian mission station in Chissamba.⁵⁸

The choice of "Fatima" as a point of comparison is compelling here as Fatima is Portugal's equivalent of Lourdes in France. Both shrines attract hundreds of thousands of people every year because it is believed that miracles of healing are performed there. Owing

to his great contribution to medical work in Angola. Dr. Strangway was awarded the Comendador da Ordem de Benemerência by the President of Portugal in 1967 and the Queen's Diamond Jubilee Medal by the Governor-General of Canada, Jules Leger, in 1977.⁵⁹

The principal regret of the United Church of Canada missionaries was that they were not able to do even more in Angola. Even though Bailundo had been the first of the ABCFM missions, founded in 1880 by the first Congregational Missionaries, Sidney Gilchrist was still trying to develop a more active health programme for the Bailundo church in 1957, after a decade of overseeing the village dispensaries in that region from his position as the director of the Dôndi Hospital and its public health services. He observed during that period that the services at Dôndi were already strained by the demand for health care in the region and feared that the mission was already unable to meet the challenge to "provide health education, to push immunization against tuberculosis, using B.C.G., and to develop midwifery services" and to address the immediate need for curative medicine.⁶⁰

The church in Bailundo rejoiced that they finally had a doctor "after 78 years of missionary effort." With "hundreds of sick people in grass huts" coming from one hundred miles away to access medical care even though there was no hospital, they proposed to build their own, even though they were promised no financial assistance from the Board of Overseas Missions of the United Church of Canada or the ABCFM. This work began in 1961, with men and women walking for days at a time "to dig the foundations, to break the stone, and to build brick walls." Carrying sand and cement was left to the children. The work

slowed down within a few months as funds were scarce, but it was not halted. Incrementally, a roof went up and plumbing was installed. The missionaries, observing the devotion of the community, made additional efforts to secure the funds for materials and equipment such as surgical instruments.⁶¹

It was indeed commendable that the missionaries were able to establish hospitals and do so much good work in Angola without any financial assistance from the Portuguese government for hospital construction or operational expenses. In fact they were even required to pay property taxes on the hospital buildings and duties on the medicines they imported.⁶² It was probably even more important, however, that their programmes of preventive health care conducted at clinics and dispensaries were also working quite well since there was a concern in the modern medical community that hospital-centred medical training could result in an over-emphasis on treating acute illness at the expense of preventive medicine. Back in Canada, there had been developments in the curricula of medical schools that revealed an imaginative departure from traditional approaches to medicine, allowing for the teaching of clinical science, pharmacology, "Social Medicine," and anatomy at Manitoba, British Columbia, Saskatchewan and Laval respectively as well as a new curriculum "with the elective month in third year" at McGill.⁶³ In a rudimentary but effective way, the Protestant missionaries in Angola had been diversifying their medical approaches for decades.

In general, the missionary reports and letters are reasonably entertaining for their anecdotal qualities and very important for a first hand account of what actually took place

in the mission field. Yet, they lead on to even more intriguing questions about what the Portuguese were doing after a supposed presence of five centuries in Angola. Why after five centuries in Angola were government services so poor that many patients, White and Black, flocked to the hospitals of the Evangelical missions? With the Portuguese State and the Roman Catholic Church so closely connected (before the Republican era), why was there so little influence on the Portuguese government to allocate more money and devote more energies to raising the standards of medical service and qualified medical professionals in the colonies? This was certainly a logical step to take given that the number of Catholic health facilities and their patients far outnumbered that of the Protestant missions.⁶⁴ Was it another curious case of being nearer the church but farther from God as a result? Why did so many patients well into the latter half of the twentieth century still need to approach Protestant missions to get the proper care that government facilities were normally able to dispense in the industrialized world? What, if anything, had the Portuguese authorities been doing over the decades to upgrade the quality of the medical facilities available to the indigenous population?

To some degree the answers have already been identified. It was a question of timing and the pace and agents of cultural change in Portugal. Socially, the Portuguese nation had not yet abandoned all the trappings of its feudalistic mentality and the Roman Catholic Church in Portugal had for the most part, not undergone the major transformations that Roman Catholicism had experienced elsewhere on the European continent. Economically,

the orientation of the Portuguese State still saw the colonies or overseas provinces from the vantage point of what could be gained for the metropole and less from a point of view that favoured parallel wholesome development of a multicontinental nation. Portugal still depended on the assistance of its more economically powerful neighbours and envying their industrial successes, sought to repeat these successes within its territories without considering what the drawbacks were for its own domain. The social ills caused by the industrial revolution in Europe since the late eighteenth century had not prevented the leading industrialized powers from making great advances elsewhere. Politically, the Portuguese did not yet have the diversity of capital reserves to meet these social upheavals with anything more creative than restrictive laws and physical repression.

As suggested earlier, many of these diseases were not uncommon. What was uncommon was their prevalence in Africa, and it was clear that impoverished communities such as those in the Angolan *sertão* needed far more medical assistance than they were receiving from government sources. In the absence of armies of robots and heavy automated machinery, there could be no successful development of Portuguese Angola in the long run, even in a restricted concept of development, if health was not considered and treated as a priority. Entire communities were displaced and sometimes resettled *en masse*, to meet the labour requirements of lopsided development schemes. This created massive social and health problems that had been part and parcel of any industrial revolution starting with Great Britain in the late eighteenth century. These problems were even more pronounced in Angola

in the twentieth century as Portugal did not have sufficient alternative sources of capital to redress the huge socioeconomic imbalances that its policies were causing. Even more alarming was the lack of urgency that the authorities showed towards the gravity of the situation in Angola. There was simply no real safety net for the thousands who fell by the wayside in the race to develop the province.

Whereas for the Portuguese, considerations about health, welfare, and social remedies commanded very little attention in Angola, the Canadians present in the colony had come from a society where such concerns were becoming even more important and were slowly being reflected in the politics of their nation. Moreover, these missionaries hailed from a continent where major medical discoveries and scientific advancement had been taking place since the turn of the century. This had opened the way to a new level of socioeconomic development that had reinforced the belief in a brave new world. In the place of old empires and scattered groupings of people, a new breed of conquerors had come forth to subdue a whole range of infectious diseases and other chronic ailments.

New treatments for the complications of ageing, the promotion of healthy living (however defined) and the embracing of sporting activities for children, young men and women, workers and neighbourhoods, the claim to have eradicated smallpox, new treatments, tests and vaccines for tuberculosis, typhoid, diphtheria and poliomyelitis, whatever the degree of success, held out great promise for a healthier, happier world. For the Canadians in particular, the discovery by Banting and Best of the use of insulin to fight

diabetes in 1922.⁶⁵ was one clear example of the potential of their own medical establishment and the exceptional future that lay ahead.

It stands to reason then, that the missionaries of the United Church of Canada would "infect" those around them with their spirit of enthusiasm as they slowly transplanted not just their church but also much of the medical institutional culture of Canada, the United States and the more advanced countries in Europe. Here was a degree of advanced, more balanced development that even the most urbanized parts of mainland Portugal could barely begin to impart to the overseas provinces. Their work and personal sacrifice continued to be acknowledged in Africa and Canada long after the fall of the Portuguese régime. In 1976, two United Church missionaries who had worked for a long time in Angola, Dr. Elizabeth Bridgman and Nurse Edith Radley, were awarded the Order of Canada medal for their many years of service.⁶⁶

Although the missionaries had come from a culture that also still tended to look at development principally in the light of industrial growth and financial and commercial services, the growing importance of a medical-pharmaceutical complex had added a whole new range of activities to the North American sociopolitical and socioeconomic landscape. The political climate in Canada, which had earlier begun to reflect the concerns of the Social Gospellers, had gone on to reflect the concerns of a moderate socialist agenda as evidenced in the introduction of a the Medicare programme on a national scale in the 1960s. For the missionaries in particular, establishing a viable modern medical infrastructure was a

cornerstone of nation-building. The Portuguese State had not yet adapted to this new political climate, least of all for territories that lay beyond metropolitan Portugal, and clearly had a different view of what the cornerstones of its national programmes should be.

The Protestant missionaries had proved, however, that with only a limited capital investment in medical services in Angola, major improvements could be wrought in the countryside. Although the average Canadian was probably far more wealthy than the average Portuguese, the funds generated by a few Canadian congregations still paled in comparison to what the whole machinery of Portuguese government could allocate to improving health care and advancing scientific research by working in a more meaningful way with international agencies who were engaged in such work. Portugal, however, was far more interested in keeping international agencies out of its domain than it was in entering into any further international partnerships, even if they might allow for more equitable and sustainable development schemes.

Consequently, Protestant mission services, such as those offered at the Chissamba and Dôndi Hospitals, served in an unofficial, surrogate capacity as missions had been doing all along in the field of education. Their presence and their success quite likely provided the colonial authorities with an excuse to continue ignoring the problems of rural, indigenous communities while continuing to make hollow claims about Angola being a part of Portugal. The overseas territories were separate and unequal, as Portuguese lethargy in dealing with medical issues makes clear.

The awkward malaise that weighed heavy upon the Portuguese administration of the colonies had delayed positive developments in education and in medicine. Yet one would expect that in other areas, such as agriculture, the Portuguese authorities might have showed a better comprehension of the stages of growth that were required to develop a region. In this too they fell short as they refused to consider all the relevant variables that affected Angola. Here too, missionaries stepped in to lend a helping hand to the Angolans. Their activities in this domain is the focus of the following chapter.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE

1. See A. Grenfell Price, White Settlers in the Tropics (New York: American Geographical Society, Special Publication No. 23, 1939), Chapter IV. See also Philip D. Curtin, The Image of Africa: British Ideas and Action, 1780-1850, Volume One. Reprint (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1973), 71-87.
2. H. Ernest MacDermott, One Hundred Years of Medicine in Canada: 1867-1967. (Toronto and Montreal: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1967), 110, 111.
3. The degree was awarded to William Logie. It is interesting, though somewhat of a *non sequitur*, to note that his case prompted a legal controversy over "the right of a medical graduate of a Canadian University to practice medicine without further examination by licensing authorities." That right was finally won in 1835 when the mandamus from the Court of King's Bench forced the Medical Board of Examiners for the District of Montreal to issue William Logie's licence to practice in Lower Canada. Ironically, Mr Logie had already left Lower Canada in 1833 and had been practising medicine in New Orleans, Louisiana where he had received a licence in January 1834. See Barbara R. Tunis, "Medical Licensing in Lower Canada: The Dispute over Canada's First Medical Degree" in Medicine in Canadian Society: Historical Perspectives, ed. S.E.D. Shortt (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1981), 137-163.
4. H. Ernest MacDermott, One Hundred Years of Medicine in Canada: 1867-1967, 112.
5. See Veronica Strong-Boag, "Canada's Women Doctors: Feminism Constrained" in Medicine in Canadian Society: Historical Perspectives, ed. S.E.D. Shortt (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1981), 207-235.
6. J. H. Heagerty, The Romance of Medicine in Canada, (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1940), 106.
7. Lawrence W. Henderson, The Church in Angola, 168.
8. Lawrence W. Henderson, The Church in Angola, 168.
9. UCC/VIC Archives: John Taylor Tucker Fonds, Fonds 3176, "Africa Awakes: Canada's Contribution", 14.
10. UCC/VIC Archives: John Taylor Tucker Fonds, Fonds 3176, "Africa Awakes: Canada's Contribution", 23 1/2[sic]-24.
11. Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch, Africa: Endurance and Change South of the Sahara. Translated by David Maisel. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 40.

12. Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch, Africa: Endurance and Change South of the Sahara. 36.
13. Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch, Africa: Endurance and Change South of the Sahara. 36.
14. James Duffy, Portugal in Africa, 181-182.
15. The figures presented in this paragraph are based principally on the United Nations Statistical Yearbook 1963 and the Anuario estatístico, Volume II, 1966, as presented in Members of the Liberation Front, Revolution in Angola, 22-23.
16. Eduardo dos Santos, Religiões de Angola. 258.
17. Eduardo dos Santos, Religiões de Angola. 259. "Em 1957 foi colocado no Bailundo o Dr. William Sidney Gilchrist, organizador da Accão Pró-Saúde nas Missões Evangélicas. Com a ajuda de sua esposa, D. Frankie, e da enfermeira-parteira-missionária D. Alice Moreira, natural do Porto, impulsionou ele os serviços de saúde da Missão."
18. Lawrence W. Henderson, The Church in Angola. 169.
19. Lawrence W. Henderson, The Church in Angola. 178.
20. UCC/VIC Archives, Sidney Gilchrist Correspondence 1961-1962, 96.021C, Box 1, File 9, Letter from Lillian Taylor, Hospital do Dôndi, to Roy, 13 August 1962.
21. Lawrence W. Henderson, The Church in Angola. 182.
22. Heather MacDougall, "Public health and the 'Sanitary Idea' in Toronto, 1866-1890" in Essays in the History of Canadian Medicine, eds. Wendy Mitchinson and Janice McGinnis (Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1988), 62.
23. UCC/VIC Archives: Copithorne, Anne E. (Nancy) Personal Papers, General Correspondence, 1959., 86.078C, Box 2, File 71, Letter from Mary MacDougall at Dôndi to Friends.
24. UCC/VIC Anne E. (Nancy) Copithorne Papers, 1942.
25. UCC/VIC Anne E. (Nancy) Copithorne Papers, 1942.
26. UCC/VIC Archives, Anne E.(Nancy) Copithorne Personal Papers, General Correspondence, 86.078C, Box 1, File 12, June 1940. Letter written from Nancy at Missão de Camundongo to her mother, 20 June 1940.
27. UCC/VIC Archives, Anne E. (Nancy) Copithorne Personal Papers, General Correspondence, September 1940, 86.078C, Box 1, File 14, Letter from Nancy at Missão de Camundongo to her mother, 27 September 1940.

