

## Deep in the Heart of Africa: An Annotated Bibliography of Literature on the Beloved Strip in Zambia

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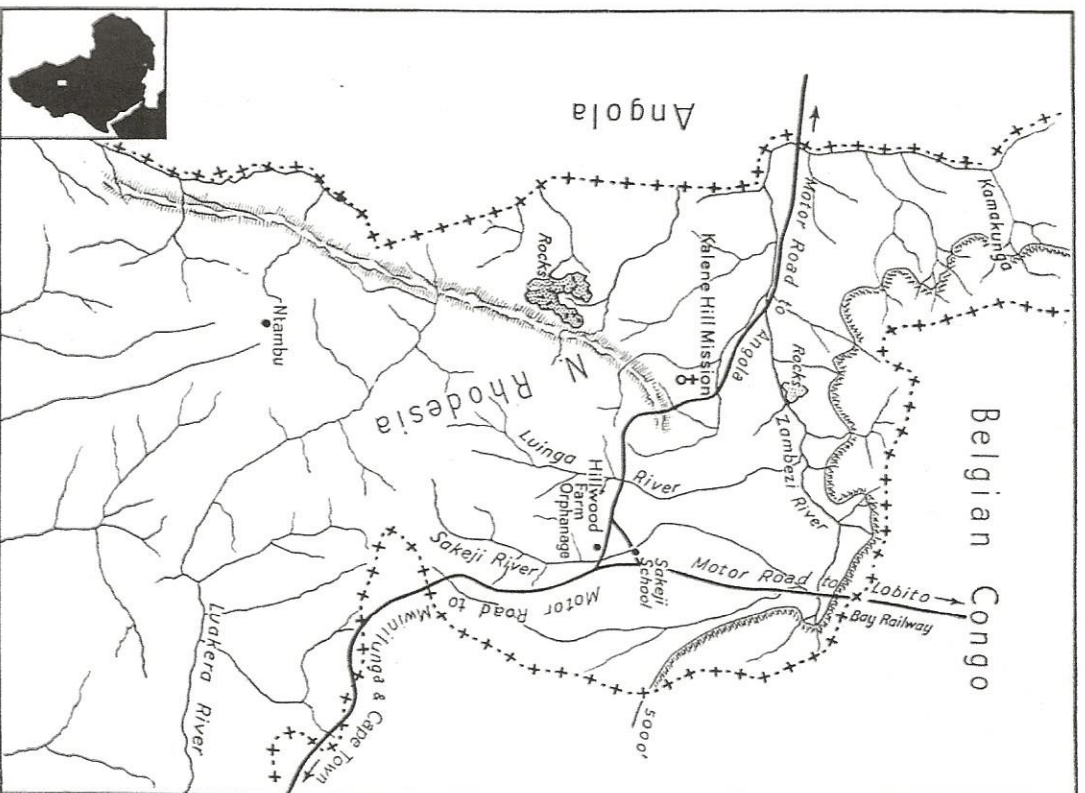
### Abstract

Deep in south-central Africa is a large geographic region often referred to by Brethren as ‘the Beloved Strip’. This region includes Katanga in the southern Congo, eastern Angola, and much of Zambia’s North Western, Province, especially Mwinilunga. This descriptive bibliography lists the surprisingly large, but also high quality, printed works that discuss this area. The over thirty pieces reviewed here encompass especially significant social anthropologies, memoirs, and histories. The commentary on the items discusses their genre and particular attention is paid to their relevance to Christian mission.

### A land of milk and honey

In late 1963, I arrived in Zambia (then Northern Rhodesia) simply to teach at Solwezi Secondary School and ended up starting a lifelong romance with the North Western Province (NWP). Upon arrival, a senior student insisted that I visit Mwinilunga District<sup>1</sup> as he felt it was very special. On the next Easter break, I did just that with the student, Philip Muke. This was at the end of the rainy season when Mwinilunga was gloriously covered in a blanket of green with overflowing streams—and very muddy unpaved roads! It was amazing to see the mighty Zambezi River start as a little rivulet of water seeping from a hillside. Equally remarkable were its rapids not

<sup>1</sup> Solwezi to Mwinilunga is about 218 km or 136 miles. Mwinilunga’s elevation reaches 1368 metres (4564 feet).



Northern Rhodesia, showing Kalene Hill district in what is now the Mwinilunga District of the North Western Province of Zambia  
Source: *Africa Looks Ahead*, facing p.176.

far away after the Zambezi had curved around hills and had become a sizable river. With its high elevation, Mwinilunga's temperatures can drop to near freezing in June and July, necessitating sweaters and blankets. Large pineapple and cassava fields stand out. While 'milk and honey' is obviously hyperbole, there is indeed much honey, although not so much milk! In short, Mwinilunga is an easy place to fall in love with.

This northwest segment of Zambia's NWP is a core part of a larger geographic area encompassing eastern Angola to the west and southern Congo to the north and east. In the eighteenth century, ancestors of current African communities created a homeland here. They included the southern Lunda-Ndembu (often abbreviated as 'Lunda' and related ethnic groups: the Luvale, Luchazi, and Chokwe. Besides these communities, lesser numbers of other peoples would also fall in love with Mwinilunga and nearby areas. These were mostly *mizingu*, i.e., whites,<sup>2</sup> that embraced general visitors, scholars, missionaries, and a few settlers. Importantly in the late nineteenth century, Brethren missionaries spread thinly throughout this larger geographic region. As will be explained later, they would call it the 'Beloved Strip'.

During the last few decades, surprisingly high-quality literature in English has been written by 'us foreigners', about the Lunda and also about the incoming trickle of *mizingu* themselves. This is possibly because of Mwinilunga's delightful climate, its geographic location tucked between three countries, the Lunda's gracious hospitality, and maybe just by accident. In other words, living, researching, and writing in Mwinilunga has appealed to many writers, mostly long-term

<sup>2</sup> When I was in the NWP in the 1960s and 1970s, '*mizingu*' was used in everyday conversations without pejorative meaning, to make clear the person being discussed was white and not Black or Lunda, etc. (An exception was Dr Pritchett, an American Black, who notes that he was also considered a *mizingu*.) Dr Iva Peša tells me that when she was doing research in the NWP somewhat later in the early decades of the present century, that 'chindeli' not *mizingu* was common. While shorter, many scholars feel that 'Lunda' is too generic and that it is more accurate to say, 'southern Lunda-Ndembu.' Some scholars (and Google) print NorthWestern as 'North Western.'

residents, who know the area and Lunda society well. Unfortunately, only a few Lunda have yet written about their home area.

