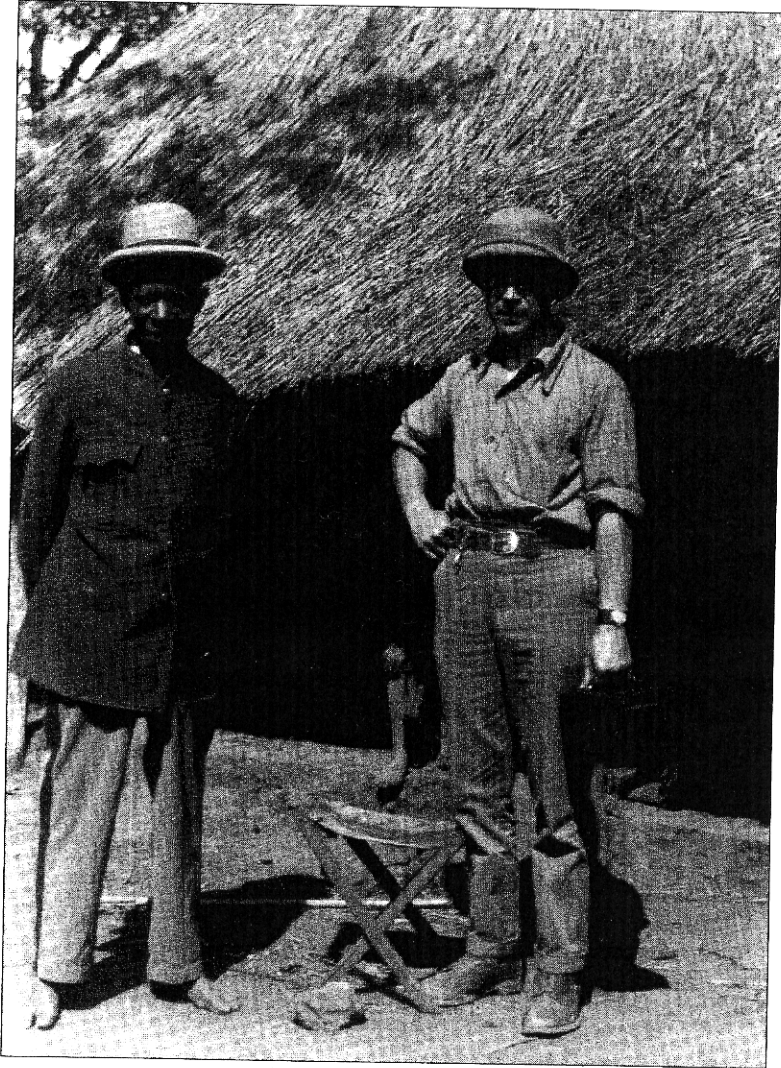


TREKKING IN
SOUTH CENTRAL
AFRICA

1913 - 1919

CLEMENT M. DOKE

edited by Robert K. Herbert



Clement M. Doke with Lamba headman

Published in 1993 by the Witwatersrand University Press
University of the Witwatersrand
1 Jan Smuts Avenue, Johannesburg 2001, South Africa

ISBN 1 86814 231 0

Arrangement and design of this edition
© Witwatersrand University Press 1993

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced,
stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means,
electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise, without the
prior permission of the copyright owner.

First published in 1975 by the South African Baptist Historical Society

Cover picture: Line drawing from *Thomas J. Comber: Missionary Pioneer
to the Congo* by J.B. Myers. London, S.W. Partridge & Co., no date.

Cover design by Sue Sandrock
Typesetting and page design by Niamb Simons
Printed and bound by the Natal Witness Printing and Publishing
Company (Pty) Ltd, Pietermaritzburg, Natal, South Africa

HAROLD B. LEE LIBRARY
BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY
PROVO, UTAH

The publication of
TREKKING IN SOUTH-CENTRAL AFRICA
has been made possible
through the generosity of Nedbank



NEDBANK

Contents

Acknowledgements	ix
Introduction by Robert K Herbert	xi
Contextualising the Missionary's Trek	
Preface by Clement M. Doke	xxxix
Chapter 1 A Journey that Did Not Take Place, and a Tribute to a Great Missionary	1
Chapter 2 Joseph Doke's Travels	5
Chapter 3 Joseph Doke's Last Trek	15
Chapter 4 A Novice on Trek	71
Chapter 5 Among the Wenamaswaka	91
Chapter 6 Through a Land of Streams	106
Chapter 7 The Lukanga Trek	122
Chapter 8 Kanamakampanga	141
Chapter 9 Encounters with Hippos	155
Chapter 10 Ngwena, the Crocodile	163
Chapter 11 With the Gospel on the Lufwanyama	168
Chapter 12 Swahili Journey and the Great Flu	177
Chapter 13 A Journey from the Wilds by Olive C. Doke	191
Chapter 14 Nkambo! Nkambo!	196
Epilogue Lambaland Revisited (1950)	200
Notes	208

Acknowledgements

This publication of *Trekking in South Central Africa* has been made possible through the co-operation and support given to the project from a variety of sources.

First and foremost, we wish to acknowledge the encouragement and ardent support of Dr Sydney Hudson-Reed, President of the South African Baptist Historical Society. We are also grateful to Dr T.S. Akers of the Baptist Theological College for access to their archives. The generous loan of diaries, scrapbooks, and other materials from the Historical Society, the Theological College and from the Doke family were of invaluable assistance in writing the Introduction and in preparing the text for publication.

This publication is part of a series of commemorations of the Doke Centenary Year at the University of the Witwatersrand. Rayda Becker, Curator of the University Galleries, gave her expertise to the preparation of a special C.M. Doke Exhibit and to the selection of visual materials for inclusion in this book. The photographic work, much of it involving difficult copy photography of original and printed materials, was done by Bob Cnoops of the Department of Fine Arts. Witwatersrand University Press enthusiastically supported the project from its inception.

We thank Dr Ivan May for his interest in this project and in the Doke Centenary Exhibit. Finally, though certainly not least, we are indebted to Nedbank and to the University of the Witwatersrand for financial support and subsidy.

CONTEXTUALISING A MISSIONARY'S TREK

Robert K. Herbert

Aka li pesiwa kalubwe, ka lu kwiwila ndobwe.
'The little thing on the pond is not
overlooked, it dives with a splash'
(A great man is not hidden, he is as
visible as a duck upon an open pond)

Lamba proverb

Clement Martyn Doke was born into a distinguished missionary family on 16 May 1893 in Bristol. The Doke family had been engaged in missionary activity for the Baptist Church for some generations. Both Clement's father, the Reverend Joseph J. Doke, and his uncle William intended to devote their lives to missionary work. William trained for missionary work in the Congo and was one of the first Baptist Missionary Society missionaries to arrive there. Unfortunately, he contracted a fever and died in 1883, just a few weeks after his arrival in the field.¹ Joseph had been admitted to Regent's Park Baptist College, but he was prevented from enrolling on account of his severe asthma. He studied privately and was eventually able to make a greater missionary contribution than his physically stronger brother. In some large measure, *Trekking in South-Central Africa* serves as the author's commemoration of his father's missionary spirit, which eventually cost Joseph Doke

*Reverend Joseph
J. Doke*



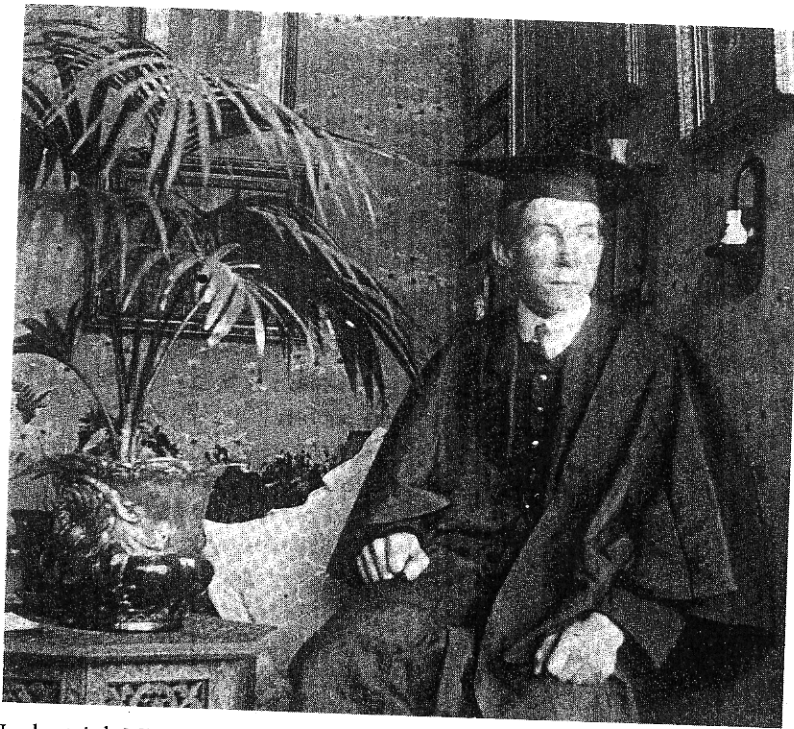
his life in 1913 as chronicled in Chapter 3 of this book. Indeed, Clement Doke's own devotion to the missionary enterprise and the long service of his sister Olive² can be read as a memorial to their father's life and a testimony to the 'calling' of the Doke family.³

Joseph Doke originally travelled to South Africa in 1882, having decided to leave England on account of his poor health. This same consideration limited his choice of countries for the ministry. In South Africa, he met and married Agnes Biggs, and shortly afterwards the Dokes returned to England where three of their four children were born. Clement was the third of these children. The fourth child was born after the family had moved to New Zealand. The family eventually returned to South Africa in 1903, first to Grahamstown, where Clement attended Kingswood College, and then, in 1907, moved to Johannesburg, which was to remain their family home. Clement completed his matriculation studies at Johannesburg Boys' High School (King Edward VII School) in 1908.