28. UCC/VIC Archives. Anne E. (Nancy) Copithorne Personal Papers. General Correspondence January 1941, 86.078C, Box 1, File 18. Letter from Nancy at Missão de Camundongo to her mother, 18 January, 1941.
29. Matthew, 10:1.
30. Matthew, 10:8-9.
31. Letter from Sidney Gilchrist, 04 September, 1936, quoted in Frank E. Archibald, Salute to Sid: The Story of Dr Sidney Gilchrist, 45.
32. Letter from Sidney Gilchrist, 04 September, 1936, quoted in Frank E. Archibald, Salute to Sid: The Story of Dr Sidney Gilchrist, 46.
33. UCC/VIC Archives. Anne E. (Nancy) Copithorne Personal Papers. General Correspondence January 1941, Box 1, File 18. Letter from Nancy at Missão de Camundongo to her mother, 18 January 1941.
34. UCC/VIC Anne E. (Nancy) Copithorne Papers, 1941.
35. W. Sidney Gilchrist, Seven Years of Leper Work in Angola (Bela Vista, Angola: The Dôndi Press, 1938), 8-10.
36. W. Sidney Gilchrist, Seven Years of Leper Work in Angola, 18-21.
37. Letter from Sidney Gilchrist, 04 September, 1936, quoted in Frank E. Archibald, Salute to Sid: The Story of Dr Sidney Gilchrist, 47.
38. Lawrence W. Henderson, The Church in Angola, p. 179.
39. W. Sidney Gilchrist, quoted in Frank E. Archibald, Salute to Sid: The Story of Dr Sidney Gilchrist, 44-45.
40. Lawrence W. Henderson, The Church in Angola, 179.
41. UCC/VIC Archives. United Church of Canada, Woman's Missionary Society, 83.058C, Box 55, File 1, Series 2, Letter from Elizabeth Utting, Missão do Dôndi, to Friends.
42. Letter from Sidney Gilchrist, 04 September, 1936, quoted in Frank E. Archibald, Salute to Sid: The Story of Dr Sidney Gilchrist, 46.
43. UCC/VIC Archives. Alice and Walter Strangway Personal Papers, 86.195C, Box 1, File 8. Letter from Walter Strangway at Chissamba Mission Hospital to the Mandaumin W.M.S., 11 June 1952. Lawrence Henderson explains that in general, "chaulmoogra" was replaced by the sulfone drug diasone which was used regularly after 1947. In 1952, sulfetrone was used in place of diasone, in

- subcutaneous injections. Lawrence W. Henderson. The Church in Angola. 179.
44. UCC/VIC Archives, Alice and Walter Strangway Personal Papers. 86.195C. Box 1. File 8. Letter from Walter Strangway at Chissamba Mission Hospital to the Mandaumin W.M.S., 11 June 1952.
45. UCC/VIC Archives, Alice and Walter Strangway Personal Papers. 86.195C. Box 1. File 8. Letter from Walter Strangway at Chissamba Mission Hospital to the Mandaumin W.M.S., 11 June 1952.
46. UCC/VIC Archives, Anne E. (Nancy) Copithorne Personal Papers. General Correspondence. Box 1. File 14. September 1940. Letters from Nancy at Missão de Camundongo to her mother, 20 and 27 September 1940.
47. UCC/VIC Archives: Strangway, Alice K., Personal Papers. 86.196C. Box 1. File 8. Addresses. Untitled Document.
48. UCC/VIC Archives, Biographical Files Collection. Radley, Edith (Miss. R.N.), Angola). Biography (1917-). Edith Radley Circular Letter #7, Missão de Chissamba, December 1948.
49. UCC/VIC Archives, Alice and Walter Strangway Personal Papers, Box 1, File 6. Letter from Alice K. Strangway at Missão de Chissamba to Friends, 01 November 1935.
50. UCC/VIC Archives, Alice and Walter Strangway Personal Papers, Box 1, File 6. Letter from Alice K. Strangway at Missão de Chissamba to friends, 01 November 1935.
51. UCC/VIC Archives, Alice and Walter Strangway Personal Papers, Box 1, File 6. Letter from Alice K. Strangway at Missão de Chissamba to friends, 01 November 1935.
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54. UCC/VIC Archives, Anne E. (Nancy) Copithorne Personal Papers. General Correspondence, November 1940, Box 1, File 16. Letter from Nancy (Bié, Angola) to her mother, 15 November 1940.
55. UCC/VIC Archives, Anne E. (Nancy) Copithorne Personal Papers. General Correspondence, December 1940, Box 1, File 17. Letter from Nancy at Missão de Camundongo to her mother, 05 December 1940.
56. Munroe Scott, African Manhunt: A Layman's-Eye View of the Umbundu People of Angola. (Toronto: The Board of Information and Stewardship, The United Church of Canada, 1959), 42-43. Interview with Sidney Gilchrist et al.

57. UCC/VIC Archives. Alice and Walter Strangway Personal Papers, Box 1. File 7. "Free Translation of a letter received from one of the workers at Chissamba Hospital, Angola, Africa, dated March, 1941."
58. UCC/VIC Archives, Alice and Walter Strangway Personal Papers, Box 1. File 7. Open letter from John T. Tucker at Dôndi to United Church of Canada Mission, Angola, Letter No. 13, 15 December 1945.
59. UCC/VIC Archives, Alice K. Strangway and Walter E. Strangway Papers, Finding Aid 181.c2. "Dr. Walter Earl Strangway".
60. UCC/VIC Archives, Sidney Gilchrist Correspondence, 1961-1962, 96.021C, Box 1, File 9, Sidney Gilchrist, Missão Evangélica do Bailundo, "Bushveldt Vignettes- October 1962."
61. UCC/VIC Archives, Sidney Gilchrist Correspondence 1961-1962, Sidney Gilchrist, "Miracles Still Happen: Progress Report on the Hospital Unit of The Bailundo Health Centre". (Undated document.)
62. Lawrence W. Henderson, The Church in Angola, 172-173.
63. J.W.Macleod, "The Curriculum in Canadian Medical Education" Canadian Medical Association Journal 88:705:1963 as found in H. Ernest MacDermott, One Hundred Years of Medicine in Canada, 116-117.
64. Lawrence W. Henderson, The Church in Angola, 180.
65. The story of the discovery of insulin has been the subject of several works which need not be listed here. For a reasonably interesting account, written within a generation of the discovery, see Seale Harris, Banting's Miracle: The Story of the Discoverer of Insulin, Toronto and Vancouver: J. M. Dent and Sons (Canada) Limited, 1946.
66. Observer (United Church of Canada), January 1979, 35.

CHAPTER SIX DEVELOPMENT IN AGRICULTURE AND LOCAL INDUSTRY

As with medicine, agriculture also falls under the comprehensive banner of education, especially from the standpoint of the Protestant missionaries. As mentioned earlier, they had helped to establish Christian villages that were easily distinguished from Catholic ones because of the presence of numerous fruit trees. Whatever technical knowledge the missionaries sought to disseminate was best presented in their schools by working with their African students and through demonstrations conducted in villages. The benefits of their expertise were not only reaped in the school room or on the school grounds, but also by entire communities who came into contact with the missionaries or with Africans who welcomed the changes wrought by the missions in this area. Before embarking upon the nature of the missionaries' contribution in this domain, some consideration must be paid to the changing patterns of agriculture and local industry since the early years of contact with European traders.

Farming in Africa has certainly had a very long history, spanning the millennia and traditional African agriculture was not devoid of innovation and technical advances, especially in the selection of certain crops and herds that met local environmental conditions. Much of the agricultural activity, however, was done by women, men and children employing simple hand implements, without the benefit of animal power.¹ Some methods changed over time, as exchanges with Europeans became more frequent but subsistence

agriculture remained predominantly a female occupation, especially as regards the cultivation and harvesting of crops. As colonialism made fresh inroads into the continent, more men were drawn into the agricultural workforce on plantations in order to cultivate cash crops, most of which had been introduced from the Americas and Asia.

Foods originating in the Americas became more important in Africa "than in any other continent of the Old World" with maize and cassava (manioc) being the most important. By 1900, maize had already become a leading staple in Africa, second only to rice production in the wetter forested, savanna and riparian zones, and "successfully competing with millet and sorghums in the drier areas." Cassava seemed to be even more versatile, if not always as widely cultivated, owing to its ability to resist drought and African pests and to grow "in nearly any kind of soil." Other American crops that became commonplace in African agriculture were cacao, peanuts, sweet potatoes, and various kinds of cucumbers, pumpkins and squashes.²

The result of European contacts with Africa since the late 1400s, led to the dissemination of a number of other important crops as well, which originated in various parts of the world, including the Americas. Crops such as coffee, pineapples, rice, sugar and tea were introduced not only into Africa, but into a number of countries around the world. These crops had previously been localized, but as European consumption of these commodities increased, traders and later governments themselves promoted their cultivation in different areas of the tropics. While admittedly, there was more dietary variety in various lands as a

result of the changes wrought in the distribution of crops, there were some significant drawbacks as well.³

In many colonies grains became the new staples for societies that had previously depended on tubers or root crops. While root crops tend to have a lower protein content than grains and are more perishable, the transition to grain cultivation increased vulnerability to famine, especially where vast tracts of land were cleared and exposed to new forms of agriculture that eroded the land, depleting the soil of its nutrients. Moreover, because colonial systems sought quick profits and tended to seize both land and labour, the general abuse of the environment created the bitter irony that the very people who produced the food became victims of food shortage. Consequently, calorie and protein deficiencies became commonplace.⁴

In addition, throughout much of Africa, the burning of vegetation by communities of pastoralists, farmers, hunters and others in order to encourage the growth of new grass for herds, to clear new plots for cultivation, to chase and trap game, or to obtain charcoal to sell to city-dwellers continues to affect the quality of the land. Although some components of the vegetation return to the soil as minerals on account of the fires, much of the plant material is lost into the atmosphere, causing a great deal of air pollution as well.⁵ Furthermore, once agriculture became modernized, subsistence farming (carried out mainly by women) was "seriously squeezed," occasionally forcing subsistence farmers to abandon completely the cultivation of food crops.⁶

Early accounts of European attempts to establish a profitable agricultural enterprise for their settlers in Angola suggest unmitigated failures. It was reported that the citizens of Luanda in 1655 had insufficient capital resources to develop the sugar industry. Moreover, the quality of the sugar produced in Angola was inferior to that produced in Brazil and since the region around Luanda had very few trees, there was insufficient firewood for operating the mills at harvest time. In addition, if they were to grow cotton, they would have to send it to Portugal via Brazil, thereby "paying double freight for each consignment" as they had no ships of their own in order to export goods to Lisbon. As a result, the agricultural enterprise was limited to the transplantation of Brazilian food-plants such as cassava to Angola, and of African plants to Brazil.⁷

For many years thereafter, agriculture in Angola received little attention from colonial authorities until the slave trade had been abolished. Beginning in 1830, however, Africa experienced a cash-crop revolution which ended after 1930 as the international commodity markets became and continued to be unstable. In the century between 1830 and 1930 African agriculture expanded phenomenally and rural communities underwent a virtual metamorphosis as the development of small-scale commercial farming blossomed. A number of new crops were introduced alongside existing ones through the influence of European traders and the initiative of African farmers. In this context, African agriculture made a significant contribution to world trade and to the expansion of the market economy within the continent itself.⁸

This pattern was certainly evident in the economic changes taking place in southern Angola in the latter part of the nineteenth century until the 1930s. A considerable degree of African peasant initiative was seen in Angola, particularly in southern Angola's rubber industry up to 1913. Despite the fortuitous circumstances that favoured the African entrepreneurs at this time - especially among the Ovimbundu - the tentacles of the colonial system soon undermined the viable economic base that the Africans of the region enjoyed.⁹

A number of African historians and social scientists define the peasantry in terms of its contact with the international capitalist system. They distinguish peasants from subsistence cultivators "by their involvement in the market and submission to other social classes." They are "rural cultivators" who exist in various ecotypes and are either the primary source of agricultural and economic wealth for their region, or as is increasingly the case in the contemporary world, a secondary source. Yet it has been stated that such definitions are not as clear cut in every case and there remains a "fuzzy, indeterminate" line between the two categories.¹⁰ Categorizing the African peoples with whom the missionaries made contact in accordance with these definitions is equally difficult, but it is clear that the purely subsistence cultivator was on the decline in Angola in the twentieth century as the Portuguese state increased its attempts to industrialize Angola on the one hand and to peasantize it on the other.