In a recent article in the *BHR*,<sup>3</sup> I presented three basic 'divisions' that still apply to the literature being reviewed herein. These were: first the local Lunda people with their belief in a traditional familiar (an *lomba*); second 'outsiders' (Dr Fisher and fellow missionaries spreading Christianity); and third the background world context of the Spanish flu at the end of the First World War that cast a shadow over everything.

The present paper is written for both serious scholars planning to write and expand this literature and the general reading public, who might also be Brethren who wish to increase knowledge about their rather unique community, which tend to live in smallish nodes around the world. Because of this diversity, I have mused about what might interest various people. For example, the earliest Brethren mission was Kalene Hill. Dr Walter Fisher, its founder, was a surgeon who set up the first (and only) medical practice for hundreds of kilometres in all directions. Written materials on Kalene reflect the interest in Fisher, Kalene, and the mission and its staff. Diverse writers have looked at Kalene from many angles.

These thirty plus pieces of literature are divided into six parts for easy digestion: a) six books and individual chapters about Lunda society (the largest number); b) six individual chapters and works about and by the outsiders who moved into the region (late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries); c) four memoirs by Brethren missionaries; d) three non-missionary writings about Kalene; e) five works by two academic writers who reflect in different ways about either Kalene itself (Dr Kalusa) or the Catholic Lwawu mission (Dr Pritchett); f) and about nine other diverse books or articles about

<sup>3</sup> P. David Wilkin, 'Dr Walter Fisher, an *lomba*, and the Spanish 'Flu Pandemic', *BHR*, 16 (2020), 12–39. Unfortunately, due in part to library closures, I overlooked a 2012 book chapter by Dr Walima T. Kalusa on 'Christian Medical Discourse . . .', that is referenced later in this review. Although we do not disagree on basics, had I not overlooked it, I would have refocused my article to better accommodate several of Dr Kalusa's key points on pp. 255–6. My apologies.

Mwini Lunga and surrounding areas. Finally, I conclude this article with a largely separate review about Black Brethren from Guyana.

These divisions will hopefully aid anyone searching for any item, whether on the web, in libraries or to purchase. I have added other details like ID numbers (ISBN or DOI), price, etc., but only if I feel that they will be truly helpful. I have used footnotes for lesser comments and dissertations.

Finally, a warning about the effect of our year-long library closures worldwide. Despite my efforts, some new literature, whether articles, books, or chapters, may have been overlooked.

### The Lunda-Ndembu Peoples (Mwini Lunga and nearby areas): social history and cultural anthropology classics

**Peša, Iva:** 'Buying Pineapples, Selling Cloth: Traders and Trading Stores in Mwini Lunga District, 1940–1970', in Robert Ross, Marija Hinfelaar and Iva Peša (eds.), *The Objects of Life in Central Africa: The History of Consumption and Social Change, 1840–1980* (Brill, 2013), 259–80. 270 pp., ISBN 9789004254909.

\_\_\_\_\_. 'Cassava Is Our Chief: Negotiating Identity, Markets and the State Through Cassava in Mwini Lunga, Zambia', in Jan-Bart Gewald, André Leliveld and Iva Peša (eds.), *Transforming Innovations in Africa: Explorative Studies on Appropriation in African Societies* (Brill, 2012), 169–90, 302 pp., ISBN 9789004245235.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Roads through Mwini Lunga: A History of Social Change in Northwest Zambia* (Brill, 2019), 430 pp., US\$59 paperback. ISBN 9789004407909.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> The chapters of this major 2019 book by Peša follow the order of her PhD dissertation: 'Moving Along the Roadside: A Social History of Mwini Lunga District, 1870s–1970s', Institute for History, Faculty of the Humanities, Leiden University, 2014. For a recent review of this book, see Paul David Wilkin, *Anthropology Southern Africa*, 2020, 'ORCID' <<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1818-099X>>, 14–16. See also her MPhil thesis for more on cassava: 'Cinderella's Cassava: A Historical Study of Agricultural Adaptation in Mwini Lunga District from Pre-colonial Times to Independence', Leiden University, 2009. Also note the following two articles and book chapter: a) 'Wealth, Success and Personhood: Trajectories of Labour Migration from Mwini Lunga District, 1930s–1970s', *Zambia Social Science Journal*, 4/1 (2013); b) "'We Have Killed This Animal Together, May I Also Have a Share?': Local-

**Pritchett, James Anthony:**<sup>5</sup> *The Lunda-Ndembu: Style, Change and Social Transformation in South Central Africa* (Wisconsin, 2001), 280 pp. US\$55 and £25.40. ISBN 9780813926247. **NB:** Do NOT overlook Dr Pritchett's two other works discussed below.

**Turner, Victor W.:**<sup>6</sup> *The Drums of Affliction: A Study of Religious Processes among the Ndembu of Zambia* (Oxford, 1981), 326 pp. US\$37.95. ISBN 9780801492051.

\_\_\_\_\_. *The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual* (Cornell, 1970), 405 pp. US\$25.95 paperback. ISBN 9780801491016.

\_\_\_\_\_. *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (Routledge, 1969), 232 pp. doi.org/10.4324/9781315134666.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Schism and Continuity in an African Society: A Study of Ndembu Village Life* (Manchester, 1957), 348 pp. US\$45.95. ISBN 9780854962822.

The southern Lunda-Ndembu peoples, the predominant African population in Mwini Lunga District whose villages surround the Christian missions, have been comprehensively studied in a number of works. Indeed this whole review could focus just on the quality and quantity of the post-Second World War studies on them. This literature is larger than all else combined. The three main authors discussed in this section dig deep into complex theoretical issues. Because of this, plus space limitations, my following comments may oversimplify and even omit some concepts.

<sup>5</sup> National Political Dynamics in Mwini Lunga District, Zambia, 1950s–1970s', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 40/5 (2014): 925–41; and c) 'Between Success and Failure: The Mwini Lunga Pineapple Canning Factory in the 1960s and 1970s', in Iva Peša and Jan-Bart Gewald (eds.), *Magnetizing Perspectives: Contributions to History, a Festschrift for Robert Ross* (Leiden: African Studies Centre, 2017), 285–307.

<sup>6</sup> Also Pritchett's PhD dissertation, 'Continuity and Change in an African Society: The Kanongesha Lunda of Mwini Lunga, Zambia', Harvard University, PhD, 1990.