At the age of 18, Clement received a bachelor's degree from Transvaal University College in Pretoria and had already decided to devote his life to missionary activity.⁴ As he records in Chapter 1, he had been invited by the Reverend Frederick S. Arnot, the renowned Plymouth Brethren missionary who had opened the first 'school' in what was to become Northern Rhodesia, to accompany him on a trip in 1911. Although Arnot's greater contributions belong more to Angola and Zaire, where he spent the bulk of his missionary life, he had noted the need for more missionary activity in Northern Rhodesia. Clement declined Arnot's first invitation at his father's advice. Despite his poor health Joseph Doke had never surrendered his desire to serve actively as a missionary,⁵ and it was Arnot's subsequent suggestion to Joseph that led him to consider north-western Rhodesia as a possible mission field instead of Rwanda-Burundi towards which he had been leaning. Joseph Doke's health was somewhat precarious, and Agnes insisted that Clement accompany his father on a fact-finding tour of north-western Rhodesia and the area eventually known as Lambaland, now Ilamba. A Baptist mission had been established in the area in 1905 by the Reverend William Arthur Phillips of the Nyasa



*Olive and Clement
Doke (c. 1904)*



*Graduate from
Transvaal University
College 1911*

Industrial Mission in Blantyre. However, as Arnot had observed, the resources of the Nyasa Industrial Mission could not meet the demands of a mission field comprising twenty-five thousand square miles and fifty thousand souls.

Joseph Doke was delegated by the Baptist Union of South Africa to investigate the mission in Lambaland with a view toward a possible takeover by the South African Baptists. It was on this fact-finding mission in 1913, covering some three hundred miles by foot and *machila*, that Joseph Doke contracted enteric fever (typhoid) at the Lukanga Swamp and died soon afterwards at the Umtali Hospital. The news of the elder Doke's death devastated his family.⁶ A memorial service was held in Johannesburg, for which Mr Gandhi travelled from Durban and addressed the congregation. Gandhi wished 'that Mr. Doke's mantle would descend to his children'.⁷ Clement soon assumed his father's role and responsibility for reporting the findings of their trip to Lambaland. Following his father's intention, Clement reported favourably on this mission to the Baptist Missionary Assembly. On that account, the decision was made to take over



Agnes Doke (c. 1920)

the Kafulafuta Mission from the Nyasa Industrial Mission, although Reverend Phillips, the founder, remained as superintendent throughout 1926. Sufficient funds were raised in South Africa by 1914 through the Doke Memorial Fund, which had been authorised by the Assembly, and Clement Doke then returned to Kafulafuta as a missionary, to be followed by his sister Olive in 1916. It is at this point that Chapter 4 of the present work commences, nine months after Clement's arrival in Lambaland.

Doke notes that one of his earliest frustrations in mission work was his inability to communicate with the Lamba. There were, of course, no textbooks for the language and the only written material available included a translation of Jonah and a collection of forty-seven hymns translated into Lamba. Nevertheless, Doke soon set out to master the language and published his first book *Ifintu Fyakwe Lesa* (The Things of God, a Primer of Scripture Knowledge in Lamba) in 1917. His interest in language led him to enrol in Johannesburg at the extension of Transvaal University College for an MA degree during his first furlough in 1919. His thesis was published as *The Grammar of the Lamba Language*. Doke had not yet established his innovative method of analysis and description for the Bantu languages, and the book is couched in traditional grammatical terms. His later publication, *Textbook of Lamba Grammar*³ is a far superior work. It was during the same period of furlough in 1919 that Doke married Hilda Lehman, who accompanied him back to Lambaland later that year.



Clement in 1913

Doke had contracted malaria during his work in Lambaland, and his first furlough was also a period of recuperation. Shortly after her arrival at Kafulafuta, Hilda Doke also contracted the fever; her condition was serious enough to warrant her being sent back to South Africa. Clement accompanied his wife to Bulawayo, where he was joined by his mother, who was journeying to the mission in order to be with his sister Olive. Hilda Doke's medical condition improved but she was forbidden to return to Lambaland. Doke's own condition was serious enough for him to realise that his work in the field could not continue for much longer. He left Lambaland in 1921.

From Lambaland Doke returned to Johannesburg, where he was recruited by the newly-founded University of the Witwaters-

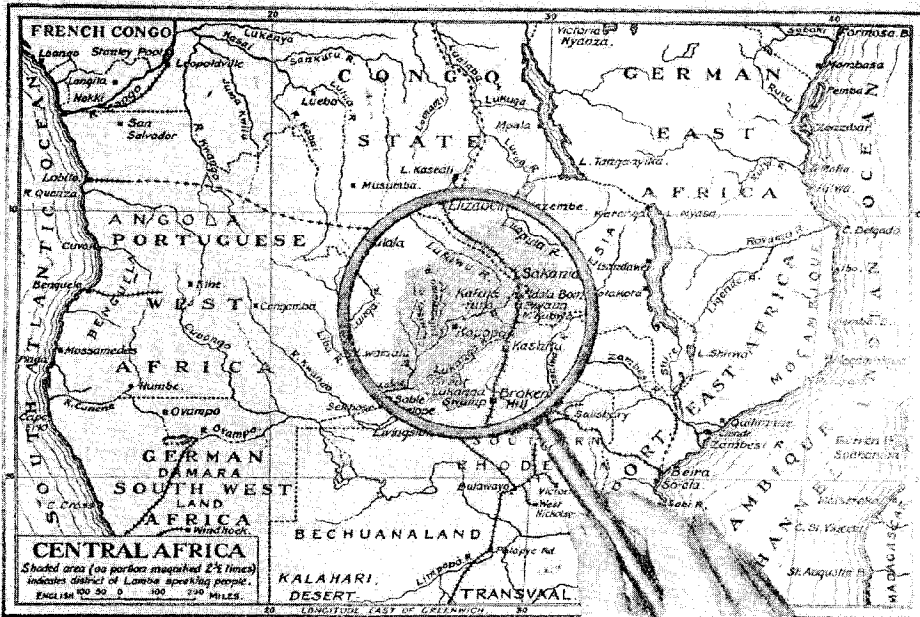
rand. Both the Principal and Doke agreed that he should go to London in order to secure a qualification as a lecturer, and the family moved to England. He registered for a Diploma in Comparative Bantu at the School of Oriental and African Studies, where his major languages were Lamba and Luba; material for the latter was made available to him from the Garanganze Mission through the Arnot family. Due to the difficulty of arranging a suitable examiner, Doke eventually changed his language of specialisation to Zulu, an appropriate choice given the location of his new University in Johannesburg. Doke took up his appointment in 1923 in the new Department of Bantu Studies. In 1925 he received the D.Litt. for his doctoral thesis *The Phonetics of the Zulu Language* and was promoted to Senior Lecturer. Doke was appointed to the Chair of Bantu Languages and to the Headship of the Department of Bantu Studies (including Social Anthropology and Native Law and Administration) in 1931. He served at the University of the Witwatersrand until his retirement in 1953.

Trekking in South-Central Africa, published to mark the centenary of Clement Doke's birth, was originally distributed by the South African Baptist Historical Society. Although the book covers mainly the period 1913-1919, it was conceived as a book more than fifty years later in Alice, following Doke's retirement from the University of the Witwatersrand. Despite the intrinsic interest of the story, the reader cannot help but note the choppy style of the text, a result of the book's having been cobbled together from a variety of sources, including the diaries of Joseph and Clement Doke, passages originally published in the *S.A. Baptist* and in *Lambaland*, short extracts from the works of others, and contributions by his sister Olive – all of which are supplemented by Doke's recollections. It was the weaving together of these diverse strands that occupied Doke during the later period of his retirement. Indeed, *Trekking* was to be the last of his publications. Apart from the correction of minor errors and some light editorial work, the book is published in the form left by Doke with the addition of the epilogue, which was first published in *Lambaland* (No. 130, April-June 1952) following Doke's return to the area in 1950 as President of the Baptist Union. Despite the thirty-year interval between Doke's departure from Kafulafuta Station as a missionary and his return,⁹ one notes the continuation of his missionary zeal – with its perhaps unfortunate references to the work of competing missions – coupled with his ability to stand back and to view objectively changes that missionary establishments and the growth of the Copperbelt had wrought upon the land and lives of the Lamba people.

LAMBALAND

A record of Missionary Work among the Lamba Speaking People of Northern Rhodesia and Belgian Congo State.— Central Station, KAFULAFUTA. Established 1905.

Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make straight in the desert a highway for our God.



