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THE SOCIAL RESPONSE OF CHRISTIANITY IN ANGOLA: SELECTED ISSUES

by

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1. The Problem of the Dissertation

March 15, 1961 marked a new day in the history of Angola; open rebellion broke out in the Portuguese Congo in northern Angola. For the colonial power, Portugal, it was an infamous and treacherous day. It was also a day of reckoning for the Portuguese administration. When the Belgian government announced its intention to give the Congo its independence, the Portuguese sadly shook their heads and predicted grave consequences. The events which followed in the wake of an independent Congo confirmed their belief that only the Portuguese knew how to handle Africans. But active resistance in the north of Angola shattered this myth. The tight Portuguese rule was broken by the rebellious African nationalists. A reaction of tighter control set in; the Portuguese were determined to hold on to their West African province. Subsequently, the military moved in and assumed control of Angola.

This was also a new day for Africans. Deep resentments against the colonial regime which were often submerged in quiet submission could now actively come to the fore. They saw some hope in the future, the realization of the long cherished dream of turning the power strata over from European to African control.

Another group affected by the hostilities was the religious

societies working in Angola. For instance, in the conflict area, six mission stations were closed: Ambrizete, Mboca, Bembe, Quibocolo, Uige, and São Salvador. The British Baptist Society reported that villages in their area were depopulated. Work of the Methodist mission also suffered. Village churches were destroyed; leaders scattered in the wake of the disturbances. Christian churches in central Angola were also suspect, resulting in the arrests of 261 African church leaders.

Roman Catholic mission work was also disrupted. Two Catholic Fathers were massacred in the uprisings; mission schools in the north were closed. In the disturbed area 1,500 African Catholics sought refuge at their mission station in São Salvador.

The crisis has made religious bodies working in Angola take stock of their situation. Like European and African reactions, Angolan religious leaders are asking what the "new" day is bringing forth. It is not presumptuous to raise this question for historians have acknowledged that one of the social institutions which has been important to the history of Angola is the religious institution. The question remains, however, as to the extent of its role.[1]

To determine this role the problem can be viewed in several ways: first, there is the view of David O. Moberg who observes that "it is . . . possible to select evidence on the basis of personal

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[1] James Duffy, Portuguese Africa (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959), p. 103.

biases and build a case for either support or condemnation of . . . missionary work."[1] If we carry Moberg's statement to its logical conclusion, it is impossible to evaluate objectively the role of missions in any society. For instance, a proponent could select all the positive evidence to support Christian missions, such as educational, medical, and technological programs. On the other hand, a critic of Christian missions could choose the negative aspects, such as the paternal role of missionaries, the poor standards in mission schools, and the accusation that missions are tools of western imperialism. But if we were to accept Moberg's conclusion, this would indicate that it is futile to pursue an objective study of any subject in the social sciences whether it be economics, government, sociology, or anthropology. For it is possible to select evidence for or against a particular problem in each of these fields. In essence Moberg is stating that the personal biases of an investigator, motivated by self-interest, govern the scope of his investigation, and more so by a student in the field of religion than in others. This, of course, is a biased statement; religion is as much an academic discipline as economics, government, psychology, sociology or anthropology. Each has its tools; each has its own biases. The problem for each field is to recognize and to be aware of its limitations.

A second approach is to study missions from a theological point of view. In such an investigation the questions are: "Why

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[1]David O. Moberg, The Church as a Social Institution (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1962), p. 23.

missions?" And, "Do Christian churches of the west have the right to impose their religion on a totally different cultural group?" These are not idle questions; government such as the Sudan and Egypt have questioned the right of Christian missions to propagate their beliefs among non-Christian peoples. Obviously this is a question which must be faced by Christian mission societies and their sponsors, and as long as Christian missions exist the theological question remains for all foreign missionary societies. Since this study is to examine the social response of Christianity to selected issues, it will not focus on the raison d'être of Christian missions.

A third approach is to focus on what J. Milton Yinger calls "process."[1] In this respect a basic assumption is to accept religion as an aspect of society. Moreover, to acknowledge its presence in the social process of our environment is to accept Yinger's thesis that religion is "one of several 'levels of causation', a force that once set in motion is part of a complex of causes that mutually condition each other."[2] Or, to relate this concept to a particular study, we refer to Walter G. Muelder's conclusion in his work on Methodism and Society in the Twentieth Century, namely that "it is impossible to isolate one set of circumstances or cause above all others because religion is integrally involved in the whole inter-

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[1] J. Milton Yinger, Religion, Society and the Individual (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1961), p. 7.

[2] Ibid., p. 265.

active system of society."[1]

In this dissertation we will be governed by the approach of Yinger and Muelder, proceeding on the premise that Christianity as a major religion is an aspect of Angolan society; our task, therefore, is not to justify nor to question its presence, but to study its response to the selected issues involved.

For our purposes then the problem of the dissertation will be an attempt to define, analyze, and evaluate the social response of Christianity to slave trade, forced labor, and nationalism in Angola. Foremost to the problem of this dissertation are two questions: First, "What were the factors which influenced the response of Christianity to the selected issues?" and second, "Were the responses of Christianity to the selected issues unequivocal?" On the first question the study will focus on the relation of church and state, the problem of motivation, the predicament of the colonial situation, the time factor, and the issue of Africanization. An important aspect of the second question will be the problem of choice, directing our attention to the dilemmas which confronted Catholicism and Protestantism as each formulated its response to slave labor, forced labor, and nationalism.

2. Definitions

In this study we are conscious of two social currents: first, the intrusion of external social forces into the traditional society,

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[1]Walter G. Muelder, Methodism and Society in the Twentieth Century (new York: Abingdon Press, 1961), p. 384.

and second, the social forces operating within the traditional society. By definition, the primary concern of this study will be on one of the external social forces (Christianity) and its response to the selected social issues of slavery, forced labor, and nationalism.

The social response of Christianity will involve a study of its institutional as well as its individual expression to the selected issues of the dissertation. Institutionally, it will include the missionary movement, Catholic and Protestant, and the indigenous church. Individually, it will refer to a person who identifies himself with a Christian organization, either with a missionary society or the indigenous church.

The term "response" is commonly applied within a context of "stimulus" and "response", or, to use the terms of Arnold Toynbee, that of "challenge" and "response."[1] As in Toynbee's study of the history of civilizations, we shall be concerned both with the forces which make up the "challenge" and the "response" of the institution or individual to the challenge. The response, in this case, may be maximal or minimal, positive or negative. It may also take a form of withdrawal, acceptance, resistance, protest, or indifference. In this respect one of the problems will be to clarify the types of "social response." A recent study by a social scientist, Egbert de Vries, classified a "social response" according to a concept which

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[1] Arnold J. Toynbee, A Study of History, Abridgement of Volumes I-VI by D. C. Somervell (London: Oxford University Press, 1947), pp. 60-79.

involved change, such as "prime mover, catalyst, and inhibitor."[1] They are useful concepts, though at the same time, they have their limitations. For example, there is a tendency to identify "prime mover" or a "catalyst" as social agents of the "overriding effect of dynamic, industrializing, expansionist society in the west," and to link an "inhibitor" to the "traditional, slowly changing societies in Asia, Africa, and Latin America."[2] Subsequently, for our purposes, the concepts of Egbert de Vries will be dissociated from their normative definition and used within the following questions: "How did Christianity respond?" "Why did it respond?" "What was its response?" In this way "social response" will be placed in an empirical and historical context.

3. Limitations

In a broad sense most of the completed works on the religious situation in Angola are in the realm of a general history of Catholic or Protestant missions. Although the present study will deal with a history of missions in Angola (Chapter II), the historical feature will be limited. Instead, the major emphasis will focus on the selected social issues of slave labor, forced labor, and nationalism; the historical aspect will be related to these social issues. Specifically, the study will attempt to lift out the historical circumstances which relate to the selected social issues, beginning from the initial landing

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[1] Egbert de Vries, Man in Rapid Social Change (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1961), p. 25.

[2] Ibid., p. 26.

of the Portuguese explorers on the Congo estuary in 1483 to the year 1962. Subsequently, the study will attempt to interpret the social response of Christianity to the social issues within a historical situation, conscious of the fact that the effects and responses of Catholicism and Protestantism are conditioned by the historical context.

Besides the limitations in the historical aspect, the study will be limited to three social issues, forced labor, slave labor, and nationalism. This is not to say that these selected issues were the only social problems which concerned Christian groups in Angola. The focus on slave labor, forced labor, and nationalism is due to two reasons: first, the problems are interrelated, presenting similar sociological problems; and second, the three issues pose like situations which raise the question of choice.

Also, though we recognize the influence of African traditional religion, the study is confined to the responses of the two Christian religious societies, Catholic and Protestant. The reason for this limitation is presented in the section on definitions, the primary concern of our investigation being a study of external rather than of internal forces operating in the traditional society. Furthermore, as noted in the title of the dissertation, the study will be limited geographically to one of the African countries, Angola. It will also be limited by the available material, an obvious one being the inaccessibility of the archives in Lisbon, Portugal, for material on

Catholic missions.

4. Previous Research in the Field

Studies of the religious situation in Angola are limited. From a historical approach two published works are invaluable. The first is Angola: The Land of the Blacksmith Prince by John T. Tucker,[1] and the other is Portuguese Africa by James Duffy.[2] The former is a description of Protestant missions and the latter devotes a chapter to the history of the missionary movement in Portuguese Africa.

Two other studies on one ethnic group are also pertinent. They are Umbundu Kinship and Character by Gladwyn Childs,[3] and a Master's thesis, "The Planting and Nurturing of Christianity Amongst the Umbundu Speaking Peoples of Angola," by Hugh Angus Becking.[4]

Another invaluable source for this research is a recent publication in Portuguese, a two volume study of Protestantism in Africa by a professor at the Lisbon Center of Political and Social Sciences, José Júlio Gonçalves, who surveys the work of Protestantism from the Roman Catholic position.[5] An evaluation of Professor Gonçalves' study will

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[1] John T. Tucker, Angola: The Land of the Blacksmith Prince (London: World Dominion Press, 1933).

[2] Duffy, op. cit.

[3] Gladwyn M. Childs, Umbundu Kinship and Character (London: Oxford University Press, 1949).

[4] Hugh Angus Becking, "The Planting and Nurturing of Christianity Amongst the Umbundu Speaking Peoples of Angola," STM Thesis (New York: Union Theological Seminary, 1961).

[5] José Júlio Gonçalves, Protestantismo em Africa (2 vols; Lisboa: Centro de Estudos Políticos e Sociais, 1960).

be incorporated throughout the study.

5. Method of the Dissertation

The principal method of this study will be historical-sociological. The historical aspect will be concerned with time, place, and events; the sociological will describe the social behavior of institutions and peoples. The study, however, will not only be concerned with the collection of historical and sociological data on events and institutions, but will relate the time, place, events, and the behavior of institutions and peoples to the selected issues of the study.

Although the study will primarily be historical-sociological, the dissertation will also be a critical examination of the norms inherent in the missionary enterprise. This aspect will be evaluative, a philosophical reflection on the responses to the aims of both Catholicism and Protestantism.

The sources for these methods will be in Portuguese and English.[1] Of the historical sources in Portuguese, we call attention to the Boletim do Governor-Geral de Angola, Angola by Alfredo de Albuquerque Felner, Ensaios by José Joaquim Lopes de Lima, Curso de Missionologia by Silva Rego, Documentos by Paiva Manso, História do Congo Português by H. A. E. Felgas, and História de Angola by Ralph Delgado. Of the historical sources in English, we refer to Portuguese Africa by James Duffy, Angola: The Land of the Blacksmith Prince by John T. Tucker, Umbundu

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[1] See Bibliography for publisher and date of publication.

Kinship and Character by Gladwyn M. Childs, Salvador de Sá and the Struggle for Brazil and Angola; 1602-1686 by C. R. Boxer, and to the numerous reports, missionary letters, manuscripts, issues of The Missionary Herald which are located in the library and archives of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

Of the sociological sources in Portuguese, the investigation will depend on the studies conducted by the Estudos de Ciências Políticas e Sociais of Lisbon, a study series including works on sociology, anthropology, and political science. Statistics for this study will be taken from the 1960 issue of the Anuário Estatístico de Angola. Of the sociological sources in English the dissertation will rely on the study by Gladwyn Childs and by Wilfred Hambly of the Chicago Museum of Natural History on the Ovimbundu. On specific issues such as slave labor and forced labor, the study will depend on the reports of Henry Nevinson, E. A. Ross, William Cadbury, and Basil Davidson. On the recent events associated with nationalism, the study will use the reports issued by Protestant mission societies working in Angola.

6. Procedure of the Dissertation

The study will have three aspects: first, an understanding of the historical background which includes, on the one hand, a history of the missionary movements in Angola which is treated in Chapter II, and on the other, a descriptive and analytical account of the historical circumstances of each social issue in Chapters III, IV, V, and VI. In a time line sequence Chapter III, which focuses on the slave trade,

will span the years from the beginning of the seventeenth to mid-nineteenth century; forced labor, the topic of Chapter IV, will include the years from mid-nineteenth to mid-twentieth century. Chapters V and VI which deal with nationalism will record the events from late fifteenth century to the year 1962.

A second aspect will be a study of the effects of the social issue on the traditional society and on Christianity. Its effects on the traditional society will encompass the following aspects: population, power structure, kinship, and commerce. Its effects on Christianity will vary according to the traditions of Catholicism or Protestantism.

A third aspect will relate Christianity to the response which it makes to each social issue. Again, the type of response which Christianity makes will vary according to its tradition. On the one hand, the close ties which Catholicism has with the state will often preclude its response to the social issue. On the other hand, the isolation of Protestantism from the state and from the culture of the colonial government will shape the kind of response which it makes to the social issue.

Essentially the dissertation is a case study. This limits its scope, but we are conscious, as in Malinowski's study of the Trobriand Islanders, that we learn much from a study of a single society, recognizing that there are universal social patterns operating in all societies.[1] If this is true, the historical context which affects all social

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[1] Bronislau Malinowski, Magic, Science and Religion, and Other Essays (New York: Doubleday, 1948), p. 10.

issues and its effects on the type of response which Christianity makes to each social issue, is not unique in Angola; it is relevant to other African countries. For example, none of the social issues, slave trade, forced labor, and nationalism, is peculiar to Angola; the issues are common to many African societies.

The study will begin with a description of the historical background of the missionary movement (Chapter II), Catholic and Protestant, in Angola. Succeeding chapters focus on the issues of slave labor (Chapter III), forced labor (Chapter IV, nationalism: historical factors (Chapter V), and modern nationalism (Chapter VI). An evaluation of the response of Christianity to these selected issues will be the concluding chapter.

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In the introductory chapter we noted that an understanding of the historical context is essential to the problem of the dissertation. To accomplish this our procedure will be to provide a general introduction to a historical background of the penetration of Christian missions in Angola, and then to relate the historical context to each selected issue. Chapter II will focus on the former, the story of the penetration of Christian missions in Angola. The aim of this chapter is to give the reader a panorama of Catholic and Protestant missionary movements from the beginning of colonization in the fifteenth to the present era of the twentieth century.

1. Catholicism

i. Phases of Penetration

Catholicism is an integral part of the colonial policy of the Portuguese. Prince Henry the Navigator's familiar slogan "to plant the cross on every headland"[1] was ingrained into the hearts of every sailor who left his homeland to discover new lands for his king and church. For these early navigators civilization and Christianity went hand in hand, a characteristic view of the middle ages, the prince being responsible for the religion of his subjects. Not only

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[1] Tucker, Angola..., p. 28.

was Prince Henry's slogan woven into the fabric of Portugal's colonial policy, but it was bolstered by Christian missionaries who hoped to convert the heathen for the Pope. For a clearer understanding of this history, the periods of penetration are divided into four phases.

Success and Exploitation.- The first period reflects the fifteenth century idea of "Christianizing" the world under the coat of arms of the Portuguese royal court. It was not surprising, therefore, to hear of Catholic friars in the early days of exploration by the Portuguese in the Congo estuary. The friars were welcomed in the traditional outburst of African enthusiasm; carriers were provided, food offered, and the paths were cleared and strewn with leaves as a sign of welcome. Rows and rows of Africans lined the paths. As one Portuguese writer records this event: "Not a tree nor a raised place but was covered with people eager to see these strangers who had brought this new religion."[1]

In a few years the efforts of the friars brought some visible fruit. About the year 1489, six years after the first landing of the Portuguese explorer, Diogo Cão, the chief of the Congo estuary, Mweni-Songyo, was baptized. Two years later the king of Congo[2] and his wife were baptized, receiving the names of the reigning king and

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[1] Quoted in Tucker, p. 28.

[2] Geographical limitations of the Congo kingdom were roughly four rivers and the Atlantic Ocean: the Congo in the north, Dande in the south, Cuango in the east, and the Atlantic Ocean in the west. The borders of Angola (Ngola) kingdom, on the other hand, were the Dande River in the north, the Cuanza River in the south, the Cuango River in the east and the Atlantic Ocean to the west.

queen of Portugal, John and Eleanor. After the baptismal ceremony, the newly baptized king and queen laid the foundations for the church known as the Egreja da Vera Cruz (The Church of the True Cross).[1] Strengthened by all the magic of the baptismal ceremony, the king took up arms and attacked his traditional enemy, the Bateke, "and administered a crushing defeat."[2] This brave act enhanced the prestige of the king and linked the new power with the coming of the Portuguese and the Christian religion.

This early victory for Christianity was not sustained for long. Internal feuds and rivalries split the royal family and the Christian emissaries were helpless in the struggle for power. Furthermore, malaria and dysentery took their toll among the Catholic friars, and, by the end of the sixteenth century, only a handful remained. But work in the Congo was not forgotten by the Catholic church. In 1596 the Diocese of the Congo and Angola was established to bolster the missionary effort. Through a lack of local leadership, the hierarchy was occupied mainly by Europeans, and the presiding Bishop, Manuel Baptista, often complained of the hardships endured by the European clergy. In 1612, writing to the king of Portugal, he questioned the "sacrifice made by European Fathers in the unhealthy climate amidst a people so variable in their faith."[3]

Eight years after the creation of the Diocese of the Congo

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[1] Tucker, p. 29.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Quoted in Duffy, p. 115.

and Angola, the reigning king of the Congo, Dom Alvaro II, sent an embassy to Rome to plead for more missionaries. Dom Alvaro's pleas were received with great sympathy and as a result the Vatican created the Apostolic Prefecture of the Congo. For this work the Vatican selected the Italian Capuchin friars who were to work under the Bishop of the Congo. This aroused resentment within the hierarchy of the Portuguese Catholic church, creating a gulf between the Portuguese government and the Italian Capuchin Society. When the first mission arrived from Italy, Lisbon authorities refused it permission to enter the Congo. The second group of friars surmounted this obstacle by sailing directly for the Congo, by-passing Lisbon and the Portuguese government. Further reenforcements were sent by the Vatican in the following years and this increase of foreign missionary personnel alarmed the Lisbon officials. Portugal was incensed at the usurping of her rights of religion in the Congo and the incumbent king, João IV, made a protest to the Pope on this infringement of Portugal's rights.[1] At the same time the Dutch had entered Luanda, and these two factors, the presence of the Dutch and the foreign representatives of the Catholic church, endangered Portugal's territorial rights in this part of West Africa. But this danger was averted when Portugal called on Salvador Correia de Sá to oust the Dutch from Luanda. In the wake of victory by Salvador de Sá, the hand of the king of Portugal was strengthened and he ordered

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[1] Silva Rego, Curso de Missionologia (Lisboa: Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1956), pp. 278-281.

the Italian Capuchin friars to swear allegiance to the Portuguese flag. Under the threat of expulsion, the Capuchin friars acquiesced.[1] All religious work was now under Portuguese authority. A new phase had begun.

Growth and Inertia.- Under Portuguese authority, the work of Catholic missions was subject to the policies of the colonial power. One of the effects involved a shift of missionary emphasis from the Congo to Luanda. In 1716 Luanda was made a Bishopric of Angola, separating it from that of the Congo in São Salvador. The change of locale was the result of the slave trade and the increased activity in commercialization. From the small beginnings of a chapel on the island attached to the city of Luanda which Paulo Dias found when he arrived in 1575, the work increased with the concentration of Jesuit activity in this locality. A second effect was an increasing influence of the Jesuits in the cultural and political life of Luanda. For example, the Jesuits established a college during the seventeenth century which was the prime educational element for the mulattoes, Europeans, and a handful of Africans in the city of Luanda. Moreover, the control of the educated "elite" in the hands of the Jesuits often caused tension between the administrative officials of the government and the religious society. At times the Jesuit fathers seemed to control the government of Luanda through their religious and educational influence which often went contrary to the wishes of both

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[1] Silva Rego, p. 280.

government and European residents in the city. A third effect on Catholic missions during this phase was the engagement of the Catholic fathers in the slave trade which conflicted with the interests of government officials and European negotiators. The Jesuits became a competitive factor in this lucrative trade.[1]

A fourth result was that a challenge to Portuguese rule by another nation also meant a threat to Catholic missions. For instance, the occupation of the Dutch in 1641 severely interrupted the religious activity in Luanda. The governor and most European residents, including the Catholic fathers, fled the capital.[2] Schools and monasteries were closed. But these were restored when the Dutch capitulated in 1648, seven years after the occupation of Luanda. Government officials encountered many problems during the ensuing period of restoration. The immediate obstacles were lack of funds, inertia, and the run-down condition of governmental buildings. Further difficulties arose in the government's efforts to punish the African chiefs who sided with the Dutch during the occupation of Luanda.

A fifth effect of this tie between church and state during this phase was that when the Portuguese state neglected its colony, religious activities suffered. For example, the middle of the eighteenth century was marked with inertia because Lisbon was indifferent to her responsibilities in Angola. The small core of Catholic

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[1] Silva Rego, p. 288f.

[2] Henrique Galvão and Carlos Selvagem, Império Ultramarino Português (Lisboa: Empresa Nacional de Publicidade, 1952), III, 58.

representatives endured many hardships in her West African colony; climate, dysentery, and malaria also took their toll among the Catholic fathers. Inertia increased with the disbanding of religious societies in Portuguese Africa in 1834. By the middle of the nineteenth century much of the initial thrust of this phase was dissipated. Only five priests remained; two in Luanda city, two in the parish of Luanda, and one in Benguela.[1] The low ebb in the life of Catholic missions continued until the arrival of the French Order of the Holy Ghost in 1865 when another phase began.