<sup>6</sup> Besides these four major books, Turner wrote many other articles and books. Check Wikipedia for references cited in the above works. After his death (1983) his wife, Edith, continued the research. Some older literature by C. M. N. White may also be useful.

**Victor W. Turner.** After the Second World War, the new-ish academic field of Cultural Anthropology developed fast and to a high level of complexity partly because of Turner. A British scholar, he lived in Northern Rhodesia for many decades and was instrumental at determining policy at the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute in Lusaka. More important, he lived amongst the Lunda and made understanding them his mission. (He did much of his best-known writing later in the U.K. and U.S.A.) In describing everyday life, he shows how villages split and re-grouped. He is noted for depicting their complex use of symbolism, rituals, and rites of passage.

Traditional Lunda society's residential organization norm is matrilineal descent but virilocal living. Put simplistically, this means that the Lunda consider descent through their mothers and sisters but still, after marriage the woman goes to live in the village where her husband decides they will live. This 'binds . . . male kin in local descent groups.'<sup>7</sup> It is a complex social organization that contrasts to more common patrilineal societies such as the Swahili and most western societies.

**James Pritchett and Iva Peša.** These two authors have also made enormous contributions to cultural anthropology and social history, and like Turner, lived amongst the Lunda whilst writing about them. I also find both to be very interesting individuals.

In the 1990s, Pritchett, who eventually became the head of Michigan State University's African Studies Center and also head of the African Studies Association (USA), arrived in Mwinilunga to study how Lunda society had changed in the thirty years following Turner's death. His major book in 2001, *Style, Change and Social Transformation* seems (for me anyway) to be a 'typical' anthropology in describing and analyzing Lunda society. It is carefully researched and thoughtfully written. He is the only African-American scholar to come to this part of Africa and submerge himself into a particular society. Tragically, at the peak of his career, he died in 2019<sup>8</sup> and we will never enjoy his personal stories about living in Mwinilunga as a

Black American whilst analyzing Lunda life. More interesting for me is Pritchett's second book in 2007: 'Friends for . . .'. I enjoyed it more than any other book in this review. Pritchett can be a wonderful storyteller. It is reviewed below (pp. 115–16).

Iva Peša published her first major social history in 2019, which like those of Turner and Pritchett, is thoroughly researched with excellent analysis. She has lived in the Netherlands most of her life and has a special interest in agricultural history. Some readers will greatly appreciate her articles on cassava and pineapple production. Also, as noted below, she has written an article on Kalene's history and also has a book chapter about Kalene women. I recommend all her materials to both general readers and scholars. In 2021, she continues her NWP research and writing.

In sum, Turner's major books, reviewed briefly above, along with those by Peša and Pritchett, have made Lunda society renowned especially in anthropology, but also in social history. Academically inclined readers should take a deeper dive into the serious societal issues that always lay below the surface in social interactions between the populace and missionaries. For any contemporary Christians engaging in cross-cultural mission in Lunda society, these works are indispensable in sorting out issues surrounding contextualising the Christian faith. More casual readers may prefer to just read the other literature noticed below.

#### **The *muzungu* entry into South Central Africa (including Mwinilunga)**

**Burress, Ian:** *From Glasgow to Garamanze: Frederick Stanley Arnot and Nineteenth-century African Mission* (Lockerbie: Opal Trust, Echoes International, and BAHN, 2017), xvii+339 pp.+51 illus., £11.95. ISBN 9781907098321. See also his earlier book chapter on Arnot.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Frederick Stanley Arnot (1858–1914): Reassessing his Impact on African Mission, in Neil T. R. Dickson and T. J. Marinello (eds.), *The Brethren and Mission: Essays in Honour of Timothy C.F. Stunt* (Studies in Brethren History; Troon, 2016), Ch. 10 (183–196), 352 pp., ISBN 9780957017788.

<sup>7</sup> See Turner, 'Schism . . .', especially p. xviii for more explanation.

<sup>8</sup> Pritchett died 29 November 2019.

**Crawford, Dan:** *Thinking Black: 22 Years without a Break in the Long Grass of Central Africa* (New York: George H. Doran, 1912). ISBN: 9781904064879. [Free download at the Internet Archive.]

**Donaldson, John W.:** 'Pillars and Perspective: Demarcation of the Belgian Congo-Northern Rhodesia Boundary', *Journal of Historical Geography* 34 (2008), 471–93, ISSN: 03057488 (for journal).

**McLennan, Bruce:** *Pioneering in 'The Beloved Strip', 1881–1931: Assembly Missionary Labour in Angola, Belgian Congo and Northern Rhodesia* (Kilimnock: John Ritchie Publishing, 2019), 320 pp. £8.99 [US\$14.99]. ISBN: 9781912522651.

**Rotberg, Robert I.:** 'Plymouth Brethren and the Occupation of Katanga, 1886–1907', *Journal of African History* 5/02 (1964): 285–297, doi:10.1017/s0021853700004849.

**Sweetham, Mark S.:** 'Dan Crawford, Thinking Black, and the Challenge of a Missionary Canon', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 58/4 (2007), 705–25, doi:10.1017/S0022046906008190.

In the 1880s, the slave trade was ending or had just ended in most places around the world, but certainly not here in this remote, interior area of Africa. Paradoxically its continuation resulted in more *mzungu* entering as the trade refocused Europe's eyes towards it. Christian groups (especially in the UK) realized that with slavery continuing, the gospel had not been preached. Likewise, colonial powers concluded that the region was a good place to expand their empires. Conversely, Africans were less aware of all this as they simply lived with this terrible trauma overshadowing their daily lives.<sup>10</sup> Two very recent books, two older books and two review articles collectively tell the story. Except for possibly Donaldson and Sweetham, all are easy reading.

Fred Arnot (1858–1914) is crucial in this narrative. He had been a young disciple of David Livingstone and active in the British Brethren movement. Throughout his life, he felt 'burdened' for African souls. Consequently after 1881, he had travelled, explored, and preached in

southern Africa until in 1886 he arrived at his preferred destination, the local kingdom of Msiri,<sup>11</sup> in the southern Congo (now Katanga), northeast of Mwinilunga. To get there, Arnot simply walked along narrow paths accompanied by carriers, as the tsetse fly prevented using pack animals. His letters and journals detailed the slave trade's horrors as he pleaded for others to come help him. Within several years, Charles A. Swan and W. L. Faulknor heeded his call. Saddled by poor health, Arnot then returned to the UK where his books had made him famous.