Council of Reference:

Rev. R. WRIGHT HAY, Sir JOHN KIRK, Mr. Wm. OLNEY, Rev. THOMAS SPURGEON, Rev. H. LENTON STAINES.

London Committee:

Mrs. RICHARD GROSE, Mr. A. C. HARRISON, Mr. G. M. HEWSON, Dr. F. W. PASSMORE,
Mr. F. J. PASSMORE, Miss M. PHILLIPS, Mr. T. D. SIMMONS.

Honorary Treasurer:
Mr. P. R. PHILLIPS,

39, Crisfel Avenue,
Telford Park, Streatham Hill,
London, S.W.

Honorary Secretary:
Mr. C. PHILLIPS,

"Woldrese," 11, Grove Road,
Clapham Park,
London, S.W.

Missionaries:

(SOUTH AFRICAN BAPTIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY.)

Mr. C. M. DOKE, B.A.

Rev. W. A. PHILLIPS, (Superintendent.)

Miss OLIVE DOKE.

Postal Address of Missionaries: Kafulafuta, Ndola, Northern Rhodesia. (Postage—1d. per oz.)

Bankers: STANDARD BANK OF SOUTH AFRICA. LTD., 10, Clements Lane, London, E.C.

Honorary Auditor: Mr. H. G. T. DAVIES, C.A., Bassishaw House, Bassishaw Street, London, E.C.

Cover of Lambaland, newsletter from the Kafulafuta Mission (1917)

Trekking in South-Central Africa was never intended as a history of South African Baptist missionary activity in Lambaland. Several such treatments already exist.¹⁰ Rather, the reader must see the text as a personal account on several levels. There is, first, the shaping influences on Clement Martyn Doke's life. Second, the book serves as a retelling of the trials and successes of seven years of missionary life, providing glimpses into what everyday life at Kafulafuta Mission was like in the second decade of this century. In the latter regard, there is a distracting, though understandable, insistence on the number of individuals who heard the word of God, with only occasional insight into these individuals' personal lives and the missionaries' own everyday lives. Finally, the text provides the reader with a window on the natural history of Lambaland, seen through the eyes of Clement Doke.

Several characterisations of Lambaland as seen through the eyes of missionaries and travellers were published early in this century. For example, a brief description of Lambaland was provided by the Reverend Phillips in the inaugural issue of *Lambaland* (October 1916):

Lambaland is situated on the plateau nearly 4,000 feet above sea level, which forms the watershed of the Congo and Zambesi rivers. One of these rivers finds its outlet in the Atlantic, and the other in the Indian Ocean, and our district covers the very dividing of the ways. It lies mainly within latitudes 12 to 14 S. and longitudes 28 to 30 E. Both British and Belgian flags fly over it, part of the district occupied by the Lamba speaking people being in N. Rhodesia and part in the Belgian Congo State.¹¹ It has a few hills, is slightly undulating, and is made up of forests and marshes. Here and there are to be seen signs of volcanic action of ancient date. It is mostly well watered. The soil is of a varied nature; and amongst its minerals are zinc and



*The Reverend
W.A. Phillips, Founder
of Kafulafuta Mission*

copper and gold in small quantities.

Native foodstuffs grow splendidly on the whole, and include millet (the staple food), maize, sweet potatoes, cassava, peanuts, beans, pumpkins, cucumbers, etc. The corn and grass grow to a great height, attaining to twelve feet and more. I have brought home with me a sample grown on our station measuring sixteen feet nine inches. The rainfall, during the nine years we have registered it, averages forty-one inches, varying from thirty-two to fifty inches. The country abounds in big game and wild beasts of nearly every kind; the rhinoceros however, is scarce, but the elephant is within twenty miles. The river scavenger and gamboller – the crocodile and hippopotamus are our neighbours. Birds of very many beautiful varieties are numerous; and flowers, too, including orchids and begonias, are in great profusion.

The Cape-Cairo Railway threads its way through the eastern portion. Its terminus, when I arrived in 1905, was at Livingstone – 500 miles south ... The roads, until recently, were but narrow paths or ruts of about ten inches wide, winding according to where least resistance offered; now these are being gradually widened out.

Travelling is done mostly on foot, covering from fifteen to twenty miles daily, but there are those who resort to the *machila* (hammock), and others to the bicycle.

Amongst the numerous pests of this land are the tsetse fly, the jigger, and the mosquito; the presence of the first greatly handicaps the rearing of cattle and goats, and, what is worse, causes sleeping sickness among the people. During the last three years at least two Europeans have died from this deadly complaint, and one other was recently treated at Liverpool in the Tropical School of Medicine.

That portion of Lambaland which lies in the Congo State and under the control of the Belgians, as also that which lies in Northern Rhodesia and is under the control of the British South Africa Company, otherwise the Chartered Company, are both being governed very satisfactorily, and the people are undoubtedly better off than ever before. Whilst nominally they are under European laws, a kindly regard towards native laws is entertained, and the European laws are only enforced when necessary for the stopping of cruelty, and other abuses. As a rule, when there is a doubt as to how to adjudicate in a case between a European and a Native, the latter gets the benefit of the doubt ...

The Kafulafuta Mission Station – at present our only

one - is situated at the confluence of the river, from which it takes its name, and the Kafuwu; these flow into the Lufuwu, Kafuwe, and the Zambesi Rivers ... A hearty welcome is extended to all God's people to visit us.



Kafulafuta Mission Station, 1906

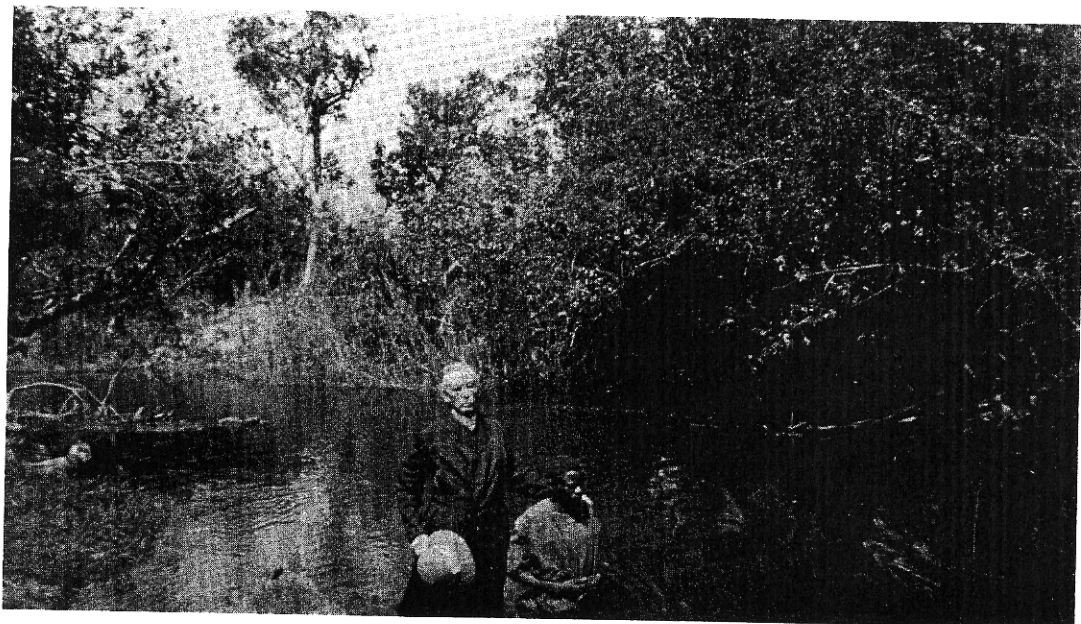
It is interesting to note that this rather idyllic description is distinctly at odds with that provided by the Reverend John M. Springer, who travelled widely through Central and Eastern Africa for the Methodist Episcopal Church. This is Springer's description of the region surrounding the Baptist Mission at Kafulafuta:

There were but few native kraals along the way, and we were struck with the miserable appearance of the few. The huts were merely grass roofs set on the ground, under which the people existed. The gardens were small and uncared for. The natives impressed one as being just the rag-tags left by the slave raiders, who had taken all worth while with them, and these few all smoked the hemp pipe, the effects of which are even worse than those of opium. A more degenerate, hopeless lot of people it would be hard to find.¹²

Springer is more complimentary about the Kafulafuta Mission Station itself and the reception he received from the Reverend Phillips and the inhabitants. Although Kafulafuta had been operational for only about two years by this period, there were already several converts. Springer concludes his description of Lambaland:

... in all the territory in which I had travelled for thousands of miles in Africa I had never seen a people for whom I had

so little enthusiasm. To be sure, no one would question their *need* of the Gospel, but ... our party were all agreed, as we discussed the matter after leaving, that, considering the low-down state of the natives in that region, there would be reason for rejoicing if there were any converts in ten years' time. ¹³



The baptism of Noa, who walked 100 miles to be baptised. He was the first local church member to die (1922)

