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A HISTORY OF BAPTISTS IN EAST AND CENTRAL AFRICA

A Dissertation

Presented to

the Faculty of the

Southern Baptist Theological Seminary

In Partial Fulfilment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Doctor of Theology

bу

Davis Lee Saunders

April, 1973

APPROVAL SHEET

A HISTORY OF BAPTISTS IN EAST AND CENTRAL AFRICA

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Date 19, 1973

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CENTRAL AFRICA



CHAPTER -I

INTRODUCTION

Scattered among the fifty million people in the more than one million square miles of the six countries of Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Malawi, Zambia, and Rhodesia are over fifteen hundred congregations of Baptists, having a membership in excess of seventy-five thousand. For some of these churches a tradition of three-quarters of a century has developed; for others less than a decade has passed since its initiation.

Trends on the continent of Africa towards selfdetermination have filtered into the life of these churches
so that, almost without exception, larger organizations
have developed in the form of associations, unions, and
conventions. An indigenous leadership has arisen which has
begun to assume control rapidly of the affairs of the
various national organizations with a concomitant relegation to a less prominent role of the expatriate leaders who
heretofore played such a large part in the development of

Population statistics were taken from the Southern Baptist Foreign Mission Board pamphlet, "Know Your Baptist Missions '73." The statistics related to the number of congregations and to the membership came from the reports of various Baptist organizations as cited in Chapters III and IV of this study and, in addition, from estimates made by the writer of those groups for which no accurate information could be obtained.

Baptist life in the several countries.

Little Baptist interrelationship has been developed in terms of fellowship and unity either between countries or, in several cases, even between the different Baptist missions that have worked in the same country, or between the resulting national organizations that have evolved from these missions. Communications on the continent have been so restricted that little has been known by the members of one group concerning the development of Baptists in other countries. In fact, the same situation has applied to a large extent even within the same country.

Therefore, this dissertation is proposed primarily as an historical study of Baptist missionary activity and of the development of related church organizations in the six countries previously mentioned, from the initiation of such activity at about the beginning of the twentieth century until 1972. The historical presentation resultant from this study is envisioned as a definitive work in Baptist history for these countries until such time as more comprehensive histories will have been written about Baptists in each of the countries included in the study.

Thus examined in historical perspective, both the trend towards self-determination and the accompanying poverty of relationship among divergent Baptist streams divulge correctives which can have some practical application in the development of Baptist life in the countries studied and elsewhere.

Background of the Proposal

The writer first became acutely aware of the need for such a study while teaching Baptist history at the Baptist Theological Seminary of East Africa in Arusha, Tanzania. An attempt to broaden the subject beyond a history of Baptists in England and North America revealed a paucity of available material pertaining to Baptists, especially in Africa.

general histories of Christianity on the continent, such as The Planting of Christianity in Africa, by C. P. Groves. A limited number of biographical studies were located, the best being Independent African, by George Shepperson and Thomas Price. A recent brief survey was found in the book edited by Baker James Cauthen entitled Advance: A History of Southern Baptist Foreign Missions. However, none of the literature in these categories gave an adequate coverage of the subject.

Further service by the writer as Field Representative for East and Central Africa of the Foreign Mission.

Board of the Southern Baptist Convention, with the necessary travel into all six of these countries, bore out the existence of a similar need elsewhere. Faculty and students in the Baptist theological seminaries in Arusha, Tanzania; in Lusaka, Zambia; and in Gwelo, Rhodesia, lamented the lack of any textbook for use in the study of the Baptist history either of their own country or of the rest of the continent.

In addition, African pastors and church members repeatedly asked for copies of the scanty notes which the writer used to teach the subject in the classroom. Frequent invitations to speak in Africa at convention and association meetings brought, more often than not, the request to present a study of Baptists in some part of Africa.

New missionaries who arrived in later years to serve in any of the six countries often were at a loss in their orientation program to find an adequate source of information about the development which preceded them and upon which they were expected to build. Southern Baptist mission study books tended to concentrate on one special area, subject, or period, and seldom were projected with adequate treatment for utilization in studying historical development.

Criteria of Selection

Two primary factors determined the selection of the geographical area to be included in the study. Uniquely, all six of the countries, being under the colonial administration of Great Britain during the formative years of the development under study, have certain factors in common. The language of government has been the same; all have belonged to a larger African political unit; each has had the same prevailing attitude toward missionary activity; and each has had a Protestant orientation. Also,

missionaries sponsored by the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention began a program of missionary outreach in all six countries within a span of approximately a decade; and the growth of the resulting missions, churches, associations, and conventions has followed a similar pattern.

Because of the multiplicity and variety of the mission groups active in the countries under study, in this . dissertation an arbitrary selection was made of the religious bodies to be included within its scope. Many missions such as the Africa Inland Mission in East Africa and the African Evangelical Fellowship, or South Africa General Mission, in Rhodesia, have been staffed traditionally by many Baptists, have been supported by individual Baptists and Baptist congregations, and hold to Baptist polity and doctrine as intensely as the missions selected for study. Nevertheless, only the missions and churches have been included which either have used the name "Baptist" in their official titles or have been associated directly. with organized bodies of Baptists. The Lambaland Mission in Zambia, for example, since its inception has been supported by the South African Baptist Missionary Society, while the Providence Industrial Mission in Malawi has always been associated with the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Incorporated.

Because of diversity in origin and leadership or deficiency in training some of the non-missionary oriented

groups developed aberrations in their teaching or practice, but if they identified themselves as *Baptists they have been included in this study.

In the developing stages of missions in several of the countries other mission bodies have been mentioned in passing because of their direct connection with later Baptist emergence or because they have been referred to occasionally in certain literature as Baptist. Examples of such mention are the Gospel Mission in Kenya and the Nyasaland Industrial Mission in both Malawi and Zambia.

Research Methodology

The writer has attempted to examine all available published works that bear on the subject but has found that most of the material utilized has come from missionary periodicals, minutes of the meetings of missionary organizations, annual reports in denominational organs, personal correspondence of missionaries, responses to correspondence directly related to the study, and interviews with older missionary and African leaders who were involved in the making of the Baptist history which was being researched.

The research was conducted first at the source of the history, i.e., from the mission and convention documents in the six countries considered, where such could be located. Additional investigation was conducted in the archives of the Baptist Union of South Africa, found in the Baptist Theological College in Johannesburg, Republic of

South Africa; at the headquarters of the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention in Richmond, Virginia; from material available at the offices of the Seventh Day Baptist Historical Society in Plainfield, New Jersey; and at the offices of the Foreign Mission Board of the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Incorporated, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Basic Development of the Dissertation

The approach used in the presentation of the material included in the dissertation has been both chronological and geographical. The order has been established according to the time Baptists began or Southern Baptists entered a specific area, as the case may be. The presentation has also been arranged according to country because, with few exceptions, the organizational division has been established by the groups involved according to national boundaries.

Chapter two contains a detailed study of the Baptists who preceded Southern Baptists in each of the countries studied up to 1950. The time datum of 1950 was chosen for the chapter division because in that year Southern Baptists began their missionary activity in the first of the six countries. In each case the beginnings were considered, the relationships with expatriate Baptist bodies shown, and the growth and development of the resulting churches and mission organizations recorded.

Chapter three portrays the beginning and development of Southern Baptist mission work, showing the growth of the missionary program and, as it emerged, the accompanying growth of the national Baptist bodies through 1972. Because of the extensive investment of personnel and financial resources by Southern Baptists in these countries in a short time growth has been pronounced, while outreach has been diverse and widespread. For this reason chapter three comprises a major portion of the study. Such imbalance in detail of treatment does not intend to minimize the contribution made by the efforts of other Baptists. The parallel development of these Southern Baptist Missions affords a more accurate analysis and evaluation for reaching the conclusions found in the final chapter.

Chapter four presents the continuing development of other Baptist bodies, both missionary and national, taken up at the point of entry of Southern Baptists and culminating with a summary of the situation at the end of 1972.

The final chapter encompasses several conclusions drawn from the study. The first conclusion gives consideration to the patterns of development of the national Baptist organizations, forecasts from this historical perspective the trends in continuing self-determination, and examines the role of the missions and missionaries in relation to these organizations. The surge in the appearance of these national organizations has tended to enhance the prospects

of the indigenization of the Baptist witness, although the emerging bodies have remained under the umbrella of the sponsoring missions. On the other hand, the advent of the national organizations has demanded a changing role for the missions and the missionaries but has neither necessitated nor presupposed their elimination at the behest of the national Baptists at any given time.

The second conclusion pertains to the evidences of the fleeting bonds of cooperation which developed from time to time and makes concrete proposals as to avenues of more constructive interrelationships on the mission, national, and multinational levels. A diversity of background and basic mission organization and support, as well as of personalities, has created the breach in effective cooperation between the missionaries of the different missions. This diversity has been perpetuated, almost without exception, in the national Baptist pattern formed under the aegis of the parent bodies.

The third delineates a basic spectrum of methodological approach to the task of initiating the Baptist witness in new environs. The advent of Southern Baptist missionaries in several countries at approximately the same time with the variations which developed in the basic mission approach has shown that certain activities form an integral part of a rapidly developing mission program. Other activities have at times registered only marginal effect and have depended upon their involvement in an

evangelistic witness to validate their usefulness.

The final consideration relates specifically to the problem of the conservation of historical materials and their utilization to facilitate the accurate and adequate recording of the history of the Baptists in East and Central Africa.

Definition of Terms

In the time span included in this study, developments in Africa have led to the changing of the names of countries, towns, and occasionally of other designations such as a language. In this dissertation the name in use at the time of the particular event narrated is the one used. If, in such usage, the meaning is not obvious a footnote will give an additional explanation. Thus, in one part of a chapter "Southern Rhodesia" will be used and later the reference would be to "Rhodesia," or in another the change might be from "Nyasaland" to "Malawi," or from the "Nyanja" to the "Chewa" language.

Many names in Africa have variable spellings, and Africans have several choices of name combinations which can be correctly used. For the purpose of uniformity a single name will be used for an individual. An example would be Lazarus Green Malunga, a pastor in Zambia, who after about 1969 added the "Malunga" to his other two names. Another would be that of Otrain Manani, a Seventh Day Baptist pastor in Malawi, whose name was spelled

"Manan" for most of the period under study, but who in later years began to use the Bantu form entirely.

The variety of background of the missions makes for the use of certain words in the context of their prior association. Where "union" is used by those from South Africa and Australia, "convention" is used by missions which come from the United States. The normal designation of a group for these and other words such as "seminary" is the one which has been included in this dissertation.

For the sake of ease of expression and predominance of use, the word "African" has been used to designate the black peoples of the continent and the word "European" to designate residents of the countries who are white. The accuracy of this usage could rightly be called into question by many of the "European" Baptists who have been born in Rhodesia, and elsewhere, and who consider themselves by either birth or citizenship to be "African."

In its development the Baptist Mission of East Africa included Southern Baptist missionaries in Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda from 1956 through 1966. However, on January 1, 1967, the missionaries in Uganda formed into their own Mission and no longer were considered a part of the former Mission. In each pertinent section the text has been worded so as to seek to avoid any misunderstanding.

CHAPTER II

BAPTISTS PRIOR TO 1950

Although Baptists were active in such countries as Liberia, Sierra Leone, Nigeria, and the Republic of South Africa by the middle of the nineteenth century, and although missionaries of other denominations followed hard upon the heels of David Livingstone and other early explorers of Eastern and Southern Africa, Baptists as a denomination were not represented in the countries included in this study until the last decade of the century.

Considering the heritage of William Carey, Adoniram Judson and Luther Rice, and recalling the emphasis upon missions that was characteristic of Baptists in England and the United States, the strange circumstance of history is that much of the beginning of Baptist*missionary involvement in this part of the continent was founded upon the activities of Joseph Booth, who received his call to missions in Australia and was associated with the Baptists of that land.

Baptists in Malawi

R. L. Wishlade in his thesis, "Modern Sectarian Movements in Nyasaland," wrote: "Of the twenty-one sects with which I had contact twenty of them are linked

historically with the activities of Joseph Booth." Every Baptist mission which existed prior to 1950 was related in one way or another to this "religious hitchhiker." These two statements presage the complex picture of the beginning of Baptists in East and Central Africa.

The endeavors of Joseph Booth. Booth arrived at Blantyre, in the Shire Highlands of Nyasaland on August 11, 1892, and proceeded to make contact with the authorities for the acquisition of property for the initiation of an industrial mission. Booth had proposed in his presentation in Australia and England the use of an industrial mission approach, to follow the methodology of William Carey. To do so, he maintained, would bring into action "the reserve forces of the rank and file of Christian workers who are used to the task of toiling at various occupations and handicrafts."

Booth, with his own funds, proceeded to purchase property for the beginning of his industrial venture. 5

^{1 (}Unpublished Ph.D. thesis), p. 113.

²N. Olney Moore, "Seventh Day Baptists and Mission Work in Nyasaland Africa," (unpublished manuscript), p. 1.

³George Shepperson and Thomas Price, <u>Independent</u> African, p. 18.

⁴Joseph Booth, "The Greatest Work in The World," Missionary Review of the World, V:8, August, 1892, pp. 573-80.

⁵Joseph Booth, <u>Africa for the African</u>, p. 43.

Because of unexpected support from a group of friends in England, he was joined by missionaries of the newly formed Zambezi Industrial Mission, for which he secured twenty-seven thousand acres of land on the Michuru Estate at a place called Mitsidi, only a few miles from Blantyre. Almost immediately difficulties arose within the company over attitudes towards the other missions and their converts who were attracted by the higher wages and better conditions at Mitsidi. The antagonism thus created led shortly to Booth's separation from this Mission.

Meanwhile from the enthusiasm and the publicity surrounding this first venture of Booth, another force was organized along the same lines, which was called the Nyassa Industrial Mission, with the Deeaths arriving in 1893 as the first missionaries. They settled at Likubula near Blantyre. Although the project was supported first by Australian Baptists and later by Baptists from England, the basic organization followed independent lines and listed itself as an interdenominational mission, just as the Zambezi Industrial Mission did, and never affiliated with any Baptist Society. By 1902 the Mission was even raising

Gullessis, The Evangelization of Pagan Africa, p. 309.

^{7&}lt;u>Ibid</u>. 8<u>Ibid</u>., p. 310.

James S. Dennis, <u>The Centennial Survey of Foreign</u> Missions, p. 320.

almost three-fourths of its income from the proceeds of plantation harvest. 10

Booth, on a trip to England in 1895, continued his appeal for the starting of industrial missions and, by the end of the year, was instrumental in the purchasing of a third plantation at Gowa, near Ncheu, which was cultivated under the auspices of the Baptist Industrial Mission of Scotland. 11

After a visit to Nyasaland by Robert Caldwell, the Director of the Zambezi Industrial Mission, in May, 1895, and a visit in February, 1896, by Sir Brampton Borden who was a trustee of the Mission, relationships between Booth and the Zambezi Industrial Mission were strained to the breaking point and his services were terminated in March, 1896. 12

Then, in September, 1896, Booth gave title to the lands at Likubula to the Australian staff of the Nyassa Industrial Mission, whereupon they incorporated their Mission, together with its land holdings. At the same time, the Baptist Industrial Mission of Scotland registered their own land and trustees. 4 Somehow in the negotiations

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Shepperson, op. cit., p. 64; Wishlade, op. cit., p. 14.

¹²Shepperson, <u>op. cit.</u>, pp. 66-68.

¹³Ibid., p. 77. ¹⁴<u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 77-78.

Booth was able to keep one hundred acres for his own use, but severed his connection with this third mission the same year. 15

In March, 1897, after having tried several other industrial schemes, Booth made a trip to the United States accompanied by an African associate who had begun service with him as a house servant in the first months of his residence in Nyasaland five years previously. 16

The two men traveled together until some time in 1898, when Negro Baptists took the responsibility for the support and education of the African, John Chilembwe. 17 When the two separated in Philadelphia, Chilembwe was to stay for about two years to further his education and Booth for one more year to continue to seek new supporters for his industrial mission dream.

In July, 1898, Booth had come into contact with the Seventh Day Baptists in Plainfield, New Jersey. 18

After considerable discussion during the following weeks, Booth and his wife were baptized in September into the fellowship of the Plainfield Seventh Day Baptist Church. 19

In consultation with Booth as to the best way of proceeding with missionary work, the leaders of the denomination

¹⁵Ibid., p. 78.

¹⁶<u>Tbid</u>., pp. 79-80. ¹⁷<u>Tbid</u>., p. 93.

¹⁸ Seventh Day Baptists in Europe and America, I:577.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 578.

decided against organizing a mission society, but rather incorporated themselves in New Jersey, on January 30, 1899, into the "Sabbath Evangelizing and Industrial Association."

Booth left in April for his return trip to Nyasaland and, after stopping some time in England, arrived in Blantyre on July 16, 1899. Immediately he made arrangements to purchase an estate of 2001 acres for use as an industrial mission in the Cholo District south of Shortly afterwards lengthy correspondence began Blantyre. between the parties, Booth complaining of poor health, and the directors of the Association expressing dissatisfaction with the state of affairs in their newfound commercial The outcome of this disaffection was the selection and commissioning by the Association of Jacob Bakker, the son of a Seventh Day missionary in Holland. Bakker was sent to assist Booth, or to take his place if necessary, and departed from New York on February 20, 1900.22

Because of a disagreement in the methods with which the Mission's finances were handled, Booth was accused of incompetency by Bakker and recalled to the United States to explain his actions. The outcome was that, on December 3, 1901, Booth's services with the Seventh Day Baptists were.

²⁰ Ibid. 21 Ibid.

^{22 &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 581-82; Shepperson, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 134.

terminated. Bakker stayed in Nyasaland only long enough to sell the property to the Seventh Day Adventists at a loss. The directors absorbed the unpaid debt for the property in excess of the funds received for the sale. Almost immediately Booth emerged as an agent of the Seventh Day Adventists and was on his way back to Nyasaland.

From the Seventh Day Adventists, after a short period of time, Booth moved to the Jehovah's Witnesses, operating mostly from South Africa, since by then he was no longer allowed by the authorities to return to Nyasaland. 24

The rise and fall of John Chilembwe. When Joseph Booth arrived in the Shire Highlands in 1892, he was accompanied by his nine year old daughter, Emily. Though several missionary friends had entreated him to leave her in England, he honored his wife's dying request, which had been made shortly before he left Australia, to keep the girl with him. He had left his son, John, in England for a year to be trained as a medical missionary by Grattan Guiness, a missionary from the Congo, but he still shouldered the burden of his little daughter, in addition to that of the difficulties of travel and of beginning anew

^{23&}lt;u>Ibid</u>., p. 582; Moore, <u>op. cit</u>., p. 4.

²⁴Shepperson, <u>óp</u>. <u>cit</u>., pp. 150-157.

²⁵ Robert I. Rotberg, Strike a Blow and Die, p. 20; Shepperson, op. cit., pp. 30-31.

in Nyasaland. 26

Shortly after his arrival, a young African boy appeared with a brief letter in broken English requesting work as a "cook boy." This young man, John Chilembwe, served faithfully with the Booth family for more than five years, taking care of Emily, many times unaided. Chilembwe also was with Booth's son, John, when he died in Nyasaland in February, 1894, while his father was in England raising funds and making arrangements to leave Emily there.

Chilembwe's name was constantly associated with that of Booth during his travels among the various enterprises that were established, helping conduct services and interpreting, as well as serving in the domestic role. 30 When Booth found himself separated from the three missions that he had established, he proposed the organization of an African Mission, in 1896, using as a base the one hundred acres of land still in his possession. Seven African trustees, in addition to Booth, were to control the

Rotherg, <u>loc. cit.</u>; Shepperson, <u>op. cit.</u>, pp. 27 and 31.

²⁷ Shépperson, op. cit., pp. 37-38; Rotberg, op. cit., pp. 20-21.

²⁸ Shepperson, op. cit., pp. 57-58.

²⁹ Shepperson, op. cit., pp. 60ff.; Rotberg, op. cit., p. 21.

³⁰ Shepperson, op. cit., p. 78.

Mission's policies, and Chilembwe's name headed the list of Africans. 31 Although nothing was to come of this organization, Chilembwe's participation was a foreshadow of the kind of development that was to follow at a later date.

Early in 1897 Booth and Chilembwe were on their way to the United States, where their most prominent contact was the Principal of Lincoln School in Washington, D.C., for evidently Booth was seeking to arrange for support from Negro Baptists. 32 The temper of the times was such that Booth found acceptance by the Negro preachers very tenuous and, although they were enamoured with the idea of association with the African from Nvasaland, they did not accept Booth's proposals of association. 33 Under these circumstances Booth and Chilembwe gradually moved in separating circles of friends until a break in contact was made, probably in 1898, while Chilembwe was being educated at the Virginia Theological Seminary and College at Lynchburg under the guidance of Lewis G. Jordan, a prominent Negro leader who at the time was the Secretary of the Foreign Mission Board of the National Baptist Convention. 34

Evidently Chilembwe left Lynchburg in 1899, after a period of approximately two years of study and, in

³¹ Ibid., p. 91; Rotberg, op. cit., p. 22.

 $^{^{32}}$ Shepperson, op. cit., pp. 93 and 112.

³³ Ibid., p. 93; Rotberg, op. cit., p. 22.

³⁴ Ibid.

traveling among the Negro churches, joined the Mount Zion Baptist Church in Germantown, a suburb of Philadelphia. 35 Chilembwe was advised by his physician to return to his native land for health reasons so in 1899, or early 1900, he arrived back in the Blantyre area of Nyasaland. 36

He had been adopted by the National Baptist Convention as their "missionary" and was sent back with their help and with promises of their support. His undertaking as the founder and superintendent of his mission was based on the concepts that he had previously gained from his mentor, Booth, and so his Ajawa Providence Industrial Mission was initiated at Mbombwe, Chiradzulu, about fifteen miles from Blantyre, where he began to seek title to some land to be used for the development of this, another Boothinspired industrial mission. 37

Evidently some delay was encountered in obtaining the property, which was deliberately contrived according to Landon N. Cheek, a Negro missionary who joined Chilembwe in May, 1901. Cheek entered into the negotiations along with Chilembwe in securing the title which eventually was

³⁵Shepperson, op. cit., pp. 122-23; Rotberg, op. cit., p. 23.

³⁶ Shepperson, op. cit., pp. 130-31; Mission Herald, 44:4, September-October, 1940, p. 17.

^{37&}lt;sub>Ibid</sub>.

³⁸ Shepperson, op. cit., pp. 130-31; Mission Herald, 25:7, July, 1922, p. 15.

acquired in the name of the Foreign Mission Board of the National Baptist Convention, rather than in Chilembwe's name. 39

Joining the pair in 1902 was Emma B. DeLany, who was to play an important part in the future development of the Providence Industrial Mission. 40 The group had dropped the name Ajawa, a tribal designation, and in the first five years had made a modest beginning. The two Americans, having achieved a measure of stability in the little Mission, made their plans to return to the United States, DeLany in 1905 and Cheek in 1907. Cheek had married a niece of Chilembwe's, Rachael. They took two children and two mission followers when they returned to Cheek's home. A convert of Delany's, Daniel Sharpe Malekebu, was to follow soon after and, assisted by friends of DeLany, to enter into a program of study in the United States. 42

The involvement of Booth and a number of his other followers in a campaign of anti-European propaganda made the situation difficult for Chilembwe, who had no European backing or expatriate associates, because of his previous

³⁹ Shepperson, op. cit., p. 136; Rotberg, op. cit., p. 23.

Shepperson, op. cit., p. 138; Rotberg, op. cit., p. 24.

 $^{^{41}}$ Shepperson, op. cit., pp. 140 and 166; Rotberg, loc. cit.

⁴² Shepperson, op. cit., p. 141; Rotberg, loc. cit.

connection with Booth. Nevertheless, the Mission continued to grow and to afteract a large following of African laborers in the nearby coffee farms. The large and strikingly designed Jerusalem Baptist Church building at Mbombwe was finished by 1913 and was thought of as the "First African Baptist Church, Chiradzulu."

Chilembwe was also involved in a cooperative venture, entitled the "African Industrial Society," with several other leaders among the Africans of the area, some of whom had been associated with Booth and had imbibed his ideals. The station at Mbombwe developed a school and had hopes of beginning a medical program. Chilembwe's letters to the National Baptist leaders at their headquarters in Louisville, Kentucky, were constantly filled with pleas for additional funds to complete the projects at hand, for he was still supported by this group even in the absence of any missionary personnel. 46

The foreboding of trouble to come was seen by at least 1909, when Chilembwe began to feel the pressure of the

 $^{^{43}}$ Shepperson, o cit., pp. 166-171; Rotberg, loc. cit.

⁴⁴ Shepperso op. cit., pp. 166 and 169.

⁴⁵<u>Ibid</u>., pp. 166-68.

⁴⁶ Lewis G. Jordan, Negro Baptist History U.S.A., p. 241; Edward A. Freeman, The Epoch of Negro Baptists and The Foreign Mission Board, National Baptist Convention, p. 129; Shepperson, op. cit., pp. 166, 172, 175, and 177.

nearby European plantation managers, especially that of the nearby Bruce Estates. ⁴⁷ The charges which he mentioned in his writing were that William Jervis Livingstone, the manager of the Estates, constantly ordered the little grass thatch meeting houses burned, when they were erected in the squafters' villages on the estate. The correct legal position in this interaction was not clear but, nevertheless, the Africans felt the harassment an injustice exercised against their right to worship. ⁴⁸

A second focal point was an increase in the hut tax, a system whereby an African laborer worked for a specified length of time and his tax was then paid for him by his employer. The Africans who refused to work on the farms were required to pay this tax themselves, which put a heavy burden on those associated with the Providence Industrial Mission since they had very little cash.

Another custom which increased the spirit of recalcitrance was that the settlers insisted that Africans who wore European style clothes should always raise their hats when coming into the presence of Europeans. 50

Finally, the ultimate indignity to Chilembwe was

⁴⁷Shepperson, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., pp. 178-80.

^{48 &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>; Rotberg, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 30.

⁴⁹ Shepperson, op. cit., pp. 196ff.; Rotberg, op. cit., pp. 28, 32.

⁵⁰ Shepperson, op. cit., p. 180; Rotberg, op. cit., p. 30.

the inclusion of Africans in the Kings' African Rifles and in a Carrier Corps which was raised in Nyasaland at the beginning of World War I. Chilembwe reacted violently to the forced participation of Africans in a "White man's war" and, as he wrote to the editors of a local newspaper, expressed the injustice of the system both to the men involved and to their dependents. 51

Chilembwe, therefore, with members of his congregation, and the aid of other nearby African church groups, rose up on the evening of January 23, 1915, following a carefully worked out plan of action, and attacked the white farmers in the area. ⁵² His instructions were that only the men were to be attacked, and that the women and children were not to be harmed. The prime target was the Bruce Estates, and particularly the manager of the estate, William Jervis Livingstone.

Livingstone was beheaded and his head carried by the attackers back to Mbombwe. Two employees, Duncan MacCormick and Robert Ferguson, were speared to death.

Several other Europeans were injured, although Chilembwe's other forces, supposedly deployed to attack Blantyre,

Ncheu, and Dedza, were not successful.

⁵¹ Shepperson, op. cit., pp. 234-35; Rotberg, op. cit., pp. 32-34.

⁵² Shepperson, op. cit., pp. 218-318; Rotberg, op. cit., pp. 29-66.

Chilembwe then conducted a worship service on Sunday, January 24, with the enemy's head impaled on a pole in the center of the sanctuary and prepared his people for the ensuing counterattack which would bring ultimate defeat.

Although the European community was panic stricken, the attacks were not renewed and the women and children who had been taken hostage were released unharmed. Quickly the government officials raised a force of settlers and African soldiers who attacked and destroyed the Jerusalem Church and scattered the insurrectionists. Chilembwe was killed on February 3, while fleeing towards Portuguese East Africa with a number of his followers. Others among the leaders were apprehended. Some were put to death and others imprisoned. The Providence Industrial Mission was proscribed and the ninety-three acres reverted to bushland, showing little evidence of previous habitation.

The African testimony is that Chilembwe's intention was to call attention to the plight of the Africans in .

Nyasaland. In order to do this he had to "strike a blow and die." 53

Daniel Sharpe Malekebu and Negro Baptists. When Emma B. DeLany left Nyasaland in 1905, she was followed by the young convert, Daniel Malekebu, who had served as her

 $^{^{53}}$ This is the thesis of George Mwase in Rotberg, op. cit., pp. 43, 50, 76.

houseboy and interpreter. 54 He ran away from home, walked through Portuguese East Africa, and reached Beira, the port city.55 In Beira he was able to secure employment on the S.S. Matebele as a waiter, traveling to London. From London he worked aboard the S.S. Saint Paul to New York, where he was interned on Ellis Island, arriving there on August 19, 1905. After about five days, word reached DeLany in Fernandina, Florida, of his arrival, and she contacted a Negro pastor, John Vaughn, of Zion Baptist Church, Newark, New Jersey, who met the young man and put him on a train the same night after taking him to prayer meeting at his church. He traveled to Columbus, Ohio, where he was met by Lewis Garnett Jordan, the Secretary of the National Baptist Convention Foreign Mission Board. Emma DeLany met him at Columbus and took him home with her.

Daniel spent the first winter in a local school in Fernandina, where Emma DeLany's sister taught, but by the fall of 1906 he was studying at Selma University, in Selma,

⁵⁴ Shepperson, op. cit., p. 142; Mission Herald, 46:5, March-April, 1943, p. 16. The correct date appears to be 1905, even though Shepperson gives 1906 for the departure of both DeLany and Cheek. Malekebu is certain that he arrived in 1905 and Emma DeLany preceded him. Also Cheek wrote in the March-April issue of the Mission Herald in 1943 that he came home in 1907 and that DeLany had already departed.

⁵⁵The details of Malekebu's time in the United States are based upon his personal account in a taped interview at Chiradzulu on July 13, 1970. Many variations of detail appeared in the <u>Mission Herald</u>, and elsewhere, in relating the story, but his recollections seem to give the most accurate picture.

Alabama, where he continued until the summer of 1910. Then he was sent to the National Training School in Durham, North Carolina, to complete his undergraduate studies, finishing in the spring of 1913. From Durham, Malekebu next went to Meharry Medical College in Nashville, Tennessee, where he was graduated in the spring of 1917.

After completing his studies, he went to
Philadelphia for a course in tropical medicine at the
Medical School of the University of Pennsylvania and afterwards he remained there at the Mudgett Hospital for his
internship. Then, in 1918 Malekebu moved to Chicago where
he studied at Moody Bible Institute for a year, serving as
an assistant minister at the Olivet Baptist Church in that
city. In March, 1919, he married Flora Zeto, who was born
in the Congo and brought to the United States by a Negro
missionary, Clara A. Howard, and who had been educated at
Spelman College in Atlanta, Georgia.

During the years of 1919-1921 the Malekebus traveled throughout the United States raising support for their mission work, but somehow became related to the Lott Carey Foreign Mission Board rather than that of the National Baptist Convention. Then, in early 1921 they departed for Nyasaland. Upon their arrival in Port Herald, they were detained for several days awaiting government action on their request to enter the country to begin

⁵⁶ Mission Herald, 25:13, January, 1923, p. 9.

missionary activity. They were allowed only time for a brief visit with his family and then were required to leave the country again.

After leaving Nyasaland, they sojourned for about nine months at Capetown, South Africa, where he assisted in the ministry of the Shiloh Baptist Church of 'that city. However, before the end of the year, the Malekebus were serving in Liberia, still under the Lott Carey Foreign Mission Board. There was some sort of disagreement between the two Boards about their work in Liberia, and Malekebu was one of the missionaries in Liberia who sought to smooth the matter out. 57 He was working at Ricks Institute, which was evidently under the Lott Carey Board at the time. But sometime in 1924 he severed connection with that group and applied to the National Baptist Convention Foreign Mission Board for support. 58 After a contract was arranged with Malekebu and his wife, they were sent to Nyasaland again to occupy the property of the Providence Industrial Mission, which was still held in the name of the Foreign Mission Board. 59

In the interim, leaders from the Providence
Industrial Mission had continued to write the Convention
requesting aid and especially asking that missionaries be

⁵⁷<u>Ibid</u>., 28:2, March, 1925, p. 7.

⁵⁸Ibid., 27:10, November, 1924, p. 31.

⁵⁹Ibid., 28:7, August, 1925, p. 5.

sent to help them. The leader who kept the congregation together as they met clandestinely at Chiradzulu was Andrew Mkulichi. 60

The leaders of the National Baptist Foreign Mission Board and the local leaders were both involved in getting permission for the Malekebus to make a new start at the old mission station. The couple arrived in Blantyre on February 3, 1926, and received a joyful welcome from the members of the congregation and a cordial one from government officials. They began receiving assistance from the Negro churches almost immediately, parcels of medicine and clothing, as well as funds on a regular basis for salaries, and to a limited extent for the building of mission facilities. 63

The witness from Chiradzulu began to spread again, and the members who had remained silent after the trouble became bold enough to return. Soon congregations were formed at Mlanje, at the Magomero Estates where one attack had taken place in 1915, at Maize, and in Central Angoniland, as well as at Chiradzulu.

^{60 &}lt;u>Mission Herald</u>, 27:10, November, 1924, p. 31; 29:9, October, 1926, p. 36.

^{61 &}lt;u>Ibid</u>., 29:10, November, 1926, pp. 5-6.

⁶²<u>Ibid.</u>, 29:4, May, 1926, p. 38.

⁶³Ibi<u>d</u>., 29:5, June, 1926, p. 38.

^{64&}lt;u>Ibid</u>., 29:9, October, 1926, p. 36.

Mention was also made of helpers who engaged in agricultural instruction and supervision, in carpentry, and in medical clinics, as well as in the beginning of a school. 65. The school and the clinic were held under trees In the annual report to James E. East on on the compound. July 9, 1927, Malekebu mentioned a total of over twelve hundred members including the main station at Chiradzulu and seven outstations, adding that 258 were baptized during the year. 66 The fourth annual report two years later described the school as being larger than the previous years and mentioned that three buildings were under construction on the outstations. 67 In addition, the cornerstone was laid for the New Jerusalem Baptist Church by Richard Patterson of the Church of Scotland Mission in Blantyre bearing the inscription:

Organized Nov. 29, A.D., 1899
FMB National Baptist Conv. USA
4th Building Re-erected, A.D., 1928
Dr. D. S. Malekebu, Pastor.*68

In August, 1930, the first "Assembly was held simultaneously with the Golden Jubilee Meeting of the National Baptist Convention in the United States." ⁶⁹
Malekebu hoped to complete the building by that time but the roof construction had not been started when the day

⁶⁵ Ibid. 66 Ibid., 30:9, October, 1927, p. 30.

^{67&}lt;u>Ibid</u>., 32:8, September, 1929, p. 7.

^{68 &}lt;u>Ibid</u>. 69 <u>Ibid</u>., 33:2, March, 1930, p. 31.

arrived, so only the walls stood as a monument to the occasion. This Assembly was the prototype of an annual event of great significance and unusual interest in the life of the congregations of the Providence Industrial Mission. 70

Very little resource material appeared for the period from 1930 to 1939, but when the record began appearing again Malekebu and his wife were in the United States and had been there for some time. The United States and had been there for some time. Evidently a rift of some kind arose between the missionary couple and the Negro Baptist leaders, because the new Secretary, C. C. Adams, wrote that "at long last proper relations have been established between the Foreign Mission Board and Dr. D. S. Malekebu . . . "72 Meanwhile, Malekebu took a course in tropical medicine at Maherry in the interim before his return to Nyasaland. 73

Then, in the spring of 1944, the Malekebus arrived back in Nyasaland after their prolonged separation from their work, attributing this delay partly to the difficulty in obtaining passage during war time. ⁷⁴ Activities resumed normalcy on Chiradzulu station. C. C. Adams, elected as

^{70 &}lt;u>Tbid.</u>, 33:8, September, 1930, p. 34.

⁷¹ Mission Herald, 43:2, May-June, 1939, p. 16.

^{72&}lt;u>Ibid</u>., 46:4, January-February, 1943, p. 4.

^{73&}lt;u>Tbid.</u>, 47:3, November-December, 1943, p. 4.

 $⁷⁴_{\underline{\text{Ibid}}}$.

Secretary of the Foreign Mission Board in 1941, planned a visit to all of the Board's stations in Africa in 1947, but in April while visiting southern Africa he was only able to get as far as Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, and could not make connections for a visit to Chiradzulu. 75

During this tour Adams decided to reorganize the mission program in southern Africa and designated Malekebu as "Supervisor of Southern, Central and East Africa." 76

Shortly afterwards much publicity was given to the Constitution of the National Baptist Assembly of Africa, which had been organized in 1945 by Malekebu. 77 This constitution gave "Life Presidency" to Daniel Malekebu and made provision for the Annual Assembly, destined to be the unifying force which brought delegates not only from all parts of Nyasaland but also from South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, and even from Mozambique. 78 Adams reported that "more than 12,000 happy, singing, praying and paying messengers" met August 12-17, 1947. 79

Still no missionaries, except Cheek and DeLany, had been sent from among the Negro Baptists, and not until 1949 did an official of the Foreign Mission Board visit Chiradzulu. Adams finally was able to plan successfully a trip to Nyasaland in 1949. In returning to the United

⁷⁵ Ibid., 51:3, November-December, 1947, p. 18.

⁷⁶Ibid. ⁷⁷<u>Ibid</u>., p. 19. ⁷⁸<u>Ibid</u>.

⁷⁹Ibid., 51:2, September-October, 1947, p. 7.

States he reported that Malekebu represented "more than 300,000 Baptists in Nyasaland, the Rhodesias, Portuguese East Africa and the Union of South Africa." However, in the years that followed statistics showed the number to be twenty thousand or less. 81

The efforts of Seventh Day Baptists. Joseph Booth united with the Seventh Day Baptists and served with them until December 13, 1901. Jacob Bakker disposed of the property on the estate to the Seventh Day Adventists for \$4,000, which was used to reduce the indebtedness of the Association. Bakker returned to the United States in July, 1902, and the Association members paid off the remaining debt personally. Booth went to work with the Seventh Day Adventists after receiving four months.

Booth appeared again in 1909 in the United States in attendance at a meeting of the Sunday School and Tract Board of the Seventh Day Baptists and claimed that approximately ten thousand "Sabbath-keeping natives" remained in

 $^{^{80}\}text{C.}$ C. Adams and M. A. Talley, Negro Baptists and Foreign Missions, p. 56.

⁸¹ Mission Herald, 71:4, August-September, 1968, p. 40.

⁸² Seventh Day Baptists, pp. 582-83; David C. Pearson, "Seventh Day Baptist Beginnings in British Central Africa," (unpublished manuscript), p. 12.

⁸³ Seventh Day Baptists, loc. cit.; Pearson, op. cit., p. 14.

Nyasaland, and that he had maintained contact with them. 84

He was approved again for financial support and was offered fifty dollars per month for his own support and fifty dollars to be used for missionary work in Nyasaland, which he proposed to supervise from South Africa by correspondence. 85

Booth lived at Capetown and trained Africans to go back into the country as workers for his organization. The persons whose names he mentioned were the ones with whom he had worked in previous years in one or another of the missions with which he had been associated. Bissatisfaction arose within the denomination at the renewal of the contract with Booth and his proposal of long-range supervision, and also at the meager funds offered for support of the Africans.

On March 20, 1912, Nathan Olney Moore and Charles

S. Sayre set sail for Africa as emissaries of the Seventh

Day Baptists to conduct an investigation into Booth's

connection with the churches in Nyasaland and also into the

condition of the churches themselves.

88

The pair proceeded

⁸⁴N. Olney Moore, op. cit., p. 4; Pearson, op. cit., p. 15.

^{85&}lt;sub>Ibid</sub>.

⁸⁶ Moore, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 6; Pearson, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 16.

⁸⁷Moore, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., pp. 5-7.

⁸⁸ Moore, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 7; Pearson, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 29.

to England where Sayre was forced to return home because of illness, and where Wayland D. Wilcox was chosen to replace him on the trip. These two journeyed safely to Capetown, arriving on May 6, 1912, and spent a week in consultation with the Booths. Although Booth's wife made a favorable impression on the men, a personality conflict developed between Moore and Booth. The nature of the visitors' quest did not help to smooth Booth's feelings, since he rightly felt himself under investigation.

The two investigators next traveled by sea to Chinde at the mouth of the Zambezi River, by steamer up the river, and overland to Blantyre. They visited the churches in many parts of Nyasaland and became convinced that the ten thousand "Sabbath-keepers" were most probably members of the Watchtower Movement which Booth had started in Nyasaland or else were Seventh Day Adventists, and reckoned that less than two thousand could be called Seventh Day Baptists. 92

In November, 1912, Booth, Moore, and Wilcox, all three, were present when the written report was discussed by the Missionary Society. The outcome was that Booth, who

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Moore, op. cit;, pp. 8-10; Pearson, loc. cit.

⁹¹ Moore, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 10.

⁹² Moore, op. cit., pp. 11-15; Pearson, op. cit., pp. 29-32.

had borrowed the money to come at his own expense, was given passage money to return to South Africa, but his connections with Seventh Day Baptists were severed completely. 93

The following year a young man, Walter B. Cockerill, became an "unofficial missionary" of Seventh Day Baptists in Nyasaland, having been accepted into membership of the Plainfield Church in December, 1913, where Booth had been a member in 1897. In early January he was granted a license to preach by the church and before the end of the month had set sail for Nyasaland, traveling at his own expense. Still he was counted by many as a missionary of the denomination.

Passing through Chinde and Blantyre in February and March, 1914, Cockerill made his base at the Shiloh station where Booth had attempted to begin his African Industrial Mission. The title of the property was still uncertain, and the Seventh Day Baptists claimed that their funds were used to purchase it with a gift from the Shiloh Seventh Day

⁹³ Moore, op. cit.; pp. 19-21; Pearson, op. cit., pp. 33-34.

⁹⁴ Moore, <u>op</u>. <u>cit., p</u>. 25.

^{95;} Shepperson, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 209; Pearson, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 36.

⁹⁶ Sabbath Recorder, 75:17, October 27, 1913, p. 528.

^{97&}lt;u>Tbid.</u>, 76:18, May 4, 1914, p. 563; 77:14, October 5, 1914, p. 435.

Baptist, Church in New Jersey. 98

Cockerill in his travels innocently headed north through Ncheu towards Karonga, where the German army was to attack in September. 99 He contacted several African leaders who were suspect by the government as being involved in sedition at the time, and so he was called into the government office in Mzimba. 100 He was deported on October 9, after only about six weeks in the area, and sent out of the region to Zomba to have an interview with the Governor. 101

He was under suspicion for his contact with Philipo Chinyama, who had belonged to four of the missions that ! Booth had established including the Seventh Day Baptists, and for visiting Charles Domingo, who was another of Booth's followers and had been associated with him in several of the missions. 102

On the day of the uprising, Cockerill was having services at the little church at Shiloh and heard nothing of Chilembwe's actions until informed by a friendly European planter the following morning. 103 He was

^{98&}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, 77:14, October 5, 1914, p. 435.

⁹⁹ <u>Ibid.</u>, 77:21, November 23, 1914, p. 659.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 78:2, January 11, 1915, p. 40.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

 $[\]frac{102}{\text{Ibid.}}$, 78:2, January 11, 1915, p. 40; 78:18, May 3, 1915, p. 556.

¹⁰³ Shepperson, op. cit., p. 331.

immediately called to the district headquarters and required to stay there for four days. His co-worker, Alexander Makwinja, was arrested for complicity and his dwelling and possessions were carefully searched. 104

On Friday, April 16, he received a letter which ordered him to leave the country without delay or be deported by force. Cockerill wound up his affairs and left from Blantyre on April 26, 1915, after little over a year in Nyasaland. He proceeded to Port Herald, Quilimane, and the United States, his missionary career at an end. 106

Seventh Day Baptists in Nyasaland were without any missionary representation from Cockerill's departure in 1915 until 1946, but the African leaders continued to write to the various contacts in the United States requesting missionary assistance, funds, and literature. 107

In 1946 Ronald Herbert Francis Barrar was sent by two New Zealand Seventh Day Baptist Churches to Nyasaland to investigate the situation among the churches that survived the stringent regulation of the government after Chilembwe's uprising. He arrived January 1, 1947, having

^{104&}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, p. 332. 105<u>Ibid.</u>, p. 333.

^{106&}lt;sub>Ibid</sub>.

¹⁰⁷ Sabbath Recorder, 142:11, March 17, 1947, p. 181; Pearson, "Seventh Day Baptist Missionary Work in British Central Africa from 1915-1946," p. 2, quoting Willard D. Burdick, "Missions in the Eastern Association," Historical Papers of the Eastern Seventh Day Baptist Association, p. 42.

used virtually all of the approximately one thousand dollars which the two struggling congregations had been able to raise for him to use in the undertaking. He began working in the public works section of the government to make a living and also depended upon help from the local churches for accommodation and food. When he arrived he made contact with Alexander Makwinja at Shiloh, where Cockerill had resided, and he sent back reports that the congregations consisted of about twelve hundred faithful members and about eight hundred backsliders. 110

Before long circumstances forced Barrar and Makwinja to separate, since Makwinja was used to making his own decisions. Barrar acquired about fifty acres of land in the Cholo district, two miles north of the Makapwa rail-way station, which eventually gave its name to the Seventh Day Baptist mission station.

C. C. Adams, the Secretary of the National Baptist Foreign Mission Board, was asked to visit the Seventh Day Baptists while he was making his trip in April, 1949, to

¹⁰⁸ Sabbath Recorder, 142:2, January 13, 1947, p. 27.

^{109 &}lt;u>Tbid.</u>, 142:8, February 24, 1947, p. 123; Pearson, "Modern Seventh Day Baptist Work in Nyasaland/Malawi as Led by Missionaries from New Zealand and America and Nationals from Early in 1947 to March of 1968," p. 1.

¹¹⁰ Pearson, "Modern Seventh Day Baptists," p. 2.

^{111 &}lt;u>Ibid</u>., pp. 2-3.

see what progress was being made. 112 Upon his return to the United States, Adams wrote that he was impressed by the accomplishment of Barrar. 113

But at mid-century, the new station was just getting started and Barrar could report only ten churches, those at Shiloh poorly attended, those near Makapwa attracting a larger number, but only a total of four hundred and twenty-five in attendance. 114

The Baptist Industrial Mission of Scotland. Booth during his trip to England in 1895 spoke to the Baptists in Scotland and instigated among them the formation of the Baptist Industrial Mission of Scotland, noting as he presented his ideas that "as yet not one messenger of the cross has been sent by the whole Baptist Denomination." Thus, by the end of the year an industrial mission was in operation on a plantation near Gowa in the Ncheu District. However, the Mission never seems to have had direct contact with Booth after it was started, and by September, 1896, was in the process of registering land in

^{112 &}lt;u>Sabbath Recorder</u>, 146:9, February 28, 1949, p. 149.

^{113 &}lt;u>Ibid</u>., 147:24, December 26, 1949, p. 408.

¹¹⁴Ibid., 149:4, July 24, 1950, p. 60.

¹¹⁵ Missionary Review of The World, IX:4, April, 1896, p. 290.

¹¹⁶ Shepperson, op. cit., p. 64.

its name. 117 An additional couple, the Alexander Smiths, went out in 1900 to join the one couple and two single men in the Mission and also lived at the Gowa station. 118

About 1900 the young Ngoni chief Makwangwala moved his village to be near the Baptist Industrial Mission of Scotland station and later was found to be involved in the conspiracy of 1915. 119 In addition a further station of theirs at Dzunje was either abandoned or the African leadership separated from the mission, for its leader, Filipo Chinyama, was involved as well, although the Mission itself was cleared of any complicity and the missionaries were not deported as was Cockerill. 120

The Mission made progress during the beginning years for the Phelps Stokes Commission reported thirty-two schools with eighteen hundred pupils. ¹²¹ In 1922, some doubt was expressed about the future of the Mission's continued existence, although statistics listed three organized churches with a Christian community of almost four thousand. ¹²²

^{117 &}lt;u>Tbid.</u>, pp. 77-78, Wishlade, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 116.

¹¹⁸ Shepperson, op. cit., pp. 293-95. Margaret Smith, letter from Nkoma, Malawi, February 9, 1973.

¹¹⁹ Shepperson, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 144.

^{120 &}lt;u>Tbid</u>,, p. 355.

¹²¹<u>Ibid</u>., p. 467, note 65.

¹²² Harlan P. Beach and Charles H. Fahs, World Missionary Atlas, p. 43, 112.

Wishlade mentioned its existence as late as 1929 and also noted a separation of Cuthbert Smith from the group in that year to begin a new mission in Mikalongwe, which was still in existence at the time of his study in 1958. 123

Independent African Congregations. Several African leaders who had been contacted by Joseph Booth continued to be mentioned during this period. They appeared with regularity each time a new missionary arrived and several associated with various of the newcomers.