Crucial interactions had now started between the colonial governments, missionaries, and Africans. More specifically, while Arnot was in the UK, Belgian representatives of King Leopold moved slowly through the Congo towards Katanga while representatives of the British South Africa Company (BSAC) advanced slowly north from the Rhodesias. In 1890, these representatives collided. Msiri was stuck in the middle along with these Brethren, whose numbers now included Dan Crawford. Strongly apolitical, the Brethren tried to stay neutral. When skirmishing ensued, however, Msiri was killed while trying to protect his kingdom. Small, related events had enormous geopolitical effects, and large swatches of territory were internationally divided as Portugal also became involved due to Angola, a long-claimed territory. Three countries would form—the Congo, Angola, and Northern Rhodesia—with each speaking a different colonial-era language: French, Portuguese, and English respectively.

In the following decades, two Anglo-Belgian boundary commissions, before and after the Great War, fixed new borders between the Congo and Northern Rhodesia. John Donaldson's article describes the boundaries' demarcation. (The boundaries between Angola, Zambia, and the Congo were also demarcated.) Donaldson's article first describes the 1911–14 boundary commission and then the extensive boundary work from 1927–33. By the latter period, discoveries of minerals, especially copper, made exact demarcation both economically feasible and necessary as numerous mines more-or-less straddle borders, such as Kansanshi in Solwezi and Mutlitira to

<sup>10</sup> In 1965–6 schoolboys at Balovale (Zambezi) Secondary School pointed out a few elderly Luwale men and women in nearby villages who had sharp, pointed teeth. Even teeth were used for hand-to-hand fighting if slave traders attacked.

<sup>11</sup> There are other spelling variations for 'Msiri'—Msidi, Mushiidi and Moshidi.

the east. Most significantly, Donaldson explains how the Congo pedicle, the southeast protrusion of Katanga Province, came into being and its huge effect. By dipping down deep into Zambia, it 'effectively split Northern Rhodesia in two sections',<sup>12</sup> resulting in unending political problems ever since.

Meanwhile while recovering, Arnot encouraged Brethren to head towards this region. As he had done, most just walked eastwards from Benguela across northern Angola into Katanga. All hoped to 'preach the Word' along the way. Some stopped and opened mission settlements in northern Angola. These included Dr Walter Fisher (1893–1906) before he moved eastwards and opened Kalene in 1907. All suffered appallingly high mortality rates and the Brethren community started using the phrase 'Beloved Strip' out of respect to the numerous deceased. The term is used repeatedly in what follows.

Robert Roberg, Ian Burness, and Bruce McLennan all tell the story of the *muzungu* entering the Beloved Strip. Because some readers know of Roberg's older materials, now somewhat dated and/or containing some controversial statements that denigrated Brethren mission,<sup>13</sup> I only list his 1964 article, plus one of his books in a footnote.

For those looking for an introduction to Brethren mission in the area, I suggest reading Burness and McLennan's two recent books first. Both write from a Brethren perspective about the *muzungu* spreading throughout the Beloved Strip. Both use primary sources well; the books are easily available (2021); and are recently reviewed in the *BHR*.<sup>14</sup> Burness's book is the most crucial. With Arnot a towering historical figure, the book fills a long-standing need of a new scholarly biography. From Arnot's perspective, Burness describes the region, the Lunda, and European powers.

12 Donaldson, 'Pillars and Perspective: Demarcation of the Belgian Congo-Northern Rhodesia Boundary', *Journal of Historical Geography* 34 (2008), 473.

13 In addition to this article, see: Robert I. Roberg's book, *Christian Missionaries and the Creation of Northern Rhodesia 1880–1924*, (Princeton NJ, 1965), 264 pp, ISBN 9780691651071. Some of Roberg's assertions were refuted by J. K. Howard, *CBRR Journal Special Issue Christian Missions Today* 13 (Oct. 1966), 34–6.

14 For these reviews, see: *BHR*, 16 (2020), 179–84.

McLennan takes a different approach. He methodically describes the gradual openings of Brethren mission stations throughout the Beloved Strip. Like Burness, he is a thorough researcher. Unfortunately, like his reviewer in the *BHR*, I am troubled by his 'use of patronising colonial terms... Tolerable in the context of quotations, the time is past when historians should have retired them.'<sup>15</sup>

In what might be a surprise for some readers, a century-old publication is still relevant and should not be overlooked: Dan Crawford's 1912 memoir, *Thinking Black*. Using techniques more often associated with poetry, Crawford describes slavery's final, horrible days, Msiri's death, and the Brethren's entry into the Beloved Strip. Crawford especially influenced his colleague and compatriot, Dr Walter Fisher and Kalene's medical mission. Although Crawford lived on the shores of Lake Mweru, hundreds of kilometres northeast of Kalene, both men regarded themselves as associates, if not neighbours. Some Brethren still consider Crawford their unofficial philosopher. In 2007, Mark Sweetnam wrote a long, thoughtful review of *Thinking Black* that reflects further on the Brethren's lack of a formal structure beyond the local assembly.

Dr Walima T. Kalusa, a Zambian historian discussed below, ponders Crawford's influence on Dr Fisher's expanding medical work at Kalene. In two of his works, Dr Kalusa notes that Crawford was a 'keen believer in the essential unity of humanity' and had great influence on Brethren polity. He notes that Crawford helped Kalene missionaries consciously 'reinvent' Lunda 'healing ordeals' and make medicine less alien to the Lunda by incorporating their 'medical ideas and practices.'<sup>16</sup> In other words, Dr Kalusa indirectly agrees that serious readers should not overlook Crawford's 1912 memoir.

15 *Ibid.*, 181.

16 For both quotations, see Walima T. Kalusa, 'Missionaries, African Patients, and Negotiating Missionary Medicine at Kalene Hospital, Zambia, 1906–1935', *Journal of Southern African Studies* 40/2 (2014), 292–3. Kalusa discusses Crawford's influence in two works discussed below: *ibid.*, 242–3; and 2012, 258–63.

### Memiors of Kalene Mission by four missionary writers

**Burr (Milligan), Elsie:** *Kalene Memories: Annals of the Old Hill* (London: Pickering and Inglis, 1956), 143 pp.

**Fisher, Mary K.:** *Lampposts to Searchlights: 'The Brighter Side of Missionary Life': 'Memories of M.K. Fisher'* (Ikkelenge: Lunda-Ndembu Publications, 1994), 175 pp.