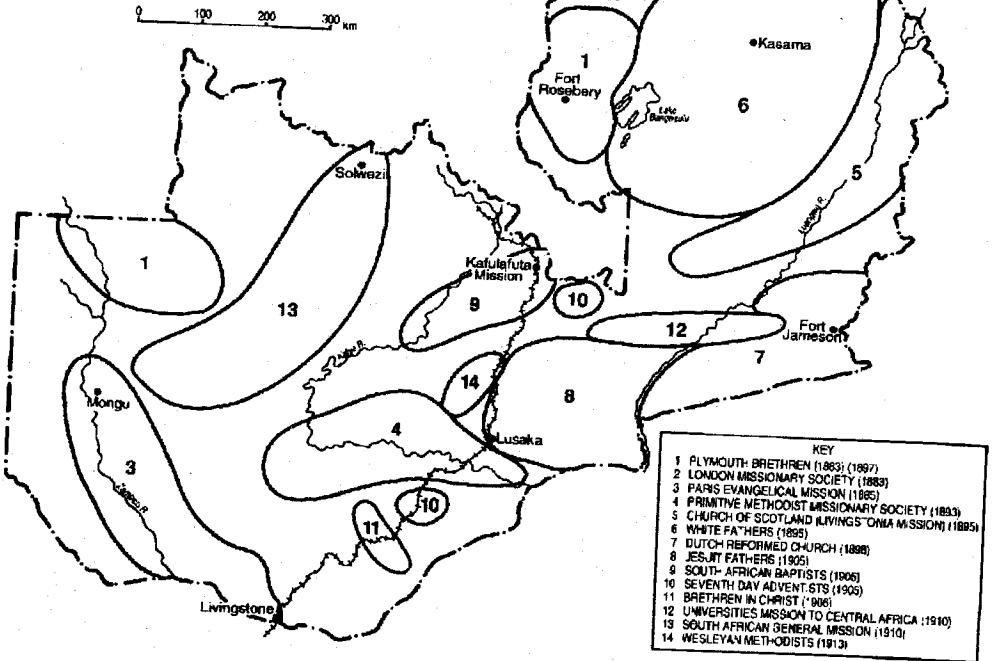
In addition to the presence of several insect-borne diseases, the region's role as a centre for slave-raiding by eastern traders since at least the middle of the nineteenth century had significantly upset traditional life. Long before the arrival of Europeans, Northern Rhodesia was the scene of numerous intertribal conflicts. The promise of cloth, trade goods, and especially guns in return for slaves supplied a powerful incentive for intertribal warfare in which slaves could be captured. None of the groups within the region was strong enough to establish dominance, and an intertribal armament race developed, further feeding the need to acquire more guns and therefore require more slaves for trading. This state of affairs was certainly operating in full force by 1850.

Despite the disruptive activity of the slave trade, the Lamba and neighbouring peoples never offered much active resistance to the presence of Arab traders, some of whom settled along the slave route. As Doke describes in Chapter 12, there were several nominally Islamic villages in Lambaland, populated by the descendants of Arab slave traders and Lamba women, who

spoke 'more or less Swahili'.¹⁴ One is struck in this chapter as elsewhere by the acerbic comments about other religious groups and the denominational rivalry operative among early missionaries. These observations lend testimony to the wisdom of the administrative decision to delimit 'spheres of influence' in Northern Rhodesia, particularly separating Catholics and non-Catholics, at the turn of the century. It is noteworthy that although the Baptists resented 'poaching' in what they perceived to be their territory, it was this same provision for missionary spheres that originally prevented the Nyasa Industrial Mission from establishing a station in Lambaland, which had been allocated to another group; however, this decision was soon reversed.¹⁵ The three major groups operating in the mission field were (a) the Catholics, (b) the mainline Protestant groups, (c) the Watch Tower (Jehovah's Witnesses) and Seventh Day Adventists. Intense denominational rivalry seems to have been characteristic of early missionary work throughout Africa. The benefit of such rivalries was that the greatest concentration of schools typically operated in such disputed regions since the missions saw a vital link between the number of pupils in their schools and the success of their evangelisation. 'The school was used as an inducement to lure Africans into the missionary orbit.'¹⁶ Critics of missionary education often note that missionaries were more interested in increasing enrolments than in pooling resources to better serve the African people.

Northern Rhodesia had not attracted much attention from European colonising powers on account of its remoteness, the difficulties of travel, and endemic disease. The influx of Christian missions into the territory in the early part of this century can be attributed to the influence of David Livingstone and H.M. Stanley and to the suppression of the slave trade. Between the period of Livingstone's death in 1873 and the end of the century, seven missionary societies entered into what became Northern Rhodesia and a further seven had joined those by 1914. Livingstone, of course, made no secret of the fact that his enthusiasm for missionary work was driven not only by evangelical zeal but also by a commitment to introducing Western values and ways of living. He argued that the ravages of the slave trade had so upset traditional society that Africans were incapable of dealing with their effects. Simply put, the Africans required European aid to deal with the 'social evils' of traditional society, namely poverty, ignorance, and superstition.¹⁷ The various denominations saw the connection between evangelisation and Westernisation in different terms, but Western-type education formed part of the activity of virtually all of the early missions.

MISSIONARY SPHERES IN NORTHERN RHODESIA 1918



Sources: J. Merle Davis, *Modern Industry and the African* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1933) and Peter Snelson, *Educational Development in Northern Rhodesia 1883-1945* (Lusaka: Kenneth Kaunda Foundation, 1990)

The view of missionary teachers as (marginally) disguised agents of colonialism is one that has been promoted for several decades and it is one that we cannot ignore here. As noted by numerous critics, missionaries generally shared four characteristics with government agents: common nationality and culture, common 'race', administrative authority, and a position of privilege. Certainly, the disregard – if not outright contempt – for indigenous tradition and custom is often striking in many early documents. This tone is, however, largely absent from Doke's *Trekking*. One cannot, naturally, ignore that the book was first compiled in the early 1970s and that Doke had a half-century to reflect upon his experiences in Lambaland and his own value system. However, extreme ethnocentrism is absent even from Doke's earliest publications in the *South African Baptist* and in *Lambaland* – which is perhaps not surprising given his early upbringing and his father's involvement in the Asiatic Passive Resistance in South Africa.¹⁸ There are several linguistic usages that writers would seek to avoid now, for example, *boys*, *natives*, *picannin*, 'childlike human needs' and the like, as well as descriptions of indigenous beliefs as 'superstitions'.

There are also incidents related in the book, such as that in Chapter 4 where Doke ignores the recommendations of Mukan-gwamwanakashi, that testify to a certain European arrogance or superiority. Without wishing to excuse such attitudes, it is worth noting that ethnocentrism seems to be the normal condition of mankind. Doke's transgressions in this regard are far less than that made by François Coillard of the Paris Evangelic Missionary Society, another early missionary in Northern Rhodesia, who described the Lozi people as wallowing in an 'unfathomable abyss of corruption and degradation'.¹⁹ Such examples are easily multiplied. Many missionaries sincerely believed that Africans were barbaric savages, and they needed no better proof of this fact than the practice of pagan customs, communal family structure, which included the practice of polygamy, and the prominence of dance and music in ritual custom. Fortunately, however, there were also missionaries who did not share these attitudes.

Doke arrived at Kafulafuta shortly after the departure of Mr Henry Masters, who had journeyed from Nyasaland with the Reverend Phillips in 1905 and established the Baptist presence in Northern Rhodesia. Masters was the co-author, with his brother Dr Walter Masters, of *In Wild Rhodesia* (1920), which recounted the brothers' travels and adventures in north-western Rhodesia, including their stay among the Lamba at Kafulafuta Mission. There is a striking difference in the tone and vision of the Lamba people offered by H. and W.E. Masters and that presented by Doke. Compare Doke's commentary in *Trekking* and that in his later works with the description of the Lamba around Kafulafuta Mission as 'perhaps the most destitute of the elements of civilisation of any under the British flag'^{20, 21} The authors recount incident after incident in order to convince the reader of the essential dishonesty, immorality and laziness of the Lamba. It is difficult to imagine Doke working alongside the authors of the following:



Mr and Mrs Henry Masters

In Africa, morals are at their lowest. The native's conception of men and spirits is equally debasing, and the grossest

vices and immoralities are enjoyed by them alike. Lying, stealing, gluttony, polygamy, and licentious debauchery are at their worst. The unspeakable horrors of spirit worship, witchcraft, human sacrifice, live burials, and cannibalism are prevalent more or less in all pagan tribes. There is universal callousness to suffering, and a gloating over brutality. Their depravity is undoubtedly increasing from generation to generation ... As we shall now describe in seriatim the customs and ideas of these people, the reader will be left to form his own opinions as to their standard of morals, always remembering that there is much one cannot put upon the cold page.²²

The divergence of views and presentations surely testifies to important individual differences in missionaries' dispositions, even those who worked as colleagues.²³ Perhaps one can say that Doke managed to reconcile his missionary activities with an objective ethnological interest in the Lamba people. He was a keen observer who made copious field notes during his period in Lambaland. In addition to his training in linguistics and phonetics, he studied ethnology while in London in 1919 and for a brief period taught that subject at the University of the Witwatersrand. This training, coupled with his extensive field notes, enabled him to compile his *The Lambas of Northern Rhodesia*, published in 1931, which remains one of the outstanding ethnographic descriptions of the peoples of Central Africa.²⁴ Doke noted in the introduction to this latter work that the missionaries could have been spared many grievous mistakes if they had possessed a better understanding of indigenous institutions and belief structures.²⁵ In the same text, Doke explicitly rejects characterisations of the Lamba offered by H. and W.E. Masters and other writers: 'Their [the Lamba] standard of morality certainly differs from that which we have inherited from centuries of Christian precept, but the standard which they have is not low, nor is its observance by the people lax.'²⁶