One in particular was Alexander Makwinja. In all probability he was the person mentioned in the letter from Cockerill to the society at home as the African involved in the claims of ownership of the property at Shiloh along with the manager of a local plantation, since he was the African leader residing there with Booth. According to the advice given by Olney Moore to Cockerill, he should rest at Shiloh in order to get acclimatized before going to the lake shore to visit the churches. Booth was still trying to get the Seventh Day Baptists to pay him for the property in 1909.

¹²³Wishlade, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., pp. 122, 141.

¹²⁴ Sabbath Recorder, 77:14, October 5, 1914, p. 435.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

^{126 &}lt;u>Tbid.</u>, 77:7, August 17, 1914, p. 222.

In Cockerill's letter written shortly after the uprising, he reported that Alexander Makwinja and three of his followers were imprisoned for a period of nine years, although according to Cockerill the authorities had no evidence against him. 128

Makwinja, after his release from prison, formed a separate group, although they still called themselves

Seventh Day Baptists. He still kept up correspondence with the Seventh Day Baptists in America asking them to send

.literature. 129

When Ronald Barrar arrived in Nyasaland in 1947, his first contact was with Alexander Makwinja, who was still living at Shiloh. The Africans living on the property built Barrar a house and fed him. The land question was still unsettled for Makwinja claimed that it was a "Free Native Mission Station," although the title was held in the name of Francis Miller. 130 The new missionary

^{127&}lt;sub>Ibid.</sub>, 77:21, November 23, 1914, p. 659.

 $[\]frac{128}{\text{Tbid.}}$, 78:21, May 24, 1915, p. 653; Shepperson, op. cit., p. 338.

^{129 &}lt;u>Tbid</u>., 77:23, December 7, 1914, p. 717.

^{.130} Ibid., 142:11, March 17, 1947, p. 181.

started a school at Shiloh. 131 And, even while Barrar was there, Makwinja continued writing requests for additional Seventh Day Baptist missionaries, noting that he had begun to work with Baptists in 1909 and at the time of writing was eighty-eight years old. 132

Barrar continued to work with Makwinja and to reside at Shiloh until 1949, when he moved to the new station at Makapwa near Sandama. Barrar still worked in fellowship with Makwinja after the move, for in his report of July, 1950, he mentioned the Seventh Day Baptist churches at Shiloh. The move to Makapwa eventually caused a break in the relationship between the two, because early in the next period Barrar mentioned Makwinja's taking over the Seventh Day churches at a place called Thandwe. Seven so Makwinja still appealed to the Plainfield-based society to send missionaries to support the Nyasaland mission.

Makwinja's separatist tendencies seemed to have been caused by a desire to have his own group, for his followers still called themselves Seventh Day Baptists and

¹³¹ Ibid., 144:4, January 26, 1948, p. 64.

¹³² Sabbath Recorder, 142:25, June 23, 1947, p. 424.

^{133 &}lt;u>Tbid.</u>, 147:22, December 12, 1949, p. 384.

¹³⁴Ibid., 149:4, July 24, 1950, p. 60.

¹³⁵ Seventh Day Baptist Yearbook, 1956, p. 125.

^{136 &}lt;u>Sabbath</u> <u>Recorder</u>, 149:20, November 27, 1950, p. 324.

differed only in the custom of not allowing women to wear headcloths, and in insisting that all members should wear special beads. 137

Another leader, Charles Domingo, also had contact with Booth during the years that he supervised the leaders from South Africa. 138 He had come to Booth from the Livingstonia Mission and had served in the home of Laws, one of their missionaries. He was one of the leaders used by Booth to develop the two thousand members associated with the Seventh Day Baptists, lived at a place called Chipata near Mzimba, and by 1910 was shepherding a group of nine congregations from his central church. 139 By the time of Olney Moore's visit, Domingo's school was well organized and he made a favorable impression upon the visitors. 140 He also was involved in giving recommendations to Booth as to the amounts to be paid to the various workers in Nyasaland. 141

When Cockerill arrived, Domingo contacted him at once and encouraged him to establish the station near Mzimba. 142 Cockerill wrote that Domingo had been a leader

 $^{^{137}\}text{R.}$ L. Wishlade, <u>Sectarianism in Southern</u> Nyasaland, p. 18.

¹³⁸ Moore, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., p. 6.

¹³⁹ Pearson, Seventh Day Baptist Beginnings, p. 17.

¹⁴⁰ Moore, <u>loc</u>. <u>cit</u>. 141 Pearson, <u>loc</u>. <u>cit</u>.

^{142 &}lt;u>Sabbath Recorder</u>, 77:21, November 23, 1914, p. 659.

in the group that had withdrawn from the Jehovah's Witnesses and had formed their own independent group called the Seventh Day Baptist Church of Christ in Nyasaland. 143 During this time Domingo continued to correspond with the offices in Plainfield, New Jersey. 144

Although after the departure of Cockerill and the uprising, the contact of Domingo with the Seventh Day Baptists was lost and he became only another independent church leader among many in Nyasaland, the churches continued their separate existence and their strain could be traced into the next period of study. 145

years prior to the uprising. He was imprisoned along with Makwinja, and was released after Makwinja. When he gained his freedom, Chateka began his own congregation in the Central Province in competition with Makwinja, refusing to follow the new rules. He still considered himself a Seventh Day Baptist and asked for help from the United States. In 1950, even though he was in a mental hospital in Zomba his followers still considered him their leader.

^{143 &}lt;u>Tbid</u>., 77:23, December 7, 1914, p. 717.

^{144&}lt;u>Tbid.</u>, p. 721.

¹⁴⁵ Shepperson, op. cit., p. 164.

¹⁴⁶ Wishlade, Sectarianism, p. 17.

^{147&}lt;u>Tbid.</u>, p. 18. 148<u>Tbid.</u> 149<u>Tbid.</u>

Philipo Chinyama, who met Cockerill at Ncheu on August 10, 1914, was also a product of the supervisory program that Booth had constructed from South Africa. 150 He had been in contact with the Seventh Day Adventists and also had probably worked with both the Churches of Christ and the Scottish Baptists, eventually forming his own congregation at one of the stations initially established by the latter Mission, at Dzunje near Ncheu. 151

Although his part in the uprising is not clear, he wrote Cockerill that he was about to be captured by the government forces. Eventually over one hundred of his men were captured while fleeing, although the heart to revolt seemed to have been lost even before the attack and their military action appeared to have been only a nuisance. He was captured on February 4, 1915, by government troops and executed. No congregation related to his name survived the uprising.

Baptists in Zambia

The next development in Baptist missionary outreach in Central Africa was also indirectly tied to the

¹⁵⁰ Shepperson, op. cit., p. 212.

¹⁵¹Sabbath Recorder, 78:18, May 3, 1915, p. 556.

¹⁵² Shepperson, op. cit., p. 213.

¹⁵³ Sabbath Recorder, 78:21, May 24, 1915, p. 654.

¹⁵⁴Shepperson, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 250.

^{155 &}lt;u>Tbid.</u>, p. 293; Rotberg, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 37.

activities of Joseph Booth because two missionaries,
William A. Phillips and Henry Masters, of the Nyasaland
Industrial Mission which Booth started in 1892, traveled
extensively in 1905 in Northern Rhodesia around the area
known as the Copperbelt. They finally selected a site for
a mission station near the Bwana Mkubwa Mine at Kafulafuta
among the Lamba people about ninety miles north of Broken
Hill. 156

The Lambaland Mission. Information about an opportunity for South African Baptists came in 1913 to Joseph J. Doke, pastor of Central Baptist Church, Johannesburg, from Fredrick Stanley Arnot, a Church of the Brethren missionary. Arnot suggested that South African Baptists help the Nyasaland Industrial Mission which had closed one of its two Lambaland stations because of financial difficulty and was having a hard time maintaining Kafulafuta along with its Nyasaland stations. 157

¹⁵⁶ Lambaland, January, 1917; October, 1916; Robert I. Rotberg, Christian Missionaries and the Creation of Northern Rhodesia 1880-1924, p. 74; Arthur J. Cross, Twenty Years in Lambaland, p. 12; John V. Taylor and Dorothea A. Lehmann, Christians of the Copperbelt, p. 16; Johannes DuPlessis, op. cit., p. 311; Edwin W. Smith, The Way of the White Fields in Rhodesia, p. 90; South African Baptist Handbook, 1913-14, p. 41. (Hereafter designated Handbook). Broken Hill became known as Kabwe in 1964.

¹⁵⁷ Lambaland, January, 1917; Cross, op. cit., p. 22; Duplessis, loc. cit.; Handbook, 1913-14, p. 42; Rotberg, Missionaries, p. 75; H. J. Batts, The History of the Baptist Church in South Africa, p. 148.

Joseph J. Doke, whose brother had died as a missionary of the Baptist Missionary Society in the Congo, accepted the challenge of Arnot's suggestion and obtained support from the Executive Committee of the South African Baptist Missionary Society to make an investigation of the prospects for such a change. Doke at the time had two sons who were preparing for missionary service. He contacted the Nyasaland Mission and received a cordial invitation from both the local missionaries and from the home committee to visit Kafulafuta with a view to South African Baptists' assuming support. 159

Accordingly, Doke and his oldest son, Clement, set off on July 2, 1913, for a trip northwards to Broken Hill and Kafulafuta. 160 The two visited the mission station and traveled in the district with Phillips for more than two weeks. Writing home of the opportunity that existed for Baptists to become involved in this mission activity, they started back towards South Africa on July 17. 161 The father and son parted en route, Clement arriving home shortly afterwards. The father went on to Umtali in Southern Rhodesia where a missionary named Wodehouse had

¹⁵⁸ Batts, op. cit., pp. 145-51; <u>Handbook</u>, <u>1913-14</u>, p. 50.

¹⁵⁹ Batts, op. cit., p. 148.

^{160 &}lt;u>Tbid.</u>, p. 151; <u>Handbook</u>, <u>1913-14</u>, p. 41.

¹⁶¹ Batts, op. cit., pp. 152-153; <u>Handbook</u>, <u>1913-14</u>, <u>loc. cit.</u>

also written about the possibility of Baptists beginning a mission program for Africans and for white settlers. 162 Joseph Doke contracted typhoid fever and died at Umtali on August $15.^{163}$

On the strength of Clement's report and the written report of his father the committee recommended the establishing of a Doke Memorial Fund to be used for pursuing the Lambaland work as "a memorial of the devotion to the missionary cause of our brother who 'lost his life' in the Master's service and 'found it.'"

A surge of enthusiasm brought the Mission into being almost immediately for Phillips and Henry Louis Wildey, who was with Phillips at Kafulafuta, continued under the new Mission until their furloughs in May, 1914. By then Clement Doke and Matthew Richard German and his wife had arrived to carry on the work of the station. 165 Phillips and Wildey, who had married on his furlough, returned to the field in the fall of 1914 and the station was staffed by all six missionaries, a number not to be exceeded for almost half a century. 166 Doke spent much of

¹⁶²Batts, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., pp. 151-53.

^{163 &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, p. 153; Cross, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 25; <u>Handbook</u>, <u>1913-14</u>, <u>loc. cit.</u>; William E. Cursons, <u>Joseph Doke the Missionary Hearted</u>, p. 187.

¹⁶⁴Handbook, 1913-14, pp. 30, 42.

¹⁶⁵ Handbook, 1914-15, p. 37; Cross, loc. cit.; Batts, op. cit., p. 154.

^{166&}lt;sub>Cross, loc. cit.</sub>

his time itinerating, traveling over five hundred miles the first year, speaking a total of fifty-nine times to a total audience of over fifteen hundred. 167

The Mission in 1914 was conducting a school with sixty-one boarders at the station, but the missionaries were concentrating primarily on the production of scriptures in the Lamba language. Phillips had already reduced the Lamba to a written form and he and Wildey had begun working on scripture portions. ¹⁶⁸ In April, 1915, twelve Psalms and the first five chapters of the Gospel of John had been completed in manuscript form. ¹⁶⁹

In February, 1915, Olive Doke, daughter of Joseph, applied for appointment as a missionary for Kafulafuta with most of her support to be contributed by her mother. 170

She arrived at Kafulafuta on July, 1916. 171

By the end of the year the Germans had left because of illness and by the next March the Wildeys had also gone, but not before he had helped to complete the translation of the Gospel of John. 172

By the end of 1916 Clement Doke had become completely engrossed in scripture translation, had polished

cit.

¹⁶⁷Handbook, <u>1914-15</u>, p. 39.

^{168&}lt;sub>Handbook</sub>, 1914-15, p. 36.

¹⁶⁹Handbook, <u>1915-16</u>, p. 33. ¹⁷⁰<u>Ibid</u>.

¹⁷¹Lambaland, June, 1916; <u>Handbook</u>, <u>1916-17</u>, p. 38.

Lambaland, April, 1917; Handbook, 1916-17, loc.

the translation of John and sent it to the printer, and had also finished a rough translation of the other gospels and Acts. The missionaries had also composed a Lamba-English vocabulary, and had written a Lamba hymnbook. They had completed the construction of a brick church building for the main services at Kafulafuta and dedicated it on Christmas Eve, 1916. 175

The Mission had strict rules of admission and of discipline for the Africans who were accepted into the fellowship so that by 1917, and even in 1919, only six members had been admitted into the congregation at Kafulafuta, although the Mission operated several schools with an increasing number of pupils. 176

Before the end of 1919, the group of missionaries, which consisted of Phillips and the two Dokes, had completed a translation of the New Testament and had written a Lamba grammar, a phrase book, and a collection of folklore and proverbs. The hymnbook was ready for the printers and in April, 1918, and the finished books were received back on the station in November, 1919. 178

^{173 &}lt;u>Ibid</u>. 174 <u>Handbook</u>, <u>1916-17</u>, <u>loc</u>. <u>cit</u>.

¹⁷⁵ Lambaland, January, 1917.

¹⁷⁶ Handbook, 1916-17, p. 16; Handbook, 1917-18, p. 34.

^{177&}lt;sub>Handbook</sub>, 1917-18, pp. 40-42; <u>Lambaland</u>, October, 1917.

¹⁷⁸ Lambaland, April, 1918; April, 1919.

In 1922 four schools were in operation with about sixty pupils in each, in addition to the larger boarding school at the Kafulafuta station, although the number of communicants had grown only to twenty-six. 179 Clement had gotten married on his furlough in 1919, but by February, 1921, he had been forced to resign because of his wife's health, so that of the original group only Phillips and

Olive Doke remained. They were joined by Arthur J. Cross

During 1921 and 1922 the problem of financial support was so critical that the Mission faced the possibility of being forced to cease operation. However, after a visit by H. J. Batts, the President of the Baptist Union of South Africa, the Missionary Society voted to continue the program for at least another year. During the Christmas season, 1921, the first copies of the Lamba New Testament arrived and before October, 1922, the full printing of twenty-five hundred was on hand for use among the Lambas.

The membership of the congregations under the Mission had developed slowly because of the care taken in

and Frieda Stern during the year. 180

¹⁷⁹Handbook, <u>1921-22</u>, pp. 24-25.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., pp. 46-47.

^{181 &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, p. 5; <u>Lambaland</u>, July, 1921; October, 1921; January, 1922.

^{182&}lt;sub>Handbook</sub>, <u>1922-23</u>, p. 4; <u>Lambaland</u>, October, 1922.

accepting new members, the seriousness with which discipline was administered, and the drawing away of members into an independent African church movement. By the end of 1922 only twenty-two members were listed, and by 1925 this number had grown to only forty-eight. 183

During the period from 1920 to 1925 the missionary staff remained at four, Phillips, Olive Doke, Arthur Cross, and Frieda Stern, whom Cross married in 1923.184

The missionaries participated in the meetings of the General Missionary Conference of Northern Rhodesia in 1922, 1924, and 1927. Cross was elected Secretary of the Conference in 1927, a position that later led to the Mission's severing their relationship with him. 185
Phillips resigned in 1926 and returned to England because of poor health, although he later recovered, married, and went to Russia as a missionary. 186

The growth of the independent African churches became a serious matter for the mission in 1924, for these drew from the Christians in Ndola and elsewhere in the

^{183&}lt;sub>Handbook</sub>, 1922-23, p. 9; Handbook, 1924-25, p. 52; Lambaland, October, 1922; October, 1924.

¹⁸⁴ Jesse Thomas Jones, Education in East Africa, p. 263; Lambaland, January, 1923; Handbook, 1923-24, pp. 46-48.

¹⁸⁵_Lambaland, October, 1922; October, 1924;
October, 1927.

¹⁸⁶ Lambaland, October, 1926; Handbook, 1927-28, pp. 17-18.

Copperbelt including the Bwana Mkubwa Mine. To counter the trend, Cross moved to Ndola and tried to minister to the congregation there and at Kafulafuta. 187 The decrease in membership was such that the Lambaland Mission Church had to be reconstituted on New Year's Day, 1925, with twenty-seven members. 188 These losses continued to sap the strength of the Mission through the years of the decade following 1925 and the independent congregations thus formed became associated with the African Methodist Church and lost the Baptist tenor of the Lambaland Mission. 189

During the 1920's when the Crosses were away, Olive Doke's mother often came to Kafulafuta or Ndola from South Africa to stay with her daughter. She died on the way back to South Africa after one such trip in August, 1929.

The depleted ranks of the Mission were filled for a brief period by W. Skinner who visited Kafulafuta in 1927 and returned in January, 1928, as a missionary. He made a trip to South Africa in April, 1929, to be married and returned shortly afterwards with his wife. However, before the end of 1930 he was forced to leave Lambaland, due to

¹⁸⁷ Smith, op. cit., p. 90; Lambaland, April, 1926; July, 1926; January, 1927; July, 1927; January, 1928.

^{188&}lt;sub>Handbook</sub>, 1928-29, p. 13; Olive Doke, Interview at Luanshya, Zambia, January 21, 1971.

¹⁸⁹Handbook, <u>1931-32</u>, p. 10.

^{190&}lt;sub>Handbook</sub>, 1929-30, p. 15; <u>Lambaland</u>, October, 1929.

his wife's nervous breakdown. 191

The struggling Mission still had financial difficulties, for in 1928 the danger of closing was mentioned in the Mission newsletter, Lambaland; but when the matter came before the annual meeting of the Missionary Society, a decision was made to continue the support for the Lambaland field. The membership had gone up at the time, for Cross reported one hundred and twenty-six at Ndola, Olive Doke sixty-four at Kafulafuta, and Skinner eighty-six at Bwana Mkubwa mine. Almost immediately after this reported growth, defections to the African churches brought the numbers back down to seventy-one at Ndola and Kafulafuta and took away the entire congregation at Bwana Mkubwa Mine. 194

At this time, Cross recommended that the South

African Baptist Missionary Society consider the possibility
of inviting some other Baptist group to assist with the
work in the Copperbelt. The outcome of the request was
that in 1931 missionaries of the Scandinavian Independent
Baptist Union arrived to set up residence on neighboring

¹⁹¹ Lambaland, October, 1927; April, 1928; July, 1928; July, 1930; January, 1931; Handbook, 1931-32, p. 11.

^{192&}lt;sub>Lambaland</sub>, January, 1929; <u>Handbook</u>, <u>1929-30</u>, p. 37.

¹⁹³Handbook, 1929-30, p. 40.

¹⁹⁴ Handbook, 1931-32, p. 16; Lambaland, July-October, 1931.

stations. 195

Meanwhile, Cross became active in the Free Church services in English in Ndola, dividing his time between them and his African ministry. He later accepted an invitation to be one of a team of evangelistic missionaries sponsored by the General Missionary Conference of Northern Rhodesia, which eventually ended in the formation of the United Mission in the Copperbelt. In assuming this position Cross could no longer serve in Ndola with the Free Church nor was his arrangement satisfactory to the Lambaland Mission; so in 1935 his relationship with the Mission was terminated. 196

The missionary staff was supplemented by additional personnel for a brief period. A Miss Greening served from 1933 to 1938 at Kafulafúta, and Hubert Morgan and his wife, who was appointed Bessie Traill, served from late 1936 until 1940.197

In April, 1935, the mission headquarters were moved from Kafulafuta to a new station at Finwale Hill which was also near Luanshya. Cross was supposed to be the first missionary to reside there, but he had to be replaced by Morgan and his wife, who remained there for the duration

¹⁹⁵Handbook, <u>1930-31</u>, pp. 14, 31.

¹⁹⁶_Lambaland, October, 1935; April, 1936; July,
1936; Taylor, op. cit., pp. 35, 39.

^{197&}lt;sub>Lambaland</sub>, April, 1934; April, 1940.

of their service with the Mission. 198 The membership was still under pressure from the African churches and the 1935 report showed a decrease from a high in 1933 of four hundred and twenty-six back to one hundred and fifty. 199

Although many times faced with disappointment, the Mission still experienced slow and steady growth in other ways. In January, 1930, a new hymnal was in circulation which incorporated 216 hymns instead of the eighty-three in the earlier edition. The Mission acquired a printing press in 1925 as a gift from England and was able to begin printing Sunday school literature and other materials such as readers, hygiene and scripture knowledge studies, and eventually the hymnbook. The Mission followed an approach which Cross has called "Campaign Tactics," i.e., the boarding school, the village outschools, itinerant evangelism, and the work of the pastor, or Bible school. By 1941 a permanent Bible school or pastors' institute had been established at Kafulafuta and twenty-two men were in attendance. 203

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 $^{$^{198}\}mathrm{Olive}$ Doke, Interview, at Luanshya, Zambia, January 21, 1971.

^{199&}lt;sub>Handbook</sub>, 1932-33, p. 34; <u>Lambaland</u>, October, 1933; July, 1936.

²⁰⁰ Lambaland, January, 1930.

²⁰¹Cross, op. cit., p. 29; Rotberg, Missionaries, p. 108.

²⁰² Lambaland, July-December, 1941.

²⁰³ Lambaland, January, 1931; July-December, 1943.

The church organization was strongly missionary—oriented during the entire period. "Paul Kasonga (Native)" was put on the newsletter in 1931, the first time a non-missionary was listed, but no other nationals were mentioned in the listing of leaders on the newsletter cover until 1937.

In 1942 the Mission could claim two large congregations with about two hundred and forty members, six chief outstations, ten churches, ten pastors, fifty-three evangelists, two deacons, and one hundred and thirty-eight preaching stations. At the end of the period of study nine men had been ordained and the membership numbered two hundred and fifty-six at Kafulafuta and two hundred at Fiwale Hill. 206

The Scandinavian Independent Baptist Mission. The Scandinavian Independent Baptist Union sent their first missionaries to Natal, South Africa, in about 1892, and continued to work there and later in Portuguese East Africa in the years that followed. The Lambaland missionary, Arthur J. Cross, requested his society in 1930 to survey

²⁰⁴ Lambaland, January, 1931; January, 1937.

²⁰⁵ Lambaland, September-December, 1942.

Lambaland, January-June, 1946; Julya December,
1946.

²⁰⁷ Johannes DuPlessis, A History of Christian Missions in South Africa, p. 338; C. P. Groves, The Planting of Christianity in Africa, III:177.

the Copperbelt with a view to asking this Mission to share in the responsibility for ministering to the people in this part of Northern Rhodesia. 208 J. E. Ennals, Secretary of the Baptist Union of South Africa, with Charles Garratt, a fellow pastor, and two missionaries from Portuguese East Africa visited Lambaland, after which an invitation was extended to these Baptists to live in "Lesa's country," and work in the Lama Lima Reserve, southwest of Kafulafuta. 209

Anton and Signe Johansson arrived in Northern.

Rhodesia in 1930 to begin the work of their mission at a station called Mpongwe. 210 Johansson had accompanied the two South Africans along with his fellow missionary,

D. Eriksson, on the earlier trip. 211 During the following year the couple, along with Else Borg, a single missionary, were studying Lamba at Kafulafuta. 212 Else Borg had opened a station at Mikata just fifteen miles from Mpongwe by 1937 but in May of that year she died at Ndola. 213 A short time

^{208&}lt;sub>Handbook</sub>, <u>1930-31</u>, pp. 14, 31; <u>Lambaland</u>, October, 1930.

^{209&}lt;sup>.</sup> Ibid

²¹⁰Enar Holmgren, Letter from Mpongwe, Zambia, January 17, 1973; Henry Holmgren, Letter from Luanshya, Zambia, February 2, 1973.

²¹¹Handbook, <u>1931-32</u>, pp. 11-12.

²¹² Lambaland, January, 1932.

²¹³ Lambaland, July, 1937.

later Enar and Anna Holmgren arrived and took their place alongside of the Johanssons. The two couples continued from 1937 until they were joined in 1946 by Karl Fredrick Hammarstrom, with his wife and children. The Hammarstroms reopened the station at Mikata where they lived until 1953.

The Mission's primary emphasis was on establishing outstations, but schools were also started in the buildings of several churches. The main station at Mpongwe had a clinic in which the missionary wives administered the treatment. No statistics were available of growth at the end of this period of study.

Baptists in Rhodesia

In Southern Rhodesia, Baptists came as residents and then asked for help in ministering to their spiritual needs. The European farmers maintained their contacts primarily with Baptists in South Africa while the main contact for the African Baptists came from Nyasaland, since the men of that country began migrating very early in the century in search of employment on the farms that were developing in Southern Rhodesia.

²¹⁴ Lambaland, October, 1937; Rune Sollin, Letter from Lindesberg, Sweden, December, 1972, indicated Holmgren arrived in 1935, but the Lambaland reference was dated and is assumed to be accurate.

²¹⁵Henry Holmgren, Letter; Rune Sollin, Letter.
216Henry Holmgren, Letter. 217 Ibid.

Baptists from South Africa. When European farming developed in Southern Rhodesia prior to the turn of the century a gift of three farms in Matabeleland and Mashonaland, as well as plots for church buildings in Salisbury and Bulawayo, was made to South African Baptists by Cecil Rhodes in 1894. The leaders of the Baptist Union of South Africa sent James Hughes and H. J. Batts, two of their pastors, to England to raise funds for the project, but they were able to raise only a few hundred pounds. 219 Nevertheless the Union leaders singled out George Eales and requested that he move to The Banana Grove farm in Mashonaland and work under a committee of Kimberly residents called the Northern Committee. 220 Eales complained constantly of inadequate support and was unable to make a living on the farm, so a short time later he terminated his service with South African Baptists. 221

A second opportunity arose from an invitation by Wodehouse, a missionary at Umtali, when he requested that the South African Baptists send a missionary to minister to both the Europeans and the Africans in and around that town. Although Joseph J. Doke visited Umtali in 1913 and died there, the Union did not find an opportunity to

²¹⁸Batts, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., p. 158.

²¹⁹Ib<u>id</u>., p. 159.

^{220 &}lt;u>Ibid</u>. 221 <u>Ibid</u>., p. 160

²²²Ibid., pp. 149-53.

begin missionary activity in Umtali at the time. 223

Finally, at the insistence of individual farmers in Southern Rhodesia, J. F. Niebuhr visited those who had been members of his congregation in South Africa. He was asked a short time later to take the responsibility for Baptists in the country under the auspices of the Baptist Union and arrived in Gwelo in July, 1920. Niebuhr arranged for the sale of the Banana Grove farm near Salisbury and used the proceeds from the sale for the support of his family and work. His wife died at Somabula, south of Gwelo, shortly after they took up residence there. 227

In reports sent back to South Africa, Niebuhr mentioned a witness among the Africans by Joshua Monama, who accompanied him from South Africa and who also resided at Somabula. Niebuhr visited Gwelo, Fort Victoria, Bulawayo, Salisbury, Rusapi, and Umtali to minister to the Baptist people who had moved into these areas to farm or to conduct businesses, but no one location had enough

²²³Handbook, 1919-20, p. 24.

²²⁴ Batts, op. cit., p. 160.

²²⁵Handbook, <u>1921-22</u>, p. 5.

²²⁶ Batts, <u>loc. cit.</u>

²²⁷ Batts, loc. cit.; Handbook, 1921-22, loc. cit.

²²⁸Batts, <u>loc. cit.</u>; <u>Handbook</u>, <u>1921-22</u>, p. 47.

Baptists to organize into a church at the time. 229 By the end of 1925 Niebuhr reported that at Somabula the membership was twenty-eight, but he did not specify whether they were all Europeans or partly Africans. 230 At the end of 1925, Niebuhr left the employment of the Baptist Union and shortly afterwards returned to the United States whence he had evidently come. 231

In 1928 the report was made that under Monama a membership existed of twenty-five Europeans and twenty Africans, but suggested that no progress had been experienced since Niebuhr had left. By the end of 1928 Joshua Monama had left the employ of the Baptists although he had not left Southern Rhodesia, and plans were made to close down the work at Somabula. However, a newly formed congregation at Bulawayo in 1928 had invited W. Martin to come from England to minister to them. He requested that the church be accepted into the fellowship of the Baptist Union of South Africa and when this was done

²²⁹Handbook, 1922-23, p. 44.

²³⁰Handbook, 1924-25, p. 40.

²³¹Handbook, <u>1925-26</u>, p. 19.

²³²Handbook, 1928-29, pp. 14, 38.

^{233&}lt;sub>Handbook</sub>, <u>1929-30</u>, p. 14; <u>Handbook</u>, <u>1930-31</u>, p. 12.

Handbook, 1929-30, pp. 26, 29; James A. Hendricks, Baptists in Southern Africa, p. 64.

he was also listed as "a ministerial probationer." ²³⁵ This pattern of association with South African Baptists was followed for many years and the churches were considered a part of the Baptist Union.

Martin was joined in March, 1930, by A. E. Brett who took charge of the work in Salisbury, leaving Martin to minister in Bulawayo. Martin had reported a membership of thirty-nine in Bulawayo with an additional twenty-five at Somabula. Brett had only a handful at Salisbury, but began at once, mainly by his own labor, to build a church building which was completed in 1930. 238

Brett was forced to leave in early 1932 because of his health; and although the next pastor, A. H. Chapman, stayed for only six months, the church was organized that year with forty-seven charter members. In two years Frank Oldrieve and D. G. Forster had served the congregation as pastors and by 1935 H. Guyton Thomas had arrived to lead the Baptists not only in Salisbury but in the whole country for almost twenty years. 240

^{235&}lt;sub>Handbook</sub>, 1929-30, loc. cit.

²³⁶ Handbook, 1930-31, pp. 2-3; Hendricks, <u>loc</u>. <u>cit</u>.

²³⁷Handbook, 1930-31, p. 32.

^{238 &}lt;u>Handbook</u>, <u>1930-31</u>, p. 2; <u>A Building from God</u>, pp. 2, 5.

²³⁹ A Building, p. 2.

^{240 &}lt;u>Ibid</u>., pp. 3-4.

In 1942, Thomas surveyed Umtali as a possible field for Baptist services, and arranged for laymen to conduct the meetings, with a monthly visit by one of the pastors. The services, by 1947, were being held regularly, but in 1950 a minister of another denomination drew off the members to his church and the fellowship was closed. 241

Even as the witness spread to Umtali it also grew in Gatooma and Fort Victoria, as well as in Salisbury, Gwelo, and Bulawayo. On September 30, 1948, the Rhodesia Baptist Association was organized with eleven delegates from five different fellowships, who proposed a constitution to be ratified by their churches by the end of 1949. M. Howe was elected as the first president and E. M. Darroll as the second. At the time Darroll was pastor at Gwelo, Howe was at Bulawayo, Thomas was at Salisbury, and Basil Medgett was serving as evangelist at Fort Victoria. 244

The Providence Industrial Mission. Daniel Malekebu, in his position as leader of the Providence Industrial Mission, was in a unique way related to Baptists in several countries. Africans from Nyasaland had to find some means of bolstering their income, and many turned to South Africa

²⁴¹ A New Beginning on Old Foundations, p. 2.

²⁴²Hendricks, <u>op. cit.</u>, pp. 61-62.

²⁴³<u>Ibid.</u>, p. 62. ²⁴⁴<u>Ibid</u>.

and to Southern Rhodesia as sources of employment where wages could be acquired and sent home. Many of those who went into this system were members of the Providence Industrial Mission; and when they gathered into little groups to worship, news of their existence was sent back to Chiradzulu.

Malekebu made his first trip to shepherd one such group in Salisbury in 1934, holding meetings in a home. 245 Thirty were baptized during the trip and such visits continued irregularly through the years, although they were proposed as an annual occurrence. Representatives from each congregation were expected to return to Chiradzulu from Rhodesia each year to participate in the annual assembly and to bring funds. 247

When C. C. Adams appointed Malekebu as Supervisor of Southern, Central, and East Africa during his visit to Southern Rhodesia in 1947, he also visited the congregations in Salisbury. He had received an invitation from W. P. Chigamba, leader of the members in the country, and reported meeting with two congregations with eighty-two

 $^{$^{245}\}mathtt{Daniel}$$ Malekebu, Taped interview at Chiradzulu, Malawi, July 13, 1970.

^{246 &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>; Adams, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 56.

^{247 &}lt;u>Mission Herald</u>, 51:2, September-October, 1947, p. 5; 51:4, January-February, 1948, pp. 24-25.

 $[\]frac{248}{\text{Ibid.}},\ 51:2,$ September-October, 1947, p. 5; 51:3, November-December, 1947, p. 25.

members. 249 On his way home in September, 1950, Malekebu also met with Chigamba and made plans for the carrying on of the work in his absence. 250

Baptists in East Africa

Mention has been made in various Christian literature of the presence of Baptists in East Africa prior to 1950. A number of faint leads were followed, but no record could be found of Baptist groups as defined in this study. The fact that Baptists worked in other missions in East Africa has not been questioned, but their Baptist identity as designated in this study was not verifiable.

The first reference to a Baptist was in 1894, when the Imperial British East Africa Company's directors, Mackinnon, Bruce, and Buxton, planned the East Africa Scottish Industrial Mission and founded its first station at Kibwezi on the main trade route inland into what was to become Kenya Colony. The leader, for a short while only, was David Charters, who had been active in the Baptist Missionary Society in the Congo. Charters disappeared on a hunting trip with a colleague; never to be found, and

²⁴⁹ Ibid., 53:3, November-December, 1949, p. 16; 53:4, January-February, 1950, p. 17.

²⁵⁰Ibid., 54:2, September-October, 1950, p. 23.

²⁵¹ World Christian Handbook 1949, p. 203.

 $[\]frac{252}{\text{John Caldwell Thiessen, A}}$ Survey of World Missions, p. 225; Roland Oliver, The Missionary Factor in East Africa, p. 170.

others took up the lead and eventually moved the station to Kikuyu, where it became a part of the Church of Scotland Mission. 253

Missionaries of the Africa Inland Mission arrived in Kenya before the turn of the century, many with Baptist connections, but the Mission has been identified through the years as interdenominational. Other missions, in later years, such as the Gospel Furthering Fellowship, have had a similar composition. 255

Prior to 1915 a group of German settlers moved onto the slopes of Mount Meru in northern Tanganyika and established a small church which was purported to have been Baptist. Investigation showed that the congregation was of a free church type, although not Baptist, and that its existence was only shortlived. The building was reduced to rubble by the Africans living nearby and the bell was taken to grace the tower of a nearby Lutheran church. 256

Another group mentioned as having been Baptist was the Gospel Mission. Its churches were offered by Presbyte-rian church leaders in 1958 to Southern Baptist missionaries,

²⁵³ Oliver, op. cit., p. 171; R. Macpherson, The Presbyterian Church in Kenya, p. 25.

²⁵⁴Oliver, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., p. 239.

²⁵⁵ Burton L. Goddard, The Encyclopedia of Modern Christian Missions, p. 304.

²⁵⁶ Eliata Nko, Interview on Mount Meru near Arusha, Tanzania, May, 1971.

who decided not to accept them within their sphere of responsibility. The missionaries who came initially were under the auspices of the Africa Inland Mission, but were supported by the Peoples Church of Christ, New Britain, Connecticut. The group was considered a "faith mission" and also described as a "settler mission," similar to the industrial missions of Central Africa. With the passing of time the few remaining Europeans who had been in the Mission no longer assisted the churches or identified with them, and in 1946 the congregations united with the Presbyterian Church in East Africa. 260

In 1940 the Foreign Mission Board of the National Baptist Convention, U. S. A., Incorporated, announced that it was taking over a new mission project in Uganda. The person involved in the venture was Ernest B. Kalibala, who had begun the Aggrey Memorial School somewhere in Uganda in 1934 after receiving an education in the United States. He and his family returned to the United States prior to 1940, evidently seeking support for their concept that the education of Africans was the vital link in adequately projecting mission strategy. Kalibala wrote that "the

 $^{^{257}\}mathrm{A}$ conference at the Presbyterian Church at Kikuyu, Kenya, in which the writer participated in 1958.

²⁵⁸ Macpherson, op. cit., pp. 84-85.

²⁵⁹<u>Ibid</u>., p. 87. ²⁶⁰<u>Ibid</u>., pp. 90-91.

Mission Herald, 43:6, January-February, 1940, pp. 11-14.

missionaries should agree that one educated Christian African could serve the country better than five ill-prepared missionaries." He returned to Uganda in the fall of 1940, leaving behind an appeal for funds to assist in buildings, agricultural equipment, and scholarships for students at the two hundred acre school. No trace of the school or of Kalibala was uncovered.

²⁶²<u>Tbid</u>., 44:3, July-August, 1940, p. 11.

²⁶³<u>Ibid</u>., 44:4, September-October, 1940, p. 14.

CHAPTER III

SOUTHERN BAPTISTS 1950-1972

For a century Southern Baptists had been related to missionary activity in West Africa, with a primary emphasis on Nigeria. By the middle of this century, George W. Sadler wrote, "Some of us have felt that soon we should be reaching the saturation point in Nigeria so far as missionaries are concerned." With this prospect in mind, Sadler visited Eastern and Southern Africa in 1950 and again in 1956. The outcome of his recommendations following these visits was that Southern Baptist missionaries were located in all six of the countries included in this study.

Southern Baptists in Rhodesia

In early 1947, Sadler began receiving letters from Clyde Dotson, a missionary in Southern Rhodesia, asking that he be accepted for sponsorship under the Southern Baptist Foreign Mission Board. Several different options

p. 102. Hereafter cited as SBC Annual.

²Ira N. Patterson, <u>Continent in Commotion</u>, pp. 115, 148.

³Clyde Dotson, Letters to George W. Sadler, beginning May 24, 1947. This correspondence and the minutes and annual reports cited in this chapter are in the archives of the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention in Richmond, Virginia.

were mentioned by Dotson, but the one underlying principle which colored his thinking was that he and his wife "preferred work of a pioneer nature" so that they could fulfill their interest in "pushing out into the unreached areas."

Southern Baptist missionaries some twenty years previously but, because of the lack of funds during the depression, the missionary support potential of Southern Baptists was so crippled that they were refused appointment and had to seek service within the framework of an independent faith mission. Sometime in 1949, due at least partially to a doctrinal disagreement with the personnel of the Rusitu Mission in the eastern part of Southern Rhodesia where they were stationed at the time, Dotson felt led to resign and to begin working as an independent missionary. At about the same time a group of European Baptists at Gatooma, under the leadership of Cecyl Till, a layman, decided to begin a fellowship which held Sunday meetings in a local hall and prayer meetings in the homes of members during the

⁴Ibid., May 24, 1947.

⁵Clyde Dotson, Letter of June 24, 1971. The correspondence during 1971 and 1972 thus cited is addressed to the writer of this dissertation and is in his possession.

⁶Dotson, Letter to Sadler, November 19, 1949.

week. Dotson was called to be pastor of the struggling congregation of about fifteen in late 1949 and moved to Gatooma in December, assuming his duties on January 1.8 Cecyl Till's vision was such that the little group planned to erect a sanctuary to seat over two hundred even though they had only sixteen charter members when they organized.9

Because of his missionary orientation and his long contact with African people, Dotson was not satisfied with ministering only to the Europeans. Thus, even on the first Sunday at his new charge, he began to evidence the unlimited vision which was his, writing afterwards that,

Before long Dotson had six African services near Gatooma and was reaching out to Shabani, to Salisbury, and to Bulawayo. He made contact with two African men who became stalwarts in the churches for the next few years. Ndebele, one of the two, had been born of parents who had come from South Africa with J. F. Niebuhr and had been converted under him. Joseph Nyathi, the other, had worked with the Baptists in South Africa for many years and was

 $[\]frac{7}{\text{SBC}}$ Annual, 1951, p. 112. This report was written by Dotson.

^{8 &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>; Dotson, Letter to Sadler, November 19, 1949.

⁹Ibid. ¹⁰Dotson, Letter of June 24, 1971.

¹¹ Ibid.

seeking to find a mission group with which to be associated in Southern Rhodesia. 12

In July, 1950, Dotson's correspondence with George Sadler bore fruit when the Area Secretary visited Southern Rhodesia. He traveled in many parts of the country guided by Dotson and Ndebele, visiting such leaders as Guyton Thomas, Basil Medgett, and Maurice Darroll. The impression which Sadler got was a favorable one and he, in turn, was asked by the leaders to recommend that Southern Baptists join with South African Baptists in sharing the responsibility for the Baptist witness in the country. 14

The period of beginning. On September 15, 1950, the Foreign Mission Board voted at its meeting in Richmond, Virginia, "to accept responsibility for mission work in Rhodesia" and, moreover, "the Dotsons were appointed as contract workers in Southern Rhodesia in absentia." 15

Their designation was modified at a subsequent meeting and

June 24, 1971; Dotson, Letter to Sadler, October 14, 1950.

 $^{^{13} \}text{Dotson}, \text{ Letter to Sadler, May 30, 1950; } \underline{\text{SBC}} \text{ } \underline{\text{Annual}}, \underline{\text{loc. cit.}}$

¹⁴ SBC Annual, loc. cit.; W. H. Doke, Letter enclosed in a letter from Dotson to Sadler, March 3, 1950; Dotson, Letter to Sadler, October 14, 1950; Dotson, Letter of June 24, 1971.

¹⁵ Commission, XIII:10, November, 1950, p. 19; XIV:3, March, 1951, p. 24.

they were called "special appointees."16

In December, 1950, Ralph and Betty Bowlin were appointed as the second couple for Rhodesia. They left to join the Dotsons on April 24, 1951. 18

Dotson meanwhile engaged in a flurry of activity that was awesome in its extent. Writing in July, 1951, he mentioned seven different towns and cities where services were being conducted and listed seventeen different locations where preaching points had been started. 19

Dotson, a report came back to the Board that the Rimuka church in Gatooma was halfway completed, as was the one at Ngezi. Church buildings were started at Gwelo and Que Que, and plans for new buildings were under consideration at Bulawayo, Salisbury, and Umtali. In addition, Dotson acquired a large tract of land at the edge of the Sanyati Reserve in 1951 which he had requested the previous year, and was spending much of his time there, living under a tree for three months and sleeping in a hammock. His aim was to construct a temporary mission residence of poles and

¹⁶Commission, XIV:3, March, 1951, p. 29.

¹⁷SBC Annual, op. cit., p. 180.

¹⁸ Commission, op. cit., p. 24; SBC Annual, 1952, p. 190.

¹⁹Dotson, Letter to Sadler, January 16, 1951.

²⁰Commission, XIV:7, July, 1951, p. 23.

mud, and a seven room school building to be used as a central primary school for the area. 21 Dotson moved to Sanyati just as soon as the Bowlins arrived in Southern Rhodesia to assist him. 22

By the end of 1951 the pattern of mission work for Southern Baptists was set, with the Rhodesian Baptist Association relating to the Lambaland Mission in Northern Rhodesia and to the European and Colored churches in Southern Rhodesia, while Southern Baptist missionaries concentrated their efforts among the African population of Southern Rhodesia. 23

Such was the activity of the two families that by the end of 1951 Dotson could report that "we have regular services in every town of any size in Southern Rhodesia, except Umtali, and we plan on opening work there next year." He continued in his report to state that the Rimuka church building at Gatooma had been dedicated in November and fifteen had been baptized there, churches had been organized at Bulawayo and at Salisbury, and groups were meeting at Shabani, Selukwe, Mashaba, and Que Que. 25 All of this was accomplished while Dotson was living at

Dotson; Letter to Sadler, November 7, 1950; Dotson, Letter of June 24, 1971; SBC Annual, op. cit., p. 108; Commission, loc. cit.

²²Ralph Bowlin, Letter to Sadler, November 10, 1951.

²³Dotson, Letter to Sadler, September 12, 1951.

²⁴_{SCB} Annual, 1952, p. 108. ²⁵<u>Ibid</u>.

Sanyati where fifty professions of faith were also recorded. At the same time the report contained an appeal for Southern Baptists to make possible the most urgent need, "a properly equipped and staffed Bible seminary," as well as a hospital, since there was none nearer than Gatooma. 27

At the end of 1951 the two families interchanged residences, with the Bowlins going to Sanyati to take up the work of the central primary school and the opening of outschools and preaching points in the reserve, while the Dotsons returned to Gatooma to live. Shortly after Bowlin moved to Sanyati he desperately tried to get a woman who was suffering in childbirth to the hospital at Gatooma. After spending hours wading through mud, they finally got her to the mission truck and started from Sanyati to Gatooma. That evening, Sunday, they were stuck in the mud about fifteen miles from Sanyati and had to send word on Monday morning to Gatooma for help to come. When Dotson arrived on Tuesday morning, he found that the woman had died the previous day in childbirth. They buried the woman there by the side of the road and later he wrote: "We got down on our knees, and prayed the Lord to send us a doctor and to make possible a hospital, so our people would not die like that."28

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²⁸Dotson, Letter of June 24, 1971, <u>SBC Annual</u>, 1953, p. 114.

The response to this appeal was such that by February, 1952, the Foreign Mission Board reported that funds had been released from the Lottie Moon Christmas offering of 1950 for the building and equipping of a small hospital on the Sanyati Reserve. The following month the first of the medical staff, Monda Marlar, was appointed and left shortly for Rhodesia and Sanyati. 30

The development of Sanyati continued rapidly, for by the end of 1952 the group could report that the new, fifty bed hospital was half completed under the supervision of Ralph Bowlin and a new mission residence was finished, while the central primary school was in operation with all seven rooms filled. During this period correspondence was conducted with two medical mission volunteers, Giles and Wana Ann Fort, about the prospects of service at Sanyati. The Forts were appointed in October, 1952, and arrived just a few days before mission meeting in April, 1953. The hospital buildings were dedicated on Christmas

Foreign Mission Board Press Release, February 15, 1952. (Hereafter cited as Press Release).

³⁰ Press Release, March 14, 1952; SBC Annual, 1953, p. 115.

³¹SBC Annual, 1953, p. 115.

³² Dotson, Letter to Sadler, October 11, 1951.

³³Commission, XVII:2, February, 1954, p. 15.

day of the same year. 34

Meanwhile other aspects of missionary activity prospered as well. Reports to the Board in early 1953 mentioned five organized churches, the central primary school at Sanyati and five outschools averaging fifty pupils each. 35 The school system was to develop leaders for the years to come. Isaac J. Chigede, President of the Rhodesian Baptist Convention in 1972, was one of the future leaders who were to make their way there. He had to come from Zvimbo, one hundred and thirty-five miles away. 36 Much of the detail in the organizing and conducting of primary schools in the Sanyati Reserve became the task of Mary Brooner, who was appointed in April, 1952, and who served for many years at the Sanyati station. 37

By the end of 1952 the Mission had grown substantially. The Eugene Kratzes were in Gatooma and the David Lockards were in Bulawayo. The Mission had managed to purchase a plot in Harare Township in Salisbury for the

 $^{^{34}}$ Minutes of the Rhodesian Mission of the Southern Baptist Convention, December 22-23, 1953. Hereafter cited as Rhodesia, <u>Mission Minutes</u>.

³⁵ Press Release, February 13, 1953.

 $^{^{36}}$ Isaac J. Chigede, Letter from Salisbury, Rhodesia, December 29, 1972.

^{37&}lt;sub>SBC</sub> Annual, 1953, p. 115; Commission, XV:6, June, 1952, p. 27.

³⁸ SBC Annual, loc. cit.; Dotson, Letter to Sadler, September 17, 1952.

growing congregation of about one hundred and forty who were attending services in a schoolroom. ³⁹ Gatooma had four congregations in the process of organizing and also claimed two schools which the Kratzes supervised. ⁴⁰ The Mzilikazi Church, with Bernhard Muzananhamo as pastor, was worshiping in their new building in Bulawayo. ⁴¹

The church at Sanyati was also growing under the leadership of Ralph Bowlin and reported more than two hundred professions of faith in six months time, partly as a result of its ministry to the central primary school. 42 Samuel Dgoma was the evangelist working among the predominantly Nyanja congregation at Que Que; Joseph Moyana was with the congregation at Shabani; and Joseph Nyathi was at Gwelo with fifty-nine members in the church and with eight preaching points. 43

One of the most unusual developments was the six week visit in 1952 to Rhodesia of J. T. Ayorinde and his wife, who was the President of the Baptist Woman's Union of Africa. The couple made a tremendous impact upon the churches, but the most lasting effect was the impetus given

³⁹ SBC Annual, loc. cit.; Dotson, Letter to Sadler, November 25, 1952.

⁴⁰ SBC Annual, loc. cit.

⁴¹Commission, XVI:5, May, 1953, p. 8.

^{42&}lt;sub>SBC</sub> Annual, loc. cit.