**Fisher, Monica:** *Nswana the Heir: The Life and Times of Charles Fisher, a Surgeon in Central Africa* (Ndola, Mission Press, P.O. Box 71581, Ndola, Zambia), 1991, 247 pp.

**Fisher, W. Singleton and Hoyte, Julian:** *Africa Looks Ahead: The Life Stories of Walter and Anna Fisher of Central Africa* (London, 1948), (tp: Ikkelenge, ZA, 1987, with 'Ndoto!u' [doctor], as Dr Fisher was known in Lunda, added in the title.) 205 pp.

Dr Walter Fisher strongly believed that medicine and evangelism reinforced each other and tried to mould them together. The resulting literature about him and Kalene is a pleasure to read. In his 1948 book, Dr Fisher's son, Singleton, narrates his father's life story. As other memoirs start by discussing this book, it provides a transition from anthropology and social history to the Kalene memoirs. Readers will note that despite Singleton's deep knowledge of Lunda culture, his terminology reflects his colonial thinking and the continuing racial gap.

Singleton was born near Kalene and near the end of the Great War, his fiancée, Mary ('Kitty'), joined him from the U.K. as a young missionary. Within a few years, they had moved north across the Belgian Congo border and opened mission stations at (or near) Kasaji along the east-west railway in Katanga. In doing so, they affirmed Brethren's status in this part of the French-speaking Congo. They dedicated themselves to the Lunda language and culture and were instrumental in translating the whole Bible.<sup>17</sup> Kitty's memoir, written in 1994 near the end of her life, charmingly narrates their mutual story. Readers may find her comments and comparisons about translations and the different governments' policies useful.

<sup>17</sup> My article in *BHR* 16 (2020) on Dr Fisher, discusses Singleton (and also Kitty)'s cultural interests.

Elsie Burr (Milligan after her later marriage) also came to Kalene as a young British nurse, but as with others, she helped start primary education and did many other tasks. (She wrote her memoirs in 1956 before I arrived in the NWP.) She writes clearly and other writers noticed here have used quotations from her memoir as reliable evidence. She also wrote delightful African-based fiction for children<sup>18</sup> and, in short, she devoted her life to Kalene.

Dr Charles Fisher was Dr Walter Fisher's youngest son. He was born and lived his life in Zambia. After many years at Kalene, he migrated east to the Copperbelt where he worked as a mine doctor and eventually practiced medicine in Kitwe. Like his father, he was highly respected and then honoured by the Zambian government. His wife, Monica, lovingly wrote the memoir. It is very well written but lacks the charm of memoirs by Elsie Burr and Mary Fisher.

### Kalene Mission: four works by three non-missionary writers

**Peša, Iva:** 'Pioneers and Role Models: Female Missionaries in Mwinilunga District During the Twentieth Century', in Neil T. R. Dickson and T. J. Marinello (eds.), *The Brethren and Mission: Essays in Honour of Timothy C. F. Stunt* (BAHN, 2016), Chap. 11 (197–207), 352 pp. ISBN 9780957017788.

\_\_\_\_\_: 'Serving in "the Beloved Strip": A Century of Missionary Activity in Mwinilunga District, Zambia', *BHR*, 6 (2010), 74–90.

**Ponzer, Sarah:** 'Disease, Wild Beasts, and Wilder Men': The Plymouth Brethren Medical Mission to Ikkelenge, Northern Rhodesia', *Conspectus Borealis* 2/1, Article 4, online journal.

**Summerton, Pauline:** *Fishers of Men: The Missionary Influence of an Extended Family in Central Africa* (BAHN, 2003), 108 pp. US\$29.46 (paperback). ISBN 0900128291.

<sup>18</sup> For a discussion of her fiction, see: Justin D. Livingstone, 'Dissenting Traditions and Missionary Imaginations: Novel Perspectives on the Twentieth Century', in Mark P. Hutchinson (ed.) *The Oxford History of Protestant Dissenting Traditions, Volume V The Twentieth Century: Themes and Variations in a Global Context* (Oxford, 2018), 377–415.

For anyone interested in a quickly digestible histories of Kalene, these excellent works will suffice. They are all short, based on solid research, and interesting. As a bonus, they are all easily available. PDF files of the *BHR* article by Iva Peša and also the one by Sarah Ponzer can be downloaded from the Internet free of charge (2021). Pauline Summerton's paperback book is available from BAHN (2021). Peša's book chapter is the only work devoted to a discussion of women, who both Western and African had a crucial role on the expansion of Christianity in NWP. It adds more depth to her earlier article and is available from BAHN.

All these authors narrate Kalene's over 100-year history and describe the Brethren's emphasis on Christian basics and rejection of formal structure. Summerton lovingly describes the large Fisher family. In her article, Peša provides a succinct Kalene history. Ponzer uses few primary sources but synthesizes her materials extremely well.

**Dr James A. Pritchett's diverse musings  
—including Lwawu Mission**

**Pritchett, James A.:** 'Christian Mission Stations in South-Central Africa: Eddies in the Flow of Global Culture', in Harri Englund (ed.), *Christianity and Public Culture in Africa* (Athens, OH: Ohio University, 2011), Chap. 1 (27–49), 240 pp. ISBN 9780821419458.  
———: *Friends for Life, Friends for Death: Cohorts and Consciousness among the Lunda-Ndembu* (Charlottesville, VA, 2007), 280 pp. US\$55.00. ISBN 9780813926254.

Some works in this section are concerned with that of the Roman Catholics, though they also offer reflections on the Brethren mission at Kalene. Lwawu was founded by American Franciscans (1951) on the Matonchi plateau, about fifty miles south of Kalene and fifty miles west of the Mwinilunga boma. Unlike the literature about Kalene, no books or chapters, and only one outdated article focus directly on Lwawu.<sup>19</sup> Despite this, the mission is noted for its agricultural

development, which often promoted American techniques that they felt were applicable to the NWP.

Fortunately, Dr James Pritchett back-handedly fills this literature gap with his second book: *Friends for Life, Friends for Death* (2007). In all of his works, he discusses both Kalene and Lwawu. While saying many interesting things about Kalene, he actually lived at Lwawu mission for years while doing his research. Thus, he had a more direct focus on Lwawu and their programmes. His information is crucial because the opening of Lwawu ended Kalene's religious monopoly on Mwinilunga District.<sup>20</sup>

The Lunda admire a good storyteller and with this book, Pritchett proved that he was. He deliberately steps back from theory and becomes a chaty social historian. He observes twentieth-century Lunda society through the eyes of a dozen Lunda men (*amabwambu*) with their 'shard consciousness' who lived in the large Chifunga village. These friends absorbed him into their friendship circle for several decades. They clearly made his research easier. From this collective perspective, Pritchett provides engaging and informative stories that muse about local *mzungu* residents, western institutions, and Mwinilungalife.