Re-activation.- The arrival of the French Order of the Holy Ghost introduced a new factor, a co-operative relationship of the Vatican with the Portuguese government which proved fruitful. This was not easily accomplished, however, for when the Vatican recognized the low ebb of the missionary activity in West Africa, the office turned first to the Capuchins who had already been working in the Congo. But their effort to recruit more members within the Capuchin Order was not successful. The Capuchins, recalling their experiences in the Congo, were not too eager to resume work which was frustrating, not only in the physical hardships, but also in the unreceptiveness of the Lisbon government to the work of the Society. The Vatican then turned to the Holy Ghost Fathers for aid in 1865.[2] In the beginning the Holy Ghost Fathers were looked upon with suspicion by the Portuguese government because of their ties with the Vatican.

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[1] Duffy, p. 120.

[2] Rego, pp. 302-305.

But when the Fathers agreed to be under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of the Congo instead of the offices of the Propaganda Fide in Rome, a more understanding relationship developed. Eventually the Portuguese government actively co-operated with the Holy Ghost Fathers and willingly agreed to the work of the Society, even to the payment of passage money for the members.

The Fathers not only paved the way to a better understanding of a foreign religious society with the colonial government, but they also pioneered in the work in the interior. Many attempts had been made by the Capuchins and Jesuits in propagating the faith to the people in the hinterlands but their efforts were not sustained; they were more successful in some years than in others. One of the successes was the opening of a new area in the program of evangelization in the highlands of Angola, especially in the Huila District in southern Angola. Here, the Holy Ghost Fathers initiated schools to train artisans and their numerous industrial graduates contributed greatly to the building program of the government. In conjunction with their educational program they also attempted to train an indigenous clergy but candidates were few and progress was slow. Of the many energetic men of the Holy Ghost Society, the name of Father Duparquet stands out. His unbounded energy extended the work of the Fathers as far as the Zambezi River.[1] High tributes have been given to Father Duparquet and his work by both government officials and

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[1]Tucker, p. 33.

European residents, although in the beginning he was not too well received because he championed the rights of Africans. The government once considered the Holy Ghost Fathers as a threat to the Portuguese image which they hoped to create in their West African colony. On the contrary, the Holy Ghost Fathers served as a catalyst to expand the work of Catholic missions and colonial occupation beyond the coastal areas.

Set Back and Expansion.- The third period of expansion was halted when World War I and internal dissensions erupted in Angola and in Portugal. In Angola the 1902 Bailundu revolt against the government spread beyond the district.[1] Catholic missionaries helped government authorities to pacify the rebellion. At that time the government appreciated the efforts of the missionaries, but this was speedily forgotten a year later. Apparently the influence of the missionaries was feared by state officials and in 1903 Catholic prelates who also acted as state functionaries were stripped of their offices. According to a worker in that period the officials "made life a hard and bitter one for them."[2]

In Portugal the revolution of 1910 ushered in a new era. The close link between church and state was shattered; the government ordered all religious establishments in Portugal to be closed, undermining the financial support of Catholic mission activities in Angola. The rights of religious organizations to work in Angola, however, were

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[1] Childs, p. 211.

[2] Quoted in Tucker, p. 33.

protected by the Berlin Conference of 1885 and the English-Portuguese Treaty of 1891.[1] Four years after the revolution of 1910, World War I broke out, affecting many Catholic missions in Angola. For instance, the wars in southern Angola against the Germans who lived in neighboring South West Africa disrupted the daily routine of Catholic missions. Whether they wished it or not, Catholic priests were caught in the fire between the Germans and Portuguese. The outbreak of war brought famine and hunger in that region.[2] The twenty year period, marked by a world war and internal rebellions, wrought much hardship on Catholic missions. By the end of World War I Catholic resources were exhausted; they needed to recuperate from the devastating effects of the battles.

Fortunately, the years after World War I brought some respite; a much more favorable climate ensued for Catholic missions.[3] Attitudes of hostility and indifference were replaced with active co-operation. Government support of schools and the establishment of hospitals and dispensaries under Catholic missionary auspices increased the scope of their activities. By the advent of the Salazar regime in 1932, the ties between church and state were cemented, although on the local level there were many clashes of power between administrators and priests. Yet, programs of extension and colonization involved the

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[1] Eduardo Moreira, The Significance of Portugal: A Survey of the religious situation (London: World Dominion Press, 1933), p. 9.

[2] Childs, p. 211.

[3] Tucker, p. 33.

church. Every colonizing project included a Catholic chapel and priest to administer to the needs of the colonos. Schools were entrusted to Catholic missions and subsidies were granted to run these establishments. With greater control of the country by the state, there was also a concomitant strength in the position of the Catholic church; from this time onward the idea of a Catholic state became a part of Portuguese colonial policy.[1]

ii. Motivation

Religion was one of the basic motivations for Portuguese exploration, others being a discovery of a new trade route to India and the finding of gold, and the containment of Islam in North Africa. The religious element was enhanced by the myth of Prestor John and his Christian kingdom in Africa. Prestor John was supposed to have been a priest and king in the 1100's whose powers extended over the present Ethiopian kingdom. European Christian rulers hoped to use Prestor John as a link between a pagan world and the Christian world of Europe. A Portuguese historian, Marcello Caetano, in his book Portugal e o Direito Colonial Internacional, explains this early religious motivation in this way: the international European society identified itself with a community of nations which was Christian, aiming for an organic, moral and political unity. The dream was to install the Pope as the Supreme Governor of this community. The task of the temporal nations like Portugal was to implement and extend this community all over the

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[1]Adriano Moreira, Portugal's Stand in Africa (New York: University Publishers, 1962), pp. 89-92.

world. The Pope, being the visible head of Christianity, was the chief of the international society of potential Christians.[1] This dream of "Christianizing" the world by a temporal power never faded. In effect the Portuguese policy of civilizing was equal to Christianizing. To Christianize meant to civilize; to civilize meant to Christianize.

But how could the European church carry out its program to Christianize? Close co-operation with the state was one avenue. This varied, of course, in each locality, but within the hierarchy, co-operation between church and state was an official policy. Often Catholic priests acted as functionaries of the state, which caused a good deal of friction on the local level. In effect this right was curtailed after the internal rebellion in 1902 when the government deprived the missionaries of the right to act as functionaries.[2] Yet, the idea of co-operation between church and state was never questioned. Civilian officials reacted negatively only when the functionaries of the church usurped their rights to govern the indigenous population. But often the dividing line between the religious and secular duties was blurred. For instance, the right to recruit labor in the Catholic villages was often resisted by the priests, especially among the lay Catholic leaders. Or the right to free movement from one village to another was governed by civilian officials who restricted African Catholic workers to designated areas. However, these cases were

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[1] Marcello Caetano, Portugal e o Direito Colonial Internacional (Lisboa: Centro de Estudos Políticos e Sociais, 1948), pp. 15f.

[2] Tucker, Angola..., p. 33.

infrequent. Tensions arose most when European Catholic priests championed the cause of Africans against local civilian officials. Often the question of the right of land heightened this conflict. This occurred in northern Angola in the coffee region. But the common pattern was a close co-operation between church and state. Each used the other for its own purposes; the church used the state to establish its own organization; the state used the church to keep order and collect taxes. Article 27 of the Colonial Act of 1930 states: "The Catholic missions overseas, instruments of civilization and national influence, shall have juridical personality and shall be protected and helped by the state as institutions of education."[1]

In the eyes of the Catholic mission the object of co-operation with the state was to establish a universal Christian community, utilizing the local church as the means to achieve this end. In essence, for Catholicism, to Christianize meant to establish an institution. The organizational structure of the church was European, the High Pope as the Head of this international body.[2] In this hierarchical structure, the necessity of a clergy to minister to the members was apparent. In many respects the institutional aspect was easy to achieve; a church structure was not too difficult to erect. The difficulty arose in the filling out of the institutional structure with adequate clergy and loyal members. The supply of adequate indigenous leadership was

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[1]Ministerio das Colónias, Acto Colonial, Decreto No. 18:570, 8 de Julho de 1930, Título II, Art. 24, translated by the present author.

[2]Caetano, p. 15.

always disappointingly small.[1] Moreover, the problems of compromise with local customs created many problems. Canon Robinson wrote in 1915: "Some of the Jesuit missionaries preached earnestly against polygamy and unchastity, which the African clergy permitted, but they were not supported by the king or the court. After several alternations of revival and retrogression the progression of Christianity began to decrease."[2]

iii. Extent of Penetration

The effort to "plant the cross" in a non-western culture directed Catholicism's initial thrust to convert the king and his court. Subsequently, the ebb and flow of Christianity depended largely upon royal patronage. The acceptance of Christianity by the Mani-Congo opened the way for the nobles of the Congo court to follow likewise. But with this royal link to Christianity the fortunes of Christianity were at the mercy of the court. When the Mani-Congo died, a battle for power ensued between the elder son who had accepted Christianity, and the younger son who did not accept it. In the court intrigues, Afonso, the Christian prince, was exiled for ten years accompanied by two Portuguese priests. During these years Afonso was tutored by the two priests in western manners and customs.[3] On his recall from exile

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[1] Resistance by African kings to African clergy was one of the factors. See Chapter V.

[2] Quoted in Tucker, Angola..., p. 31.

[3] Alfredo de Albuquerque Felner, Angola (Coimbra, Portugal: Imprensa da Universidade, 1933), p. 117.

to occupy the throne left vacant by his father, Afonso took his learning to court. For awhile the friendly court atmosphere looked with favor upon Christianity. But subsequent political quarrels on a successor to the throne reversed this trend; after Afonso's death Christianity no longer occupied a favorable position in the royal court.

In the meanwhile Catholicism's effort to recruit indigenous leadership to carry on the mission work of the church was not successful, the burden of proof for Christianity rested on the shoulders of foreign priests. The unsuccessful drive to recruit leadership, coupled with the diminishing number of foreign clergy, weakened the structure of the church. By 1640 the Jesuit society could count only two priests in the Congo region. Even the addition of Italian Capuchin friars did not add much to the strength of the Catholic church. Counting both the Congo and Angola, the Capuchins in 1655 maintained eight missions, the majority being small outposts of mission work. A visitor to this area, a Franciscan monk, João de Miranda, reported in 1781 that no priest had visited São Salvador, the capital, in eighteen years.[1]

Yet, by the statistics released by the Capuchin society, their work in the Congo was impressive. According to Duffy, 100,000 baptisms were recorded by one priest from 1645 to 1666; "1,750 by another in forty days; 13,000 by Friar Giacinto di Bologna in 1747; 340,000 baptisms and 50,000 marriages by the Capuchins together from 1677 to 1700."[2] Many are apt to be suspicious and conclude that these statistics

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[1]Duffy, p. 117.

[2]Ibid.

were more for home consumption than reliable criteria by which to judge the expansion of Christianity in the Congo. If these figures were judged in the light of the fact that the work of the Capuchins ended by 1880, there are two interpretations: either the figures were for propaganda purposes on the homefront to engender enthusiasm for mission work or in the interim between 1700 and 1800 a great catastrophe occurred in the Christian community. None of the available Catholic sources such as Silva Rego's Curso de Missionologia mentions any calamity during this period within the Christian community, giving credence to critics who scoffed at the overblown figures of the Capuchins.[1] Whatever interpretation one makes of these figures, the statistics fail to mention any effective enlistment of African leaders for the Catholic church.

The effect of this failure to recruit indigenous leaders necessitated a new approach; there was a change of emphasis in Catholicism's motivation. In the city of Luanda schools were the core of the evangelistic program, touching the lives of many mulattoes and Europeans, but very few Africans. By 1716 there were 25 chapels or parish churches scattered in Angola. During the eighteenth century, mission work expanded only as far as European colonization took root, mainly in the coastal towns. The coming of the French Fathers of the Holy Ghost Society in the middle of the nineteenth century gave a push to the work of the Catholics in the interior. From the nine or ten Fathers

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[1]Duffy, p. 117.

in 1800, there were more than 125 priests, nuns, and lay brothers working in Angola a century later.[1] By 1933 there were 72 industrial schools, having enrollments numbering 888 boys and 368 girls. In the primary schools there were 5,789 pupils, including a thousand girls.[2] The enrollment of girls in schools showed a considerable progress of mission work since the beginning of 1900. After World War I the tempo of educational work by Catholic missions increased by leaps and bounds. Moreover, the close co-operation with the state's educational program induced many Africans to join the Catholic church, Catholicism being the state religion. From this time forward the civilizing motive of the state took priority; the church seemed to serve as an agent of the state.

2. Protestantism

i. Phases of Penetration

Protestant missionary work in Angola had its beginning in the sympathy for Africans and interest in them aroused by the reports of David Livingstone and Henry M. Stanley. The response to the appeals by the various American and English mission boards was instantaneous. For instance, when the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions contemplated opening work in this area, gifts poured in from Austria, India, Nova Scotia and the Sandwich Islands. People from all denominations offered financial aid. One of the first contributors to this venture, an Episcopalian from Boston, sent in his

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[1] Duffy, p. 117.

[2] Tucker, Angola..., p. 35.

gift with this note: "I am so deeply interested in this venture. Should you alone, or in conjunction with the Presbyterian Board--which seems to me delightful--conclude to establish this mission I will gladly give $500."[1]

Early Set Backs.- The response of missionary candidates was also encouraging, but the toll on the first groups was tremendous. This becomes strikingly apparent as one visits Protestant missions in Angola. For instance, on the mission station in Bailundu in central Angola, there are five tombstones. The first has the following inscription: "In loving memory of Thomas Henry Morris of London who fell asleep in Jesus at Utalama 19 October 1889. Aged 36." The second has this inscription: "Richard B. Gall fell asleep 19th of October, 1889. Aged 32 years." The third has the following: "Mable Means Stover Born May 26, 1888 Died January 14, 1892. Of such is the Kingdom of Heaven." The fourth has just this: "Louis Joseph Neipp 1900." There is no inscription on the fifth tombstone.

The first two tombstones are those of two Englishmen, missionaries of the Brethren society. They arrived in Benguela, on the Angolan coast, by ship from England in the middle of September of the year 1889. Soon after they landed they started their journey up-country where they hoped to begin their work on the Benguela plateau. But during their trip they came down with malaria. A month after their date of arrival in Africa, they were dead. The other tombstones are

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[1]Quoted by John T. Tucker, Drums in the Darkness (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1927), pp. 57f.

those of two children, daughters of two American missionary families. They too died of malarial fever.

Beginnings and Expansion.- The honor of being the first of the Protestant bodies to open work in Angola lies with the Baptist Missionary Society of Great Britain.[1] Two pioneers, Comber and Grenfell, who were missionaries in the Cameroons, began their first journey to explore the possibilities of reaching out further than their present work. In 1878 the two arrived at São Salvador where they were met by the reigning king, Dom Pedro V. According to the Portuguese chronicler, José Júlio Gonçalves, the success of the Baptist Missionary Society in the Congo was the result of a lack of discrimination of the local population between a Protestant and a Catholic mission. Gonçalves observes that the Protestant pastors, Comber and Grenfell,

> were able to surmount the local difficulties, especially the hostility of the local chief who was a Catholic, by obtaining the protection of the Congo King, D. Pedro V., and gained the loyalty of the Congolese, who, perhaps initially, could not distinguish the difference between a Protestant mission and a Catholic mission.[2]

However, the friendship of the Congo king did not guarantee the safety of Protestant missionaries. For instance, when the British

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[1] Tucker, Angola..., p. 38.

[2] Gonçalves, II, 27, translated by the present author.

Baptist missionaries, Comber and Hartland, attempted to find a route to the Upper Congo, they were "attacked by an infuriated mob, and driven back with many wounds and bruises, Mr. Comber himself being shot in the back as they fled."[1] Geographical barriers also hindered the progress of Protestant mission work in the Congo; the swift currents of Stanley Pool in the Congo River restricted the expansion of mission work in the Upper Congo. Moreover recurring bouts of fevers plagued the early English missionaries; Mrs. Comber died of fever barely a month after her arrival in São Salvador in 1879.

A year later, in 1880, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions sent a party to begin work among the Ovimbundu people of Angola. Of the various candidates who offered their services three men were selected: the Reverend W. W. Bagster from California, the Reverend Mr. Sanders, son of an American Board missionary family in Ceylon, and Mr. S. T. Miller, a former slave who was released by his master after the Civil War.[2] On arriving at Bailundu they encountered hostility from two quarters, the Bailundu king[3] and European traders who feared the interference of Protestant missionaries on the sale of rum to the "natives." One of the American Board missionaries, Mr. Bagster, wrote that "we are hated by the traders, who would hold a feast at the news of our destruction (I put it none too strong)."[4]

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[1] Tucker, Angola..., p. 40.

[2] Tucker, Drums..., p. 58.

[3] See Chapter V.

[4] The Mission of the American Board to West Central Africa (Boston: American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1882), p. 65.

Fever was also a disrupting factor in the early days; Mr. Bagster died on February 22, 1882, only three months after the founding of the first mission station at Bailundu. But the Protestant missionaries continued their mission work; one of their first tasks was to learn the language. Yet, when some progress was made in this direction, the motives of the American missionaries were misunderstood by the local populace. For instance, when the first school was started among the Ovimbundu in central Angola, the pupils applied for their pay from the missionaries after the conclusion of the first lesson.[1] There were many discouragements and only a strong physical fortitude and dedication enabled the first Protestant missionaries to remain in Angola. As Mr. Miller wrote in 1881, "How can any Christian look upon the privations of the people, physical and spiritual, without being deeply impressed with a desire to help them?"[2]

In 1884, three years after the arrival of the American Board missionaries in Bailundu, the Brethren Mission began its work on the Benguela plateau.[3] The pioneer of this mission was Frederick Stanley Arnot, born in Glasgow, Scotland. He had considerable influence upon Lewanika, the African chief of the Barotse. A year later Bishop William Taylor and a party of missionaries from America began their work among the Kimbundu speaking peoples, making Luanda their first

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[1] Tucker, Angola..., p. 46.

[2] West Central Africa, p. 74.

[3] Tucker, Angola..., p. 54.

port of entry into Angola. Their difficulties were greatly increased by the necessity of having to make a living on the field since their aim was to establish a self-supporting mission work. They carried on their work in this manner for twelve years when in 1897 the Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church took over the support of the missionaries on a "small salary basis."[1]

1897 saw the establishment of the Evangelical Mission of Angola. Throughout Angola the mission is known as the Stober Mission, named after its founder, the Reverend M. Z. Stober.[2] The work was begun on a non-denominational basis, supported by many friends in England, Scotland, and Wales. Mr. Stober began his work among the Kikongo speaking Africans in northern Angola. When Mr. Stober died, the mission was turned over to its neighboring colleagues, the Baptist Missionary Society. Because of lack of financial resources, the British Society appealed to the Canadian Baptist Missionary Society for aid in 1951. In 1954 the first Canadian Baptist missionary arrived on the field to take over the work of the former Stober mission.

The year 1897 also saw the start of the Philafricaine mission.[3] This work may be called a by-product of the Methodist Episcopal mission for the founder was Heli Chatelain who accompanied Bishop Taylor as the specialist in linguistics. Chatelain, a Swiss by birth, but a naturalized American citizen, left Bishop Taylor in 1897 and established

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[1]Tucker, Angola..., p. 63f. [2]Ibid., p. 68.

[3]Ibid., p. 69.

an independent mission station at Caluquembe in the south of Angola. The work is supported mainly by friends in Switzerland.

In 1910 the Christian and Missionary Alliance began its work in the Cabinda enclave on the mouth of the Congo River. When the Canadian Baptists took over the work of the Stober mission, the work in Cabinda was also included, leaving the Missionary Alliance to concentrate its work in the former Belgian Congo. Four years later, 1914, the South Africa General Mission, whose principal area of work from 1889 to 1914 was in southern Africa, began its work.[1] In 1914 the Reverend A. W. Bailey crossed over from Northern Rhodesia into southern Angola to begin work in this vast and sparsely populated area. The year of 1920 brought workers from the United States and Canada to bolster the meagre missionary staff at that time. Their work has been most difficult because it crosses over many African ethnic groups.

The 1920's saw three more mission societies: the Seventh-Day Adventists in 1924, the North Angola Mission in 1925, and the United Church of Canada in 1927.[2] The Seventh-Day Adventists started their work in central Angola while the North Angola Mission focused its efforts near the town of Uige in the coffee country of northern Angola. From the beginning the North Angola Mission followed Bishop Taylor's idea of a self-supporting enterprise. There were some successes, but Mr. A. Patterson, one of the original founders, received support from personal friends in England. Although Patterson's church ties are

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[1] Tucker, Angola..., pp. 70f.

[2] Ibid.

with the Anglican church, his mission does not receive support from any Anglican missionary group. The third mission society, the United Church of Canada, although it had representatives in the work of the American Board through the Congregational Church of Canada since 1881, became directly involved in the work as the United Church of Canada in 1927.

In 1950 the Assemblies of God began its work, concentrating in the Gabela and Novo Redondo regions. Because of the hostility of the Portuguese missionaries of the Assemblies of God to the Catholic church and the state, its work was closed in 1959. The state expelled the missionaries and they were forbidden to return to that area. The indigenous church, however, continues to function and has requested other mission societies to fill the vacuum. Official permission from the government, however, has not been received and no other mission society has replaced the Assemblies of God.

Part of the hostility of Europeans to Protestant mission work was the religious factor; Portuguese officials claimed that all subjects of their colonial territories were "de jure Roman Catholics." To the colonial government Protestantism was alien to the national character; officials claimed that Protestant missions "denationalized the natives."[1] In a direct move to eliminate this danger, the government prohibited Protestant mission schools to teach the vernacular language under the edict of 1921, Decree 77. Under this law Protestant missions were required to use Portuguese as the medium of instruction, supervised by

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[1] Tucker, Angola..., pp. 112f.

a qualified Portuguese citizen. Although Protestant missionaries questioned the wisdom of Decree 77, they conformed to the provisions of the law, recognizing that there was no other recourse; protests could only lead to expulsion from the country. The government's accusation that Protestant missions "denationalized the natives" not only created tensions between the Protestant church and the state, but between Catholicism and Protestantism.

Co-operative Efforts.- The number and diversity of these foreign missionary societies made it necessary to create in 1922 an Angola Evangelical Alliance, a co-operative evangelical organization.[1] The aims, functions, and basis of membership are as follows: To develop the Church of Christ in Angola, co-ordinating the work of evangelical churches and mission, promoting and maintaining cordial relations with authorities; fostering good relations with the evangelical churches of Portugal and other countries. Membership may be active, by associations of evangelical churches and by missionary societies working in Angola; or associate, by organizations whose work is in harmony with the aims of the Alliance. Active members with twenty or more workers (missionaries or ordained pastors or equivalent) are entitled to send two delegates to conferences, those with less than twenty, only one.[2]

The advantages of such a co-operative agency as the Evangelical

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[1] Gonçalves, p. 254.

[2] Estatuto da Aliança Evangélica de Angola, translated by the present author.