^{43&}lt;sub>Ibid</sub>.

to the establishment of a vital woman's organization in the Baptist churches of Rhodesia. 44

In the beginning period the dominant role was played by Dotson, in lieu of a mission organization. Most of the decisions relative to both funds and plans were conducted by personal correspondence with Richmond. The missionaries, in their report to the Foreign Mission Board at the end of 1952, listed five organized churches with a membership of 204, sixty-five baptisms, six schools with 538 pupils, three ordained and seventeen lay pastors, and 105 members of the woman's organization. 45

Dotson planned his furlough in late 1952, leaving ten new missionaries to continue the diversified, infant mission program. The group of missionaries met at Sanyati in April, 1953, to plan for a constitution and for formal organization of what they called the Rhodesian Mission of the Southern Baptist Convention. They met again in Gatooma in August and elected officers. Ralph Bowlin was chosen as Chairman and Gene Kratz as Treasurer. One important item that came up for discussion in April was the plan for a Bible school. Dotson had been seeking land

^{44&}lt;u>Ibid</u>. 45<u>Ibid</u>., pp. 182-186.

 $^{^{46}}$ Dotson, Letter to Sadler, September 17, 1952.

 $^{^{47}}$ Rhodesia, Mission Minutes, April 22-23, 1953; SBC Annual, 1954, p. 115.

⁴⁸ Rhodesia, <u>Mission Minutes</u>, August 17-23, 1953; <u>SBC Annual</u>, <u>loc. cit.</u>

for the school near Salisbury, but the new missionaries changed the plan and scheduled the opening of a Bible School in 1954 at Sanyati. 49

The Rhodesian Baptist Mission. At the August meeting of the Mission in Gatooma, the name of the group was changed to the Rhodesian Baptist Mission since Dotson had written that this was the name which he had used in registration with the government. When a further meeting was held in Sanyati in December in conjunction with the formal opening of the hospital, Dotson had returned and all twelve of the missionaries participated in the approval of the constitution. 51

The year 1953 was one of continued growth. The central primary school at Sanyati had its first graduating class of eighth grade students, and had a total student body of two hundred and fifty. The Mission found some sort of division necessary because of the growth, so three districts were set up following tribal boundaries. The Southern District was among the Ndebele people, with Bulawayo as the hub under Bernhard Musanenhamo, and with

⁴⁹ Rhodesia, <u>Mission</u> <u>Minutes</u>, April 22-23, 1953.

⁵⁰Dotson, Letter to Sadler, August 31, 1953.

⁵¹ Rhodesia, <u>Mission Minutes</u>, December 22-23, 1953.

⁵² SBC Annual, 1953, p. 115; Press Release, February 13, 1953.

^{53&}lt;sub>SBC</sub> Annual, op. cit., p. 116.

Shabani under Joseph Moyana. This area also included Gwelo. The Central District was based on Gatooma, and since no new missionaries were appointed in 1953, the work there much of the time was under the supervision of the African evangelist, Aaron Ndlovu, aided by members of the European church. The Kratzes moved to Sanyati in March and Dotson did not return to Gatooma until the end of the year. This area, mostly Shona speaking, included the churches at Que Que and Salisbury. The Sanyati District was the third and was tied to the mission station and the church located within its boundaries. 55

The first Woman's Missionary Union convention was held in October, 1953, with sixty-five women present, meeting at the Mzilikazi Baptist Church in Bulawayo. The church leaders also expressed a desire to meet together for fellowship and planning, so the missionaries arranged for the first African Baptist convention meeting to take place in Gwelo in September. 57

With the coming of new missionaries, the John Cheynes, the Gerald Harveys, and with the appointment of the William Westers and the Sam Jones, as well as the transfer of the Marvin Garretts from Nigeria, changes were in order. In September, 1954, Dotson moved to Salisbury,

⁵⁴ Ibid. 55 Ibid.

^{56&}lt;u>Tbid.</u>, p. 115; <u>Commission</u>, XVII:2, February, 1954, p. 8.

^{57&}lt;sub>SBC</sub> Annual, loc. cit.

leaving Gatooma, Bulawayo, Gwelo, and Sanyati to the newer missionaries. 58

Plans for the new African Baptist Seminary came into consideration again at a meeting called in May, 1954, where three decisions were recorded. 59 The first was to locate the institution at Travellers Rest Farm, about ten miles outside of Gwelo, where the Mission had obtained about one hundred acres of property. The second was that the Lockards and the Bowlins were to share the responsibility for operating the school. The third was to set January, 1955, as the target date for accepting students and beginning classes. At the same meeting, with the impending furlough of the Bowlins, Lockard was elected Chairman of the Mission and Kratz was named Treasurer. Lockards were able to move to Gwelo in October in order to be ready for the Seminary to open in January as planned. In the shuffle of personnel the Cheynes moved to Gatooma and the Harveys relieved the Lockards at Bulawavo. 60

During this year, the missionaries worked out a carefully balanced system of grading for pastors, including a centralized method of equal subsidization of salaries and allowances complete with salary scales and terms of

 $^{^{58}}$ Dotson, Letter to Sadler, November 12, 1954.

⁵⁹Rhodesia, Mission Minutes, May 10-11, 1954.

⁶⁰ Gerald Harvey, Letter to Sadler, October 9, 1954.

service.61

The death of Joseph Nyathi in Gwelo was a loss to the Mission because of his experience with the missionaries since the beginning. 62 Dotson also had to attempt to revive the Salisbury church because the resignation of D. Muyambo in November, 1953, had handicapped the congregation. 63

Even as Dotson went to Salisbury, his eyes were still cast towards the rural areas with the restless nature of his personality, and the Secretary noted at a meeting that, "Brother Dotson interjected the fact that he and his family should go to Nyasaland, and [that] this decision rested with the board. Someone will be needed to replace them, . . . "⁶⁴ With this goal in mind, he and Giles Fort had gotten Sadler's permission and made a trip to Nyasaland in July, 1954, with Henry Nyekanyeka and Samuel Ngomo. 65

By May, 1954, Dotson began to receive letters from a Chief Chilipa of Chimwala village near Fort Johnston, and the men visited him on the trip. 66 The correspondence from Chilipa continued at intervals and kept before the Mission

⁶¹ Rhodesia, Mission Minutes, December 12-14, 1954.

⁶²SBC Annual, 1955, p. 121.

⁶³Dotson, Letter to Sadler, November 12, 1954.

⁶⁴Rhodesia, <u>Mission Minutes</u>, March 25, 1955.

^{65&}quot;History of the Baptist Mission of Central Africa (Rhodesia), 1950-56," (unpublished manuscript), p. 15; Commission, XVIII:3, March, 1955, p. 21.

⁶⁶ Dotson, Letter to Sadler, May 31, 1954.

the prospect of an expanded missionary program into other parts of the proposed Central African Federation.

On March 26, the day following Dotson's statement about moving to Nyasaland, his wife was struck by a car and killed, while she was riding a motor scooter in . Salisbury. The missionaries helped him with the children, first at his home and later by taking them into their own homes for a period of several months, while Dotson was making plans for the future. 68

Dotson desperately wanted to move away from Salisbury and asked the Mission to transfer him by the end of the year. He was willing to go to Nyasaland, or to the Gokwe Reserve west of Sanyati, which was even more isolated. The Mission asked him to go to Umtali instead, even though at first they acceded to his request at an earlier meeting and assigned him to Gokwe. He moved to Umtali in September, staying with Andrew van den Aardweg, pastor of the European Baptist Fellowship. To

Dotson remained at Umtali until the end of 1956, starting a church at Sakubva and at Pinto in a farm school,

Rhodesia, <u>Mission Minutes</u>, March 28, 1955; <u>Press</u> Release, March 28, 1955.

Rhodesia, <u>Mission Minutes</u>, <u>loc</u>. <u>cit</u>.; Dotson, Letter to Sadler, May 24, 1955.

⁶⁹Rhodesia, <u>Mission Minutes</u>, June 11, 1955.

⁷⁰ Dotson, Letters to Sadler, June 15; September 3, 1955.

as well as one among the Colored people in Umtali called the Florida Baptist Church. As he set his furlough date, he wrote that, if the DeBords did not arrive at Umtali as planned, he might stay over. At the same time he requested that he be allowed to go into Northern Rhodesia if the Mission decided to move in that direction because he was familiar with the European Baptist leaders there. 72

During this time the rest of the mission activity continued to develop. The Seminary was opened in February, 1955, with a class of eleven men. Two courses of study were projected, two years in a vernacular language and three in English. The following February, when the school accepted a second class of eight, seven of the first class returned, and five wives also applied for classes. By the end of 1956 the first two students in the two year vernacular class had completed their studies and had gone into churches as pastors. To

On April 3, 1956, George Sadler reported that "there is a likelihood that the Southern Baptist Mission in Southern Rhodesia will expand into Northern Rhodesia and

⁷¹ Ibi<u>d</u>., January 9, 1956.

⁷²<u>Ibid</u>., May 1; August 20, 1956.

^{73 &}lt;u>Commission</u>, XVIII:6, June, 1955; pp. 16-17, 32.

 $[\]sqrt[7]{4}$ Ibid., XX:5, May, 1957, p. 22; XXI:6, June, 1958,

⁷⁵<u>SBC</u> <u>Annual</u>, 1957, p. 128.

Nyasaland."⁷⁶ At the previous mission meeting in June, the body had recommended that, in the light of the recent political federation, they should have a witness in all areas and that a committee should go to contact both the government agencies involved and the European Baptists now at work, especially in Northern Rhodesia.⁷⁷ Sadler was asked for both the authority and the funds for the trip, and by August he had responded that he approved the idea and would find the funds necessary.⁷⁸

The Mission chose Clyde Dotson, Bill Wester, and Gerald Harvey to make the trip. The team decided to wait until May, 1956, because of the time necessary for adequate planning. They also decided to include two African leaders, Lazarus Green Malunga and Jeremiah. The five men visited Luanshya, Chingola, Bancroft Mine, Mufulira, Kitwe, Fort Rosebery, Kasama, Abercorn, Tunduma, Lilongwe, Fort Johnston, and Blantyre, and upon their return recommended that missionaries should be sent to both Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Northern Rhodesia seemed to them the more urgent field, so they suggested that a missionary and an African pastor be located in Kitwe, and then in other towns

⁷⁶ Press Release, April 3, 1956.

⁷⁷ Rhodesia, <u>Mission</u> <u>Minutes</u>, June 11, 1955.

⁷⁸<u>Ibid.</u>, August 27-31, 1955.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Rhodesia, <u>Mission</u> <u>Minutes</u>, July 6-9, 1956.

as the work grew.81

Before sending the committee the Mission had decided to contact the European Baptists in Southern Rhodesia and to discuss the matter with them because several of their number were in Ndola and also because of their relationship to South African Baptists and the Lambaland Mission. The committee also visited the Lambaland missionaries on the trip and sought to work out locations that would not conflict with the Baptist development already planned for the mines and the towns. 83

The Mission accepted the recommendation that personnel go to Kitwe and the Copperbelt and voted that the Nyasaland project be "kept in prayer" until a later time. 84 The Gerald Harveys were asked to go to Northern Rhodesia upon their return from furlough in 1958. Before the end of 1956 the Mission requested seven new couples in order to free some of the missionaries on the field for entering the new work. 86

Clyde Dotson wrote while on furlough asking again for permission to go into Nyasaland, but he was reassigned

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸²Ibid., June 11, 1955; July 6-9, 1956.

⁸³Ibid., July 6-9, 1956.

⁸⁴ Ibid. 85 Ibid.

 $^{^{86}\}text{Minutes}$ of the Executive Committee of the Rhodesian Mission of the Southern Baptist Convention, September 14, 1956. (Hereafter cited as Rhodesia, <u>E.C.</u> Minutes).

to Umtali for his next term of service. At the same time

John Cheyne requested that he be considered for the

Nyasaland project and was given permission to visit

Blantyre on his way home on furlough in order to make plans

for taking up his residence there and for studying Nyanja.

87

The Baptist Mission of Central Africa. In July, 1957, the Mission changed its name to the Baptist Mission of Central Africa, so as to include the missionaries going into the two new countries. However, early in 1958 the Mission reversed its decision to send the missionaries, having been discouraged by H. Cornell Goerner, the new Area Secretary. The Carrolls and DeBords who had been assigned temporarily to Southern Rhodesia, while waiting to enter into the new Southern Baptist field of East Africa, did not take up their assigned places of responsibility. The Mission had too few new appointees to allow for expansion without leaving existing stations unmanned, so they voted to cancel the plan to send the Harveys and Cheynes to new areas and reassigned them. 90

The matter was still under consideration at the 1958 mission meeting and, at a called Executive Committee meeting in February, 1959, the Personnel Committee was

⁸⁷ Rhodesia, Mission Minutes, July 5-8, 1957.

^{88 &}lt;u>Tbid.</u>; Rhodesia, <u>E.C. Minutes</u>, April 11, 1957.

⁸⁹ Rhodesia, E.C. Minutes, February 15, 1958.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

requested by the LeRoy Albrights that they be allowed to study Nyanja and that, after one term of service in Southern Rhodesia, they go to Nyasaland. Finally, at mission meeting in July, 1959, the Albrights and the Westers expressed their strong sense of call to Nyasaland, so the Mission agreed to their going and planned a special service for setting apart the two couples for the ministry in the new country. At an Executive Committee meeting in August, 1959, the Mission also responded to correspondence from the Tom Smalls, who were on furlough at the time, in which he told of a definite leading to Northern Rhodesia. A decision was made to assign the Smalls and the Zebedee Mosses, a new couple, to Kitwe in order for them to begin a study of the Bemba language.

Meanwhile, in September, 1957, Clyde Dotson had returned to Umtali, accompanied by his new wife, Ebbie Kilgo Dotson. However, she died in childbirth on January 24, 1958. Dotson was allowed by the Mission to move from the more mature work at Umtali and to begin afresh in the Gokwe Reserve across the Umnati River from Sanyati. He was able to make plans to have accommodation

^{91&}lt;u>Ibid</u>., February 27, 1959.

⁹² Rhodesia, <u>Mission</u> <u>Minutes</u>, June 25-July 5, 1959.

⁹³ Rhodesia, E.C. Minutes, August 19, 1959.

⁹⁴ Press Release, January 24, 1958; Commission, XXI:4, April, 1958, p. 24; SBC Annual, 1958, p. 137.

ready and begin in August, 1958.95

The Baptist Convention of Central Africa. Mention was made of the meeting in 1953 of the African leaders which was called a "convention." However, nothing formal or regular was planned. A growing awareness for the need of a change in relationships between missionaries and African leaders was developing. Thus, early in 1956 an evangelistic conference was planned which was to serve as an inspirational and promotional meeting for the pastors. As a part of the discussions the subject of this relationship arose. At the Mission meeting in July at Gwelo, a report from the conference was presented in the form of two questions which the pastors wanted the missionaries to answer. They were: "Can there be room for the African Pastor to attend the Mission Annual Conference?" and "As a group of Pastors, we would like to know whether we could have our annual conference if necessary?" Two missionaries were asked to meet with a committee of pastors to plan a pastors' conference and two pastors were invited to attend "certain sessions" of the 1957 annual meeting. 97

In July, 1957, at Sanyati, "Brother Noah Sithole and Brother Gibson Magaranombe were present at the Friday

^{95&}lt;sub>SBC</sub> Annual, 1958, p. 136.

^{96&}lt;sub>Rhodesia</sub>, <u>Mission Minutes</u>, July 6-9, 1956.

⁹⁷ History of the Baptist Mission, p. 21.

morning session and part of the Friday afternoon session as representatives of the African pastors." Noah Sithole and Lazarus Green Malunga were present in 1958 and participated in the annual meeting of the Mission. At the mission meeting in 1961 the African leaders were asking for "full delegates," rather than "observers" at the annual meetings, an indication of the heightened tension that was developing.

In January, 1960, the Evangelistic Workers Committee of the Mission presented a ten-year plan whereby all organized churches would become responsible for the salary of their pastors within that period. 101 The matter attracted little attention at the time either in the Mission or in the churches. When the representatives of the churches met for the evangelistic conference in 1962, they elected a seven member committee to meet on October 12, with John Cheyne as missionary advisor, in order to plan a constitution for a convention of the twenty-eight churches and one hundred preaching points that were involved. 102

A missionary, sensing the importance of the meeting in Gwelo, wrote:

⁹⁸ Rhodesia, Mission Minutes, July 5-8, 1957.

⁹⁹Ibid., July 10-17, 1958.

¹⁰⁰ Dotson, Letter to Cornell Goerner, August 9, 1961.

¹⁰¹ Rhodesia, E.C. Minutes, January 7-8, 1960.

¹⁰² Commission, XXV:9, September, 1962, p. 32; Press Release, March 7, 1963.

Messengers elected by the churches will arrive in Gwelo a month from today for the purpose of discussing a possible association of all our churches in some form of Baptist Convention. Certainly all of us here see the need for God's wisdom in this new undertaking. 103

Cheyne called the decision "the most important meeting with the African churches since the founding of the mission," and Cornell Goerner commented that this action, after less than fifteen years in Southern Rhodesia, had taken-over half a century to be achieved in Nigeria, and that the Baptist Mission of Central Africa was "deliberately fading into the background." 104

The Committee did its work well and prepared a model constitution to recommend to a meeting of church representatives on January 12-13, 1963, at which time the group formally organized, chose officers, and planned their first annual meeting, which was to be held in Gwelo July 6-9 in conjunction with the evangelistic conference. The officers elected at the January meeting were: President, Abel Nziramasanga; Treasurer, Noah Sithole; General Secretary, John Cheyne; Adviser, Marvin L. Garrett.

At the meeting in July at Gwelo, the Convention

"asked the Central Africa Mission to release Cheyne from

Mission duties in order to devote full time to promotion

work in the Convention, expected increasingly to take over

¹⁰³ Herbert Neely, Letter to Goerner, August 1, 1962.

¹⁰⁴ Commission, loc. cit.

¹⁰⁵ Press Release, February 15, 1963; July 30, 1963.

functions formerly performed by the Mission." They chose the name "Baptist Convention of Central Africa" so as to be able to include the churches that would develop in the newly opened areas of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia. Thirty-nine churches sent messengers to the sessions.

The missionaries hoped to use the opportunity for sharing in the decision making with the churches, and almost at once reports began to come to the Mission from a joint Church Extension Committee and also from a joint Publications Committee, which had considered the needs in literature facing the churches, after they had been elected by the two separate bodies. 109

Meanwhile the Mission's orientation towards the assumption of responsibility by the Convention was shown in their report to the Foreign Mission Board in 1963, which noted that:

In a significant step towards full self-support all Rhodesian pastors were made directly responsible to a local congregation, and any financial assistance on pastors' salaries granted from mission funds will be channeled through the local church, rather than being paid directly to the pastor. 110

^{106 &}lt;u>Commission</u>, XXVI:3, March, 1963, p. 27.

¹⁰⁷Ibid., p. 28.

¹⁰⁸Commission, XXVI:8, September, 1963, p. 31;
Press Release, July 30, 1963.

[&]quot;Book of Reports of the Baptist Mission of Rhodesia," 1964. (Hereafter cited as Book of Reports).

¹¹⁰SBC <u>Annual</u>, 1963, p. 144.

The Mission reported again two years later that:

A plan of subsidy reduction within the churches moved into its second year. Under this plan, financial assistance from the mission will be gradually reduced until all churches become entirely responsible for local expenses including the pastor's salary, within a ten year period. 111

As the Convention gathered for its meeting at Gwelo in July, 1964, the address by Abel Nziramasanga contained a bitter complaint that, "whereas we have had showers of blessing in the past, today we are having showers of To the one hundred representatives from fortyfour churches this comment not only referred to the political tension caused by the breakup of the Federation, and to the division of the Mission, and hence the churches, into national groups, but primarily to an awareness of the full impact of the ten-year plan. Thus, in the deliberations of the Convention's Executive Committee, the hostility of the pastors became so evident that the Mission's report mentioned an attitude of non-cooperation and noted that basic issue was the mission's policy of subsidy reduction and insistence that the churches gradually become selfsupporting." 113 Yet the Convention was still able to function to the extent of approving a resolution to send a home missionary when plans could be worked out and also one

¹¹¹ SBC Annual, 1965, pp. 143-44.

¹¹² Commission, XXVII:9, September, 1964, p. 31.

^{113&}lt;sub>SBC</sub> Annual, 1966, p. 147.

to plan for a program of youth work in the African high schools. $^{114}\,$

The disaffection became more pronounced, as two decisions made by the Convention's Executive Committee showed. The Committee resolved "that the ten year program which was imposed upon the churches should be withdrawn forthwith." 115 They continued by insisting that "Foreign Mission Board funds are not to be distributed to other organizations without consulting the convention." The Executive Committee was unable to find a way to satisfy the pastors and at the meeting got a vote of no confidence in its attempts to solve the crisis and was voted out of office. The new officers and Executive Committee considered the possibility of having only one missionary advisor for the Convention, with the local urban ministry being turned completely over to the pastors. The missionaries would be asked to carry out rural expansion, to serve as educational and medical staff and, at least for the time being, to remain in the Seminary and in publications. 116

The 1965 evangelistic conference was canceled and the Convention had to arrange its meetings without the Mission subsidy which had helped in their travel expenses, and for this reason they were poorly attended. 117

¹¹⁴Baptist World, 12:2, February, 1965, p. 6.

¹¹⁵ Book of Reports, 1965.

^{116&}lt;u>Ibid</u>. 117<u>Ibid</u>., 1966.

The Mission Chairman commented in his report to the Mission in 1966 that:

The Rugare Baptist Church, the home of two of the Convention's main leaders, having failed to get the approval of the Church Extension Committee for a subsidy for their pastor, had two law firms write letters to the Mission asking for "back subsidy" as well as current month-by-month subsidy for their pastor. This had been an unpleasant matter which finally seems to have been dropped by the Church's lawyers.118

Virtually all communication broke down, but the Mission continued to carry out the ten-year plan. Finally after two years the Convention met in strength again in July, 1966, and elected a new slate of officers, who asked the missionaries to plan "with them and not for them." 119

The salvation of the relationship between the Convention and the Mission was found in several areas of activity. The first was that plans had been made for an evangelistic conference in May, 1966, for both missionary and African leadership in the countries of East and Central Africa, at Limuru, Kenya. The newly elected officers of the Convention who desired to find new avenues of cooperation were chosen to represent that body and in this way had an opportunity to participate with African leaders of the five other countries, whose experience modified their attitudes. 120

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹Ibid., 1967.

¹²⁰ Evangelism Conference Baptist Churches of East and Central Africa, May 23-27, 1966, Limuru, Kenya.

The second was that, as an outcome of the conference, a simultaneous evangelistic crusade was projected for 1968 in Rhodesia. The African and missionary leaders became involved in the planning of the crusade. Another evangelistic conference was held in Gwelo, July 9-11, 1967, which helped "to promote the spirit of worship and fellowship of the churches which make up the Baptist Convention of Central Africa."

A third was that the Mission planned a refresher course and consultation in December, 1968, to which all graduates of the Seminary were invited. Sixteen pastors and six missionaries spent this time together in close fellowship. Also, some of the missionaries realized that a lack of fellowship with the African leaders had contributed to the situation and began to plan specific times for prayer and fellowship with the pastors week by week. Finally, an emphasis on developing the associations strengthened the local fellowship and built self-reliance which had heretofore been emphasized only on a national basis relating to the entire Mission and Convention.

The revivals that were the result of the deepening fellowship and the local participation led to twenty-eight

¹²¹ Book of Reports, 1967.

^{122 &}lt;u>Ibid</u>. 123 <u>Ibid</u>.

¹²⁴ Ibid., 1967; 1968.

hundred professions of faith and over one thousand rededications in the more than sixty churches and preaching points that participated. 125

The breach in fellowship also caused several of the missionaries to become active in special tasks that were to have long range effects, such as the development of the radio ministry, involvement in the bookstore ministry, planning for the institution of the Bible Way Correspondence Course, and projecting utilization of African-oriented visual aids. 126

"During 1970 the Convention E.C. and the Baptist Mission agreed to set up joint committees to work out goals" for the churches, and also decided to have a legal constitution, so the Convention employed a lawyer to assist in writing one. 127 They also planned a program of intensive evangelism for 1971 and 1972 in which leaders, both African and missionary, came from all parts of the country, lived and worked together. In 1971, Mhandoro in Gatooma and Tofara Township in Salisbury were the two places chosen and in 1972 three were held, at Karoi, Bulawayo, and Gokwe. 128 For these meetings "different assignments were

¹²⁵Ib<u>id</u>., 1968.

^{126&}lt;sub>Tbid</sub>. 127_{Ibid}., 1971.

^{128 &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, 1972; "Pastoral Leadership Training Among Baptist Churches in East and Central Africa," (Report of a conference for Southern Baptist Missionary Representatives, Limuru, Kenya, January 7-12, 1972).

given such as visitation, Bible study, preaching-hour, counseling, follow-up, and convert training." 129

Finally, the President of the Convention in 1972 was able to report that "although the Convention and the Mission move on parallel lines the creation of joint committees has apparently narrowed the gap between the two distinct bodies."

Baptist Mission of Rhodesia. Two events showed the missionaries the wisdom of changing their name back to the Baptist Mission of Rhodesia at mission meeting at Gwelo, in May, 1968. The first was the dissolution of the Mission in order to form three missions at the mission meeting in May, 1964. The second was that the government of Rhodesia proclaimed a unilateral declaration of independence which came into effect in 1966. In the light of these, as the Mission developed its ministry, the contacts with those who had moved to Zambia and Malawi came to be minimal.

1. The Baptist Seminary. During these years the development of the Seminary had continued, following the second graduating class in December, 1957, when four men completed the first three-year English course. Counting the two who finished the vernacular class only six of the

^{129 &}lt;u>Ibid.</u> 130 <u>Book of Reports</u>, 1972.

¹³¹ Rhodesia, <u>Mission</u> <u>Minutes</u>, May 2-9, 1967.

¹³² Press Release, May 28, 1964.

^{133&}lt;u>Ibid</u>., November 12, 1965.

original twelve students completed their studies. 134

During 1958, English became the only language of instruction and eleven men and ten wives entered the Seminary, which was to be the largest single class for the next fifteen years. 135

Between 1958 and 1964 enrolment at the Seminary held firm and by the end of 1964, at the tenth anniversary, forty-one men and thirty-six wives had finished their studies. ¹³⁶ In 1964, with fifteen students enrolled, six came from Zambia, four from Malawi, and only five from the older, more established work in Rhodesia. ¹³⁷ The students traveled by bus and train on the weekends in all directions, going during one year to six major cities, eight mines, and two company compounds. ¹³⁸

During the time of tension, caused by the break in relationships between the Mission and the Convention, the decrease in subsidy for pastors, and the depressing atmosphere engendered by the unilateral declaration of independence, the size of the student body decreased markedly. The annual reports to the Foreign Mission Board

¹³⁴Commission, XXI:6, June, 1958, p. 20.

¹³⁵ David Lockard, Letter to Goerner, May 16, 1958.

¹³⁶ Commission, XXVII:12, December, 1964, p. 20.

¹³⁷ Book of Reports, 1964.

¹³⁸ Press Release, August 26, 1959.

in 1966, 1967, and 1968 listed six students each year. 139 However, in the report to the Mission during these years the number was even less, for in 1967 and 1968 only one student was mentioned and he was from Malawi. 140

Beginning in 1969, the attitude towards the Seminary began to change and the enrolment went up and the applications came regularly each year. In 1971, four men were graduated in the third year class, four were in the second year class, and seven were in the first year class making a total of eighteen, including wives. Additional students applied for the next class and, in 1972, the total enrolment was thirteen men and eight wives at the Seminary in Gwelo. Still the Seminary had no national staff and the student body came predominantly from the Shona speaking churches.

In addition to the ministry of the Seminary, a lay training program was initiated at Sessami, a part of Gokwe, with the attendance of ten men in 1967. The number rose to fourteen, to thirty-five, and to over seventy by 1971. 143 Participation had become nationwide with the lay preachers coming from five different areas for the two weeks of

^{139 &}lt;u>SBC</u> <u>Annual</u>, 1967, p. 209; 1968, p. 150; 1969, p. 140.

¹⁴⁰ Book of Reports, 1967; 1968.

¹⁴¹ Book of Reports, 1971. 142 Ibid., 1972.

^{143 &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>; "Pastoral Leadership Training."

simple instruction. Accommodation was arranged using a church building, and easily-constructed grass enclosures in which the men slept. The teaching, oriented to learning by example and by practice, was conducted in the neighborhood of the church which had been chosen each time. 144

2. Woman's Missionary Union. The development of the Woman's Missionary Union kept pace with that of the churches and its growth at times exceeded that of the churches on a nation-wide basis. Mention was made previously of the visit of J. T. Ayorinde and his wife, who was the President of the Baptist Woman's Union of Africa. After their visit, the women's program began to develop steadily, beginning with the annual meeting in 1953. The annual report at the end of that year mentioned active groups in a number of places and enumerated fourteen societies with a membership of 218, when the total membership of the churches was only 298. By the end of 1954 thirty-one organizations had been formed with a membership of 496, with the churches reporting 637 members, and at the Sanyati area meeting alone, over 100 women had participated. 146

By 1956, the missionary wives had started planning vernacular programs and the women had begun to develop

^{144 &}quot;Pastoral Leadership Training."

 $^{^{145}}$ SBC Annual, 1954, p. 184.

^{146&}lt;u>Tbid</u>., 1955, pp. 120, 184.

their own organization. 147 They had chosen a pastor's wife, Tabitha Ndhlovu, to represent them at the meeting of the Baptist Woman's Union of Africa at Ede, Nigeria. She returned home from Ede as the Secretary of that body. 148 The women reported a membership of 1313 in 1957, and the churches reported a membership of only 1008. 149 The following year Joan Nyathi and Mrs. Noah Sithole were chosen by the women to consult with the missionary wives in the preparation of the programs and also in the planning of the annual convention. 150 Ninety-nine of them met at the Rimuka Baptist Church in Gatooma for that annual session. African women presided at every session. At the 1958 meeting 148 African women and seventeen missionary wives met at the new camp grounds at Gwelo and at this meeting African women gave virtually all of the program. 151

At the meeting of the Baptist Woman's Union of Africa at Limuru, Kenya, in 1967, one of the Rhodesian women, Joan Nyathi, was chosen as the President for the years 1967-1972, and the Rhodesian women invited the group to come to their country in 1972 for the next meeting. 152

¹⁴⁷ Ibid:, p. 128.

¹⁴⁸ Commission, XIX:9, October, 1956, p. 35.

¹⁴⁹SBC Annual, 1958, pp. 201-02.

¹⁵⁰Commission, XX:9, October, 1957, p. 15.

¹⁵¹Commission, XXII:5, May, 1959, p. 17.

¹⁵² Book of Reports, 1968.

However, due to the political situation in Africa in 1972, the meeting place had to be changed to Malawi, although the women from Rhodesia still had the responsibility for planning the program and Joan Nyathi was present to preside at the meetings. 153

3. Baptist Publications. Virtually no mention was made in minutes of the Mission about the preparation or the utilization of printed materials in the development of the churches in Rhodesia in the beginning years. A note in Wana Ann Fort's summary presented to the Evangelism Conference at Limuru, Kenya, in 1966, noted that "each missionary started to mimeograph material for his own use until these efforts were centralized in 1957 through a Publications Committee." In fact, as late as February, 1957, Betty Bowlin reported:

The Sunday school has almost tripled its attendance this year, and an average of about eighty children meet out of doors for their class each Sunday. The children are given picture leaflets from the Southern Baptist Sunday School Board. The pastor's wife prints the memory verse in the vernacular language and pastes it on the leaflets. 155

However, in the same year, under the leadership of Ona Jones, the Mission Publications Committee began to coordinate the publishing of literature. Although no one

^{153&}lt;u>SBC</u> Annual, 1972, p. 144. <u>Baptist World</u>, 19:9, October, 1972, p. 4.

¹⁵⁴ Evangelism Conference, p. 29.

¹⁵⁵Commission, XX:2, February, 1957, p. 24.

was directly responsible for production at that time, the Mission reported:

Practically every missionary was called upon during the year to write Sunday school lessons . . . Typing, the cutting of stencils, and mimeographing are shared by the various missionaries . . . The lack of a publishing center has caused every missionary to have a heavier load. 156

By 1959 the Mission had begun to resort to commercial printing, but still the majority of the burden was an added responsibility for those who served on the Committee. 157 Finally, in 1960 the Logan Atnips were asked to give full time to publications, serving in offices located in the Rhodesian Christian Press building in Bulawayo. 158 This couple found that the materials were needed in four different languages and so were soon joined by a group of African translators. On February 7, 1961, a dedication service was held at new offices for the Rhodesian Christian Press, in conjunction with those of the Baptist Mission, for the Atnips were still using rented quarters from that press which was owned by two Baptist laymen from the Rhodes Street Baptist Church who still were printing the Mission's material. 159

¹⁵⁶SBC Annual, 1958, p. 138.

¹⁵⁷Ibid., 1959, p. 137.

^{158 &}lt;u>Commission</u>, XXIII:9, October, 1960, p. 14; <u>SBC</u> <u>Annual</u>, 1961, p. 169.

¹⁵⁹ Press Release, March 1, 1961; Commission, XXIV:6, June, 1961, p. 15.

The Baptist Publishing House was completed in June, 1967, just opposite the Rhodesian Christian Press, and the staff moved into the new facilities, although at that time the printing was done as previously. 160 African women had been helping in the planning of programs for the Woman's Missionary Union, but not until 1968 did the women plan a workshop for African writers to prepare them for assisting in the writing of programs for the churches. 161 Pastors and other African leaders were not involved in such a training conference until September, 1971, when a workshop was held on the subject. 162 The results were so exciting that the men who participated asked that the Mission plan an annual workshop to enable the African leaders to be more able to participate in this important aspect in the development of their churches.

4. Bible Way Correspondence Course. The Mission voted in 1967 to participate in the newly initiated Bible Way Correspondence Course in Zambia, but was not able to get someone assigned to take the responsibility until 1972. They also voted to take an active part in the program to share publication materials with the other missions in East and Central Africa that year, following

¹⁶⁰ Carroll Shaw, Letter to Goerner, November 24, 1967; Press Release, December 29, 1967; Book of Reports, 1968.

¹⁶¹ Press Release, October 29, 1968. 162 Ibid.

¹⁶³ Rhodesia, <u>E.C. Minutes</u>, November 6-7, 1967.

two conferences which were held in 1970 to plan for the coordination of the production of literature in East and Central Africa. 164

5. Baptist Bookstores. The Mission also became involved with the bookstore enterprise in an attempt to meet the need for the availability of the scriptures. Marian G. Fray began a Bible Book Center in Gwelo for the sale of religious books, in September, 1963, in cooperation with the Gwelo Baptist Association. 165 The building included a reading room and a place for personal conferences, which proved to be an asset to the staff in contacts which led to a spiritual ministry. 166 By the following year the Mission had given assent to the bookstore as an area for ministry, and the Eugene Milbys were engaged in full time utilization of this medium and wrote of their location as being "the only multiracial reading room in Gwelo."167 Then, in 1967 a small bookstore was opened in Plumtree in cooperation with the larger one at Gwelo, as a result of Herbert Neely's transfer to that town to begin any evangelistic ministry. 168 The two bookstores continued in operation through 1972 and, although several other

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ Commission, XXVI:8, September, 1963, p. 31.

¹⁶⁶SBC Annual, 1965, p. 131.

¹⁶⁷ Press Release, October 22, 1964.

¹⁶⁸SBC Annual, 1968, p. 143.

locations for such a project had been discussed, no others were started by the end of that year.

6. Education. In the early days of the Mission, primary education formed an important part of the program of development. The concept of mission work, especially in the reserve areas, was that each church should have its own school, with these schools managed from a central station. The pupils were to be fed into a central primary school in the higher grades. In the urban areas, the need for the Mission to operate its own central primary school was not as urgent, but still many times a congregation was developed in conjunction with a school. With this concept A in mind, one of the first tasks at hand after acquiring the station at Sanyati was to construct a seven room building for a central school, which facility was nearly completed by the end of 1951. The school soon became truly a central primary school, for during the year Dotson wrote that they had been given sites for eight krall schools and "spent Sundays going from one to the other, holding services under trees." Four of these krall schools were opened in 1952, with the others to be in operation by the following year. 171 The Mission had also opened a school in the church building at Gwelo in 1953, in

¹⁶⁹SBC Annual, 1952, p. 108.

¹⁷⁰ History of The Baptist Mission, p. 3.

¹⁷¹ Ibid., pp. 5-6.

addition to the Sanyati central school which had 202 enrolled, and five outschools with another 367 in attendance, and reported a total of nine schools with twenty-seven national teachers and over 700 pupils. 172

The first class was graduated from the central school in December, 1954, with formal graduation exercises. 173 Gene Kratz was serving as Principal at the time. Giles Fort gave the graduation address and the pupils put on a Christmas play as a part of the festivities. number of schools was up to twelve that year and the enrolment was nearly 1250, with schools located in all three districts. The demand for education was such that at Sanyati thirty-five students were turned away for each one that was accepted. 174 The number of schools continued to grow until a peak was reached in 1959 with twenty-seven schools and an enrolment of almost 3500 pupils. 175 a definite decision was made that the Mission would be no longer responsible for the urban schools, while still maintaining those in the reserve and in the mines or on the farms, with the result that only nineteen were operated by the Mission that year. After 1969 the numbers declined steadily. 176

In 1962 the Mission took a further step in

¹⁷²Ibid., p. 11. ¹⁷³<u>Ibid.</u>, p. 13.

¹⁷⁴<u>Tbid.</u>, p. 15. ¹⁷⁵<u>SBC</u> <u>Annual</u>, 1960, p. 135.

^{176&}lt;u>Tbid</u>., 1961, p. 167.

relinquishing their responsibility in education and agreed to continue managing only those schools which were in the reserve, bringing the number down to only fourteen. 177

However, in 1962, the Mission began planning for a secondary school at Sanyati, with a boarding department, setting a target date for 1966. Two missionary couples volunteered to teach in the school when it opened. 179

Meanwhile the Mission fortunately had given an African teacher, Michael Makosholo, a scholarship to Ouachita College in the United States in January, 1962. 180 He completed his studies and returned in time to become the Principal of the Sanyati Secondary School when the first class began early in 1966. 181 In 1967 the students at the Secondary School took their first examination which would allow them to study in a senior high school section. 182 While doubling the classes in this part of the school, in 1970 the Mission planned for two additional levels of instruction, with the students taking their first full high school examination at the end of 1972. 183 The Mission decided in 1972 that Sanyati Secondary School would remain

^{177&}lt;u>Ibid</u>., 1963, p. 145.

^{178 &}lt;u>Ibid</u>., 1964, p. 130. 179 <u>Ibid</u>.

^{180 &}lt;u>Ibid</u>., 1967, p. 200; <u>Commission</u>, XVIII:11, December, 1965, pp. 3-4.

^{181 &}lt;u>Tbid</u>. 182 <u>Book of Reports</u>, 1968.

^{183 &}lt;u>Ibid</u>., 1969.

a single stream of four classes and would expand no further. $^{184}\,$

One of the most immediate causes of relinquishing control of the primary schools by the Mission was the financial pressure of constant expansion. Also, increasingly the government wanted to take over supervision of mission schools wherever possible. 185 The Mission and, later, the Convention were asked to manage the schools for the Education Department, within the framework of community boards. This was shown in 1968 in the report that the schools in Gokwe had been handed over to community management, and that those in Sanyati were in the process of being turned over. 186 In this system either a missionary or a Baptist teacher many times had the responsibility for actually running the schools. During 1968, plans were made for turning over all primary schools to the government by the end of 1972, except the central school at Sanyati and the one on the seminary property at Gwelo. 187

7. Medical Activities. Sanyati Hospital was an integral part of the station's activities from the outset, as was previously mentioned, with the fifty bed hospital being dedicated at Christmas, 1953. When Clyde Dotson moved to Gokwe in 1958 to begin evangelistic activity in this new area, the Mission was aware that the hospital

^{.84&}lt;sub>Ibid.</sub>, 1972. 185_{Ibid}.

^{186&}lt;sub>Book</sub> of Reports, 1966. 187_{Ibid}., 1968

would be compelled to extend its ministry into this needy area. 188 Therefore, in 1959 the Mission reported the need for the enlargement of the hospital because of a rapid increase in the number of patients, noting that, "services of the hospital were extended across the river into the Gokwe reserve where periodic clinics are conducted, and more serious cases are brought into Sanyati." The first unit of an expanded program, a maternity building, was completed late in 1960, and construction was started on an extension to house a chapel and a waiting room, which was completed the following year. 190

A mobile medical clinic program was put into operation on a regular basis in 1963, which led to the Samuel Cannattas moving to Sessami to begin the program. 191 A further step in the mobile ministry was the introduction of the air service of the Missionary Aviation Fellowship in 1966, which added to its outreach by including the Tonga people in the Zambezi Valley, with five clinics being visited by air. 192 Effectiveness was increased still further when an airplane was given to the Mission and based

¹⁸⁸SBC Annual, 1958, p. 136.

¹⁸⁹SBC Annual, 1960, p. 137.

¹⁹⁰Ibid., 1961, p. 168; 1962, p. 136.

¹⁹¹<u>Ibid</u>., 1964, p. 130; 1965, p. 145; 1968, p. 202.

¹⁹² Press Release, June 10, 1965; Commission, XXVIII:4. April, 1965, p. 20.

at Sessami in June, 1970. 193

Meanwhile, the hospital had also continued to expand with the addition of an isolation building in 1965 and with the completion of a medical ward block, a dormitory for nurses and one for nurses aides, in August, 1970. 194

A seminary graduate, January Runganga, served as chaplain at the hospital in 1964. The next year a new pastor, Semwayo, was called to the position and served at the task through 1972, with a steady number of conversions of from seventy to ninety reported from year to year as a result of the hospital ministry. 196

During the period of tension between the Mission and the Convention missionaries were assigned to two other aspects of support ministry in Rhodesia. The first was in the development of a radio ministry. Sam Jones was asked in 1965 to give his time to the developing of this outreach in utilizing the time allocated to the Baptists for religious broadcasting on the non-English programs. 197 He was given permission to obtain special training on furlough in

¹⁹³ Book of Reports, 1970; Press Release, January 20, 1970.

^{194&}lt;u>Commission</u>, XVIII:8, September, 1965, p. 28; XXXII:3, March, 1971, pp. 8-11.

¹⁹⁵<u>Ibid.</u>, XVIII:1, January, 1965, pp. 22-23.

^{196&}lt;sub>Frances</sub> Greenway, Letter to Goerner, November 5, 1965.

¹⁹⁷SBC Annual, 1966, p. 146.

preparation for this task. Gerald Harvey was asked at the same time to assume responsibility for the production of visual aid materials for use in the churches. A studio or Baptist building was constructed in Salisbury for this purpose and was dedicated in 1967.

A summary of growth. The total development of the churches and their membership kept pace with the growth in the other aspects of Baptist life. In 1952, before the Mission was organized the number of members reported was 204 in five churches, which had sixty-five baptisms. 200 The number of churches, baptisms, and members rose dramatically during the years, as shown by a consideration of the growth in five year intervals in the following table:

Year	Churches	Points	Members	Baptisms	Offering
1952 ²⁰¹	5	2	204	65	\$100
1957 ²⁰²	17	63	1,008	521	\$1,050
1962 ²⁰³	37	66	2,787	524.	\$4,110
1967 ²⁰⁴	41	98	3,839	815	\$7,728
1972 ²⁰⁵	62	106	7,678	1,113	\$12,413

¹⁹⁸Ibid., 1968, p. 140.

¹⁹⁹ Book of Reports, 1965.

²⁰⁰SBC Annual, 1953, p. 182. ²⁰¹Ibid.

^{202&}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, 1958, p. 201. 203<u>Ibid.</u>, 1963, p. 250.

²⁰⁴Ibid., 1968, p. 148.

Figures submitted in the statistical table for December 31, 1972, to appear in the SBC Annual, 1973.

Even discounting the first few years because of obviously large percentages, the growth of these churches associated with the missionaries of the Southern Baptist Convention was still encouraging. The second five years produced a membership increase of over 175 percent; growth in the third period, even with the tension generated by the ten year program, was over 30 percent; and the last five years, with the renewed fellowship between Mission and Convention, showed an increase of 100 percent. Other important aspects of growth are the spread of the churches, which rose from five to sixty-two, in addition to the 106 preaching points, and also the increase in giving which more than tripled in the last decade of the study.

Southern Baptists in Malawi

The Southern Baptist Foreign Mission Board reported in early 1954 that George W. Sadler was to explore the possibilities of missionary work in Nyasaland as well as the three countries of East Africa. In July of the same year Clyde Dotson and Giles Fort from Southern Rhodesia, accompanied by Henry Nyekanyaka and Samuel Ngono, made a two week trip into the country, visiting Blantyre, Zomba, Fort Johnston, and Lilongwe, seeking to form a basis upon which to make recommendations for expansion into that part of Central Africa. The men recommended that as soon as

²⁰⁶ Press Release, January 8, 1954.

History of the Baptist Mission, p. 15.

possible a missionary couple be sent, and suggested that Fort Johnston was the most promising area. 208

In April, 1956, Sadler suggested that there was "a likelihood that the Southern Baptist Mission in Southern Rhodesia will expand into . . . Nyasaland," but that such development was dependent upon the enlarging of the missionary force in Central Africa. 209

Dotson's contact with Nyasaland kept him pressing the Mission for expansion in that direction and the occasion of his wife's death in 1955 led the Mission Secretary to relate that,

By the first of the year he would like to be freed to do pioneer work in either Nyasaland or Gokwe. He read a letter from a chief in one unreached area in Nyasaland requesting that "we come teach his people." 210

Under this stimulus, the Mission made further representation to Sadler about sending a committee to make a thorough study of the prospects both in Nyasaland and in Northern Rhodesia. 211

A team of five men, three missionaries and two Africans, made the trip in June and July, 1966, and

 $[\]frac{208}{\text{Ibid}}$. (Fort Johnston was renamed Mangoche in about 1970).

²⁰⁹ Press Release, April 3, 1956; Commission, XVIII:3, March, 1955, p. 21.

²¹⁰ Rhodesia, Mission Minutes, June 11, 1955.

Decisions which affected the work in Malawi were made by the one Mission until 1964. The change will be appropriately noted.

^{211 &}lt;u>Ibid</u>.

recommended expansion into Northern Rhodesia prior to entrance into Nyasaland, suggesting that Kitwe would be the place to start. While on furlough in 1957, Dotson wrote the Mission requesting again that he be assigned to Nyasaland upon his return to Africa; but the Mission decided that he should be located at a station in Southern Rhodesia instead. 213

In the meantime, at an Executive Committee meeting, John and Marie Cheyne requested that they be allowed to move to Nyasaland and that they have an opportunity on their way home on furlough to visit the country to make plans for the change; but a decision was postponed until the annual mission meeting in July. 214 At this meeting the Mission voted "that Nyasaland be placed on equal priority with Northern Rhodesia regarding entrance and personnel." They requested eight new couples for assignment to Central Africa, with a view to sending the Cheynes to Nyasaland upon their return from furlough, while asking Dotson to return to Umtali. At the same meeting the missionaries decided to change their name to the Baptist Mission of Central Africa, to take into account the proposed

²¹²<u>Ibid.</u>, July 6-9, 1956.

²¹³Rhodesia, <u>E.C.</u> <u>Minutes</u>, April 11, 1957.

²¹⁴ Ibid.

²¹⁵Rhodesia, <u>Mission</u> <u>Minutes</u>, July 5-8, 1957.

^{216&}lt;sub>Ibid</sub>.

expansion. 217

At a called mission meeting early in 1958 with Cornell Goerner, the new Area Secretary, the Mission realized that stations would be left unmanned at the expense of this new work and decided to postpone the expansion, reassigning the Cheynes to Southern Rhodesia. The vision of a new field was not lost even then, for at the annual meeting funds were requested for a house for missionaries in Nyasaland. 219

The period of beginning. LeRoy and Jean Albright, when they arrived in Southern Rhodesia, expressed a desire to study the Nyanja language so that, after a term in Southern Rhodesia, they could transfer into Nyasaland, to which they felt a specific call. By June, 1959, both the Albrights and William and Blanche Wester expressed a desire to move into Nyasaland. The Mission planned a special service to set them apart for this ministry, and at a business session requested funds for two residences and two preaching shelters for this new work, recommending that the four missionaries reside in Blantyre while engaging in language study. 221

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^{217 &}lt;u>Ibid</u>. 218 <u>Ibid</u>., February 15, 1958.

²¹⁹<u>Ibid</u>., July 10-17, 1958.

²²⁰ Rhodesia, <u>E.C. Minutes</u>, February 27, 1959.

²²¹ Rhodesia, <u>Mission</u> <u>Minutes</u>, June 25-July 4, 1959.