Agricultural activities in Angola varied considerably and so too did the size and scope of farms and plantations. Apart from traditional "tribal" agriculture, the range of farms

included huge corporate plantations run by Europeans, smaller farms and plantations owned by individual Europeans or *mestiços* or families, and government-sponsored agricultural development schemes (*colonatos*) for Europeans and Africans. There were also a few well-established African farms that focused on valuable crops such as coffee, a few European "quasi-subsistence" farms, and a number of African holdings that produced subsistence crops along with some cash crop production in accordance with the recommendations of the colonial government. Regarding animal husbandry, there were ranches and dairy farms owned by Europeans as well as land where Europeans and Africans engaged in both cash-crops and livestock farming.¹¹

Despite the differing patterns of subsistence that were present in Angola, practically all groups had begun to face a similar problem, albeit in varying degrees. With the exception of those Africans who had partially embraced the modern, market-oriented peasant life style on their own, hunters and gatherers, nomadic transhumant populations, sedentary pastoralists and cultivators all had their lifestyles disrupted by European encroachment on their living space or by European interference in their traditional economies. Incursions of this nature do not necessarily entail the dietary problems mentioned above, once the transition from one pattern of subsistence to another is gradual and once foods of equal nutritional value come to replace previous ones. However, these careful considerations were hardly foremost in the minds of the entrepreneurs and the colonial administration when they set about to develop the coastal lowlands and the settler farmlands of the interior.

As Portugal was itself "backward" by west European standards, the peasantry in its African colonies suffered considerably from the exclusive trade that had been imposed on them. They received lower prices for their raw materials than they would have received in an open, more competitive market and they paid more for the items they imported.¹² With their economic power undermined by the nefarious "system," Angolan peasants were hard pressed to amass sufficient capital to take major initiatives at diversifying their own economic activities. Concepts of development tended to go hand in hand with prejudices against "indolent" Africans who, as many Portuguese officials argued, needed to be made to work. Once authorities and bosses failed to appreciate vital elements of indigenous culture, much of that culture - which includes subsistence patterns - was forcibly destroyed over a relatively short period of time.

The situation was further aggravated in later years, by the adoption of advanced technologies into agriculture, especially in the form of heavy machinery imported from abroad. This expensive new technology, coming often in the form of tractors and related equipment, ensured these farmers of an ever increasing culture of indebtedness as the price of their commodities continued to decline while the cost of the new machinery and the interest on their loans continued to mount disproportionately. Their salvation lay in the application of "appropriate technology," of which the principal aims are improving the quality of life, making the best use of renewable resources, and creating opportunities for employment within a given community.¹³ For the purpose of agriculture, this begins with the

development and application of tools and methods that are effective on the land and affordable to the purse of the average farmer or farming community. It was here that the United Church of Canada missionaries were able to make a sound contribution.

Globally, the predominant concepts or patterns of development also tended to favour big over small with respect to tools, machinery and plots of land that were set aside for cultivation. The small peasant farmer lost ground - at times, literally - to the big plantation owner. The quest for bigger yields seemed to call for bigger plots for cultivation and bigger machines, even when the soil and the local economy could neither tolerate nor accommodate the extreme shifts that such changes would entail. What was needed was a more cautious approach to development. Tools often needed to be modified for more efficient use rather than replaced by modern but essentially foreign and costly machines. Devices had to be adapted from the things that were available to the communities locally. Also, any new crops that were introduced could only be a success for everyone if they were compatible with the soil types and patterns of rainfall of the various areas. As far as possible, new crops had to be resistant to pests and diseases.¹⁴ They also had to suit the tastes and the pockets of the consumers.

The question of development in agriculture requires, therefore, careful consideration of both domestic consumption and export markets and the resources available to those involved in agriculture to meet the demands of both these categories. The goals set in agriculture and any other area of economic development must match the capabilities of

communities and how they react to change. It is always an error "to assume that the most sophisticated equipment, transplanted into an unsophisticated environment will be regularly worked at full capacity."¹⁵

Had the Portuguese paid sufficient attention to working within the real limitations that they faced instead of trying to keep up with the Joneses elsewhere in the world, they would have been able to consult with local leaders from an early date and devise programmes that would have made rural Angola into a success story rather than a backwater of economic activity from which labourers were drawn at a rate that made rural agriculture an unsustainable activity for many residents. The problem was that the Portuguese goals in this area focused mainly on the products that they wanted to market: little attention was paid to the needs of the people who would often suffer to produce it. For those who were planning to overhaul the system in order to improve yields and profits more sensible guidelines for development were needed. As E. F. Schumacher argues:

Development does not start with goods; it starts with people and their education, organisation and discipline. Without these three all resources remain latent, untapped, potential. There are prosperous societies with but the scantiest basis of natural wealth and we have had plenty of opportunity to observe the primacy of the invisible factors after the war. Every country, no matter how devastated, which had a high level of education, organisation, and discipline, produced an "economic miracle".¹⁶

The drawback of pouring heavy capital investment into rural areas of developing countries is often that much of the heavy equipment sits unused for a long time because supplies of raw materials, transport, marketing facilities and organization finance is sadly lacking. Hence,

a rapid pace of "modernization" does not easily fit a rural environment where there are many small villages and one or two small towns in the vicinity.¹⁷

Hence the argument for an appropriate, or more specifically, an intermediate technology suggests that the gap between the indigenous technology of a developing country and that of a developed country is far too wide to permit a simple transition from one to the other. Consequently an intermediate level should be chosen which would be far cheaper than the extremely capital intensive technology of modern industry.¹⁸ Those who plan development schemes in developing countries have to take stock of dual economies where urban zones might be keeping pace with the rest of the industrialized world and rural areas where the capacity to modernize or mechanize is restricted. Clearly the challenge was a great one for the rural areas where the question of a regular supply of food from all the major food groups was a serious one in simple subsistence terms. It became all the more difficult to address such immediate needs and the needs of an external market at the same time. Traditional patterns of behaviour could not be adapted in time to keep pace with the new economy.

The Undermining of Indigenous Economies

The Huila district presents a good example of the way in which Portuguese planning in Angola literally changed the landscape on many an occasion, especially as Huila was one

of the last areas to undergo this type of socioeconomic revolution. An early means by which traditional agriculture was undermined in Angola was through the treachery of unscrupulous traders. In areas such as the Huila district, trade in goods like cotton cloth and iron goods led to the disuse of leather clothing and to the veritable abandonment of iron-smelting and smithing by the people of that region.¹⁹ With those two "industries" gone, their agriculture was all that remained and even that was slowly undermined:

The chief items for barter, wine and alcohol, were attractive inducements for the African to trade his cattle and crops, formerly a part of the family wealth. If he was reluctant to do so, the unscrupulous trader (and there were many) might make him drunk and then drive an advantageous bargain, or he might simply rob him. This exploitation of the indigenous population continues to be practised to a lesser degree even today and has caused a general lowering of the standards of African life.²⁰

With the disintegration of traditional methods of land and animal husbandry patterns of traditional agriculture were greatly altered by the advent of the European. In northern Huila, Portuguese farmers appropriated lands in most of the better agricultural sites. In the rest of the Huila district, the influence of the Portuguese on indigenous agriculture had less of a disruptive effect. This influence has simply amounted to the introduction of certain crops from the Americas to the Angolan littoral centuries earlier. As mentioned above, these crops included cassava, maize, peanuts and sweet potatoes. Later on, in the twentieth century, the authorities urged the people of northern Huila to cultivate "a high-yielding, hybrid corn beyond their needs for subsistence" and those Africans gradually entered a monetary economy.²¹

However, the recruitment of Africans as labourers on European farms and for public work projects and industries had an adverse effect on African agriculture. As less time could be spent at home, the attention that had been given to family farms and herds was consequently reduced and many farms were abandoned or "poorly tilled." The population in many parts of Huila was in decline as a result. The efforts of missions in this area "tried to fill some of the gaps left in the disintegrating African culture." Nevertheless, even "[w]ith noble intentions, but limited means, the missions [could] scarcely affect the lives of most Africans living in Huila."²²

As was to be expected Portuguese attempts to develop the Huila area focused on expanding trade and industry through construction projects and "not on permanent sources of income." The development of local industry was "severely restricted by government regulations designed to protect the economy of metropolitan Portugal." Even Angolan-born Portuguese became "keenly resentful" of the restrictions, and of the discrimination that they also faced at the hands of the metropolitan régime. While the Portuguese government spent large sums of money in transportation costs and subsidies to bring in *colonos* from Portugal, even Angolan-born Portuguese had little access to public financial assistance. In the awarding of administrative posts, preference was always given to those men who were "born and trained in Portugal." Hence these development policies had political ramifications and, as mentioned in Chapter Three, even the Portuguese who were born in Angola were sorely displeased with the Salazar's *Estado Novo*.²³

The result was that in the land of the Blacksmith Prince, where the people had once enjoyed a variety of occupations, had developed great skill in smithing and crafts, and had had thriving economies of their own, different communities had been broken down and marginalized. This was certainly not the first time that peoples had been chased, incorporated or placed in a form of bondage in Angola. Long before the arrival of the Portuguese it is clear that many kingdoms rose and fell according to the tempo of the times. It was, however, the first time that so great an upheaval had been achieved in so short a space of time, and it corroded the indigenous agricultural base - the very basis of wealth in the region for centuries - in a very profound way, destroying even patterns of subsistence.

Across Angola as the Portuguese seized the most fertile lands for the great plantations, indigenous agriculture deteriorated at a rapid pace. Peasants could no longer draw much benefit from their own agricultural efforts. The size of their herds and yields dwindled and soon the peasantry was drawn into the colonial agricultural system almost exclusively as a source of labour. Coffee, sugar, sisal, cotton and other products were produced chiefly to feed the export demon. As many of the labourers had been obtained by force, there were very few benefits accruing to them.²⁴ In the central highlands, most of the men were forced to seek salaried work or became *contratados* in order to sustain their family and households.²⁵

Even those peasants who might otherwise have been able to gain a reasonably good livelihood from the cultivation of cash crops, found that the cards were stacked against them. Those who produced cotton, for example, were obliged to grow the crop only in certain areas

that the administration had set aside for such activity. Furthermore, they were required to produce enough to meet compulsory quotas and to sell the crop at prices that were controlled or fixed by the government, exclusively to certain companies that had acquired a purchasing monopoly from the government. This policy, applied in Mozambique as well as in Angola, gave Portugal's metropolitan industry a competitive advantage in global markets as it received an assured supply of cotton and virtually dominated the textiles market in the territories at the same time.²⁶

With specific reference to the Ovimbundu, the situation was much the same with respect to the decline of Ovimbundu wealth as a consequence of the increasing power and influence of the State and large exporters of commodities. The Ovimbundu who inhabited the Angolan plateau were still fairly wealthy by the early 1920s, especially as they were successful exporters of foodstuffs to coastal towns and had enjoyed a particular boom in maize cultivation. Despite that fact, the effect of Portuguese tax collection and raids on the interior during the period of "pacification" after 1905 had significantly reduced the number of livestock that most households had owned. By the time of the *Estado Novo*, even the advantageous position of the African maize cultivators in the interior was under attack from Salazar's corporatist policies. Through a centralized banking system established at Benguela and a marketing board that enjoyed a monopoly on the purchase of agricultural products in the region, profits were directed away from the Ovimbundu peasantry, enriching instead the larger exporters and the coffers of the State itself.²⁷

Big companies such as those involved in extractive processes such as mining, also contributed in a major way to the rapid decline of indigenous agriculture and small-scale industry. René Pélissier referred to the cultivation of coffee and to the mining industry as the two "economic pillars of Angola"²⁸ The most striking example of the importance of mining was found in the region of northeastern Angola that had effectively become the fiefdom of the *Companhia de Diamantes de Angola* (DIAMANG). The company sold its diamonds to Portugal, which in turn earned foreign exchange by selling them on the international market.²⁹

DIAMANG was established in 1917 as an offshoot of the Anglo-American Diamond Corporation Limited, in which De Beers Consolidated Mines Limited, the Morgan Bank and the Société Générale de Belgique also had a major interest.³⁰ It received from 1921, "exclusive prospecting rights" for fifty years over the territory in which it operated, as well as "the right to operate in perpetuity all deposits discovered." DIAMANG paid no customs duties on the supplies that it imported nor on the diamonds that it exported. By the beginning of the Angolan Revolution, DIAMANG had about thirty-seven mines in operation and employed, along with a senior and professional European staff of 400, some 26,000 Angolan workers. DIAMANG earned 291,491 contos in net profits in 1961, whereas the average per capita annual earnings of workers in the mining sector was five contos (approximately \$174 US per annum per person).³¹

In general mines drew workers away from their homes, offering profits that were only marginally better than other money-earning activities. Consequently, the local population maintained a hand-to-mouth existence. Both traditional agriculture and industry suffered greatly, and the fabric of indigenous culture, already buffeted and battered in the wind, began to unravel even further. To recuperate from the onslaught of an intrusive colonial economy, rural Angola, where opportunities were already hard to come by, needed to return to its roots: it had to redeem its subsistence levels and find a happy medium between basic consumption needs and the demands of a market economy on the agricultural sector.

Protestant Missions and Agriculture

Assessing the contributions of outsiders to changes in agricultural patterns requires a reasonably sound understanding of what methods had been prevalent within the indigenous populations. Angolans did not live within sedentary agricultural communities alone. Some were nomadic pastoralists, others appeared to be hunters and gatherers and still others survived by combining the abovementioned skills. The Canadian missionaries were, however, from a more sedentary background themselves and the assistance they offered in order to improve the Africans' ability to feed themselves was guided by the experiences of their own culture or subcultures in North America.