Alliance are several: first, it presents to the state a united non-Roman religious front. The government prefers to deal with one central organization rather than individual mission societies. The secretary of the Aliança, acting on behalf of all Protestant mission groups, is empowered to make representations to the state on mission matters such as the legalization of mission property, certification of Protestant teachers, and other legal matters. Second, the annual meeting of this body gives a point of contact for all Protestant societies working in Angola. In a strong Catholic environment, the necessity seems greater for the various evangelical groups to get together. Third, comity agreements are defined. However, in the last few years some of the missions have not followed these agreements.

The effectiveness of the Evangelical Alliance depends on two things: first, the personality of the executive secretary, and second, the scope of its work. John T. Tucker, the first executive secretary, succeeded in forming a united front of all the mission societies in the face of a strong Catholic culture. On the second point, as long as the Evangelical Alliance's work was strictly defined to co-operation within non-doctrinal areas, the agency continued to function harmoniously. The Evangelical Alliance was ineffective when it attempted to seek co-operation on a doctrinal basis; the views of the various peoples in the societies were too divergent. The creation of the Evangelical Alliance did not have as its purpose a visible organic unity; it avoided membership in co-operative societies as the International Missionary Council. Therefore, it was not surprising that when an attempt to associate the

Alliance with the World Council of Churches came up, there were strong objections by some of the co-operating members. Consequently, the move toward that direction was dropped and association with any world organization was done through each society's parent body.

Yet, the comity agreements within Angola among the various mission groups have eliminated, to a large extent, the divisive evils common in many other mission fields. However, the divisions are creations of foreign societies and are to be questioned as to their continued existence. African communicants of the various groups would welcome a move toward a visible unity. Sociological factors such as mobility of population, the use of the colonial language as the lingua franca, and the increasing pressure for nationalism and self-government have awakened Angolan Africans to think of unity. The increasing external pressures will prod both missionaries and Africans to question seriously the existence of the present state of separateness.

ii. Motivation

The diversity of Protestant mission societies makes it difficult to talk of a common motivation. In general, however, there are two dominant motivations for mission work. The first is evangelistic and the second is humanitarian.[1] This is in direct contrast to the avowed aims of the Roman Catholic church which links the interests of the state with missionary activity. Adriano Moreira, Portugal's former

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[1]Willis Church Lamott, Revolution in Missions (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1958), pp. 11f.

Overseas Minister, expresses these sentiments in these words: "As for Portugal, it has always been understood that missionary work could not be dissociated from the higher interests of the state, nor could the latter do without the faithful co-operation of missionization."[1]

The Brethren, Philafricaine, and the South Africa General Missions came to convert the "pagans" to Christianity, maintaining that the literal interpretation of the Gospel was nearer to God's truth than the scholastic approach of the Baptist, Methodist, Congregational, and the United Church of Canada Mission Societies. The Plymouth Brethren is a faith mission and each missionary is responsible for his own support. They have no general organization on the field, no required form of worship, and no ordained clergy. The Philafricaine and the South Africa General Mission have more of an organizational structure, but Africanization of their church organization is much slower than either the Methodists or the Church Council in Central Angola which was established by the American Board and the United Church of Canada. A further difference is their view that they represent the "true" religion and their way to salvation is more trustworthy. Moreover, they consider the educational, medical, and technological programs of mission work as externals to the preaching of the gospel in Africa. They also tend to be more exclusive. For instance, this same group refused to accept several students from another mission society in one of their student hostels

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[1]Moreira, p. 89.

near a government high school on the grounds that outsiders would disrupt their community. To propagate their own interpretation of the Bible, the South African General Mission and the Philafricaine Mission by-passed the Union Seminary in Dondi and established their own Bible schools.

Among the classic Protestant mission groups the religious concern was also channeled in the direction of alleviating human sufferings. In England under the leadership of Wilberforce, the desire to help Africans was linked with a social protest focused on the slave trade. English church leaders engaged the help of the entire community to support the missionary enterprise, especially "the members of the upper middle class, engaged in banking and similar occupations."[1]

Across the continent of North America, this humanitarian and religious concern was brought out in the effort of mission boards to secure proper candidates for the work in West Central Africa. They sought "men of good, sound health and vigorous constitution, with round-about common sense; men who have a purpose to accomplish, large, warm hearts, ready to deny themselves and to make any sacrifice for the good of those around them."[2] In actual mission policy Bishop Taylor of the Methodist mission was one of the first to practice this concern to help Africans in their daily occupations. He and his followers engaged in

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[1]James Stalker, "Evangelicalism," Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, ed. James Hastings, V (1921), 603.

[2]Tucker, Drums..., p. 58.

pit-sawing, cattle raising, and some agriculture. When the Methodist Board took over the work in 1897, strong industrial and medical work was carried on.[1]

Yet like Catholicism, Protestant missionaries saw a necessity to build a church organization to carry out their evangelistic, medical, educational and technological programs. This, of course, meant evolving of rules for membership, the recruiting of leadership, the adoption of a liturgy for worship, and the creation of a financial structure.

iii. Extent of Penetration

In the initial stages the effect of mission work on African life was small. British Baptists report that in November 1887, nine years after the beginning of their work in the Congo district, five men were baptized into the church.[2] The American Board mission work among the Ovimbundu in central Angola recorded seven members during the same number of years.[3] But since 1910 there has been a phenomenal growth in both church members and indigenous church leadership. In 1910 the American Board listed 642 church members; in 1929 there were 8,475, a growth of over a thousand per cent. Indigenous church workers in 1910 numbered 180; in 1929 there were 1,541, a growth of 750 per cent. Other mission boards recorded similar growth during this era.[4]

The depression in the thirties curtailed many mission activi-

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[1] Tucker, Angola..., p. 64.

[2] Ibid., p. 41.

[3] Ibid., p. 51.

[4] Ibid., p. 53.

ties, a cut-back in personnel and program. Those were very lean years. But after the depression further growth in the work was made. A comparison of the Angola church membership of 1930 and of 1959 recordsthis increase. In 1930 there were 46,871 members; in 1959, 541,312.[1] A large measure of this growth is due to the comity agreement among mission boards, based on ethnic and geographical lines. In this way many of the tribal differences described by Sundkler in East Africa faced by African Christians are minimized.[2]

The non-political alliance of Protestantism to the state also shaped this growth. Much time, money, and energy were channeled toward social welfare programs; in many respects the Protestant church became a distinct community within a Catholic environment. Chapter V and VI on nationalism will discuss further this aspect of the historical context.

3. Summary

Chapter II has focused on the history of Catholic and Protestant missionary movements in Angola. From the outset we noted the close relationship between the Catholic church and the Portuguese state, the "planting of the cross on every headland" being an integral part of the colonial policy of Portugal. In the four phases which traced the history of Catholic missions in Angola, the first was marked by

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[1] Anuário Estatístico, p. 20.

[2] Bengt Sundkler, The Christian Ministry in Africa (London: SCM Press, Ltd., 1960), p. 112.

initial success and exploitation. By 1596 the Diocese of the Congo and Angola was established, the work being supported by Italian Capuchin friars. For awhile, there were conflicts of national interests between the Portuguese state and the Italian missionaries, but under the threat of expulsion, the Capuchin friars swore allegiance to the Portuguese flag.

The second phase was characterized by a further growth in the initial years, due largely to the support given to mission work by the colonial state. A major preoccupation during this phase was the slave trade, causing a shift of emphasis from São Salvador to Luanda. The Dutch also disrupted Portuguese rule in 1641, Catholic fathers fleeing Luanda during this period of occupation. By the middle of the nineteenth century, however, much of the initial thrust had been expended.

The third phase was exemplified by the work of the French Order of the Holy Ghost and a co-operative relationship of the Vatican with the Portuguese government which proved fruitful. The Holy Ghost fathers served as a catalyst to expand the work of Catholic missions and colonial occupation beyond the coastal areas. The fourth period of expansion began with set backs, caused by World War I and internal unrest in Angola and in Portugal. But with the coming of some stability in 1928, Catholic mission work expanded rapidly under the aegis of the Portuguese "New State." Each of the four phases reflected periods of growth, retrogression, co-operation, and competition with the state.

For Protestantism, the reports of David Livingstone and Henry Stanley stimulated interest in Protestant mission work in Britain and

in North America. The first Protestant society to begin work in Angola was the British Baptist in 1878, followed a few years later by the Congregational, Methodist, and Brethren Societies. By 1924 seven other mission groups had established work in Angola. Like Catholic societies, Protestant mission work also faced many obstacles. For example, missionaries of the various Protestant mission boards often met resistance from the indigenous rulers and their subjects. Other difficulties included the persistence of high fevers, the problem of communication, the hostility of government officials and European traders, and the geographical obstacles of rivers and mountains.

As to motivations, Catholicism responded to the state's objectives of "civilizing" and "Christianizing." More often than not, Catholicism's motivation to "Christianize" was secondary to the "civilizing" aspect of Portugal's colonial policy. For Protestantism, two motivations seemed important, the humanitarian and the "evangelizing." The two motivations complemented each other, but the humanitarian was dominant. There was also the desire of Catholicism and Protestantism to establish the institution of the church. To a large extent the energies of Catholicism and Protestantism were directed in this direction. But they faced many difficulties, the greatest being the lack of indigenous candidates for the clergy. For this reason much of the thrust of Christianity in Angola has been in the hands of Europeans and North Americans.

The positions of Catholicism and Protestantism within the colonial state often created dilemmas for each organization. Catholi-

cism's link with the state confronted its hierarchy with a situation by which the church's existence depended on the fortunes of the state. On the other hand, the non-identification of Protestantism with the national culture of the colonial state was a source of tension between Protestant mission groups and the Portuguese government. This dilemma will be a factor as we proceed in our study from one issue to another.

In the succeeding chapters the task is to relate these historical-sociological circumstances in which Christianity found itself to the selected issues of the study. The next section, Chapter III, will deal with the social issue of the slave trade. As we study this issue we shall deal with the response of Christianity and explore the factors which influenced it. Moreover, we shall be conscious of the problem of choice, introducing dilemmas for Catholicism and Protestantism.

CHAPTER III

SLAVE TRADE

1. Introduction

1. European Scramble in West Africa

Initially the growing sea trade of European nations focused in the Far East, the incentives being the luxury items of silk, drugs, perfumes, and the tropical agricultural products of sugar and spices. Africa's mode of living was not geared to supply silk goods, nor drugs, nor perfume, but Africa could have produced the tropical items of sugar and spices. As a matter of record Europeans did farm in West Africa and attempted to harness the abundant African labor supply under the plantation system. There were three factors, however, which caused Europeans to abandon their projects. First, the climate was not healthy for Europeans; second, tropical diseases took a heavy toll among Europeans; and third, communications between Africa and Europe were not highly developed.

But the West African experiments were not in vain; indeed, as the British historians Oliver and Fage point out, the Spaniards took the idea of the plantation system which they had initiated in the Canary Islands and transplanted it to the West Indies. This was also the case with the Portuguese; they transported the systems developed in the Cape Verde Islands and São Tomé to Brazil. The

plantation systems in the Americas, however, could not exist without an adequate supply of labor.[1] At first European plantation owners recruited American Indians, but the Amerindians were not satisfactory for the hard physical labor which was required on the sugar and tobacco plantations. White indentured laborers were also employed, especially by British companies, but they were costly. Not only were the indentured laborers freed after they served their period of service, but the supply was not sufficient to meet the demand created by the plantations in the West Indies and in the Americas. Moreover, by the end of the seventeenth century, Europe needed all its workers at home; factory workers were needed in Europe and this source of supply was cut off.

Faced with the negligible results in the recruitment of American Indians to work in the plantations and in the dwindling supply of labor from Europe, plantation owners of the West Indies turned to West Africa for their man power requirements. This was not a new thing; early Spanish colonies had already experimented with African labor, Portugal furnishing African slaves about the year 1510. But the supply to the early Spanish colonies was only a trickle; it was only when the Dutch, French, and English merchants competitively entered the market in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that

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[1]Roland Oliver and J. D. Fage, A Short History of Africa (Baltimore, Maryland: Penguin Books, 1963), pp. 119f.

the slave trade assumed hurricane proportions. The incentive for other European nations to enter into the picture was the increased demand for sugar by the peoples of Europe. In the West Indies sugar plantations increased ten-fold, necessitating more and more labor from Africa. The European scramble for West Africa began; the lucrative slave trade from Africa to the West Indies and to Europe was the prize commercial traffic.[1] In England the slave trade functioned as part of the profitable tri-angular trade.

ii. The Tri-angular Trade

From the seventeenth century forward slaves became a valuable commodity in international trade; they were as profitable as the eastern luxury items of silks, drugs, and perfumes. By mid-seventeenth century the Dutch had usurped the Portuguese monopoly on the west coast of Africa, although Portugal furnished the major supply of slave labor for Brazil from her colonies in São Tomé, the Congo, and Angola. But the Dutch ascendancy to power was challenged by the French and the British in late-seventeenth century, and by the eighteenth century, these two nations were the principal powers controlling the slave trade in West Africa.

It was during this period that the English developed the highly lucrative tri-angular trade route. The commercial scheme involved the following steps: first, a ship left England for West

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[1]Oliver and Fage, pp. 119f.

Africa with a cargo of guns, cloth from India, jewelry, and other manufactured articles; second, the English sailing master traded the guns, jewelry and cloth for slaves at the factors located on the west coast; third, when all the goods were traded for slaves, the ships sailed across the Atlantic for the West Indies where slaves were exchanged for the products of the new world such as sugar, tobacco, indigo, and rice; and finally, the ships returned to their European home ports to market the products of the new world where they were readily sold. The total journey formed a triangle, hence its name, the tri-angular trade.

The three point commercial route appealed to the mercantile economy of the seventeenth century for two reasons: first, the three transactions did not involve an expending of gold bullion. Consequently, they did not drain the cash balance in the economy of England; the tri-angular trade did not upset England's balance of payment. Second, each transaction in the tri-angular trade produced a profit. Manufactured goods were exchanged for slaves at a profitable rate; the demand for slaves brought a good price in the West Indies; the products of the new country, sugar, rice, indigo, and tobacco, were in short supply in Europe, selling at high prices. Except for the danger of pirate ships plying on the west coast of Africa and the chance that the mortality rate would decrease the number of slaves in the Atlantic crossing, the tri-angular trade was a boon for the mercantile economy of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. From a commercial point of

view it was understandable that each European nation vied with the other to control the trade route from Europe to West Africa to the West Indies and back to Europe.

iii. Portuguese Motivations

Economic.- We have noted that Portugal was the principal supplier of slave labor for the early Spanish colonies in the West Indies, economics being an important factor in the history of Angola. An American missionary, Gladwyn Childs, outlining the historical development of the Ovimbundu of central Angola, stresses this point. He writes:

> There are many books about Angola and several histories of Angola, so-called, but the History of Angola, in the proper sense of the term, remains to be written. None of the books written thus far has taken sufficient cognizance of the economic factors involved, whereas a history of Angola is no history at all if not an economic history.[1]

Though we may not accept fully Dr. Child's statement that the "History of Angola is no history at all if not an economic history," we must not underestimate the influence of economic forces; a major aim of the Portuguese was to find an easier route to India to trade for spices.[2] The promise of riches was used to sign up sailors to sail the ships in unknown waters. They left their families,

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[1]Childs, p. 191.

[2]Alfredo de Albuquerque Felner, Angola (Coimbra, Portugal: Imprensa da Universidade, 1933), p. 8.

hoping to return home laden with gold and spices. An expedition was a failure unless gold, silver, and spices were brought back to the king.

Economic motivations also drove the Portuguese to link West and East Africa. For instance, as early as 1616 the governor of Angola, Luiz Mendes de Vasconcelos, wrote a memorandum to the king of Portugal, entreating the crown to form an expedition to explore and ultimately to dominate the interior between Angola and Moçambique. Governor Vasconcelos saw several advantages in mounting a strong force to open the way from Angola to Moçambique. First, it was more than possible to subdue the powerful African chief, Monomatapa, who ruled in the lower Zambezi river, by way of Angola because the climate was healthier, avoiding the fever bouts which always plagued military expeditions in Central Africa. The Portuguese discovered that when they occupied Sofala in the sixteenth century, Mwenemutapa, or in the Portuguese version, Monomatapa, was a threat to their power; the Portuguese had to subdue Monomatapa in order to control East Africa.[1]

A second advantage would be the possibility of opening a way to India via Angola, by-passing the dangerous sailing passage around the Cape of Good Hope. Moreover, if such a route became a reality, a safe and direct communication could be established from the South American colony of Brazil to Angola; from there to Moçambique, and

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[1]Oliver and Fage, pp. 131f.

finally, to the end of the line, India. A third reason for such an expedition was to discover the silver mines of the king of Angola. The governor, having seen the rich samples of silver in the city of São Paulo of Luanda, proposed to the crown a way to replenish her treasury with the mineral wealth of Angola. Without any difficulty Governor Vasconcelos' plans were approved and blessed by the king's confessor, the Archbishop of Braga.[1]

But the execution of plans for such an expedition was slow and tedious, although traders from Luanda did penetrate as far as Western Lunda. Ian Cunnison of the University of Khartoum writes that the people of this area

> probably had indirect contact with the Portuguese of Angola from a date preceding the Lunda diaspora. The legend has it that in coming eastwards from the western capital, Kazembe had guns, which had never before been seen in these parts, and the noise of which alone was sufficient to frighten some groups into submission. Such trade relations as Mwata Yamvo had were through middlemen of the Banga tribe of the Angolan interior.[2]

A full scale expedition, however, was only undertaken in 1798 when the Portuguese explorer, Francisco José de Lacerda e Almeida, hoped to put under Portuguese authority the territory which ran westward from the Zambezi district to Angola. Lacerda's plans were over-ambitious; the intrigues of the African chief, Kazembe, and his feudal

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[1]Lacerda e Almeida, Travessia da Africa (Lisboa: Agência Geral das Colónias, 1936), pp. 13-15.

[2]Ian Cunnison, "Kazembe and the Portuguese, 1798-1832," Journal of African History, II, 1 (1961), 62.

vassals hampered the progress of his expedition. By the time he reached the household of Kazembe, Lacerda was too sick to travel any further. Here he died, a result of exhaustion and high fever. Although Dr. Lacerda did not accomplish what he had planned to do, he left maps and a diary, both to become invaluable documents for Portugal's claim as the first European nation to explore this area.[1]

A century later, a former lieutenant who had served in the Portuguese Zambezi military campaign in 1869, Major Serpa Pinto, collaborated with two scientists, Capello and Ivens, to follow in the footsteps of Lacerda, the difference being in the point of departure. Serpa Pinto hoped to explore and chart the vast territory separating Angola from Moçambique. A change of plans separated Serpa Pinto from his two colleagues, although they hoped to meet at Belmonte in Bié, at the home of Silva Porto, a legendary Portuguese adventurer. There, Serpa Pinto was helped by Silva Porto and encouraged to continue on his journey. After arranging for sufficient bearers, Serpa Pinto left Belmonte to accomplish his aim to reach the east coast of Africa. The trip was not easy; Serpa Pinto constantly fought against the high fevers which left him weak and weary. But he finally reached Barotseland, an area familiar to Portuguese pombeiros or traders. Sick with fever, he was nursed back to health by a French missionary, François Coillard. Later, they crossed the western end of the Kalahari Desert

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[1]Lacerda e Almeida, pp. 383-406.

in a boer cart, arriving at Shushong in South West Africa in December 1878. Serpa Pinto proceeded to Pretoria in South Africa and from there to Durban where he was acclaimed by Europe and the world as a great explorer.[1] Such expeditions were always cloaked under the title "scientific explorations;" yet no one denied their economic implications.

Religious.- To point out the importance of the economic factor is not to minimize the religious motivation of the Portuguese for occupying Angola; missionization was important in Portuguese colonial policy. The Portuguese contrast this with the motivations of other European powers, pointing to Great Britain which cites three factors for her presence in Africa: first, the factor of prestige in the possession of colonies; second, the need for trade to market her goods beyond the British Isles; and third, the need to establish bases to protect her trade routes.[2]

For Portugal, Britain's exclusion of the missionizing motive was a weakness in English colonial policy; Portugal from the beginning was interested in creating Christian states in Africa. This view was eloquently expressed at a plenary assembly of bishops in Portugal in 1960 who stated that

> our history has made us an instrument of the Lord in the evangelization of a considerable part of the world, in America, in Africa, in Asia, and even in Oceania. And the Church has always confirmed this mission.[3]

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[1] Lacerda e Almeida, pp. 383-406.

[2] Adriano Moreira, pp. 88f.

[3] Ibid., p. 90.

The accomplishment of this mission was more successful in the Congo than elsewhere. An important reason for this success was that the Manicongo, ruler of the Bakongo kingdom, and his feudal chiefs were converted to Christianity. The effort of Dom Afonso, the Congo king, to model his kingdom after that of a European fifteenth century Christian feudal state also helped. And, according to the British historians, Oliver and Fage, if the Portuguese had "been able to sustain the partial altruism of their early contacts, he might have gone far towards succeeding."[1] Unfortunately the slave trade intervened; Oliver and Fage observe that it "soon began to loom larger in Portuguese aims than the creation of a Christian state in Africa."[2] Eventually this dream became a comfortable myth, Portugal defending her position as the protector of Christian values, and lamenting that other nations misunderstood her mission.

Civilizing.- For Portugal Christianizing also meant civilizing; Christianity was an integral aspect of Portuguese culture. The crown of Portugal not only sought economic and religious affiliations, but it hoped to effect a political alliance with the African kingdom in the Congo.

At the outset the relationship between the two crowns was one of mutual respect. Their correspondence reflected a feeling of equality,

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[1] Oliver and Fage, p. 125. [2] Ibid., p. 126.

each referring to the other as king and brother. In 1512 King Manuel addressed the Manicongo (who took the name of Afonso when he was baptized) as "Most powerful and excellent king of ManyCongo." King Afonso, in turn, replied with the words: "Most high and powerful prince and king my brother."[1]

But the transactions between the kings were not confined wholly to fraternal greetings. Basil Davidson records that when King Manuel sent his ships to the Congo, he insisted that his ships return fully laden with rich cargo. King Manuel instructed his emissary, Simão da Silva, not to return empty handed; he should "fill the ships, whether with slaves, or copper, or ivory."[2]

For the Congo ruler, the request for slaves by King Manuel did not seem strange; domestic slavery was practiced in the Congo as in every other part of Africa, "long before Europeans began to export slaves overseas."[3] Consequently, on receiving King Manuel's emissaries, Afonso collected 420 slaves and sent them down to the mouth of the Congo River where the Portuguese had anchored their ships. Of these 320 were selected and carried off to Portugal.[4]

Unfortunately, the friendly exchange of gifts between the two kings (cloth and trinkets by the Portuguese and slaves by the Congo-

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[1]Visconde de Paiva Manso, História do Congo: Documentos (Lisboa: Typografia da Academia, 1877), pp. 5-13.