After October, 1959, the two families began sending their reports and prayer requests back to Southern Rhodesia. The Mission felt the necessity of helping them get established and so in April, 1960, sent the four missionaries of the Church Extension Committee to assist them in making plans for getting started following language study. The Mission in Southern Rhodesia continued to receive details of their progress as a part of its outreach through the annual meeting of 1964, although the statistics for church growth were separated in the reports to Richmond, Virginia, after 1962. 223

Prior to separation from the Mission in Southern Rhodesia and formal organization, the missionaries held at Limbe, December 18-20, 1963, what they called the "Nyasaland Area Meeting," with the Albrights, Kingsleys, Thomases, Tharpes, and Walkers attending. The Westers were at home on furlough at the time. The group planned to have separate executive committee meetings from then on, even though they planned to attend the 1964 mission meeting with the other missionaries in Gwelo. They tentatively elected Gene Kingsley as Chairman, Beverly, his wife, as

²²² Rhodesia, E.C. Minutes, January 7-8, 1960.

Rhodesia, <u>Book of Reports</u>, 1964; <u>SBC Annual</u>, 1963, p. 151.

²²⁴ Baptist Mission of Central Africa (Malawi), Minutes of December 18-20, 1963. Although the Mission was not yet formally organized, these minutes are included in their official minute books. Hereafter cited as Malawi, Mission Minutes.

Secretary, and nominated LeRoy Albright as "sub-treasurer." 225

The group called another Nyasaland Area Meeting on March 2, 1964, to meet with Cornell Goerner. Goerner reported that action to divide the Mission would be taken at the regular Foreign Mission Board meeting on April 15, 1964, to become effective January 1, 1965, and suggested that they send only token representation to the meeting in Gwelo. In addition, as a part of their reorganization, the group recommended that James and Charlotte Walker be allowed to move to Bulawayo to relieve the Atnips and to remain in the Mission in Southern Rhodesia. 227

The Baptist Mission of Central Africa (Malawi).

The organizational meeting was held in Blantyre, May 20-21, 1964. The Mission chose for its name the Baptist Mission of Central Africa (Nyasaland), and began planning the first mission meeting for July 24-25.

In May, 1964, following the dissolution of Federation, at the annual mission meeting in Gwelo, the Baptist Mission of Central Africa (Malawi) became a separate

 $^{^{225}}$ Malawi, <u>Mission</u> <u>Minutes</u>, December 18-20, 1963.

^{226&}lt;u>Ibid</u>., March 2, 1964. 227<u>Ibid</u>.

Tbid., May 20-21, 1964. Although the Mission chose to insert "Nyasaland" in the title at the meeting, all subsequent references were to "Malawi" instead, since the name was changed officially in July by the Government of Malawi.

entity. 229 The Westers had arrived back in the country and they, with the Albrights, Kingsleys, Thomases, and Tharpes, comprised the new Mission.

1. The development of churches. The first note of services held by this new Mission mentioned the Albrights beginning a Sunday school in their home in Blantyre in March, 1960. Worship services were started at the Chileka Airport, in the Soche Township, and in Magomero, all near Blantyre in 1961, and rapidly expanded to twelve different locations by 1963, although the reported membership was only forty-two. 231

The first church building to be completed was in January, 1962, at Ndalama, about thirty miles from Blantyre. The congregation was organized the following September. Thomasi Kachasu, who separated from an independent congregation when they accepted polygamous members, came to Bill Wester and asked him to help his people. 232

The missionaries made contact with other African leaders besides Kachasu and the Ndalama Church. Donald Kaduya had worked in Salisbury for several years and was an active member of one of the Baptist churches there.

²²⁹ Press Release, May 28, 1964; Commission, XXVII:6, June, 1964, p. 30.

²³⁰ Press Release, March 11, 1960.

²³¹SBC Annual, 1963, p. 150.

²³² Press Release, November 7, 1962; Commission, XXV:10, November, 1962, p. 9; Stephen Galatiya, Letter from Blantyre, Malawi, December 29, 1972.

When he returned in 1959 to the Chiradzulu District, not far from Blantyre, he asked Wester to help him to begin a congregation, becoming the first of a growing number of lay pastors in that area who associated with the Mission. 233 Contact was also made with Henry Nyekanyeka and another leader called Chimenya, in the Zomba District of the Palombe Valley, where a growing association of churches developed which would lead eventually to the Westers' being assigned to Zomba. 234

The Kingsleys, after finishing their formal language study in September, 1961, began a multiracial, bilingual fellowship in Limbe, enlisting among others John Nyerenda, who was a convert from the Baptist Center in Dar es Salaam, Tanganyika. 235

Meanwhile, by the end of 1960 the Albrights had moved to Lilongwe in the Central Province of the country. ²³⁶ In early 1962, Albright had developed friendship with several rural congregations to the extent that he planned a short term lay pastors' "institute" for the leaders. ²³⁷ The classes were held in a rented building in Lilongwe and were attended by local leaders, joined by three men from

²³³ Evangelism Conference, p. 11. 234 Ibid.

²³⁵ Rhodesia, Annual Report, 1962.

²³⁶SBC Annual, 1961, p. 66.

²³⁷ SBC Annual, 1963, p. 146; Press Release, November 4, 1966.

Blantyre.²³⁸

The Mission, as they organized, remembered the tension, misunderstanding, and heartbreak caused by the tenyear subsidy reduction program in Southern Rhodesia and from the beginning decided to follow a policy of not subsidizing church programs and of limiting financial assistance to partial aid for church buildings and to establishing necessary institutions such as a Bible school and a publications office. 239

At one of the early meetings, a little group of believers from the Palombe Valley asked for financial support. After some discussion the decision was that, rather than grant money, two missionaries would conduct a two weeks' program of stewardship training in the churches of the area. 240

At about the same time the Mission received an inquiry from Stephen Galatiya, who was completing his studies at Gwelo at the end of 1965, asking for information about the way in which the Mission planned to employ him.

The group recorded that,

The matter was discussed but we could not feel that we had a place where we could use him for sure and we do not pay pastors. It was agreed that Bill Wester write a letter of assurance and encouragement. 241

^{238 &}quot;Pastoral Leadership Training."

²³⁹SBC Annual, 1965, p. 144.

 $^{^{240}}$ Malawi, <u>E.C.</u> <u>Minutes</u>, February 16, 1965.

²⁴¹ Ibid.

The matter was resolved in a practical way when the time approached, for the records show that in the fall of 1965 Galatiya was called to Limbe as the associate pastor of the multiracial congregation, supported largely by the tithes of the missionaries and the gifts of the other. European members of that fellowship. 242

2. Leadership training. The Bible School at Lilongwe, following the pattern set in the earlier attempts at leadership training, got its start in 1964 as a lay pastors' training center with the leaders brought in and maintained for several weeks, only one or two coming from each congregation because of the expense and the growing number of leaders involved. 243 The Mission requested funds for building permanent facilities for Bible School in Lilongwe and completed the first buildings by the end of 1965. 244 Sessions were started in the new school using short term courses of six to eight weeks "between crops" so that the farmers could attend classes. 245 The curriculum was simple, instruction was informal, and staffing was by various missionaries who left their own work for a week or two and taught courses of their own choice. 246

²⁴² Rhodesia, Annual Report, 1965.

²⁴³ Commission, XXVII:9, October, 1964, pp. 5-6.

²⁴⁴SBC Annual, 1966, p. 148.

^{245&}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, 1967, p. 200.

^{246 &}quot;Pastoral Leadership Training."

A second national leader, D. G. Makhaya, returned in 1965, after only one year at the Seminary in Gwelo, to become the pastor of the Lilongwe Baptist Church, where he had been located before going to Southern Rhodesia for his studies. He was employed to assist in translation work, and in various tasks associated with the Bible School to supplement the income which he received from the congregation.

A very unusual relationship was established in the Lilongwe area which was peculiar to Malawi and which opened an unexpected ministry to this Mission. In October, 1964, a meeting was held at which the Achewa Baptist Association was organized. Twelve churches with a membership of about 1,000, and with six preaching points, had been working together for many years in an unorganized fashion. The leader, Allen Kanakalamba, decided that the coming of the missionaries to Lilongwe gave his people an opportunity to seek help and so he requested Albright to be their "teacher and advisor," assisting in training leaders for the churches which had never been led by trained pastors. 249

The original leader, Peter Kalemba, had disagreed with Malekebu about his policy of collecting all of the local offerings at Chiradzulu each month for distribution and had

²⁴⁷ Evangelism Conference, p. 13.

²⁴⁸ Commission, XXVIII:4, April, 1965, p. 24; Rhodesia, Annual Report, 1965.

^{249 &}lt;u>Ibid</u>.

separated from the Providence Industrial Mission in the 1930s. Allen Kanakalamba was employed by Kalemba and inherited the churches on his mentor's death. The central church, pastored by Kanakalamba until his death in about 1969, was at Nyanje about ten miles from Lilongwe. When Kanakalamba died, a power struggle ensued which led to a division into three small groups of churches, each with its own leader.

Following the contacts made during Kanakalamba's lifetime, the missionaries continued to strengthen the relationship which had been established. The leaders participated in the classes in the Bible School, and were included in the leadership of the Baptist Convention of Malawi when it was organized in 1970.

3. The auxiliary ministries of the Mission. The completion of the first Bible School buildings also gave a base for the first attempt at publishing and printing for the Mission. In the early years a few tracts and lessons were ordered from Rhodesia, and occasionally from the Baptist Publishing House in Lusaka, Zambia, but the political barriers established by independence necessitated the use of locally produced literature. Therefore, in 1966 a small press was purchased and installed in the Bible School premises as a temporary expedient. A new, larger press

^{250 &}lt;u>Commission</u>, XXVIII:5, May, 1965, pp. 5-7.

²⁵¹SBC Annual, 1966, p. 148; 1967, p. 201.

was imported and put into operation at the Bible School in time for use in preparing materials for the evangelistic campaign in 1970.252

As a part of their literature program, the Mission voted to adopt the Bible Way Correspondence Course from Zambia and, before the end of 1964, began to investigate methods by which to proceed. 253 They decided to circulate the studies in the Chewa language, instead of using English copies as in Zambia. The group also concluded that, because of the poverty of the Malawians, the Mission would subsidize all costs for the courses. 254 An innovation planned for Malawi was the use of the Bible Way Course in intensive Bible study for leadership training on the local level. 255 However, supervision of the entire program was placed under the Publications Committee in Lilongwe in 1971. A modest charge was added in 1972 for all except the first book, "Who is Jesus?" 256

Another outreach of the Mission into this field, which preceded publishing, was the bookselling ministry. The sale of religious books was attempted in several

²⁵²<u>Ibid</u>., 1970, p. 119.

²⁵³ Malawi, <u>E.C.</u> <u>Minutes</u>, November 17, 1964.

²⁵⁴ Malawi, <u>Mission Minutes</u>, July 2-8, 1968. Chewa and the Nyanja used in Zambia were considered the same language until after independence.

²⁵⁵Malawi, <u>E.C. Minutes</u>, February 12-13, 1969.

²⁵⁶ Malawi, Mission Minutes, July 10-14, 1972.

different ways, which seemed at times to be a plan to support selected national leaders, while claiming not to subsidize pastors. The men were maintained in this manner at least partially with mission funds.

The first of the projects was a simple, yet successful, plan. In 1964 a local pastor was enabled to rent a stall in the local town market at Lilongwe and to buy a limited stock of Bibles and scripture portions. 257 The success of this venture was mentioned in reports for three consecutive years as giving opportunity for an evangelistic outreach in Lilongwe. 258

M. N. Phiri, one of the three leading pastors, wrote that when he served as pastor of the Soche Baptist Church in Blantyre in 1968, he "was helping Brother Davidson in his Bookshops distributing books to about four Bookshops."

Another of the three main leaders, Stephen Galatiya, noted that in 1968 at the beginning of the Mission's outreach into Chikwawa, southwest of Blantyre, "Bambo H. Sweet, a book seller in Blantyre, moved to the Chikwawa area to sell books and to help these people grow in the Lord."

Funds were requested to purchase property

²⁵⁷SBC Annual, 1965, p. 146.

²⁵⁸Ibid., 1968, p. 143.

²⁵⁹ M. N. Phiri, Letter from Mzuzu, Malawi, December 20, 1972.

²⁶⁰ Stephen Galatiya, Letter from Blantyre, Malawi, December 29, 1972.

and build more substantial bookshops in Salima, Ncheu, Limbe, Nkhota Kota, and Joli. ²⁶¹ Efforts were under way by the end of 1972 to centralize control of the bookshop ministry under the joint sponsorship of the Mission and the Convention. ²⁶² The buildings which were completed for this purpose were also used as centers for the distribution of literature to the churches and preaching points, and many times became gathering places for training sessions, serving as classrooms and accommodation for the leaders.

A Baptist Building was completed in Chichiri,
Blantyre, in April, 1961, to house several Mission projects. 263 The first activity requiring such a facility was presented in a request that came from the Vice-chancellor of the University of Malawi to the Mission regarding a ministry to the spiritual needs of the student body. The Mission, after considering the request, responded that,

We are interested to the point that we would be prepared to request that our Mission Board provide funds for the construction of a Student Building used for the spiritual welfare of the students 264

The Kingsleys agreed in August to accept responsibility for

²⁶¹ Malawi, E.C. Minutes, November 17, 1964; October 9, 1967; March 13, 1968; Malawi, Mission Minutes, August 17-20, 1965; July 4-8, 1967; July 2-8, 1968.

^{262&}lt;sub>Malawi</sub>, <u>E.C. Minutes</u>, November 14-15, 1972.

²⁶³ Roy Davidson, Letter from Glantyre, Malawi, December 14, 1972.

^{264&}lt;sub>Malawi, E.C. Minutes</sub>, July 26, 1965.

the student ministry in Blantyre. 265 In April the following year the Kingsleys requested to move to Lilongwe because they felt that the developing Bible School, publications, and the young churches presented more urgent needs, and the subject of student work was dropped for the time. 266 Nevertheless, this ministry was taken into consideration when the Mission planned for the construction of the Baptist Building.

The second use of the building related to the bilingual, multiracial fellowship that had continued to grow. An example of its growth was the report in 1965 of the baptism of three Africans, one Asian, and one American at the same service. The fellowship met in rented quarters in an Indian shop for about six months and then was able to move to a local secondary school, where four classrooms were made available for Sunday services. The group in 1965 requested a plot in the Chichiri area of Blantyre, upon which to build a sanctuary in conjunction with the Baptist Building. When the building was finished in April, 1969, the Blantyre Baptist Church, which had been organized from the fellowship, rented the building

^{265&}lt;sub>Malawi</sub>, <u>Mission Minutes</u>, August 17-20, 1965.

^{266&}lt;sub>Malawi</sub>, E.C. <u>Minutes</u>, April 7, 1966.

²⁶⁷Commission, XXVIII:4, April, 1965, p. 29.

²⁶⁸Davidson, Letter of December 14, 1972.

²⁶⁹ Malawi, Mission Minutes, loc. cit.

for its own use and also for that of the Chewa-speaking congregation which had developed from its ministry. Roy Davidson served as pastor of the church from its organization in March, 1967, until the end of 1972, with the exception of a period from August, 1971 until July, 1972, when Jack Gray from the United States served as interim pastor. In December, 1972, the church had forty-one members, half of them Malawians.

In addition to these activities, an emerging radio ministry was housed on the premises. Because of their association with the Christian Council of Malawi, the missionaries were given an opportunity in 1965 to produce six programs for use on the Malawi Broadcasting Company station in November. The missionaries decided to assist the two African leaders, Makhaya and Galatiya, to produce the programs. Following this initial contact, interest developed on the part of the Mission to the stage where funds were requested in 1971 for a studio, and plans were made for Roy Davidson to assume full time responsibility for a radio ministry. An African assistant, James Chindongo, was sent to Nairobi, Kenya, to attend a training

²⁷⁰ Davidson, Letter of December 14, 1972; Galatiya, Letter of December 29, 1972.

 $^{^{271}}$ Davidson, Letter of December 14, 1972.

²⁷² Ibid.

²⁷³Malawi, <u>E.C. Minutes</u>, October 15-16, 1965.

²⁷⁴<u>Ibid</u>., March 29-30, 1971.

course at the All Africa Conference of Churches Center for mass media, in 1971, and Davidson also participated in the same course the following year. 275

The Malawi Mission also undertook a mobile medical ministry on Lake Malawi, reaching out from the mission station at Salima. The Howard Bickers and H. Kanowa, an African pastor, moved to Salima in January, 1967, at the request of the Mission and began a program of evangelism and church development. 276 Bickers was able to make arrangements for the purchase of a large, lakeshore residence, called the Milward property. 277 Because of a serious lack of medical facilities for the people along the shore, at Bickers' urging the Mission asked the Area Secretary about the possibility of a medical missionary. 278 They were informed that, because of other Foreign Mission Board commitments, no medical personnel could be appointed for Malawi. Not to be deterred, Bickers made a detailed plan which depended upon employed African personnel operating mobile clinics based at Salima, using a boat requested previously for lakeshore evangelism. 279

The project was started in 1970 under Bickers'

 $^{^{275}}$ Ibid., November 22-23, 1972.

²⁷⁶Ibid., December 19-20, 1966.

²⁷⁷Ibid., February 2-4, 1966.

²⁷⁸Ibid., October 30, 1968.

²⁷⁹ Malawi, Mission Minutes, July 2-8, 1968.

supervision, using Ned Kasonga, a medical assistant, and his wife, a nurse. 280 Difficulties in personal relation—ships within the staff necessitated the changing of personnel soon after the program was started, but two medical assistants, Nyasulu and Chinpiri, and a nurse, Mrs. Hara, kept the medical ministry functioning. 281

Agricultural evangelism was also incorporated into the Mission's approach. Douglas Knapp, a Southern Baptist agricultural missionary in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania, was invited to spend two weeks in October, 1966, in order that he might investigate the feasibility of such an approach in Malawi. After Knapp's trip, delayed until 1967, the Mission followed his recommendation and appealed for a specialist with similar skills for the mission program in Malawi.

The Darrell Garners arrived in Blantyre in 1969 to begin their study of the Chewa language. Garner, while still in language study, was making plans in 1970 for church gardens and other projects to help the churches support themselves in the subsistence economy of Malawi. 283 After a great deal of searching, in 1972 the Garners were able to obtain a sixty-five acre farm near Ncheu, one of

 $^{^{280}}$ Malawi, <u>E.C.</u> <u>Minutes</u>, December 14, 1971.

²⁸¹Phiri, Letter of December 29, 1972.

²⁸² Malawi, <u>E.C. Minutes</u>, December 14, 1971.

²⁸³ Press Release, August 11, 1970.

the areas originally selected for a mission station. 284

The Mission's request for a missionary with special qualifications in music, in order to develop a program of indigenous music among the churches, was answered when the Gerald Workmans arrived in late 1970. However, circumstances necessitated his being involved with the publications ministry in Lilongwe for most of 1971 and 1972. A further delay in releasing him for his special ministry was encountered in 1972, when the Mission asked him to move to Salima to supervise both the work in the churches and the mobile clinic program during the absence of the Bickers. 287

The Baptist Convention of Malawi. From 1964 until 1970 events in the relationship between the missionaries and the African leadership in the churches led to the organization of the Convention. Stephen Galatiya and D. G. Makhaya, the first two men to study at Gwelo, were included on an informal basis in much of the planning of the Mission in the early days. The two of them and M. N. Phiri, a seminary student at the time, were invited by the Mission to participate in the 1966 Evangelism Conference at Limuru, Kenya. They were also an integral part of the

²⁸⁴Commission, XXXV:5, May, 1972, p. 35.

^{285&}lt;sub>Malawi</sub>, E.C. Minutes, January 26-27, 1971.

²⁸⁶Ibid., April 25-26, 1972.

²⁸⁷<u>Ibid</u>., November 14-15, 1972.

²⁸⁸Ibid., February 2-4, 1966.

Crusade Planning Committee from November, 1967 until the end of 1968. LeRoy Albright resigned as Chairman of the Literature and Music Committee to allow Makhaya to serve in the position and then became Vice-chairman. By early 1969 Albright felt keenly the imperative of rapidly transferring responsibility from the Mission to African leadership. His insistence on an almost immediate devolution led to a conflict within the Mission of such proportions that eventually he decided to transfer to the Baptist Mission in Zambia. 290

Partly as an aftermath of the disagreement, Charles Middleton and M. N. Phiri began work in early 1970 on a rough draft of a constitution for the Baptist Convention of Malawi. The draft copy was considered by the 200 leaders present at the Evangelistic Conference at Lilongwe in May, 1970. The leaders accepted the document as a temporary one, elected officers, and instructed them to proceed with rewriting the constitution. The Convention requested the Mission to help them with this task and the

²⁸⁹Ibid., September 30, 1968.

²⁹⁰ Malawi, Mission Meeting, June 29-July 3, 1969; July 30-August 2, 1969; August 5-7, 1969. These meetings are considered as one Mission Meeting, since the interruptions were related to attempts to resolve the crisis.

²⁹¹Phiri, Letter of December 29, 1972.

^{292 &}lt;u>Tbid.</u>; <u>Press Release</u>, August 11, 1970.

Mission assigned Bickers and Middleton to the job. 293

A revised copy was ready for the Convention's first meeting on June 18, 1971, at which time the churches ratified the proposals, although the constitution had to be given to a lawyer to be put into an acceptable form for registration. This registration of the Baptist Convention of Malawi with the Malawi Government was effected before the end of 1972.

Several developments emerged from the planning for a national organization. The first was the reorganization of the Mission at its 1970 meeting. The Mission suggested to the Convention the establishing of joint committees for the major aspects of their shared responsibility, such as: leadership training, evangelism, publications, special projects, woman's work, audio-visual aids, and building. 295

The Mission's organization included five additional committees relating to personal matters which had only missionary representation. The function of the joint committees, interpreted in the words of M. N. Phiri, was that,

These Committees do not have final words over the Churches and the Mission. They sit down and discuss. After this discussion they take the matter to the

²⁹³ Malawi, Mission Minutes, July 20-24, 1970.

²⁹⁴Phiri, Letter of December 29, 1972.

²⁹⁵ Tbid.; Malawi, Mission Minutes, June 20-24, 1970.

²⁹⁶ Malawi, Mission Minutes, July 20-24, 1970.

Convention and to the Mission Meeting for their vote. And the Convention takes the Matters to the Churches. 297

An example of this method of operation was contained in a report of the joint Leadership Training

Committee, where "item 23" stated:

Recommend that the Sunday School program of using programmed instruction material be presented to the Publication Committee, the Baptist Convention E.C. and the Mission E.C. in January, 1973.298

After two years of working within the new framework, the Chairman of the Mission wrote that "our good relationship to the convention continues. The joint committees seem to keep the lines of communication open."

The Convention leadership in 1970 asked for a survey of the northern part of the country with a view to starting new stations. Two teams of Africans were selected to make the journeys, Kaduya and Phiri to travel from Rumphi to Karonga and Galatiya and Chirwa from Mzimba to Nkhata Bay. The Convention received their reports and decided that they would choose their own missionary to go to Mzuzu at first. The African missionary was to be followed at an interval of about a year by a missionary chosen by the Mission. M. N. Phiri was selected by the Convention and, for the first two years, was supported

²⁹⁷Phiri, Letter of December 29, 1972. ²⁹⁸<u>Ibid</u>:

 $^{299{\}mbox{Gary Swafford}}, Letter from Mzuzu, Malawi, November 22, 1972.$

³⁰⁰ Malawi, Mission Minutes, July 20-24, 1970; June 28-July 2, 1971; Phiri, Letter of December 29, 1972.

almost entirely by Mission funds. He arrived at Mzuzu on April 20, 1971, and was joined before the end of the year by Gary Swafford. The Convention agreed at their meeting in 1972 to assume a substantial part of Phiri's salary in 1973. 302

By the end of 1972 this venture had resulted in the establishing of five congregations and an organized association which was participating in regular leadership training sessions. The association planned to start six new churches early in 1973. Phiri, mindful of his primary task, when writing of his activities noted:

What we do, Mr. Swafford and I, is to train them and visit them in their churches. We give them tools to work . . . Mostly we train the leaders to be effective leaders in their various churches. 303

The same type of program was begun in the Nkhota Kota District along the lake shore. In July, 1968, Rue Scott, while finishing language study, wrote about the challenge of this area with its concentration of Moslems, as he made plans to move into the town. The results were gratifying in this area as well, necessitating the opening of a lay training school for the numerous

³⁰¹ Phiri, Letter of December 29, 1972.

³⁰² Swafford, Letter of November 22, 1972.

 $^{^{303}}$ Phiri, Letter of December 29, 1972.

³⁰⁴ Malawi, Mission Minutes, July 4-8, 1967; Press Release, July 29, 1968.

congregations which sprang up throughout the district. 305

A similar situation developed in Chikwawa, when in 1967 "one member moved to Chikwawa District and wrote back for <u>Bambo</u> Galatiya to come preach." The first congregation, at Domasi, was organized in 1969, and at the end of 1972 Chikwawa was spotted with "twenty-two churches and many preaching points." 307

A summary of growth. Percentages of growth would not adequately depict the expansion of churches related to the Baptist Convention of Malawi and to the Baptist Mission of Central Africa (Malawi). A brief glimpse of that growth may be seen in the following table:

Year	Churches	Points	Members	Baptišms	Offering
1962 ³⁰⁸	12		42	40	\$355
1967 ³⁰⁹	22	17	1,444	525	\$2,330
1972 ³¹⁰	215	49	10,728	2,466	\$2,385

Two concepts permeated the Mission and its work at the end of 1972. Both of these were expressed by the Chairman of the Mission. The first related to the

³⁰⁵Malawi, <u>E.C.</u> <u>Minutes</u>, March 17, 1970; March 29-30, 1971.

³⁰⁶ Galatiya, Letter of December 29, 1972.

^{307 &}lt;u>Tbid</u>. 308 <u>SBC Annual</u>, 1963, p. 151.

^{309 &}lt;u>Ibid</u>., 1968, p. 148.

 $^{^{310}}$ Figures submitted in the statistical tables for December 31, 1972, to appear in the <u>SBC Annual</u>, 1973.

situation between missionary and African, as described when Gary Swafford wrote that "our joint committees continued to give us an excellent working relationship with the Malawians." The second was related to the attitude of the missionaries, which Swafford characterized with the statement that "there seems to be an urgency among the Missionaries. We are trying to train as many leaders as best we can in the shortest period of time."

Southern Baptists in Zambia

Southern Baptist missionary involvement in Zambia was developed parallel with that in Malawi. At a called business session of the Baptist Mission of Rhodesia on June 11, 1955, Giles Fort recommended:

That a committee go to Nyasaland and to Northern Rhodesia to study the possibilities for permission from the government to open schools there and that we should go ahead and make application now for if this is to be a Federation we should have work in all the areas. 313

The missionaries discussed the proposal and decided to approach the European Baptists to seek their counsel, since that group had members residing in Northern Rhodesia, and also agreed to recommend to the Area Secretary that an "investigating committee" be sent into both countries. 314

³¹¹ Swafford, Letter of January 12, 1973.

³¹² Ibid.

³¹³ Rhodesia, <u>Mission</u> <u>Minutes</u>, June 11, 1955.

³¹⁴ Ibid.

The Area Secretary, George Sadler, asked for an estimate of funds needed for the trip, encouraging them to plan to make the survey. The Mission responded by making a request for the funds and designating Clyde Dotson, Gerald Harvey and Bill Wester to make the trip. 315 In May, 1956, Dotson volunteered to move to Northern Rhodesia and pioneer the development because he was familiar with the pastor at Kitwe at the time and because George Smith, the leading Baptist layman at Ndola, had been involved in his earlier ministry among the European Baptists at Gatooma. 316

The minutes showed that Lazarus Green Malunga and a layman named Jeremiah traveled with the three missionaries from May 8 until June 2, 1956, as the team visited Livingstone, Lusaka, Broken Hill, Ndola, Fiwale Hill, Luanshya, Chingola, Bancroft Mine, Kitwe, Fort Rosebery, Kasama, Abercorn, and Tunduma. Several proposals were submitted to the Mission after the trip. The body decided that "one missionary couple should be sent to Kitwe as a center to begin work in the area and couples placed in the other towns as the work develops." After a lengthy discussion concerning the individuals who should be chosen

^{315&}lt;u>Tbid</u>., August 27-31, 1955.

³¹⁶ Dotson, Letter to Sadler, May 1, 1956; George Smith, Letter from Umtali, Rhodesia, January 7, 1973.

³¹⁷ Rhodesia, <u>Mission</u> <u>Minutes</u>, July 6-9, 1956.

³¹⁸ Ibid.

for the task, "it was also voted that upon their return from furlough in 1958 the Harveys should go to Northern Rhodesia to begin work there." The report suggested that an African pastor be sought to go to Kitwe, that an application be made in Kitwe for a church site, and that the missionaries assigned to the task be instructed to learn the Bemba language. 320

The following year at the annual mission meeting, to take into account the hopes for expansion within the Federation, the name of the organization was changed to the Baptist Mission of Central Africa and requests were made for additional personnel because of the desire to move into Northern Rhodesia. 321

In February, 1958, the new Area Secretary, Cornell Goerner, made his first visit to Central Africa and, in a discussion of personnel needs, pointed out that existing stations would be left unmanned in Southern Rhodesia if the Harveys went to Kitwe. The Mission realized the difficulty and notified the Harveys to return to Southern Rhodesia instead of moving to Kitwe. 323

The period of beginning. In June, 1959, while on furlough, Tom and Mary Small were asked to participate in a ten-day orientation conference for new missionaries at

^{319&}lt;u>Tbid</u>. 320<u>Tbid</u>. 321<u>Tbid</u>., July 5-8, 1957.

^{322&}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, February 15, 1958.

³²³Ibid., July 10-17, 1958.

Samford University in Birmingham, Alabama. Among the new missionaries were Zebedee and Evelyn Moss. Goerner asked the two couples to consider going to Northern Rhodesia when they reached Africa later in the summer. Tom wrote to the Mission shortly afterwards that they had "very definitely felt the leading of the Lord to Northern Rhodesia," and the Mosses assented to the plan, so the Mission voted that "the Tom Smalls and the Zeb Mosses be assigned to language study at Kitwe."

After their arrival in Southern Rhodesia, the two men made a brief visit in October to Kitwe to arrange accommodation for their families and while there conferred with the pastor and a deacon of the Baptist Fellowship, Andre Erasmus and Ralph DuPlessis, about the Mission's plans. Then, back in Sanyati, the Mission dedicated the two families to this new task at a special service in late October. The Smalls moved to Kitwe to begin their language study on November 7, 1959, followed by the Mosses a week later.

³²⁴ Tom Small, Taped comments from Lusaka, Zambia, November, 1972; Zebedee and Evelyn Moss, Taped comments from Lusaka, Zambia, July, 1972.

³²⁵ Rhodesia, E.C. Minutes, August 19, 1959.

³²⁶ Mosses, Taped comments, July, 1972.

Jbid.; Mary Ellen Garrett, Letter to Goerner, Christmas, 1959.

³²⁸ Mosses, Taped comments, July, 1972.

The missionaries conducted their first worship service in the Chamboli Township of Kitwe in a classroom in August, 1960. The adult Sunday school class was taught by Zeb Moss, the one for children by Evelyn, and Tom Small preached, using as his interpreter, Hokah Mulonda, a student from Gwelo. 329 About 100 persons attended this service, with two making professions of faith. Leaving the Smalls to continue at Chamboli, the Mosses soon began services in the Chimwemwe and Abusikile townships.

The interpreter, Hokah Mulonda, had come from the Lambaland Mission, applying in 1959 for training at the Seminary in Gwelo. His request had been sent back to Kitwe for investigation by David Lockard giving the missionaries a contact with Mulonda which was to result in years of fellowship. 330 Hokah, who had entered the Seminary in January, 1960, decided to remain in Kitwe for a year to assist the new missionaries, but actually remained for two years. He returned to Gwelo in 1962, accompanied by his brother-in-law, Waddy Shibemba, where the two studied together. 331

The missionaries, as they planned in 1960, considered their first priority to be development of a strong witness in the Copperbelt, intending to locate two couples

^{329 &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>; <u>Baptist World</u>, 7:9, November, 1960, p. 11.

³³⁰ Mosses, Taped comments, July, 1972.

³³¹ Ibid.

in Kitwe, one in Mufulira, one in Chingola, and one in Luanshya. They asked the Mission to make one couple available by August, 1960, at the latest. In order to encourage the two families, the Mission sent the Church Extension Committee to Kitwe. Milton Cunningham, Giles Fort, Hugh, McKinley, and David Lockard, members of the Committee, visited Kitwe March 23-31, to share in the planning. 332

When Goerner visited Kitwe in 1960, he encouraged the Mission to send at least one couple to Lusaka, the capital, as soon as possible, in order to extend their influence into that part of the country. For this reason, when the Dutton Bonnells were appointed in August, 1961, the Smalls moved to Lusaka, undertaking the study of their third African language, Nyanja. 333

The Ted Savages, who arrived in 1960, had finished their language study and were beginning in Mufulira by September, 1961. 334 Hokah Mulonda wrote that the Savages were being sent by Kitwe Baptists as missionaries to open new churches in that Copperbelt town. 335 Services were begun in Kamachanga, Mufulira West, and Kankoyo Townships. Three African leaders, Paledge Latana, Edwin Mukumbo, and

 $^{^{332}}$ Rhodesia, <u>E.C.</u> <u>Minutes</u>, January 7-8, 1960.

^{333&}lt;sub>Mosses</sub>, Taped comments, July, 1972.

³³⁴ Evangelism Conference, p. 17.

³³⁵ Ted Savage, Letter to Goerner, November 23, 1961.

Amos kilimboyi were working with the Savages at that time. 336 The first congregation to be organized was that of Kamachanga, which was having an average attendance of 100 by the end of 1963. 337 The second church to be organized was that of Mufulira West, where Elliott Barnaba , served as pastor.

During this early period the missionaries worked in close fellowship with the other Baptists in the Copperbelt. In November, 1959, Small and Moss met with Basil Medgett and George Smith from Ndola, Andre Erasmus from Kitwe, Enar Holmgren from Mpongwe, Karl Hammerstrom from Mwelushi, and one missionary from Fiwale Hill to share the plans of the new Mission. 338

Moss traveled with George Smith, who was later to be employed by the Baptist Union of Central Africa as their missionary, into the Northern and Laupula Provinces on a two week trip surveying the possibilities of expansion in that direction. He also spent two weeks with Basil Medgett at Fiwale Hill where Medgett had moved to take over the supervision of the churches and the Bible school of that Mission for South African Baptists. 340

In Lusaka, when Derrick Harris, pastor of the

^{336&}lt;u>Ibid</u>., December 4, 1962.

³³⁷ Ibid., November 19, 1963.

³³⁸ Moss, Taped comments, July, 1972.

^{339 &}lt;u>Tbid</u>. 340 <u>Ibid</u>.

English language church, left in August, 1961, Tom Small served as interim pastor until the arrival of Medgett who was to be the new pastor. Small was studying Nyanja at the time. He also aided the church again when Medgett left for Canada several years later. 341

As the missionaries looked to the day of forming a separate organization, other personnel arrived to assist in the expansion which was taking place. In 1963, the Milton Cunninghams moved up from Southern Rhodesia, the Douglas Kendalls transferred from Indonesia, while the William Jones and the Norman Woods were appointed for Northern Rhodesia and arrived to plunge into language study.

When the Matero Baptist Church in Lusaka began looking for a pastor, they reached into Southern Rhodesia also, and called Lazarus Green Malunga from Shabani in January, 1964. 342 Green had first come into contact with the Baptist missionaries at the Rimuka Baptist Church in Gatooma in 4954. He was recommended for "appointment as an assistant evangelist" by John Cheyne, which the Mission agreed would take effect "on or about October 1, 1955." 343 Green was then sent to pastor the Shabani Baptist Church at the Mine on the weekends while he attended the Seminary at

 $^{^{341}\}mathrm{Small}$, Taped comments, July, 1972.

³⁴² Lazarus Green Malunga, Taped comments from Kafue, Zambia, December, 1972. Rhodesia, <u>Book of Reports</u>, 1965.

³⁴³ Rhodesia, <u>Mission</u> <u>Minutes</u>, August 27, 31, 1955.

Gwelo. 344 He was selected to accompany the missionaries on the survey trip to Northern Rhodesia in 1956, having parents from that country although he was born in Southern Rhodesia. 345 Leaving the Mine church, for several years Green served as pastor of the Tsitsi Baptist Church in Shabani Town, also assuming responsibility for the church's several preaching points. 346

Reports from the various stations were included in the Book of Reports at mission meeting in Gwelo in 1964.

The reports mentioned Lusaka, which had churches at Matero and Kamwala Townships; Broken Hill, where an English Fellowship had started and where several African groups were also meeting; Kitwe, where five churches and preaching points were listed; Chingola, with another English Fellowship and three preaching points; and the churches in Mufulira. 347

The Baptist Mission of Zambia. When the Baptist Mission of Central Africa was formally dissolved at its meeting in Gwelo, May 6-14, 1964, the Baptist Mission of Zambia became the official organization of the Southern Baptist missionaries who were working in the newly

 $^{^{344}}$ Malunga, Taped comments, December, 1972.

³⁴⁵ Rhodesia, <u>Mission</u> <u>Minutes</u>, July 6-9, 1956.

³⁴⁶ Commission, XX:8, September, 1957, p. 35; XXI:5, May, 1958, p. 11; Press Release, November 7, 1961.

Rhodesia, Book of Reports, 1964. Broken Hill became Kabwe in 1964.

independent country of Zambia. 348

In anticipation of the division, a planning session was held in Kitwe in March, 1964, and the group made several important decisions. They gathered, "to plan and project ideas for the development of the Baptist Mission of Zambia," and decided to begin by establishing three institutions. In line with their primary purpose of church development, the missionaries envisioned publications facilities, a radio-television studio, and some type of leadership training institution.

They also enunciated another basic position, confirming that "the missionaries of the proposed Baptist Mission of Zambia do not feel it wise or necessary to establish medical or educational institutions." They, just as their counterparts in Malawi, learning from difficulties that had plagued the Mission in Southern Rhodesia, decided on a "no-subsidy" policy for the churches, which meant in the case of Mufulira that to prepare for such a position the churches "went off mission subsidy January 1, 1964."

The missionaries reassigned themselves in accordance with the new plan. The Cunninghams, Kendalls, and Smalls were to move to Lusaka to begin publication work,

³⁴⁸ Press Release, May 28, 1964.

³⁴⁹ Baptist Mission of Zambia, Minutes of Mission meeting, March 4-5, 1964. Hereafter cited as Zambia, Mission Minutes.

^{350 &}lt;u>Tbid</u>. 351 <u>Tbid</u>. 352 <u>Tbid</u>.

the newly prepared Bible Way Correspondence Course, and a radio ministry. The light of these developments, Cornell Goerner, who was present in the March meeting, gave his approval to the plan and suggested that all three of the activities be located in one building in Lusaka. The new Baptist Building, which was to house all three projects, was under construction by 1965 and completed in 1966. 355

missionary men in Northern Rhodesia at the end of 1961 met at Broken Hill late in the year to plan for ways of expanding the witness of the group, since each already had more activities started than he could adequately cover. The activities started than he could adequately cover. In a period of several hours the basic outline of a correspondence course was worked out, the name "Bible Way" was chosen, and the threefold aim was stated as attempting to share Christ with all men, assisting Christians in their study of the Bible, and making Baptists known in Zambia. Bonnell, Moss, Savage, and Small were assigned study materials to write, and Kendall was given responsibility for planning a budget request to present to the mission meeting in 1962 and to supervise production of the material. The request for an appropriation of twelve hundred pounds was submitted to

^{353&}lt;u>Tbid.</u> . 354<u>Tbid</u>.

³⁵⁵SBC Annual, 1966, p. 146; 1967, p. 199.

^{356&}lt;sub>Moss</sub>, Taped comments, July, 1972. 357_{Ibid}

the Mission, which considered the project too costly and rejected it. However, by the time of the annual report at the end of 1962 the missionaries involved had managed to mimeograph copies of the first book, "Who Is Jesus?" which caused the Mission to report that:

A new method of evangelism is being tried in Lusaka, Northern Rhodesia, where missionaries Tom Small and Paul [Douglas] Kendall have inaugurated a Bible correspondence course. A series of lessons has been prepared for mailing to persons who write in answer to advertisements carried in the local press. There has been an encouraging response. 358

The following year the Mission reported that:

A Bible correspondence course . . . has proved quite popular. Douglas Kendall has taken a keen interest in this program and is giving more and more of his time to developing the correspondence courses and other Christian literature. 359

The Tom Smalls were asked to handle the promotion and management of the course while Kendall did all of the production, which was the plan in effect when the new Mission was formed. 360

With the formation of the new Mission, the course was reorganized, using a new recording system developed by Tom Small which utilized the contacts from the students in a program of local promotion by the pastors and mission—aries. The first student to enroll under the new arrangement applied on October 10, 1964, but the course did not

³⁵⁸SBC Annual, 1963, p. 144.

³⁵⁹Ibid., 1964, p. 131.

³⁶⁰ Moss, Taped comments, July, 1972.

get going in earnest until January, 1965. 361

In July, 1965, 500 students were added to the roll by means of a display at the Copperbelt Agricultural Show in Kitwe. 362 The number increased rapidly until by the end of the year over 2,000 were participating and two new congregations had been started by local followup of the students. 363 The development progressed to the extent that in early 1970 the enrolment exceeded 12,000 and over 2,000 students had returned cards registering their profession of Four new churches had been established and those who handled the administration of the course confidently predicted that the enrolment would pass 50,000 by 1975. 364 Publicity circulated in September, 1972, revealed that 5,200 were added to the list of names at the Lusaka Agricultural Show during one week in August and that the total was over 24,000, of which more than sixty percent were still actively studying one of the nine books that were a part of the expanding curriculum. 365

2. Baptist Publishing House. The facilities housed in the Baptist Building in Lusaka were not only utilized in the production of Bible Way materials, but also

³⁶¹ Small, Taped comments, November, 1972.

³⁶² Baptist World, 12:8, October, 1965, p. 12.

³⁶³SBC Annual, 1966, p. 146.

^{364&}lt;sub>Press</sub> Release, May 8, 1970.

³⁶⁵ Commission, XXXV:9, October, 1972, p. 42.

made possible pioneering by the Mission in the field of Sunday school materials to a greater extent than in the Missions in Rhodesia and Malawi. Douglas Kendall led the discussion at the Evangelism Conference at Limuru, Kenya, in 1966, on the subject of "Evangelism through the Printed Page," and convinced those participating of an urgent need for coordination and cooperation among the Baptist missions and churches in East and Central Africa in the production and distribution of their literature. He also brought into focus the desperate need for African cultural orientation in the preparation of the literature which was sent out to the churches. 366

Kendall's insistence in these matters was to lead in 1970 to the organization, for the missionaries involved in publications in the six countries of East and Central Africa, of two Literature Coordinating Conferences, one in Lusaka in March, and the other at Limuru in November. From these meetings came the selection of a Literature Coordinator, Charles Middleton, who lived in Blantyre, for the task of keeping the production and circulation of curriculum materials and manuscripts within a set schedule in order for the materials to be used in a planned, five-cycle program which had a standard format prepared in basic English for use in

³⁶⁶ Evangelism Conference, pp. 132-34.

all six participating countries. 367

In 1970 the missionaries in Zambia instructed their Publications Committee "to move forward to prepare nationals to make a genuine contribution to writing." ³⁶⁸

The next year the Mission bore the cost of sending three national leaders to a Writers Conference at the All Africa Conference of Churches Training Center at Mindola. ³⁶⁹

The two newly formed associations in Zambia were asked to nominate two nationals each to serve as members of a joint Publications Committee. ³⁷⁰

Following recommendations made at the various conferences, a further step was taken in 1972 when the missionaries decided that:

The mission authorize the Publications Committee working with the Director of Publications to seek out a Zambian person qualified to head up the printing and distribution of publications, and that he work under the Director of Publications. 371

Although at the end of 1972 such an individual had not been located, the trend towards including leaders from the

³⁶⁷ The writer served as convenor of the two conferences. Details of the plan are recorded in "Minutes of the Publications Co-ordination Conference, March 10-13, 1970, Lusaka, Zambia," and "Minutes and Recommendations of the Publications Co-ordination Conference, November 9-13, 1970, Limuru, Kenya," copies of which are on file at the Foreign Mission Board, SBC, Richmond, Virginia.

³⁶⁸ Zambia, Mission Minutes, April 13-20, 1970.

 $^{^{369}}$ Baptist Mission of Zambia, Minutes of the Executive Committee, June 1-2, 1971. Hereafter cited as Zambia, <u>E.C. Minutes</u>.

³⁷⁰ Zambia, Mission Minutes, April 12-18, 1971.

³⁷¹<u>Ibid</u>., April 14-20, 1972.

Baptist churches along with the missionaries in the preparation of literature was readily discernible.

Radio and television. Involvement in the radio 3. and television ministry came as a result of contacts which Milton Cunningham made while he was assisting the Matero Baptist Church in Lusaka to prepare broadcasts for use on the regularly scheduled religious programs of the Northern Rhodesian Broadcasting Corporation. 372 In the preparations for independence the following year, Cunningham wrote that "The Director-General of the Northern Rhodesian Broadcasting Corporation called and asked us to plan and develop for them a five-year plan for an educational and religious radio channel." 373 The opportunity for such a ministry was considered along with the other plans for development in the new Mission in March, 1964, resulting in the addition of a studio as an integral part of the Baptist Building when it was opened for operation.

Before the completion of the facilities Cunningham, in 1965, planned and conducted a radio-television workshop to which representatives from all Baptist groups in Zambia were invited as well as representatives from the newly formed Zambia Broadcasting Company. 374 Just as the new studio began to get into operation, Cunningham went on

³⁷² Milton Cunningham, Letter to Goerner, November, 1963.

^{373 &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, July, 1964.

³⁷⁴ Zambia, <u>Mission</u> <u>Minutes</u>, April 7-14, 1965.

furlough and, upon his return in 1968, he was named Radio and Television Representative for Africa of the Board, which made impossible his conducting a concentrated program of development using this medium, as far as the Zambian Mission was concerned. However, he was able to help plan two more workshops for training Africans in the techniques of this special ministry, before moving to Nairobi, Kenya, in 1969. By 1971 the studio, under the supervision of Zeb Moss, was fully engaged in the production of local television films as well as radio programs. 377

4. Leadership training. Consideration and development of avenues of leadership training moved in concert with the other phases of institutional growth within the Mission. In 1965 a Leadership Training Committee was asked to investigate possibilities for a Bible school or seminary to centralize a program of leadership training for the churches. The political separation of Zambia from Rhodesia made the utilization of the resources at Gwelo very difficult for the Zambian students at first, and an impossibility later. The training program had to be based in Zambia.

The Committee located a twenty-one acre plot of

^{375&}lt;sub>Press</sub> Release, October 12, 1967.

³⁷⁶ Zambia, Mission Minutes, April 8-12, 1968.

³⁷⁷SBC Annual, 1972, p. 134.

³⁷⁸ Zambia, <u>E.C. Minutes</u>, October 8, 1965.

land seven miles from downtown Lusaka for a seminary in 1966, and made plans for the construction of the necessary buildings, consisting of faculty residences, student housing, and a classroom and administration complex, for the Baptist Theological Seminary of Zambia. Tom Small was given the responsibility of leading the Mission in planning for the school and was also designated as the person to initiate the program. He and his wife were joined by the Norman Woods in 1966, to share in the teaching load and to help with the administration. 380

When classes began in September, 1967, four men and three wives were accepted, although instruction had to be given in a room in the Baptist Building in Lusaka awaiting the completion of the seminary buildings. 381 During that interim the students were scattered over town in rented accommodation and only the men were transported each day to and from the Baptist Building for classes. Before the end of the school year, when the buildings were sufficiently completed to allow occupation, the families were moved onto the campus and classes were begun for the wives as well as for the men. 382 The main structure was not formally

³⁷⁹"Pastoral Leadership Training," 1972.

³⁸⁰ Zambia, <u>E.C. Minutes</u>, June 24, 1966.

³⁸¹ Press Release, July 28, 1967; Commission, XXX:10, October, 1967, p. 29; "Pastoral Leadership Training," 1972.

^{382&}quot;Pastoral Leadership Training," 1972.

dedicated until July 26, 1970. 383

At the beginning of 1969 a number of serious problems arose, revolving around the work program, student discipline, and the use of a vehicle for transportation to the churches where the men served on the weekends. A list of fourteen grievances was submitted to the faculty on March 8, 1969, just prior to the end of an examination week. In light of the general discontent and the threatened refusal of the students to return to school for the next term unless certain conditions were met, the Mission decided to close the school and "pre-enroll" the students for September, 1969, if they wished to return. 385

When the school was opened again in September, six men and five wives were accepted for training in the Seminary's three year English language program, of whom only one couple had previously been in classes. The single man was dismissed during that year. A second class was admitted in September, 1970, which included five men and four wives, making a total student body of nineteen. 386

Don and Sandra Mason were asked to join the staff in 1970 and, in September, 1971, Lazarus Green Malunga and his wife were also invited to teach on a part time

³⁸³ Zambia, E.C. Minutes, July 13, 1970.