Canada has been particularly blessed with a vast area of arable land in relation to the size of its population. The country quickly became a net exporter of agricultural products, particularly to the United States and to Europe. This was due to its "well-structured, well-managed and technologically advanced agri-food sector" and its "highly developed private and public ancillary structures" which include expertise in credit, education, research and transport.³² Despite the fact that there are obvious limits to the availability of agricultural land and the fact that nearly all major conurbations in Canada are surrounded by "class 1 agricultural land" - Metropolitan Toronto, Montreal, Winnipeg, Edmonton and London being prime examples of this - Canadians have long adhered to "the myth of plenty - the myth that nature is abundant and will provide."³³

In fact, up to 1972, before "unfavourable climatic conditions" had once again exposed the weakness of the global food economy, affecting yields in staples around the world, confidence in "global food production capabilities" had been steady. The surplus in production in a number of commodities had prompted Canada, the United States, and the European Economic Community to reduce agricultural output in a few sectors. This decision had been further justified by the reasonable success of the "Green Revolution" in developing countries such as Mexico, the Philippines, and Pakistan by the 1970s.³⁴ Consequently, for the better part of a century, Canada's positive outlook on agriculture matched its enthusiasm for educational and medical advancement in both domestic and global contexts. Even though the "trend to urbanization" did not slow down and the conservation of regions of "maximum

biological productivity and diversity" (where most agricultural development was in effect) presented a challenge,³⁵ this image of plenty persisted.

As with medicine, Canada has experienced tremendous advances in agricultural methods and yields since the 1800s. It was not simply a question of the increased acreage that was under cultivation. By the time the Dominion celebrated its first silver jubilee (1927), the Dominion and Provincial Departments of Agriculture had supervised scientific and educational activities that had led to improved methods of cultivation and the production of better varieties of grain. By the turn of the century, the expansion of the Canadian grain trade had been phenomenal. The system of experimental farms and experimental stations, which was inaugurated in 1886, was a major part of this success story. This was evidenced particularly by the successful cultivation of the Red Fife variety of wheat (discovered by accident by an Ontario farmer in 1842) and the Marquis variety which was produced by the Cereal Division of the Central Experimental Farm in Ottawa.³⁶

There had also been more limited success stories with other crops in specific localities, such as maple syrup and sugar in eastern Canada, sugar beets and flax (for fibre) in Ontario and tobacco in Ontario and Quebec. In fruit production too, there was a thriving business in apples (which was by far the biggest commercial success in fruit farming), berries (including strawberries and raspberries), cherries, grapes, peaches, pears, and plums. The livestock and dairy industries, though less spectacular a success than cereals, had also seen great progress over a similar period of time. Canadian livestock had been spared the ravages

of virulent animal infections that had smitten European animals. There had been a significant numerical increase as well as improvements in breeding stock. This included cattle (both dairy and beef), pigs and horses, and, in a more modest way, sheep.³⁷

Even the collapse of the agricultural markets during the Great Depression did not set back the pace of Canadian agricultural production for very long. As a result of many factors, including bilateral trade agreements made between 1932 and 1935 with Great Britain and the United States, agricultural production in Canada generally resumed a robust pace from 1933 onwards. On average, the cultivation of cereals such as wheat, oats and barley in the 1930s surpassed the levels of production that had been attained in the three years immediately preceding the Depression in 1929. Livestock farming, especially with regard to cattle and pigs, experienced a marked decline following the Depression but made a quick recovery thereafter and rapidly surpassed former levels of production. The production of dairy goods such as whole milk and butter was an equally impressive success story in the 1930s.³⁸

Concomitantly, it was in the 1930s that "comprehensive dietary standards" were gradually established in the Western world, where there was suddenly a paradoxical situation of "widespread and obvious malnutrition and an unprecedented accumulation of food surpluses." The official process began in 1933 when a committee was set up by the British Medical Association to address this issue. By 1941 the Food and Nutrition Board of the National Research Council of the United States had also established its nutritional standard, entitled "Recommended Dietary Allowances," which became the "benchmark" for comparing

the dietary situation for all the members of the wartime Combined Food Board, namely the United States, Canada and Great Britain. It was adopted with modifications by the Canadian Council on Nutrition in 1942, and further adjusted thereafter away from misleading generalizations to reflect more individual dietary needs. This standard "specified appropriate allowances for calories, proteins, calcium, and iron, and for six vitamins" as they applied to various age groups of children and to women and men who were engaged in different levels of activity.³⁹

As the number of "gainfully employed" Canadians rose towards the end of the Second World War and as annual per capita disposable income also rose from a prewar figure of \$375 (Canadian) to roughly \$675 by 1945,⁴⁰ it was reasonable to expect that Canadians would in fact be able to afford a better standard of living which of necessity included improved access to foodstuffs that met the newly accepted dietary standards. In both relative and absolute terms, Canada could therefore be considered a wealthy country, and as such, Canadians were arguably in a very good position to assist other nations in attaining similar levels of prosperity, especially in agriculture.

Although the Canadian government had devised no particular food aid programme of its own until 1964-1965, it had donated food aid "on an ad hoc basis for emergency shipments, and shipments to international organizations". These organizations included the World Food Program (WFP) and the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNWRA). Under a United Nations agreement, Canada offered its first food aid package to developing

countries in 1949 when it provided "a small amount of funds for commodities." Thereafter, Canadian food aid was given on a regular basis only through the Colombo Plan, beginning in 1951. Canada donated a ten million dollar wheat shipment to India under this plan, thereby inaugurating its first significant foreign aid venture.⁴¹ By the late 1970s, Canadian food donations were already accounting for approximately one fourth of Canada's development assistance. There were long-standing concerns that the food being supplied should reach "the most severely malnourished groups" in the recipient countries and that domestic food production should not be impeded on account of an abundance of emergency supplies pouring into those countries.⁴²

Long before the Canadian government had begun to participate in such food aid schemes, the missionaries of the United Church of Canada had made forays into Angolan agriculture, not simply for the purpose of donating foodstuffs, but with a view to imparting technical knowledge and promoting a new level of awareness with regard to nutrition. As was indicated in the previous chapter, the missionaries noted that malnutrition had reached epidemic proportions in Angola. The importance of food and eating habits to any society cannot be overemphasised as the success or failure of many a social, economic or political enterprise depends on ready availability of foodstuffs and access to potable water. Agricultural enterprises in particular, depend on a favourable combination of regional and cultural variables. If these variables are unknown or unidentified, most attempts at successful agricultural ventures are doomed to failure.

A clear understanding of cultural and regional crops, tastes and soils is a prerequisite to any attempt at improving conditions in agriculture. Traditional patterns of subsistence varied across Angola, whose geography allowed for various climatic conditions. Through the interruption and destruction of indigenous patterns of subsistence agriculture, disinherited groups were obliged to work on the estates and farms of European settlers for low wages (the ordinary labouring man receiving only fifteen escudos or fifty cents a day⁴³), or were confined to the very margins of the brush where they might continue to eke out a living. This disruption ended the usual self-sufficiency of many groups, trapping them in the downward spiral of poverty, and led in some cases to a range of dietary deficiencies for adults and children who no longer had ready access to many different types of foods.

The problem of subsistence and nutrition quickly attracted the missionary body. As discussed in the previous chapter, medical staff realized its importance quickly in their attempts to foster more preventative measures against diseases. As teachers, the missionaries also took up the issue in the classroom, and as workers in the larger community they encouraged mothers and fathers to make very substantial changes in the family diet and in the crops they grew, for their own benefit. To meet these dietary deficiencies the missionaries themselves introduced a few new animals and plants to the region and they encouraged the African communities to make even better use of some of the foods that they already had, especially for the benefit of growing children.

It was observed that although the subtropical climate of the area favoured agriculture, the soil was poor except in river valleys where all the topsoil collects after torrential rains denude the rest of the land. Alice Strangway gave a very thorough description of what applied in Angolan agriculture during her stay there. She noted that two crops a year could be cultivated wherever irrigation was available and in their own garden which was irrigated, they harvested vegetables all year round. The soil analyses indicated a low nitrogen, calcium and phosphorus content and many African fields had been worn out through a failure to rotate crops or to use fertilizers. The use of "barnyard manure and commercial fertilizers had increased among Whites and many Africans in recent years, allowing for the cultivation of corn, wheat and beans in the uplands."⁴⁴

Rice was cultivated in the swampy region of the river valleys and oil palms thrived in the north, yielding a yellow palm oil that was both a source of food and a basic ingredient for making soap. There were also peanuts and sesame as well as sunflowers, from which oil was extracted. A number of tropical fruits abounded such as "bananas, citrus fruits, guavas... mangoes, pawpaws and avocados." The avocados were in fact so plentiful in Chissamba that many dropped from the trees and the dogs would pass by and eat them.⁴⁵

Among the Ovimbundu, cornmeal made up eighty to ninety percent of the diet. The bran and germ were winnowed out and fed to pigs while "the almost pure carbohydrate" was eaten by the humans. This of course meant that a large proportion of the protein, fat and mineral content" was lost. This loss also occurred in the milling of flour in Angola, where

"by law" the bran layer was removed. Similarly rice was hulled and polished and the rice polishings and the wheat bran was given to the animals as fodder. In the north, Alice Strangway noted that cassava constituted the greater part of the diet but was "a poorer food than cornmeal."⁴⁶

Although the Ovimbundu ate dried beans about twice a week, Alice Strangway noted that their protein content did not make up for the "essential amino acids lacking in corn, lysine and tryptophane." There was also "little variety in the vegetables used" and beans, cassava and squash leaves were boiled in uncovered pots for a long time and so "any of the Vitamin C content [was] lost." The mission imported hand mills for grinding corn so that many families began to use whole meal, and a few of the Africans set up their own water-powered mills and the neighbourhood women, whose responsibility it was to grow and prepare food, went there to have their meal ground. The introduction of ploughs and oxen among the African farmers was gradually helping to increase the food supply.⁴⁷

There were a few "unusual foods" that provided the people with some additional variety in their diet. These included small wild plums (*olohengo*), ground fruit (*olomuino*), and nuts growing on trees (*olosia*), which were found seasonally and in small amounts. There were also caterpillars on shrubs, a large rat (*omuku yohui*), white ants, and locusts which were decapitated, boiled and often stored in gourds for later use.⁴⁸ The consumption of these foods indicates that the Angolans were reasonably adventurous in their eating habits and benefited from the variety of foodstuffs all around them. Nevertheless, the account clearly

suggests that the limited quantities and restricted seasonal availability of such alimentation was insufficient to correct the severe dietary imbalance that existed in the countryside.

Even though dried and salted fish was sold throughout the country, as the coastal waters teemed with fish, the Ovimbundu tended to use meat and fish "only on festive occasions" or when they had visitors. There was a taboo on the consumption of milk and eggs since both milk and eggs "are supposed to have life": milk "gives life to the new baby and from the eggs chicks are hatched." Alice Strangway noted, however, that such taboos were becoming "a thing of the past." In central Angola there were many cattle "of an inferior quality" producing very little milk. In Southern Angola, the conditions were better for raising cattle and the people there were better nourished than elsewhere as they used milk, butter and cheese regularly. The "scrawny" chickens in central Angola laid only a few eggs which were sold to the Portuguese traders in exchange for salt. The missions, as well as the government services, had introduced "better breeds of cattle and chickens" and the veterinary services in the colony were attempting to control the many animal diseases that were prevalent.⁴⁹

The Canadian Congregational missionaries began their agricultural work at Chissamba and Kachivungo (Dôndi) around 1914. Reverend W.C. Bell directed the agricultural work, and with the help of two ploughmen from Chissamba, Sawimbu and Esinde, ox-drawn ploughs were used to turn up the soil around Dôndi. A number of gardens were planted, as well as the ubiquitous "Protestant" fruit trees.⁵⁰ The emphasis that Reverend

Bell placed on agriculture was maintained and the work was expanded in successive decades by the missionaries and the African villages themselves.

In a letter written in 1935, Alice Strangway offered further details on the specific kinds of agricultural ventures that the missions initiated. She mentioned in her letter that the rate of infant mortality was extremely high ("only one child out of every ten reached adulthood") and that worms, malaria and malnutrition were largely to blame for that situation. Ninety-nine percent of the children were surviving on nothing more than cornmeal mush "with a few greens or beans."⁵¹

She explained once again that milk was not used by the Angolans in her community, and it was "quite indeed a big step forward when someone [was] willing to buy it for a child." Two fathers had actually arranged to purchase milk for their children that year. A major "event" had been the "arrival of Christopher, a purebred Toggenburg goat," an animal which many people, African and Portuguese alike, came from far away to admire because of its size and beauty. The Toggenburg stock reportedly gave five quarts of milk daily and so the mission was hoping to increase its milk supply very soon. The missionaries believed that it was of little value to advocate the use of better food and milk if nothing was done to ensure that there was a regular supply of these commodities. For that reason, they started the "goat venture" as a practical enterprise, with the further aim of sending milking goats to the villages.⁵²

A major contributor to agricultural development in the villages was Dr. Allen Thomas Knight, who eventually became a recipient of the Order of Canada for his work in Agriculture in Angola. As the head of the Agriculture Department of the Currie Institute Dr. Knight was well placed to effect a number of improvements in the region. In 1950 he married Eleanor G. Kirker,⁵³ originally from Middleton, Nova Scotia, who had been appointed to Chissamba by the Woman's Missionary Society and assumed duties there after language study in Lisbon in 1947.⁵⁴ Together they spent almost thirty-five years working in Angola.