[2]Basil Davidson, Black Mother (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1961), p. 124.

[3]Oliver and Fage, p. 126.

[4]Davidson, p. 125.

lese), did not prevail. The civilizing motivation, as with that of Christianizing, was lost in the insatiable thirst for cheap labor by Brazilian plantation owners. For Africans, western civilization meant subjugation, either as a slave or as a vassal of a European power.

2. Effects of Slave Trade

1. On Traditional Society

Population.- From 1483 to the First World War the human being was the most important of all the commodities of trade in Portuguese West Africa. Alfredo de Albuquerque Felner, a Portuguese historian, writes in his Portuguese Colonial History that "all economic and financial life of our colonies of West Africa, was from the beginning, based almost exclusively, on slave trade. It was the principal commerce, the rights, licenses and taxes of these explorations were the principal income of the Crown."[1]

Another Portuguese historian, António de Oliveira de Cadornega, estimated in his three volume work História Geral das Guerras Angolanas (General History of the Angolan Wars) that during the century which his history covers, beginning with the founding of Luanda in 1576, a million slaves were exported.[2] Gladwyn Childs estimated that

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[1]Felner, p. 255, translated by the present author.

[2]Gladwyn Childs, "The Peoples of Angola in the Seventeenth Century According to Cadornega," Journal of African History, I, 2 (1960), 274.

of the total number of slaves exported, three million would probably be very conservative.[1] Three million is two-thirds of the total population of four and a half million people as reported in the 1950 census. This is one of the reasons why Angola is so sparsely populated, the ratio being nine persons per square mile.

Not only did the slave trade affect the population figure, but the social effects upon Africans themselves were tremendous. Basil Davidson writes that the "wars provoked by slaving" were "completely negative in their effects on Africa--they stained and ruined much of the fabric of African society while permitting nothing better to replace it."[2] All other economic activities became secondary during this dark period in Angola.

Power Structures.- What other effects did the slave trade have on the history of Angola? One was the shift in power from the interior to the coast. Tribal coastal chiefs demanded tributes from the sobas (chiefs) of the interior as they marched their slaves to the market places on the sea coast. This was the practice until the Portuguese controlled the coastal regions. From this period the primacy of the coastal areas, especially the port of Luanda, was firmly established. This was recognized when the Portuguese kept Luanda as the capital, though there was some thought of moving it to Nova Lisboa (New Lisbon) situated on the Benguela plateau.

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[1] Childs, Umbundu..., p. 193.

[2] Basil Davidson, The Lost Cities of Africa (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1959), p. 132.

Another effect of the slave trade was the abandonment of the northern capital, São Salvador, by Europeans. When Portuguese authorities used Luanda as their principal seaport, traders also moved south. And there were many repercussions. For one thing, the authority of the Congo king was no longer supreme; traders did not have to secure permission from him. Furthermore, in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, the Ndongo king broke away from the Congo overlords because he wished to deal directly with the Portuguese and not pay further tributes. To achieve this, the king of Ndongo, afraid of the power of the Congo king, appealed for protection from the king of Portugal who dispatched a military expedition. Once again an African king requested aid of a European power to protect him from a neighboring ruler. From 1576, the Congo king was no longer sole overlord of the domain in the lower Congo basin; the Ndongo king became independent and developed his own hierarchy.[1] Today, they are known as the Kimbundu speaking peoples.

The effect on central Angola was equally great; the slave trade opened a commercial route for the large Ovimbundu speaking peoples who occupy the Benguela highlands. The towns of Benguela and Catumbela became important outlets for the slave trade and the increased economic activity established a trade route which ran from the coast to the interior. Ovimbundu traders plundered other tribes to the east of them and sold their prisoners as slaves to the Portuguese. This practice of raiding neighboring tribes by which the

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[1]Felner, p. 118.

Ovimbundu secured slaves created a social stratum within tribal groups. An example is the Ovimbundu raids on the Ngangelas who live in south-eastern section of Angola; they served as slaves to the Bailundu kings. They were assigned to menial tasks, and, during the boom in rubber trade from 1874-1886, the Ngangelas were used as porters to carry rubber from the interior to the coast. Gladwyn Childs illustrates this Umbundu attitude by the proverb "as a grass hut is not a house, so an Ocigangela (pl. Ovingangela) is not a person (omunu)."[1] The slave trade also involved the Ovimbundu beyond their own communities. Travel journals identify them as the pombeiros (barefoot traders) of Angola. The pombeiros took with them their language, and Umbundu became the common means of communication. It is not an exaggeration to say that Umbundu became the lingua franca of Angola and Umbundu is understood in many non-Ovimbundu sections of modern Angola.[2]

Changing Character of Slavery.- Raiding between ethnic groups was not an uncommon practice before the arrival of Europeans in the Congo and in Angola. In the Portuguese Congo, there was constant fighting between the Bakongo and the Bateke tribal groups. Earlier in this study we noted that the newly baptized Manicongo fought and conquered their old enemy, the Bateke. There were also many clashes of power within an ethnic group, such as the Ovimbundu of central Angola.

In these raids the victors always carried off their prisoners

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[1] Childs, p. 189.

[2] Ibid., p. 206.

of war and their new masters used them as domestic slaves. Also, it was a common practice for African groups to exchange slaves among themselves, but the slave status was not permanent. Domestic slaves were able to win their freedom after serving in the king's army. For instance, in the Bailundu area in central Angola, there is a village composed of former slaves. On the whole domestic slaves were treated kindly, although confined to a lower social class.

But when Europeans opened the slave market as a commercial enterprise, they introduced several new elements which were foreign to the indigenous culture. For one thing, with the increasing demand for labor by plantation owners, slaves were now categorized as another commodity, such as sugar, tobacco, or indigo. A slave was not an individual; the worth of a slave was calculated in relation to the market price. A second element was that slavery was no longer a domestic institution. Slaves were bought by Europeans and exported to North America without any hope that they would be returned to their country of birth. A third element was that with the increased commercial value attached to slaves, internal warfare increased. Acquiring prisoners of war became the principal object; the success of a raiding party was judged in the light of the number of prisoners captured.

A striking illustration of the rise in the slave trade was the effect on the Jagas, one of the principal raiding groups in the

seventeenth century. Andrew Battell, an Englishman from Lehigh who accompanied the Jagas in some of their raids, noted that these people had once been cannibals, eating their prisoners of war. But when the Jaga chiefs discovered that Europeans paid a price for slaves, they stopped their cannibalistic practices and entered into the commercial slave market. Subsequently, Battell records from his experiences that the Jagas sold their prisoners of war and their ship was laden "with slaves in seven days, and bought them so cheap that many did not cost one real, which were worth in the city (of Loanda) twelve milreis."[1]

Other ethnic groups joined in the scramble to procure more slaves, resulting in an increase of internal raids. The step from exchanging slaves among the different African groups to trading with Europeans was very easy; the highly regarded commodities of guns, cloth, and jewelry were received in exchange for slaves. The transaction became purely commercial; slaves were now regarded as commodities.

Commerce.- As economic activities increased another internal effect was the rise in the number of European merchants who vied with each other to procure slaves from the different chiefs. Ultimately, the increasing number of Europeans necessitated some form of government. The king of Portugal, Dom Pedro I, recognized this, and sent a representative of the court, Simão da Silva, to Angola in 1512 with

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[1]E. G. Ravenstein, The Strange Adventures of Andrew Battel of Lehigh (London: Hakluyt Society, 1901), p. 20.

these instructions: "If the king, Dom Afonso, wishes you to be present in the courts of his people, you may accompany and help him, but in cases involving our own people, you are solely responsible to judge and execute any punishment."[1] The appointment of a representative by the king of Portugal was the beginning of European civil administration in Angola, regulation of commerce being an important factor for this development. Theoretically, acts against "native" institutions by Europeans, especially in the trading of slaves, were out of the hands of the local chiefs; practically this was not always so. But if there were clashes of interests, European slave traders could appeal to the representative of the king of Portugal, and since the king's representative in Angola was also a trader, he received all complaints by his countrymen with great sympathy. Take the case of the Englishman, Andrew Battel of Lehigh, as an example; he was on a trading expedition to Benguela on behalf of the governor of Angola when he encountered the Jagas, proving that civil government and commerce were hardly distinguishable.

Increased commercial activities also introduced a monetary system. Previously, cowry shells were used as the medium of exchange, but with the arrival of Europeans another form of exchange was introduced. Pano, or cloth, was substituted for cowry shells. For instance, in 1776 a slave was bought for "thirty pieces," about a half to be paid "in textiles such as indienne, guinea, and chaffelat."

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[1] Felner, p. 41.

The remaining one-half was paid in guns, knives, glass beads, and rum.[1] Later European coins were circulated. With the development of a monetary economy, taxes were introduced by a foreign power. Tributes, the prerogative of the Congo king, were continued, but the European power also needed taxes to pay for the cost of civil administration. The two interests, African and European, often clashed.

Also, with the increased tempo in slave trade, the Portuguese colonies in West Africa were drawn into international commercial relations. São Tomé, situated off the gulf of Guinea, was geographically the nearest. In the beginning slavery was not the principal interest of the colonizers of São Tomé; ivory and some copper were traded for food to sustain the few Europeans who lived on the island at that time. But under a concession license which Fernão de Melo received from the royal court in Lisbon soon after the death of the first European settler, Alvaro de Caminha, in 1499, São Tomé was developed at the cost of the Congo.[2] In a short while the Portuguese colonists of São Tomé had a cathedral, a bishop, and a highly developed agriculture which enriched the proprietors. São Tomé island also controlled traffic from the Congo to Portugal. Many of the letters containing requests of the king of Congo to the king of Portugal were intercepted in São Tomé; instead, the colonists substituted letters informing the king of Portugal of the intrigues of the Congo king against the Portuguese.[3] Subsequently,

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[1] Davidson, Black..., p. 157.

[2] Rego, pp. 219f.

[3] Felner, p. 68.

the cause of the Congo suffered; only the wishes of the residents of São Tomé were attended.

Brazil was also involved in the Angolan slave trade. According to Duffy, in the early years of the seventeenth century Brazil's sugar economy had become absolutely dependent on Angolan labor. A remark of the day was, "without sugar there is no Brazil, and without Angola there is no sugar."[1] Gladwyn Childs holds that "during the 250 years of slave trade, Angola was in reality a dependency of Brazil . . . So complete was the commercial domination of Brazil that Lisbon merchants had hardly anything to do with the Angola trade."[2] The Portuguese chronicler, José Joaquim Lopes de Lima, in his Ensaios, writes that so complete was the tie between Angola and Brazil that when Brazil became independent, Europeans in Benguela pushed for union with that country.[3] Angola's history would have been different if this had taken place.

The lucrative slave trade also involved the nations of Europe, principally Belgium and Holland. The Dutch occupation of Luanda in the seventeenth century is an example. The fall of Luanda to the Dutch wrought a change in the relationship between African and European powers; African chiefs pledged allegiance to the Dutch flag without too much trouble. They easily substituted Dutch rule for Portuguese. A handful of Portuguese traders returned to Luanda to sell slaves to

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[1]Duffy, p. 139.

[2]Childs, p. 193.

[3]Lopes de Lima, Ensaios (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1846), p. 127.

the Dutch, but new alliances gave the Dutch priority over them. It was only through Brazil's help that Angola was restored to the Portuguese. Brazil acted to protect her own interests; she needed slaves for her sugar plantations.

ii. On Christianity

Involvement of the Church.- The demand for slaves and material profits overshadowed any existing humanitarian motives. Traders, administrators, and tribal chiefs engaged in this lucrative practice. The church, although protesting on numerous occasions against slavery, more often than not collected its share of the export tax, grateful for the opportunity to save the infidels through mass baptism. John T. Tucker, Canadian missionary and first executive secretary of the Angola Evangelical Alliance, records that "on the wharf at Luanda, as late as 1870, there could still be seen a marble chair on which the bishop had sat and baptized by boatloads the poor wretches as they were towed alongside the ship."[1] A graphic illustration of the day of embarkation is described by an English historian, Charles R. Boxer. He writes that on that day in mid-seventeenth century all the slaves were herded "to a nearby church, or other convenient place and there baptised by a parish priest in batches of hundreds at a time. The ceremony did not take very long." To symbolize the new state from the old, each slave was given a Christian name. "The priest said to each slave in turn, 'your name is Peter, yours is John, yours

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[1] Tucker, Angola..., pp. 16f.

Francis,' and so on, giving each man a piece of paper with his name written on it, putting a little salt on his tongue, and sprinkling holy water over the crowd with a hyssop." To insure that the ceremony was not lost in the confusion of a foreign tongue, the parish priest employed an African interpreter who added these words of admonition: "Look you people are already children of God, you are going to the land of the Spaniards (or Portuguese) where you will learn things of the Faith." The African interpreter concluded his speech with this advice: "Don't think any more about where you came from, and don't eat dogs, rats, or horses--now go with a good will."[1]

The baptismal ceremony did not cost the newly-initiated "Christians" a centavo, for the slave traders gladly assumed the baptismal tax of 300 reis to clothe their activities under the aegis of the church. In the beginning the tax was paid to the parish priests at Remedios and Benguela, but when the practice of slavery was accepted as a normal economic enterprise, the bishop collected one-half of the baptismal tax. Interestingly this tax was not imposed upon infants. Of this practice Basil Davidson remarks that "this was not exactly a crowning mercy."[2]

Not only did the church receive its share of the export tax, but it also used slaves as a form of capital to build a seminary. For

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[1] C. R. Boxer, Salvador de Sá and the Struggle for Brazil and Angola 1602-1686 (London: The Athlone Press, 1952), p. 230.

[2] Basil Davidson, The African Awakening (London: Jonathan Cape, 1955), p. 56.

instance the Bishop's office of Angola recommended in October 1624 to begin a seminary with an initial gift of twenty thousand cruzados, one-half of the amount was to be paid in the form of Congo grain, and the other half in "peças da India" (slaves). Furthermore, the Bishop wrote to the king of Portugal, requesting the privilege of retaining the fees which came from the sending of slaves from the Congo kingdom destined for Bahia and Pernambuco in South America.[1]

Even slaves were accepted as payment for two of its seminary students. Basil Davidson cites a case discovered by Abbé Jardin in the archives of Luanda which says that

> these young seminarians every year received three slaves from the king in order to pay for their studies. In 1812, the Prince Pedro sold his father's ambassador who had brought a number of slaves to Luanda. The Governor found himself obliged to cause this Congolese nobleman to be sought for in Brazil, and to send the two students back to San Salvador until the bishop could arrive and re-establish discipline.[2]

The king of Portugal also reflected these sentiments. On receiving fifty-four slaves, the king said: "I have much joy in them, because of their salvation, who otherwise would have been destined to perdition."[3] Their joy in being able to "save the heathen" was one of the reasons why the Portuguese valued the Bantu slaves much more highly than those taken from Moslem countries. The latter were also much more spirited and apt to incite rebellion against the planta-

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[1] Paiva Manso, p. 182. [2] Davidson, Black..., p. 59.

[3] Quoted in Tucker, Angola..., p. 16.

tion masters. The Bantus, on the other hand, accepted Christianity, were docile, obedient, and more adaptable. Outwardly they assimilated the ways of the Portuguese much more than the independent Moslems from the north.[1]

To guarantee the effectiveness of the baptismal ceremony, the bishops also insisted that a chaplain be placed on each ship carrying a cargo of slaves across the Atlantic from Angola. Since the middle-passage had an odious reputation of being the worst of the tri-angular trade route, there were few chaplains who were tempted to undertake such a voyage. Subsequently, the bishop's only recourse was to appoint the least desirable of his parish priests, more often lured by a promise of riches than by a desire to serve their fellow men.[2]

At times Portuguese officials sent a priest on these slave ships as their personal representative. One such instance occurred when Salvador de Sá renewed the slave trade a year after ousting the Dutch from Luanda in 1648. With the assurance from the Spanish crown that Portuguese slave ships would not be molested, Salvador de Sá sent two vessels to Buenos Aires and on one of them, he placed a Capuchin priest as his personal representative.[3]

On many occasions slaves were exchanged as gifts. The extent of this practice is shown in a brief letter of Dom Álvaro's to Padre Garcia Simões dated August 27, 1565. The intent of this letter was

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[1]Boxer, p. 233.

[2]Boxer, p. 280.

[2]Davidson, Black..., p. 55.

to gain the confidence of the Portuguese, and as a gesture of hospitality Dom Alvaro writes that he had sent an emissary to Pumbo to gather some slaves (peças) to send to Padre Simões. Years later (1622) Antônio Deniz used this evidence against the Jesuits for their practice of slavery.[1]

Thirty years after Dom Alvaro's letter of 1656, the Jesuits were recipients of the legacy of Salvador de Sá's holdings in Angola which consisted of "seven thousand head of cattle . . . one hundred and sixty Negro slaves . . . seventy saddle-horses and much other property."[2] Prior to his departure for Portugal, Salvador de Sá consolidated his Angolan holdings with the Jesuit Society, stipulating that the profits were to be shared equally, one-half for himself and the other half to be sent to Brazil to endow the Jesuit College at Rio.[3]

Although Protestantism was not an established institution in the Congo and in Angola during the height of the slave trade, the after-effects of the practice of slavery were felt beyond the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by Protestants. In 1911 when the report of the deputation to the West Central Africa Mission of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was printed, there was a section dealing with the question of slavery. In its investigation the deputation discovered that certain church holders confessed to keeping slaves,

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[1] Gastão Sousa Dias, Relações de Angola (Coimbra, Portugal: Imprensa da Universidade, 1934), pp. 71f.

[2] Boxer, p. 287.

[3] Ibid.

much to the surprise of the team members. At one of the out-stations members of the deputation asked the elders whether any of the church members owned a slave and they replied, "Many of us do." "One of the elders acknowledged that he himself owned a slave."[1]

According to the committee's findings slavery was not abhorrent to Africans and "of themselves they would not be likely to class this evil with polygamy and intemperance and condition church membership accordingly."[2] After completing its investigation, the deputation recommended that the mission take action at its earliest opportunity and abolish "slave holding on the part of church members and natives at station or out-station villages under the control of missionaries."[3]

Death of a Dream.- By the seventeenth century when the slave trade dominated all aspects of life in the Congo and in Angola, the early dream of the Portuguese to create Christian states was abandoned. Religious societies no longer talked of building Christian communities in Portugal's West African colonies; they were too engrossed in the slave trade.

At this point we should ask why the Jesuits who had defended the freedom of the American Indians in Brazil acquiesced in the slave trade between Angola and South America. According to a historian of the Jesuit Society, Father Serafim Leite, the two problems are not

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[1] American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Report of the Deputation to the West Central Africa Mission (Boston: Congregational House, 1911), p. 29.

[2] Ibid. [3] Ibid., p. 31.

comparable. In the sixteenth century Father Leite says that by both canon and civil law, the American Indians were born free and we were ordered by both the crown and the Pope to protect their freedom. The African Negroes, on the other hand, were always bound in slavery, even within their own traditional society. For this reason it was unfair to compare the status of the Amerindians to that of Africans, and this fact was acknowledged by canon law and regulated by the civil laws of all colonizing nations.[1]

A similar view was held by a resident Jesuit priest of Luanda, Father Luis Brandão. In an exchange of letters between Fathers Sandoval and Brandão at the time of King John III in the sixteenth century, the latter states "categorically that the slave-trade is perfectly lawful, having been formally approved by the Board of Conscience in Portugal, by leading members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and by learned Jesuits in Portugal, Angola and Brazil."[2] Father Brandão admits, however, that

> among the ten or twelve thousand Negroes exported annually from Luanda to America, there may be a few individuals who have been unjustly enslaved, but it is obviously impracticable to worry about sorting out this handful of sheep from the goats.[3]

Brandão concludes his letter somewhat testily stating that "Sandoval should on no account ask the incoming slaves at Cartagena

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[1]Serafim Leite, S.J., Historia da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil (Rio de Janeiro, 1938), vi, 350-352.

[2]Boxer, pp. 238f.

[3]Ibid., p. 239.

if they have been justly enslaved, as of course they will all deny it, in the hope of thus gaining their release."[1]

As the trade in human traffic increased from year to year, the people accepted the practice as part of the imported Christian way of life. In fact there was hesitancy on the part of African slave dealers to do business with other than Christian slave traders. For example, it is recorded that in the year 1700 slave ships captained by Protestant officers encountered great difficulty in buying slaves, because Portuguese propaganda had prejudiced African slave dealers against other foreigners on the grounds that they were not Christians. They were further told that the "foreigners" sold their slaves "to the Turks, and other infidels and hereticks, where they were never baptis'd."[2] The opportunity to baptize the "infidels" overwhelmed the conscience of the church to protest the immorality of the practice of the slave trade. The early dream to create Christian states died, no longer to be revived during this period.

3. Response of Christianity

i. Catholicism

Protests by Africans.- Protests against the lucrative slave trade were few. Every trader, either European or African, profited. In the midst of this unlimited avenue to acquire riches, the motivation of the Portuguese to Christianize became secondary.

But one of the early Christian converts did protest. He was

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[1] Boxer, p. 239.

[2] Quoted in Davidson, Black..., p. 153.

King Afonso. In a poignant letter to the king of Portugal, John III, Dom Afonso writes:

> We cannot reckon how great the danger is, since the above-mentioned merchants daily seize our subjects, sons of the land and sons of our noblemen and vassals and our relatives . . . Thieves and men of evil conscience take them because they wish to possess the things and wares of this Kingdom . . . They grab them and cause them to be sold, and so great, Sir, is their corruption and licentiousness that our country is being utterly depopulated . . . We need no other than priests and people to teach in schools, and no other goods but wine and flour for the holy sacrament; that is why we beg your Highness to help and assist us in this matter, commanding the factors that they should send here neither merchants nor wares, because it is our will that in these Kingdoms there should not be any trade in slaves nor market for slaves.[1]

To substantiate his charges, the Congo king ordered an inquiry whose results were sent to Dom João III, king of Portugal. The report, sent under the seal of the Congo king, pointed out the damning effect of the slave trade to his country which was accelerated by the voracious appetite of the merchants of São Tomé. The investigation was thorough; the Congo king cited case after case, indicating the number of slaves taken in the harbor of Pymda. One of the ships carried four hundred slaves; he cited other instances where twelve to fifteen ships came to take slaves from the Congo to the dispatching center on the island of São Tomé.[2] Afonso's successor, Dom Diago, in a letter dated January 28, 1549, made a further protest to King John III, citing the bad conduct of priests and Portuguese vassals in his kingdom.[3]

Friction between the two royal courts over slavery continued

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[1] Paiva Manso, pp. 53f.