³⁸⁴ Zambia, Mission Minutes, April 9-14, 1969.

^{385 &}quot;Pastoral Leadership Training," 1972.

^{386&}lt;sub>Ibid</sub>.

basis. The five couples in the first class were graduated on August 6, 1972, and the following month a third class of five couples began their studies in Lusaka. The level of pre-seminary education among the men had risen by about two years in the brief time of operation, so that the average was roughly ten years of school before arrival at the Seminary. 389

One of the lessons learned from the student unrest in 1968 was the need for more national participation in the life of the Seminary. Therefore, the Mission proposed a revised Admissions Committee which supervised the acceptance of new students and handled any discipline that led to dismissal. This Committee was composed at first of two staff members, two missionaries, and two national pastors. When enlarged, it included two laymen who were active in the field of education and one pastor's wife, with the nationals to be chosen by a convention as soon as one became organized.

The men who attended the school were not placed in churches nor were their living expenses subsidized during training. They had to work in town or on campus if

 $[\]frac{387}{\text{Lbid.}}$; Malunga, Taped comments, December, 1972; Zambia, E.C. Minutes, June 1-2, 1971.

³⁸⁸G. B. Phiri, Letter from Lusaka, Zambia, December, 1972.

³⁸⁹ Small, Taped comments, November, 1972.

^{390 &}quot;Pastoral Leadership Training," 1972; Zambia, E.C. Minutes, June 17, 1967; July 5, 1972.

their home churches did not support them. 391

In order to expand the influence of the Seminary, the Mission asked the staff to make plans for following a "theological education by extension" approach in conjunction with the normal program of studies. Small and Wood made a trip into Swaziland in 1972 to attend an interdenominational seminar on the subject. Also, the Mission sent a missionary and an African leader to a conference on the subject in Malawi in December, 1972, meeting with missionaries from the countries of southern Africa.

The Savages started "Gospel Societies" in Mufulira, which were composed of young men involved in learning how to teach Sunday school and to lead in worship services. These men helped to start new preaching points and filled the places of other leaders who moved away from the churches. Eventually several of them were accepted into the Seminary. 394

The development of new areas. In three areas of Zambia the start of new churches began with a minimum of encouragement from the Mission, while its members were concentrating in the Copperbelt and in Lusaka. The first of these areas was at Petauke, a small town approximately

³⁹¹ Small, Taped comments, November, 1972.

³⁹² Ibid.; Zambia, <u>E.C.</u> Minutes, June 1-2, 1971.

³⁹³ Ibid.

^{394&}quot;Pastoral Leadership Training," 1972.

two hundred miles east of Lusaka. In 1966, six families from the Matero Baptist Church returned home to this rural area. Shortly afterwards they requested Lazarus Green Malunga to visit them to preach in the villages nearby. Accompanied by Milton Cunningham, Green and two laymen, Malowa and Mwale, visited for ten days. The community reaction was such that forty-seven people accepted Christ. The chief suggested to Cunningham "that Zambians make the initial contacts and that the missionary come at a later time." Green responded by noting that "this had worked well in the Petauke area and it was recommended that this approach be considered in the opening of other areas." 395

The little village congregations in Petauke struggled to grow, guided by only an annual visit from their leaders in Lusaka. In August, 1969, when LeRoy and Jean Albright were transferred to Zambia from Malawi, they were asked to move to Petauke to minister to these people. Response was steady, though not dramatic, and when African representation was sought to aid in long range planning Petauke's leaders were included. 396

Another interesting development took place at the town of Kafue, which is considered the industrial suburb of Lusaka, although it is twenty-seven miles south of the

^{395 &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>; Zambia, E.C. Minutes, June 24, 1966.

^{396 &}quot;Pastoral Leadership Training," 1972; Zambia, E.C. Minutes, October 6, 1969.

capital. 397 Early in 1971 a small, multiracial group enlisted Zeb Moss to conduct weekly Bible studies for them. The studies continued regularly as Moss shared this responsibility with the other missionaries in Lusaka. The little fellowship began to grow and when, later in the year, they sought a pastor Moss suggested Lazarus Green Malunga from Matero. Although they were still meeting in a school and had not actually organized into a church, they called him as pastor in January, 1972. By December, the church was ready to organize and had a potential multiracial membership of over forty, most of whom had been baptized during the year. This new congregation had already sent three couples from their midst to the Seminary to enter the class of September, 1972, and planned to send three or four more couples the following year. 398

The third direction of expansion related to growth in the Northwestern Province near the town of Zambezi. A layman, Jakeman Samuwahila, made a visit in February, 1967, to Mufulira asking for help from the Savages. He returned and stayed from July to October for instruction by the missionaries and local pastors and then returned home to try to begin Baptist congregations. Savage or others the Mission made periodic visits into the area once or

 $^{^{397}}$ Malunga, Taped comments, December, 1972.

³⁹⁸ Ibid.

³⁹⁹ Zambia, <u>Mission Minutes</u>, April 8-12, 1968.

twice a year. By the end of 1969, Savage reported that four congregations had been established by this one man, and a year later the number had risen to six. When the long range planning meetings were held in 1972, two men from this new area were also present.

Baptist associations in Zambia. During 1967 and 1968 the leaders of the churches in the Copperbelt met_with the missionaries several times to discuss the need for a convention. Since several of the Africans and missionaries were acquainted with the difficulties that developed in Rhodesia, an unpleasant atmosphere prevailed, including accusations of neglect because in Zambia no subsidy was given; and when no progress was made in discussions the matter was dropped. 402

In 1969, the pastors and other leaders in the Copperbelt decided to form their own association and, after making all of the plans, invited the missionaries to attend as observers. The Copperbelt Baptist Association which emerged in November, 1969, functioned with a minimum of support from the Mission, although maintaining a spirit of cooperation which included the electing of missionaries to

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid., April 13-20, 1970; April 12-18, 1971.

⁴⁰¹ Zambia, $\underline{E} \cdot \underline{C} \cdot \underline{Minutes}$, October 6, 1969.

⁴⁰² Moss, Taped comments, July, 1972. Small, Taped comments, November, 1972.

places of responsibility where they were needed. 403 The Association's committees took the lead in establishing new preaching points, in the promotion of music and youth programs, and in choosing representatives for the growing number of joint committees requested by the Mission.

The leaders of the churches in Lusaka, in 1970, asked the Mission to nominate a missionary to advise them in the formation of their association. Zeb Moss was selected and participated in the discussions which culminated in the formation of the Central Province Association in April, 1971. In this Association missionaries were selected as advisers on all of the committees. In December, 1972, the Association sent three members of its Extension Committee to Senanga, 450 miles west of Lusaka to contact Baptists who had moved there and then planned to send their own missionary to that town, subsidizing his salary for two years, while asking for no Mission aid in the project. 405

On October 14-15, 1972, at Kabwe, a joint meeting of the two Associations, attended also by leaders from Petauke and Zambezi, voted to establish a national convention and elected a study group of three nationals and one missionary from each of the two Associations and from

⁴⁰³ Moss, Taped comments, July, 1972.

^{404 &}lt;u>Tbid</u>.; Small, Taped comments, November, 1972.

⁴⁰⁵ Small. Taped comments, November, 1972.

Patauke to project plans for its organization. 406

A summary of growth. The churches in the early stages of development were centered primarily in the towns. The rural congregations were smaller and newer; and the impetus which was evidenced in Malawi had not yet developed in Zambia. Nevertheless, statistics indicate a healthy rate of growth, well capable of acceleration under the aegis of the new Convention and the joint committees. The following table depicts the situation:

Year	Churches	Points	Members	Baptisms	Offering
1962 ⁴⁰⁷		3	12	. 8	\$165
1967 ⁴⁰⁸	17	16	909	275	\$6,383
1972 ⁴⁰⁹	41	19	2,277	467	\$12,002

Not having the background of the variety of Baptist groups of Malawi, the Mission's outreach has been oriented through the institutions created at its inception to a nationwide witness that has thus far lacked church centeredness. The reliance upon a few leaders in the town congregations has militated against the broad spectrum of multileveled lay leadership in pastoral roles such as

^{406 &}lt;u>Tbid</u>.; Moss, Taped comments, July, 1972; Malunga, Taped comments, December, 1972.

⁴⁰⁷SBC Annual, 1963, p. 151.

^{408&}lt;u>Ibid</u>., 1968, p. 149.

 $^{^{409}}$ Figures submitted in the statistical tables for December 31, 1972, to appear in the SBC Annual, 1973.

accompanied the rapid growth in Malawi.

Southern Baptists in East Africa 410

Southern Baptist missionaries gathered for their sixteenth annual mission meeting in August, 1971, at the Brackenhurst Baptist Assembly at Limuru, near Nairobi, Kenya. During the proceedings one of the group read a letter from a friend which stated:

I think you will be interested to know that at the Baptist World Alliance meeting at Wolfville, The Baptist Convention of Kenya became a part of the B.W.A. on August 5, at exactly 8:11 p.m., Nova Scotia time. 411

As the missionary concluded, 114 missionaries in the Baptist Mission of East Africa, along with African representatives of the Baptist Conventions of Kenya and Tanzania, responded with a standing ovation.

The Kenya Baptist Convention was organized at Limuru on March 27, 1971, with 111 churches sending their

⁴¹⁰ An abbreviated account by this writer of the development of the Baptist Mission of East Africa and these two Conventions may be found in "Baptists in East Africa: The Birth of Two Conventions," Baptist History and Heritage, 6:4, October, 1971, pp. 226-232. Prior agreement was reached relative to the utilization of the contents of the article in this dissertation.

The division of the study in this manner is necessitated by the fact that the Baptist Mission of East Africa included the missionaries in Uganda, as well as those in Kenya and Tanzania, until January 1, 1967, when the Baptist Mission of Uganda began to function as a separate organization.

 $^{^{411}\}mathrm{R}.$ J. Robinson, Letter to Allen Stickney, Nairobi, Kenya, August 18, 1971. This writer was present at this meeting and at the organizational meetings of the two Conventions.

messengers to participate in the ceremony which was the culmination of the hopes and plans of the growing group of Baptists in that African nation. 412 Just a few weeks later, on June 19, at the Baptist Seminary of East Africa in Arusha, Tanzania, representatives from 121 churches also voted to form the Baptist Convention of Tanzania. 413 Behind these two events lies the story of Southern Baptists in East Africa, unfolding for the most part in fifteen years.

Exploration and beginning, 1956-1959. On August 7, 1956, George W. Sadler, the Southern Baptist Foreign
Mission Board's Secretary for Africa, Europe, and the Near
East, wrote to The Honorable Lennox-Boyd, Secretary of
State for The Colonies, in London, England, stating that:

This is to advise that it is the desire of the officials and members of the Foreign Mission Board of The Southern Baptist Convention to establish work in The Colony of Tanganyika. This action was decided upon in a semi-annual meeting of the Foreign Mission. Board of The Southern Baptist Convention on April 11, 1956.414

In 1954, the Board asked two veteran missionaries,

I. N. Patterson and W. L. Jester, to travel from Nigeria
to East Africa to investigate the possibilities for

⁴¹² Baptist Mission of East Africa, Minutes of the mission meeting, August 23-29, 1971. Hereafter cited as East Africa, Mission Minutes.

⁴¹³ Ibid.

⁴¹⁴ A copy of the letter was sent to Winfred O. Harper and is in the East Africa Mission files.

establishing mission work in that part of the continent. 415
Patterson wrote of their reception in the countries of
Uganda, Kenya, and Tanganyika, and of their recommendation
that Southern Baptists begin in only two of the three
countries, leaving Uganda until a later time when the
reception might be more cordial. Sadler made a trip
through Nigeria in early 1956 and continued on to East
Africa. His impressions corresponded with those of
Patterson and Jester.

On June 12, 1956, Sadler wrote to Davis Saunders, a missionary serving in Oshogbo, Nigeria:

You will recall that when I was in Nigeria, I spoke to you about the possibility of your going to East Africa as a part of the foundation on which we can build. After consultation by correspondence with Dr. Patterson, I am convinced that you and your wife should be two of the foundation stones on which we shall build. Therefore, I am asking you and Wimpy Harper to go with Dr. Walker to Tanganyika as soon as arrangements for travel can be made. 416

Leaving Lagos, Nigeria, on June 25, the three men arrived in Nairobi, Kenya, on Saturday, June 30, 1956.

Contact was established with English Baptist residents and with representatives of the Christian Council of Kenya and of other denominations, as well as with government

 $^{^{415}}$ I. N. Patterson, <u>Continent in Commotion</u>, pp. 120-54.

⁴¹⁶ This letter, other personal letters, and notes related to the trip are in the possession of the writer, who participated in the work of the Baptist Mission of East Africa from its inception until he was appointed Field Representative of the Foreign Mission Board for East and Central Africa on July 1, 1969.

officials. A clear picture was given of the other Christian groups at work in Kenya including their areas of responsibility as delineated under a comity agreement which had been in effect for many years. Because of a change of leadership in the Christian Council, the welcome given to the three visitors was not as cordial as that received by Patterson and Jester, or Sadler. The trio anticipated that wheir most open welcome would be in Tanganyika.

Consequently, the three men proceeded to Dar es Salaam, the capital of Tanganyika, on July 2, making contact with the Acting Education Secretary for the Christian Council of Tanganyika, Sidney Clague-Smith. Clague-Smith gave almost a month to counsel with the three missionaries and to quide them to many parts of the vast country of Tanganyika. He helped to arrange appointments with the Director of Medical Services for the country and also with the Commissioner of Social Services. These two civil servants presented the critical needs from the view of their ministries, where help would be most appreciated by the government. Claque-Smith introduced the men to the .Minister of Social Development and Welfare who informed them that the Governor, Sir Edward Twining, had shown him a letter from Sir John Rankin of Nigeria, Governor of the Western Region of that country, which told about Baptists there and about the three men who were coming to East Africa.

A phone call from the Governor on July 5 brought an invitation to lunch and an appointment on the following day. The outcome of the conference was that doors were opened into the offices of government officials, who made available the information needed to understand the existing situation and insured the cooperation of officials in every part of the country in the course of the survey.

The investigation of opportunities included a flying trip to the south along the coast into the staunchly Moslem area of the Rufiji River, where local leaders were loath to allow Christian missionaries to enter, even though they recognized the need for the medical services offered.

A journey was also made by train, car, and plane to Tabora in central Tanganyika, and to Mwanza in the north on the shores of Lake Victoria.

The most promising part of the investigation related to the Southern Highlands, with visits to Tukuyu and Mbeya. The missionaries also made a return visit to Kenya to see the prospects offered in Mombasa, Kenya's port city.

As the three men planned their return trip to Nigeria in August, a list of recommendations was submitted to the Foreign Mission Board. The first was "that a Tuberculosis Hospital be opened," and that it be "located in or near Mbeya, Southern Highlands Province."

 $^{^{417}\}mathrm{A}$ report sent to the Foreign Mission Board,

second advised that evangelistic work be started in Dar es Salaam, and that "a goodwill center be located in the general area after further survey to determine the exact location." The third recommendation was that "the Harpers, Saunders, and Walkers families move to Tanganyika as soon as passage can be arranged."

A meeting was held on August 23, in Oshogbo,
Nigeria to organize the Baptist Mission of East Africa.

The three couples planned their trip to East Africa, the division of responsibility, and the location of the missionaries.

420 The Walkers and the Saunders were to go to Mbeya and the Harpers to Dar es Salaam. The three families requested an operating budget of \$56,450 and made additional requests of \$326,950 for capital funds for building, including nine residences, two church buildings, a good-will center, and a hospital.

The Harpers were the first to reach Dar es Salaam, arriving on October 20, 1956. The Saunders followed in November and the Walkers in December. The second meeting of the missionaries was held in Dar es Salaam on December 6, by which time the group had been joined by the Webster Carrolls. At this second meeting a decision was made for

Richmond, Virginia from Dar es Salaam, Tanganyika, by Harper, Saunders, and Walker on July 27, 1956, which is on file in Richmond.

^{418 &}lt;u>Ibid</u>. 419 <u>Ibid</u>.

⁴²⁰ East Africa, Mission Minutes, August 23, 1956.

the Saunders to go to Kenya and to begin work in Nairobi rather than to go with the Walkers to Mbeya. A short time later the James Hamptons, Samuel DeBords, and Earl Martins arrived to give added strength to the new Mission. All of the new couples were asked to begin the study of the Swahili language in Dar es Salaam.

The Saunders reached their station in Nairobi on December 17, and the Walkers entered Mbeya on December 18. The new missionaries started their language study on December 31. Thus, at the end of 1956 the missionaries had only begun their work. The Hamptons moved to Mombasa, Kenya, on June 28, 1957; the DeBords arrived in Mbeya shortly afterwards; and the Martins joined the Saunders in September. In Dar es Salaam, the Carrolls worked with the Harpers for a few weeks before that couple left for furlough in the United States.

The new Mission began to grow very rapidly as interest in Southern Baptist entry into East Africa brought a substantial number of volunteers from churches in the United States. The arrival of the Carlos Owenses in 1957 increased the total at the end of the year to sixteen. Land was acquired in Shauri Moyo in Nairobi, in Magomeni in Dar es

⁴²¹ East Africa, Mission Minutes, December 6, 1956.

⁴²² Commission, XX:2, February, 1957, p. 13.

⁴²³SBC Annual, 1957, p. 117.

⁴²⁴ Ibid., 1958, p. 140. 425 <u>Ibid</u>. 426 <u>Ibid</u>.

Salaam in 1957, and in Changamwe near Mombasa in 1958, for the establishing of good-will centers to serve as focal points for the evangelistic outreach from these urban areas. The buildings housed a wide range of weekday and Sunday activities when completed in Nairobi in July, 1958, in Dar es Salaam in November, 1958, and in Mombasa in 1960.

Tragedy struck the Mission at the time of the arrival of two doctors, Lorne E. Brown and Hal B. Boone, and their families in September, 1958. On September 5, at a picnic in honor of the new arrivals, several of the missionaries' lives were endangered while swimming in the Indian Ocean near Dar es Salaam, and Winfred Harper was drowned.

The Mission was concerned from the first about using literature so, as part of the organization of the Mission, a Publications Committee was chosen, and shortly afterwards the Chairman gave lists of the materials available in Swahili to the other members of the Mission and was asked to begin at once with the preparation of a hand-book for new members and with Sunday school materials for the Mission as a whole. 430 By the end of 1959 Sunday

^{427 &}lt;u>Thid</u>. 428 Ibid., 1959, p. 137.

⁴²⁹ Press Release, September 5, 1958; Commission, XXI:11, November, 1958, p. 26; SBC Annual, 1959, p. 137.

⁴³⁰ East Africa, Mission Minutes, August 23, 1956; April 29-May 3, 1957.

school materials were being sent regularly to all stations and four booklets on evangelism and the training of converts had been written and printed. 431

Following the patterns established in Nigeria the missionaries who had served there led the others to form a Christian Workers Committee and it was noted that this Committee was to "establish salary scales for all African workers."432 The salary scales were divided into four levels, evangelists and assistant evangelists with education above or below eighth grade, and included such items as marriage allowance, child allowance, and city allowance, as well as terms of medical and annual leave. 433 The Mission also adopted a policy concerning the steps necessary for polygamists to be admitted into the churches and required new members to participate in an inquirers' class for at least six months prior to baptism. 434 inquirers were to be examined prior to baptism either by a missionary or by an African pastor "at the discretion of the missionary advisor."435

⁴³¹ SBC Annual, 1960, p. 137.

⁴³² East Africa, Mission Minutes, August 6-9, 1958.

⁴³³ Ibid.

⁴³⁴Baptist Mission of East Africa, Minutes of the Executive Committee, November 25-26, 1957; November 26-27, 1958; February 25-28, 1959. Hereafter cited as East Africa, E.C. Minutes.

⁴³⁵ Ibid

Another development was the planning of a Christian Workers Retreat October 1-8, 1958. Fourteen African workers were invited to participate in the meetings which were held at a farm near Iringa, Tanganyika. 436 teaching at the conference was done by Carroll, DeBord, Hampton, and Walker. A similar meeting was planned the following year at Limuru, Kenya, October 7-14, which was attended by thirty people, including twenty African workers from the four cities where mission work had been started. 437 An adjunct of this program was the planning of a workshop for African and missionary personnel of the three community, or good-will, centers in Nairobi, Dar es Salaam, and Mombasa, which was held in Nairobi, December 8-11. 1959. The Iringa meeting set the pattern for the years ahead when the Mission voted "that the expenses of the Retreat be taken from the Contingent Fund of the Mission."439

A seminary, thought of in terms of ministering to all of East Africa, with a three year period of study, was scheduled to open early in the life of the Mission. A special committee was appointed early in 1958 to make

⁴³⁶ East Africa, E.C. Minutes, February 25-27, 1958; Commission, XXII:1, January, 1959, p. 14.

⁴³⁷ East Africa, E.C. Minutes, July 31, 1959; Annual Report, 1959.

 $^{^{438}}$ East Africa, <u>E.C.</u> <u>Minutes</u>, May 13-16, 1959.

⁴³⁹ East Africa, Mission Minutes, August 6-9, 1958.

recommendations as to the best procedure to follow. 440

This committee recommended that the Mission institute a standing committee the following year, which before the end of 1958 had started negotiations for a site at Arusha, Tanganyika. Samuel A. DeBord was designated as the missionary responsible for the administration of the new school and for the details relative to its opening which was scheduled for 1960. 442

Meanwhile, in accordance with the recommendation to the Board by the three men in August, 1956, a site was acquired for the construction of a hospital near Mbeya. The plan, designed with accommodation for 102 beds, required special equipment secured from overseas suppliers. Delays in building and equipping the institution delayed the opening, which was held August 11, 1959. The hospital's effective operation was further delayed several additional months, because of late delivery of some necessary equipment.

In 1957 the missionaries were approached by the Governor of Tanganyika with a request to operate a multi-racial school for boys near Iringa and also had made

⁴⁴⁰ East Africa, E.C. Minutes, February 25-27, 1958.

⁴⁴¹ East Africa, Mission Minutes, August 6-9, 1958; E.C. Minutes, November 26-27, 1958.

⁴⁴² Commission, XXII:2, February, 1959, p. 14; SBC Annual, 1960, p. 135.

^{443&}lt;sub>SBC</sub> Annual, 1960, p. 137.

overtures themselves to the Education Department in Kenya about a teacher training college in South Nyanza. The Mission quickly decided that the Iringa school was not an appropriate project, but took several months longer before deciding not to proceed with plans for the college in Kenya.

The 1960 report to the Foreign Mission Board noted that, at the end of 1959, there were two churches organized in Kenya, at Kisauni in Mombasa and at Shauri Moyo in Nairobi, and five additional preaching points. Two churches also had been organized in Tanganyika, at Mbeya town and at Magomeni in Dar es Salaam, to which were added ten preaching points. One church in each country was led by a national pastor and the total membership of the four churches was 102.

Expansion and development, 1960-1966. In 1959 an influx of new missionaries necessitated moving into additional fields of activity, for at the beginning of the year only eighteen missionaries were under appointment but at the end of the year the number had reached fifty-one.

During 1960 all of the new personnel completed their language study and were ready for assignment. Advance

⁴⁴⁴ East Africa, <u>E.C. Minutes</u>, November 16-18, 1959; Annual Report, 1958.

⁴⁴⁵ SBC Annual, 1960, pp. 133-34, 144.

^{446&}lt;u>Ibid</u>. 447<u>Ibid</u>. 448<u>Ibid</u>.; 1961, p. 170.

planning had been set in motion, so that when the new arrivals finished their Swahili studies, arrangements were complete for opening new stations at Tanga, Tukuyu, and Arusha in Tanganyika and at Nyeri and Kisumu in Kenya. In addition plans were well under way for the location of a doctor in the Rufiji River area and for a couple at Bukwa, Uganda, near Kitale in western Kenya.

The added witness of these new couples located in a widespread pattern throughout the territory was reflected in the growth of the churches for, by the end of 1960, nine churches had been organized and preaching points had been established in another thirty-eight locations. Twenty-two national pastors helped lead this growing group of congregations which reported 225 baptisms for the year. Growth from this expansion came a few years later as these missionaries became established in their various locations.

The most rapidly growing work was located in Tukuyu in the Southern Highlands of Tanganyika, about thirty miles from Mbeya. The initial contact for this whole district was made in 1958 when an elderly African, Anosisye, walked four times to Mbeya to invite the missionaries to preach in his village. William E. Lewis and his family moved to Tukuyu in February, 1960. With the assistance of Carlos

^{449 &}lt;u>Ibid</u>., 1961, p. 166.

^{450 &}lt;u>Ibid</u>. 451 <u>Ibid</u>., p. 171. 452 <u>Ibid</u>.

⁴⁵³ Baptist World, 8:6, June, 1961, p. 4.

Owens, who was working in Mbeya, Lewis held the first Sunday school clinic in the area, February 16-17, with forty-one newly chosen leaders participating. Within a few weeks the Jerusalem Baptist Church was organized with thirty members and twenty-three additional members had been baptized. Anosisye was chosen as the pastor of the congregation. By the end of June, Lewis reported that two other churches were organized and six more established. An association was formed for fellowship among the congregations in April. 455

To help prepare these farmer-preachers for their task, the first lay training extension course was planned at the Jerusalem Baptist Church for two weeks in October, 1961. The two missionaries assigned to the Seminary, DeBord and Martin, along with Saunders from Nairobi, taught the fifty men, forty-three of whom came from Tukuyu area. In early 1962 Lewis was writing of more than twenty-nine congregations and a month later reported thirty-two. By the end of 1964 Tukuyu had eighty and a report in the Baptist World described the situation in

⁴⁵⁴ Press Release, March 4, 1960.

^{455 &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, May 4, 1960; <u>Commission</u>, XXIII:6, June, 1960, p. 20; <u>East Africa</u>, <u>Mission Minutes</u>, August 4-10, 1960.

⁴⁵⁶ Press Release, October 24, 1961; Commission, XXIV:10, November, 1961, p. 32; Baptist World, 8:10, December, 1961, p. 7.

⁴⁵⁷ Press Release, March 9, 1962; April 27, 1962.

these words:

Baptist work in the district is largely self-supporting, self-governing, and self-propagating. The recent annual meeting of the Association of Baptist churches in the area is a case in point. The meeting was held in a place where there was no church, Mr. Lewis says. The result? Eight converts and a new church. 458

By the end of 1965 plans were well under way for the beginning of a Bible school with a regularly scheduled program of training. In addition, the Association's influence had been spread far to the east where a convert from Tanga, Ernest Banaba, had returned to his home at Chitungwe, twenty miles from Masasi.

Although the growth was not as phenomenal in other places the pattern was much the same. Eric Clark, who moved to Kisumu in July, 1960, reported that forty were baptized in January, 1962, thirty in February, and that the Nyanza Association had been formed and its leaders were planning to coordinate development into new villages. 460 . Clark wrote that at one meeting of church leaders six men came at least fifteen miles, each from a different direction, to ask his help in beginning congregations but he was forced to reply: "I am very sorry, but we cannot consider any more work at the moment for we are hardly able to

⁴⁵⁸ Press Release, November 12, 1964; Baptist World, 12:4. April. 1965. p. 16.

⁴⁵⁹ East Africa, Annual Report, 1965.

⁴⁶⁰ Press Release, March 9, 1962.

maintain successfully that which we already have."461

Four missionaries held a pastors' school in Kisumu from August 30 to September 4, 1962, which was attended by thirty-four lay pastors. Half of the men came from Kisumu and the others gathered from Nairobi, Nyeri, Kitale, and Arusha. When Clark went home in 1962, Marshall Phillips, who assumed his responsibility in Kisumu, wrote that the pressure to expand was so great that he daily refused requests from those who wanted him to visit them and to establish congregations, even telling one man "no" ten times. 463

The annual report for 1962 mentioned that in Kisumu six additional churches had been formed and four preaching points added to the group. 464

Wendell Hull arrived in Nyeri, Kenya, to begin
Baptist work in June, 1960. By the end of 1962, he was
writing about congregations at Kanunga, Mukuria, Karatina,
and Mutathini, as well as telling of the ordination of
David Ng'ang'a, one of Nyeri's first pastors. Even so,
only one church was organized; but eight preaching points

^{461 &}lt;u>Commission</u>, XXV:4, April, 1962, p. 18.

⁴⁶² Press Release, September 28, 1962.

⁴⁶³ Commission, XXV:10, October, 1962, p. 14.

⁴⁶⁴ East Africa, Annual Report, 1962.

⁴⁶⁵ Commission, XXV:10, October, 1962, p. 30; XXVII:1, January, 1964; XXVII:2, February, 1964, p. 31.

were reported.466

The following year the Nyeri Baptist Association was formed and soon requested help from the Mission in order to start a high school which the churches wanted to operate as a joint project between the Association and the Mission. The school was to have seven Board members, four of whom would be selected by the Association and three by the Mission. The Association proposed to raise one—fourth of the funds necessary for building and asked the Mission to find the balance. The missionaries finally agreed to the proposal but decided that "the mission . . . pay its part of the financial aid only after the Nyeri Baptist Association has fulfilled its financial obligation." With this understanding the project was undertaken.

Back in Tanganyika, the Dar es Salaam Baptist
Association was organized on November 12, 1961, by three churches and their several preaching points. The Magomeni Baptist Church, in Dar es Salaam, ordained Ishmael Sibale, the first African pastor to have this distinction in Baptist circles in East Africa, in September, 1961.

⁴⁶⁶ East Africa, Annual Report, 1962.

⁴⁶⁷ East Africa, Mission Minutes, August 7-13, 1963; E.C. Minutes, February 25-27, 1964; November 10-11, 1964.

⁴⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁹ Commission, XXIV:10, October, 1961, p. 24; East Africa, E.C. Minutes, November 22-24, 1961; Annual Report, 1962.

Carlos Owens moved from Mbeya to Kigoma in western Tanganyika in September, 1962, and by the end of the year wrote that 150 professions of faith had been made and that six preaching points were established. Within six months three churches were organized and before the end of 1965 the Kigoma Baptist Association was functioning. 471

James Hampton moved to Tanga in early 1961, and on Easter morning conducted the first services in the town. 472 In December, 1962, he opened a library and reading room in Ngamiani, and assisted the nineteen members of the Kisosoro Baptist Church in town to organize and also to conduct a dedication service for their new building which had been built by mission subsidy during the year. 473 Although Tanga was predominantly Moslem, Kisosoro continued to grow slowly and, in addition, two more preaching points were started in 1963. 474.

In Nairobi, where the churches had accepted a planned ten percent subsidy reduction every six months, sixty-five members from the three organized churches gathered in June, 1961, for a fellowship meeting as a

⁴⁷⁰ East Africa, Mission Minutes, August 7-13, 1963.

⁴⁷¹ East Africa, Annual Report, 1962; E.C. Minutes, April 13, 1966; Press Release, June 24, 1963.

⁴⁷² Baptist World, 8:5, May, 1961, p. 8.

⁴⁷³ Press Release, December 20, 1962; Baptist World, 10:2, February, 1963; p. 10; 10:9, November, 1963, p. 9.

⁴⁷⁴ Press Release, December 6, 1962; June 24, 1963.

prelude to the organization of their association. The Nairobi Baptist Association was organized on October 27, 1962, with four churches and three preaching points. 475 During 1960 David Kimilu, one of the staff members at the Shauri Moyo Baptist Center, was given a scholarship to study at the Baptist Theological Seminary at Ogbomosho, Nigeria. 476

Morris Wanje, the first pastor in Mombasa, moved to Malindi about seventy miles to the north in 1962. The resulting church was organized in December the same year and Wanje's ordination, which was requested by the church, took place on June 2, 1963. 477

Three African men showed up at the 1960 mission meeting at Limuru, Kenya and implored the Mission to assume responsibility for Border College, a private school just across the border in Uganda, north of Kitale, Kenya. 478

The Mission after a hurried investigation accepted the invitation and asked Eric Clark to establish preliminary contacts from Kisumu. They next requested the Charles Evanses to consider moving from Mbeya to Bukwa, the nearest village to the school, on the Uganda side of the border. 479

^{475 &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, June 2, 1961; July 3, 1962, East Africa, <u>E.C. Minutes</u>, October, 19-22, 1962; Annual Report, 1962.

⁴⁷⁶ East Africa, E.C. Minutes, March 14-16, 1960; Annual Report, 1962.

⁴⁷⁷ Press Release, December 31, 1962; June 4, 1963.

⁴⁷⁸ East Africa, <u>Mission Minutes</u>, August 4-10, 1960.

^{479 &}lt;u>Ibid</u>.

However, the Evanses were unable to obtain the necessary work permits from the Uganda government and moved to a farmhouse on the Kenya side. 480

Many unanswered questions arose over the handling of finances and the registration of the school with the Education Department, so by the end of 1962 the Mission, following the Evanses' recommendation, had withdrawn from any association with the institution. The Evanses continued to work with the people in the area around Kitale, moved back into town, and shortly were able to report the organization of the Bethsaida church on a farm near their first home along with four other preaching points. 481

The Baptist Tuberculosis Hospital in Mbeya began to operate on a full schedule on January 25, 1960, and before long had spread its ministry into a part time clinic service in the Tukuyu area which was increased or decreased according to the personnel available. Reports of the spiritual emphasis of the institution were summarized by the general statements from time to time that persons had been won to Christ or had been given a witness. When Edward Mwaijande completed his course of study at the Arusha Seminary in December, 1964, he was called to serve the

⁴⁸⁰ East Africa, E.C. Minutes, March 7-9, 1961.

⁴⁸¹ East Africa, <u>Mission Minutes</u>, August 10-15, 1961.

⁴⁸² East Africa, E.C. Minutes, March 14-16, 1960.

hospital as its first chaplain. 483

While at Mbeya, Lorne Brown was able to get permission in 1961 to enter into the Rufiji River District among the Moslem people along that coastal area. The response was so immediate and unexpected that in less than four months the religious leaders insisted that the government close the clinic, which was being held in unused government buildings. Lorne next moved briefly to Jinja, Uganda, to assume responsibility for mobile clinics there before being located at Kisumu permanently where a group of clinics was established in conjunction with the local Baptist churches. 485

A high school was requested by the missionaries in Mombasa at mission meeting in 1961, at the same time that a decision was made to sever relationships with Border College. The school began classes in January, 1963, in rented buildings in Mombasa and was moved to new premises on Mombasa Island by the beginning of the September term of that first year. The school became the nucleus for the Mombasa Baptist Church which was organized not long

^{483&}lt;sub>SBC</sub> Annual, 1966, p. 149.

⁴⁸⁴ East Africa, E.C. Minutes, November 14-16, 1960; March 7-9, 1961; SBC Annual, 1961, p. 168.

⁴⁸⁵ East Africa, E.C. Minutes, November 10-11, 1964; March 2-3, 1965; SBC Annual, 1965, p. 146.

⁴⁸⁶ East Africa, Mission Minutes, August 10-15, 1961;
Press Release, November 9, 1962; September 27, 1963;
October 3, 1963, SBC Annual, 1964, p. 129.

afterwards. 487 In 1966, the Tukuyu missionaries, at the urging of the church leaders, requested that another high school be planned, this time in the Southern Highlands, which was to be operating by 1968. 488

Fifteen men and eight wives from eight tribes in Kenya and Tanganyika began their studies at the Baptist Theological Seminary of East Africa on January 15, 1962. 489 Six weeks later, on February 29, H. Cornell Goerner led in a service of dedication for the first buildings at the school.

By the end of 1966, three classes of students had completed their course of studies in Swahili and gone to the churches. Of the thirty men who had finished, twentynine had come from Baptist churches, and twenty-three were still active in Baptist work. The student body consisted of thirty men and twenty wives and was expected to rise to forty-one men and twenty-six wives during the next school year. 490

The Seminary had engaged one African staff member, David Kimilu, who had gone from Shauri Moyo in Nairobi to Nigeria in 1960. He began to teach in January, 1964, and remained until April, 1965, when he left to undertake

⁴⁸⁷ Press Release, October 8, 1963.

⁴⁸⁸ East Africa, <u>Mission</u> <u>Minutes</u>, August 21-28, 1966.

⁴⁸⁹ Press Release, November 8, 1961; April 5, 1962; East Africa, Annual Report, 1962.

⁴⁹⁰ East Africa, Mission Minutes, August 20-27, 1967.

further studies at Makerere University in Uganda. 491

Development in the field of publications moved rapidly to keep pace with that of the churches. The Mission chose the Boyd Pearces to take responsibility for publications on a full time basis in January. 1961. 492 Rented offices were found in Mombasa, where the Pearces were living, and the literature was produced there for the first The Pearces recommended Nairobi as the best location in which to work, so plans were made for building a publications building in that city. During the first year this couple was able to produce two levels of Sunday school materials, two evangelistic tracts, and eight thousand copies of a revised new member's handbook. 494 On February 24. 1962, the new Baptist Publications House was dedicated. 495 The Dale Hoopers were asked to join the Pearces in this ministry. The publication of a denominational news magazine called "Habari za Wabatisti," began in January, 1964. 496

 $^{^{491}\}text{East}$ Africa, <u>E.C.</u> <u>Minutes</u>, November 20-21, 1963. The writer was administrator at the Seminary when Kimilu left.

⁴⁹² East Africa, <u>Mission Minutes</u>, August 4-10, 1960; <u>E.C. Minutes</u>, November 14-16, 1960.

^{493&}lt;u>Ibid</u>., August 10-15, 1961.

^{494&}lt;sub>SBC</sub> Annual, 1962, p. 137.

⁴⁹⁵ Press Release, April 4, 1962; Commission, XXV:4, April, 1962, p. 29.

⁴⁹⁶ Press Release, January 13, 1965; Commission, XXVIII:3, March, 1965, p. 31.

The Mission also became interested in opportunities afforded by the use of radio and early in its history began to consider the possibilities. Although individual programs were recorded on the local level, and the missionaries in Dar es Salaam and Nairobi served on appropriate committees within the national Christian Councils, not until 1966 was Dale Hooper assigned specifically to this ministry. He was asked to take the opportunity on furlough to familiarize himself with the various techniques and to inaugurate a radio ministry for the Mission when he returned to East Africa.

The relationship of the Mission to African workers, churches, and associations went through several stages of development between 1960 and 1966. A third Christian Workers Retreat was held in Dar es Salaam, October 4-10, 1960. This meeting, for the first time, included a number of church members who were not employed by the Mission and so, during the sessions, the Mission employees asked for a private meeting where they might discuss those matters that did not pertain to non-employees. After holding one such gathering they next asked for a meeting with the missionaries to discuss terms of service. The discussions revealed that a difference of opinion existed

⁴⁹⁷ East Africa, Mission Minutes, August 7-13, 1963; E.C. Minutes, December 5, 1966; SBC Annual, 1964, p. 129.

⁴⁹⁸ East Africa, Mission Minutes, August 4-10, 1960.

as to the relationships between the two groups. Although no decisions were made, a further meeting was planned between six African representatives chosen by the employees and several missionaries, which was held in November in Mombasa. 499

After these events the Mission began to take a different approach in its relationships to pastors. A provident fund, which had been established as required by law for employees of the hospital and the centers, was deemed inoperative for pastors since they were employed by the churches rather than the Mission. The Mission went on record as favoring subsidizing pastors' salaries for only one year, with a sharp decrease in the funds supplied thereafter, so that the church would be self-supporting at the end of the second year. 500

Because of the wrong emphasis that emerged at the Dar es Salaam Retreat the missionaries, at the mission meeting in 1961, proposed a joint Churches Evangelism Committee composed of missionaries and Mission-chosen Africans to which they gave the responsibility for planning a Baptist Assembly instead of a Christian Workers Retreat. 501 The Mission instructed this Committee to devise a system for choosing church representation at the Assembly. They

 $^{^{499}}$ East Africa, <u>E.C.</u> <u>Minutes</u>, November 14-16, 1960. 500 Ibid.

⁵⁰¹ East Africa, <u>Mission</u> <u>Minutes</u>, August 10-15, 1961.

also voted to delete from the Mission By-laws the section pertaining to salary scales and conditions of service for the African evangelists and pastors. They also removed the controls on baptizing new members, putting the decision in the hands of the churches rather than on the mission—aries. The addition, all decisions concerning subsidy were to be made by the local missionary, who was free to plan according to particular need and circumstances. At the next meeting of the Executive Committee these decisions were reiterated and a reminder was issued to this joint Churches Evangelism Committee of their responsibility for planning the Baptist Assembly the following year. 504

The first Baptist Assembly was accommodated at the Msalata Girls Middle School, an African school at Dodoma, Tanganyika. The meetings were held June 27-July 3, 1962. The missionaries on the Committee, because of limited facilities and the heavy attendance by missionaries in the past, requested "that missionaries attending be limited" to only those on the program or those needed to transport church representatives to the meetings. The missionary who was Chairman of the Committee reported that the meeting of the group during the Assembly would "also help lay the

^{502&}lt;u>Ibid</u>. 503<u>Ibid</u>.

⁵⁰⁴ East Africa, E.C. Minutes, November 22-24, 1961.

⁵⁰⁵ Press Release, July 6, 1962.

⁵⁰⁶ East Africa, E. C. Minutes, February 26-27, 1962.

groundwork for an East African Convention."⁵⁰⁷ The Committee made plans for revival services in both countries the following year in conjunction with the Assembly and invited two guest preachers from Nigeria, at mission expense, to participate in the services and in the Assembly.⁵⁰⁸

Meanwhile, a second train of events was taking place which pertained to the development of relationships between churches and the Mission. The Nairobi Association, shortly after its formation, asked its General Committee to write a proposed constitution for an East Africa convention and to circulate the document to the churches in all three countries prior to the 1963 Assembly. When this was done the response at the Assembly at Limuru in June showed that few of the representatives understood the proposition.

Utilizing the contribution of the two Nigerian guests, the eighty-one African participants discussed the advantages and disadvantages of having a convention, but reached no conclusions. Carlos Owens observed, however, that even the joint planning of the Churches Evangelism Committee "would almost necessarily presuppose that within

⁵⁰⁷Commission, XXV:8, August, 1962, p. 31.

⁵⁰⁸ East Africa, Mission Minutes, August 8-14, 1962.

⁵⁰⁹ East Africa, E.C. Minutes, March 5-0, 1963; Mission Minutes, August 7-13, 1963.

⁵¹⁰East Africa, <u>E.C. Minutes</u>, June 25-27, 1963.

three or four years a convention would be set up."511

In the interim between the Assembly in 1963 and that of 1964 the joint Committee met several times to plan the program for the Assembly at Limuru in April. The meeting at Limuru was attended by 110 delegates from outside of the Nairobi area and another twenty who came each day from After the discussion at the Assembly Daniel Wanjohi/Kabithe, Chairman of the Churches Evangelism Committee at the time, was asked to give a report to mission meeting. Wanjohi in his comments mentioned the inconsistencies caused by the policy of subsidy by which an evangelist in some areas was employed and maintained by a missionary while in other areas pastors were wholly dependent upon their churches and received next to nothing in remuneration. He also decried the Mission's method of locating missionaries on the various stations which had resulted in a constant changing of plans and policies. Although Wanjohi admitted that both Africans and missionaries alike were involved in creating this misunderstanding, he "felt that the mission is more liable to blame" in these matters." 513

This Committee composed a model constitution to present at the Assembly at Limuru in April, 1965, where it was explained and discussed. About half way through the

⁵¹¹ East Africa, Mission Minutes, August 7-13, 1963.

⁵¹² East Africa, <u>Mission Minutes</u>, August 5-12, 1964.

^{513 &}lt;u>Ibid</u>.

week Wanjohi, who was moderating the sessions, had to cut off discussion because of strong differences of opinion both among Africans and missionaries about the advisability of attempting to organize a convention within a year or two. 514

Little mention was made of a convention during the following year either at the meetings of the Churches Evangelism Committee or at the Assembly. The reason for such hesitancy is disclosed in the action taken by the Mission at its meeting in August, 1965, when a majority of the missionaries voted that,

The members of the local churches be encouraged to reinforce their work through the local churches and associations, but that no mission funds be committed at this time toward the financial support of a convention. $^{515}\,$

Two events diverted the attention of the church leaders and the missionaries from the subject of a convention. Vice President William Tolbert of Liberia, who was President of the Baptist World Alliance, and Paul Mbende, the Alliance Vice President for Africa, were invited to participate in the Assembly in 1966 at mission expense. 516 The presence of these visitors caused a great deal of interest on the part of the churches. Also, the Assembly

 $^{^{514}\}mathrm{The}$ writer was present at the sessions and observed this action although nothing was minuted.

⁵¹⁵ East Africa, <u>Mission</u> <u>Minutes</u>, August 5-12, 1965.

⁵¹⁶ Press Release, April 28, 1966; Baptist World, 13:6, June, 1966, p. 4.

sessions and the Committee meetings were devoted to completing plans for a simultaneous revival effort in the countries of East and Central Africa in 1967.

Three steps were taken by the Mission during this time which were to affect Baptist development in East Africa. The first was the Mission's purchase of the Brackenhurst Hotel in July, 1964, for use as accommodation for the Assembly, mission meetings, and other meetings. 517 A second was that the missionaries in Uganda, with the blessing of those in Kenya and Tanzania, organized the Baptist Mission of Uganda in August, 1966, to be effective January 1, 1967. The third step was that the Mission conducted an extensive survey into new areas of Kenya and Tanzania, with a view to further expansion. 519

Thus, ten years after the first four couples met in Dar es Salaam in December, 1956, to plan for the modest beginning in Mbeya, Dar es Salaam, and Nairobi, the Mission had shown remarkable growth, as had the churches associated with it. The report to the Board at the end of 1966 indicated that the churches in the three countries numbered 163, and that services were held in a further 106 preaching points. The membership was listed as 7,272, with 1,579

⁵¹⁷ Press Release, September 18, 1964; Commission, XXVII:11, November, 1964, p. 30.

⁵¹⁸ East Africa, Mission Minutes, August 21-28, 1966.

^{&#}x27;519 SBC Annual, 1967, p. 198; <u>Ibid.</u>, <u>E.C. Minutes</u>, December 5, 1966.

baptisms reported for the year. 520 The missionary force had reached 102 in Kenya and Tanzania and, in addition, twelve were in Uganda. 521

Consolidation and transition, 1967-72. Between 1967 and 1972 the congregations were strengthened and new congregations were begun in the established stations.

Moreover, the Mission sent missionaries to reside in new towns and districts in order to begin additional preaching points and churches. The David Whitsons went to Lindi in southeastern Tanzania in August, 1967, and the William Holloways to Nakuru in Kenya in December. The David Whitsons went to Thika, the Harold Cummins to Machakos District, both in Kenya, and the Carlos Owens moved to Moshi in Tanzania.

The most noticeable achievement occurred in the various institutional forms of missionary outreach and in the growth of national leadership in assuming an effective part of the responsibility for directing Baptist life.

At the Baptist Theological Seminary of East Africa the attendance remained consistent year after year. In 1967 the student body numbered forty-one men and twenty-nine

⁵²⁰SBC Annual, 1967, pp. 207-08.

⁵²¹<u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 198, 206.

⁵²²SBC Annual, 1968, p. 139.

⁵²³East Africa, E.C. Minutes, March 29, 1971.

wives. ⁵²⁴ Because of a change from a three year course of instruction to a four year one, only two classes of students were present in 1969, but even so twenty-one men and thirteen wives were involved in the program of study. ⁵²⁵ By 1970 three classes were again enrolled and forty men and twenty-six wives resided at the school. ⁵²⁶ At the end of 1971 the total enrolment was fifty-one, including one class of nine men which was being taught in English rather than the customary Swahili. ⁵²⁷

The missionary staff attempted to include Africans among their number, anticipating the time when missionaries would give place to national leaders. Douglas Wanjohi Waruta, an Arusha Seminary graduate who received a Bachelor of Arts Degree from Hardin-Simmons University in Texas, was invited to teach at the school upon his arrival back in East Africa. He agreed to do so, but remained only one year before accepting a call to be pastor of the Riruta Baptist Church in Nairobi, where he also enrolled for graduate studies at the University of Nairobi. The missionaries proposed the employment of national teachers

⁵²⁴ Press Release, November 8, 1967.

⁵²⁵ East Africa, Mission Minutes, August 22-28, 1969.

⁵²⁶Ibid., August 22-30, 1970.

⁵²⁷SBC Annual, 1972, p. 146.

⁵²⁸ East Africa, Mission Minutes, August 23-29, 1971.

⁵²⁹<u>Tbid</u>., August 21-27, 1972.

as rapidly as possible, but were forced to continue requesting missionary staff since suitably trained African teachers were not available. 530

In an attempt to relate the student body more closely to the churches, the handling of support and subsidy was removed from Seminary administration in 1969. The individual students, their churches, associations, and the local missionaries became responsible for the financial arrangements for students. The Seminary assumed the cost of operating the institution, and charged a modest fee from the students each year. 531

One important innovation was a Board of Governors created by the Mission to operate the school. This body was designed to have seven members, a representative elected by the churches, and later by the Convention, in each of the three countries, a representative elected by the Missions from each of the three countries, and a representative elected by the staff. However, the Baptist Mission of Uganda chose not to participate, so the Board's membership was reduced to only five persons. The Board of Governors was given the responsibility of approving the budget requests which went to the Mission for consideration

⁵³⁰ Ibid., August 23-29, 1971; August 21-27, 1972.