Pritchett begins the book with historical narratives that start with the *amabwambu*'s grandfathers (*ankaka*) from 1906–24 and their fathers (*ataata*) from 1924–48. Then, for the remainder of the book—the post-1948 era—he collectively observes the modern world around the *amabwambu*.

*etudes africaines*, 24/1, 75–96. <<https://doi.org/10.2307/485593>>. It has little scholarly value today.

<sup>20</sup> Although it is not feasible to say more about Pritchett in this wide-ranging review, see my website, especially the middle of the following webpage: <<https://davidwilkinsonzambia.com/academic-writings-and-sources/>>. In contrast to my enthusiasm about this book, Eugenia W. Herbert wrote a more negative review in 2007 shortly after the book was published. Some of her points I feel are unfair. See: <<https://www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.php?id=1359>>. Some months after her review, my late colleague in Zambia, Patrick Sappallo, found this book unavailable anywhere within Zambia.

<sup>19</sup> In 1990 [Brother] Lee E. Weissling wrote an article on Lwawu: 'The Effects of a Religious Mission on Rural Development: A Case Study in Lwawu, Northwest Province, Zambia', *Canadian Journal of African Studies / Revue Canadienne des*



While a longer commentary is not feasible here, key topics, not mentioned elsewhere describe: a) the Patterson family who were Mwinilunga's main *muzungu* settlers and were considered racially obnoxious; b) 'Harry Franklin's saucepan special' about how modern communications (beginning with the wireless radio) transformed this remote area; c) how in 1953 the Federation became an unwanted and complicated political threat to the more 'benevolent' colonial government; d) the effect of the Congo's 1960 chaotic independence—just a few kilometres across the border—on Mwinilunga District; e) Zambia's 1964 political Independence; and f) Zambia's economic decline from the 1970s into the 1990s.

In a following 2011 book chapter on 'Popular Culture', Pritchett provides additional morsels about life within Lunda society: clothing and fashion, church singing and pop music, fireside skits, the importance of ham radios, getting and sending mail, 'global cultural flows' to rural areas, organizing conferences, and religious conversions that reveal a person's 'membership' within a group. Rather startling to me, this chapter seems to have been Pritchett's last notable published work before he died, and he ended it by musing about Lunda beliefs on death and life. After learning about his death, its ending has made me reflect on the difference between Christian beliefs about meeting in heaven and Lunda beliefs about walking the earth in the afterlife—hence the title: *Friends for Life, Friends for Death: Cohorts and Consciousness among the Lunda-Ndembu*.

In sum, and other excellent literature notwithstanding, this is my favourite among all works noted here. Pritchett's *Lunda-Ndembu: Style, Change . . .* is an excellent anthropology, but for me is rather dry—as I find anthropologies to be. Not so this social history, which Pritchett says contains information left out of his anthropology. It makes Lunda society come to life possibly because, as he states, his heart and soul went into it.

**Dr Walima T. Kalusa on Kalene's early missionary medicine<sup>21</sup>**

**Kalusa, Walima T. 2012.** 'Christian Medical Discourse and Praxis on the Imperial Frontier: Explaining the Popularity of Missionary Medicine in Mwinilunga District, Zambia, 1906–1935', in Patrick Harries and David Maxwell (eds.), *The Spiritual in the Secular: Missionaries and Knowledge about Africa* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2012), 245–266. ISBN 9780802866349.

\_\_\_\_\_. **2007.** 'Language, Medical Auxiliaries, and the Reinterpretation of Missionary Medicine in Colonial Mwinilunga, Zambia, 1922–51', *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 1/1 (2007), 57–78. DOI: 10.1080/17531050701218841.

\_\_\_\_\_. **2014.** 'Missionaries, African Patients, and Negotiating Missionary Medicine at Kalene Hospital, Zambia, 1906–1935', *Journal of Southern African Studies* 40/2 (2014), 283–294. DOI:10.1080/03057070.2014.896717.

Dr Walima Kalusa is a Zambian historian who has taught in the UK and is currently a lecturer at the University of Swaziland. He provides an historical perspective on Kalene unlike any other author with his focus on its missionary medicine, and he delves deep into medical terminology used by the Lunda and missionaries. His linguistic expertise is impressive as is his research and documentation. In the mission's early years, translation between Lunda and English could be 'language nightmares.'<sup>22</sup> Until missionaries adequately learned Lunda, Fisher's team depended on educated African staff to translate Western medical terms. Still the problem remained that very often there were no equivalent terms and/or these auxiliaries chose to make

<sup>21</sup> I have highlighted the years of Kalusa's three publications in order for ease of reference. See also Dr Walima Kalusa's PhD dissertation: 'Disease and the Remaking of Missionary Medicine in Colonial North-Western Zambia: A Case Study of Mwinilunga District, 1902–1964', Johns Hopkins University, PhD, 2003, 249 pp. (I was not able to consult this dissertation due to library closures.) Google (January 2021) indicates that Kalusa plans a forthcoming book: *Elders, Young Men, and David Livingstone's 'Civilizing Mission': Revisiting the Disintegration of the Katolo Kingdom, 1853–1864*.

<sup>22</sup> Kalusa, 2007, 64.

'Christian medicine . . . a variation of Lunda medicine.'<sup>23</sup> In sum, there was confusion and misinterpretation.

He feels that during their early days, Dr Fisher and his staff, although popular due to their good missionary 'propaganda', were not very effective medically. Fisher believed that 'their medicine [was] the only rational means of confronting human disease and suffering.'<sup>24</sup> Also Fisher suppressed indigenous medicine, especially witchcraft, and even used BSAC's officers to enforce anti-witchcraft legislation. Dr Kalusa especially reflects on the limitations / failures of missionary medicine in curing serious illnesses. When men returned from the Zambian Copperbelt or Lubumbashi (then Elizabethville) in the Congo, they brought back serious ailments such as pneumonia, venereal diseases, tropical ulcers, hookworm and yaws. Dr Fisher, a respected surgeon, often had no recourse but to amputate limbs in this pre-antibiotic era.