[2] Ibid., pp. 35-87.

[3] Ibid., p. 91.

unabated, culminating in the defection of the Congo king during the Dutch occupation of Angola from 1641-1648. One of the reasons for his hostility towards the Portuguese was his objection to the slave trade. Unfortunately, the Dutch conquerors were not much better than the Portuguese since their interest in Angola was also to control the lucrative African slave trade. Interestingly, throughout this period, the Congo king continued to adhere to the Catholic faith, protecting the priests and missionaries in his kingdom during the hostilities.[1] Dom Diago's hostility was not religious; the king regarded the slave trade as European meddling in the civil affairs of his kingdom.

But the protests of Dom Afonso, the Congo king, were in vain. The slave trade overshadowed all other activities, and the Christian emissaries in Angola continued to believe that they were doing God's will and saving the souls of the slaves when they baptized and marched them into the holds of the slave ships. C. R. Boxer, in recounting the historical events of the mid-seventeenth century, noted that in this tragic and bloody period of Angola, "the slave-trader was always alongside the missionary and neither interfered unduly with the work of the other." Even the religious societies in Lisbon engaged in "this shameful traffic;" in October, 1649 the Irish Dominicans sent the ship Nossa Senhora do Rozario to take slaves from Angola to the Rio de la Plata.[2]

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1 Boxer, p. 242.

2 Ibid., p. 279.

Looking back at these events, it is a wonder that the Congo kings and their subjects held on to the Christian faith.

Protests by Europeans.- Portugal has been very sensitive to criticisms by other nations of the part she played in the slave trade. Sousa Dias in his Relações de Angola defends Portugal's position by remarking that she was not alone in this traffic, claiming that "the Portuguese, in this horrible activity, were always in the good company of the Spanish, Dutch, English, French and Brazilians."[1] To prove his charges Dias cites the many Spanish, Dutch, English, and French ships which plied along the Angolan coast during this period. For example, Dias notes that during the reign of the governor, Sousa Coutinho, the English were a source of irritation to the government in their commercial traffic, including the exchange of slaves, in the north of Angola.[2]

Moreover, the English often raided Portuguese slave ships. Du Plessis writes that the first English captain "to carry a cargo of slaves" was Sir John Hawkins who "was little more than an adventurer, with an inbred hatred of popery of Spain and Portugal as Catholic nations." His dislike for the latter made them a fair game for prey and "he signalised his entry into the ranks of the slave-traders by the capture of Portuguese slavers off the Guinea coast."[3] Even the

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[1] Sousa Dias, p. 80.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Johannes Du Plessis, The Evangelization of Pagan Africa, A History of Christian Missions to the Pagan Tribes of Central Africa (Capetown: Juta, 1929), p. 39.

British crown was involved. Queen Elizabeth, who was vastly interested in the enterprise of Hawkins, employed him in one of her vessels which was ironically named "Jesus."[1]

It seems that the English, Dutch, French and Spanish were also motivated by the great demand for labor by the plantation owners in North America. The involvement was international; guilt for the slave trade cannot be solely laid at the feet of the Portuguese. In this respect Duffy comments that Portugal should not base her defense on the argument of collective guilt. He observes that Portugal

> has often done herself a disservice by failing to emphasize the stern attitude taken by some of her citizens against the institution and by stressing instead the collective guilt of European and American nations and advancing arguments of canonical justification.[2]

Some of the most severe critics came from members of the Jesuit order, although many of their priests participated in the human traffic. One of them was Alonso de Sandoval, a Spanish Jesuit, who "argued that Negroes were just as human as were any of the other races of mankind, although they were more shamefully abused than any, and that in the eyes of God a Negro's soul was worth just as much as that of a white man."[3] In contrast to the views of slave holders and dealers who found the Negroes "bestial and unruly savages," Sandoval praised "their candid and tractable character, proving his points with a wealth of anecdotes from his own experience as rector of the Jesuit

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[1]Du Plessis, p. 39.

[2]Duffy, p. 142.

[3]Boxer, p. 238.

college at Cartagena de Indies."[1]

Another recorded protest from Spain's Catholic orders was a Dominican priest, Tomé de Mercado, who "exposed and denounced the abuses of the West African slave-trade in his Tratos y Contratos, printed at Salamanca in 1569."[2] But there were also protests within the Portuguese religious orders. C. R. Boxer recounts the arguments of a "Portuguese Jesuit who (in 1608 or thereabouts) submitted a memorial to the crown on the enormities of this slave-trade as practiced in the Portuguese 'conquests', with a plea for its suppression and thoroughgoing reformation." The Jesuit priest argued that though canon and civil law sanctioned slavery under certain conditions, the "vast majority of Negro slaves had been acquired by utterly indefensible means. He contended that there was no valid or logical reason why provisions of the law against Amerindian slavery should not be extended to include Negroes."[3] A further evidence of the anti-slavery protest "in the middle and late 1700's"within the Portuguese speaking community was the tract of a Brazilian, Ribeiro de Rocha's Etiope resgatado, instruído, libertado, published in 1758.[4]

On the state level there was also the 1836 decree of Prime Minister Sá da Bandeira, prohibiting slave trade in Portugal's colonies. When he encountered resistance from European residents, he ordered

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[1]Boxer, p. 238.

[2]Ibid., p. 237.

[3]Ibid., p. 236.

[4]Duffy, pp. 142f.

the maritime police to stop any ship which carried slaves from one Angolan port to another. He also sent a communication to the governor general of Angola to see that these orders were carried out by him and his subordinates.[1] An extension of this anti-slavery protest was also recorded in the travel journals of Serpa Pinto, How I Crossed Africa. The author relates an incident which occurred in the middle of the night. As he lay in bed the weary traveler heard a clanking of irons in his camp and he called his servant to investigate the disturbance. In a short while his servant returned, informing Serpa Pinto that the noise was caused by the clanking of chains which secured the slaves held by a mulatto slave dealer. Serpa Pinto, in great anger, summoned the slave merchant before him and "asked him what was the meaning of that clanking sound of iron." The mulatto, according to Serpa Pinto, "replied with the utmost effrontery that they were chaining up some kinds which he was conveying into the interior for sale." Serpa Pinto, in great indignation, said, "And so, in my own encampment, upon which floated the Portuguese flag, there was actually a gang of slaves!"[2] To right what was wrong Serpa Pinto ordered the chained slaves to be freed, and all "silently scattered through the woods in the safety of the dark."[3]

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[1] Boletim Oficial do Governo-Geral da Provincia de Angola (Luanda: Imprensa Nacional, 18 de Abril de 1857) 603, p. 8.

[2] Serpa Pinto, How I Crossed Africa (Hartford, Conn: R. W. Bliss and Company, 1881), p. 105.

[3] Ibid.

Another public notice which indicated a paternal concern for the welfare of slaves appeared in the Boletim Oficial of April 18, 1857. A slave owner, Pedro Ferreira de Andrade, inserted an announcement in this issue, giving freedom to a woman slave, Angelina Maria, whom he had bought four years ago. He also entrusted two girls to her care, prohibiting the sale of them to any one in the province upon his departure to Lisbon that year.[1]

To the Portuguese these incidents indicated that they were not totally unconcerned with the plight of the slaves, but to England and other European nations, they were ineffectual gestures. Most nations ignored the protests which emanated from within the Portuguese community and joined in the universal chorus, condemning Portugal for allowing slave trade during the first three hundred years of occupation in her African colonies.

Dilemma.- For Catholicism the uniting of the two motivations, the Christianizing and the civilizing, identified missionary enterprises with the state and European settlers. This posed a dilemma for the Catholic hierarchy, affecting Catholicism's response to the social issue. For example, the collapse of a reciprocal alliance between the kings of Portugal and Congo also shattered the church's dream of creating a Catholic state; the promise of such an alliance being hampered by "the degradations and frictions of the slave trade."[2]

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[1] Boletim Oficial, 18 de Abril de 1857, p. 12.

[2] Duffy, p. 23.

Moreover, identification of Catholicism with European settlers projected an image of Christianity which was not flattering. The slave trade had a demoralizing effect on European participants; the slave trade increased men's thirst for material wealth at the expense of other human beings. As Davidson says, "idle and pampered, the settlers of Luanda decayed with the passing of the years until they were left with little beyond their memories of erstwhile fame and fortune."[1]

Not only was the image of Christianity damaged by the participation of European Catholics in the slave trade, but the church herself was forced to compromise her position on the issue. For instance, early Catholic missionaries succumbed to the material riches, enlarging their personal purses by engaging in slave trade. Subsequently, few of the Catholic hierarchy were effective in curtailing the human traffic; instead, bishops and priests used the baptismal revenue to further their own ends.

In each of the selected issue of this study, the identification of Catholicism with the state's aim to colonize and to civilize will be a factor in the kind of response which it makes to a social situation; the conflicting motivations and interests indicated the dimensions of Catholicism's dilemma.

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[1] Davidson, Black..., pp. 158f.

ii. Protestantism

Livingstone: Missionary Critic.- Among the nations which criticized Portugal, none was as severe as Britain, especially in the nineteenth century. In many ways Britain's official attitude leaned towards hypocrisy, having itself participated fully in the slave trade up to then.

Of the many reports which came out of Portuguese Africa, none aroused English public sentiment against the slave trade as much as that of the Scottish medical missionary, David Livingstone. The relationship between Livingstone and the Portuguese began with mutual respect as the Scottish missionary explorer journeyed across Africa from the east to the west coast. There were even favorable comments in his journals on the work of the Jesuits. He wrote that on one of his stops, "some ten or twelve miles to the north of the village of Ambaca," he found a surprising number of people in the district who could read and write. On further inquiry he discovered that "there once stood the missionary station of Cahenda, and . . . this was the fruit of the labours of the Jesuit and Capuchin missionaries, for they taught the people of Ambaca." Although their teachers were expelled from the district at the time of Marquis of Pombal, the indigenous leaders "continued to teach each other," holding in great esteem their early teachers.[1]

Livingstone's arrival in Luanda aroused great curiosity. This

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[1] David Livingstone, Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa (London: John Murray, 1857), p. 382.

event was recorded in the official bulletin of June 28, 1850, announcing the arrival of the Reverend David Livingstone from the Cape of Good Hope. At the same time the governor general elaborated on the difficulties encountered by Livingstone and the help which the Portuguese offered him. The bulletin stated that the Reverend Mr. Livingstone, after encountering numerous acts of hostilities from "the tribes bordering Portuguese territory," arrived at the fortress of Cassange in the month of April, 1854. It also noted that as soon as he entered Portuguese territory, the hostilities ceased and he proceeded without further molestations, receiving aid at each fortress along the way. The bulletin concluded with a statement from Mr. Livingstone, expressing his profound gratitude for all the "courtesies and hospitalities he received from them and for the promptness with which they facilitated his progress."[1]

Six years later (December 15, 1856) this act of kindness by the Portuguese government to Livingstone was officially recorded at a testimonial dinner for the missionary explorer by the Royal Geographical Society of London. Later, at a meeting of the London Missionary Society, Sir C. Eardley made the following motion: That the Assembly, with respect and great joy, present to the government of Her Majesty, Queen Victoria, and to the Queen and King of Portugal their most profound gratitude for the valiant help offered to Dr. Livingstone in his extensive explorations in Africa.[2] In order that

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[1] Boletim Oficial, 28 de Junho de 1854, pp. 2f.

[2] Ibid., 11 de Abril de 1857 (602), p. 7.

Angolan residents might be cognizant of the gratitude of England, the event was duly recorded in the official bulletin of the governor general of Angola.[1]

The kindly reception of the governor and residents of Luanda was remarkable as Livingstone's views against the slave trade were well known. Throughout his travels in Angola, Livingstone was preoccupied with the issue of slavery. He mentions in his Missionary Travels that he chose not to go to Luanda by way of Benguela (which was a less arduous route) because "it is so undesirable to travel in a path once trodden by slave traders that I preferred to find another line of march."[2]

Livingstone also saw the involvement of government administrators in the slave trade. He indicated that although the Home Government should not be held responsible for the "want of official integrity," this seriously handicapped the development of the rich resources of the province. Livingstone remarked that it was to this cause which "may be ascribed the failure of the Portuguese laws for the entire suppression of the slave trade."[3]

But it was in East Africa that Livingstone became fully disenchanted with the Portuguese. He called attention to the folly of the Portuguese in their disengagement with legitimate industry, citing the case of a once profitable gold mine. When Livingstone passed through this section he found the Portuguese obtaining only eight to

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[1] Boletim Oficial, 11 de Abril de 1857 (602), p. 7.

[2] Livingstone, p. 227.

[3] Ibid., p. 419.

ten pounds of gold yearly; previously the production was about 130 pounds. Livingstone attributed the loss to slave trade which

> seemed to many of the merchants a more speedy mode of becoming rich, to sell off the slaves,than to pursue the slow mode of gold-washing and agriculture, and they continued to export them, until they had neither hands to labour nor to fight for them. It was just the story of the goose and the golden egg.[1]

His preoccupation with the ill effects of the slave trade in Angola was reflected at a testimonial dinner offered by the Royal Geographical Society of London in 1856. On this occasion he reported that 100 miles inland he found slaves being sold for 12 shillings who were later sold for 20 pounds in Cuba. Livingstone further pointed out that until this human traffic was abolished, this country would never prosper. In this respect he gave credit to the Jesuits for introducing coffee as a substitute cash crop.[2]

As a matter of official record Livingstone had already expressed his views on this matter in a letter to the governor general of Angola which he had written at Tete on March 25, 1856, and which was published in two succeeding issues of the official bulletin of the governor general in 1857. In his letter Livingstone blamed the lucrative slave trade as the cause of tribal wars because the objective of these conflicts was to capture prisoners who were later sold to European slave dealers. He also

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[1]Livingstone, p. 631.

[2]Boletim Oficial, 11 de Abril de 1857 (602), p. 7.

lamented the involvement of government officials in the human traffic, although he recognized that their small salaries induced them to "traffic" in slavery as an extra source of income. He blamed this as the principal reason for their participation in the sad commercial enterprise. To abolish slavery, Livingstone strongly recommended the opening of commercial posts throughout the country, suggesting several sites as most suitable, from the standpoint of both commerce and living conditions. He further proposed that if a particular firm wished to mine coal or iron in this region, either industry would stimulate commerce. Livingstone recognized that unless legitimate trade was encouraged, the slave trade could not be effectively curtailed.[1]

But Livingstone's efforts to co-operate with the Portuguese to suppress the slave trade were futile; instead, Livingstone's criticisms aroused the ire of the Portuguese. His critics accused him of being a forerunner of English imperialism, using his scientific expedition to hide his real motives.[2] They also ridiculed Livingstone's claims that he was the first white man to explore Central Africa, offering documentation which proved to them that the areas Livingstone visited were already known to Portuguese traders and explorers. Silva Rego, a Catholic historian, writes that Jesuit missionaries described the area around Lake Niassa in 1624, two hundred years prior

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[1] Boletim Oficial, 28 de Março de 1857, pp. 8-11; 4 de Abril, de 1857, pp. 9-11.

[2] Duffy, p. 188.

to Livingstone's visit to Central Africa.[1] Moreover, Livingstone's contention that the Portuguese did nothing for Africans is disproved by the work of Jesuit and Dominican societies in Angola. They noted that even Livingstone's journals commended the work of the Jesuits in the Ambaca region.[2] On this score, one of his critics, Dr. José de Lacerda, acidly remarked that "Protestant missionaries may perhaps be expert in history, mineralogy, geographical sciences," but as apostles of the Gospel, they are far from being effective.[3] Often, the underlying tone of the arguments reflected a bitterness between two different cultures. The Portuguese resented some of the implied references in Livingstone's journals to the superiority of the English people, one of these made while Livingstone was in the Cassange district. He observed that the frequent fever bouts were a drawback but

> in every other respect an agreeable land, and admirably adapted for yielding a rich abundance of tropical produce for the rest of the world. Indeed I have no hesitation in asserting, that, had it been in the possession of England, it would now have been yielding as much or more of the raw material for her manufactures, as an equal extent of territory in the cotton-growing states of America. A railway from Loanda to this valley, would secure the trade of most of the interior of South Central Africa.[4]

As the years went by the early friendly relationship deteriorated; Livingstone and the Portuguese became bitter rivals.

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[1] Rego, p. 339.

[2] Livingstone, p. 382.

[3] Francisco José de Lacerda, Exame das viagens do Doutor Livingstone (Lisboa: 1867), p. 25.

[4] Livingstone, p. 437.

Duffy cites several causes for this animosity. First, the Portuguese attempt to discredit Livingstone's discoveries wounded his vanity "more than he chose to admit . . . which accounts for the sharp tone of his response." Second, Livingstone, in his later voyages, became suspicious of the nature of Lisbon's offer to help, claiming that publicly, the Portuguese manifested a co-operative attitude, but privately, government officials in the Portuguese territories were advised by Lisbon to thwart Livingstone and his party "at every turn." A third reason was the continued practice of slavery in Portuguese territories. Livingstone held that this madness would be the destruction of Christian civilization in Africa.[1]

Impetus for Protestant Mission Work.- The dramatic role of David Livingstone increased when he returned to England in 1856, having regressed safely from Angola to the delta of the Zambezi. Livingstone's voice was heard all over the world, arousing the conscience of Protestant mission societies to begin a search for money, men and supplies. His subtle pleas for Protestant mission work were noted in his travel journals. One such inclusion was made while Livingstone was in the area of Sanza. He noted that although Christianity had been introduced in the Congo and in Angola two centuries ago, there was little evidence remaining of its influence among the indigenous peoples. He attributed the present desolate condition to the failure of the priests to visit these villages, surmising that

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[1] Duffy, pp. 184f.

the prevalence of fever was a deterrent for such visitations. Yet, Livingstone found that Christianity was "looked upon with a certain degree of favour." He concluded that "it is more than probable that the presence of a few Protestants would soon provoke the priests, if not to love, to good works."[1]

The new chapter of Protestant missionary occupation in Africa, however, began after the death of Livingstone in 1873. It was Roland Oliver who said that the return of Livingstone's embalmed remains for public burial in Westminster Abbey a year after his death, dramatized the story of his faithful African bearers who "carried them 1,500 miles to the East African coast." Oliver further observed that seldom, in the history of a nation, had a "mere ceremony served so effectively to gather up all the threads of interest which, united, lead to action." Not only were scientists, philanthropists, churchmen, explorers, geographers, stirred by Livingstone's career, but his public burial aroused deep feelings among "the thousands of ordinary people who lined the streets of Southampton as well as London."[2] Of a sudden, churchmen and philanthropists found the support which they needed.

> A hundred pulpits took up the tale of the missionary-explorer who had died on his knees . . . A revolution was set in motion which was to bring a new kind of missionary into Africa and a new and more numerous class of subscribers on to the societies' lists. In missionary circles the talk was no longer of 'perishing heathen', but of Africans 'suffering' and 'neglected'.[3]

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[1] Livingstone, p. 427.

[2] Roland Oliver, The Missionary Factor in East Africa (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1952), p. 34.

[3] Ibid.

Indeed, the impetus for the Protestant missionary movement in Angola can be traced to the "popular acclamation of an explorer hero" and a semi-religious hatred of the slave trade.[1]

In addition to the journals of David Livingstone, there were the exploring accounts of the English naval officer, Commander Cameron. Travelling deep into Portuguese territory in 1885, Commander Cameron records an incident which involved a slave trader, Coimbra, who called himself a Christian. He found Coimbra with fifty-two women, tied together like a "string of horses." Commander Cameron lamented that Coimbra's Christianity was only skin-deep, "having been baptized by some rogue calling himself priest, but who, being far too bad to be endured either at Loanda and Benguella, had retired into the interior, and managed to subsist on fees given him for going through the form of baptizing any children that might be brought to him."[2] Cameron deplored the image of a person like Coimbra, who called himself a Christian and who travelled under the protection of the Portuguese flag; Coimbra, Commander Cameron observed, could scarcely be a credit to European and Christian civilization.[3]

The travel writings of both Livingstone and Cameron aroused great sympathy among all peoples. Many Protestant bodies established missions in West Central Africa, the first in Central Africa beginning in the lower Congo basin. Interestingly, the receptiveness of the Congo

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[1] Vernon Lovett Cameron, Across Africa (London: George Phillip and Son, 1885), p. 387.

[2] Ibid. [3] Ibid.

king in receiving the British Baptist missionaries in 1879 was an indirect result of Livingstone's presence in West Africa. Carson Graham, one of the early Baptist missionaries reminds us that the forerunner of the Congo missionaries was a Royal Naval officer, Lieutenant Grandy, who was assigned to search for Livingstone by the Royal Geographical Society in 1873. On this voyage Lieutenant Grandy remained in São Salvador for five weeks, at a time when an epidemic of small pox prevailed throughout the district. The naval officer helped in the treatment of the sufferers, one of them being the Congo king. Five years later, when the first English missionaries arrived in the Congo, the king, Dom Pedro Lelo, remembered the act of kindness of Lieutenant Grandy and welcomed Grandy's countrymen into his country. The king remained friendly, "despite all the endeavours of the Portuguese to prejudice him against them."[1]

A result of the personal report of Livingstone of the practice of slavery on the west coast of Africa was the increase in the patrol ships from both England and the United States. On one of the American ships, the Dolphin, there was on board a student, John P. Means, a young American officer of the naval reserve. Means was so aghast at the cruelties of slavery that having become recording secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in 1866, he urged the Board in his report of 1877 to open work in the Benguela plateau in central Angola. Dr. Means drew from his early experiences during

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[1] R. H. Carson Graham, Under Seven Congo Kings (London: Carey Press, 1931), p. 4.

the slave patrolling days of Africa, and in the wake of the rising enthusiasm of Livingstone's and Stanley's travels, the American Board undertook this new work of expansion.[1] In England the pioneer English Brethren missionary, Frederick Stanley Arnot, "heard Livingstone speak while a child, and was fired with the desire to follow in the footsteps of the great explorer,"[2] opening the first of the Brethren stations in the interior in 1884.

A further eloquent testimony of the humanitarian concern of the nineteenth century was the appointment of Samuel Miller to the West Central Africa Mission in 1880 by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Mr. Miller, a former slave who was freed after the Civil War, was a graduate of Hampton Institute of Virginia and the first American Negro to serve as a missionary in West Central Africa.[3] On being asked why he was going to Africa, Samuel Miller said, "I know there are enough here who need the gospel, but they have a chance to hear it; they can if they have a mind to; but out there the heathen have no chance; I want to go and give them a chance."[4] Mr. Miller's words sum up the feelings of many Protestant missionaries in Angola.

Dilemma.- Although Protestant mission work was not established

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[1] William E. Strong, The Story of the American Board (Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1910), p. 336.

[2] Du Plessis, p. 235.