Dr. Knight was appointed as a missionary to Angola in 1944 but since it was not possible for him to obtain a release from essential service during World War II, he did not set sail for Angola until 1945. Dr. Knight, who hailed from Ontario, had spent three years teaching, and then did a four-year course at the Ontario Agricultural College where he obtained the degree of B.S.A. He then proceeded to Michigan State College where he did postgraduate work in general agriculture and obtained his M.Sc. and Ph.D. degrees in that field. After completing the requisite language study in Lisbon and Umbundu in Angola, he took up his post at Dôndi, where as a specialist in the chemistry of soils, he was able to make a much noted contribution to the rehabilitation of the leached soils of the area. He began the "Community Betterment Programme" which sought to improve village life in general by promoting health and sanitation measures, among other things. He further reinforced this programme from the pulpit on Sundays.⁵⁵

Although postwar labour and inflationary trends had greatly increased the need for agricultural mechanization in Canada and for further technological advances in agricultural machinery,⁵⁶ he saw danger in the "adoration and worship of the machine". He did feel, however, that there was justification in "urging the adoption of any machine that might help [the people] in present difficulties."⁵⁷ This point is demonstrated in the benefits that have accrued from the introduction of "mechanical transport" which, according to Roland Oliver, was "by far the greatest outside contribution to African agriculture during the colonial period" as it greatly assisted in conveying goods to market and in "providing the means for relieving local shortages."⁵⁸

Dr. Knight devoted himself to introducing what has been termed "appropriate technology" to assist small-scale farmers in avoiding dependency on imported machinery such as tractors. The tools and implements that were being used were made, as far as possible, from materials that were available locally and were "run on the muscle power of people or animals." Such implements included a "hand-powered peanut sheller" which functioned thirty-five times as fast as the traditional methods, a "hand-cranked winnower" which separated grains from chaff and "the use of local bamboo to make inexpensive feeding and watering troughs for village chicken houses."⁵⁹

His experimental work and demonstrations became a major success. From very early he took his programme out to the villages, teaming up with Dr. Tucker or Dr. Gilchrist, especially as transportation was difficult and friends in Nova Scotia had been kind enough

to present Dr. Gilchrist with a jeep to help him carry out his health care programmes in Angola. He gave demonstrations to explain the nature of soil erosion to the villagers, taking various items and materials with him such as levelling tools for terrace construction, an auger to bore sanitary thirty-foot deep toilets, rat poison, and DDT⁶⁰ for whitewashing the inside of houses for malaria control. A new insecticide known as "Gammatox" was also used and was proven "absolutely effective" as a cure against a prevalent skin disease in cattle. The use of "Guiana grass," introduced earlier by another missionary, Dr. Hastings, served, in combination with terrace building, to halt soil erosion in many areas and even the leper fields were included in these efforts.⁶¹

To further the campaign against malnutrition in Angola, the missionaries tried to promote the cultivation and use of soybeans. They had almost no success at first as the Africans found that they took too long to cook, thus requiring too much firewood, and did not have a pleasant flavour.⁶² In the 1930s, Kenneth and Pearl Prior began an enthusiastic campaign to teach the value of soybeans to the Angolans. Later on, Allen Knight continued that work and soon the soybean became as much a symbol of Protestant influence in the region as the presence of fruit trees in the villages. Many missionaries and Angolans alike came to view soybeans as an important solution to "the complex problems of malnutrition and low resistance to disease" in Angola. In much of the colony European merchants and other interested parties referred to soybeans as "those Protestant beans." Within a few decades, surveys of child nutrition revealed that "great numbers of African mothers" had

begun to cultivate soybeans and were feeding them to their children.⁶³ Allen Knight stated that:

With a handful of soybean meal a day for a couple of weeks for a mother and child with a vitamin deficiency, you can save a life. With a handful of this meal, the color of the Sick woman's hair turns from a reddish brown to shiny black. The skin turns from a chalky brown to a shiny black.⁶⁴

As Edith M. Clark observed in 1957, the students at the theological school and the nurses became very concerned about whether or not they were enjoying an adequate diet. They were equally concerned about what could be done in the villages. It was quite the revelation to some that "eating rice, macaroni, sugar, coffee and other European foods purchased at the stores, didn't improve their diets from a nutritional standpoint." On the final day of the course that she was giving the theological students, the wives cooked soybeans in a variety of ways so that everyone could sample the soybean fare. They prepared "soup with green corn and soybean meal, gruel with cornmeal and soybean meal mixed, roasted soybeans, soybeans cooked like other beans for eating with mush and soup made with cooked soybeans and potatoes." The last combination was apparently the most enjoyed and the students gave their teacher an indication that they too would be making soybeans a part of their regular diet.⁶⁵

The Protestant missionaries helped to introduce a new agricultural revolution in rural Angola. In so doing, they assisted in regenerating the traditional base of African wealth. The close attention paid to such matters set Protestant communities apart from all others in

Angola, restoring thereby much of the former autonomy that villages had enjoyed before colonial government began exercising its newly won authority in the country. The missionaries and the new Christian villages had demonstrated that Protestantism in Angola was truly more than a question of evangelism - it was, in no uncertain terms, a way of life.

For all their successes, however, hindsight provides the cautionary reminder that some of the measures taken to promote agriculture, healthy living and development were not always the best choices in the long run. A clear example of how misleading this kind of progress can be lies in sobering accounts concerning the use of DDT, mentioned above. DDT was synthesized as early as 1874 by German chemists but the discovery of its value as an insecticide was only made in 1939 by the Swiss researcher, Paul Müller - a discovery that won him a Nobel Prize. For all its effectiveness during the war, especially in combating lice infestation in soldiers, DDT was quickly replaced by other, more potent chemicals as malaria mosquitos developed a resistance to it. It was noted by the early 1960s that a number of these pesticides, including DDT, remained on foods and were often retained at harmful (carcinogenic) levels in the living tissue of animals and humans.⁶⁶

A similar limitation has arisen from the introduction of supposedly better breeds of farm animals into unfamiliar environments, particularly in developing countries. In a number of cases, the indigenous, domesticated animals, which had adapted to their local environment hundreds, if not thousands, of years ago have been supplanted by newly introduced breeds. These animals usually have to be raised on expensive, high quality fodder to which many

Third World farmers do not have easy access.⁶⁷ The focus on a few breeds of livestock, common to modern agriculture, can also tend to limit biological diversity by causing "genetic simplification" and "species elimination."⁶⁸ This clearly increases the vulnerability of more herds to environmental problems that might otherwise have affected animal populations in a more limited or selective way.

Although the introduction of specialized breeds of dairy cattle appears, so far, to have produced favourable results in Africa,⁶⁹ the introduction of European breeds of beef cattle, illuminates the mixed legacy of modernization in agriculture.⁷⁰ Cattle and other ruminants have efficient stomachs that convert grass into "edible meat." They are, however, less efficient at converting grain. Consequently, those farmers who raise beef cattle on grain run the expense of feeding the animals upwards of "sixteen pounds of perfectly edible human food in the form of grain to produce one pound of beef."⁷¹ Indigenous cattle (such as India's zebu) posed less of a challenge to feed simply because of their suitability to their natural feeding environment. Since the opportunity cost of the rearing of specialized breeds is usually the foregoing of other forms of mixed agriculture that are more energy efficient and feed more people, this kind of agricultural development can become onerous for farmers in developing countries, aggravating their impoverishment.

These considerations are certainly not unique to developing countries. In general, the combination of changing human migration patterns, the introduction of new plants and animals into different zones and experiments in new farming methods that had caused an

ecological revolution in the Americas,⁷² also transformed many ecosystems across the world. Further study is needed to determine how many of these problems might also apply to Angola; they would, however, be counterbalanced by the benefits that actually accrued to the rural populations from the transfer of technical knowledge from community to community through the agency of Protestant missions. There was, after all, Biblical precedent for certain forms of agricultural innovation as well. Perhaps the most notable among these is Jacob's successful genetic manipulation of his father-in-law's flocks and herds in order to obtain stronger breeds of sheep, goats and cattle as a payment for his own labours.⁷³ The missionaries were therefore even more unlikely to view their contribution to agricultural innovation as anything less than positive, and given the nutritional problems that were rampant in Angola, their actions were easily justified.

The purpose of the missions' work was to assist the Africans in gaining some autonomy in their communities through practical development schemes and, by and large, this is what was achieved in the mission villages. As Alice Strangway emphasized:

Africa has much to contribute to us and we can do much for Africa, but most of our help should not be in the form of paternalistic charity...but in development projects, community development, capital for creation of new industries, improvement in agriculture, creation of markets and...education.⁷⁴

The missionaries of the United Church of Canada gradually helped to transform the African villages into viable and healthy units, raising levels of education and nutrition, and enabling rural Angolans to effect community improvement schemes. They achieved on a limited scale

much of what had been achieved decades earlier in rural Canada, under very different colonial circumstances.

While the myopic view of colonial planners and general Portuguese disregard for the welfare of rural Angolans has been greatly emphasized throughout this discussion, not all of the problems faced by the Angolans in agriculture can be expressly blamed on human agents. Repeating natural disasters also left their mark on Angola and other areas in Africa, and different measures had to be taken to deal with them every so often. Where colonialism can be faulted is in its failure to address the question of recovery in an adequate manner. One major natural disaster in the early twentieth century that illustrates this point was the widespread invasion of locusts.

The Field Secretary wrote back to the Woman's Missionary Society in 1934 to report on the severity of the locust problem. She explained that the current outbreak of locusts was an international problem as evidenced by the international conferences that had taken place in London and Pretoria "for the consideration of effective cooperative measures for locust control and crop protection." She explained that Angola's surface area surpassed that of Portugal, Spain, France, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, and Luxembourg put together, and that entire area was overrun with locusts. In addition to Angola, the locusts had also covered the greater part of regions further south, as well as being found in equally large numbers in Rhodesia and up to the north. Newspaper reports suggested that the locusts were already spreading into Asia and that isolated swarms had been seen even in Italy and Portugal.⁷⁵

For the local Angolans, the horrible lament that the locusts were coming went up everywhere and both adults and children rushed out in a near futile attempt "to guard their gardens and their little patches of wheat against the oncoming hordes." Those gardens which were frequently small and "unsymmetrical in shape" furnished the household with "a little fresh relish such as cabbage, onions, tomatoes, bean leaves" and so forth. They offered a change from the dried beans which constituted what was virtually "the only other alternative" until the river gardens could yield their crops or until the return of the rainy season in September or October. The wheat crop usually gave the households "a little cash to buy a new cooking pot, a new pair of trousers, a new length of cloth for the women to wear, or to pay the head tax which is always a burden to the average native."⁷⁶

These cases of natural disaster certainly caused great hardship that was also reflected in poor diets and hence, the prevalence of disease in the country, especially among infants. Only a strong sense of community and some help from outside those communities could rescue the affected regions from long-term distress. In this situation the government could play a decisive role in guiding and subsidizing economic programmes that would aid recovery, but for the following two decades, the colonial government barely focused on developing Angola at all.

When the Portuguese government finally announced its Overseas Development Plans for all the overseas provinces in the 1950s there was nothing in them that proposed economic development on a scale that was as comprehensive as those done for other countries in that

period.⁷⁷ Once again, a vital opportunity had been missed, and Angolans would again have to depend on their own wits and the assistance that the missions offered to help improve their regions in a way that benefited the inhabitants.

The first Development Plan (1953-1958) focused on railways, hydro-electric equipment, ports and other grand schemes in that vein. The first Development Plan for Angola had an estimated initial investment of 2,896,000 contos, of which 980,000 contos was for the development of the Cunene valley settlement centre. Another 950,000 was for the extension of the Moçamedes port and railway to service that settlement and yet another 179,000 was earmarked for the Matala hydro-electric scheme, which was also being constructed for the benefit of the settlement. Hence, in all, about seventy-five percent of Portuguese investments under this first Development Plan were devoted to European settlement in the province. Yet, nothing at all was budgeted for health, education or scientific research, which were all areas that affected the African population very deeply.⁷⁸

The Portuguese simply were not paying attention to the desires of the African population, despite the many centuries of Portuguese rule in Africa. This particular failing was not unique to the Portuguese. As Basil Davidson states, the Europeans who governed Africa "generally seemed to imply that the whole matter - conservation, change, initiative - rests uniquely in their hands." The Africans emerged "as the mere objects of European policy, much as the rare and curious animals which Europeans preserve for prosperity...except that the animals look better fed."⁷⁹ This commonality of attitude

notwithstanding, when other powers had already initiated steps to withdraw from Africa, or had already pulled out altogether, the Portuguese were still taking a firmer stand in Africa in the interests of European settlement. They failed once again to measure up to the expectations of the age and even to their own lusotropical yardstick.