⁵³¹SBC Annual, 1969, p. 123.

⁵³²East Africa, <u>Mission Minutes</u>, August 22-28, 1969.

at its annual meeting. 533 Authority was also granted to the Board to elect or dismiss staff members, including the principal, although decisions affecting missionaries needed the approval of the Mission before coming into force. The Mission suggested that staff changes affecting a missionary should be made at the end of that person's term of service, except in unusual circumstances. Requests for missionary personnel would be submitted by the Board through the Personnel Committee to the Executive Committee of the Mission, just as other Mission requests were. Selection of non-missionary staff no longer needed to be referred to the Mission.

various types of extension courses for lay pastor training and incorporated the third-year students into this program as teachers. They also instituted a plan of pastoral internship in 1972, in which older, selected pastors guided the third-year students for three months in practical, on-the-job experience, under the supervision of a staff member. 535

The Bible School at Tukuyu opened in 1966, under the supervision of Jack Conley. 536 The pastors who attended were assisted in their travel by mission subsidy

^{533&}lt;sub>Tbid</sub>. 534_{Tbid}., August 20-27, 1967.

^{535&}lt;sub>Ibid.</sub>, August 23-29, 1971; August 21-27, 1972.

⁵³⁶Commission, XXIX:11, November, 1966, p. 2.

and came to the school one week a month for nine months each year. By 1968 two classes for men were being taught on different weeks, and women leaders were also participating in a one-week session each quarter. 537 A total of eighty participated in the three classes. By the middle of 1969 forty-one men and fifty women were studying regularly at the school. Expansion continued on this basis and the first class of men was graduated during 1970 after three years of instruction.

As the Tukuyu Bible school developed, two graduates from Arusha, Harry Mwasanjala, pastor of the Kibisi Baptist Church near the school, and Stephen Ambindwile, pastor of the Tukuyu Baptist Church, began carrying the burden of administration and teaching. Eucled Moore, one of the Tuluyu missionaries, was assigned to the school and assisted the African staff. In addition, accompanied by one or both of the African teachers, Moore began a program of three-day extension courses which were open to any church member. The men lived in a tent and taught in the local church buildings.

Because of the predominance of this type of leadership in the churches in many areas, other missionaries

 $^{^{537}\}textsc{East}$ Africa, Mission Minutes, August 24-September 1, 1968.

⁵³⁸Ibid., August 22-28, 1969.

⁵³⁹<u>Ibid</u>., August 22-30, 1970.

⁵⁴⁰ Press Release, May 18, 1970.

instituted similar programs, adjusting the curriculum and the schedule to suit local circumstances. The missionaries at Kisumu asked Jack Conley to return to Kisumu from furlough in 1969 and begin a school for the leaders of the steadily increasing number of churches in that part of Kenya. The Kisumu Bible School, located seventeen miles from town, began operation before the end of 1969. Separate classes were held for two groups of women and one of men each month. A second class of men was admitted in September, 1970. In 1972 two groups of pastors were being taught, as were two classes of women. Zepher Okello, another Arusha Seminary graduate, was assisting in the teaching and administration. Eighteen of the twenty-seven men in the first class had completed the course. 543

The idea took hold also in Kigoma in 1970. 544 By the beginning of the third year, this school was being operated two weeks each month and two African leaders, Hassany Lambert and Lewis Joseph, both graduates from Arusha, were carrying the major responsibility, especially since the missionary, Maurice Marrow, spent the last part

 $^{^{541}{\}rm East}$ Africa, Mission Minutes, August 24-September 1, 1968.

^{542&}lt;u>Tbid.</u>, August 22-30, 1970; <u>SBC</u> <u>Annual</u>, 1970, p. 118.

 $^{^{543}}$ East Africa, <u>Mission</u> <u>Minutes</u>, August 21-27, 1972.

⁵⁴⁴ Ibid., August 22-28, 1969; August 22-30, 1970.

of 1972 teaching in Arusha due to a staff shortage there. 545

The Evanses in Kitale requested the Mission's support for another Bible school in July, 1969, but were not able to have their first class of nineteen until the middle of 1971. In Lindi and Masasi, in that newly developed station, the missionaries adapted the program and planned only three days a month in each town, the two helping each other. 547

In Nyeri the Association used the Nyeri Baptist High School buildings for Bible training courses during the August holidays each year, averaging about a hundred men and seventy-five women in separate one-week courses. 548 Although the emphasis put upon leadership training varied from place to place, almost every station conducted a specific program aimed at developing lay leadership in the rural congregations.

Missionaries at the Baptist Publications House increased its production and the levels of curriculum after the two Publications Coordinating conferences in 1970.

Little innovation in the program was attempted in the years that followed. A writers' workshop was held in 1970 to which eight African men were invited, seven of whom were

^{545 &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, August 23-29, 1971; August 21-27, 1972.

^{546 &}lt;u>Tbid</u>., August 22-30, 1970; August 23-29, 1971.

⁵⁴⁷<u>Ibid.</u>, August 21-27, 1972.

^{548 &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, August 20-27, 1967; August 24-September 1, 1968.

graduates of the Arusha Seminary, and in the two years after the workshop two or three of the men attempted to write Sunday school lessons with little success. 549

Dickson Wanje, another Seminary graduate and Publications House employee, assumed editorship of the Baptist newspaper, "Habari za Wabatisti," in 1968. He kept this responsibility when he left Nairobi in 1971 to become pastor of the Mombasa Baptist Church. 550

In 1972 the Mission created a Publications Board, which was to serve in an advisory capacity to the staff. Included on this Board were seven members, one elected by each of the two Conventions, one by the Nairobi Baptist Association, three by the Mission, and one by the staff. 551

The most important development in mass media came in the field of radio and television. Dale Hooper was asked to take training for this special ministry on his furlough in 1967. When he returned in 1968 he planned a Baptist Communications Building which was built adjacent to the Publications House in Nairobi. The studio opened on August 23, 1969. Using temporary facilities Hooper and his African assistant, Moses Wesonga, produced eighty-six programs in five languages in the twelve months prior to

⁵⁴⁹ East Africa, Mission Minutes, August 22-30, 1970.

^{550 &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, August 24-September 1, 1968; August22-30, 1970.

^{55,1}<u>Ibid</u>., August 21-27, 1972.

⁵⁵² Press Release, September 12, 1969; Commission, XXXII:11, November, 1969, p. 35.

the opening of the studio. ⁵⁵³ In a short time the two men were producing 140 to 160 radio and television programs every three months, including brief "epilogues," religious news programs, worship services, and special features. ⁵⁵⁴ These were utilized mostly on the Voice of Kenya, less frequently on Radio Tanzania in Dar es Salaam, and occasionally on Radio Voice of the Gospel, a Lutheran station in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. ⁵⁵⁵

The staff of the Mbeya Baptist Tuberculosis
Hospital continued treatment of that disease and other
medical services, at times also conducting clinics at
Kyela in the Tukuyu area when adequate staff was available.
Beginning in 1967, the relationship of the medical services
to the evangelistic program received more emphasis.
Reports from the institution indicated fifty-one professions of faith in 1966, sixty-eight in 1967, and seventytwo in 1968. By 1970 the number had increased to 140,
and the chaplain's department had been expanded to include
a missionary, Jake Riemenschneider, and a second African
seminary graduate, Robert Mwakalosi. The Mission was

⁵⁵³<u>Tbid.</u>, <u>SBC</u> <u>Annual</u>, 1970, p. 116.

⁵⁵⁴ Commission, XXXIV:9, October, 1971, pp. 1-3.

⁵⁵⁵ East Africa, Mission Minutes, August 21-27, 1972.

⁵⁵⁶<u>Tbid</u>., August 20-27, 1967; East Africa, <u>E.C</u>. <u>Minutes</u>, April 2, 1968.

⁵⁵⁷ East Africa, Mission Minutes, August 22-30, 1970.

encouraged by the reports of services at Nyechela, some distance from Mbeya, the first church which had been started as a direct result of witnessing in the hospital and by word of 198 conversions in 1972. 558

In 1968 the hospital administration presented a proposed constitution to the Mission which included a Board of Governors for the institution. The document after being returned to the staff for further study was approved in 1969. Under the constitution a Board of Governors was elected by the Mission including one African member who served with the missionaries chosen for the task. Administrative decisions were referred by the staff to the Board and then to the Mission, setting the stage for future national participation on a more realistic level. 559

Clinics also were continued in conjunction with the churches in the Kisumu area and others were started in the Nairobi area in 1970, using the services of the missionary wives who lived there. Lorne Brown, who supervised the clinics in Kisumu, in evaluating the contribution of this medical program to the spiritual welfare of the people wrote:

^{558&}lt;u>Ibid</u>., August 21-29, 1972; <u>Press Release</u>, June 14, 1971.

 $^{^{559}\}text{East Africa},~\underline{\text{Mission}}~\underline{\text{Minutes}},~\text{August 24-}$ September 1, 1968.

⁵⁶⁰ East Africa, E.C. Minutes, March 29, 1971; SBC Annual, 1972, p. 137.

The relationship of the clinics and evangelism is a matter which is more difficult to measure. There can be no doubt that the clinics have greatly enhanced the prestige of the local Baptist churches. We trust that in addition they have been a spiritual as well as physical blessing to the church fellowships. 561

Agricultural evangelism was an integral part of the Mission's program at Tukuyu, Nyeri and Limuru. The one in Tukuyu proved the most noteworthy. Twelve agricultural programs, oriented to give a Christian witness, were prepared by Douglas Knapp and broadcast over Radio Tanzania in 1967 by Anosisye Mwongwembe, a local lay pastor. 562

Knapp through the years insisted that "the agriculture project has been a church related project with an evange-listic outreach," utilizing church centered field days which combined preaching and witnessing with extension agriculture. 563

The Mission and the churches increasingly worked together on missionwide projects as plans were made for the simultaneous crusade in 1967. Revival services were held throughout the two countries and 189 churches participated in the meetings. Over 2,100 professions of faith, were recorded at the services. One of the lasting values of

^{561&}lt;sub>East Africa, Mission Minutes</sub>, August 24-September 1, 1968.

⁵⁶²Commission, XXX:9, September, 1967, pp. 9-11.

⁵⁶³ East Africa, <u>Mission</u> <u>Minutes</u>, August 20-27, 1967; August 22-28, 1969.

 $^{^{,564}}$ <u>Press</u> Release, November 28, 1967; Commission, XXXI:1, January, 1968, p. 31.

the crusade was the preparation given to many leaders at the evangelistic clinics. Several clinics were held at central locations where as many as two hundred lay leaders and pastors attended each one. Afterwards the sessions were moved into the various associations, reaching an even larger number of the leaders in the churches. These efforts had a lasting effect on the evangelistic outlook and the maturity of many East African Baptists. 565

with the evangelistic campaign, set in motion a stewardship revival in each church during October, 1968. 566 Advance publicity was shared with the churches throughout the two countries. Special emphasis was made at the Assemblies at Dodoma and Limuru in April, where the materials were explained and shared with the leaders in the associations. Then, in the three months prior to the meetings in the churches, associations had teaching sessions similar to the ones at the Assemblies. A marked increase in giving followed the campaign, especially in the urban churches where members were involved in a cash economy. The next project was an emphasis on impact evangelism for a week in the key cities of East Africa in 1970, followed by meetings in the towns during the second week, and in the rural

Mission Minutes, Release, October 15, 1968; East Africa, Mission Minutes, 1967; E.C. Minutes, December 5, 1967.

churches in the third week. ⁵⁶⁷ The urban rallies achieved only modest effect, but in the other two weeks response was overwhelming and before the end of the month over 6,000 persons were reported to have made personal decisions to accept Christ. In an analysis of the meetings, the African pastors and the missionaries, seeing that the rallies were the least effective, recommended that priority be given to the rural areas in the next campaign. They also expressed preference for visitors from other parts of Africa rather than from the United States. ⁵⁶⁸

Stewardship was emphasized again in 1972. Douglas Brown, Stewardship Secretary for the Baptist General Convention of Texas, visited both countries, met with Convention leaders, and advised them in ways of developing a program of stewardship designed to fit into the economic pattern of their church membership. At its annual meeting in 1972 the Mission requested \$2,000 to be used for a stewardship project. This time the funds were to be divided equally between the Kenya Convention and the Tanzania Convention and handled within their budget. 569

The organization of the Conventions and the development of their relationship to the Mission loomed large in the picture during the years from 1967 to 1972.

East Africa, Mission Minutes, August 20-27, 1967; Press Release, June 14, 1969; June 15, 1971.

⁵⁶⁸ East Africa, <u>Mission Minutes</u>, August 21-27, 1972.

^{569&}lt;sub>Ibid</sub>.

In August, 1967, the Mission changed its perspective from the position which it took in 1965 of encouraging the development of churches and associations rather than conventions. The missionaries decided,

That the Mission go on record as having encouraged Baptist Churches in Kenya and Tanzania to develop local Baptist Associative National Organizations, and to associate with international Baptist organizations, and that these Baptist Churches of Kenya and Tanzania be assured of the willingness of the Baptist Missionaries to assist in this development. 570

The meeting of the national Assemblies, which were held separately at Mbeya and at Limuru in 1967, continued in 1968 with meetings in Dodoma where ninety persons were anticipated and at Limuru where 160 were expected. 571

Although only forty-three went to Dodoma and 135 to Limuru, those present adopted abbreviated constitutions for

Churches Evangelism Committees in both countries which were to cooperate with the Mission's one Evangelism Committee. 572

Those attending the Assemblies elected members of the Committees and decided that each church should contribute two per cent of all gifts to these two bodies to enable the officers to carry out their duties. Later that year the Mission requested each Evangelism Committee to submit the names of three men to participate in surveys of new areas in each country, partially with a view of their recommending

⁵⁷⁰<u>Ibid</u>., August 20-27, 1967.

 $^{^{571}}$ East Africa, <u>E.C.</u> <u>Minutes</u>, December 5, 1967.

^{572 &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, April 2, 1968; East Africa, <u>Mission</u> <u>Minutes</u>, August 21-September 1, 1968.

opportunities for home mission service to the forthcoming Conventions. 573

The Evangelism Committees reported to the Mission that plans would have been ready for the organizing of Conventions in 1970, except that they had delayed action for a year so as not to decrease the time and energy available for the revivals. 574

Anticipating the next year's action the missionaries decided,

That the Mission invite the Kenya and Tanzania Baptists to send two observers to the Annual Mission Meeting of the Baptist Mission of East Africa when the Baptists of these two nations form National Baptist organizations. 575

The observers were free to attend all sessions of the meetings, but had no vote.

The Mission also established a Coordinating Committee in place of the Evangelism Committee, which was charged with recommending to the Mission steps in the transition of responsibility and devolution. They insisted that the missionaries on the new Committee should be fluent in Swahili, should serve for their entire term of service, and that those nominated should be approved by the Evangelism Committees of the churches. 576

⁵⁷³East Africa, <u>E.C. Minutes</u>, December 10, 1968.

⁵⁷⁴ East Africa, <u>Mission</u> <u>Minutes</u>, August 22-30, 1970.

⁵⁷⁵<u>Ibid</u>., August 22-28, 1969.

⁵⁷⁶ ibid.

In preparation for the forming of Conventions, teams of pastors and missionary members of the Coordinating Committee visited associations and churches in January, 1971. explaining the proposed constitutions, the purpose of the Conventions and answering questions. 577 Following these visits the Baptist Convention of Kenya was organized at the Assembly held at Limuru on March 27, 1971. Representatives of 111 churches paid a membership fee of twenty shillings each for their churches to become a part of the body. 578 One of the first actions which the new Convention took was to call Nathan Koyyi as a home missionary and to assign him to Bungoma in western Kenya. Funds for the project had previously been raised through a Christmas offering in the churches in 1970. The Convention also requested the Mission to assist in financing a mational youth retreat but accepted the responsibility for raising one-fourth of the funds themselves, while asking the Mission to find the rest.

On June 19, at the Seminary chapel in Arusha, messengers from 121 churches from all parts of Tanzania held a similar meeting, electing to send their missionary, Ambokile Mwakatwila, to Dodoma in central Tanzania. 579

The Mission, aware of its changing role, voted at Mission meeting in 1971 to request \$2,500 a year for

⁵⁷⁷ Press Release, May 13, 1971.

^{578 &}lt;u>Tbid</u>., March 29, 1971. 579 <u>Ibid</u>., May 13, 1971.

three years as a subsidy for the two Conventions and also agreed to match the Conventions' missionary offerings for five years. They began referring items such as a question from the Kenya Registrar General about registration of marriages and a request from the Kenya Prison Service for a chaplain to the Kenya Convention for appropriate replies. 581

Four decisions made by the missionaries in 1972 showed how wholeheartedly and seriously they were taking the change in their role. The first related to the exercise of prerogative in making decisions about the various institutions. The Mission accepted a plan which stated that,

The Co-ordinating Committee of the Conventions and of the Mission recommended and it was approved that advisory committees or boards of governors be established for all institutions. Nationals chosen by the Conventions and missionaries by the Mission would make up these boards. 582

The Mission, in consideration of a problem which had arisen between Charles Evans and several leaders in the Kitale Association, rescinded its previous decision which had justifiably supported Evans and moved that the body "ask the personnel committee to follow the lead of the Kenya Convention E.C. and to take what action seems needed." 583

⁵⁸⁰ Ib/id., March 29, 1971.

⁵⁸¹ East Africa, <u>Mission Minutes</u>, August 23-29, 1971.

⁵⁸²<u>Ibid</u>., August 21–27, 1972. ⁵⁸³<u>Ibid</u>.

The third decision which showed an awareness of change related to a request made by the Tanzania Convention at its meeting at Dodoma in 1972, when the nationals asked that a missionary couple be assigned to Njombe for evangelism and also that a missionary be designated as "Consultant in Stewardship and Evangelism to serve among the churches of Tanzania." The Mission's Executive Committed at the November meeting recalled its commitment to fill these positions, noted an added request for a second missionary for Kigoma, and agreed to give priority to the Convention's requests. 585

A final decision indicating that the Mission was taking into account the rapid changes engendered by the organization of the Conventions was to appoint a special Committee of Nine to "review the entire mission structure considering also the relationship of the Mission to the Tanzania and Kenya Conventions." This Committee began its study of the matter before the end of December, 1972.

A summary of growth. Although many facets of
Baptist life in East Africa at the end of 1972 needed to
mature and although many areas in the two countries still'
lacked an adequate Christian witness, and especially a
Baptist witness, the expansion of the churches associated

^{584&}lt;sub>Ibid</sub>.

⁵⁸⁵ East Africa, <u>E.C. Minutes</u>, November 28, 1972.

⁵⁸⁶ East Africa, Mission Minutes, August 21-27, 1972.

with the Baptist Mission of East Africa gave much cause for rejoicing. In the following table, a picture is given of this growth.

Year	Churches	Preaching Points	Members	Baptisms	Offering
1957 ⁵⁸⁷		8			
1962 ⁵⁸⁸	53	78	1,756	789	\$2,980
1967 ⁵⁸⁹	162	123	8,175	1,835	7,389
1972 ⁵⁹⁰	400	159	16,709	3,058	9,370

Considering the widespread witness in this part of Africa, leaders in the Baptist Mission of East Africa, the Baptist Convention of Kenya, and the Baptist Convention of Tanzania have been aware of the two most pressing needs, which are leadership training at every level, and a stewardship emphasis. Those in positions of leadership are attempting to meet this need while at the same time keeping before the churches an imperative for continuing the rate of growth through their evangelistic outreach.

Southern Baptists in Uganda

The first Southern Baptist contact with Uganda which contemplated mission work was the visit of Ira N. Patterson and William L. Jester to East Africa in

⁵⁸⁷SBC Annual, 1958, p. 201.

⁵⁸⁸<u>Ibid</u>., 1963, p. 151. ⁵⁸⁹<u>Ibid</u>., 1968, p. 148.

 $^{^{590} \}rm Figures$ submitted in the statistical tables for December 31, 1972, to appear in the <u>SBC Annual</u>, 1973.

May, 1954. ⁵⁹¹ The two men arrived in Entebbe, Uganda, their first stop in East Africa, and traveled into various parts of the country from May 23 to May 31, having interviews with government officials and leaders in the Anglican Church. The initial response from the Governor and his aides evidenced a cordial acceptance of the prospect of Baptist missionaries entering Uganda. Keeping this response in mind, the two men planned to return through Uganda after visiting Kenya and Tanganyika.

However, when they made a brief return visit three weeks later, the Governor stated apologetically but firmly that, because of the vociferous objection of church officials, Baptists should not attempt to enter Uganda at the time. Patterson wrote of the Governor's reaction, explaining that,

Because of strong opposition which he was unable to overcome, he advised us to take advantage of the openings offered elsewhere, for the present at least, pending the time when this country may be open to Baptist witness. 592

Neither George Sadler in his visit to East Africa in early 1956 nor the three men, Harper, Walker, and Saunders, on their survey excursion several months later, stopped in Uganda, primarily because of the attitude which had been expressed to the two Nigerian missionaries in 1954.

⁵⁹¹Patterson, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., pp. 124-33.

⁵⁹²<u>Ibid</u>., pp. 132-33.

Not long after the arrival of the first contingent of missionaries in Dar es Salaam and Nairobi, the matter was again broached. As Sadler corresponded with Harper on February 7, 1957, he wrote, "Again, let me raise the question of our extending the arm of our influence into Uganda." Harper contacted the other missionaries by telephone, got their approval for a trip into Uganda, and asked Saunders to include a visit to Uganda as an extension of a proposed survey into the South Nyanza District of Kenva. 593 At the conclusion of the journey a report was submitted to the Mission at its annual meeting in April, 1957. The Anglican leaders in Uganda showed the same attitude of aloofness as previously; one churchman maintained that "our coming to establish Baptist work would be a detriment rather than a blessing to the Kingdom of Following a discussion of the report, the Mission decided "that the matter of opening the work in Uganda be

The period of beginning. After this brief consideration, no further reference appeared in mission action until the mission meeting at Limuru, Kenya, in 1960, which

⁵⁹³Winfred O. Harper, Letters to Saunders, March 8, 11, 1957.

⁵⁹⁴ East Africa, <u>Mission Minutes</u>, April 29, May 3, 1957.

⁵⁹⁵ Tbid.

Cornell Goerner attended. Three African visitors appeared at Limuru on the last of the mission meeting and, when granted their request to speak, urged the Mission to assist them in operating a prviate school called Border College, located in eastern Uganda just a mile beyond the Kenya border. After some discussion, a hurried trip was made to the school the next day by a small group of missionaries. When the men returned in the evening with a favorable report, the Mission expressed a willingness to attempt the project. Thus,

On the recommendation of the East Africa Mission, the Foreign Mission Board voted to station a missionary couple at Bukwa, Uganda, as soon as permanent residence visas could be secured. 596

Later in the year Charles and Betty Evans, who had recently moved to Mbeya after language study, were asked to consider undertaking this work. The East Africa Mission reported that,

Late in 1960, a couple moved to a point in Kenya just across the boundary from Bukwa, with a view to residence in Uganda at a later date. Frequent trips across the border were planned to assist in a religious and educational program at Border College. 597

Because of irregularities in the handling of funds by the managers of the school, the relationship between the Mission and the school was terminated for all practical purposes in a few months. The Evanses moved to Kitale about

⁵⁹⁶ Press Release, August 29, 1960; October 13, 1960; SBC Annual, 1961, p. 166.

⁵⁹⁷ bid.

thirty miles from the school. 598

Meanwhile, the Evanses had begun conducting services in the living room of their farmhouse residence near Bukwa. A church, called the Bethsaida Baptist Church, grew out of these services. One of the laymen who was working on a farm nearby, Joram Muhando, became lay pastor of the church, the first congregation of those that later developed into the Kitale Association. On April 6, 1962, Evans and Muhando started services at a border village called Suam, which were the first to be held in Uganda, except for those conducted among students at Border College. 599

Before the end of 1961, the East Africa Mission reported that official registration had been received for missionaries to enter into Uganda, and that the Mission was waiting for available personnel to be assigned there. 600 Evans, Saunders, and Ralph Harrell made a trip to a number of the major towns in November, 1961. The Mission accepted their recommendation that missionaries should be sent first to Kampala, Jinja, and Mbale. 601

Hampton, Boone, and Charles Tope made another trip in September, 1962, to investigate the possibility of using

⁵⁹⁸SBC Annual, 1963, p. 143.

World, 9:6, June, 1962, Release, November 7, 1962; Baptist

⁶⁰⁰ Press Release, December 15, 1961; SBC Annual, 1962, p. 134.

⁶⁰¹ East Africa, E.C. Minutes, November 22-24, 1961.

mobile medical clinics in the country. 602 In keeping with the findings of these men and the authorization of the Foreign Mission Board, Hal Boone was asked by the Mission to move to Jinja and begin mobile clinics in the nearby Busoga District. 603 After staying in Nairobi for a few months while getting affairs in order for entry into the country, the Boones moved to Jinja on December 5, 1962, becoming the first Southern Baptist missionaries resident in Uganda. 604

In the middle of 1963 Webster and Betty Carroll moved from Dar es Salaam to Jinja to join the Boones, and the two couples soon were able to report that people in that part of East Africa were being won to Christ through their ministry. The next couple to be assigned to Uganda was Jimmy and Peggy Hooten. These two had asked to go into Uganda at the completion of their Swahili language study in Dar es Salaam, but were assigned for several months to the Changamwe Baptist Center in Mombasa. An opportunity was given to them to move into the country in December, 1963, to work at Mbale in eastern Uganda. 606

^{602&}lt;u>Tbid</u>., October 19-22, 1962.

⁶⁰³ Press Release, November 9, 1962.

^{604&}lt;u>Tbid</u>., December 14, 1962; <u>SBC</u> <u>Annual</u>, 1963, p. 142.

^{605&}lt;sub>Press</sub> Release, July 27, 1963.

⁶⁰⁶ Evangelism Conference, pp. 19-20.

These three families were joined by the William Holloways in July, 1964, by the Ray Blundells in early 1966, and by the Tom Tiptons, who came from Mombasa, in late 1966. The Blundells were to work with the Carrolls in Jinja, the Holloways, with the Hootens in Mbale, and the Tiptons were assigned to Kampala. Thus, before the end of 1966, missionaries were located in all three of the cities which had been selected by the East Africa Mission in 1961 as a part of its program of expansion.

The first church to be organized in Uganda was the Nile Baptist Church in Jinja, which was started in early 1963 shortly after the Carrolls had arrived in Jinja from their brief study of the Luganda language in Kampala. 608 By the end of 1966, this church had been joined by three other congregations and nine preaching points. 609

From farms near Masindi, a town two hundred miles to the northwest of Jinja, a group of Kenya African Baptists who had started meeting in 1965 asked for help. Carroll and Boone attempted to minister to these people from Jinja. 610 Boone also conducted clinics in the church

^{607&}lt;u>Ibid</u>., pp. 22-23.

 $^{^{608} \}mbox{John Washington Masete, Letter from Mbale,}$ Uganda, December 27, 1972.

⁶⁰⁹ SBC Annual, 1966, pp. 146, 156. The text and the statistical table do not give exactly the same number, so that in the text had been used.

⁶¹⁰ Masete, Letter of December 27, 1972; David Lulaba, Letter from Kampala, Uganda, December 28, 1972.

buildings. By the end of 1966 this group had started three additional preaching points among the other Kenya people in the area. 611

The missionaries in Jinja also visited Moroto in northeastern Uganda among the Karamajong people. A Kikuyu pastor, Arthur Kinyanjui, was called from the Shauri Moyo Baptist Church in Nairobi to be a missionary of the Nile Baptist Association. After residing in Jinja a few months, he moved to Moroto to serve as pastor. The initial contact in Moroto came through a visit by Wayne Dehoney, who was President of the Southern Baptist Convention at the time, when he toured East Africa in 1965 and preached in Moroto, using two interpreters to translate through Swahili into the language of the Karamajong people. 613

The Hootens also began to experience a response to their witnessing and by 1965 had baptized a number of converts and had established several preaching points. At the end of 1966 seven different congregations were reported. 614

At the meeting of the Baptist Mission of East

Africa at Limuru in August, 1966, the missionaries sensed

that those of their number who were working in Uganda felt

⁶¹¹ East Africa, <u>Mission Minutes</u>, August 21-28, 1966.

⁶¹² Baptist World, 13:7, September, 1966, p. 7; East Africa, E.C. Minutes, November 10-11, 1964.

Annual, 1966, p. 146.

African Diary, pp. 66-67; SBC

⁶¹⁴Lulaba, Letter of December 28, 1972.

overshadowed by the rest of the Mission in the other two countries and wished to work separately. During the business session one of the Tanzania missionaries moved that,

The Baptist Mission of East Africa give their undivided support and love to our brethren in Uganda in their desire to begin a new Mission in the country . . . And that the date for separation be set for January 1, 1967.615

The action of the Mission was confirmed by the Foreign Mission Board before the end of 1966 and on January 1, 1967, the Baptist Mission of Uganda came into being. Seven couples formed the new Mission, the Hal Boones, the Webster Carrolls, the Ray Blundells, the Jimmy Hootens, the Tom Tiptons, the Charles Topes, and the Billy Bob Moores. All except Blundell and Moore had previously served in either Kenya or Tanzania. The Holloways decided to return to Kenya and remain in the East Africa Mission.

The new Mission began its work amidst four organized churches, sixteen preaching points and 120 members. 618 The three towns of Jinja, Mbale, and Kampala

⁶¹⁵ East Africa, Mission Minutes, August 21-28, 1966.

^{616 &}lt;u>Commission</u>, XXIX:10, November, 1966, p. 31.

^{617 &}lt;u>Ibid</u>., XXX:2, February, 1967, p. 27.

⁶¹⁸ SBC Annual, 1967, p. 208. These statistics are evidently repeated from the previous year in lieu of an up to date report.

served as the centers of contact for these churches. 619

The Baptist Mission of Uganda. During the first two years of its existence, the Uganda Mission planned several extensive surveys of the country seeking possible locations for an expansion of their evangelistic witness. Reports were made to the whole group for consideration. Many towns were named, such as Fort Portal, Masindi, Kabale, Masaka, Mbarara, Gulu, Lira, Soroti, Tororo, and Moroto. Although the seven missionary couples had no way of knowing how quickly other missionaries would come, their vision encompassed the entire country.

At their third mission meeting in August, 1969, the Mission dealt with plans for expansion because three new couples, the Lanny Elmores, the Billy Cruces, and the Roger Brubecks had arrived and two others, the Harry Garvins and the Paul Eatons, were also on their way. Because of the multiplicity of languages spoken in Uganda, the couples studied different languages according to the tribes among whom they were to work. The Cruces went to Fort Portal, the Brubecks to Masindi, and the Elmores to Mbale. 622

^{619&}lt;sub>Ibid</sub>., p. 198.

⁶²⁰ East Africa, <u>Mission Minutes</u>, August 20-27, 1967; Baptist Mission of Uganda, Mission Minutes, August 12-18, 1968. Hereafter cited as Uganda, <u>Mission Minutes</u>.

⁶²¹ Uganda, Mission Minutes, August 11-15, 1969.

⁶²² Tbid.

Early in 1970 the Garvins and the Eatons moved to Soroti, which became the sixth station for the new Mission. 623

In the first year of the Mission's existence, two events occurred which were to characterize the direction of its development and eventually to polarize the unique approach of this Mission.

The first was involvement in the evangelistic campaign planned for East and Central Africa during October, 1967. Five representatives from Uganda attended the Evangelistic Conference held at Limuru in May, 1966, meeting with those from the other five countries. He Mission next planned an evangelistic clinic to be held in Mbale, January 11-17, 1967. David Lulaba, a lay pastor who served at the little Mooni Baptist Church three miles from town, insisted that the meetings be held at his church rather than in the town. Thirty-five lay pastors from all over Uganda gathered in the rural setting at Mooni. They were so encouraged by the response to their witnessing around the Mooni church that the enthusiasm which was engendered carried back to the other parts of the country. After the revivals were over, the Mission was

^{623&}lt;sub>Masete</sub>, Letter of December 27, 1972; Lulaba, Letter of December 28, 1972.

^{624 &}lt;u>Commission</u>, XXX:4, April, 1967, p. 30; <u>Evangelism</u> <u>Conference</u>, pp. iii-iv.

⁶²⁵ Press Release, February 9, 1967; Baptist World, 14:4, April, 1967, p. 6.

able to report that the membership had been increased to 987, the churches to fourteen, and the preaching points to twenty. 626

The second event was also associated with the Mooni Baptist Church. In October, 1967, immediately after the revival campaign, Charles Tope started a Bible school at the church for lay pastors. Fifteen men came for the first week and sixteen appeared in November for a second week. 627 The Uganda Baptist Bible School was patterned after the one in Tukuyu, Tanzania, except that for several years its outreach was more widespread. Men came from not only Mbale but also from Jinja, Kampala, Soroti, Masindi, and Moroto for the sessions which lasted from Monday evening through Friday evening. The Mission subsidized the cost by providing inexpensive food during the week and bus fare for those who came from long distances. The buildings which were erected at Mooni in conjunction with the church building were of the rural mud and pole type. Classes continued for the one group of leaders for two years. These men were graduated in October, 1969. 628

The second class was attended by twenty-five men, three from Soroti, five from Mbale, seven from Masindi.

^{626&}lt;sub>SBC</sub> Annual, 1968, p. 149.

 $^{^{627}}$ Baptist Mission of Uganda, Minutes of the Executive Committee, December 1-2, 1967. Hereafter cited as Uganda, <u>E.C. Minutes</u>.

 $^{^{628}}$ Masete, Letter of December 27, 1972.

Å,

eight from Jinja, and two from Kampala. This second class was the last class to attend the school in the original format because, by the time the men completed their studies in 1970, new missionary couples were settled in the stations and the Mission was able to revise its approach to Bible schools.

During 1971 and 1972 reports from the Mission contained increasing references to Bible schools. Following the example at Mbale, the missionary on every station began a similar school during 1970 or 1971, each with between eight and twenty-five men attending. By the end of 1971 six of fourteen men at Masindi had completed two years of one week's study a month. Other schools were being conducted in Kampala, Fort Portal, Soroti, and Jinja, making a total of six. In these schools the missionaries depended upon each other for teaching assistance, upon the more mature leaders from the churches, upon missionaries and African leaders from Kenya, and occasionally from Tanzania. The Mission had decided to offer no subsidy to the churches or the pastors, but it did invest in the

⁶²⁹ Uganda, E.C. Minutes, November 27-28, 1969.

⁶³⁰ Uganda, Mission Minutes, August 12-18, 1968.

^{631 &}lt;u>Tbid</u>., August 15-20, 1971; Uganda, <u>E.C. Minutes</u>, November 25-26, 1971.

⁶³² Uganda, Mission Minutes, August 15-20, 1971.

^{633 &}lt;u>Thid</u>., August 12-18, 1968; Lulaba, Letter of December 28, 1972.

support of the six Bible schools, by providing a simple, local diet and the cost of transportation for those who attended. The students were all expected to pay a modest fee for each week that they attended. From time to time the missionary wives planned lessons for the women leaders during the weeks when the men were at their churches. The facilities at Mbale and Soroti were used most frequently for the women. At Soroti, the African teacher, John Eceru, also instituted a simple correspondence course for church leaders, written in the Teso language of the district. 636

Although other institutional development played little part in the planning of this Mission, Boone conducted medical clinics from time to time in the churches in the various areas. John Eceru, referring to the congregations in Soroti, wrote that Boone "used to take the clinic all over the Baptist Churches of Uganda almost once in a year to treat sick Christians and non-Christians He visited many churches in Teso." However, no regular circuit or schedule was developed.

^{634&}lt;sub>Press</sub> Release, June 8, 1971.

⁶³⁵Uganda, <u>Mission</u> <u>Minutes</u>, August 15-20, 1971; Masete, Letter of December 27, 1972.

G36Uganda, Mission Minutes, August 7-12, 1972;
John Eceru, Letter from Soroti, Uganda, December 30, 1972.

⁶³⁷ Eceru, Letter of December 30, 1972.

Paul Eaton came to Uganda as an agricultural evangelist and, although he had a difficult time in finding effective ways in which to utilize his skills in a continuing program, he was able to work through the Bible schools, through individual church members, and occasionally through the government's district farm institutes. 638

The Mission planned to incorporate both of these ministries into a new station at Moroto. A part of the plan was to use an airplane for reaching into the remote areas of Karamoja. Jimmy Hooten was in the United States at the end of 1972 preparing to participate as the evangelistic missionary and pilot. 639

For Sunday school lessons, new members' instruction, and other literature, the Uganda Mission in its early stages depended upon material produced in Nairobi. They decided in 1968 that Tom Tipton "be designated to be responsible for the corporate publication work "640 Tipton was unable to return to Uganda in 1971 because of a health problem. Bill Cruce was assigned this responsibility and was asked to move to Kampala where a house was rented for use as a publications office and for a press which was installed to assist in preparing materials in

^{638&}lt;sub>Ibid</sub>.

⁶³⁹ Uganda, E.C. Minutes, November 27-28, 1969; July 3, 1972; Uganda, Mission Minutes, August 15-20, 1971.

⁶⁴⁰ Uganda, Mission Minutes, August 12-18, 1968.

five different languages for the various stations.⁶⁴¹ A number of the churches, composed mainly of Kenya Africans, still used the Swahili lessons which were obtained from Nairobi.

The Mission discussed the need for a special ministry in radio and television, asked Lanny Elmore to make a study of the prospects, and responded favorably to the need for such a ministry, but left the matter in abeyance since no one felt a specific calling to undertake the task. 642

In conjunction with the Bible schools, the churches in each area were also able to organize associations since the leaders were meeting together regularly for instruction. These organizations were informal, primarily consisting of fellowship meetings, and were guided by officers who were elected at the first meeting and who were changed as circumstances dictated. The first to be formed was that in Mbale, which came into being before the Mission did. 643

The next two were in Kampala and Jinja. 644 Following in rapid sequence were those in Masindi, where linguistic differences necessitated two separate ones, in Soroti, and

^{641 &}lt;u>Tbid</u>., August 15-20, 1971.

⁶⁴²Uganda, E.C. Minutes, July 5-6, 1971.

⁶⁴³Lulaba, Letter of December 28, 1972.

⁶⁴⁴ Uganda, <u>Mission</u> <u>Minutes</u>, August 12-18, 1968; August 11-15, 1969.

in Eart Portal. 645 Except in Masindi where the division meant fewer churches in each, these associations at the end of 1972 consisted of between sixteen and forty-one churches and preaching points. 646

The missionaries in Uganda led the churches to form a nation-wide fellowship in 1969. A planning meeting was held on October 31, and the main meetings were held on December 1-5, attended by representatives from most congregations. The project was sponsored by the Mission and the entire cost of the meeting was paid from their funds. 648

However, when the missionaries did not actively plan and finance a similar meeting during the next two years, the representatives from the churches were not able to have the nation-wide fellowship, although the leaders chosen at the 1969 meeting represented the churches when decisions were needed or advice sought. Webster Carroll, as Mission Chairman, asked the leaders to assemble again at Jinja, November 27-29, 1972, and at that meeting plans were completed for the formal organization of the Uganda Baptist

⁶⁴⁵ Lulaba, Letter of December 28, 1972; Uganda, Mission Minutes, August 11-15, 1969.

 $^{^{646}}$ Lulaba, Letter of December 28, 1972.

⁶⁴⁷ Uganda, <u>Mission Minutes</u>, August 12-18, 1968; Uganda, <u>E.C. Minutes</u>, November 27-28, 1969; <u>SBC Annual</u>, 1969, p. 123.

⁶⁴⁸ Uganda, Mission Meeting, August 12-18, 1968.

Convention. 649

missionaries gave impetus to rapid growth in the number of congregations and in church membership. The Uganda churches, assisted by the Mission, participated in the campaign in East and Central Africa in 1970 but, acting on the advice of the African leaders, cancelled the rallies scheduled for the cities for the first week so that the visiting preachers could concentrate on the rural congregations. When all of the reports had been gathered from the various parts of the country more than 2,000 professions of faith were recorded.

A second revival was experienced in June, 1972, this time in the Jinja area, occasioned by a visit of nineteen pastors and laymen from the United States. The men, accompanied at each church by an African leader from another part of Uganda, from Kenya, or from Tanzania, lived in the church communities for the two weeks that they were in the country. When the visitors gathered for their departure, they found that the response to their witnessing had led to 1528 professions of faith during their brief stay.

 $^{^{649}}$ Lulaba, Letter of December 28, 1972; Masete, Letter of December 27, 1972.

^{650&}lt;sub>Uganda</sub>, <u>E.C. Minutes</u>, April 8, 1970.

^{651&}lt;sub>Press</sub> Release, January 27, 1971; SBC Annual, 1971, p. 149.

⁶⁵² Uganda, E.C. Minutes, July 3, 1972.

A summary of growth. Results from the recent surges of revival are difficult to picture effectively, spanning such a short period, but a glimpse can be given by the following table:

Year	Churches	Preaching Points	Members	Baptisms	Offerings
1966 ⁶⁵³	2	10	120	100	
1967 ⁶⁵⁴	14,	20 .	987	463	\$ 850
1972 ⁶⁵⁵	144	55	8,337	2,189	1,657

To characterize the spirit of evangelism and the excitement engendered by the response experienced in Uganda, excerpts are given from a letter written by a pastor in Soroti. Such testimonies are not a rarity in Uganda nor, indeed, in the other countries of East and Central Africa.

I am John Eceru. I was reared in a village 25 miles North of Soroti town. I am a graduate of Uganda Baptist Bible School Mbale in October 31, 1971. I married in 1962. My wife and I with our four children are rejoicing in Jesus.

In 1968 I wanted a church where I would worship my Lord with members of my family. I therefore sent a note to Kinyanjui, a preacher who lived in Moroto to come and start a church in my area. He soon came after getting that note.

We started to preach in our village with Onesimus Juma. We visited from house to house and God gave us many souls. We started conducting worship services under a tree near my house. Our group grew up and

^{653&}lt;sub>SBC</sub> Annual, 1967, p. 208.

^{654&}lt;u>Ibid</u>., 1968, p. 149.

⁶⁵⁵ Figures submitted in the statistical tables for December 31, 1972, to appear in the SBC Annual, 1973.

we built a church building which was dedicated in June 1970.

I worked in that church as pastor for one year and then I started a new preaching point which later became Tiriri Church. I left that place again and started a preaching point at Orungo which is one of the biggest and strongest churches we have today. After the pastor was elected at Orungo I continued opening new places and spending time teaching and preaching the word. I left Orungo and went to Aheriau, Ochahai, Orieta, Oluwa, Ojama. These are all churches now. I have surrendered my life to the Lord to be used whichever way is pleasing to the Lord.

I am evangelist running fourteen churches. I was elected Association Chairman in 1970 and a teacher at Soroti Baptist Bible School. 656

 $^{^{656}}$ Eceru, Letter of December 30, 1972.

CHAPTER IV

OTHER BAPTISTS 1950-1972

The Baptists who preceded Southern Baptists in the six countries of East and Central Africa continued their development in the years from 1950 through 1972. No group that was active in 1950 ceased to function in the ensuing years, except perhaps one or two of the independent congregations in Malawi which, if the situation could be completely investigated, might have been continuing although lost from sight because of their isolation from the main stream of Baptists in that country. Other Baptists also entered into these countries during the period, but none achieved the widespread program or the rapid growth that was recorded in the previous chapter.

Baptists in Malawi

The three main streams of Baptist life, operating often in close proximity, continued on their individual courses. George Wishlade, midway through the period, made a sociological study of sectarian groups in Southern.

Nyasaland. David Pearson, a Seventh Day Baptist missionary in Malawi, showed a keen interest in the historical development of his particular group. LeRoy Albright, before his departure to Zambia in 1969, showed a growing interest in the historical background of the congregations that came

under the broad umbrella of the Providence Industrial
Mission. However, the subject received little attention
otherwise. Therefore, of necessity, consideration of this
period must be brief and couched in general terms.

The Providence Industrial Mission. Edward A.

Freeman, in his study of Negro Baptists, quoting a characteristic report of this Mission's activities in Africa, wrote,

South and East Africa. This includes the church and school work in the Union of South Africa, Northern Rhodesia, and Nyasaland, and constitutes our largest operation on the continent with a hospital, the James E. East Memorial Hospital, at the Providence Station at Chiradzulu, Nyasaland. Dr. D. S. Malekebu is Principal and Superintendent of all South and East African work. Here we are maintaining a steady, but remarkable growth.1

C. C. Adams' visit in 1949 meant a turning point in the support for the Providence Industrial Mission, and in Malekebu's authority. Malekebu was able to find funds for the purchase of an additional eight hundred acres of land, this time deeded to the Trustees of the National Baptist Assembly of Africa. While Malekebu was in the United States, Adams lent his influence and the enthusiasm of his recent visit to raising funds for a car for the Malekebus

ledward A. Freeman, The Epoch of Negro Baptists and The Foreign Mission Board, p. 199; Mission Herald, 53:5, March-April, 1950, p. 13; 54:2, September-October, 1950, pp. 15-17.

²Mission Herald, 53:3, November-December, 1949,
p. 18.

³<u>Ibid</u>., 53:4, January-February, 1950, p. 9.

and for an electric generator for Chiradzulu. Malekebu and his wife returned to Malawi in 1951, but because of poor health, both were back in the United States by 1952.

During this time Leonard S. Muocha, who served as Adams' interpreter, began to emerge as a potential leader. He handled a gift of one thousand dollars sent for the salaries of national workers during Malekebu's absence in 1952.6

The Malekebus were able to spend from 1954 to 1956 in Malawi but because of poor health returned to the United States in 1956. When Malekebu returned to Malawi in 1958, his friends furnished him another car. His report of progress during that year showed 227 churches, 2,163 conversions, seventy-five teachers, 6,870 students, and 5,393 patients.

When Jesse Jai McNeil, pastor of the Metropolitan Baptist Church of Pasadena, California, visited Chiradzulu in 1962, in conjunction with a meeting of the All Africa

⁴<u>Ibid</u>., 55:4, January-February, 1952, p. 4.

^{5&}lt;u>Ibid</u>., 55:6, May-June, 1952, p. 17; 56:3, November-December, 1952, p. 13.

⁷ Ibid., 60:6, May-June, 1958, p. 2; 61:2, September-October, 1959, p. 12.

⁸Ibid., 62:1, July-August, 1959, p. 5.

⁹Ibid., 65:4, January-February, 1963, p. 7.

Conference of Churches, further interest was generated.

NcNeil promised that his church would put up a building for a school at Chiradzulu and planned to send a builder and two teachers, Doris Allen and Christine Benson. However, the matter was dropped before action was taken, other than help with the building. 11

In 1964 William J. Harvey, III, became Secretary of the Board, and became actively involved in the progress of the Mission. In addition, the coming of independence in Malawi necessitated a change in name to the African Baptist Assembly of Malawi, Incorporated. During this time Southern Baptist missionaries were invited to participate in the annual Assembly, three ladies, Jean Albright, Beverly Kingsley, and Blanche Wester, in 1965, and the Roy Davidsons in 1968. 13

Looking for a replacement for the ailing Malekebus, Harvey reported in 1966 that he had contacted H. Douglas Oliver, a National Baptist in Bangalore, India, under the World Christian Literacy Program, who was "in the process of transferring his labors to the Providence Industrial

¹⁰ Ibid., 66:2, September-October, 1963, p. 5.

¹¹ Ibid.

^{12 &}lt;u>Tbid.</u>, 66:6, May-June, 1964, p. 2; Daniel S. Malekebu, Taped interview, Chiradzulu, Malawi, July 13, 1970.

¹³ Mission Herald, 68:3, November-December, 1965, p. 7; "Programme, The 23rd Session of 'The African Baptist Assembly, Malawi, Inc.,'" August 13-18, 1969.

Mission . . ., where we anticipate his succeeding Dr. Malekebu as Superintendent."14

Oliver met Malekebu in New York in June, 1967, when the latter came to Nashville, Tennessee, for a service in honor of his fifty years of "service to humanity," and was heard of no more in relation to Chiradzulu. Malekebu, on that occasion, received a key to the city, the Mayor's award for outstanding service, and a letter of commendation from the President of the United States. 15

To lighten the burden for Malekebu, since Oliver did not arrive in Malawi, in 1967 the churches in South Africa were removed from his supervision and placed under a South African leader. 16

In late 1969 the Malekebus' hopes were raised by the appointment of Mrs. Josephine Minter from Topeka, Kansas, as a missionary to Malawi. However, she did not reach Chiradzulu until April, 1970, because she was sent to Liberia for a period of orientation. She began at once with classes in sewing, cooking, nursing, and later typing, with the attendance growing from thirteen at first to over

^{14 &}lt;u>Mission Herald</u>, 68:6, May-June, 1966, p. 5; 69:2, September-October, 1966, p. 5.