Doke's commitment to non-racialism during his tenure at the University of the Witwatersrand warrants some mention in this context. It was Doke's Department of Bantu Studies that acted as a catalyst for the early admission of Africans to the University. As early as 1925, 'a limited number of selected Natives' were admitted to the vacation course in African Studies following pressure from the Department.²⁷ Doke's support for the appointment of B.W. Vilakazi as a member of staff in Bantu Languages followed from his belief that the presence of a native-speaker model was essential for successful language acquisition. Vilakazi's appointment provoked a storm of criticism and contro-

versy within the University and from the public. Although he worked at the University of the Witwatersrand until his untimely death in 1947, Vilakazi never received a full lectureship; he remained a 'language assistant' despite having earned an M.A. in 1938 and a doctorate in 1946. The University can claim no great credit for non-racialism in this regard, but there is every indication that Doke himself supported Vilakazi and other black members of staff to his utmost. Doke and Vilakazi's collaborative work on their *Zulu-English Dictionary*, first published in 1948 by the Witwatersrand University Press, produced what continues to be regarded as one of the best examples of lexicography for any of the Bantu languages of Africa. Among Doke's many other scholarly contributions was an important series of language textbooks. In addition to his work on Scripture translation, he was committed to the idea that literacy and education were necessary components of development.

Doke was elected President of the South African Baptist Union in 1949 and spent one year travelling, visiting churches and mission stations. Doke's presidential address generated further controversy. He used the occasion to condemn the apartheid policy that had been recently promulgated by the government:

I solemnly warn the Government that the spirit behind their apartheid legislation, and the way in which they are introducing discriminatory measures of all types today, will bring disaster upon this fair land of ours ... The Church has been told to keep her hands off politics, but when grave injustice is being threatened to a voiceless majority of our people, we should indeed be coward and untrue to our Christian principles if we raised no voice of protest.²⁸

Doke used the period of his presidency, for which he had been granted leave from the University, to speak out against the evil of apartheid and the 'insidious propaganda for a "Christian National Education".'

To return to the missionary context, one should not underestimate the extent to which missionary and colonial orders were intertwined. In addition to education, administrative and judicial functions often formed part of the missionaries' daily responsibilities:

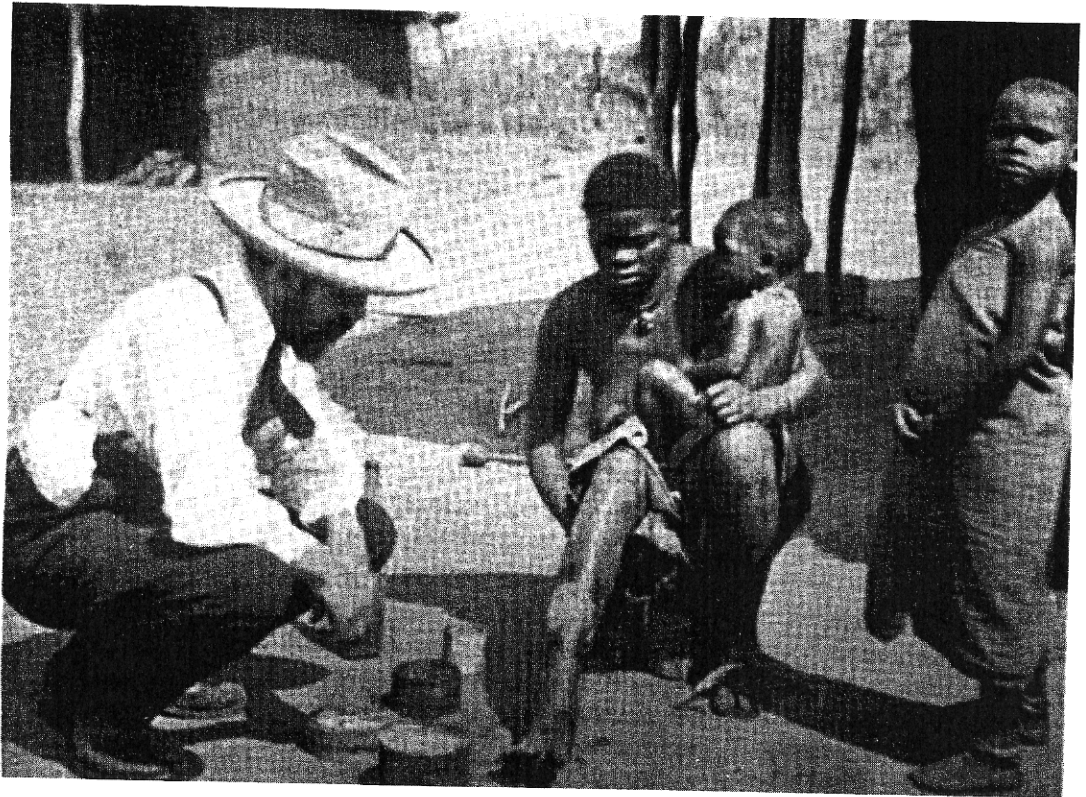
Cecil Rhodes encouraged the [missionary] societies to cross the Limpopo River and to proceed into the two territories which bore his name on the grounds that missionaries contributed to the maintenance of law and order. 'Missionaries,' he once remarked, 'are better than policemen, and cheaper.'

The work of evangelism could go forward only in peaceful conditions and the views of the missionaries, therefore, coincided with those of the Administration concerning the desirability of establishing and maintaining law and order.²⁹

The role of missionaries as pioneers who advanced ahead of district administrators and settlers is not addressed directly in the present work, but it is worth noting none the less. Of course, the gradual increase of administrative responsibilities meant that the missionary spent less time 'among the people'. Olive Doke reported that bureaucratisation of the missionary's work was already evident upon her arrival at Kafulafuta in 1916, and that this tendency was exacerbated by the introduction of the automobile shortly thereafter. The latter meant that missionaries no longer went around the district on foot but confined their visits to those villages along the main roads.³⁰

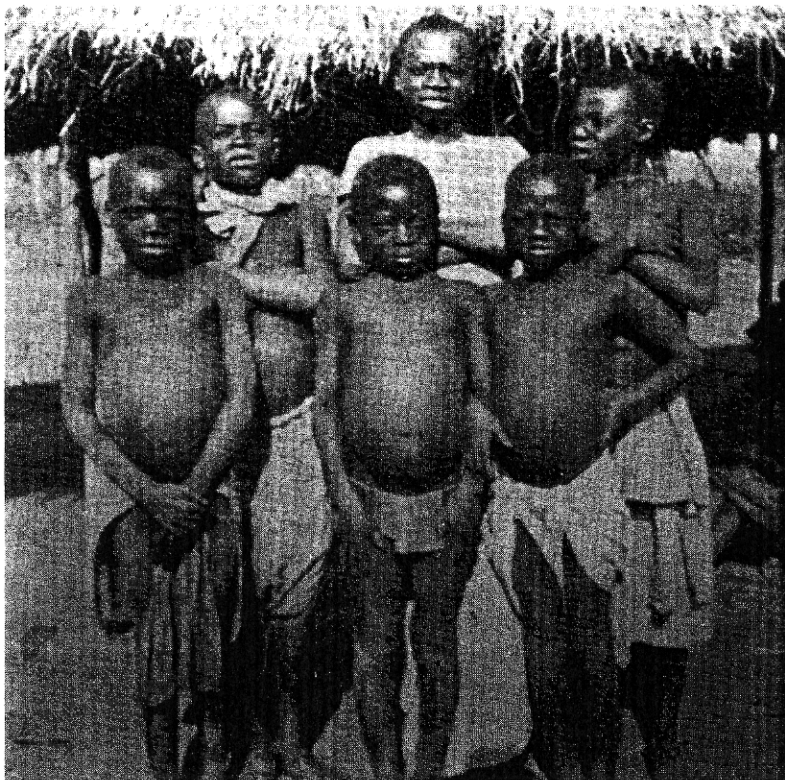
Given the above, one must also recognise the essential role of the missionaries in undermining indigenous social systems and, by attempting to instill and acting upon the presumed superiority of European values, preparing indigenous peoples to accept complete colonisation. By teaching peace, respect and

*The Reverend Phillips
providing medical ser-
vices at the Mission*



obedience – all three traditional African values – the missionaries effectively disarmed the African people. ‘Christian’ and ‘civilised’ were seen as two sides of a single coin, and ‘African’ was the antithesis of both.