The Protestant missionaries, on the other hand, were far more familiar with the local populations, and while they too had actively encouraged social and political transformations in Angolan society, they had also been transformed by their experiences in Africa. In his scathing commentary on the true situation in Angola, Sidney Gilchrist stated that each missionary had "a wealth of knowledge as to the ambitions, longings and convictions of the thousands of youth of the country" who attended their schools. Each missionary had "made one or more of the African languages his own" and most of them had spent many hours "on trek, in [their] homes, in palaver houses and in daily contacts with Africans, hearing their point of view on many matters of paramount interest to them."⁸⁰

It was precisely their readiness to pay close attention to the needs of the people that made the missionaries such good facilitators of development in so many fields. The ready-made answer and the ready-made solution have little merit if the true problem is not known. Few topical solutions cure ingrained or internal complications. At Dôndi and other mission schools, the young men and women were encouraged to learn a number of vocational skills that better equipped them for employment within the colony. Young carpenters and masons

who might otherwise have been unable to obtain such skills in impoverished rural environments, emerged to make their much needed contribution in society.

The achievement of the Canadian missionaries in the rural agricultural sector restored hope to a land whose human and other physical resources had been dwindling away for decades, despite the success of government directed or assisted plantation agriculture in the twentieth century. The re-establishment of small-scale industry at the village level revived a number of skills that had been suppressed or forgotten through disuse - skills that had been quite common in the days of the Blacksmith Prince. Through their work in education, medicine and agriculture, the Protestant missionaries presented rural Angola with a development package that was for the most part, affordable, sustainable and indispensable to the survival of local communities. The changes wrought by the totality of this development were not compatible with the direction of Portuguese political and economic aspirations. Portuguese society in the tropics could no longer hide behind lusotropicalism. The course of colonialism was coming to an end and the course of African nationalism in Angola had reached the point of no return. By 1961, their irreconcilability was already assured.

NOTES TO CHAPTER SIX

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3. Richard W. Franke, "The Effects of Colonialism and Neocolonialism on the Gastronomic Patterns of the Third World," in Food and Evolution: Toward a Theory of Human Food Habits, eds. Marvin Harris and Eric B. Ross (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1987), 456-459.
4. Richard W. Franke, "The Effects of Colonialism and Neocolonialism on the Gastronomic Patterns of the Third World," 456-459.
5. A.T. Grove and F.M.G. Klein, Rural Africa (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 50.
6. Mary Theresa Picard, "Listening to and Learning from African Women Farmers," in Women and Sustainable Development in Africa, ed. Valentine Udoh James (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger Publishers, 1995), 43.
7. Charles R. Boxer, Portuguese Society in the Tropics, 121.
8. Ken Swindell, Farm Labour, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 55.
9. A more detailed argument is presented in Gervase Clarence-Smith, Slaves, Peasants and Capitalists in Southern Angola, Chapters 3-6.
10. See Ken Swindell, Farm Labour, 62 and arguments in Eric Wolf, Peasants, (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966.)
11. Irene S. van Dongen, "Agriculture and Other Primary Production," 254.
12. Walter Rodney, How Europe Underdeveloped Africa, 168.
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14. Irene S. van Dongen explains that the soils of tropical Africa "range from relatively poor to poor" and are "leached of needed organic and mineral nutrients." The dense forest cover in certain areas contributes to the "humus reserves" and protects the soil from erosion. Yet once the forest is cleared, especially through the slash and burn methods prevalent in the savanna zone, a great deal of damage, pests and diseases cause acute problems. see Irene S. van Dongen. "Agriculture and Other Primary Production," in Portuguese Africa: A Handbook. David M. Abshire and Michael A. Samuels (London: Praeger Publishers, 1969), 253.
15. E.F. Schumacher, Small Is Beautiful, 152. Dr. Schumacher is acknowledged as the originator of the concept of Intermediate Technology for developing countries.
16. E.F. Schumacher. Small Is Beautiful, 140.
17. E.F. Schumacher, Small Is Beautiful, 149.
18. E. F. Schumacher, Small Is Beautiful, 150. For further discussion on the question of technology, see also Leo J. Moser, The Technology Trap: Survival in a Man-Made Environment (Chicago: Nelson-Hall Inc., 1979).
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20. Alvin W. Urquhart, Patterns of Settlement and Subsistence in Southwestern Angola, 136-137.
21. Alvin W. Urquhart, Patterns of Settlement and Subsistence in Southwestern Angola, 137.
22. Alvin W. Urquhart, Patterns of Settlement and Subsistence in Southwestern Angola, 137.
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24. Mário de Andrade and Marc Ollivier, The War in Angola: A Socio-Economic Study, Translated by Marga Holness (Tanzania Publishing House, Dar es salaam, 1975, 41, 43).
25. Gerald J. Bender, Angola under the Portuguese, 126.
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33. Edward W. Manning, "Planning Canada's Resource Base for Sustainable Production." in Canadian Agriculture in A Global Context: Opportunities and Obligations, eds. Irene Sage Knell and John R. English (Waterloo, Ontario: University of Waterloo Press, 1986), 53, 54. Manning explains that only eleven percent of Canada's area is capable of sustaining agriculture and a mere five percent of Canada's area can support crop production.
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47. UCC/VIC Archives. Alice K. Strangway Personal Papers, 86.196C, Box 1, File 8. Addresses. Untitled Document.
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69. See Michael J. Walshe, John Grindle, Arend Nell and Marc Bachmann, Dairy Development in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Study of Issues and Options. World Bank Technical Paper Number 135. Africa Technical Department Series (Washington, D.C.: The World Bank, 1991), xii. The authors also mention research and demonstration on dairy production, artificial insemination and milk collection services as part of the "positive legacy" of the colonial experience on the "normal evolution of dairying in Africa."
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Chapters 2, 7 and 8.

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CHAPTER SEVEN
CONCLUSIONS
"MENE, MENE, TEKEL, UPHARSIN"¹

The United Church missions in Central Angola worked together with their American and African colleagues and brethren in a struggle to aid development in a vast region of Africa that had once boasted its own economic and political empires. It was their goal to promote both a certain standard of living and through that, a certain belief system by example and encouragement. In so doing they would help to rejuvenate an area that had been assigned to the backwaters of a multicontinental Portuguese state. It was therefore inevitable that they should play a part in the development of modern African nationalism that was already blossoming when they arrived in Africa. The missionaries joined in opening the heavy gates that blocked the road to freedom along which the Africans had already been walking. By promoting literacy campaigns, agricultural adaptation and transformations in the medical field, the missionaries made the Africans more aware of the failure of Portuguese development.

Mission activity opened up a whole new range of possibilities to many Africans who had neither the hope nor the desire to become *assimilados*. No longer imprisoned to the margins of rural decay brought on by myopic, exploitative economic "development," nor to life in the *musseques* (slums) of urban centres, they could finally do much more to control the course of their own lives. They were offered hands-on experience in helping themselves.

a practical form of education that enriched them more than the lofty, textbook intellectualism could have at that point. In this context, the observations of one scholar of African development may be applied:

The central educational value in this whole area of developmental socialization is social commitment translated into active involvement. Underlying this approach is the conviction that those who seek to find intellectual nourishment only from things which are directly intellectual are probably missing deeper nourishment. It is not simply to books and to verbalized ideas in seminars that the human mind responds. It can also respond and expand under the stimulus of things which might not themselves be described as intellectual, but which might nevertheless have a great positive effect on the intellect.²

In responding to the stimuli offered by the work of the Protestant missions, the Angolans persevered, wherever possible, with their own plans for nation-building. Where this could be done in peace, the violence of 1961 had no appeal. Where the Portuguese obstructed their peaceful progress however, many Angolans would be less pliable, and would intensify their resistance to colonialism.

In the twentieth century, missionaries could find much justification for having entered the more remote sectors of Angola. There was tremendous evidence that the locals were being overwhelmed by the ever expanding Portuguese polity, both through repressive measures and through increased European immigration to the region. The argument that the activities of missionaries themselves eventually destroy the very cultures with which they come in contact around the world seems to pale in the face of what global economic and

business interests have been able to alter in a very short period. As one missionary to the Pacific region observed:

There are reasons why missionaries had to go into isolated areas like Irian Jaya as soon as they could. History has taught them that even the most isolated minority cultures must eventually be overwhelmed by the commercial and political expansion of majority peoples. Naive academics in ivy-covered towers may protest that the world's remaining primitive cultures should be left undisturbed, but farmers, lumbermen, land speculators, miners, hunters, military leaders, road builders, art collectors, tourists, and drug peddlers aren't listening.³

Although the situation in Angola was quite different from that of Irian Jaya, by the end of the Second World War the term "isolated" could still be used of Angola. The Portuguese and companies corporations such as DIAMANG continued to shield their prized economic possessions from the outside world through political manoeuvring and the tacit cooperation of tolerated guests, such as missionaries, who revealed so little to the outside world for so long. In the 1960s, the political isolation and the now impolitic silence came to an abrupt end. By 1961, the underground forces in Angola were ready to challenge Portugal's control of their country, and over the following decade and a half a protracted war of liberation ensued. Nationalist organizations continued to thrive and grow despite the attempts by PIDE (referred to by one author as "the sorcerer's apprentice") to eliminate them.⁴ For years, political repression and the heavy hand of Portuguese censorship had masked the frustration of the African populace from the curious eyes of the outside world. Consequently, most external observers, including some who had been wined and dined by the Portuguese during

carefully choreographed propaganda visits to the African territories, viewed the violence of 1961 as a sudden aberration in an otherwise peaceful state.⁵

Liberation movements, however, had been continual from the earliest days of Portuguese conquest, a conquest that had only ended in Angola after World War I. The Bailundu Revolt of 1902⁶ and the revolt among the Kongo in northern Angola in 1913 had been blamed on Protestant missionaries (particularly on the Baptists in the latter case), and that set a new precedent for Portugal's distrust of foreign missionaries and for a refusal to admit the true well-spring of African resistance. Missionaries had definitely helped to refine modern African nationalism by offering Africans the tools whereby they could criticise and expose the weaknesses of colonialism from within⁷; however, the raw product that gave continued strength and direction to African nationalism came from within the African soul in response to almost unrelenting Portuguese abuse. It was to this abused soul that the missionaries ministered, opening up to them new avenues of development. The relative underdevelopment of Angola (and other regions of Portuguese Africa) meant that the early leaders of modern, anti-colonial nationalism were few in number, and came chiefly from among the *assimilados* in the urban centres. As this group became more radicalized, urban workers and finally peasants in the rural districts joined the struggle.⁸

When open rebellion broke out in different parts of northern Angola, some of it was guerrilla activity coordinated by the UPA, whose origins were in northern Angola and who had benefited from the existence of the newly independent Republic of the Congo in order

to maintain links with militants inside Angola. The rest of the rebellion was the result of a popular, unorganized outburst of violence that immediately refuted the mythical image of Africans who were content to live under Portuguese rule. Portuguese troops and vigilante groups of settlers took reprisals on Africans, even in areas where there had as yet been no rebellion. The Portuguese rounded up and executed educated Angolans, particularly Protestants, but also some Catholics, and missionaries in Angola at that time believed that the Portuguese were bent on eradicating all potential leadership for the African masses. The brutality of the Portuguese retaliation and the failure of the outside world, especially Portugal's Western allies, to respond appropriately to the atrocities, convinced the still inchoate nationalist movement that the struggle for independence had begun and had to be carried through to its conclusion. The MPLA, even with most of its leadership in exile or imprisoned, moved into action along with other groups, all convinced that violence had become a necessity.⁹

Portuguese authorities had good reason to fear the influence of missionaries because of the pervasive nature of their work. Sidney Gilchrist bluntly admits that those who do not think that Protestant and Catholic missionaries have had influence on African politics do not understand the "pervasive, persuasive and propelling power of the Gospel of Jesus Christ". Protestant missionaries have remained "purveyors and propagandists of the most revolutionary book in the world - the Holy Bible."¹⁰ Given that the leaders of most liberation movements across the globe have for the most part, been literate people, it followed that

when the Bakongo people of northern Angola moved against Portuguese authorities and plantation owners in 1961, many of the leaders of the rebellion were Protestants. The Protestants had given a more meaningful education to the Angolans than the Catholic missions and the Portuguese government schools "had done practically nothing for the African villagers, so naturally most of the leaders of the revolt were Protestant."¹¹

Portugal tried desperately not to lose control of the Africans' hearts and minds to the missionaries. The irony of the situation was that Portugal had never possessed their hearts and minds; its agents had simply conquered territory, and quite belatedly at that. Despite the huge inroads made in Africa by the destructive side of Western colonialism, through commerce, conquest and cynicism, "profounder changes, deep down in the lives of its people, have been born and fostered by a message, a Book, and a dream." Programmes concerned with "[e]ducation, health services, folk betterment, agriculture science at the village level, have all had their part in the 'disturbing' (to some) awakening." Even those missionaries who were "perfidiously allied with colonial selfishness, racialism and cruelty" have exposed the African people to "the words of the prophets, the apostles, and the 'Great Upsetter' who came 'to make all things new'."¹²

Sidney Gilchrist found it regrettable that for a long time even the consular representatives of the missionaries' governments "couldn't care less about what the missionary knows, what he hears, what the African confides to him and what his own views are of the African problem". Dwelling in the big urban areas, "seeing for the most part

detribalized and uneducated Africans, and brain-washed by the Portuguese officials with whom they deal (most of whom speak English and are very charming neighbours)" the consular staff hardly get a basic understanding "of what makes the African tick, what he carries in his heart and how deep is his longing for freedom and justice."¹³

The excessive restrictions that Portugal had begun to place on missionaries after 1961 was regrettable even for the Portuguese administration itself. The Portuguese, though continually suspicious of the foreign missions, failed to comprehend the true depth of the contribution that Christian missionaries had made to Angola: it was a contribution that went far beyond any services rendered through evangelism. The missionaries devoted themselves to their work in education, curative and preventative medicine and social services, without asking the Portuguese government for a mere red cent in this endeavour. They fanned out through the Angolan villages to establish hospitals and schools "to bring light to the mind, health and healing to the body."¹⁴

The result of their efforts among the Ovimbundu was the establishment of a "pan-Ovimbundu" network, the Council of Evangelical Churches of Central Angola, the largest Protestant community in Angola in 1976. An even greater success was that the Ovimbundu became linked to "an international network of support in North America and Europe, and were better able to withstand the frustrations of colonialism."¹⁵ The new leadership was consequently able to consolidate its position in relative security during the very early stages of Angolan nationalism.