¹⁵Ibid., 70:1, July-August, 1967, pp. 7-10.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 43; 70:3, November-December, 1967, p. 8.

¹⁷ Ibid., 72:1, December-January, 1969-70, p. 10.

^{18 &}lt;u>Tbid</u>., 72:3, May-June, 1969, p. 9; 73:5, May-June, 1970, p. 12.

sixty in just a short period of time. 19 Making contact with the Southern Baptists, she made a trip at Easter of 1970 to a Providence Industrial Mission church near Lilongwe with the Bickers. 20

When Harvey visited Chiradzulu in 1971, he took several steps to reorganize the work of the Mission.

Malekebu was retired after forty-five years at Chiradzulu.

A bookkeeper from Blantyre, who was a member of the Mission, was employed to sort out the accounts. Josephine Minter was temporarily assigned to Liberia for three months, and eventually made a hurried trip to the United States.

Leonard C. Muocha was chosen to "carry on the spiritual leadership of the Board." Minter arrived back in Malawi on February 23, 1972, "to carry responsibility of the Mission dually with the Rev. L. C. Muocha." She was registered as a practical nurse and added a clinic ministry to her other responsibilities. 23

To check on this arrangement, Harvey was back in Malawi in April, 1972, leading a tour of fourteen National Baptist women. 24 He announced that two Malawians, Shadrack

¹⁹<u>Ibid</u>., 73:5, May-June, 1970, p. 12.

^{20 &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, 73:9, November-December, 1970, p. 15.

^{21 &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, 74:2, September-October, 1971, pp. 4, 16.

²²Mission Herald, 74:4, March-April, 1972, p. 13.

²³<u>Ibid</u>., 74:6, July-August, 1972, p. 52.

²⁴I<u>bid</u>., p. 10.

Baxter Chapota and McFord Chipoliko, were "to study at the American Baptist Theological Seminary beginning in 1972". Chapota arrived in Nashville on September 23, 1972, but Chipoliko was unable to come because of educational deficiency. 26

The Malekebus retired to reside at Spelman College in Atlanta, Georgia. The results of his activity could be seen during Harvey's visit on April 16, 1972, for attendance at the worship services at the New Jerusalem Baptist Church at Chiradzulu was 3,586, and 1,879 were present for a baptismal service for sixty people earlier that same morning. 27

A statistical evaluation of the Providence Industrial Mission is impossible. One issue of the Mission

Herald carried mention of the Mission as "the most powerful Christian body in Africa today," with two hundred thousand members and 450 churches in Malawi alone, while on another page giving the total active membership as 18,136, with 304 churches. 28

The Seventh Day Baptists. At the end of 1950, Ronald Barrar from New Zealand was at his new station at

²⁵<u>Ibid</u>., p. 11.

 $^{^{26}\}mathrm{A.}$ Ronald Tonks, Letter from Nashville, Tennessee, March 14, 1973.

^{27&}lt;sub>Mission Herald</sub>, 74:6, July-August, 1972, p. 11.

²⁸ Ibid., 74:2, September-October, 1971, p. 16; 74:4, March-April, 1972, pp. 17, 32.

Makapwa near Cholo. The strain of limited support from New Zealand necessitated his appealing to Plainfield and, once again, the Seventh Day Baptists in the United States were under pressure to adopt an existing mission program. ²⁹ Although the Society considered Barrar as the responsibility of the New Zealand churches, substantial gifts were contributed for his work from time to time. ³⁰

Two further contacts insured the involvement of the Plainfield Conference in the mission field of Nyasaland. The first was a year's preaching mission to New Zealand in 1951 by Emmett H. Bottoms, a minister in the United States. According to the arrangement,

After the visit in Australia Brother and Sister Bottoms plan to go to Africa where they will spend time with Rev. Ronald H. F. Barrar and the Seventh Day Baptist Mission and churches in Nyasaland. There is much interest in the work which Brother Barrar of Christchurch, New Zealand, is doing in Nyasaland. He has desired assistance and will welcome the mission of Brother and Sister Bottoms. 31

The Bottomses visited the Makapwa station in June, 1952, reporting a chapel, a dispensary, a dwelling, and a school building with eighty-two boarding students, and attending two Sabbath services with congregations of about 250.

²⁹ Sabbath Recorder, 147:24, December 26, 1949, p. 408; 149:4, July 24, 1950, p. 60; 149:20, November 27, 1959, p. 324.

³⁰ Ibid., 150:21, May 21, 1951, p. 324.

³¹ Ibid., 152:13, March 31, 1952, p. 156.

³²Ib<u>id</u>., 153:3, July 21, 1952, p. 35.

From Bottoms' tour came a second contact, a trip to the United States by Barrar. Shortly after returning home, Bottoms proposed a six months visit by Barrar in the spring of 1953 for study and training, with the approval of the New Zealand congregations. Interest kindled by contact with Barrar caused the Plainfield leaders to move into action, and

a call to service was extended to Miss Joan Clement and Miss Beth Severe to serve as missionary nurses and/or teachers under the direction of the Missionary Society. It is expected that the field of service will be Nyasaland, Africa. 34

The Plainfield Seventh Day Baptist Church borrowed funds from the Missionary Society to build a brick cottage for the two ladies, planning for it to be ready before their departure with Barrar in September. 35

Barrar, leaving his wife and two children with her relatives in Mozambique, arrived on April 21, 1953. His itinerary included a visit to several churches, a ministers' conference, and the General Conference. 36

Before the three sailed for Africa on September 10, 1953, plans had been made for setting up a corporation or a trusteeship in Nyasaland to control the affairs of the

³³Ibid., 153:17, November 10, 1952, p. 217.

³⁴<u>Ibid.</u>, 154:7, February 16, 1953, p. 81.

^{35&}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, 154:21, May 25, 1953, p. 247; 155:5, August 3, 1953, p. 56.

^{36&}lt;u>Ibid.</u>; 154:9, March 2, 1953, p. 104; 154:17, April 27, 1953, p. 201.

Mission, which was to be composed of three Nyasaland citizens, two members from New Zealand, and two from the United States. Arriving at Makapwa on October 13, Beth Severe began her duties as a nurse and Joan Clement started teaching in the station school. 38

Barrar organized a Central Africa Conference of Seventh Day Baptists, and an Executive Committee for Makapwa which was composed of four Mission representatives and three men chosen by the Conference.

The Plainfield Conference was to experience the disappointment of broken relationships again for, in just a few months, Barrar wrote that he was resigning for personal reasons which antedated his trip to the United States. 40 Joshua Chona, the Secretary of the Central Africa Conference, commented at the time that family disagreement was the reason for his leaving. 41 Barrar proposed to sell the station to the Society for \$3,220, asking \$1,400 at the time of the transaction and the

^{37&}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, 155:8, September 7, 1953, p. 102; 155:10, September 21, 1953, p. 128.

³⁸<u>Ibid.</u>, 155:17, November 9, 1953, p. 214; 155:18, November 16, 1953, p. 230.

³⁹ David C. Pearson, "Modern Seventh Day Baptist Work in Nyasaland/Malawi as led by Missionaries from New Zealand and America and Nationals from Early in 1947 to March of 1968," p. 7.

⁴⁰ Sabbath Recorder, 156:12, March 22, 1954, p. 133.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 136.

balance after the General Conference in August, 1954. 42

The Society agreed to Barrar's terms, but only if he would "sever all connection with any missionary work in Nyasaland." 43

After lengthy correspondence, including recommendations from a bank in Blantyre, the District Commissioner, and Seventh Day Adventist friends, the transaction was completed on August 9, being signed by Beth Severe who had been given authority by the Society. 44 Before the end of 1954 all of the agreed sum had been paid to Barrar. 45

After several pastors had been extended calls to serve as missionaries and had declined, the leaders approached David Pearson, whose wife, Bettie, was a niece of Emmett Bottoms. 46 The Pearsons accepted and were on their way from New York on September 21, 1954, arriving at Makapwa before the end of the month. David assumed the administration of the station and Bettie began teaching. 47

Immediately after arrival, Pearson began a trip north to visit the congregations, leaving on September 29, and reporting afterwards about the four churches and their

⁴²Ibid., 156:16, April 19, 1954, p. 184.

⁴³<u>Ibid.</u>, 157 [156]:20, May 17, 1954, p. 232.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 157:6, August 16, 1954, pp. 65-66.

⁴⁵Ibid., 158:5, January 31, 1955, p. 57.

⁴⁶ Pearson, op. cit., p. 3.

^{47 &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 6-7; <u>Sabbath Recorder</u>, 157:10, September 20, 1954, p. 121; 157:11, September 27, 1954, p. 136.

pastors. 48 In January, 1955, Pearson held the first of many training sessions for pastors. This one was at Makapwa, attended by ten pastors and four other men on the station. 49 After the Conference in July, another was held for all of the pastors and two of them, Grant Msongo and Witness Mankhanamba were ordained. 50 Pearson, accompanied by Witness and Otrain Manani, a student, visited the northern churches again the following January, teaching and ordaining pastors in that area. 51 He planned another session in 1956 both in the north and at Makapwa, where eleven pastors and four older students attended. 52

This burst of activity led to constant reports of growth in the number of churches, forcing a division of the churches into three associations, although the funds were kept as a responsibility of the Conference. 53

The Plainfield Society considered the ultimate goal to be complete independence for the Central Africa Conference and even the exchange of pastors between the two Conferences. With this in mind, their contributions were directed primarily to the support of the missionaries with

⁴⁹<u>Ibid.</u>, 158:7, February 14, 1955, p. 81.

⁵⁰<u>Ibid</u>., 159:15, October 24, 1955, p. 232.

⁵¹Ibid., 160:3, Kanuary 16, 1956, pp. 40-41.

⁵²<u>Ibid</u>., 161:25, December 31, 1956, p. 393.

⁵³Ibid., 162:2, January 14, 1957, p. 24.

only fifty dollars a month sent for the use of the Conference. 54

The medical ministry initiated by Beth Severe received a boost with the coming of Victor H. Burdick to serve as a doctor on the Makapwa station. ⁵⁵ He was commissioned at the Pawtucket Church on September 8, 1956, and arrived in Nyasaland on February 9, 1957, staying for an orientation period at the Seventh Day Adventist hospital at Malamulo nearby, which had been purchased from the Seventh Day Baptists at the turn of the century. ⁵⁶

Burdick's coming caused the Mission to renew a request for a grant-in-aid from the Malawi government for a hospital at Makapwa for in 1956, even with their limited facilities, Makapwa had cared for almost fourteen thousand outpatients and had delivered 148 babies. Permission was granted in June, 1957, so that Burdick could buy drugs at a subsidized price from government supplies and could also get a fifty percent grant for building a new hospital. The Plainfield Society instructed him not to exceed ten thousand dollars and to get the approval of the Central

⁵⁴<u>Ibid.</u>, 160:21, May 21, 1956, p. 328; 161:11, September 24, 1956, pp. 169-70; 161:25, October 8, 1956, p. 202.

⁵⁵Ibid., 160:1, January 7, 1956, p. 9.

⁵⁶<u>Ibid</u>., 161:7, August 27, 1956, p. 105; 162:3, January 21, 1957, p. 88.

^{57&}lt;sub>Ibid'.</sub>, 162:8, February 25, 1957, p. 118.

⁵⁸Ibid., 163:1, July 1, 1957, p. 7.

Africa Conference for all plans. 59

Severe and Clement were due for furlough in July, 1957, so the Society was in contact with two additional nurses, Rosemary Hare of Auckland, New Zealand, and Sarah Becker in the United States. However, Hare eventually withdrew from consideration and the two experienced mission—aries had returned to Makapwa before Becker arrived. 60

The problem caused by a single doctor and two single women being left on the station when the Pearsons went on furlough in 1959 was solved with the marriage of Burdick to Beth Severe just a week prior to the Pearsons' departure. The shortage of personnel was alleviated when Sarah Becker arrived in November, along with Barbara Bivins, the former a well trained nurse and the latter with training as a teacher and a nurse. 62

The hospital staff continued to press for expansion of facilities and equipment in the face of great need, so the Society gave permission for a five year plan of construction of additional facilities, with half of the cost

⁵⁹<u>Ibid</u>., 164:18, May 5, 1957, p. 7; 164:20, May 19, 1957, p. 6.

^{60 &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, 162:12, March 25, 1957, p. 184; 164:17, April 28, 1958, p. 6; 164:20, May 19, 1958, p. 6; 165:16, November 3, 1958, p. 10; 165:21, December 8, 1958, p. 6; 166:13, March 30, 1959, p. 5; 166:21, May 25, 1959, p. 8.

^{61 &}lt;u>Ibid</u>., 166:18, May 4, 1959, p. 9.

^{62&}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, 167:1, July 6, 1959, p. 8; 167:12, October 5, 1959; p. 6.

supplied by the government. 63

The problem of education loomed large from the time of Barrar in 1950, for in the early years the missionaries added classes at the station school without government authority. They were given permission in 1960 to continue with several classes, but the top one had to be dropped from the school. 64

Church leaders put pressure on the Mission to accept government aid for education, but the Missionary Society in the United States voted for the Mission not to accept aid, on the recommendation of its African Interests Committee. This action caused such a stir in the Central Africa Conference that the Society decided that their action was only a "guidepost," ideally preferred, but that the missionaries should do as God led. However, the Africans went to the government and "demanded state subsidies and refused to permit the opening of the schools until such subsidies were obtained," so the missionaries agreed to have the policy changed. 66

An expansion was achieved both in the number of schools and the number of classes in each school with this

⁶³ Tbid., 171:19, November 20, 1961, p. 9.

⁶⁴<u>Tbid</u>., 159:15, October 24, 1955, p. 233.

⁶⁵ Tbid., 167:19, November 23, 1959, p. 9.

⁶⁶Ibid., 168:4, January 25, 1960, p. 9.

government aid. 67 Joan Clements was saddled with the responsibility of directing the new school system. This arrangement continued to cause consternation at home. Finally the Society decided that their only recourse was to "convey to our Nyasaland Brethren that we recognise their right to act in this matter as God doth direct them." 68

As Pearson continued with the training of leaders, a two year course began in November, 1958, with three students, who were to have a year of practical work in the middle of their studies. These trained leaders began to assume more responsibility for decisions, even to the disciplining of Witness Mankhanamba, one of the ordained pastors. 69

Otrain Manani was chosen to represent the Central Africa Conference at the World Congress in Salem, West Virginia, in August, 1964. After his return from the World Congress, a new Executive Committee was formed to direct the Makapwa station, which included one representative from the Plainfield Society, the station superintendent, Frighton Mazingah, and the station pastor, L. Mungone, who

⁶⁷<u>Ibid</u>., 168:9, February 29, 1960, p. 10.

^{68&}lt;u>Tbid</u>., 171:19, November 20, 1961, pp. 8-9.

⁶⁹<u>Ibid.</u>, 165:23, December 22, 1958, p. 7; 165:24, December 29, 1958, p. 8.

⁷⁰ Sabbath Recorder, 175:9, September 9, 1963, p. 8; 175:11, September 23, 1963, p. 8; 175:13, October 7, 1963, p. 5.

served as Chairman. 71

With the impending changes, Sarah Becker and the Pearsons asked the Society for release from their appointments following their furloughs in the summer of 1964, the decision evidently dictated by the Africans' desire to control the Conference. This development was parallel to the plan for independence in the country, and caused the Conference to seek formal incorporation, using the services of a lawyer in Blantyre.

David Pearson was approached by the African Conference with a request that he consider returning to Malawi to assume responsibility for leadership training rather than administration, and that he move to Blantyre for this task. Otrain Manani was proposed as the Blantyre pastor to associate with him, and also to serve as Treasurer of the Conference. Pearson did not give an answer before leaving on furlough. 74

After Pearson arrived at home, the missionaries and the national leaders continued to ask him to consider the position, so early in 1966 he accepted the post of Director of Christian Education and Evangelism, working with the

^{71 &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, 178:2, January 11, 1965, p. 9; 178:7, February 15, p. 9.

⁷²Ibid., 176:6, February 10, 1964, p. 8.

⁷³ Tbid., 177:22, December 14, 1964, p. 10.

^{74&}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, 178:24, June 14, 1965, p. 11; 178:25, June 21, 1965, p. 8.

Christian Education Committee of the Central Africa
Conference. He requested a delay in his return until June,
1967, in order to prepare for the new post. The Seventh
Day Baptist students were to attend the Likubula Bible
School and to study with Pearson on the weekends and
holidays. The Seventh

The Mission also began to prepare for nationalization in their medical ministry. Harold Alufai Dzumani, upon completion of his studies at the Seventh Day Adventist high school, sought a scholarship in Scotland for training as a registered nurse. The Although at first he was not accepted and began training at Malamulo, he later received word from Scotland of his acceptance, borrowed the money from the Plainfield Society, obtained travel documents and the permission of Malawi's President, Kamuzu Banda, and was off to Europe. The state of the president of the Europe.

The first students, Watson Mataka and Stanley Mkeziwah, entered Likubula in 1967. Since Pearson had not returned at that time, they were to await his coming for the Seventh Day Baptist studies. The Conference paid

⁷⁵<u>Ibid</u>., 180:16, April 18, 1966, p. 9.

⁷⁶<u>Ibid</u>., 181:2, July 11, 1966, p. 5.

 $[\]frac{77}{\text{Ibid.}}$, 179:15, October 25, 1965, p. 9; 182:15, April 10, $\frac{1967}{1967}$, p. 8.

 $[\]frac{78}{\text{Ibid.}}$, 182:24, June 12, 1967, p. 9; 185:13, October 17, 1968, p. 12.

⁷⁹Ibid., 182:11, March 13, 1967, p. 10.

their expenses and the churches from which they came supported their families. Three new students joined them in 1968, the entire group meeting regularly in Blantyre with Pearson. 81

Others were able to receive additional training to prepare for guiding the Conference. Fedson F. Makatanje went to Kitwe to study journalism at the Mindola Ecumenical Foundation, and returned to be editor of their paper and to write Sabbath school materials for the Conference. 82

Otrain B. Manani spent 1970 studying administration at Dodoma, Tanzania, using a scholarship furnished by the World Council of Churches. 83

In 1966 the Society, asked to turn the Makapwa property over to the Central Africa Conference, replied that they would give the matter consideration. The formalities for incorporation were completed on April 22, 1969. At the World Congress in August, 1971, at Westerly, Rhode Island, which Watson Mataka and Ostrain Manani

^{80 &}lt;u>Ibid</u>., 182:15, April 10, 1967, p. 8; 188:9, March 2, 1970, p. 13.

^{.81} Ibid., 183:18, November 13, 1967, p. 11; 184:9, February 26, 1968, p. 8.

^{82&}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, 183:12, October 2, 1967, p. 12.

^{83&}lt;u>Sabbath</u> <u>Recorder</u>, 189:10, September 21, 1970, p. 11.

⁸⁴<u>Ibid</u>., 181:19, November 21, 1966, p. 9.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 188:9, March 2, 1970, p. 13.

attended, Manani was elected Vice President.86

Joan Clement was forced to resign in February, 1965, because of illness in her family. The Conrod and his family arrived in April, 1970. At the same time the Burdicks went home permanently. The Conrods only stayed through 1972, so that at the end of the year the Pearsons and Sarah Becker were the only missionaries left. These three were joined in early 1972 by a young nurse, Elizabeth Maddox, who served the churches by teaching preventive medicine; but she planned to stay for only a few months. She and Sarah Becker were due to leave in 1973.

Not only had the churches and schools come under the Conference, but also in June, 1972, a Board of Directors was appointed for the medical program, although Sarah Becker was asked to remain temporarily in charge of the clinics. 92

The latest available statistics showed that Seventh Day Baptists in Malawi numbered 3,338, the United States numbered 5,623, and for eleven other countries in the rest

^{86&}lt;u>Tbid.</u>, 191:8, September 4, 1971, p. 1.

⁸⁷Ibid., 179:7, August 30, 1965, p. 11.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 188:11, March 16, 1970, p. 8.

^{89&}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, 192:8, February 19, 1972, p. 7.

⁹⁰Ibid., 193:23, December 16, 1972, p. 10.

⁹¹ Ibid., 194:8, February 24, 1973, p. 8.

⁹² Ibid., 193:23, December 16, 1972, p. 10.

of the world the count was 12,564. The members in Malawi were led by thirteen ordained African pastors, serving thirty-three churches in four associations. 93

Independent African Congregations. Wishlade's research in 1958 indicated that information was difficult to acquire about those independent Baptist congregations founded before 1950. As long as the leaders like Makwinja were alive, contact was made from time to time. When Albright moved to Malawi in 1959 he had an unexpected visit from Makwinja, who preached to him about starting wrong and worshipping on the wrong day, while accepting no suggestions from the missionary. Both Albright and Wishlade indicated that in 1959 Makwinja had a larger group than those associated with the missionaries from Plainfield. 95

When E. T. Harris, Secretary for the Seventh Day Baptist Missionary Society, was in Malawi in 1963 he met with Makwinja at Shiloh and noted:

Here we viewed an odd memorial with names printed on it which had been erected with a roof over it, showing that Pastor Makwinja was in the line of succession from Joseph Booth, Walter Cockerill, and Ronald Barrar, and as such was the leader of the Seventh Day Baptists in Nyasaland. 96

⁹³ Seventh Day Baptist Year Book, 1969, pp. 19-22.

 $^{^{94}}$ LeRoy Albright, Taped comments from Petauke, Zambia, January 7, 1973.

^{95 &}lt;u>Tbid.</u>; R. L. Wishlade, <u>Sectarianism in Southern</u> Nyasaland, p. 24.

⁹⁶ Sabbath Recorder, 175:13, October 7, 1963, pp. 5-6.

The old pastor met with the leaders at Makapwa to press his claims but, although the pastors and missionaries heard him courteously, they rejected his leadership while not denying the line of heritage which he claimed. The meeting caused him loss since one of his leaders,

W. Kabwazi, requested to join with the Seventh Day Baptists and leave Makwinja's domination. The group agreed to accept Kabwazi after being assured that he would participate in their training program and cooperate fully with the Conference and its financial plan. 98

Harris reported that Makwinja died on June 27, 1963, and was buried on the next day. 99 No more information about his congregations was discovered.

Joshua Chateka sent a delegation to Makapwa to visit Harris, although he did not come himself, probably because he was in the Zomba Mental Hospital. Harris simply "sent greetings and a message," noting that an opportunity existed to help train or provide leadership for these two groups. 101

Wishlade recorded eleven congregations in 1959 in the Mlanje District associated with Nakule, in an area where the Providence Industrial Mission had twenty-eight,

^{97&}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, p. 6. 98<u>Ibid</u>. 99<u>Ibid</u>.

¹⁰⁰ Wishlade, op. cit., p. 18.

¹⁰¹ Sabbath Recorder, loc. cit.

but could obtain no other information. 102 Although
Wishlade wrote that Nakule was associated with the National
Baptists, no reference to him was found in their literature,
except that a David Nakhule was listed on the back cover of
the Mission Herald from 1943 to 1958 as a worker with the
Providence Industrial Mission. Malekebu said he had no
knowledge of a Nakule who separated from his group,
although he acknowledged having dealings with Makwinja. 103

Baptists in Zambia

Other than Southern Baptists no new Baptist work was started during the years following 1950, although several changes in association and identification occurred in the work related to the South African Baptist Missionary Society.

The Lambaland Mission. The Mission was struggling for its existence because of insufficient support at the time Southern Baptists entered Southern Rhodesia. Clyde Dotson assumed that because of this difficulty there was every reason that his new Board would assume responsibility for this work as well as that in Southern Rhodesia. He wrote George Sadler that he had talked with Clement Doke, who was very active in South African Baptist missionary affairs, and that Sadler should expect a letter from Doke

¹⁰²Wishlade, op. cit., p. 24.

 $^{^{103}}$ Daniel S. Malekebu, Taped interview, Chiradzulu, Malawi, July 13, 1970.

offering Southern Baptists responsibility for the two Lambaland stations. $^{104}\,$

However, the Rhodesian Association began channeling its support through the South African Society, giving the Mission some relief. 105

During these years the Mission achieved a measure of consistency in membership, avoiding the staggering losses of the first forty years of its existence that had been caused by defections to the independent African congregations. In 1952 the missionaries reported a membership of 555 in twenty-one congregations. ¹⁰⁶ Five years later they were able to report a growth to 946 members with thirty-one places of worship. ¹⁰⁷ Then in 1962 the number had reached 1,209 in forty-one congregations. ¹⁰⁸

When the Southern Baptists in Zambia formed a separate Mission in 1964, one of the first questions facing them was the possibility of taking over the work in Lambaland, but the missionaries considered the matter and decided that they could not do so because "the existing structure of the Lamba Churches might create problems in

 $^{^{104}\}mathrm{Clyde}$ Dotson, Letter to George Sadler, May 4, 1950.

^{105 &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, August 9, 1959; October 4, 1950; September 12, 1951.

¹⁰⁶World Christian Handbook, 1952, p. 195.

^{107&}lt;u>Ibid</u>.,.1957, p. 90.

¹⁰⁸Ibid., 1962, p. 79.

transferring their work to us."109

Even so, Southern Baptist missionaries profited by the groundwork laid by South African Baptists. In the first services held in Kitwe the interpreter was Hokah Mulonda, a product of the Lambaland Mission. 110 As the Savages began their work in Mufulira, their first helper was Paledge Litana, who had come from the Lambaland churches. 111 When the first church was organized in Northern Rhodesia at Kamfinsa, near Kitwe, Watson Banda, the pastor, came from the Fiwale Hill Bible School. 112

In 1964 the Mission, in keeping with the trend in Africa, turned all of its schools to the government, and at the same time cut back its medical work by withdrawing the missionary staff from Kafulafuta because of "financial stringency." The hospital was reduced to a clinic but, by transferring the missionaries to Fiwale Hill, the clinic there was raised to hospital status, thus qualifying for government grant. Even though the Bible School at Fiwale Hill was also continued, the spirits of the

Rhodesia, E.C. Minutes, August 10-11, 1964.

 $^{^{110}\}mathrm{Zebedee}$ and Evelyn Moss, Taped comments from Lusaka, Zambia, July, 1972.

¹¹¹ Ted Savage, Letter to Goerner, December 4, 1962; Australian Baptist, 60:12, April 5, 1972, p. 6; South African Baptist Handbook, 1970-71, p. 108, hereafter cited as Handbook.

¹¹² Rhodesia, Book of Reports, 1964.

¹¹³Handbook, 1965-66, pp. 101-04.

missionaries were at a low ebb, for they reported to the Society that "statistics for the year are gloomy, indeed it appears that the Lamba Church has been losing ground rapidly."

Yet a foundation of mature leadership had been developed and moderate growth was reported. Two mother churches were organized, Fiwale Hill in an Eastern District with twenty-eight buildings and 742 members, and Kafulafuta in a Western District with twenty-eight church buildings and 820 members. In reality, signs of life were discernible, for the church organized a Central Committee, with African participation in the leadership. Hudson B. Litana was appointed as Secretary of this Committee.

Meanwhile, the pleas for help voiced by the Lambaland missionaries were arousing interest. Although Australian Baptists were heavily committed elsewhere in their mission program, they considered the opportunity in Zambia. By 1967 they were planning to cooperate with South African Baptists in the project. 117

The following year a tentative agreement was reached between the two Unions and John D. Williams,

Secretary of the Australian Baptist Missionary Society, was

¹¹⁴ Ibid., p. 101.

^{115&}lt;u>Ibid</u>., pp. 131-32.

^{116&}lt;u>Ibid</u>., p. 102.

¹¹⁷ Baptist World, 14:9, November, 1967, p. 5.

urging "swift entry into Zambia." Although the first missionaries were delayed by visa problems, Gwen Chambers left Australia, May 15, 1969, arriving in June as the first Australian missionary at Fiwale Hill. 119

Soon the Australian Baptists were sending a number of additional missionaries to assist, giving Fiwale Hill new life and Kafulafuta prospects of being opened again. John Grayson, a retired farmer, was sent in 1970, to make repairs to the buildings. 120 Myrtle Pettigrove and Gwen Chambers moved to Kafulafuta even before he arrived and were operating the hospital. 121 By 1972 both hospitals, termed "cottage hospitals" for grant-in-aid purposes, were operating. However, the medical program was under the threat of a twenty per cent cut in aid from the government, which would limit their operation. By the end of 1972 the cut had not yet been made and both hospitals were functioning. 122

The G. W. Sparrows, the one South African couple left, had been joined by fourteen Australians by 1972. The

^{118 &}lt;u>Australian</u> <u>Baptist</u>, 56:36, September 11, 1968, p. 8.

^{119 &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, 57:19, May 21, 1969, p. 15; 57:35, September 10, 1969, p. 16.

^{120 &}lt;u>Ibid</u>., 58:20, May 27, 1970, p. 11.

^{121 &}lt;u>Tbid</u>., 58:40, October 14, 1970, p. 15; 58:45, November 18, 1970, p. 15.

^{122 &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, 58:19, May 20, 1970, p. 3; <u>South African</u> <u>Baptist</u>, 78:10, October, 1972, p. 19.

transition was timely since visas were virtually unobtainable for South African missionaries. 123

The Central Committee of the Lambaland churches absorbed the function of the Mission Field Committee at the end of 1969, and the Lambaland Mission and churches were trying to work out an agreement for association with the Scandinavian Mission. The missionaries wrote of steps "being taken with a view to bringing the four Baptist groups in Zambia into a federation or union. The only development by the end of 1972 that involved the Lambaland membership was the formation of the Lambaland Baptist Association. Its three African officers were Paledge Litana, President, Hudson B. Litana, Secretary, and Alan Bwaca, Treasurer.

At the end of 1972, the Lambaland Association reported eighty-five churches participating in the organization. The Eastern District had thirty-nine congregations with a membership of 891 and the Western District had thirty-one congregations with 667 members, all being ministered to by six ordained African pastors and

¹²³ South African Baptist, 78:12, December, 1972, p. 13.

¹²⁴Handbook, 1967-68, p. 107; 1969-70, p. 106.

¹²⁵Ibid., 1970-71, p. 109.

^{126 &}lt;u>Tbid.</u>, 1971-72, p. 99; <u>Australian Baptist</u>, 60:29, August 2, 1972, p. 4; 60:12, April 5, 1972, p. 6; 60:14, April 19, 1972, p. 15.

fifty-four evangelists. 127

The Baptist Union of Central Africa. Max Ward Randall wrote that,

A European church was established in Ndola in 1952; another in Kitwe in 1956; and three European congregations were established in 1959—one at Lusaka, one at Chingola, and one at Luanshya. The European congregations are now fully integrated. 128

This is one of the two streams of Baptist life in Zambia which began in association with the churches of Southern Rhodesia.

The second came into being when George Smith moved from Que Que in Southern Rhodesia in April, 1952, to take up "a commercial appointment in Ndola, Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia) and . . . felt the need of a gospel witness in the large African Townships there."

Maurice Darroll moved from Southern Rhodesia in 1952 to assume responsibility for the European church in Ndola. 130 Darroll's work was built upon the European population of government officials, and of the mine and business communities. Because this community was small and transient, none of these congregations was large. Except for

¹²⁷Handbook, 1971-72, pp. 99-146.

¹²⁸ Profile for Victory, New Proposals for Missions in Zambia, p. 50.

¹²⁹ George Smith, Letter from Umtali, Rhodesia, January 7, 1973; Central Africa Baptist Review, 15:4, July, 1971, p. 5.

¹³⁰ Dotson, Letter to Sadler, March 26, 1952.

those at Lusaka and Ndola, the greatest outreach came in 1965, when ten were attending in Broken Hill, fifty-three at Kitwe, eight at Chingola, and twenty-two at Luanshya. 131 The change in political tenor after independence caused the departure of many Europeans, and the fellowships at Kitwe, Chingola, and Broken Hill were closed in 1969. 132

The church at Ndola had to struggle after reaching a high of just under fifty in 1968. Howard Worth arrived in 1971 to serve as pastor. 133 He followed such men as Darroll and Medgett, ministering to a membership of only twenty-four. 134

The most thriving congregation was the one in Lusaka, which was led by Derrick Harris in 1958, by Basil Medgett in 1964, and by Graham Ingram in 1969. 135 At the end of 1972 this church was growing, with large multiracial attendance, and an active youth group of over 130. The church was planning to begin two preaching points in nearby townships. 136

^{131&}lt;sub>Handbook</sub>, 1965-66, p. 122.

^{132&}lt;sub>Ibid</sub>., 1969-70, pp. 69-70.

^{133&}lt;sub>Ibid.</sub>, 1967-68, p. 163.

^{134 &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, 1971-72, p. 133; <u>Central Africa Baptist</u> <u>Review</u>, 16:1, October, 1971, p. 6.

¹³⁵ Tom Small, Taped comments from Lusaka, Zambia, November, 1972.

^{136&}lt;sub>Handbook</sub>, 1971-72, p. 133; <u>Central Africa</u>
Baptist <u>Review</u>, 15:4, July, 1971, p. 11.

The work at Chingola began to grow in 1970 under the leadership of the Southern Baptists, to whom the property had been left in 1969 when the last of the original fellowship moved away. The building was completed by 1972, and a congregation formed which consisted of both Zambians and Europeans. 137

George Smith's ministry in the Copperbelt was separate, to a large extent, from the European congregations and unaided by them because they were so small that they could scarcely support themselves. He appealed to friends in the Glynn Vivian Miners Mission in England, getting their support for evangelists' salaries. The first man who worked with Smith was Elijah Mlilo. Smith spread his ministry from Ndola to Kitwe in 1957.

In April, 1961, the Baptist Union of Central Africa engaged Smith as Field Secretary of their "Extension Programme," preferring not to use the word "missionary." 139 With the aid of the Baptist Union of Central Africa and the Glynn Vivian Miners Mission, Smith erected six buildings for African congregations in townships where building codes made development difficult without outside assistance. 140

^{137&}lt;sub>Commission</sub>, XXXII:7, July, 1970, p. 25.

¹³⁸ George Smith, Letter from Umtali, Rhodesia, January 7, 1973; John Cowan, Letter from Salisbury, Rhodesia, January 2, 1973.

¹³⁹ Smith, Letter of January 7, 1973, Central Africa Baptist Review, op. cit., p. 5.

 $^{^{140}}$ Cowan, Letter of January 2, 1973.

In 1971 Smith was forced to leave because of his wife's health, returning to Umtali to become pastor of the church in which C. W. McClellan, a Southern Baptist missionary, was serving as interim pastor. Len Baillie, newly arrived in 1970, carried on Smith's work from Luanshya. In 1972 Harald Holmgren, son of the Scandinavian missionary, joined Baillie, residing in Mufulira and concentrating on a ministry to youth.

Among the non-English speaking Africans this
Mission reached mostly the Lambas. According to John Cowan,
a layman who served as Chairman of the Extension Committee,

Lamba Hymnbooks are used, the Ministers preach in Lamba, there is a continuous coming and going between our Churches and those of Lambaland, and the majority of Church people are of Lamba origin. 143

At the end of 1972 fourteen churches were associated with the Baptist Union of Central Africa, centered around Ndola, Kitwe, Luanshya, Chingola, and Mufulira, and having a baptized membership of 635. The numbers were down from the 742 reported the previous year because of "a more accurate assessment of Church rolls."

On April 17, 1971, the Zambian Baptist Association

¹⁴¹ Smith, Letter of January 7, 1973; Central Africa Baptist Review, loc. cit.

of January 7, 1973; Central Africa Baptist Review, 17:2, January, 1973, p. 9.

 $^{^{143}}$ Cowan, Letter of January 2, 1973.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid. 145 Ibid.

was formed at Luanshya, by twenty-eight delegates from twelve congregations. 146 The officers chosen were Graham Ingram, President, Omega Kasansi, Vice President, Godfrey Mulando, Secretary, and Howard Worth, Treasurer. Kasansi was to be President in 1972-73.

The Scandinavian Independent Baptist Mission. 148

The staff of this Mission increased slowly through the years. Arne Johansson, son of the founder, Anton, returned to Mpongwe in 1950 and married a single nurse who had arrived two years previously. Others arrived from time to time; Ingred Dagman at the end of 1949; Valborg Wikstrom in 1958; Anita Hansson in 1965; Inga Andersson in 1969; and Lilan Swensson in 1970, all nurses. Henry Holmgren, son of Enar, began working in Mpongwe in 1972. His brother, Harald, began working with the Baptist Union in Mufulira the same year. 149 They were planning for the return of another of the brothers, Gunnar, who was completing his studies in Europe as a doctor, and another nurse, Anna Lisa Karlsson.

¹⁴⁶ Central Africa Baptist Review, 15:4, July, 1971, p. 3.

^{147&}lt;sub>Ibid</sub>.

¹⁴⁸ Enar Holmgren, Letter from Mpongwe, Zambia, January 17, 1973; Henry Holmgren, Letter from Luanshya, Zambia, February 2, 1973; Rune Sollin, Letter from Lindesberg, Sweden, December, 1972.

¹⁴⁹ World Christian Handbook, 1968, p. 97.

In the decade preceding independence all of the Mission's schools were taken over by the government of Zambia, including those on the Mission compounds. The Mission was left with the work in the churches, a ninety-bed hospital at Mpongwe, and a clinic ten miles away.

A second station at Mwelushi was started by Karl F. Hammarstrom in 1953, after the one at Mikata was closed. In 1972, the two stations were centers for about forty-five congregations with a membership of 1,100. A Bible school at Mpongwe undertook the training of lay preachers. Those responding to inquiries made no mention of plans by this Mission for a convention or union.

Other Baptist Groups. Two other groups were investigated because mention was made of their existence. The first was the congregations of the Providence Industrial Mission in Zambia. These were claimed in reports sent to the Mission Herald for many years, but no exact statistics were ever given, except that twenty-seven congregations were located in Zambia, Zaire, Rhodesia, and Tanzania. No response was received from inquiries about these congregations, but two possibilities of their presence in Zambia exist. The first is that Malawians belonging to this Mission found employment in the mines of the Copperbelt and congregated in the mining compounds.

¹⁵⁰Cf. p. 269.

¹⁵¹14:17, September-October, 1972, p. 4.

The second is that Malawians moved near the Zambian border around Chipata and shared their faith with clansmen on the Zambian side of the border. 152

A Reformed Baptist Mission of Canada was reported in the <u>World Christian Handbook</u> in 1968. Careful inquiry in Zambia evoked only a faint recollection of a layman living in Zambia a few years ago who used the name to identify the congregation which he had gathered for worship, but which had disbanded. 154

Baptists in Rhodesia

In 1950 the Rhodesian Baptist Association had been formed by the scattered European churches in Southern Rhodesia. African Baptists associated with the Providence Industrial Mission were to be found scattered in the towns and mines of the country. Both of these groups were small and scarcely able to make an impact in the total Christian witness of the country. In the years that followed they both grew moderately and were joined by several other smaller congregations of Baptists with ties elsewhere.

The Baptist Union of Central Africa. When the Rhodesian Baptist Association was organized congregations

 $^{^{152}\}mathrm{Prior}$ to 1964 Chipata was called Fort Jameson.

¹⁵³p. 97.

 $^{$^{154}{\}rm Zebedee}$$ Moss, Letter from Lusaka, Zambia, March 1, 1973.

were active in Bulawayo, Salisbury, Gwelo, and Gatooma. 155 Elsewhere, if they existed at all, theirs was an informal fellowship which met infrequently. E. M. Darroll had served in Bulawayo since 1947. 156 H. Guyton Thomas was pastor at the Central Baptist Church in Salisbury and had been there for fifteen years. 157 Dotson was serving as pastor of the little group which had just been organized at Gatooma, assisted by the layman, Cecyl Till. 158 Howes Howell was ministering in Gwelo as pastor. 159 Basil Medgett was designated as evangelist in the fellowship at Fort Victoria. 160

The membership was just over three hundred, as reported in June, 1950. Salisbury had 128 members; Gwelo had seventy-eight; Salisbury had seventy-seven, in addition to a mission with twenty-four; Umtali had seven, Gatoomahad fifteen, and Fort Victoria and Que Que each had a few. 161

In 1951 Basil Medgett was asked to visit Umtali with Darroll and a short time later was called by the Salisbury Church to serve in Umtali. He remained there for just over a year before going to the Ndola Baptist Church. Dotson and Darroll alternated holding services

¹⁵⁵ Annual of the Southern Baptist Convention, 1951, p. 112. Hereafter cited as SBC Annual.

^{156&}lt;u>Tbid</u>. 157<u>Ibid</u>. 158<u>Ibid</u>.

¹⁵⁹ Dotson, Letter to Sadler, October 14, 1950.

^{160 &}lt;u>Tbid</u>. 161 <u>Tbid</u>. 162 <u>Tbid</u>., March 26, 1952.

at Que Que. 163

When the little group of churches organized their Association, Thomas noted that, with the limited resources at hand, "the basis of missionary work must of necessity be the European Church," with afternoon services held for Africans where possible. When Dotson began with his African work in Gatooma, the Association voted to support the African evangelists, and contributed 295 pounds in 1950 for that purpose. They also considered the prospect of participating in a field council with Southern Baptists, by sending three representatives to meet with the missionaries, but this never developed. 166

While Dotson worked in Gatooma the church developed a membership of thirty-five, with eighteen more Europeans baptized. During that same year, 1953, Robert H. Philpott came from a place of prominence in South Africa to serve the Church in Bulawayo, remaining there until his retirement in 1972.

¹⁶³Ibid., October 14, 1950.

^{164 &}lt;u>Tbid.</u>, Robert H. Philpott, Interview, Bulawayo, Rhodesia, January, 1970.

¹⁶⁵ Dotson, Letter to Sadler, November 7, 1950; May 23, 1951; Dotson, Letter from Gatooma, Rhodesia, June 24, 1971.

¹⁶⁶Dotson, Letter to Sadler, January 27, 1951;
May 23, 1951.

¹⁶⁷SBC Annual, 1952, p. 186; 1953, p. 115.

¹⁶⁸ Philpott, Interview of January, 1970; Baptist World, 5:5, May, 1958, p. 10.

In 1954, Southern Baptists were able to help in several ways. Umtali needed both a pastor and a building, so Sidney Hudson-Reed in Salisbury proposed that his church support the fellowship as its mission. During dedication services at the new Salisbury Church building, a telegram from Sadler was received, noting, "Board voted match Salisbury contribution Umtali," which Dotson claimed amounted to about one hundred dollars a month. 169 In addition, when the time came to purchase and remodel the Farmers' Hall for the congregation, a further telegram arrived, stating, "Will pay half cost Umtali property up to dollars seven thousand." 170

This hall was called the J. J. Doke Memorial Hall, in honor of the initiator of the Lambaland Mission in Northern Rhodesia who died in Umtali in 1913. In September, 1954, Andrew van den Aardweg was called as assistant pastor at the Salisbury church, to live in Umtali. His wife was Doke's granddaughter. The hall was officially opened in 1955, not long after Hudson-Reed had succeeded Thomas at the mother church.

Hudson-Reed officiated at the funeral service for

¹⁶⁹ Dotson, Letter to Sadler, April 13, 1954; "A New Beginning on Old Foundations-the J. J. Doke Memorial Hall," p. 4.

¹⁷⁰<u>Ibid</u>., p. 5.

¹⁷¹<u>Ibid</u>., p. 6.

¹⁷² Ibid., p. 1; "A Building from God," p. 4.

Dotson's wife in March, 1955. 173 Aardweg was in Umtali and gave Dotson a home when he transferred there after his wife's death. 174 It was then that Dotson started the Florida Baptist Church among the Coloreds. 175 Dotson was also instrumental in beginning the Colored group in Gatooma and in winning Eric Clark, who led them and who later became a Southern Baptist missionary in Kenya. 176

Union of Central Africa, including those in the Copperbelt. 177 One of their first actions was to take over the work of the South Africa Baptist Missionary Society in the towns and mines in Northern Rhodesia and place it under their Extension Committee. This was done in 1960 and by April, 1961, the Committee had called George Smith, the layman who had been active both in Southern Rhodesia and in the Copperbelt, as their Field Secretary. The funds which they used formerly were sent to the Missionary Society in South Africa. 179

A close association developed in Umtali between the Southern Baptists, the Florida Church, and the Union. When

¹⁷³ Dotson, Letter to Sadler, March 31, 1955.

^{174 &}lt;u>Tbid</u>., September 3, 1955. 175 <u>Ibid</u>

¹⁷⁶ Rhodesia, Mission Minutes, April 22-23, 1953.

¹⁷⁷ Philpott, Interview, January, 1970.

^{178 &}lt;u>Tbid.</u>; <u>Baptist World</u>, 8:1, January, 1961, p. 7.

¹⁷⁹ Cowan. Letter of January 2, 1973.

Marvin Garrett, a Southern Baptist missionary, was serving as pastor of the Florida Church in 1965, it asked for membership in the Union and was accepted the following year. 180 In 1971 and 1972, another Southern Baptist missionary, C. W. McClellan, was serving as pastor at the Flordia Church, and also serving for a time with the European congregation. 181 Beginning in 1971 Southern Baptist missionaries served in the Colored church in Salisbury at the request of the Salisbury Baptist Church. 182

When the Baptist Union held its fifteenth Annual Assembly in September, 1971, Eugene Milby was present to represent the Mission and Aaron Ndlovu to represent the Rhodesian Baptist Convention. Botson returned to Gatooma as pastor in 1971, serving until his retirement in 1972.

The Union had begun to develop new churches among the Africans in certain townships. The Mabelreign Church

¹⁸⁰ E. W. Southey, Letter to Marvin L. Garrett, November 29, 1965; C. W. McClellan, Letter from Umtali, Rhodesia, November 28, 1972.

¹⁸¹ McClellan, Letter of November 28, 1972; Rhodesia, Book of Reports, 1971.

¹⁸²Carroll W. Shaw, Letter to Goerner, November 24, 1967.

¹⁸³ Marion G. Fray, Letter from Gwelo, Rhodesia, November 29, 1972.

¹⁸⁴ Central Africa Baptist Review, 16:1, October, 1971, pp. 5, 12.

in Salisbury had preaching points in two townships and the Gwelo Church had called a pastor from Zambia to assist with a preaching point in a nearby township. 185

The membership within the Union had grown from 889 in ten churches in 1965 to 1,208 in sixteen fellowships and churches. 186

The Providence Industrial Mission. On his way to the United States in 1950, Malekebu stopped in Salisbury for a visit with W. P. Chigamba, the leader of the two congregations which had been formed in Rhodesia. 187 At about the same time Joseph S. Nyathi, looking for a Baptist mission with which to unite, wrote a letter on August 8 to Malekebu and sent a copy to C. C. Adams, asking for an opportunity to associate with National Baptists. 188 On August 17 he wrote again directly to Adams, mentioning that he was ministering to six congregations at the time. 189

Before Adams could pursue the matter, Dotson became a Southern Baptist missionary and Nyathi had joined with him instead. 190

¹⁸⁵ Ibi<u>d</u>., p. 6.

^{186&}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 5, 12.

¹⁸⁷Mission Herald, 54:3, November-December, 1950,
p. 23.

^{188&}lt;u>Ibid</u>., p. 24.

^{189 &}lt;u>Ibid</u>., 54:4, January-February, 1951, p. 20.

¹⁹⁰Cf. p. 75.

The National Baptists contributed funds for constructing the Holy Trinity Baptist Church in Harare Township in Salisbury. Guyton Thomas delivered the message and laid the cornerstone at a special service on May 11, 1952. By 1954 the structure was completed. A writer in the Mission Herald mentioned that a picture in the magazine was of Holy Trinity,

The new brick church . . . we helped these people complete. It has proven a lighthouse for Christ in a dark spot of the earth and many are coming to the light of the Gospel. 192

From time to time Malekebu continued visiting Salisbury. He and Harvey participated in services with a congregation about a hundred miles from Salisbury on June 22, 1956, baptizing forty persons. Harvey mentioned ninety-one members, while Malekebu claimed ninety-six, in fourteen congregations, explaining that two main congregations were located at Salisbury and Umtali. 194

In 1970 the Harare congregation participated in the East and Central Africa Evangelistic Crusade, their choir singing at a rally in January at the Harare Baptist Church. The leadership changed during that time to a pastor called Sankulani. He was visited in 1971 by Muocha from

^{191 &}lt;u>Mission Herald</u>, 56:1, July-August, 1952, pp. 12-

^{192&}lt;u>Ibid</u>., 60:1, July-August, 1956, p. 6.

¹⁹³<u>Ibid</u>., 63:1, July-August, 1959, p. 8.

 $^{^{194}}$ Carroll Shaw, Letter from Salisbury, Rhodesia, November 20, 1972.

Chiradzulu. 195 No response to inquiries for this study was received from either of these men. For some months the country of Rhodesia was not listed among those on the cover of the Mission Herald, but at the end of 1972 Rhodesia was named as one of the countries from which the twenty-seven congregations outside of Malawi were counted. 196

The Seventhy Day Baptists. Ishmael Chipuza wrote to David Pearson in 1957 asking for help in forming a Seventh Day Baptist congregation in Southern Rhodesia. 197 Pearson replied, asking various questions, but correspondence ceased at that point.