As the populace and missionaries slowly accommodated each other, Kalene became important for its 'intellectual cross-pollination [as missionaries used] locally accepted ways.'<sup>25</sup> to comprehend and manage disease. Dr Kalusa cites Elsie Burr's vignette about missionaries trying to intertwine western and Lunda beliefs. When bitten by a scorpion, Singleton had Elsie eat part of the scorpion while they prayed. It seemed to work as she felt better! As the Lunda are colour conscious, the hospital staff started to use white pills instead of red, as red signified bad luck. Likewise, they respected the request for bigger pills as being more effective, rather than smaller. For some Lunda converts, Christianity in turn provided 'an alternative means to confront the malevolent powers of witches and other sources of evil.'<sup>26</sup>

Although not really answerable, can we evaluate Kalene's often inadequate medicine in its early years? On one hand, I mused in my recent *BHR* article, Fisher's goals and medical work were much more positive than negative. I certainly used hyperbole when I quoted a

friend who would have called Dr Fisher a Brethren 'saint' if they had had saints!<sup>27</sup> On the other hand, Dr Kalusa's focus on medical deficiencies indicates that he sees things much less positively which future academic writing will need to take into account.

#### A coincidental conclusion

**Mutenda, Kovina L. K.:** *The Story of Mubende Mission in Luapula, Zambia* (Chingola, Zambia, 2019), 54 pp.

Kovina Mutenda's recent book provides an unusual ending for this literature review. The above thirty and more wide-ranging assortment of works have a general geographic and/or Brethren commonality. Geographically they centre on Mwinilunga and the Beloved Strip, which extends outward beyond the NWP. Most focus on the Lunda and/or *mzungu* who live(d) amongst them. Mr Mutenda, however, along with some strange coincidences described below, helped me bring this very wide assortment together.

In early 2021, while writing this wide-ranging review, I was delightfully startled when I received a copy of Kovina Mutenda's commemorative centenary book on Mubende Mission. This short book focuses attention on the Black Brethren missionaries from Guyana from the 1890s until 1945. Although they played a very important role as missionaries in the Beloved Strip, they have been totally overlooked. I guess what startled me most was that I had literally just spent several hours writing a conclusion to this review article that you are now reading that I had entitled: 'A postscript about an article (or book) not written: Guyanese (Demerara) Black Brethren missionaries in the Beloved Strip'. This strange coincidence still amazes me.

In my draft postscript, I noted three things: one, Ian Burness's book on Fred Arnot; two, modern concerns about our ancestors deliberately overlooking the past diversity within societies; and three, the

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 57.

<sup>24</sup> Kalusa, 2014, 287.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 292.

<sup>26</sup> Kalusa, 2012, 257.

<sup>27</sup> P. David Wilkin, 'Dr Walter Fisher, an Ilomba, and the Spanish ?Flu Pandemic', *BHR*, 16 (2020), 14. Pritchett and Kalusa use 'Christian Mission in Many Lands' (CMMML) for early Kalene. This phrase, however, was introduced much later by American / Canadian Brethren. Probably it is best to just say 'Brethren' or 'Brethren assemblies'.

importance of the Brethren's lack of hierarchy with regard to these missionaries. These Black Brethren came to the Beloved Strip because of Arnot's non-racist approach and because of Brethren assemblies' autonomy and lack of hierarchy. In other words, there was no racist church hierarchy telling assemblies not to send Black missionaries, especially when an elder missionary statesman like Arnot advocated otherwise.

Ian Burness's book on Arnot (see above) describes his 1897 visit to Guyana. On his trip, Arnot encouraged members in these Black Guyana assemblies to return to their ancestral African homeland and establish new assemblies. This non-racist encouragement was very unusual in the 1890s. It certainly helped the Brethren's spread throughout the Beloved Strip.<sup>28</sup>

Mutenda unknowingly both re-affirmed and corrected some of my past beliefs acquired from reading snippets from *Echoes of Service* between 1894 until after the Great War. I had assumed that intensified racist norms both in colonial Britain and America had totally squashed the Brethren's non-racist missionary endeavours and that all Black missionaries had slowly left the Beloved Strip. I was wrong. These Black missionaries laboured at Mubende until 1945.

Mutenda reaffirms, however, my belief that racism was deeply entrenched and pervasive when he says that Sakeji school refused to accept a child of one of these missionaries. This, of course, contradicted Sakeji's basic purpose of keeping missionary families on the mission field by educating their children within the Beloved Strip. Mutenda also tactfully (typical Brethren style!) observes that the 'labours of men [such as George] Ratteray and other workers at Mubende who served at Mubende have not been recorded. His service in Central Africa as a missionary distinguishes him because as a black man in a British colony it was very difficult and unusual . . . to serve on the mission field in Africa.'<sup>29</sup>

Mutenda also reminds us that these missionaries included a few from Jamaica, plus the Ratterays from Bermuda. The main families

from Guyana included several large families: the Murrains (1894), O'Jons (1894) and Higginses (1898). The first two families came from Guyana even before Arnot visited the Guyana assemblies and the Higginses after Arnot's visit. All initially settled in the southern Congo or Angola. In 1919, Thomas Higgins moved from Luanza to Mubende where his tasks included not only evangelism and schoolwork but also agriculture, while his wife gave medical help, especially to women. Very sadly, Mutenda says that when Higgins died in 1945, the whole of Mubende mission was, astonishingly, deliberately destroyed, down to the foundations. He does not seem to know why, nor, being tactful, is he willing to speculate. Almost certainly, it was because of the unyielding, pervasive colonial racism in 1945 that often included missionaries as well as government officials.

For more than fifty years, I have been interested in, but never researched nor wrote about, these Black Brethren. A few years ago, I even added a picture and commentary to the webpage on my website with the title: 'Afro-Caribbean and Afro-American Brethren assembly missionaries before 1930 in the Beloved Strip'.<sup>30</sup> The picture showing the Murrains with other missionaries is especially interesting. I further added: 'had I continued my academic research in my younger days, this was a topic that I hoped to explore further'. Mutenda has now wonderfully resurrected this uncompleted story.

Despite his very helpful book(let), much more remains to be said about these Black missionary pioneers. Unless Mutenda continues his research and writing, he provides us with just enough information to

30 Website page with article and photograph: <<https://davidwilkinsonpzambia.com/brethren-articles-1907-1940s/>> I had unrecorded conversations in the '70s, '80s, and '90s with a several people who were either Brethren or had connections with assemblies about these missionaries. The most notable was Marjory Nisbet on 10-11 January 1976 when I interviewed both her and her husband, Alex, in their home in Scotland, about their life Zambia. Although not recorded, while talking about Chit' she tried to recollect what older missionaries had told her about these Black missionaries. Many years later in NYC in the '90s, I talked periodically with a workmate, who was loosely affiliated to a Brethren assembly in Brooklyn. Some financial support came from assemblies in the USA, especially Brooklyn (New York City).