Portugal had kept its fables and legends alive too long in a vain bid to transform lusotropical myth into a reality in Africa. Even as late as the 1960s, it had not realized that its own story in Africa was becoming the very substance of taunting nursery rhymes, and it continued to announce for thirteen years after the outbreak of violence in 1961 that the rebels had been defeated.¹⁶ By the time that Portugal was seeking to intensify its efforts to prevent the loss of its overseas territories, all the wretched fairy tales were already at their ridiculous end. It was not Prince Charming but a very insecure Humpty Dumpty who, bearing the *chicote* in one hand and the *palmatória* in the other, had been courting Cinderella with empty promises and a fragile colonial structure for five centuries. Cinderella, however, had already fled the ball and Humpty Dumpty would soon take a fatal tumble, along with the entire framework of ultracolonialism. The glass slipper had been traded in for hard military boots and African nationalism was on the march to political independence. The old discarded pumpkin shell of lusotropicalism held no promise, not even for the armed Portuguese coachmen who had once again become humble mice. Where there once had been a Scramble for Africa, there was now a scramble to get out. Those charged with maintaining the old regime no longer had the desire to perpetuate the fairy tale and fought openly to colonialism to an end in 1974.

While the Salazarist State was revelling in its specious achievements at home and overseas, the flaming hand appeared and began writing on the wall. The empire had been numbered and weighed and was found wanting. The feet of iron and clay could no longer

withstand the pressures of holding up an already overburdened ultracolonialism: by 1975 the empire could no longer afford to strike back. Inevitably, it would now be divided into its component parts. As the Portuguese withdrew from Angola in 1975 and as the new state became factionally divided among rival political groupings, how the ghosts of kingdoms past, such as the Manikongo, Queen Nzinga and the Blacksmith Prince himself, must have looked on and laughed at the flow and ebb of empires.

In an address to the Board of World Mission Dinner in 1966, the guest speaker informed the gathering that the "walls of Western superiority" were going down at a rapid pace. He argued that the advantageous position that Westerners tended to enjoy was at an end as many countries were declaring and developing both their political and cultural independence. They still accepted Western science and technology quite readily but did not hesitate to reject Western political systems, international alliances, Western concepts of morality and Western religions.¹⁷

Around the world, people were taking from the Western experience what they needed and were rejecting the rest. The rate at which this was taking place was certainly not uniform, and even today "the walls" have not come down everywhere. Nevertheless, for the African continent, where powerful and influential leaders such as Nasser, Nkrumah, Sékou Touré, Senghor and Nyerere had emerged, the Western experience was in decline politically. For Angolans, the process of self-directed political development that had already been launched in modern Africa, had finally been restored. Several agents and factors had contributed to the

liberation of Angola from the oppressive grip of ultracolonialism, especially in the highly urbanized zones. Yet, if rural Angolans in the 1960s could finally read and comprehend a manifesto, or could finally have access to moderate levels of new technology and could readily adapt it to meet their social, medical or agricultural needs, somewhere in their early formation there was probably a mission or at least one missionary who was able to induce a meaningful change in their lives.

As a final assessment of the impact of the missionaries of the United Church of Canada up to 1961, it is appropriate to highlight the mutual exchange of ideas and techniques between themselves and their African friends and the influence that each group had on the other's spiritual development. The impact caused some of the old systems and values to fall had induced the emergence of new ones. Neither the old bottle of Portuguese colonialism nor even the fabric of Canadian Protestantism could remain intact for long; the Canadian missionaries had altered their former approach to dealing with Portuguese colonialism and the Angolans had begun to reaffirm their position as a distinct part of the international community. The Protestants slowly adopted an openly critical attitude towards the Portuguese government that made them worthy of their name - they had learned once again how to protest. The Angolans had, for their part, sought out and internalized the aspects of development that quickly made Portuguese tutelage not only redundant but immediately dispensable.

Both the missionaries and the Angolans experienced much personal growth by their intimate association with each other in a special part of what was deemed to be the Lord's vineyard. Their mutual interaction transformed both their outlooks. The impact of the Canadian Protestant missionaries, and equally, the impact of the Angolan Protestants among whom they lived and worked, was that of raising the standard of living in rural Angola, with precious little input but much interference from the Portuguese governing apparatus. When the new wine was pressed and put into the same old bottle, the vessel cracked and the wine flowed out as Angolan communities marched boldly down the long road to independence, in the hope of securing their own political, social and economic salvation.

NOTES TO CHAPTER SEVEN

1. "Numbered. Weighed, Divided." Daniel. 5:25, KJV.
2. Ali A. Mazrui. Political Values and the Educated Class in Africa. 229.
3. Don Richardson. "Do Missionaries Destroy Cultures?" in Tribal Peoples and Development Issues: A Global Overview, ed. John H. Bodley (Mountain View, California: Mayfield Publishing Company, 1988), 116 -117.
4. John Marcum. The Angolan Revolution, Volume 1: The Anatomy of an Explosion (1950-1962) (Cambridge Massachusetts: The M.I.T. Press, 1969), 120.
5. See argument in William Minter. Portuguese Africa and the West (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books Ltd., 1972), Chapter 3.
6. See Fola Soremekun. "The Bailundu Revolt, 1902." African Social Research. 16, December, 1973:447-473, for an insightful look into the importance of this revolt to the Portuguese struggle to control the interior of Angola.
7. Roland Oliver and Anthony Atmore. Africa Since 1800 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 145.
8. See William Minter. Portuguese Africa and the West. Chapter 3.
9. William Minter. Portuguese Africa and the West, 58-60, 64.
10. UCC/VIC Archives, Sidney Gilchrist Correspondence, 1964-1965, 96.021C, Box 1, File 7. Sidney Gilchrist, "Observations On Operation Hanging On".
11. UCC/VIC Archives Sidney Gilchrist Papers, Correspondence 1960-1970, 86.115C Tr, File 3 of 3. Sidney Gilchrist, A "General Letter" to Friends and Family, 20 July 1966.
12. UCC/VIC Archives, Sidney Gilchrist Correspondence, 1964-1965, 96.021C, Box 1, File 7. Sidney Gilchrist, "Observations On Operation Hanging On".
13. Sid Gilchrist. Angola Awake, 103.
14. UCC/VIC Archives, Sidney Gilchrist Correspondence, 1963, 96.021C, Box 1, File 8. Letter from Rev. Roy E. Webster to Dr. W. S. Gilchrist, 06 February 1963.
15. Linda Heywood. "Unita and Ethnic Nationalism in Angola," 51.

16. Frank B. Tipton and Robert Aldrich. An Economic and Social History of Europe from 1939 to the Present (Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), 111.

17. "In Nigeria we asked the Minister of Information about the development of one-party states in Africa and whether this was a new form of democracy. Politely but firmly he informed us that the African states had a completely different political background than Western nations and that they would develop their own form of democracy in the light of that tradition. With humour that had just a touch of malice in it, he asked: "Would you not say that Canadian democracy was considerably adapted from the original Athenian type?" UCC/VIC Archives, Anne E. (Nancy) Copithorne Personal Papers, 86.078C, Box 3, File 129. Addresses, Working Papers. Dr. C.A.S. Elliott, "The Walls Are Down", Address to Board of World Mission Dinner, March 16, 1966.

APPENDIX A

Missionaries appointed to Angola by the UCC Board of Foreign Missions and Board of Overseas Missions, 1925-1961. Earlier ABCFM appointments are included.

Tucker, Rev. John Taylor, D.D.	1912 to 1955
Tucker, Mrs. Leona Sturkey, B. A.	1919 to 1955
Steed, Rev. J. Arthur, M.A., B.D.	1919 to 1931
Steed, Mrs. Edith Tilney	1919 to 1931
Lloyd, Rev. James E.	1920 to 1928
Stokey, Dr. Fred E.	1922 to 1928
Stokey, Mrs. Sybil G. Hoskins, R.N.	1924 to 1928
Collins, Rev. S. Ralph, B.A., D.D.	1925 to 1958
Collins, Mrs. Jean Gurd, M. A.	1929 to 1958
Wilson, Mr. Clifford, B.A.	1925 to 1926
Wilson, Mr. Ralph LeRoy, B.A., B.Paed.	1925 to 1959
Wilson, Mrs. Amelia de Morais	1928 to 1957
Prior, Rev. Kenneth H., B.S.A., LL.D.	1926 to 1937
Prior, Mrs. Pearl Mahaffey, R.N., LL.D.	1926 to 1937
Strangway, Dr. Walter E., B.A., M.B., D.T.M., D.Litt.S.	1927 to 1968
Strangway, Mrs. Alice K. Skinner, M.A., R.P.Dt.	1927 to 1968
Harrison, Rev. Richard Bruce, B.A.	1927 to 1930
Harrison, Mrs. Minnie Amelia Parks	1927 to 1930
Gilchrist, Dr. William Sydney, M.B.E., M.D., C.M., D.P.H., LL.D	1928 to 1967
Gilchrist, Mrs. Frances Killam	1928 to 1967
Oldfield, Mr. Richard Ernest, B.S.A.	1929 to 1930
Oldfield, Mrs. Mabel Irene Trowse	1929 to 1930
Raposo, Mr. Jayme I.	1929 to 1940
Raposo, Mrs. Celeste P. Gomes	1930 to 1940

Ferguson, Rev. Frederick Merrill, M.A., B.D.	1934 to 1959
Ferguson, Mrs. Verona I. Clemence, R.N.	1934 to 1959
Tucker, Rev. Theodore Lake, M.A., B.D.	1941 to 1956
Tucker, Mrs. Kathryn Avery, B. A.	1941 to 1956
Knight, Dr. Allen T., Ph.D.	1945 to 1964
Knight, Mrs. Eleanor Kirker, B.A., M.R.E.	1945 to 1964
Ervin, Mr. Chesley G., B.A.	1948 to 1958
Ervin, Mrs. Flora N. Vipond	1948 to 1958
Ribeiro, Rev. A. Pinto	1949 to 1967
Ribeiro, Mrs. Fernanda B. Silva	1949 to 1967
Ormiston, Rev. James D., B.A., B.D.	1951 to 1960
Ormiston, Mrs. Eleanor R. Miller, B.A., M.R.E.	1951 to 1960
Adams, Rev. Alvin Mowat, B.A.	1952 to 1962
Adams, Mrs. Margaret Mary McArthur	1952 to 1962
Brown, Mr. Thomas S., B.Sc. (Agr.)	1952 to 1961
Brown, Mrs. Beverley E. Woods, R.N.	1952 to 1961
Steed, Rev. H.T.H., B.S.A., B.D.	1952 to 1958
Steed, Mrs. Annie Maud Lilian Marsh	1952 to 1958
Burgess, George H., M.D., D.T.M.H.	1952 to.....
Burgess, Mrs. Phyllis Jean Irvine	1952 to.....
MacInnes, Rev. John Murray, B.A., B.D.	1953 to 1964
MacInnes, Mrs. Catherine Innes Sherer	1953 to 1964
Hart, Mr. John Oliver, B.A.	1954 to 1960
Hart, Mrs. Doris Louise Morton, B.A.	1954 to 1960
Becking, Rev. Hugh Angus, B.A., B.D.	1955 to 1960
Becking, Mrs. Isobel Cathleen Hauca	1955 to 1960
Brown, Rev. M. Keith H., B.A., B.D.	1955 to 1960
Brown, Mrs. Mary Jean Graham, B.A.	1955 to 1960
Dalrymple, Rev. Whitney B., B.A. B.D.	1957 to 1965
Frodsham, Mr. Arthur Stanley, B.A.	1957 to 1961
Frodsham, Mrs. Frances Botham, B.A., M.R.T.	1957 to 1961

Jamieson, Mr. Ronald Keith, B.A..B.Sc., M.Sc., C.P.	1959 to 1964
Stiven, Rev. David R., M.A.	1960 to 1961
Stiven, Mrs Mary Jean Nisbet	1960 to 1961
Strachan, Mr. Lloyd W., M.S.A.	1960
Strachan, Mrs. Carol Jane Beaver, R.N.	1960

The final four names on the list began language study and were then reappointed to other fields.

Source: UCC/VIC Archives: United Church of Canada, Board of Foreign Missions and Board of Overseas Missions Records.