The next contact came more than ten years later when Pearson received a letter from L. M. Vumah, "a convert to seventh day Sabbath," asking for books and for a visit by the Malawi leaders. The matter was referred to the Trustees of the Central Africa Conference who invited him to Malawi for a visit. Vumah showed up in early 1968 for an interview with Manani, Mazingah, and Pearson at Makapwa, after which he returned home. He made a second visit in May, staying for two weeks at a refresher course. After

¹⁹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁹⁶Mission Herald, 74:7, September-October, 1972,
p. 4.

¹⁹⁷ Sabbath Recorder, 162:6, February 11, 1957, p. 88.

^{198 &}lt;u>Ibid</u>., 184:13, March 25, 1968, p. 10.

¹⁹⁹<u>Ibid.</u>, 184:15, April 8, 1968, p. 12.

these studies were completed he was ordained on May 25 as a Seventh Day Baptist pastor, returning to Rhodesia to minister. 200

Lameck Moyana Vumah was raised in a Seventh Day

Adventist home, but was converted in a Baptist meeting in

Broken Hill, Northern Rhodesia. He moved to Selukwe,

Southern Rhodesia, and was baptized at the Baptist church in
that town. He entered the Baptist Seminary at Gwelo from
the Selukwe Baptist Church in 1964, but was dismissed for
disciplinary reasons in 1966. 201

He was residing in Selukwe when he wrote to Makapwa, and had gathered a group of followers around him. Otrain Manani visited him for two weeks in 1970 and saw the three schools which he supervised, reporting a congregation of thirty. Oseph Sithole was assisting him as a deacon. Vumah wrote in March, 1970 of training an evangelist, Sampson Vuyoni, at his home and also of sending Mathias Murangandi to Galpona in Gokwe to start another congregation. On May he was back in Blantyre attending another refresher course.

²⁰⁰Ibid., 184:22, May 27, 1968, p. 10.

²⁰¹Ralph Bowlin, Letter from Gwelo, Rhodesia, November 30, 1972; Fray, Letter of November 29, 1972.

²⁰² Sabbath Recorder, 188:1, January 5, 1970, p. 5.

²⁰³Ibid., 188:10, March 9, 1970, p. 9.

²⁰⁴Ibid., 188:22, June 1, 1970, p. 11.

Because of some difficulty in the mine, probably related to seventh day worship, he moved to the Mafungabusi Plateau near Gokwe, about 150 miles north of Selukwe, applying for a plot of land for a dwelling and a church.

F. F. Makatanje, editor for the Central Africa Conference, visited him in 1971, taking pictures and writing of the progress in his work. He was also visited by Manani in 1972, who ordained Joseph Sithole as a part-time pastor during the same trip. 206

No separate statistics were found for these congregations.

The Portuguese Baptists. In November, 1971,
Orlando Caetano, pastor of the First Baptist Church, Beira,
Mozambique, began meeting with a group of Portuguese Baptists in Salisbury in the first of three one-week preaching
missions. At the conclusion of the meetings five new
members were baptized into the little fellowship in that
town. The group met in the facilities of the Central
Baptist Church, whose pastor, L. J. Gardner, participated
in the baptismal service since it included members of his
congregation also.

Did., 191:18, November 13, 1971, p. 8; David C.
Pearson, Letter from Blantyre, Malawi, November 29, 1972.

²⁰⁶ Sabbath Recorder, 194:1, January 6, 1973, p. 13.

²⁰⁷ South African Baptist, 78:2, February, 1972,
p. 31.

A family called Matos from Carcavelos, Portugal, began the meetings. After helping the group to get started they left for Lorenzo Marques, Mozambique. When Caetano returned to Portugal in 1972 the new pastor, Galvao, of the church at Beira continued to meet with them. In addition, Valnice Mil Homens Coehlo, a Brazilian Baptist missionary to Mozambique, found time to visit Salisbury from Lorenzo Marques to help strengthen the congregation. 208

The leaders of the group also asked a Southern Baptist missionary, Carroll Shaw, to assist them in the evening services as often as possible. 209

The Sinoia Independent Baptist Church. When Clyde Dotson started in 1950 he contacted Noah Sithole, a graduate of the Union Bible School in Natal, and assigned him to Salisbury as an evangelist. Shortly afterwards a congregation was organized with twenty-three members. Sithole moved to Sanyati in 1954 as pastor of the church on the mission station and served there for about ten years.

He was one of the first two pastors chosen to be present at the sessions of the mission meeting in 1957. 212

 $^{^{208}}$ Shaw, Letter of November 20, 1972.

^{` 209} DaSilva, Letter from Salisbury, Rhodesia, January 25, 1973.

²¹⁰SBC Annual, 1952, p. 108.

^{211 &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, 1954, p. 116; Rhodesia, <u>Book of Reports</u>, 1964.

²¹² Rhodesia, <u>Mission</u> <u>Minutes</u>, July 5-8, 1957.

He was elected as Treasurer of the Baptist Convention of Rhodesia at the organizational meeting in January, 1963.

Evidently the furor caused by the ten-year plan and the accompanying breakdown in communication with the Mission affected Sithole's relationship with the mission-aries. In 1966 the Seminary administration received applications from two students recommended by Sithole as pastor of the Sinoia Independent Baptist Church. Possibly hoping that others would join him, he continued from that time until the end of 1972 as pastor of this independent congregation.

Baptists in Tanzania

In spite of persistent rumors of "Baptist" work in Tanzania, no evidence was uncovered to that effect. Contact was made by the Baptist Mission of East Africa with two Swiss missionaries who asked for association with them on the basis of similarity of belief.

The first, Fritz Lehner, began a mission at Mbalizi a few miles south of Mbeya. 216 Lehner and his son, Marcus, began working at Mbalizi in 1956, continuing through 1972. The mission station contained a carpenter school, a soap

²¹³Press Release, February 15, 1967.

²¹⁴ Rhodesia, Book of Reports, 1966.

²¹⁵ Fray, Letter of November 29, 1972.

²¹⁶ Fritz Lehner, Interview, Mbalizi, Tanzania, May 28, 1971.

factory, and a clinic. Lehner acquired a ninety-nine year lease on the property in 1961 in his own name. The converts which they made from this base of operations were directed into the nearby local congregations, mostly Moravian.

Lehner asked the Baptist Mission in 1960 to sign a bond for him as required by the Tanganyika government, but the request was for sponsorship and a guarantee of repatriation rather than organizational association with the Mission. The Mission decided after some months to refuse the request. 217

Robert Jampens, who also began at Mbalizi, made the same request when he moved to Mbesa near Masasi in 1969. The Mission again declined to pursue association. 218

Although these missionaries were evangelical, they did not call themselves Baptists nor did they receive their support from a Baptist organization, so do not come under the terms of reference of this study.

Baptists in Kenya

Kane in his history of missions states that, "of some forty missions in Kenya only one is Baptist." 219

²¹⁷East Africa, <u>E.C. Minutes</u>, June 29-30, 1960; November 14-16, 1960; March 7-9, 1961.

²¹⁸ East Africa, Mission Minutes, August 23-31, 1969.

Missions From Pentecost to the Present, p. 383.

Although the statement is an indication of the strength of the Baptist groups in Kenya, it is not a true statement. At the end of 1972 four Baptist groups existed, in addition to the congregations associated with the Baptist Mission of East Africa which Kane recorded.

The Nairobi Baptist Church. When Harper, Saunders, and Walker arrived in East Africa from Nigeria in June, 1956, they met several Baptist laymen in Nairobi. 220 These friends assisted the men in meeting leaders who could advise them in their quest for information. When Saunders returned in November for a brief visit along with Harper, and when he moved to Nairobi in December with his family one of these Baptists, Alfred Purvis, the Secretary of the Kenya Legislative Council, was extremely helpful in matters pertaining to registration with the government, the acquisition of land, and the relationship to the Christian Council of Kenya.

These Baptist people, about twenty persons in all, were meeting on one Sunday afternoon each month for fellowship and tea. In April, 1957, they were invited to the Saunders' home and challenged to meet for worship, also.

Saunders wrote to Sadler:

Our aim is to encourage the group to start their own services rather than spreading out in the existing

²²⁰ Details in the development of the Nairobi Baptist Church, if not documented otherwise, are a first-hand account from the participation of the writer.

churches of other denominations. I frankly believe that all they need is encouragement. 221

Included in the group were two missionary families, two retired Baptist ministers, and several laymen. They met on Sunday afternoon once in May and once in June on the premises of the Gospel Furthering Fellowship Mission in Nairobi. In July they moved to the Saint John's Ambulance Society Hall, elected officers, and began meeting twice a month in the mornings. 222

Then, by September, when the Martins arrived to join the Saunders, meetings had moved to the Girl Guide Headquarters where services were held twice each Sunday. Over sixty were attending the evening services, and, under Jane Martin's guidance, over forty children were attending the Sunday school. 223

On October 26, 1958, the Nairobi Baptist Church was organized with twenty members, including five Asians, two Africans, four from the United States, eight from England, and one from Scotland, with three of these being baptized on that Sunday. 224

²²¹ Saunders, Letter to Sadler, February 6, 1957.

 $^{$^{222}\}mathrm{Davis}$ L. Saunders, Letter to Jack E. Walker, July 3, 1957.

²²³ Ibid., Letter to Herbert Jackson, October 2,
1957; Press Release, July 29, 1958; Commission, XXI:10,
October, 1958, p. 10; East Africa, E.C. Minutes, May 13-16,
1959.

Commission, XXII:3, March, 1959, p. 14; Samuel A. DeBord, On the Edge of Decision, p. 63.

When the Church began planning for its own building the missionaries approached the Mission about funds and got an approval in principle for making a request at the appropriate time. Two loans were given to the Church, one for ten thousand shillings and the other for sixty thousand two years later. The total amount was repaid by 1965 and the pastor, in sending the final check, wrote:

I do so with the warmest thanks of our congregation for this generous assistance . . . We want you to be assured of our deep appreciation . . . of the fellowship and support that this indicated in the Mission for the work of the Church. 227

The arrival of Tom Houston from Scotland in August, 1959, was a time of rejoicing for the congregation. By March, 1960, attendance had increased to over a hundred at the morning services and the Church was nearly meeting its budget. 228

During these beginning years relationships between the missionaries and the leadership of the Church were cordial. The Church sent a mission offering of fifty dollars to the Mission to be used at Border College. 230

Saunders, Letter to Walker, April 20, 1958; East Africa, E.C. Minutes, February 25-27, 1958.

 $^{^{226}}$ East Africa, <u>E.C. Minutes</u>, June 29-30, 1960; February 26-27, 1962.

²²⁷<u>Ibid</u>., October 27, 1965.

^{228 &}lt;u>Ibid</u>., March 14-16, 1960.

²²⁹<u>Ibid</u>., June 27-29, 1961.

²³⁰ East Africa, Mission Minutes, August 4-10, 1960.

When the Church was ready to build, Shauri Moyo Baptist Church sent a "sizeable gift" to their building fund. 231 Houston often spoke at various meetings of the Mission. 232 The Church participated in the meetings of the Nairobi Baptist Association even though the proceedings had to be bilingual for their benefit. 233 The first meeting after the Association's organization was an all day one held at the Nairobi Baptist/Church, whose members furnished the meal. 234

After the first decade the original members, including the missionaries, had moved their membership from the Church. The congregation was guided to take the position of open membership so that, when plans were under way for forming a convention in Kenya, this Church felt compelled to note that,

The pastor of the Nairobi Church . . . objects to the clause in the statement of faith in the proposed constitution which defines membership as limited to churches which accept baptism by immersion as prerequisite to church membership. 235

An indication of the strained relationships was the response of the Mission to a request for a further loan for a new sanctuary for the Church, for the missionaries replied that the available funds had been put in a

²³¹<u>Ibid</u>., August 10-15, 1961. ²³²<u>Ibid</u>.

²³³ East Africa, <u>E.C. Minutes</u>, February 26-27, 1962.

²³⁴Ibid., October 19-22, 1962.

²³⁵East Africa, <u>Mission Minutes</u>, August 5-12, 1965.

revolving loam account and were no longer available for . such use. $^{\mbox{236}}$

The Church continued to grow and called Gottfried Osei-Mensah from Ghana in 1971 to be the assistant pastor. Osei-Mensah was from a non-Baptist background and was ordained by the Church after his arrival in Nairobi. When Houston left in December, 1971, to assume a position with the British and Foreign Bible Society, Osei-Mensah was called as pastor.

For several years two Sunday morning worship services were held to accommodate the crowds who attended, the first at nine-thirty and the second at eleven in the morning. Over a thousand attended, one-third of them students from nearby schools. The membership remained under 150.

The Canadian Baptist Overseas Mission Board. In 1948 about fifty congregations separated from the Africa Inland Mission over grant-in-aid for schools and the development of mission high schools associated with the churches, hoping to accomplish alone what the Mission was not willing to do. The following year eighteen of these large congregations and seven small ones formed an association called the African Christian Church and Schools. 238

²³⁶<u>Tbid</u>., August 21-28, 1966.

²³⁷ Australian Baptist, 60:12, April 5, 1972, p. 16.

²³⁸Church Overseas, 1972, pp. 7, 9.

The churches were divided into five parishes, with a pastor in charge of each. 239 Their headquarters were located at Gitumu near Thika, about thirty miles from Nairobi. Authority was vested in a Church Council composed of the officers, trustees, pastors, and four laymen from each parish. 240

John Kamau, Secretary of the National Christian

Council of Kenya, was approached by the leaders in 1968,
as he was preparing to visit Toronto, with a request that
he seek a Baptist mission to help them. 241 Kamau met the
Canadian Baptists, explained the situation, and after a
time a recommendation was circulated to the Canadian
churches to the effect that,

The Canadian Baptist Overseas Mission Board requests approval of the three constituent Baptist Conventions in Canada for the Canadian Baptist Overseas Mission Board to undertake responsibilities involved in becoming associated with the work of an independent Christian body in Kenya, known as the African Christian Church and Schools.

It is anticipated that the proposed association will involve provision of a small task force of missionaries not exceeding three couples and two single ladies, for a period of not more than ten years. 242

The Canadian Baptists agreed to furnish the personnel, their salaries, transportation, and fringe benefits, while the housing for the missionaries would be a joint

²³⁹ Ibid., p. 9. 240 <u>Ibid</u>.

²⁴¹ William Lewis, Interview, Thika, Kenya, August 20, 1972.

responsibility of the African Council and the Mission. 243

In addition, the Mission gave no undertaking to provide other buildings or general operating expenses. 244

The first of these missionaries, the Ronald Wards and the William Lewises, arrived in Nairobi in late 1970 to begin studying the Kikuyu language. They moved to Gituru immediately afterwards, where simple housing had been constructed for them. The Lewises were involved in leadership training for pastors and laymen. The Wards served in the Gituru High School under Willie Wamae, the Headmaster, where he taught and she served as librarian. This school was started in 1969, had 125 students, and was planning to accept a fourth class by 1973.

Before the end of 1972 the George Johnstons and Shirley Freckelton were also to arrive in Kenya to begin language study. He was to work with the Church's youth program and she was to assist the women in their organization. 248

The churches, with their presbyterian system of government, practiced baptism by immersion, except for the aged and infirm, whom they baptized by sprinkling or pouring. Normally baptismal services were held at the central

²⁴³Church Overseas, 1972, p. 10.

²⁴⁴ Ibid. 245 Ibid., p. 11.

²⁴⁸<u>Ibid</u>., p. 6; Lewis, Interview, August 20, 1972.

parish church with the parish minister officiating. All members were invited to a convention twice a year, held in a different parish church each time, where the main purpose was fellowship and worship. 250

The group elected officers again in 1972, at which time two were re-elected, Stephen Ng'ang'a as President and Samuel Mugo as General Secretary. Onesmus Waithanda was chosen as Treasurer.

Expansion was anticipated with the initiation of a new parish in Nairobi on February 14, 1971. Plans were under way for acquiring a church plot in Shauri Moyo, not far from the Shauri Moyo Baptist Church. 252

Statistics in 1972 showed that the African Christian Church and Schools had a membership of 2,830 in thirty congregations. 253

The Seventh Day Baptists. A recent inquiry by E. Osaka from a village near Kiricho, Kenya, to the Plainfield Tract Society was referred to David Pearson in Blantyre, Malawi. Pearson followed the matter by sending literature to Osaka, and received further correspondence from him. At the end of 1972 the Central Africa Conference, according to Pearson, was "considering the possibilities of sending a

²⁴⁹Church Overseas, 1972, p. 13.

²⁵⁰<u>Ibid</u>., p. 12. ²⁵¹<u>Ibid</u>.

²⁵²<u>Ibid</u>., p.,14. ²⁵³<u>Ibid</u>., p. 18.

representative to Kenya to encourage the brethren and assess the situation. 254

The Grace Independent Baptist Church. A family named Weaver arrived in Nairobi in early 1960 to begin an independent Baptist witness. At one time its headquarters were in Plymouth, Indiana. No response was obtained from correspondence sent to Indiana or Kenya. Furthermore, contacts in Nairobi met a refusal to respond to direct questions about this work. 255

Baptists in Uganda

When Evans, Hampton, and Saunders reached Kampala on their survey trip in December, 1961, they were surprised to notice an announcement of Baptist services in a daily paper. Investigating the matter they found that Paul Hurlburt and Charles Trout had come into Uganda earlier in the year, due to fighting in the Congo, and were "staying temporarily in Uganda, maintaining as much contact as possible with churches in the Conservative Baptist Foreign Mission Society field in the Congo."

Hurlburt decided to remain in Uganda, so the Society

²⁵⁴ Sabbath Recorder, 194:1, January 6, 1973; p. 13; 193:21, December 2, 1972, p. 13.

²⁵⁵ Orville Boyd Jenkins, Letter from Nairobi, Kenya, December 12, 1972; North American Protestant Ministries Overseas, Directory, 1970, p. 87.

²⁵⁶ Conservative Baptist, XVII:9, April, 1961, p. 5.

accepted Uganda as a mission field in September, 1961. 257

By November Hurlburt was writing about activity among students in Kampala and in literature distribution. 258

The following year, just before the Hal Boones arrived in Jinja, having completed the legal registration of Southern Baptists, Hurlburt wrote home expressing praise to God for the granting of his visa to remain in the country. He also mentioned prospects of an outreach among the Asian population of Kampala for Conservative Baptists.

The Russell Paulsons were appointed for Uganda on June 4, 1963, and, joined by the Lynn Holms who had been refused entry into India, they arrived later in the year to begin language study. That year eight persons were baptized through Hurlburt's ministry. He had contacted a Kenya African who was to assist him in opening a bookstore and reading room in Kampala.

The missionaries concentrated on the student population of the city, teaching Bible in the high schools and holding Bible studies in their homes, as well as conducting

²⁵⁷ Tbid., XXI:7, March, 1965, p. 5.

²⁵⁸Ibid., XVIII:3, November, 1961, pp. 6, 11.

²⁵⁹<u>Ibid</u>., XXIX:3, November, 1962, p. 6.

²⁶⁰Ibid., XIX:10, July-August, 1963, pp. 2-3.

^{261 &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, XX:1, September, 1963, p. 4; XX:2, October, 1963, p. 9.

street meetings. 262 In 1964 Hurlburt's son, Winston, arrived to assume responsibility for a student ministry at Makerere University in Kampala. 263

When Hurlburt left on furlough in 1965, Paulson and Winston Hurlburt were just completing language study. The one congregation which had been established was guided by Holms in Hurlburt's absence. The Church was organized in July, 1965, with sixty members. The group was described as two congregations in one, because separate services were held in English and Swahili. 265

A new station was opened at Masaka in 1966 with the arrival of the Glen Lawrences. After his language study Lawrence began working in a number of villages with an immediate response. He wrote of two thousand believers in thirty congregations and stressed the need for leadership training among these new Christians. To meet the need, he used his time in conducting Bible institutes in the various villages around Masaka.

²⁶²Ibid., XXI:5, January, 1965, p. 4.

²⁶³Ib<u>id</u>., XX:7, March, 1964, p. 1.

^{264 &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, XXI:1, August-September, 1964, p. 5; XXI:4, December, 1964, pp. 2, 8; XXI:6, February, 1965, p. 2.

²⁶⁵Impact, 22:3, November, 1965, p. 10; 22:4, December, 1965, p. 12; 26:1, January, 1969, p. 6.

²⁶⁶<u>Ibid</u>., 23:4, April, 1966, p. 15.

²⁶⁷<u>Ibid</u>., 24:7, November, 1967, p. 10.

^{268 &}lt;u>Tbid</u>., 26:1, January, 1969, pp. 6-7; 29:4, July-August, 1972, p. 11.

In 1972 an African congregation was organized near Kampala, and the bookstore was still operating in the city. Six couples had arrived in Uganda; four were in Kampala; one was in Masaka; and one was on furlough. The Mission sent Richard and Edith Kabassi to the Conservative Baptist Theological Seminary in Denver in September, 1972. 270

Estimates of development gave a membership of about two thousand, in twenty organized churches and ten preaching points, mostly at Masaka, with no educational or medical ministry. 271

No official statistics were sent to the Society's offices in 1971 or 1972. 272

^{269 &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, 23:7, September, 1966, p. 10; 23:9, November, 1966, p. 10; 23:10, December, 1966, p. 12.

²⁷⁰ Conservative Baptist, 2:4, Fall, 1972, p. 16.

²⁷¹ Kane, op. cit., p. 386; Milton Baker, Letter from Wheaton, Illinois, November 17, 1972; Russell Paulson, Interview, Kampala, Uganda, July 3, 1972.

²⁷² Baker. Letter of November 17, 1972.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

The demands of the unlimited nature of possible detail in the careful and constructive writing of the history of any people or period are such that this dissertation can have been only a presentation of glimpses, candid in perspective and limited in scope, of the complete story of the involvement of literally scores of missionaries and hundredsof African Christians in the countries of East and Central Africa. The basic historical framework has been constructed in its entirety as far as possible. However, a detailed and exhaustive presentation could not be made of any one of the several missions or national Baptist organizations, nor of the achievements of any individual Baptist.

Notwithstanding the necessary lack of completeness in the treatment, several trends may be examined in the light of the actual historical development presented herein. The writer accepts the fact that his association with, and involvement in, the making of this history presages the possibility of biases in interpretation, and of a reliance upon certain experiences not evidenced in this study, in the drawing of conclusions as to the ultimate meaning assigned to certain events or postures. For this reason

a conscious effort has been made to achieve historical objectivity in arriving at the conclusions which follow.

The Development of National Organizations

Several factors have emerged from the study as the causes of the surge in the appearance of national Baptist bodies, some natural and others deliberately cultivated.

The nature of Baptist fellowship is such that wherever Baptist churches are established, although they are congregational in polity, the desire for a larger fellowship or community demands a larger congregating. Thus, the African people from all over Malawi hoarded their hard-earned cash to make the long, arduous journey by bus or lorry, or traveled by bicycle or foot, in order to attend the Annual Assembly of the Providence Industrial Mission, living in little grass-fenced enclosures, subsisting on such food as they could gather and prepare for the journey. Also, with minimal aid from the Mission, the leaders of the churches all over the three countries of East Africa relished the opportunity for the five days fellowship which they experienced at the Baptist Assembly at Limuru, Kenya, even with a four day trip by bus each way. These gatherings naturally awakened a desire for some sense of joint action and achievement, and so the innate trend towards association and convention was fostered.

Furthermore, the political climate of selfdetermination so permeated the totality of African experience in later years that even in Rhodesia, or perhaps more especially in Rhodesia, the expression of this phenomenon lent itself to an intensification of the desire to have "our" association or convention and be "our own masters." This demand for national identity as Baptists was further accentuated by the external pressure of governments wanting to relate to national leaders and organizations rather than to expatriate ones.

The missions wisely took steps in most cases to accelerate the growth of the conventions. The subsidizing on many occasions of evangelistic conferences or national assemblies brought together the very forces that would lead to such organization. Early planning, by Southern Baptist missionaries more particularly, of training for pastors at a relatively high level and of a longer duration often brought forth an awareness of such movements elsewhere, through studies and extracurricular contacts, and also brought into close association an elite who would almost without exception become the catalysts in leading from fellowship to organized action.

The teaching by the missionaries at local levels as well as at national levels and their attempts to accelerate the organization of associations and conventions brought the question into sharp focus for people who might otherwise have taken much longer to discern such a need.

Also, missions inadvertently led their charges towards this position by the monolithic nature of their own

operation, which appeared as an ideal to be achieved, or at least copied, for the effective requesting of funds and for other advantageous contacts with outside bodies. An example of this is found when, at the formation of a convention in Malawi, an immediate request was made for "permission" to solicit funds from Baptist groups in Europe. A second example is the almost universal question among conventions associated with Southern Baptists as to the possibility of their requests being sent directly to Richmond, rather than through the mission. Similarly, steady streams of correspondence were so directed on the occasion of unusual tension in relationships. Another is found in the almost universal concept in the nascent conventions of their superseding the mission or alternately of the African supplanting the missionary in the mission. 1

Certain mistakes appear to have been made in the promotion of these organizations which might have been avoided. The first was to ignore the premise that the order of development should be pyramidal in aspect and that direct, rapid transition from individual local bodies to a national convention was fraught with dangers of misunderstanding. The way in which the formation of the Copperbelt Association and the Central Association in Zambia preceded active planning for a convention took this

¹Matters such as these were not documented in minutes but are drawn from the writer's participation in various meetings.

principle into account.

The second was to forget that the lack of a grassroots understanding of a convention would lead to either a
tight control by the few at the top or an unenthusiastic
participation by the majority in just another missionfostered program. This lack of enthusiasm appeared to have
been overcome by the five year progression of constitution
writing in Kenya and Tanzania and by the reorganization,
in 1970, of the Baptist Convention of Uganda. The
traumatic experience of the relationships in Rhodesia
during the ten-year program of subsidy reduction is an
example of the danger of control by a few with little
church member participation.

Finally, this study pinpoints the area of greatest uncertainty as being the organizational relationship between mission and convention in the transitional period. To say one will increase and the other decrease was not enough. Seeking to amalgamate the two with either one being absorbed into the other, either gradually or forthwith, and with the end product emerging as the national organization, was not possible under the limitations of the Southern Baptist Foreign Mission Board's policy.

'However, this type of solution was utilized by the Seventh Day Baptists, who had only a few missionaries and modest external financial support, in forming their Central Africa Conference of Seventh Day Baptists in which the missionaries were a respected and integrated part. It also

was effected, of necessity, in the Providence Industrial Mission where the missionary staff was almost nonexistent and the funds modest and often irregularly sent. More recently, the Canadian Baptist task force in Kenya began with this perspective by signing an agreement to supply only the missionaries and certain of their amenities from the outset. The receiving churches continued in their dominant role of responsibility in fund raising and decision making as before and also assumed a modest share in the provision of residences for the missionaries.

Relative to the establishment of national conventions, two obvious solutions emerge. The first involves the institution of a downward adjustment of external influence, i.e., the reduction of missionary force and financial support to a point nearly equal to national involvement. The second, which is by far the better, is the firm expectation that for a convention to be effective the national leadership and the local financial support must develop to the level where they are more nearly equal or exceed that which traditionally has come from abroad.

The Role of the Missionary

The emergence of the national bodies and their prospects for achieving an independent status in leadership and support having been considered, an evaluation must be made now of the changing role of the missionary, as brought into perspective by the events in East and Central Africa.

The first concept which has emerged is that the expatriate role is more supportive than ever. The pattern is shown in the telescoping of virtually any of the periods of beginning included in this study. The non-institution oriented missionary's transitory path was from evangelist at to pastor to teacher to administrator to adviser, not that he was each alone in turn, but that his primary emphasis slid along this scale and that, in sliding on the scale himself, he also led individual African Christians in its track as well.

This sliding may have caused a change in the missionary's location for those few who were always evangelists and pastors, even while assuming the role of advisers, and who simply moved to a new station when their sliding halted on the scale. Occasionally the sliding may have had a closed end as, for example, with those who refused to let the African on the scale at all or forced him to remain stationary on it. The sliding may have had an open end as in the case of the missionaries who, when the upper limit was reached, returned to their home base. The sliding may have been occupationally oriented also, as shown by the missionaries who volunteered for, or were assigned to, such responsibilities as publications; mass media, high school or seminary education, or social ministries, for which they did not originally receive appointment. A few missionaries were able to find their place on the scale in an advisory role with such satisfaction as to

be willing to remain there in a position of service and usefulness.

The trend as indicated by the initial reaction of African leadership in various convention organizations as, for example, the action of the Executive Committee of the Rhodesian Convention in its first confrontation with the reality of the ten-year program, was that those mission-aries who were performing essential services, in the eyes of the leaders themselves, would be grudgingly retained for as long as they were needed. The personnel considered to be essential were those in publications, high school and seminary, medical institutions, and those willing to minister in rural areas where the orb of trained leadership had not yet reached.

The second reaction was that the missionaries were all needed because they made a contribution to any local situation in terms of ability, dependability, and the consistent financial stewardship which was wanted and needed in both fact and in example. Additionally, the leaders realized that the lines of communication to outside resources were still_largely tied to the missionaries' presence.

A more mature reaction was shown in the responses which were expressed by African leaders in correspondence related to this study. They indicated that, although in some way a mission had to remain a separate entity, the more recent activities, such as the impact evangelism of

1971 and 1972 in Rhodesia, and the missionary outreach to Mzuzu in 1971 in Malawi, showed effective unity in activity and indicated that the utilization of the missionary presence by joint action, even with the mission's "parallel line," had "apparently narrowed the gap between the two distinct bodies."

The conclusion, based upon this study, is that this third level of partnership, as far as the individual missionary is concerned, is the one ultimately determinative for future relationships and that attitudes and personal adaptability, not qualification for an assigned position of responsibility, are most critical for the missionary in his changing role.

The Role of the Mission

This study and the historical events depicted in it show the impossibility of finding a single pattern for adaptation to the changing role of the missions in the countries of East and Central Africa as far as Southern Baptist organization is concerned. The solution suggested in relationship to the study of national organizations previously, where a certain level of national involvement is necessary, is the ultimate one. As was indicated by the examples given, several missions in reality never existed separately from a convention or else they were of such small stature as to have been absorbed with little difficulty.

The same, unfortunately, was not the case with Southern Baptist missions because they, by the very nature of their size and resources, posed a much greater problem in reaching a solution to relationships. The most obvious example is that of the East African Mission where, at the end of the period of study, the missionary force reached about one hundred and fifty and, excluding the maintenance of the missionaries, the operating budget was several hundred thousand dollars. Associated with this Mission were the two new Conventions, rapidly growing it is true, but each able to muster resources of only about five thousand dollars annually, excluding mission contributions. . The Conventions together depended upon leadership which numbered less than fifty pastors with an average of about twelve years of education, in a host of poorly educated lay. pastors. This leadership was trying to relate not only to the missionaries but also to mission institutions often staffed by well educated Africans who were not associated with the Baptist churches and conventions in any way. Obviously the principle of reaching a balance of participation as previously described was inapplicable in such a Nevertheless constant attempts were made by all five of the missions and the six related conventions to devise or discover ways to find stability in the changing role of each mission.

To pursue the matter further, two basic functions of the mission must be juxtaposed. The first is that a

mission in the sense now under consideration was a point of reference for the missionary. His comings and his goings, his assignment of responsibility and his allotment of resources, were all related to the action of his mission. In a certain overview, the mission was responsible for his welfare and his discipline. In such relationships the role of the mission changed, if at all, only last of all. Also, in this role, however diminished it was by transition of responsibility to local authority, as long as the missionary remained the mission remained. The probability of material alteration of this position in the near future is remote.

The second function of the mission as it was conceived, however, was the one for which variableness was the watchword and the one where the most tension was generated. In the initial stages of development the mission was the all-in-all, the "temporary" substitute for church, associa-References could be found to a tion, and convention. person wanting to join the mission, when what was meant was to become a member of a congregation. The pastors were called by the mission, assigned by the mission, paid by the mission, and dismissed by the mission. When the churches of an area, or of a country, got together or did anything it was by the decision of, at the expense of, and following the program of the mission. The mission with its resources and wide range of experience planned often and well and supported generously.

Almost immediately the interpretation of "temporary" became a live issue. The problems revolved in several concentric circles, such as how long "temporary" should be, or which was more "temporary" control or support, etc. Here is the crux of any judgment on the changing role of the mission. Since the whole process was "temporary," then even change became only "temporary" until that process had been completed and the mission had been relegated to its alternate, enduring role.

Meanwhile each mission and convention had to adjust itself to a search for adequate expression of this interrelationship at each given point in the process. Needless to say, the less a mission involved itself in these "temporary" matters the more painless was its extraction from them. But, contrariwise, such a lack of involvement in relationship also might have indicated a lack of meaningful involvement in the ultimate goal of the whole process, the establishment of church, association, and convention.

mentioned, this study indicates that an awareness of the changeableness of this relationship between mission and convention, a spirit of fellowship and mutual concern for the best solution at a given time, and a willingness to accept any progress no matter how slight as an achievement, all are invaluable in successfully adapting to the changing role.

The two dangers, from the context of this study, that appeared to be inherent in the deliberations related to this subject should be noted. The first dangerous position was the one which seemed to advertise the mission's contribution as being primarily one of material resources. No matter which organization assumed this attitude, the basic relationship necessary for accomplishing transition was jeopardized. The second occurred when the minority tried to decide for the majority, in order to avoid the long, tiresome, emotionally-charged, hammering out of the steps of transition. The democratic processes were thwarted, leading to later difficulty in effecting the solution so decided.

The Interrelationship of Various Baptist Groups

With the entrance of the Southern Baptist missionaries into Rhodesia and Zambia, a warm expression of
welcome was extended by the churches of the Baptist Union
of Central Africa and by the leaders of the South African
Baptist Missionary Society, who were involved with the
Lambaland Mission in Zambia. This spirit resulted in a
tentative effort on their part to cooperate in a number of
ways.

First, the Baptist churches in Rhodesia expressed a hope of dividing responsibility with the new Mission for the good of both. The initial action taken was the diverting of missionary funds from the European churches to

support the African pastors working with the first few Southern Baptist missionaries rather than sending their funds to the Baptist Union of South Africa. Their second act was to engage in discussions concerning the possibility of establishing a joint field council in which both groups would have representation. A third was that on occasion the Southern Baptist missionaries were asked to serve as interim pastors for their European counterparts. Another was the probing on several occasions by South African Baptist leaders into the possibility of Southern Baptists' assuming responsibility for the Lambaland mission field because of dire financial and personnel needs. These were only passing events, and very quickly the major lines of responsibility were drawn where Baptists almost seemed to have established a comity agreement, and each group went its own way with a minimum of contact with the others.

Strangely enough, this aloofness was not noticeable to any great extent in the other Baptist groups in Rhodesia and Zambia. The Scandinavian missionaries went to their field at the instigation of the Lambaland missionaries and at the invitation of the South African Baptist Missionary Society. Although the residential stations were separate, constant contact was evident. Also the arrival of men sent by the Extension Committee of the Baptist Union of Central Africa into the townships of Zambia, and more especially into the European churches, was welcomed and the ministers of these churches were accorded equal recognition in

Rhodesia.

The same was not the case in the beginnings in Uganda, Kenya, or Malawi. In Uganda Conservative Baptists and Southern Baptists arrived at about the same time, with plans unknown to one another. The lack of fellowship of the parent bodies in the United States seemed to evoke the same response automatically from the missionaries, and the little contact which was made was cool in tenor at best.

In Kenya the independent Grace Baptist Church stood alone, refusing even to answer enquiries relative to this study, much less to contemplate engaging in fellowship.

The fellowship experienced with the Canadian Baptists was at the missionary level only, for the African organization had been conditioned by previous associations and saw no need to become involved.

The lack of contact in Malawi seemed to evolve from a lack of concern rather than from any deliberate decision, except that in the smaller groups which separated early in the period from parent bodies, this lack of association was historically conditioned.

With this brief summary of basic developments, some conclusions may be drawn. The first is that the size, resources, and reputation of Southern Baptists tended to militate against effective cooperation with other Baptists in East and Central Africa. In addition to the probability that personality conflict occasionally came into play, two basic postures were evident. On one hand, the other groups

were overwhelmed by the prospects of relating to, or probably being swallowed up by, such a powerful force, and evidenced jealousy in contemplating the ease of expansion and of funding projects. On the other hand, Southern Baptist missionaries often appeared to take casually their seemingly unlimited resources and to act with a lack of tactful concern for the sensitivities of others less able to muster any kind of adequacy in resources and appeared blithely unaware of the impression which they gave.

The tragic corollary to this basic attitude on both sides was that the African leadership followed the attitudes of their missionary counterparts most of the time, thus creating a diversity which became more entrenched with the passing of time and with the establishment of tradition and patterns of leadership and association difficult to dislodge.

A few hopeful signs do exist as to the future prospects for cooperation. The first is the response that was achieved in the simultaneous revival efforts in 1967 and 1968 and, to a more limited extent in 1970. Cooperation was evoked from all of the groups in Zambia and in Rhodesia during these crusades. The comments of various groups as to the value of such an effort and the sharing of ministry in a number of cases augered for the hope of future opportunity.

The second is the recent uniting of the churches of the Baptist Union of Central Africa in Zambia with the

growing Africa membership and those in Rhodesia with the European and Colored congregations into a fellowship of cooperating associations. Though achieved only in 1971, the prospect is that such an effort could bring a desire for further avenues of cooperation both in Rhodesia and in Zambia.

Another, from Uganda, is the quest of avenues of fellowship between the missionaries of the two groups in and around Kampala which, if pursued, could lead to the growing contact necessary for nurturing responsible cooperation both in the missions and in the conventions.

One minor development was the request of the Canadian Baptist missionaries and the African Christian Church and Schools Association for assistance from a Southern Baptist missionary in leading the discussions in which they participated with another African Christian group that was seeking association with them. A plan for uniting the two groups was not devised, but the friendship established with them by the missionary could lead to a meaningful contact with the Baptist Convention of Kenya in the future.

Avenues for further development in this interrelationship may be suggested from a consideration of the
historical background. First, the prospect of additional
evangelistic conferences and simultaneous revivals, or of
similar programs under the World Mission of Reconciliation
sponsored by the Baptist World Alliance, gives the most

obvious hope. The presence of distinguished visitors with no organizational alliances in a country could bring together the leadership of the several bodies, with a resulting opportunity for interchange of ideas and fellowship.

The stirring of a movement to develop an African
Baptist Union or an African Baptist Fellowship would be an
excellent way to provide such a forum for the groups to get
together.

More locally, a deliberate attempt by Southern

Baptist missionaries to share their resources tactfully
in the extending of invitations to participate in the
workshops for writers or for radio and television, or to
offer places for others in the leadership training programs
of the seminaries and Bible schools should be considered.
Invitations to the convention meetings of fraternal
representation offer other channels of contact.

The conclusion reached from an examination of the interrelationship in the past and of its subsequent breakdown is that such interrelationship died from a lack of concerned nurture rather than from doctrinal differences, specific actions, or any other inherent necessity. Such interrelationship can and ought to be cultivated.

A Spectrum of Basic Methodology

Basic conclusions drawn from a brief survey such as this study on the subject of missionary methodology can

be only suggestive at best. Yet a thoughtful analysis of the diversity of beginnings and of patterns of development can be of some value to a student of missiology. Two primary concepts come out of such a consideration of this study. The first concept which may be pictured is that attitudes appeared more determinative for the successful missionary and the visible results of his effort than specific activities or the institutional forms in which he ministered. A detailed analysis is beyond the limits of this dissertation; thus only a brief statement is presented of four critical traits evidenced which are vision, zeal, adaptability, and diversifiability.

Vision describes the attitude to expansion of ministry beyond the limits of one's own ability, to the transference of authority and responsibility beyond the assured limits of another's ability, to the voluntary subjection of personal qualifications and natural reactions to others less able or articulate. Zeal is shown in a constancy of ministry, in an undiverted, goal-centered life, and in the unending ability to exemplify one's expectations of others.

Adaptability applies to the reconciliation of one's own methods, principles, and beliefs, with the customs, culture, and tradition of others to whom one is ministering. Diversifiability denotes the capability both in spirit and in deed to undertake new tasks and to open new avenues of ministry and service when the end of the previously

mentioned scale of service has been reached.

A second concept is that certain activities were an integral part of the successful mission program while others seemed to be only marginal and depended specifically upon the application of a consistent evangelistic emphasis.

In the first category were all of the avenues of church-oriented leadership training. This involvement ran the gamut from the seminary level at its most highly developed stage, even in certain cases including overseas training, to the simplest expression of training among the poorly educated lay pastors or the leaders of women's groups. The more a mission applied this principle to the areas within its sphere of ministry the faster and more effectively the churches and other organizations seemed to grow. Conversely, the more a mission localized the training program at one institution and directed it at one level of leadership the more the outreach of the mission seemed to lose momentum and stagnate.

A method in dispute, as to its effectiveness, was that of the externally financed simultaneous revival programs, with the influx of foreign preachers, with its large evangelistic conferences, and with the infusion of large numbers of especially prepared pieces of literature. The enthusiasm generated, the contacts between the churches and missions involved, and the widespread promotional value cannot be underestimated. Statistics in some of the missions showed a membership increase almost exactly

proportionate to the revival results, as well as the fact that the enumeration of new churches or preaching points was related to those initiated in such revival planning. This subject needs more detailed investigation before a final judgment can be reached as to its effectiveness.

In addition, the constant availability of inexpensive literature, especially of tracts with an evangelistic or a simple didactic bent, was a characteristic of the missions and associated churches which grew rapidly.

Similarly, the need for discernment in the utilization of resources for church buildings appeared as an important issue in the methodological approach. Almost without exception the missions and conventions which tended to spread out from the centers of population in many directions were obliged also to invest in a program of financing church buildings as an assistance to the newly formed congregations in the urban areas. The granting of partial aid to churches in the rural setting appeared to engender momentum but was not as important as assisting those in the urban centers.

The missionary involvement in the industrial mission approach at the turn of the century, in the secular education and the medical ministries during most of the period, and in the social and agricultural ministries more recently instituted by Southern Baptists, all made a contribution to the total growth of the churches. Yet an examination of growth in areas where these ministries have

not been present leaves doubt as to the long range added contribution that such programs have made, especially in the last decade of the study. For example, a hospital chaplain reported less than a hundred professions of faith year after year at a large, well staffed, subsidized hospital, while in other areas local, rural churches with lay pastors reported the same kind of response numerically.

Two lines of reasoning can be applied to these types of ministry. The first is the effect of such programs on the total community in terms of good will and favorable publicity which is difficult to measure. second is the necessity of a Christian ministry to the whole man which cannot be overlooked. However, if measured in terms of the utilization of limited resources, the relative contribution of the larger, more demanding institutions needs to be carefully weighed before the establishment of new ones and before the material expansion of the ones now in existence. Also, a constant self-examination by those involved in such ministries needs to be maintained to prevent the debilitating effect of preoccupation with the running of an institution for its own sake, for the meeting of government or other standards, for the imparting of a special service only, without the heightened value of sharing the potential of a spiritual dynamic.

Conservation and Utilization of Historical Materials

A final area of consideration which has resulted from this study pertains to the general area of Baptist history and to further research in the field. Two lines of development need to be mentioned briefly in conclusion.

One line of development pertains to the need for more concern for the collection and preservation of the historical materials in a part of the world where the meticulous keeping of records has not been developed to any degree and much of the knowledge of past events perishes with those who had a part in them. During the research in East and Central Africa several ideas emerged as to possible means for effectively activating a response to this concern.

The mission organizations should be more historically oriented in reporting to their parent organizations.

The annual "Book of Reports" of the Baptist Missions of
Rhodesia and Zambia, with a section given to a historian's
report, appears worthy of being emulated by other missions.

The developing seminaries, which also have a vested interest in the use of historical material, could make a valuable and permanent contribution to preserving and writing this history. The seminaries have at their disposal the services of students who could be led to write of the development of their home churches and associations. Each seminary community could form an

historical society, starting within the school and spreading from the school into the other streams of Baptist life. The seminary administration could assist in beginning a quarterly historical journal, or at least an occasional bulletin, subsidizing it initially and then subscribing most of the cost. The seminary faculties could plan for workshops in historical writing during the holidays, in which materials could be prepared to develop an awareness in the field and by which beginning skills could be imparted.

Those responsible for coordinating mission affairs, such as area secretaries or field representatives, could also assist in the collection of the results of these various activities, utilizing the library and archival facilities of the Southern Baptist Foreign Mission Board. Consideration could be given to the formation of an historical commission of the Baptist World Alliance which would have a continuing interest, and would give at least a minimum of support, in the developing of a reasonable awareness of the availability of resources and encourage more consistent care in the preservation of materials.

The second line of development relates areas for further research. The writing of national Baptist histories needs to be undertaken as soon as possible, especially in Malawi, Rhodesia, and Zambia, with the variety of background that is found in the early decades of the century. A study of the patterns of national

organizations and mission organizations is indicated in searching for more acceptable paths of transition and considering more minutely the validity of the relationships suggested in this dissertation. Such a study could examine the polity of the African Baptist congregational life where local innovations might lead to a more effective solution to the larger problem of transition.

Finally, research should be initiated into the biographical detail of the lives of individuals such as Clyde Dotson, Daniel Malekebu, Olive Doke, Joseph Nyathi, and others, before possible sources of information become no longer available.

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ABSTRACT

A HISTORY OF BAPTISTS IN EAST AND CENTRAL AFRICA

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The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1973 Chairman: W. Bryant Hicks

This dissertation is a study of the history of Baptist missionary activity and of the development of the related church organizations in the six countries of East and Central Africa, i.e., Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Malawi, Zambia, and Rhodesia. The writer became acutely aware of the need for such a study while teaching Baptist history at the Baptist Theological Seminary of East Africa in Arusha, Tanzania. His further service as Field Representative for East and Central Africa of the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention bore out the existence of a similar need elsewhere in the six countries.

The missions and national organizations selected for consideration in the study are those who used the name "Baptist" in their official title or were directly associated with a Baptist missionary organization rather than all of those whose basis of doctrine or polity followed that traditionally held by Baptists.

The study begins with the arrival in Blantyre,
Malawi, in 1892 of Joseph Booth, an independent Baptist

missionary from Australia. The historical development is considered from that point, both chronologically and geographically, reaching into the other five countries, and ending with a brief summary of the strength at the end of 1972 of each of the Baptist groups involved.

The historical presentation is divided into three chapters. The description of Baptists prior to 1950 in each of the countries studied is contained in the second chapter. The main groups are the Providence Industrial Mission, which has been oriented towards the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc., the Lambaland Mission, which has been a part of the ministry of the South African Baptist Missionary Society, and the Seventh Day Baptists, who have been based primarily in Plainfield, New Jersey.

The third chapter describes the evangelistic outreach and church growth associated with the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention. Missionaries of that Board began in Southern Rhodesia in 1950 and before the end of 1962 were resident in all six of the countries under consideration.

The fourth nărrates the continuing spread of the other Baptists between 1950 and 1972. Included in this chapter are new groups such as the Canadian Baptist Overseas Mission Board and the Conservative Baptist Foreign Mission Society, in addition to those who were present in 1950.

The final chapter, drawing upon the historical perspective gained in the preceding chapters, examines the trends towards increasing self-determination within the emerging national Baptist organizations. Also considered are the changing roles of the missionary and the mission organization, in its structural, missiological connotation, in the light of the developing indigeneity depicted within the study.

The fleeting bonds of cooperation between the different Baptist groups are mentioned, after which concrete proposals are made for more constructive interrelationships on mission, national, and multinational levels. A spectrum of basic methodology is outlined as related specifically to the details of development encompassed in the historical presentation. In conclusion, steps are suggested, both in subject matter and in method, for more effectively recording the history of Baptists in East and Central Africa.

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

Davis L. Saunders

Personal

Born: July 2, 1925, Walterboro, South Carolina Parents: John Alvah Lee and Una Mae Saunders Married: Mary Pauline Hogg, September 14, 1947

Children: Mary Lee, born January 16, 1951; Susan Danner, born October 31, 1952; John Alvah Lee, II, born April 5, 1954; Virginia Alice, born July 16, 1957

Educational

B.S. The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina, 1948, Civil Engineering

B.D. The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky, 1951

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Vocational

United States Marine Corps, 1944-46 Pastor, Fredonia Baptist Church, Indiana, 1949-50 Missionary, The Foreign Mission Board, The Southern Baptist Convention, 1951-

Nigeria, 1951-56

Iwo, language study, 1951 Igede, field evangelism, 1952-53

Iwo, teacher, Baptist College, and field evangelism, 1953-54

Oshogbo, mission builder and field evangelism Kenya, 1956-64

Nairobi, station evangelism, 1956-63, . Director, Shauri Moyo Baptist Center, 1962-63

Tanzania, 1964-68

Arusha, Principal and teacher of church history, The Baptist Theological Seminary of East Africa, 1964-68

Kenya, 1969-

Field Representative, East and Central Africa

Literary

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