[3] Tucker, Angola..., p. 43.

[4] Seventh Annual Report of the A.B.C.F.M. (Boston: Riverside Press, 1880), p. 23.

until the 1880's, the protests by David Livingstone in the 1860's did point out certain problems. For instance,the Protestant position would have been colored by its relation to the state; Protestantism being set-apart from the dominant power by nationality, culture, and religion. This posture unavoidably would have caused tension between the Portuguese state and Protestantism; one would be suspicious of the other. In such a situation there could be advantages and disadvantages for the position of Protestantism. On the one hand, the dissociation of Protestantism from the state could offer the freedom to label the slave trade as a "work of satan," condemning all who engaged in the "madness of slavery."

On the other hand, the separateness of Protestantism from the state would make her protests ineffective; Protestantism could not have had the political leverage which Catholicism possessed in the colonial government. Furthermore, Protestant missionaries who were foreigners would have the status of guests; the state having the power to expel them from the colony at all times. A protest would mean expulsion; Protestant missionaries could reason that it was better to keep silent than to be expelled from the country.

Moreover, when Protestantism actually faced the issue of slavery within its own structure in the 1900's, its response was one of compromise.[1] For instance, when the deputation to the West Central

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[1] Report of the Deputation to the West Central Africa Mission, 1911, p. 29.

Africa Mission of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions found that slavery existed within the church fellowship, the members were told that some missionaries tolerated the practice by basing their acceptance on the position of the Apostle Paul in the case of Philemon; the missionaries urging "that the slaves of Christians should be treated as children and provided for in every kindly way."[1]

The problem for Protestantism is as equally complicated as it is for Catholicism, the issue of compromise being a dilemma for both religious groups.

4. Summary

The dwindling sources of labor from the ranks of the Amerindians and European indentured laborers for the sugar plantations in the West Indies and the Americas forced plantation owners to turn to West Africa for their manpower requirements. At first, the supply of African slave labor to the West Indies was only a trickle. But as the demand for sugar became greater in Europe the number of sugar plantations increased ten-fold, necessitating more and more labor from West Africa. From the seventeenth century onward slaves became a valuable commodity in international trade; they were as profitable as the far eastern luxury items of silks, drugs, perfumes, and spices. The European scramble for West Africa began, each European nation competing with the other to control the trade route from Europe to West Africa to

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[1] West Central Africa Report, p. 29.

the West Indies and back to Europe. Up to the mid-seventeenth century, Portugal had a monopoly of the slave trade on the west coast of Africa. By 1641, however, the Dutch had usurped the Portuguese as the European supplier of slaves for the West Indies, although Portugal continued to furnish slave labor for Brazil from her colonies in São Tomé, the Congo, and Angola.

Yet, the slave trade had far-reaching effects beyond its immediate commercial transactions. From the standpoint of African society, one result was a depletion of manpower in both the Congo and in Angola. For instance, Basil Davidson estimates the "total number of captives taken from the old states of the Congo and Angola at about five million."[1] For Angola alone Gladwyn Childs calculates that "during the first hundred years . . . three million would probably be a very conservative estimate of the total."[2] Both Davidson and Childs agree that the small density of population as indicated in the 1950 census of nine persons per square mile is a result of the slave trade. A second effect was a loosening and a shift of the power structure, the feudal lords of the Dongo district rebelling against the authority of the Congo king, the control of trade shifting from the Congo to the Luanda district.

A third result was the introduction of several new elements which were foreign to the indigenous culture. One was the commercial emphasis on the slave traffic, the worth of a slave being calculated

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[1] Davidson, Black..., p. 160.

[2] Childs, p. 193.

in relation to the market price. Another, slavery was no longer a domestic institution; they were exported to North America without any hope of returning to their land of birth. Subsequently, the abrupt transportation of men, women, and children to North America hastened the break-up of the traditional cultural pattern in West Africa. Another new element was an increase in internal warfare, the object being to acquire prisoner of wars to be sold as slaves.

A fourth internal effect was a stagnation of legitimate commercial enterprises, slave traffic being more profitable. As David Livingstone indicated in his travel journals, all traders, European and African, were preoccupied with the lucrative human traffic so that they abandoned their gold mines and discarded all efforts to develop legitimate trade.

For Portugal, the commercial feature of the slave trade often assumed a greater importance than the civilizing and religious aspects of her colonizing motivations. Yet, to isolate and condemn Portugal for her role in the slave trade is not fully just; most western nations were active participants. As Duffy reminds us, "Portugal's record as a slaving nation is no worse--and no better--than that of other European and American countries, and her exploitation of the African has never been because he was an African, but because he was exploitable."[1]

And what of Christianity and the Christian church? The responses of Catholic and Protestant bodies varied. The Catholic church,

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[1]Duffy, p. 131.

more often than not, was a participant in the slave traffic, believing that it was saving the infidels through mass baptism. However, there were numerous occasions when representatives of the Catholic church, African and European, protested against slavery. For instance, Dom Afonso, the Congo king, protested to the king of Portugal in the early sixteenth century on the undesirable effects of the slave trade in his kingdom. Several members of the Jesuit order also denounced the abuses of the slave trade, contending that the laws protecting the freedom of Amerindians should be extended to include Negroes. But these protests were largely ineffective, the church profiting from the slave traffic. Consequently, the early dream of the Portuguese to create Christian states in her West African colonies was thrust aside, no longer to be revived during this period.

What were the factors which influenced the response of the Catholic church to slave labor? One was religious, representatives of the Catholic church acted on the belief that they were saving the souls of the infidels through mass baptism. Moreover, both canon and civil laws acknowledged that African negroes were always bound by slavery, and for this reason, the Catholic church could participate in the slave trade. A second factor was the identification of the Catholic church with the Portuguese state. The slave trade was conducted under the aegis of the state, government officials participating in the human traffic. The state, as the protector and sponsor of the church, expected the clergy to bless the slave traffic. Under this relation the state and the church profited from the slave trade. A

similar situation was the identification of the church with European settlers. A fourth was economic, the church's share of the baptismal receipts helped support its missionary work in the country.

In many respects the situation in which the Catholic church found itself posed a dilemma. On the one hand, Catholicism's identification with the state and European settlers on the issue of slave labor made it impossible to achieve its aim of creating Christian states in West Africa. Moreover, the church's involvement compromised her ethical position, early Catholic missionaries succumbing to material riches. Furthermore, Catholicism's sanction of the slave trade provided an excuse for Europeans to participate in the human traffic. Such employment had a demoralizing effect on the life of Europeans, increasing men's thirst for material wealth at the expense of other human beings.

On the other hand, if the Catholic church had vigorously protested the practice of slave trade, its institutional life would have suffered. For one thing, it would have lost its favored position with the state. The state would no longer act as a protector and benefactor of the church. There would also be the possibility that the church would alienate itself from the European colonizers, reducing the number of Catholic adherents in this era. Moreover, the Catholic church would have faced a financial loss if it had withdrawn from the slave trade. Finally, the protests from the Catholic church could arouse the antagonism of African slave traders, local chiefs and rulers also profited from this commercial enterprise.

For Protestantism, its response was not beset with the diffi-

culties which confronted the Catholic church. In general the representatives of the Protestant church responded negatively to the practice of the slave trade. We recall the protests and condemnation of slavery by David Livingstone and Commander Cameron. Indeed, we attributed the impetus of Protestant mission work in Angola to David Livingstone who aroused the conscience of the Protestant churches to send men, supplies, and equipment to that country.

In a broad sense the factors which influenced the response of Protestantism to the slave trade were opposite to that of Catholicism. The Protestant church did not have a canon law sanctioning slavery; it was neither linked with the colonial state nor identified with the European settlers in Angola. Moreover, its mission work was not dependent on the profits from the slave trade. And finally, the Protestant church was not an established institution in this period of Angolan history, giving its representatives freedom to criticize the social, political, and economic practices of the colonial power. Protestant nations, however, were not absolved from participation in the slave trade, having engaged in it up to the nineteenth century. But in the 1800's the climate changed; there was a steady outcry from Britain and other western nations against the slave traffic.

Both positions, Catholic and Protestant, raise several questions which will be with us throughout this study. "Can a religious group protest effectively if it is allied with the state?" "Is it possible to effect a change in policy when a religious group is set-apart from the ruling power?" "Is there a favorable position between the two

opposite extremes?" We shall keep these questions in mind as we proceed to discuss another aspect of slavery in Chapter IV, that of forced labor.

CHAPTER IV

FORCED LABOR

1. Introduction

i. Forced Labor Supplants Slave Labor

For most European nations the legal basis for slave trade was abolished by 1820; Sweden in 1813, Holland in 1814, France in 1819, and Spain and Portugal in 1820.[1] But the actual practice of stopping slave trade for Portugal was slow and painful; Brazil's demand for cheap labor overshadowed any legal barrier. Slave ships continued to ply between Angola and Brazil even after Portugal signed the anti-slavery treaty in 1820. It was only the active participation of British naval cruisers which finally halted the flow of slaves between the West African coast of Angola and Brazil. British naval vessels seized Portuguese ships along the Angolan coast and brought the slave traffic to a halt. A final treaty in 1842 in which Portugal classified slave trade as equivalent to piracy was the concluding act to this chapter in Angolan history.[2]

Yet, the end of one cruel era ushered in another, often in a much more vicious form. This was the practice of forced labor in the Portuguese possessions. One of the first accounts of this practice is recorded by Livingstone in his journals. In his trek to Luanda, Living-

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[1] Du Plessis, p. 52.

[2] Duffy, p. 145

stone encountered several gangs of men carrying loads to the Benguela coast. He writes that

> when the more stringent measures of 1845 came into operation, and rendered the exportation of slaves almost impossible, there being no roads proper for the employment of wheel conveyances, this new system of compulsory carriage of ivory and bees'-wax to the coast was resorted to by the Government of Loanda. A trader who requires two or three hundred carriers to convey his merchandise to the coast, now applies to the General Government for aid. An order is sent to the Commandant of a district to furnish the number required. Each head-man of the villages to whom the order is transmitted, must furnish from five to twenty or thirty men, according to the proportion that his people bear to the entire population of the district. For this accommodation the trader must pay a tax to the Government of 1000 reis, or about three shillings per load carried.[1]

Angolan European residents easily fell in with the new scheme; the labor system was too ingrained in their social, economic, and national life. If there was any talk of abolishing the system, it was in terms of doing it at a slow pace. For the Portuguese colonists insisted that Africans needed to be taught to work. Eventually, this was the loophole in the labor code of 1878; any vagrant or unemployed African could be pressed into service and contracted for by a European employer.[2] Legally, there was a change in emphasis; contracts, in theory, were to be made with a free will, in contrast to a forced labor system. In practice there was not much difference. For a fuller description of the labor system in Portuguese possessions we turn to the reports made by Nevinson, Ross, Harris, Davidson, and Galvão.

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[1] Livingstone, p. 386.

[2] Duffy, p. 156.

ii. International Reports on Forced Labor

Report of Nevinson.- In 1904 and 1905 a British journalist, Henry Nevinson, "at the suggestion of the editor of Harper's monthly magazine," made a journey to the Portuguese possessions of Angola, São Tomé and Príncipe. He found a system, legally giving the right to an employer to contract an African through the offices of a government official. This contract was to be voluntary, the employer offering a certain sum of money for a period of time to an African. In the contract an African employee declares that "he has come of his own free will to contract for his services under the terms and according to the forms required by the law of April 29, 1875, the general regulation of November 21, and the special clauses relating to this province."[1] The contract further specified that the contracted laborer was subject to any service determined by the employer and he could not leave his service without the employer's permission during the contracted period. His working conditions included nine hours a day with a day off on Sunday, and a two hour lunch-period. The period of contract was for five years with an option of renewal at the end of that time. The employer was also responsible to provide food and clothing besides a regularly agreed monthly stipend.[2]

Nevinson observed that to the outsider the contract seemed simple, fair, and just. But when the system was set in motion, the

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[1] Henry W. Nevinson, A Modern Slavery (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1906), p. 28.

[2] Ibid.

injustice of the contract system was brought to light. For example, an agent sent to contract labor arrived at a village to bargain with the chiefs for so many "heads." As payment the agent offered guns, cartridges, calico, and rum. After the transaction was carried out, the laborers were marched down the coast, presented to the magistrate, who officially designated them as contratados. The agent, in turn, received "fifteen or twenty pounds for a man or woman, and about five pounds for a child."[1]

The injustice of the system was centered on the "freedom of contract," and Nevinson indignantly asks in his report: "What does the African know about nine hours a day and two hours rest and the days sanctified by religion? Or what does it mean to him to be told that the contract terminates at the end of five years?"[2] In answer to these questions, Nevinson writes that the terms of the contract were meaningless to an African. All he knew was that he had been taken from his village, driven down to the coast, sold, and was now in the hands of a white man. He was also aware that if he fled and was caught, he would be flogged to death as an example to other contracted laborers. Yet, Nevinson acknowledged that the employer was within his legal rights. But he said, under such conditions, "In what sense does such a man enter into a free contract for his labor? In what sense, except according to law, does his position differ from a slave's?"[3]

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[1] Nevinson, p. 29.

[2] Ibid., p. 30.

[3] Ibid.

Nevinson's harsh condemnation of the legal basis of the system was equaled by his outcry against the actual working conditions of the contracted laborers. His description of a working day was vivid, and sad. He wrote:

> At half-past four the big bell clangs again. At five it clangs again. Men and women hurry out and range themselves in line before the casa, coughing horribly and shivering in the morning air. The head overseer calls the roll. They answer their queer names. The women tie their babies on to their backs again. They balance the hoe and matchet in the basket on their heads, and pad away in silence to the spot where the work was left off yesterday. At eleven the bell clangs again, and they come back to feed. So day follows day without a break, except that on Sundays 'days sanctified by religion' the people are allowed, in some plantations, to work little plots of ground which are nominally their own.[1]

In a note to this description, Nevinson acknowledged that the labor conditions in Portuguese Angola were no different from those in many other countries,[2] but this was not an excuse; Nevinson reminded his readers this excuse was also used to justify slavery. His purpose in describing these conditions was "to show that difference between the 'contract labor' of Angola, and the old fashioned slavery of our grandfathers' time is only a difference of legal terms. In life there is no difference at all."[3] He showed that the process was similar and

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[1] Nevinson, p. 36.

[2] The harshness of the forced labor system in Portuguese African territories is evident when one compares it to the contract system which brought the Japanese to Hawaii in 1868. Agents of Hawaiian sugar plantations legally contracted with the Japanese government and citizens to work in Hawaii. The Japanese laborers were free to return to their homes in Japan after fulfilling their contract. This was not so in Angola; Africans had no such choice. They were forced to work in the plantations of São Tomé.

[3] Ibid., p. 37.

the dangers to the souls of men were as great. Nevinson concluded his report with this judgment: "We may grant . . . that the Portuguese planters are far above the average men. Still I say that if they were all Archbishops of Canterbury, it would not be safe for them to be entrusted with such powers as these over the bodies and souls of men and women."[1]

Nevinson's reports of the labor conditions in Angola and São Tomé once again kindled the controversy of slave labor in Portuguese territories. He enlisted the support of English humanitarians who demanded that their country use her influence on Portugal to abolish slave labor practices in her West African colonies. Nevinson further urged the Cadbury chocolate firm to stop buying cocoa from São Tomé, appealing to William Cadbury's Quaker principles.

Cadbury, sensitive to the criticisms of Nevinson and other English humanitarians, was disturbed, but proceeded with caution. He sent a representative of the firm, Joseph Burtt, to São Tomé to make an investigation. Nevinson, however, was not too hopeful that any positive result would come out of Burtt's findings. Burtt, although a Quaker, had a high opinion of the Portuguese in their management of Angola and the islands of São Tomé and Principe. He was credited with the statement that the system may be called slavery but "names and systems don't matter. The sum of human happiness is being definitely increased. And after all, are we not all slaves?"[2] But much to Nevin-

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[1] Nevinson, p. 38.

[2] Duffy, p. 161.

son's surprise, Burtt, after a year in São Tomé and Angola, informed his employer that Nevinson's report was not exaggerated, but highly accurate.[1] But Cadbury was not to be hurried. He first went to Lisbon with Burtt to present their case to the Overseas Minister who promised to correct the abuses. But soon after their visit, Cadbury received word of the ouster of the Overseas Minister from his office. Cadbury then initiated correspondence with the Planters' Association in Lisbon, calling their attention to the abuses which his representative found in Angola and São Tomé. In his correspondence Cadbury stipulated that if the labor conditions were not corrected, he would cease buying their excellent cocoa. He wrote that our "conscience will not permit us to continue buying the raw material for our industry, if we do not have the certainty of its being produced in the future by a system of free labor."[2]

In reply to Cadbury's letter, the Planters' Association held that Mr. Burtt's findings were exaggerated; the Association claimed that the workers remained on the island because they wanted to. As to the high death rate, this was due to the unhealthy climate and not to any brutalities by plantation owners. The Planters' Association excused the presence of any extreme abuses on the grounds that there was no permanent government machinery in the islands. This, the Association promised Mr. Cadbury, was being remedied by the Portugese government.[3]

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[1] William A. Cadbury, Labour in Portuguese West Africa (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1910), pp. 103-131.

[2] Ibid., p. 145.

[3] Ibid., pp. 147f.

Cadbury was not in an enviable position. On the one hand, he faced the criticisms of his countrymen; on the other, he faced a loss in his business if he curtailed his cocoa supply from São Tomé. He decided that the only recourse was to visit São Tomé and Angola himself. The result was a publication of Labour in Portuguese West Africa, with conclusions the same as those of Nevinson and Burtt.[1] On his return to England the Cadbury firm instituted a boycott of São Tomé cocoa; two other English companies and a German firm followed suit. In 1909 Burtt was commissioned by the Anti-Slavery Society of England to convince American chocolate manufacturers to follow the action of Cadbury Brothers. Burtt went to the United States, but his efforts were fruitless.[2]

English humanitarians, however, continued to pressure their government to make strong presentations to Portugal. In fairness to the Portuguese, there were some in Portugal and in Angola who agreed in principle with the findings of Nevinson, Burtt, and Cadbury. For instance, in Nevinson's report, he noted the courageous stand taken by the newspaper A Defeza de Angola on this question.[3] But the practice continued unabated; a subsequent report in 1909 by another British humanitarian, John Harris, opened the festering wound once again.

Report of Harris.[4] - John Harris began a series of reports,

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[1]Cadbury, p. 147. [2]Duffy, p. 163. [3]Nevinson, p. 27.

[4]The statistics of John Harris often seemed excessive (e.g. 20,000 to 40,000 slaves were sold every year across the Belgian frontier), but his work should be viewed as one of a succession of English reports against forced labor in Portuguese West Africa.

Portuguese Slavery: Britain's Dilemma, was published in 1913. He reviewed the past evidence collected by British investigators, and called attention to the most recent report by an American sociologist, Edward A. Ross. After Harris interviewed officials, priests, and residents, he damned Portugal for the state of affairs in her African colonies. He charged that "of the 70,000 to 100,000 Angolan workers shipped to São Tomé in the thirty years preceding 1908, not a single one had been repatriated."[1]

Thirteen years later John Harris published Slavery or "Sacred Trust"? in which he reviewed once more "an old story." In this book he introduced the "peculiar responsibility of Great Britain for the integrity of the Portuguese colonies."[2] He reminded Britain of the many alliances between the two countries since 1373, especially to call her attention to the treaty of 1661 in which Great Britain agreed "to defend and protect all conquests or colonies belonging to the crown of Portugal against all his enemies, as well future as present."[3] Harris maintained that although this treaty was still in force, Britain's obligation to Portugal may have been forfeited by the conditions of slavery in her African colonies. He referred to the 1912 statement of Lord Cramer, proclaiming that if Portugal's African colonies are seriously menaced, it would be impossible "for British arms to be

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[1] John Hobbis Harris, Portuguese Slavery: Britain's Dilemma (London: Methuen, 1913), p. 9.

[2] John H. Harris, Slavery or "Sacred Trust"? (London: Williams and Norgate, 1926), p. 45.

[3] Ibid., p. 46.

employed in order to retain them under the uncontrolled possession of Portugal, so long as slavery is permitted."[1]

Then in 1933 John Harris published A Century of Emancipation, prefacing his book with these words:

> this is 'a popular book' setting forth the story of struggles during a hundred years for emancipating child races, backward races from systems either of slavery or of oppression under which they the weaker races have been in the past and are still to-day exploited for selfish ends.[2]

Foremost to John Harris' thesis was the question, "When does contract labour become slavery?" His answer was simple: "When the person under Contract has been secured by force or fraud."[3] Harris' main indictment centered on São Tomé whose laborers were recruited from Angola under the forced labor system. He cited the evidence Burtt submitted in the celebrated Cadbury v. Standard case of 1909 in which Burtt equated the Serviçal system with slavery.[4]

Moreover, Harris ridiculed Portugal's new legislation, especially the following preamble:

> As a nation, Portugal wishes to call the attention of the world to the following statements regarding her national policy:
>
> (1) Portugal was the first nation to spread abroad in the world the high ideals which are the foundation of civilization.

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[1] Harris, Slavery..., p. 46.

[2] John H. Harris, A Century of Emancipation (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1933), vii.

[3] Ibid., p. 179.

[4] Ibid., p. 183.

(2) Portugal has spent large sums of money in support of religious missions to raise the native races in accordance with the highest traditions of civilization.[1]

Harris concluded his report of the Portuguese involvement with the judgment that until the present system was abolished "Portuguese labour system is barely, if at all, distinguishable from slavery."[2]

Report of Ross.- Six years later (1925) Edward Alsworth Ross, University of Wisconsin sociologist, submitted his report on labor conditions in Portuguese Africa to the Temporary Slaving Commission of the League of Nations. Edward A. Ross was not a crusader; his report was factual, based on case studies. His visits included the areas of Malange, Bailundu, and Silva Porto. In many ways his notes were comparable to diary entries, setting down all his daily encounters with Africans on the road and in the villages. According to the introduction of his report, he visited villages in the bush, gathering "the people together and through an interpreter known to them and in whom they had confidence, questioned them as to their compulsory labor."[3] Ross had complete faith in these conferences for he found it was not likely that the "head man, pastor or teacher, interrogated as to the incidence of compulsory labor in his village, gave false answers."[4]

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[1] Harris, A Century..., p. 188. [2] Ibid., p. 190.

[3] Edward Alsworth Ross, Report on Employment of Native Labor in Portuguese Africa (New York: Abbott Press, 1925), p. 5.

[4] Ibid.