Much has been written concerning the benefits conferred by missionaries in their teaching of literacy, numeracy, technical and agricultural skills, as well as health and hygiene. One should not underestimate these contributions. The argument has occasionally been made, further, that in working to ‘improve’ conditions of life, missionaries actually worked against European colonialism. In light of the very slow development of secondary and higher education in Northern Rhodesia, this argument cannot be applied with any force there. Further, since most missions, including Kafulafuta to some extent, chose to concentrate their efforts on younger pupils, they are liable to the charge that they actively worked to alienate the younger generation from their cultural background and from their environment. This alienation was all the more effective since the limits of adult education ensured that parents, elders, headmen, chiefs – all those to whom respect would traditionally be given – were denied the prestige and ‘civilising benefits’ of literacy and mis-



*A group of pupils from
the Mission's early days*

sion education. Missionary education denigrated 'superstition' and all beliefs associated with the spirit world of African peoples, which traditionally served as an important regulatory force in society. The lack of secondary and higher education³¹ surely meant that the educational system was unable to satisfy the aspirations of many individuals whom it had successfully weaned from their traditional socio-cultural contexts and the aspirations of the parents who had willingly sacrificed their children:

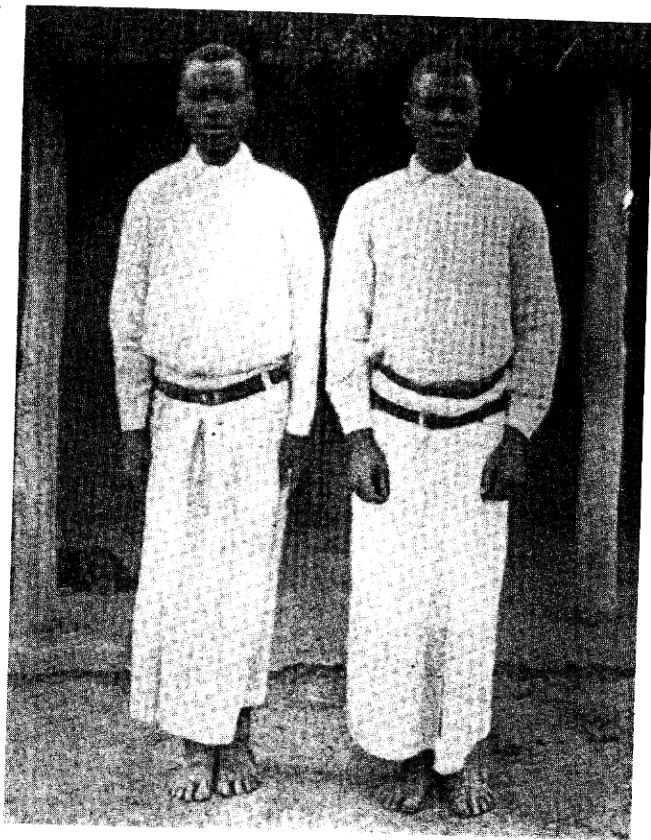
To suggest to an African parent that he should send his child to school in order that he might learn to take his place in traditional rural society was a contradiction in terms. The whole purpose of education, in the mind of the parent, was to provide a ladder on which to escape from rural society and climb to within reach of the rewards which modern, usually urban, society was supposed to offer.³²

Missionary education thus had limited effect upon those individuals who continued to live in their communities. While individual pupils may have become familiar with Bible stories and adopted European names, there is some question about how much African *religious* ideas were changed by the educational process. Individual pupils had various reasons for attending mission schools, but most related to political, social and economic goals; relatively few Africans attended schools 'for the sake of the eschatological message'.³³ Finally, there was a fundamental conflict between the missionaries' belief in *individual* salvation and the traditional focus on *collectivism*. Indirectly, this conflict led to a weakening of the values underlying an extended kinship system and an economic system based upon collective work.

To be fair, as valid as much of the criticism of mission education may be, it is also misguided to a certain extent. Critics cannot reasonably expect that missionaries could have transformed remote stations into thriving economic communities. The despatch of the most promising pupils to the few places in secondary and higher education outside their communities may have removed the best of several generations from the rural scene as these individuals eventually took up employment in urban centres. Should the missionaries rather have convinced these pupils that they should put aside their own and their parents' aspirations and eke out a subsistence as their forefathers had done for generations? It is worth recalling in this context that although the missionaries may have been the first outsiders to settle in a particular area, the societies that they encountered were far from idyllic and pristine. The idea that missionaries bear the blame for first destroying some 'intact culture', which

anthropologists would prefer to have seen uncontaminated by others' hands, is simply untenable. In the case of Lambaland, little is known about its precise pre-colonial history beyond the 'cumulative disasters of the late nineteenth century ... the disastrous cycle of depopulating wars, famines and pestilence ...'³⁴ Slave raiding finally ended around 1910, about five years after the establishment of the Kafulafuta Mission. For whatever faults one may choose to find in the missionary and colonial enterprises, it has been claimed that 'the advent of colonial rule and industrial capitalism probably saved the residents of Ilamba from near extinction at the hands of intrusive slave and ivory raiders ...'³⁵

It is always difficult to gauge the extent to which individual missions and missionaries managed to balance the goals of education and salvation. Simply, missionaries differed widely in their personal qualities and visions. The same applies, of course, to the people whom the missionaries had come to save and teach, many of whom were indifferent to one of both of these enterprises. Doko recounts several difficult episodes in this regard, and one genuinely wonders what the experience of first hearing a European preach the Gospel must have been like for an African person. For the South African Baptists and most other missions in Northern Rhodesia, literacy was part and parcel of evangelisation since people must be able to read the Bible in order to receive and appreciate its message. Of the roughly two thousand schools operating in Northern Rhodesia in 1924, all but eight were run by missions.³⁶ For a small missionary force such as the South African Baptists, there was further a need to rely on converted and trained Africans for much of the work of the mission station proper. Such 'native evangelists' obviously spoke the local language more accurately, and this consideration is not insignificant for those Protestant denominations that stress sermons and biblical teaching rather than sacramental functions of priests. Further,



David and Luke, two Angoni evangelists who accompanied the first missionaries to Lambaland



*Sandawunga, the first
Kafulafuta convert,
preaching.
H. Masters seated*

one cannot ignore economic considerations here: 'twenty-five native evangelists could be supported at the same cost as one European'.³⁷ Despite the vast size of the Baptist sphere, there were never more than seven missionaries on the staff and often there were as few as two. Until 1931, the only resident minister over the whole of the Copperbelt was that from the Kafulafuta mission. The rise of mining townships in the Copperbelt, which was seen as Baptist territory, proved too great a challenge for the South African mission. Part of the Lambaland territory was therefore handed over to the Scandinavian Baptist mission. In the same year, however, a group of Franciscan missionaries arrived in the Copperbelt to develop Catholic interests in the north-western province. They operated within the Baptist sphere of Lambaland and successfully missionised the western portions of the territory.

Given the small size and very limited resources of the South African Baptist Mission,³⁸ only skeletal educational services could be provided. Few missionaries were trained educationists, and the schools provided by the missions must have been crude affairs. Even so, as Doke notes on several occasions, there were often more applicants than places available in the mission schools. Most works dealing with African reactions to missionary education deal with groups rather than individuals; only rarely does the literature reveal how a specific pupil reacted to the message offered in the missionary school. Nevertheless, the

impact on individual pupils was occasionally dramatic and long-lasting. One of the more inspiring stories in *Trekking* is that of Paul Kasonga, known as 'Paul the Leper', recounted in Chapter 7. The masthead of *Lambaland* bore his name among its missionary staff from 1931 until his death more than twenty years later.

Trekking in South Central Africa provides the reader with a window through which to understand important shaping influences upon its author and to observe his initial encounters with an African people. The story is interesting in its own right, but the later prominence of Clement M. Doke as the most distinguished language scholar working on the African continent makes it a compelling document. As noted earlier, Doke went from Kafulafuta Mission to establish and head the Department of Bantu Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg. During his tenure there, he developed and promoted a method of linguistic analysis and description for the Bantu languages that was based upon the structure of these languages themselves rather than a forced fitting into models developed for European languages. The 'Dokean model' continues to be one of the dominant models of linguistic description in Southern and Central Africa. Doke's classification of the Bantu languages was for many years the dominant view of the interrelations among the African languages. Further, his works on linguistic historiography, lexicography, and grammatical description of the languages of Southern Africa remain valuable references for the analyst today.