APPENDIX B

Missionaries of the Woman's Missionary Society (Congregational and United Churches) 1890 - 1961, Angola Mission. Additional information regarding other fields of mission work, the nature of the appointment or name changes through marriage appear in parentheses just after the missionary's name. Appointments that extended beyond 1961 are indicated by points of suspension (....).

Clark, Minneheha A.	1890 to 1895
Johnston, Amy (Mrs. T. Currie)	1893 to 1894 and 1919 to 1928
Melville, Helen J.	1893 to 1934
Melville, Margaret W.	1895 to 1924
Bell, Diadem	1902 to 1923
Read, Elizabeth	1918 to 1952
Mackenzie, Elizabeth S.	1919 to 1950
Campbell, Elizabeth	1920 to 1934
Clark, Edith (voluntary worker)	1921 to ?
Hunter, Evelyn	1921 to 1936
Wightman, Mattie (voluntary worker)	1921
Hosking, Sibyl G.	1924 to 1928
Baxendale, Gladys	1925 to 1926
Clark, Edith M. (also Canada)	1925 to 1961
Halliday, Margaret M.	1925 to 1961
Howse, Millicent (also Canada)	1925 to 1961
Bradley, Annie E.	1927 to 1934
Brown, Edith	1927 to 1961
Millar, Marjorie	1928 to 1961

Rutherford, Kate	1928 to
Ferreira, Celenia D. Pires	1930 to 1959
Robertson, Helen	1931 to 1937
Zbitnoff, Glycera	1932 to 1935
Dawson, Margaret	1934 to 1939
Faust, Mabel T.	1935 to 1940
Thomas, Mary	1935 to 1938
MacDonald, Margaret E.	1936 to 1941
Copithorne, Anne E.	1939 to 1961
Walbridge, Frances (earlier Canada)	1941 to
Belous, Frances M.	1943 to 1947
MacDougall, Mary E. (earlier Canada)	1946 to 1961
Radley, Edith	1946 to 1961
Schauffler, Rev. Amy E.	1946 to
Skenfield, Alfreda (to Portugal only)	1946 to 1948
Botham, Frances I.	1947 to 1954
Schauffler, Dorothy L.	1947 to 1952
Utting, Elizabeth	1949 to 1961
Bridgman, Dr. Elizabeth	1951 to
Snow, Etta	1952 to
Swann, Evelyn (earlier West China)	1952 to
Taylor, Lillian (earlier West China)	1952 to
Woods, Beverley E.	1952 to 1954
Stockton, Helen I.	1954 to 1960
Boyd, Marion (Portugal only)	1956 to 1957
Clark, Mary (earlier Canada)	1956 to
Bunner, Elsie (earlier Canada)	1957 to 1959

Gilchrist, Elizabeth	1958 to
Maxwell, Barbara	1958 to 1961
Leach, Erna M.	1959
Walker, Jean	1959 to
Beckman, Shirley (resigned before departure)	1960 to 1961
Stevens, Muriel	1960 to
Moon, Mary	1961 to
Rawlings, Florence (voluntary worker)	1961 to

Source: UCC/VIC Archives: Woman's Missionary Society Records.

APPENDIX C

ABCFM AND UNITED CHURCH OF CANADA MISSIONS IN ANGOLA 1880-1961

Bailundo, Teixeira da Silva, 1880.

Benguela (date of founding unclear)

Bunjei (Bundjei; Galangue Mission), 1923

Camundongo (Kamundongo), Bié, 1884

Chilessó, Andulo, 1892

Chissamba (Cissamba), Nova Sintra, Bié, 1888

Dôndi (Kachivungo), Bela Vista, 1914

Elende, 1906

Lobito, 1924

Lutamo, Bela Vista (part of the Dôndi concession)

Nova Lisboa (date of founding unclear)

GLOSSARY

- Aviados:* Agents who represented Portuguese merchants in the interior. They were usually *mestiços*.
- Assimilado:* An African or *mestiço* who had been "assimilated into (mainstream) Portuguese culture, especially through wholesale adoption of the Portuguese language, religion and lifestyle.
- Brancos:* Whites.
- Bruxas:* Sorceresses; they were (or are) commonly believed to be able to counter the evil effects of witches who caused others to fall ill or be possessed by demons.
- Calcinhas:* Literally "short pants": a term that was used pejoratively to refer to young men who had become alienated from their traditional sociocultural background, but who were not well received by the ruling class.
- Chefes dos postos:* District officers.
- Chicote:* A whip: known also as the *chicotte* in the Belgian Congo, it was usually made of hippopotamus hide and could inflict considerable bodily harm when used.
- Cipaios:* The local African soldiery, in service to the colonial government.
- Civilizado:* An African, considered to have acquired the level "civilization" desired by the Portuguese authorities. Such an African would have converted to Christianity, would have become part of the mainstream market economy as a wage-earner and would have adopted other trappings of Portuguese culture. Africans could apply to the local administration to obtain a certificated which would identify them as *civilizados*.

<i>Colégios:</i>	Private secondary schools.
<i>Colono:</i>	A European settler, especially one of Portuguese origin. On occasion, the term was applied to Africans who had been resettled under new government housing or agricultural schemes.
<i>Contratados:</i>	Formerly known as <i>serviçais</i> ; within the colonial context of forced labour, this term denotes labourers who had to be coerced to meet their labour obligations in service to the state. The authorities made an official distinction between them and the <i>voluntários</i> .
<i>Cosmogony:</i>	A theory about the origin of the universe or the origin of the universe itself.
<i>Degredado:</i>	A convict transported to one of Portugal's overseas possessions.
<i>Estado Novo:</i>	The "New State": a corporatist regime under the leadership of António de Oliveira Salazar, established in Portugal after the fall of the Democratic Republic in 1926.
<i>Feirante:</i>	A merchant, especially at a trade fair (<i>feira</i>).
<i>Guerra preta:</i>	"Black war": the term refers to African soldiers organized into units to fight alongside European troops in the early period of Portuguese conquest.
<i>Indígena:</i>	A "Native": the term suggests that the African in question is "uncivilized" and is the antonym of <i>civilizado</i> .
<i>Indigenato:</i>	The state (legally and socially) of being an <i>indígena</i> .
<i>Liceus:</i>	Secondary schools (high schools) run by the government.
<i>Mestiços:</i>	Persons of mixed race, in Portuguese Africa, originally the offspring of European males and African females.

Lusophone:	(Adjective) Portuguese-speaking; (noun) a speaker of Portuguese.
<i>Missão civilizadora:</i>	"Civilizing mission": the Portuguese and other European powers justified their presence in Africa, America and Asia by arguing that they were on a mission to "civilize" the rest of the world.
<i>Musseques:</i>	City slums. More particularly, the term refers to stretches of spare land around cities where a number of Africans lived and cultivated a few crops. The singular form, <i>musseque</i> , refers to land that is sandy but arable. Alternative spelling: <i>muceque</i> .
<i>Palmatória:</i>	A wooden paddle used for corporal punishment.
<i>Peça da Índia:</i>	A young adult slave, paid as tribute: literally, "Indian piece" or "coin".
<i>Pombeiro:</i>	A trader or middleman, usually a <i>mestiço</i> , who went to a slave fair or market (a <i>pombo</i> or <i>pumbo</i>) in the interior, and traded the slaves he obtained in the bush with the Europeans on the coast. <i>Pombeiros</i> enjoyed a great degree of independence from the Portuguese during their heyday. The term is said to be derived from the word <i>Mpumbu</i> , a people who lived near Malebo Pool (Stanley Pool), in the interlacustrine zone of Central Africa.
<i>Pretos:</i>	Blacks.
<i>Propaganda Fide:</i>	The Roman Catholic Committee in the Vatican, charged with the responsibility for foreign missions. Full name in Latin: <i>Congregatio de Propaganda Fide</i> .
<i>Regedores:</i>	Administrative officers.
<i>Régulo:</i>	An African chief or headman, identified by the Portuguese as the leader of his village. In the colonial structure the <i>régulo</i> was made into a <i>regedor</i> .

<i>Saloios:</i>	"Hicks" or rustic people from Portugal, who upon coming to Africa were suddenly transformed into <i>senhores</i> by lording it over the Africans.
<i>Sekulus:</i>	A Bantu word for village elders.
<i>Sertão:</i>	Hinterland or interior. It was sometimes used in the plural to indicate the Angolan hinterland. Plural <i>sertões</i> .
<i>Sertanejo:</i>	A "backwoodsman". Alternative spelling: <i>sertanjeiro</i> .
<i>Serviçal:</i>	See <i>contratados</i> . Plural <i>serviçais</i> .
<i>Sobas:</i>	African chiefs, usually reluctant vassals of the Portuguese during the early days of Portuguese conquest.
<i>Vaqueiros:</i>	Cowboys.
<i>Voluntários:</i>	Within the colonial system of forced labour, <i>voluntários</i> were labourers who met their obligations without direct intervention from the state. As such, they were officially distinguished from <i>contratados</i> .

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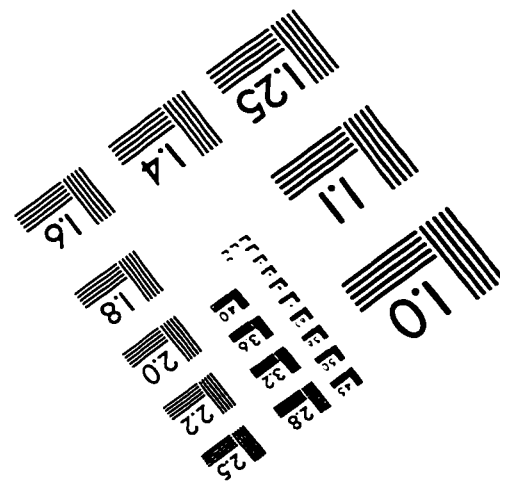
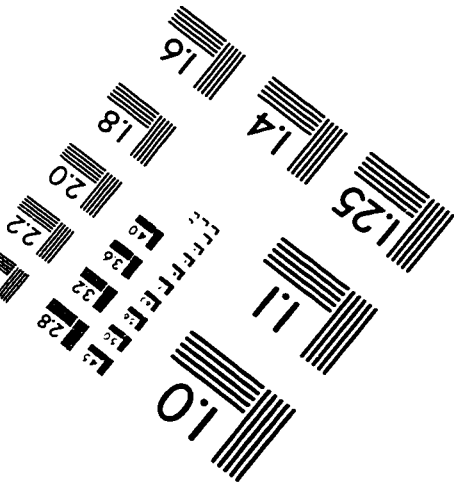
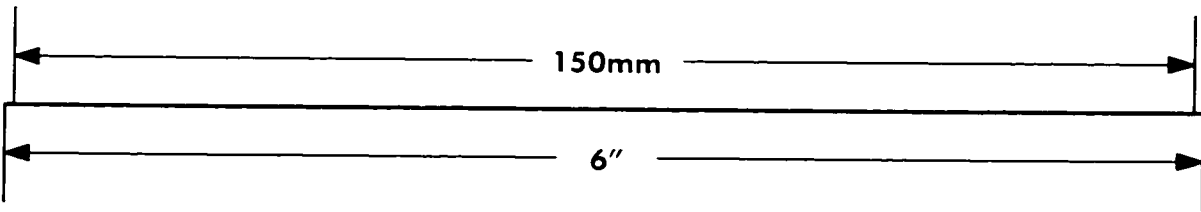
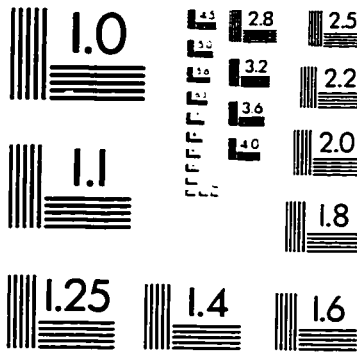
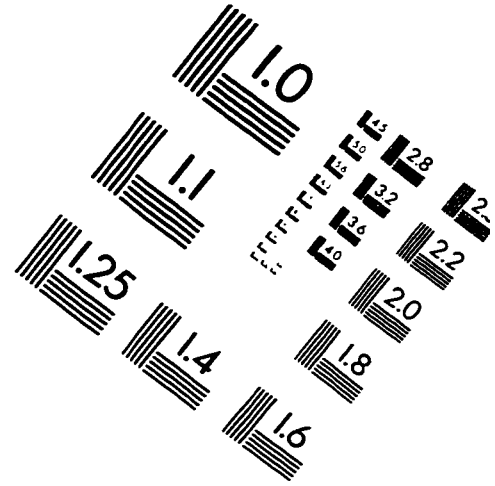
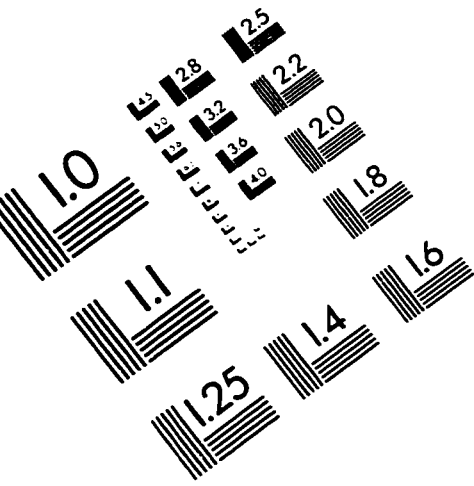
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