One of Ross' informants told him how in 1922 he had seen many women in the Songo administrative area ordered to Luanda to work for the whites. He also reported seeing three hundred women carrying clay to make bricks for the local government post. On asking the women what wages they were receiving, the informant of Ross received the following answer: "Nothing, but they will pay us with a stick if we don't furnish clay."[1]

To Ross the labor conditions he found in Angola were worse than slavery. He noted that many Africans "would rather be slaves than what they are now. As slaves they have value and are not underfed, but now nobody cares whether they live or die."[2] In fact Ross found that the serfdom supported by the government was "more heartless than the old domestic slavery which was cruel only when the master was of cruel character."[3] In the present system, the American sociologist judged that "now they are in the iron grasp of a system which makes no allowance for the circumstances of the individual and ignores the fate of the families of the labor recruits."[4]

The report of Ross reactivated the earlier denunciations of the Portuguese slave labor conditions in her African possessions. In rebuttal the Portuguese government called on the district governor, F. M. de Oliveira Santos, to refute the charges of Ross. To procure data for his defense, the district governor retraced the steps of

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[1] Ross, p. 13.

[2] Ibid., p. 12.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid.

Ross, interrogating the same Africans who furnished the information for the report of Ross. In subservience to Portuguese authority, all denied making statements as recorded in the Ross' report. Oliveira Santos caustically denounced Ross' charges as false and extolled the benefits of the Portuguese "native" policy, calling attention to the noteworthy and invaluable program of "native" assistance.

The presentation of the defense by Portugal salved the conscience of the Temporary Slaving Commission of the League of Nations. Once again, Portugal glossed over the evils of the labor conditions in her West African colonies. Not until fifty years after the report of Nevinson was this question opened again for international scrutiny. This was the occasion ofthe publication of Harper's second report on slave labor conditions in Angola by Basil Davidson.

Report of Davidson.- Fifty years after the report of Nevinson, the editors of Harper's once more sought to assess the labor conditions in Angola. A British journalist, Basil Davidson, was commissioned to write the article. In June 1954 Harper's magazine published Davidson's account under the same title Nevinson used fifty years ago, "A Modern Slavery." A year later Davidson incorporated the report into his book The African Awakening.[1]

Like his predecessors, Davidson caustically chastised the Portuguese for their forced labor practices. He belittled the Portuguese claims that their laws forbade slavery in their African terri-

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[1]Basil Davidson, The African Awakening (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1955).

tories. Davidson acknowledged the existence of the humanitarian labor acts of 1928 and 1930 which forbade the state to furnish laborers for plantations, fisheries, and other private commercial enterprises. But he said, "nothing could be more liberal and tolerant; nothing, equally, could be more unreal."[1] Davidson held that economic realities in Angola dictated some such system; forced labor "remains the flywheel of the country's whole economy."[2]

In what sense is forced labor the "flywheel of the nation's economy?" Davidson cited three main reasons. First, forced labor is needed to maintain the roads which link the towns and villages to the commercial centers of each district. Road maintenance is essentially hand labor; machinery is non-existent in the rural areas. A second reason for the existence of forced labor is to supply workers for European owned sisal, coffee, sugar plantations, and fisheries. The third reason is the demand for laborers in the diamond mines bordering the Congo frontier in the Lunda district. The diamond company, Diamang, is a powerful economic bloc in Angola, contributing a yearly sum of 87 million escudos to the government treasury.[3]

Not only did Davidson indict the Portuguese government, but he also implicated Britain's guilt in allowing the forced labor system to continue in Angola. He accused the British government that in her role as the protecting power of Portugal she "did little more than

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[1] Davidson, African..., p. 199. [2] Ibid., p. 197.

[3] Ibid., pp. 209f.

'note with interest' the disclosures and the protests of inconvenient travellers like Nevinson and Harris."[1] Davidson also called attention to British and American economic interests in the diamond mining company, Diamang, and the railway company of Benguela, both industries which employed considerable numbers of contracted laborers. In an interview with the manager of the Benguela Railway Company, Davidson sarcastically complimented the British shareholders on earning their profits from the 2,000 "contract laborers" who were "treated better than most forced workers in Angola today."[2]

The publication of Davidson's report once again opened the issue of Portuguese right to govern her overseas territories. English journals such as the New Statesman, Observer, and the Guardian, took up the attack against Portugal. For her defense, Portugal called on a retired English colonel, F. Clement C. Egerton, to refute Davidson's charges. In the tradition of Oliveira Santos, Colonel Egerton retraced the steps of Basil Davidson's trip into Angola, deriding Davidson's stay of ten days as too short to produce a factual and accurate report of labor conditions in that country. He talked with the managers of the Benguela railway and the Casequel Sugar Company, both of whom denied that they made the statements ascribed to them in the Davidson report.

Egerton criticized Davidson's use of the word "slave" in

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[1]Davidson, African..., p. 201. [2]Ibid., p. 215.

referring to contract labor, insisting that "contratados are not slaves unless to insist that a man shall earn his own living is to make a slave of him."[1] He further corrected Davidson in his allusion that those who refused to work were sent to the police; instead, they were sent to the chefe de posto. The distinction between the police and the chefe de posto, of course, was not touched on by Colonel Egerton; in practice, the chefe can be more cruel than the municipal police. Finally, Egerton questioned Davidson's sources of information, concluding that "it remains for the reader to decide what value can be attached to the statements of an 'investigator' who passed less than a fortnight in Angola, or to the 'evidence' of his assembly of anonymous informers."[2]

Report of Galvão.- Although there was some furor when Basil Davidson made his report in 1954, it created, on the whole, only a mild ripple in international diplomacy. But Davidson's allusion to Henrique Galvão's report on forced labor did indicate a current of unrest within the official government political party. Galvão, as chief inspector of colonial administration, submitted a report in 1947 on labor conditions in Angola, condemning harshly the forced labor practices in that province. The Salazar government removed him for his post and squelched his findings. Davidson, in his research for the Harper's assignment, unearthed Galvão's report and gave it wide publicity.

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[1] F. C. C. Egerton, Angola Without Prejudice (Lisbon: Agency-General for the Overseas Territories, 1955), p. 5.

[2] Ibid., p. 30.

The significance of this report is that Galvão made it when he was a government official. What were his findings? Galvão noted that there was a high rate of emigration from Angola; he attributed this to the harsh labor policy in force. Galvão insisted that over the years 1937-1946, over one million people fled the African Portuguese colonies of Guinea, Angola, and Moçambique. He condemned the overt co-operation of government officials in the system and held that in this regard, the situation in Angola was far worse than in Moçambique. He observed that in Angola, openly and deliberately, the state acts as recruiting and distributing agent for labour on behalf of settlers.[1] In his summary, Galvão wrote that an indígena "may have the status of a free man," but he is not really not free; he belongs to the government, to be rented to a white man. Also the indígena's new master "could hardly care less if he falls ill or dies as long as he goes on working while he lives . . . When he becomes unable to work or when he dies the master can always ask to be supplied with other laborers."[2] After submitting such a report it is not surprising that Henrique Galvão was dismissed from his post and subsequently in 1958, accused of political crimes and sentenced to sixteen years of imprisonment by the Salazar controlled court.

2. Effects of Forced Labor

i. On Traditional Society

Kinship and Village Life.- Much of the criticism of the Portu-

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[1] "Forced Labour in Portuguese Africa: Galvão's Suppressed Report," Africa Today, 1961, pp. 5-7.

[2] Ibid., p. 7.

guese labor system was made simply on humanitarian grounds. Investigators found the system evil, both from the standpoint of the individual and the community. What were some of the effects? For an African the immediate social unit is his family, and beyond this is the village community where several families come together to form a village. In the village community the cohesive factor is the sekulu, or headman. Hence, these two social units, the family and the village community, give the individual his sense of being a person. If he is uprooted from his family and village, his sense of "belonging" is destroyed.

Contract labor took men away from their families, breaking up the traditional pattern of responsibility. For instance, the male member looks after the upkeep of the house, repairing its walls and thatching its roof when it was necessary. The run-down conditions of their houses, school building and chapel reflected the absence of men in villages. Furthermore, the siphoning of male workers from villages intensified the social and moral problems in each community. Patterns of courtship, marriage, family up-bringing were disrupted; an uneven age range--children, the elderly, and women of all ages--predominated in the villages. Social life was hazardous under such conditions; the absence of the male for a period of eighteen months created pitfalls for husbands and wives and the entire community.

This is why the forced labor system caused great disruption within the African social system. Often, those who were seized, having been transported far away from their original village, were lost. There is an account in the journal of Serpa Pinto which il-

lustrates this point. While travelling the banks of the Cuito River, Serpa Pinto met a gang of female conscripts who were being driven to the coast by three Africans. On coming upon the party, Serpa Pinto was enraged. He seized the three Africans, ordering them to free the women captives. Serpa Pinto summoned the women before him and told them they were free, offering them a safe conduct to Benguela with his party. But to his astonishment, Serpa Pinto found that "they one and all declared that they did not desire my protection, but wished to continue their course which I had interrupted."[1]

Obviously, there are several interpretations for the women's reactions to being set free by Serpa Pinto. For one thing, the women captives would most likely be more afraid of the white man's protection than to be in the care of their three African captors. At least the women knew they were being sent to the coast; they were dubious of the white man's intention. Another reason could be that they were "lost," having been transported from their home villages many days before. Whatever the reason may have been, the women captives were uprooted from their families, friends, and community. As far as they were concerned, they were no longer free; freedom had meaning only in the customary circles of their family and village community.

Population.- The forced labor system also encouraged migrations, especially into Angola's neighboring territories. In the Congo, the city of Leopoldville attracted many men from northern Angola; men found work

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[1] Serpa Pinto, p. 118.

as waiters and clerks. The exact number who migrated to Leopoldville during the years is not certain; but soon after the January 1959 riots in Leopoldville, approximately 30,000 Angolans were deported from that city. Moreover, shortage of labor in the Katanga region, the copper mines of Northern Rhodesia, and the Johannesburg gold mines in South Africa attracted many Angolans to migrate out of the country. In the Johannesburg area approximately five thousand Angolans live and work in the mining camps. An equal number migrated to work in the Katanga mines. A much smaller number work in the copper mines of Northern Rhodesia. Men who leave Angola argue that they would rather work in Leopoldville, Elizabethville, Ndola, and in Johannesburg and earn more money than to remain in Angola where they are subjected to the forced labor system. In this situation the Portuguese labor policy acts as a stimulus for emigration. It is not unusual to find men from the Andulu region in central Angola who speak a few words of English, having worked in the mines of Johannesburg. Many men not only go once, but two or three times during their lives to earn money in the mining areas. After their term of service the men return with bicycles, sewing machines, phonographs, and radios. Henrique Galvão deplored the trend of the loss of able bodied men in his report on forced labor. He noted that "the population flees en masse and deserts the land and its homes and the territories become empty."[1]

Economic.- As with the plantations in the West Indies during

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[1] Galvão's Report, p. 5.

the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the cornerstone for all Portuguese economic development plans has been cheap African labor. In 1928 the government passed a labor law, governing all work by the indigenous population. Sisal, sugar and coffee plantations, the fishing industries, the diamond company, and construction companies were required to abide by the labor code which regulated wages and working conditions. From 1945 forward the value of African labor increased a hundred-fold, due to inflated world market prices of sisal and coffee.[1] For Africans, the increased tempo of agricultural development and European domination created grave problems, particularly on the questions of land tenure and labor supply. The problems are interlocked; larger sisal and coffee farms required more African labor.

For Africans the disruption of the land tenure relationship was serious. Elizabeth Colson, Professor of Anthropology at Northwestern University, links the importance of land tenure in African society to the basic assumption that "all members of the society who are able-bodied should be productive in some fashion, and the basic living was wrung from the land."[2] Consequently, African societies governed land tenure according to certain rules. Colson refers to the study of G. I. Jones on land ownership among the Ibo of Nigeria to substantiate her conclusions. Jones cites three cardinal principles

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[1] Horácio de Sá Viana Rebelo, Angola na Africa Deste Tempo (Lisboa: Tipografia da L.C.G.C., 1961), p. 56.

[2] Elizabeth Colson, "Native Cultural and Social Patterns in Contemporary Africa," Africa Today, ed. C. Grove Haines (Baltimore: John Hopkins University, 1958), p. 76.

in the land tenure relationship: first, "that land ultimately belongs to the community and cannot be alienated from it without its consent; second, that within the community the individual shall have security of tenure for the land he requires for his compounds, his gardens, and his farms; and third, that no member of the community shall be without land."[1]

It was inevitable that the high market prices of coffee and sisal and the availability of abundant man power drove Europeans to acquire more land. With European control of the land, however, several new ideas were introduced which disrupted the traditional land tenure relationship: first, the concept of individual ownership and second, the commercialization of land.

In European thought the legalization of land was equivalent to individual ownership. The community no longer determined who occupied a piece of land. Individuals could register an area with the government post and defy the established community land markings. Often this created schisms, allowing disgruntled individuals a means to bypass the authority of the clan. Africans with sufficient knowledge of the European language frequently acquired land which traditionally belonged to another family, especially when land values increased. Subsequently, quarrels involving land holdings and boundaries multiplied. Furthermore, decisions arrived at in the onjango (palaver house)

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[1] Colson, op. cit.

could be appealed to the government agent. The community no longer had the final say; the European administrator became the arbiter. On such occasions, the person with easy access to communicate his side through his command of the European language would have the advantage over his illiterate neighbor.

The second concept which emphasized the commercial value of land was also destructive to the traditional land tenure relationship. In pre-industrial societies land was exclusively used for subsistence living, its commercial value in the modern economic sense being non-existent. Land was not a commercial commodity to be bought and sold according to the fluctuating market. As Elizabeth Colson points out, "the value of land was assumed to be a constant factor, since it was viewed in terms of its subsistence potential under the existing land-usage system. There was no reason to expect that future changes would increase the value of any piece of land."[1] Europeans, on the other hand, appraised land as a commercial value.

The conflict between the two concepts, commercial versus communal, was acute in the Portuguese Congo. In this district land became a prized commodity because of coffee growing. The warm humid terrain is ideal for coffee raising. Fortunes were made in the 1940's as coffee prices sky-rocketed. The influx of Europeans from Portugal into northern Angola heightened the tensions between Africans and Europeans as the latter sought more land for their coffee plantations.

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[1] Colson, p. 76.

Africans described Europeans' tactics as follows: "A Portuguese settler makes a survey of an area and stakes it out as his property. He registers it under his name with the juridical administration of the area. Later, as he begins to plant his coffee trees, he finds that small African coffee farms are within his staked area. The settler demands that Africans move out from his legalized property. But Africans reply that they had their farms before the white settler arrived. The settler then inquires of the Africans whether their properties are registered at the government post. "No," Africans reply, "we see no need for that. Everyone knows that this is our property. Furthermore, we cannot afford to legalize our land; it costs too much."[1]

Increased land holdings, however, was not the only issue; European owners needed African laborers to work the farms. Dispossessed African farmers in the area were conscripted; truck-loads of contract laborers from the south were shipped to the north. The mixture of several social forces, the land issue, the influx of workers from the south, and the fall in the price of coffee in the 1950's, snapped the thin ties between Africans and Europeans; the tug of war between African and European interests in the Portuguese Congo culminated in open civil war on March, 1961.

ii. On Christianity

Community.- For the Christian community, Catholic and Protestant, the problems created by the forced labor system were immense. In fact, African church leaders have repeatedly stated that the main social

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[1] Atlantic Report, March, 1962.

problem confronting the church is contract labor. There are many reasons why they make this claim. First, the need for labor often requiresthe uprooting of villages located far from the main roads; village elders are ordered by the chefe de posto to move their people to a more convenient site where men can be recruited without difficulty. Dr. Ennis, an American missionary, in his paper, "Portuguese Colonial Administration in Angola," reported that "in the rainy season of 1941-42, the administrator of Caala informed the people of his area to move from their villages and build on the roadsides."[1] The order put great hardship on the people as the rains hampered their efforts to build new houses, grass for thatching being unavailable at this time of the year. Moreover, most of the men had been conscripted by the government under the forced labor system. This was not an isolated incident; in 1944 Dr. Ennis reported that "old and well established villages with good . . . houses, school houses, orchards, gardens, irrigation ditches" were destroyed and "the people themselves were herded into inconvenient and unsanitary sites."[2] The losses were incalculable; Christian villages were uprooted, many, never to regain their impetus which sustained them in their previous locations.

Yet, several benefits have come out of the system, affecting the life of the Christian community. One of these was the contact which men from one ethnic group have made with another. For instance, men

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[1] Merlin Ennis, "Portuguese Colonial Administration in Angola," February, 1945, typescript, p. 5.

[2] Ibid., p. 5.

from southern Angola who are contracted to work in Luanda meet workers who are from the north. Church members from the south worship in the local chapel, although it may be of a different mission group. In Luanda there are several Ovimbundu classes within the Methodist Conference of that district. Contacts with Christians from other areas encourage church members to think beyond local affiliations; the wider Christian fellowship becomes a reality. Suspicion of each other gives way to trust; each ethnic group enriches the local fellowship, through songs, preaching, and financial support.

Wider contacts are not only within Angola; emigration of workers to Leopoldville, Elizabethville, Ndola, and Johannesburg also foster a church affiliation beyond the village chapel. For example, in Johannesburg, Ovimbundu men of central Angola gather weekly to worship in their own language, writing home to request Bibles, hymn books and literature in Umbundu. One of the pastors of Elende, Paulino Gonga, spent six months in the Johannesburg area, ministering to the many Ovimbundu living in the mining compounds and locations.[1]

Another indirect effect on the life of the Christian community has been a greater reliance on women's leadership on the local level, especially in Protestant villages. The depletion of laymen impelled village women to take an active part in church affairs. For example, a source of strength of the Quessua church of the Methodist mission

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[1] Merlin Ennis, "The Ovimbundu Church," lectures delivered at South Church, Boston, 1948, typescript, IV, p. 3.

in the Malange area is the women's associations. Professor Gonçalves of the Lisbon School of Political and Social Sciences writes that the social value of women's societies in Quessua cannot be overestimated. He emphasizes that the rules and orders of women's societies fill a great need within African culture. Although the women's group on the mission station is the largest, its influence is felt through the fifty women's societies located in that area.[1]

Financial.- Economically, the system of contract labor prejudices the financial structure of the church and family.[2] Children drop out of school because of a lack of tuition money, or they remain home to cultivate the family farm. Church collections decrease; absentee members are poor contributors to the church. In central Angola the Bailundu church collection dropped from 150,000 escudos to 100,000 escudos between two calendar years because of the exodus of male members under the contract labor system. Also, in several pastoral areas, the idea of the Lord's Acre was scuttled, because men were called by government officials to do their service in the labor system.

Church Discipline.- Problems arising from the involvement of church members in the contract labor system cause great anguish for church leaders. "What should the church do?", they ask, "when our members engage in recruiting workers for contract labor? Do we put

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[1] Gonçalves, p. 88.

[2] During the period of contract labor, Angolan African workers rarely send church offerings to their village churches. Moreover, in many coffee and sisal plantations, Protestant mission work is forbidden.

them out of church fellowship?" In most cases of this nature, however, African labor recruiters are already on the "side of the church," being disciplined for misconduct such as drinking, adultery, or the practice of sorcery. But the current opinion among church leaders and members is disapproval towards members who are labor recruiters; they consider such employment contrary to the idea of a Christian vocation. Moreover, contacts with European angariadores (recruiters), are not advantageous to anyone, especially Africans who are offered rum and wine as payments for their services. Europeans have always benefited economically from the contract labor system, plantations in being able to secure cheap labor, and the angariadores in receiving their fees for recruiting African labor. Church elders acknowledge the benefits of contract labor for Europeans; they are skeptical about the effects on Africans.

3. Response of Christianity

i. Catholicism

Tacit Support of System.- Few protests emanated from the Catholic hierarchy, although there were local parish priests who attempted to cry out against the abuses of the system. An example was that of the priest in the Cuma area, involving the chefe de posto, Senhor Lelinho.[1] However, the local priest's complaints to the bishop

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[1] For further discussion on this case, see section on "Involvement of Protestant Missionaries."

in his district were of no avail; the contract labour system was too much a part of the economy of Angola.

There were two other reasons why the Catholic hierarchy kept relatively silent on this issue. First, outwardly the system was more humane than the slave traffic practiced in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. At least the government appealed to the humanitarian aspect of the system, claiming that the right to work was a part of the civilizing process. Labor and work were essential ingredients to reach a state of "assimilation;" the Portuguese asserted that work was good for the Africans. In this respect the idea to teach Africans to work was not contrary to the church's doctrine for work was considered a virtue. Therefore, the aims of the church and the purposes of the state were not at odds. A second reason was that the church benefited from the contract system; the church received a state subsidy for mission work. Since the "flywheel" of the economy of Angola was African labor, the church was reluctant to oppose the contract labor system. Furthermore, contract labor was often used to construct chapels in the towns of Angola; no village with an appreciable number of Europeans was complete unless there was a chapel. Most chefes de posto co-operated with the local parish priest in building a chapel for the residents, the government furnishing contract laborers for the project.

Dilemma.- On the hierarchical level both Catholicism and Protestantism were not greatly affected; priests, pastors, catechists,

teachers, were exempted from the laws of contract labor. But the moral issue had to be faced. For Catholics they were in the dilemma of receiving direct state aid, some of the government revenue accruing from taxes directly involving the right to contract labor. In this situation the Catholic hierarchy was hesitant in criticizing the government's labor policy. Moreover, Catholic priests agreed with the state's principle that everyone, Africans and Europeans, must be engaged in profitable labor. Criticisms by local priests were made only on the excesses of the system and not on the right of the government to engage in it. Even so, whenever any priest complained to the government official on any aspect of the contract labor system, he was always reminded by the chefe or administrator of the district that the church benefits from this policy.

ii. Protestantism

Involvement of Protestant Missionaries.- Reports on labor conditions in Portuguese territories constantly made reference to missionaries as sources of information on the evils of the forced labor system. For example, Henrique Galvão, in noting the difficulties encountered by a visitor in receiving information on its abuses, recommended that the investigator "listen to the missionaries saying in friendly chats what they dare not write in their reports."[1]

From the Portuguese point of view, they denounced these reports as instigated and motivated by Protestant mission groups in Angola.

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[1] Galvão, p. 7.