28 Burness, 2021, especially pp. 173, 190, 215-6, 223, 245, 247-9, 252, 262, 283-4.  
29 See Mutenda, p. 31 for Sakeji's rejection because of race and the above quotation.

what both scholars', and all readers', appetites! More is needed if deserved justice is given to these men and women. Certainly a new book would be a huge task, but I feel 100 per cent certain that golden material is hidden away, probably in archive(s) of a central African country, Guyana, Britain, or New York. On a contrary note, that writer cannot be me. At 82, I'm ready to go back into retirement after writing this review article on my beloved NWP, which certainly includes Mwinilunga! So, herewith an appeal to a new generation(s) of scholars and writers. Who and where are you?

For further advice, I may be contacted through my website page: <<https://davidwilkinwpzambia.com/you-me-should-we-connect/>> or you can reach me via the editor:

#### Other Zambian and NWP writings beyond Mwinilunga

As some readers will use this review to locate literature, here are some additional suggestions. This list is certainly not comprehensive.

#### Anthropology

**Crehan, Kate:** *The Fractured Community: Landscapes of Power and Gender in Rural Zambia*. (Perspectives on Southern Africa. Berkeley, 1997), 277 pp., ISBN 0520206606

\_\_\_\_\_. 'Mukanashi: An Exploration of some effects of penetration of capital in North-Western Zambia', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 8/1 (1981), 82–93.

#### The Cinderella Province

**von Oppen, Achim:** 'Cinderella Province: Discourses of Locality and Nation State in a Zambian Periphery (1950s to 1990s)', *Sociologus*, 52/1 (2002), 11–45.

The term 'Cinderella' is often used in relation to the NWP and is a topic frequently discussed over the last 50+ years. This article best reflects on its historically 'backward' status.

#### Mushala Rebellion

**Larmer, Miles and Macola, Giacomo:** 'The Origins, Context and Political Significance of the Mushala Rebellion Against the Zambian

One-Party State', *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 40:3 (2007), 471–96.

**Wele, Patrick:** *Kaunda and the Mushala Rebellion* (Multimedia: Lusaka, Zambia, 1987), 179 pp. Patrick was my secondary school student from 1964–6. ISBN: 998230105

In the 1970s, this rebellion was an important protest rebellion within the NWP against President Kenneth Kaunda and Zambia's leadership. It was continuing when I left the NWP in 1979. Besides these two works, Dr Pritchett discusses the rebellion in *Friends for Life, Friends for Death* published after Wele's book in 1987—which he quotes several times—and before Larmer in 2007.

#### Chitokoloki and Chavuma Brethren missions:

**Burness, Ian,** *Medicine in Remote Places: A Personal Reflection on Medical Mission* (Bath: Echoes International, 2021), 145 pp.+ photos and maps. ISBN: 9781916905801.

**Galloway, David with Jenni Galloway,** *Controlled Chaos: Surgical Adventures in Chitokoloki Mission Hospital* (Kilmarnock: John Ritchie Publishing, 2020), 224 pp.+photos. ISBN: 9781912522880.<sup>31</sup>

**Turnbull, Alma:** *Chitokoloki: Celebrating a Century of the Lord's Work in Northwestern Zambia* (Port Colborne, Ontario: Gospel Folio Press, 2014), 164+photos. ISBN: 9781927521557.<sup>32</sup>

**Wilkin, P. David:** 'Education at Chitokoloki, 1914–1924: The Vision of George Suckling', *BHR*, 15 (2019), 12–39.

#### Copper mining in Solwezi and Kasempa Districts during the last two decades

Since I was last in the NWP in 1992, mining has "exploded" in these districts that are now Zambia's leading copper producers. I consider this new mining phenomena as beyond the scope of this review but it must be mentioned here. The following two full books can be downloaded free of charge. (The second contains many articles.)

<sup>31</sup> Ian Burness's book and David and Jenni Galloway's are reviewed below, 202–5.

They were published after the paper above was written.

<sup>32</sup> Reviewed in *BHR*, 11 (2015), 95–7.

Together they give both general readers and scholars an excellent literature overview.

**Margaret O'Callaghan.** *Copperfields: A History of the Impact of the First Decade of a Mining Boom in North Western Province, Zambia, Circa 2002-2015* (privately printed, 2020), 322 pp. To download her book, go to Margaret's website: <<https://margocall.wordpress.com/2020/03/28/copperfields-a-history-of-the-impact-of-the-first-decade-of-a-mining-boom-in-north-western-province-zambia-circa-2002-2015/>>

**Miles Larmer, Enid Guene, Benoit Henriët, Iva Peša and Rachel Taylor (eds.):** *Across the Copperbelt: Urban & Social Change in Central Africa's Borderland Communities* (Woodbridge: James Currey, 2021), 437 pp. <<https://djhkxawhe8q4.cloudfront.net/boydell-and-brewer-wp/wp-content/uploads/2021/04/06073913/9781800101487-Across-the-Copperbelt.pdf>>.

#### Zambia (National Brethren movement)

**Mutenda, Kovina L. K.:** 'An Evaluation of Gospel Work in Zambia', in Neil T. R. Dickson and T. J. Marinello (eds.), *The Brethren and Mission: Essays in Honour of Timothy C.F. Stunt* (Studies in Brethren History; Glasgow: BAHN, 2016), Chap. 12 (209-18), 352 pp. ISBN 9780957017788.

\_\_\_\_\_. 'The Brethren and the Bible in Central Africa', in Neil Dickson and T. J. Marinello (eds.), *Bible and Theology in the Brethren* (Studies in Brethren History; Glasgow: BAHN, 2018), Chap. 5, 87-94.

\_\_\_\_\_. *A History of the Christian Brethren in Zambia* (Chingola, ZA, 2002), 199 pp.

\_\_\_\_\_. *The Christian Brethren in Zambia: Their Origins, Beliefs and Practices* (Chingola, ZA, 2016).

Mutenda is the foremost Brethren writer in (and about) Zambia. He reflects on the Brethren assemblies therein over the last 100 years. As he includes the NWP assemblies, these works will be of interest to some readers. In the final work above, he states the Brethren movement's religious philosophy elegantly.