This context is not the appropriate one in which to celebrate Doke's many contributions to African linguistics. However, Doke's role in the unification and development of the Shona language cannot go without mention. At the request of the government of Southern Rhodesia, Doke investigated the range of dialect diversity among the languages of the country and made recommendations for 'Unified Shona'. His recommendations, accepted in broad outline, formed the basis for Standard Shona



The Reverend Phillips on furlough, lecturing in Riga (Latvia) on the Lamba mission (1926)

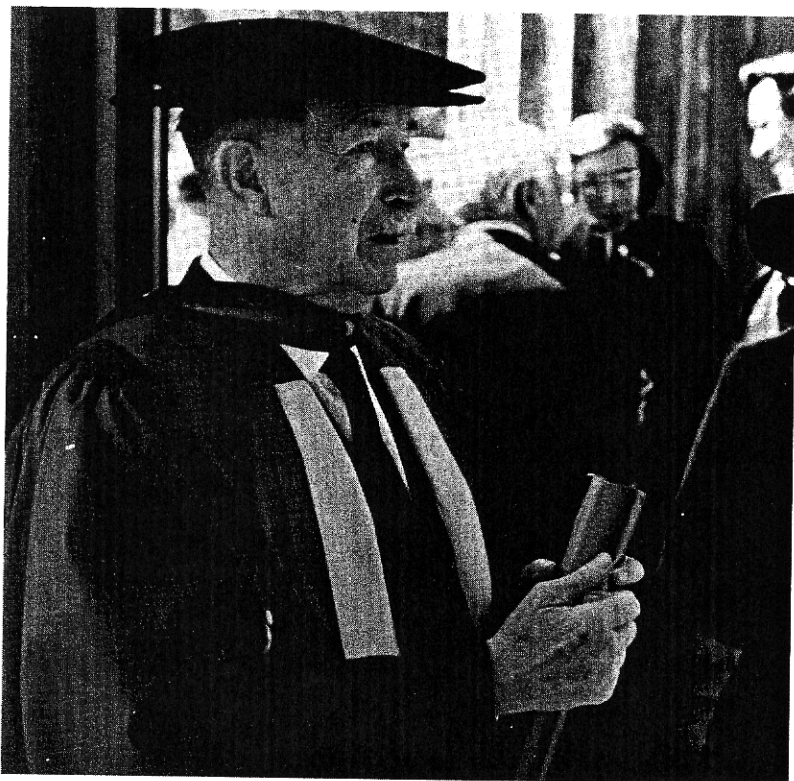


*Hilda and Clement
Doke with children*

and, although there have been several sets of revision to Doke's principles of orthography and word-division, it is not too much of an exaggeration to name Doke as the 'father' of Standard Shona.³⁹ Although not an active contributor as such, Doke was also an important force in the promotion of 'native literatures' in South Africa. It is also worth noting that Doke continued to work in the field of translation throughout the period of his career as a linguist and in his retirement. His major contributions here were of a practical nature, most of them involving Lamba, the language which he first learned in the mission field. Doke retired from the University in 1953 and had intended to hand the translation of the Lamba Bible to others, but he reversed this decision at the request of Paul the Leper. He was able to complete this work during his retirement and to see the publication of *Amasiwi AwaLesa* (The Words of God) in 1959. Increasingly during his retirement, his work turned to more biblical and theo-

logical concerns, although he was able to publish several linguistic projects that he had begun earlier. The renewed attention to missionary and theological matters as well as the practical needs of the missions brought Doke's career full circle. Doke's 'contributions to science and humanity' were marked by the award of the degree Doctor of Letters (*honoris causa*) by Rhodes University and the degree of Doctor of Laws (*honoris causa*) by the University of the Witwatersrand in 1972, its Diamond Jubilee year. In its award citation, the latter university noted that Doke had

rendered outstanding and distinguished service to the University, to African linguistic studies, to the Christian church and its missions, to the development of the Bantu languages as literary media, to African education, to the African peoples of the whole Southern African continent.

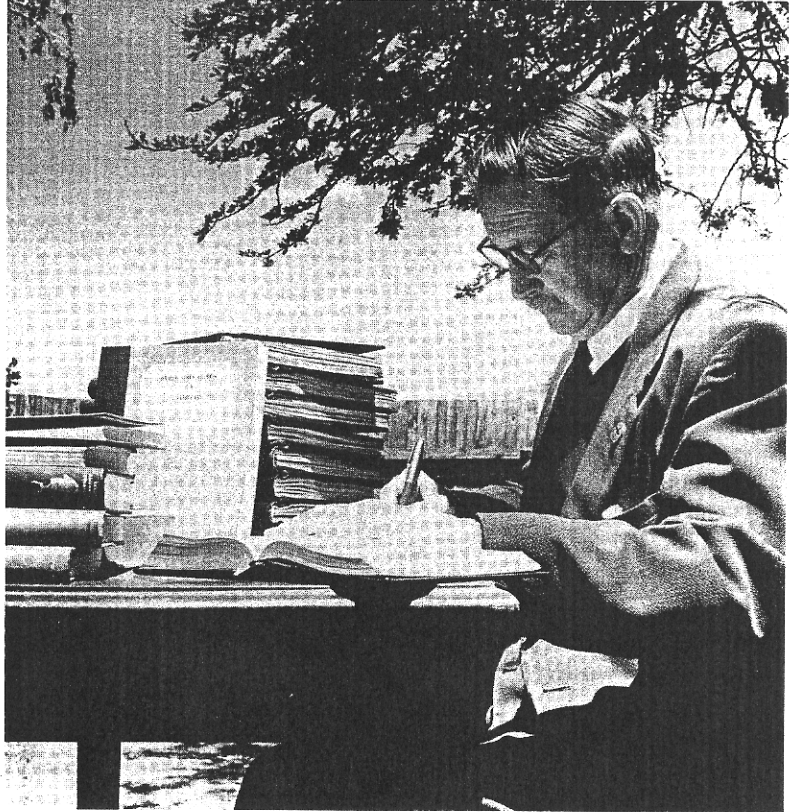


*Clement Martyn Doke
on the occasion of
receiving the degree
Doctor of Laws (h.c.),
University of the
Witwatersrand, 1972*

The preparation of *Trekking in South-Central Africa* was the last major project undertaken in Doke's retirement.⁴⁰ It was, as noted above, privately printed and distributed by the South African Baptist Historical Society, but it could enjoy only a limited distribution under their auspices. It is published here with the aim of making it available to a wider audience, to the academic com-



*Doke with three carriers
from the 1913 trek.
Photograph taken
during his 1959 visit to
Lambland*



*Doke in retirement in
Alice, completing his
translation of the Lamba
Bible*

munity familiar with Doke only as a distinguished linguistic scholar and ethnographer, to readers interested in the early history of Central African missions and the missionary enterprise, to those interested in travel and exploration, and those with an interest in observing early cultural encounters between African and European peoples. *Trekking in South-Central Africa* can be read on any of these levels. If the book succeeds in communicating some of the author's vision, determination, strength of character and deep humanity, its publication should be judged a success.

NOTES

1. The eldest of Joseph and Agnes Doke's children was named after this missionary uncle and served as a Baptist minister in South Africa and Zambia.
2. Olive C. Doke (1891-1972) worked in the Lamba Mission from 1916 to 1959, when she chose to retire. She lived for more than fifty years in Lambaland, working until her death among the Lamba people. She received the MBE from the British government for her work.
3. The most accessible short biography of C. M. Doke and his missionary forebears is that by G. Fortune entitled 'Clement Martyn Doke: A Biographical and Bibliographical Sketch', appearing in *The Catalogue of the C.M. Doke Collection on African Languages in the Library of the University of Rhodesia*. Boston: G.K. Hall, 1972, pp. v-xix. A comprehensive biography of Doke is currently being prepared by Dr Sydney Hudson-Reed, president of the South African Baptist Historical Society.
4. Joseph Doke's diary entry at the time of Clement's birth reads: 'On Tuesday, May 16th, early in the morning, our second boy was born, a sturdy little fellow, fat and flourishing. Everybody says he must be a Missionary, and nothing would delight us more.'
5. His diary for 1888 notes: 'I would give anything to go as a Missionary to Congo-land.'
6. The most comprehensive biography of Joseph Doke is William E. Cursons, *Joseph Doke the Missionary-Hearted*, Johannesburg: Christian Literature Depot, 1929.
7. Appendix (no author) in *M.K. Gandhi* by Joseph J. Doke, p. 163. Rajghat, Varanasi (U.P.): A.B. Sarva Seva Sangh Prakashan, 1956 (reprint).
8. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1938.
9. Doke's last visit to Kafulafuta took place in 1960, when he travelled to Lambaland in order to present his completed translation of the Bible to the community.
10. See, for example, Arthur J. Cross, *Twenty Years in Lambaland*, London: Marshall Brothers, 1925, and Peter Snelson, *Educational Development in Northern Rhodesia 1883-1945*. Lusaka: Kenneth Kaunda Foundation, 1990, pp. 90-93.
11. According to recent census information, about one-half of the people who call themselves Lamba now live in Ilamba (Zambia) and one-half

- in Shaba Province (formerly Katanga), Zaire.
12. John M. Springer, *The Heart of Central Africa: Mineral Wealth and Missionary Opportunity*, Cincinnati: Jennings and Graham, 1909, pp. 81-82.
 13. *Ibid.*, pp. 84-85.
 14. W.A. Philips, *Lambaland* No. 2, p. 2 (January 1917).
 15. W.A. Philips, *Lambaland* No. 56, p. 3 (July 1930).
 16. Edward H. Berman 'Introduction', p. xi, and 'Christian Missions in Africa', pp. 20-24, in *African Reactions to Missionary Education*. New York: Teachers College Press, 1975. Cf. also Snelson, *op. cit.*, p. 17 ff.
 17. L.H. Gann, *The Birth of a Plural Society*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1958, p. 17.
 18. Joseph Doke's active involvement with the Movement was of long standing. He secretly served as editor of *Indian Opinion* during the period when Gandhi was in prison. Gandhi wrote of Doke: 'No Englishman had such a keen grasp of the subject as he, by patient study, had acquired.' ('The Asiatic Passive Resistance Movement - the Final Stages', p. 147. In William E. Cursons, *Joseph Doke The Missionary-Hearted*, Johannesburg: Christian Literature Depot, 1929.)
 19. Cited in Snelson, *op. cit.*, p. 6.
 20. Letter from Rev. A. Walker, Secretary of the Nyasa Industrial Mission. Cited in H. Masters and W.E. Masters, *In Wild Rhodesia*, London: Francis Griffiths, 1920. p. 194.
 21. The same contrast of views by Masters and Doke is noted by Gann (*op. cit.*, pp. 38-39) who offers them as evidence of missionaries' increased sensitivity to local institutions. However, since Doke and Masters were effectively contemporaries at Kafulafuta (Masters left the Station in 1912, Doke arrived in 1914), the differences in their views are better seen as arising from differences in their personal qualities and visions of 'the native'. One can only imagine how difficult it must have been for Doke to work alongside other missionaries whose fundamental view of the African people was so far removed from his own deep-seated respect.
 22. Masters and Masters, *op. cit.*, p. 121.
 23. Without wishing to defend the views of Masters and Masters in any way, it should be noted that such statements occur with some frequency in the missionary literature. In particular, B. Siegel (The 'Wild' and 'Lazy' Lamba: Ethnic stereotypes on the Central African Copperbelt, *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa* (ed. L. Vail), London: James Currey, 1989, pp. 350-71) surveyed Belgian, British and African stereotypes of the Lamba and found remarkable consistency in the stigmatization of the Lamba as 'backward', 'lazy', 'immoral' and 'dishonest', with these external stereotypes dating to early contact by Europeans and African groups with the Lamba. Siegel notes that 'Clement Doke, to his credit, was the first Baptist at Kafulafuta Mission to challenge this view of the "degenerate" Lamba' (*op. cit.*, p. 368).
 24. See also Doke's *Lamba Folk-Lore*, New York: American Folk-Lore Society, 1927.
 25. 'The ability to see through Bantu eyes will give the missionary and the official better understanding and more sympathy with the people, and a greater ability to gain their confidence.' C.M. Doke, *The Lambas of*

Northern Rhodesia: A Study of their Customs and Beliefs, London: George G. Harrap, 1931, p. 9.

26. Doke, *ibid.*, p. 368.
27. Bruce K. Murray, *Wits: The Early Years*, Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1982, p. 312.
28. *Cape Times* 8 Oct. 1949, *Natal Daily News* 8 Oct. 1949, *Rand Daily Mail* 8 Oct. 1949, *South African Weekly* 4 Nov. 1949. The complete text of Doke's presidential address appears in *South African Outlook* 1 Dec. 1949.
29. Snelson, *op. cit.*, p. 19.
30. Olive Doke, cited in Gann, *op. cit.*, p. 30.
31. Until the mid-1930s, the Kafulafuta School was a two-year programme combining elements of literacy, religious education, and technical and agricultural training. Educational programmes from Standards IV to VI (i.e. six to eight year programmes) were not available to the Lamba until after the Second World War. They were introduced by the Franciscan missionaries who were latecomers to missionary activity in the area (Siegel, *op. cit.*, p. 361).
32. Snelson, *op. cit.*, p. 284.
33. Berman, *op. cit.*, p. xii.
34. Siegel, *op. cit.*, p. 351.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 352.
36. Snelson, *op. cit.*, p. 270.
37. Masters and Masters, *op. cit.*, p. 199.
38. Indeed, in 1921 the South African Baptist Missionary Society sought to transfer the Lambaland mission to some other group on account of financial difficulties at home. A direct appeal to South African churches was successful enough for the Baptist Assembly to put off the question of transfer (*Lambaland* No. 21, p. 4 (Oct. 1921); No. 22, p. 1 (Jan. 1922)).
39. See, for example, Doke's publications: *The Problem of Word-division in Bantu, with special reference to the Languages of Mashonaland*, Occasional Paper, No. 2, Department of Native Development, 1929; *Report on the Unification of the Shona Dialects*, Government Blue Book, Government of Southern Rhodesia, 1931; and *A Comparative Study in Shona Phonetics*, Witwatersrand University Press, 1931.
40. Doke died in East London on 24 Feb. 1980, in his eighty-seventh year.

PREFACE

It is fifty-three years since I was forced to give up my missionary work in Lambaland in the North-west corner of Zambia, on account of the severe malaria from which both my wife and I suffered. I have visited Northern Rhodesia, as Zambia was then called, several times since, and have noticed the tremendous changes that have taken place. Travel is no longer by foot on narrow paths mile after mile from village to village: use is no longer made of the lines of carriers with burdens on their heads: there are now roads everywhere, and motor-cars abound.

Another thing which was most apparent to the missionary in those early days was the wonder in which the people held "the Book". The fact that the Christian missionary had God's Word, from which he could read, caused the young people to long for schooling: to read and to write became a great accomplishment; it was this that stimulated the missionaries to establish a boarding school, and to study the local languages, and to translate God's Word into the tribal vernacular. In Lambaland the people knew that the Mohammedans had a book, the Koran, but they were their oppressors, slave traders; and now the missionaries had *their* Book, which they could quote for the good of the ignorant and down-trodden. Later, when the whole Bible was available in Lamba their rejoicing was unbounded.

The indigenous people of Northern Rhodesia comprised a large number of tribes and it was the policy of the British South Africa Company, who administered the vast area, to allot each tribal group to one Missionary Society. And so it came about, for instance, that the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society worked in Barotseland, the Primitive Methodists among the Tonga and Ila, the Wesleyan Methodists among the Lenje, the London Missionary Society among the Lala, Bisa and Bemba, and the South African General Mission among the Kaonde.

When the Nyasa Industrial Mission, a Baptist Society sup-

ported from England and working in Nyasaland, desired to send missionaries into Northern Rhodesia, what we now call Lambaland was allocated to them; and two missionaries, Messrs W.A. Phillips and H. Masters trekked 750 miles to the west from Nyasaland, and founded the Kafulafuta Station.

The Lambaland Mission has had a varied experience. From the Nyasa Industrial Mission, oversight passed to the South African Baptist Missionary Society in 1914; but with Zambia's recent declaration of independence, staffing re-inforcements were no longer acceptable from South Africa – this after nearly sixty years. However, our brethren and sisters from Australia have come to our help; and now the Australian Baptist Missionary Society has completely taken over the responsibilities for the two Stations and Hospitals at Kafulafuta and Fiwale Hill.

As I look back at Lambaland as I first knew it sixty years ago, I think that the thing that comes most clearly to me is the miracle of the great spiritual change that has come over so many of the Lamba people. Evidence of this will be found in this book itself.

I feel I must take this opportunity of stating how privileged I was to accompany my beloved father during the last trek of his life, a life dedicated in service to his Master.

C.M.D.
Alice, 1974

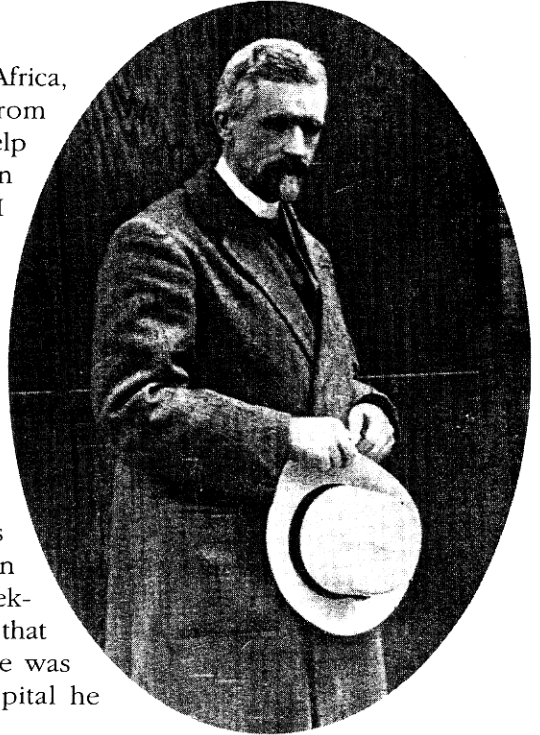
Chapter 1

A JOURNEY THAT DID NOT TAKE PLACE, AND A TRIBUTE TO A GREAT MISSIONARY

F.S. Arnot, one of my missionary heroes in Africa, invited me in 1911 to accompany him from Johannesburg to Livingstone, and then to help him take a boat up the Zambesi. I was then 18 and thrilled with the suggestion. But I agreed with my father's advice to complete my degree course and not break into my studies.

My father's advice was clearly inspired, for when Arnot eventually made an attempt (early in 1912) to take up the work in the Kabompo^a valley, he was turned back again by another breakdown in health. He had already forwarded his baggage to Livingstone, and arranged with his paddlers from Kabompo to meet him there at a certain date. Then he went to Kimberley for a week-end intending to join the Zambesi express at that place. The day before he should have left he was taken seriously ill. After a fortnight in hospital he sadly retraced his steps to Johannesburg.¹

Arnot went to England in January 1913 to consult specialists, returning much improved about July. My father and I were in N. Rhodesia at the time. After Arnot's return he visited our home, expecting to welcome back my father on August 16, 1913, which happened to be the day after my father's death at Umtali. He was stunned at the news, especially as it was at his recommendation that we should visit Lambaland as a possible field of Missionary work for our SABMS^b. He paced up and down in our lounge repeating "I can't understand it! I can't understand it!" My sister Olive and I were in the room with him; mother was resting upstairs after a visit from our doctor.



*Reverend Frederick
S. Arnot*