How true is the accusation that the informants were Protestant missionaries? On reading the reports, especially those of Nevinson and Ross, one finds substantial truth that much of the information was furnished by Protestant missionaries. Henry Nevinson, in his book, A Modern Slavery, repeatedly makes references to the co-operation of Protestant missions. The preface of his report thanked "the British and American residents on the mainland and the islands--and especially the missionaries--for their unfailing hospitality and help."[1]

Their help often consisted in revealing to Nevinson specific cases of forced labor practices. One of his informants was an American who intervened in the flogging of a woman slave, set her free and sent her back to her village. In reporting this incident, Nevinson writes:

> I would willingly give the names in the last and in all others; but one of the chief difficulties of the whole subject is that it is impossible to give names without exposing people out here to the hostility and persecution of the Portuguese authorities and traders. In most instances, also, not only the people themselves, but all the natives associated with them, would suffer, and the various kinds of work in which they are engaged would come to an end. It is the same fear which keeps the missionaries silent.[2]

The silence of missionaries was broken in the findings of Ross; they furnished data to him through church elders, teachers, and village members. For instance, Ross prefaces his extensive case studies with "the Christian elder says,"[3] "February last, a missionary met on the road a body of 400 natives,"[4] "while I am at a mission, a

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[1] Nevinson, ix.

[2] Ibid., p. 56.

[3] Ross, p. 25.

[4] Ibid., p. 18.

former pupil comes in and tells how fifteen men of his village have been commandeered by government to work on a private plantation,"[1] "according to our informer, a Christian elder,"[2] "a mission physician states."[3] And, most often, Ross takes up the cause of Protestant mission work, stating that children quit mission schools to work in the fields because their fathers and brothers were conscripted to work in plantations, while their mothers and older brothers were called to work on the roads.[4]

It is no wonder that Oliveira Santos in his attempt to discredit the Ross report charged that Ross received all his information from Protestant missionaries, Congregational and Methodist. Moreover, Santos accused the missionaries of unlawfully engaging in the political, economic and administrative life of the colony which is contrary to the conditions of their visas. And, if Protestant missionaries did not disengage themselves from these activities, they would be expelled from the province.[5]

Protestant missionaries, recounting the happenings of those days, tell how they were shunned and ostracized by Portuguese friends. Most of the hostility, however, was centered on a Congregational missionary, William Bell. He was accused by the Portuguese government of aiding and giving false information to Ross. The Missionary

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[1] Ross, p. 16.

[2] Ibid., p. 26.

[3] Ibid., p. 24.

[4] Ibid., p. 16.

[5] Duffy, p. 168.

Herald of January 1925 confirmed Bell's role in the Ross investigation, reporting that "Rev. Wm. C. Bell of Bailundo, conducted through his district last August Prof. Edward A. Ross, the noted sociologist, who wished to study labor conditions in West Africa."[1] Bell transported Ross in his automobile to several outstation villages of the Bailundu mission; the trip began on August 1 and ended on August 6, 1924. A year and three months later (October 28, 1925), a warrant was issued to William Bell by the administrator of Bailundu, demanding that Bell appear at the administration the next day. As Bell was in Dondi at the time, his colleague, Daniel Hastings, hastily sent two Africans to inform Bell about the order from the administration. Accompanied by three other colleagues, Raposo, Stokey, and Tucker, Bell returned to Bailundu to report to the administrator. In all, there were four sessions, totalling twenty hours and forty eight handwritten pages of the court proceedings. His trial was a cause celebré in mission circles because Bell refused to reveal the names of Africans who had given information to Ross. When the administrator insisted that Bell disclose the names of the church elders, Bell's only resort was to refuse to testify on the grounds that he did not understand the legal process of Portuguese courts. Even his missionary colleagues who were called to act as interpreters failed to elicit any response from him.

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[1] The Missionary Herald, January 1925, p. 55.

As a countermeasure to the Ross' report and Bell's part in it, the Portuguese press employed the tactics of playing one Protestant mission against the other. The newspaper, Província de Angola, called on a Methodist missionary in Luanda to give information about the race situation in America, focusing on the negro and American Indian problems. The interview was published in the October 15, 1925 issue, the editors contrasting this evidence from the United States to the situation in Angola. The Portuguese newspaper used the testimony of Robert Shields, the Methodist missionary, to question the right of Americans to criticize the labor system in Angola. Needless to say, Methodist and Congregational missionaries were not happy to see Shields used in this manner by the Portuguese.

After this episode Protestant missionaries were hesitant at being involved in the forced labor issue; yet, there was a trace of missionary implication in the last report by Basil Davidson. In his report, Davidson commented on the tax exempt status of the favored Angola Diamond Company, noting that "medical missionaries in Angola--mainly Americans and Canadians--are not only not exempt from import duties on such things as still window-frames for hospitals but have to pay duty even on imported bandages and drugs."[1]

Further antagonism between Protestant missionaries and government officials on this matter was reflected in the dismissal of a

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[1]Davidson, African..., p. 213.

chefe de posto of Cuma, David Nunes Lelinho. In the Boletim Oficial de Angola of August 29, 1951, Lelinho was charged with receiving the sum of 18,800 angolares for his part in recruiting personnel for three commercial firms.[1] What the Boletim did not indicate was that a Congregational missionary in that district had called the attention of the chefe's activities to his superior prior to his dismissal from government service. Dr. Merlin Ennis, the resident missionary in the area, reported to the administration of the intolerable conditions which required every village elder to furnish recruits for the chefe. If the elders failed to meet their quota, they were beaten by the police. The local Catholic priest also reported to the bishop of his area of the excesses of the local authorities, but nothing came out of his efforts. The government acted only when rumors of the chefe's activities reached the capital city of Luanda. After an investigation, Lelinho was ousted from the administrative corps; Lelinho's colleagues, however, never forgave the Elende Mission of Cuma for their part in the dismissal of the Cuma chefe.[2] Lelinho would never have been investigated if a foreign missionary had not consistently complained to the chefe's superiors; the government was sensitive to criticisms from the foreign community because there was always danger that another investigation would re-open the subject once more. But it is well

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[1] Boletim Oficial, August 29, 1951, p. 757.

[2] Merlin W. Ennis, "Portuguese Colonial Administration in Angola," typescript, February 1945.

to remember at this point that Lelinho's ouster did not abolish the contract labor system; the governor general appointed another chefe and labor recruiting of Africans continued under stricter governmental supervision.

Dilemma.- For Protestants, the contract labor system was morally indefensible, but they too faced a dilemma. On the one hand, Protestant missionaries recognized their status as guests in the country, not being citizens of Portugal. For this reason their attitude approached the Biblical tradition of the relationship between Philemon and his master. The moral directive was to live a Christian life within the system, exemplified by keeping the ten commandments. On the other hand, Protestant missionaries who protested directly to local officials or who aided in the investigations of Ross, Harris, and Davidson, felt that their efforts were in vain; they point to the classic example of William Bell. The net result was an evolution of the following general policy: first, protest when contract labor affects church leaders, reminding the government of their promise to exempt catechists from this compulsory service; second, protest if there are excesses or abuses beyond the letter of the law, as occurred in the district of Cuma; and third, to accept the labor policy as part of the governmental structure, living and suffering under the system. The last attitude was often tempered by a long range view, Christian leaders maintaining that the present system was much more "humane" than in former years.

But Christian institutions will be asked by Angolan nationalists to give an account of themselves on this matter. For instance, Holden Roberto, President of the government-in-exile, stated that he was most impressed by a manuscript written by his grandfather which criticized the Portuguese government's policy on forced labor. Holden recounted the story of his grandfather as follows:

> when the Protestant missionaries first came to Angola, he was one of the first people with whom they were in contact. He co-operated closely with them, and helped them with the translation of the Bible. He also played a leading part in combating witchcraft and domestic slavery--perhaps because he was once sold as a slave himself. He personally wrote a manuscript against the slavery practiced by the Portuguese, and he wanted the missionaries to publish it. But they were afraid to do so lest it compromise their position in the country.[1]

Holden Roberto remarked that his grandfather's document had been an inspiration for him in the present struggle. It is difficult to say whether the reluctance of English Baptist missionaries to take up the cause of his grandfather has rankled in Holden's mind; nationalists may use such incidents to chastize mission groups for their failure to respond to the social evils of the forced labor system.

4. Summary

The end of the slave trade in 1842 ushered in another harsh practice, the forced labor system. Its practice was governed by the central government, a trader who required carriers transmitting the

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[1] Lloyd Garrison, "Interview with an Angolan nationalist," photostat copy distributed by Africa Committee of the National Council of Churches.

order to the governor general's office in Luanda. Each headman was obligated to furnish a designated quota set by the commander of the district. The labor code of 1878 hoped to abolish the conscription of workers, replacing it with the contract labor system. In theory, labor contracts were to be made with a free will; in practice, there was not much difference.

A principal reason why the forced and contract labor systems did not differ greatly was that Angola's economy depended on cheap labor. Forced labor and contract labor were set up to take care of this need. Portugal often cloaked her right to conscript labor on the pretense that the indigenous population must work, declaring that Africans ought to carry their load in the development of the country. But the international reports of Nevinson, Harris, Ross, Davidson, and Galvão unveiled the injustices of the system, shattering the illusion that the system was inaugurated on humanitarian grounds of "teaching the indígenas to work."

As on the issue of slavery it is fair to say that Portugal has heeded some of the warnings of international opinion on the practices of forced and contract labor. Adriano Moreira, former Overseas Minister, rightly points out that Portugal published numerous decrees to safeguard workers under the contract system. For example, "Ordinance No. 17,771 of June 17, 1960" set minimum wage standards in all Portuguese territories, eliminating discrepancies which existed under the old laws. Moreover, Mr. Moreira points out that Portugal "ratified the international conventions concerning weekly days of rest, minimum age at

which minors are allowed to work in certain activities, discrimination in employment or professions, and abolition of forced labor."[1] Like many governmental policies, however, the existence of a law does not assure the obedience to that law.

The effects of the contract labor systems were far reaching. Within the traditional society the balance between men and women in the rural villages was upset. Frequently, the authority of the village elder was broken by the local government official (as in Lelinho's case), substituting direct for indirect rule. The contract labor system also encouraged migrations to the mines of the Congo, Northern Rhodesia, and South Africa. There was also the disruption of the land tenure relationship as Europeans increased the acreage of their coffee, sisal, and sugar plantations.

The Christian community did not escape either; moral problems arising from the absence of the male member of the family, the loss of income to the church treasury, the involvement of church members as labor recruiters, were some of the immediate effects of the contract labor system. Because of this church leaders placed contract labor at the top of the list of social problems facing the church. However, there were several indirect beneficial effects of the contract labor system to the life of the Christian community. One was a meeting together of men from various ethnic groups. Contacts with Christians from other

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[1]Moreira, p. 196.

areas encouraged a wider Christian fellowship, not only in Angola but in her neighboring territories. Another was a greater reliance on women's leadership on the local level, the exodus of men impelling village women to take an active part in church affairs.

However, the recognition that contract labor was a major social problem for the church did not assure an unequivocal response from Christian missions. For Catholicism, the response was a tacit support of the system as part of the government's labor policy. For Protestantism, the response was a discreet silence, though many Protestant missionaries objected to the system. Some of them provided information for investigators, but Protestant missionaries refrained from directly criticizing the Portuguese government.

What were the factors which conditioned the responses of Catholicism and Protestantism? There were two reasons why the Catholic hierarchy kept relatively silent on this issue. First, the Catholic church accepted the moral position of the state that Africans must work, the contract labor system being a means toward that end. A second factor was the close link between church and state, the Catholic church receiving a direct subsidy from the state. Contract labor was also used to build chapels in the towns of Angola, local government officials obligating Africans to labor in these projects.

For Protestantism, three factors governed their actions. First, the principle of obedience to the state held sway, contract labor was a part of the colonial policy; second, the guest status of Protestant missionaries prohibited political activity; and third, the prevalent

missionary attitude that protests were useless in the historical circumstances, judgingon what happened to the Ross report at the hands of the Temporary Commission Against Forced Labour of the League of Nations.

These factors confronted Catholicism and Protestantism with dilemmas. For instance, if Catholicism had criticized the contract labor system, there was the possibility of alienation from the state, the church then losing its favored position and a substantial financial subsidy for its mission work. There was also the fact that the European Catholic population was an active participant in the contract labor system, a critical attitude by the Catholic hierarchy could alienate the European settlers from the church. Another consequence could result in direct state control, the church no longer exercising a religious influence on the affairs of the state.

Yet, the alternative position was not encouraging. The silence of the Catholic hierarchy dulled the religious conscience to the injustices of the contract labor system which infringed on the right of Africans to refuse to work on the coffee, sugar, sisal, and fishing industries. The institution of the Catholic church also suffered, the contract labor system disrupting village life which was essential to the stability of all religious organizations. Moreover, contract labor deepened the gulf between Europeans and Africans, the church receiving a share of African resentment for not protesting against this practice.

For Protestantism, the dilemmas was also real. If Protestant

missionaries had resisted the contract labor practice, there was the threat of expulsion by the Portuguese government. Another effect could be a further antagonism of European settlers to Protestant mission work, an attitude which could hinder the village work of Protestant missions. A third could be an action of the state, cancelling the preferred status of Protestant workers such as pastors, teachers, nurses, and catechists who were exempt from contract labor. Such a decree by the Portuguese government could cripple all Protestant institutions in Angola.

The alternative position was also unsatisfactory. For one thing, it would be difficult to reconcile the practice of contract labor to the moral imperatives inherent in the missionary enterprise. The muted voice of Protestantism on this issue could be interpreted by Africans as lack of courage, a possible source of contention between foreign missionaries and African church leaders. Silence meant a continuation of the contract labor system, confronting Protestantism with numerous social problems which sapped the strength of Protestant churches.

In a broad sense the responses, factors, and dilemmas of Catholicism and Protestantism to both issues, slave labor and forced labor, were similar. We should keep this observation in mind as we proceed to study the last of the selected issues, nationalism.

CHAPTER V

NATIONALISM: HISTORICAL FACTORS

1. Introduction

In the present chapter we shall proceed on the basis that nationalism is not a new phenomenon in Angola, its historical roots go back to the beginning of European occupation. Our definition of nationalism will follow that of Thomas Hodgkin who uses the term 'nationalist'

> to describe any organisation or group that explicitly asserts the rights, claims and aspirations of a given African society (from the level of the language-group to that of 'Pan-Africa') in opposition to European authority, whatever its institutional form and objective.[1]

Our first concern in this chapter will be to understand the historical background of this struggle between African and European authority. In exploring this aspect, we begin to realize that viewed historically the March 1961 rebellion is a continuation of African resistance from the beginning of Portuguese occupation in the sixteenth century. Our second concern is to become aware of the historical factors which influenced the response of Catholicism and Protestantism to nationalism. For instance, in the church and state issue, we become aware of a historical struggle which molded the response of the Catholic church to modern nationalism. Similarly, we hope that a study of the historical position of Protestantism will result in an understanding of

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[1] Thomas Hodgkin, Nationalism in Colonial Africa (New York: New York University Press, 1957), p. 23.

the kind of response it made to the struggle between African and European powers. We shall now proceed to examine each historical factor, drawing on sources in Portuguese and in English.

2. Historical Factors

i. Traditional versus European Authority

Political Sphere.- The struggle between African and European powers in Portuguese West Africa occurred frequently in the political sphere; African rulers openly resisted European encroachment on their powers. For proof we shall look at three traditional kingdoms, the Congo, Ngola, and Bailundu.

In Chapter II we noted that the Portuguese discovery of the Congo kingdom in the fifteenth century opened a strange relationship between the crowns of two feudal overlords. From the point of view of the Portuguese king, D. João II, the relationship between himself and the Manicongo began auspiciously, as two equal heads of their respective kingdoms. As a sign of trust his representative, Diogo Cão, left four of his men at the court of Manicongo on his first voyage to the Congo; later these men were held by the Congo royal court as hostages. In equal exchange Diogo Cão took four Congolese as hostages and returned with them to Portugal. On his return trip in 1486, Diogo Cão brought back the captured Congolese who testified to their king that they were received kindly by the king of Portugal.[1]

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[1] José Joaquim Lopes de Lima, Ensaios (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1846), III, VI.

This was the beginning of a relationship full of promises which continued into the reign of Dom Manuel, successor to Dom João II. He set forth a thirty four point regimento to govern the future relationship between Portugal and the Congo. Of great interest was the underlying tone of this regimento; it was a kindly gesture, offering aid to an ally and not as lord to his subject. For example, there were two provisions which indicated this relationship. On the one hand, Dom Manuel sent his emissary, Simão da Silva, as an advisor to the royal court, offering to teach them the ways of justice and the effective pursuit of war. On the other, the Portuguese king authorized Simão da Silva to maintain the Portuguese settlers within the boundaries of the alliance between himself and the Congo king. Of special interest was the exclusion of priests and representatives of the church from this order covering Portuguese residents. D. Manuel entrusted the welfare of the religious clerics to D. Afonso and to use the frades for the welfare of his kingdom and the church. If the clerics did not behave in a manner beneficial to the Congo king, D. Afonso was to ship them home to Portugal at the first opportunity.

But much of the nobility of the provisions in the regimento was prejudiced by D. Manuel's hint to D. Afonso that the cost of this enterprise could be offset by loading the returning ships with copper, ivory, and slaves. D. Manuel justified this request on the grounds that this was all being done in the name of Our Lord.[1]

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[1] Felner, pp. 383-389.

With the death of D. Afonso in 1540, however, the period of political equality ended between the two royal courts. The struggle to determine the successor of D. Afonso led to a contest for power between the followers of Afonso's son, Pedro, and that of his nephew, Diogo. This involved Portuguese settlers who were opposed to Pedro; they joined the revolt against Pedro, placing Diogo on the throne. The usurped king, Pedro, sought asylum of the church, through whose office he petitioned to the Pope and João III of Portugal for help in restoring the crown to him, but his effort was in vain.[1] This was the first of successive incidents which put the crown of Portugal in a position to interfere in the internal affairs of the Congo. But both the Pope and King João III of Portugal retained an air of neutrality, either through ignorance of the affairs of the Congo at that time or through a deliberately defined policy.

But the air of neutrality was not sustained for long. Political vassalage followed in 1567 when the reigning king, Alvaro, requested the king of Portugal to help him oust the warlike Jagas. Twenty five years later, there was a similar request for military aid. Domingo d'Abreu de Brito, representing the Portuguese government, recommended to the king of Portugal that he send 1000 soldiers and 60 horses to help Fillipe I in Angola who was then engaged in a war with his neighbors.[2]

By the end of the nineteenth century the atmosphere in the

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[1] Manso, p. 137.

[2] Ibid.

Portuguese Congo was explosive. One of the first to contribute to the unsettled air was a pretender to the throne, D. Alvaro, who was sent to Lisbon by the Portuguese to absorb the Portuguese culture. On his return, he resolved to drive out the white people from his area; apparently, D. Alvaro's stay in Portugal enhanced his self-esteem. His first step was to send messages to all his chiefs, inviting them to meet with him so that they could evolve a plan to depose the resident governor of São Salvador. The scheme called for all the chiefs to meet with the resident governor on an appointed day, and at the appropriate hour, all would rise to overpower the governor and his soldiers.

Missionaries of the British Baptist Society, after they were informed of the plot by their Congolese workers, hurriedly went to the fort to warn the governor of D. Alvaro's plot. The advance warning of Baptist missionaries allowed sufficient time for the governor to take defense measures, foiling the king's plan to drive the white men from the Congo. When the plot to assassinate the governor misfired, Dom Alvaro called a conference of all the educated young men of the Roman Catholic and Protestant missions. At this meeting D. Alvaro urged the Christian elites to join with him to drive the white men from the country, promising them high offices as rewards. The young men, recognizing the military power behind the Portuguese administration, declined to join with the king. One of the young men, a student of the Baptist mission schools who had gone to England

on a deputation mission, called the attention of the king to the power of European countries and reminded the king of his visit to Portugal. Opposition of the Baptist mission and its students and workers created an atmosphere of hostility between D. Alvaro and Protestant missionaries from this time forward until the king's death.[1]

The last serious protest during this period occurred in 1913. A Roman Catholic chief of the Madimba district, Alvaro Buta, rallied the village people against Portuguese authority and the forced labor system. Nearly all Catholic and "heathen" villages joined Buta's campaign of resistance; later Protestant towns joined Buta's forces. Not only was Buta hostile to the Portuguese but he was also against the reigning African king who worked hand in hand with the secretary of the Portuguese administration in recruiting workers for São Tomé. The revolt was popular; as Carson Graham observed "the whole country was in revolt against the forced recruitment from which all had suffered."[2]

In contrast to the Congo occupation in the sixteenth century, the conquest of the Ngola (Angola) kingdom was turbulent. The Portuguese were forced to utilize military power to settle in the "land of Ngola." Of the many military and government leaders who played a historical role in the occupation of Angola, none had as wide powers as Paulo Dias de Novais. He was granted a donatária by the crown; a

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[1] Graham, pp. 51-53.

[2] Ibid., p. 137.

plan of colonization which gave to the recipient a tract of land in the overseas colonies. The donatária had already been in practice in Brazil and the government wished to do the same for Angola, believing that this was the most effective way of colonization. The land grant to Paulo Dias was generous; the patrimónia stretching thirty five leagues from the coast of Angola, beginning at the Cuanza and extending to all the lands which he could occupy.[1] In all this Paulo Dias was to have had the support of the Jesuits, through the presence of clerics, and the building of churches and schools.

But this was easier said than done. The conditions in Angola were not favorable to such a grand scheme which the planners of the donatária in Lisbon envisioned. The unfavorable climate for Europeans, internal wars, and local conditions worked against the aims of Paulo Dias and his followers. Moreover, subsequent internal events shifted the struggle for power. The recurring conflict of self interest between the royal court and residents in Angola was overshadowed by the coming to power of the Ginga queen, D. Ana de Sousa, in 1623. The queen first came to the attention of the civil government in Luanda when she arrived as a member of the ambassadors from the court of Ngola who were sent to negotiate a peace between the two parties. The move towards this direction was largely due to a priest named Dionísio de Faria. The representatives were received royally, the peace treaty signed, and the ambassador, Ginga Ambonde, was converted to Christianity,

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[1] Felner, p. 126.

assuming the name of D. Ana de Sousa. On her return she poisoned her brother; after his death, D. Ana assumed the prerogatives of royal power.

By mid-seventeenth century, the Portuguese authorities were confronted by three African powers, that of the Congo, those who pledged loyalty to Queen Jinga, and those who allied themselves with the Dongo ruler. The Portuguese were faced with a choice of either relinquishing their positions in the interior or subduing all three rebellious tribes. By this time Angola had become such a rich prize as a supplier of slaves that the Portuguese could not relinquish their hold on their West African colony. The usual Portuguese strategy was to confront each group separately, defeating one and concluding a separate truce. The tactic of "divide and conquer" proved very effective. Within a span of ten years, the campaigns of the Portuguese were successful, first the Congo, then the Dongo, and then in 1680, the Matamba area.

With the subjugation of the Congo and Ngola kingdoms, the tempo of commercial activities increased, the principal commodity, however, being African labor. As we indicated in Chapter III slavery dominated everything, including religious activities. By 1840 internal and external pressures forced a legal enactment to abolish the slave trade; with this juridical move, the Portuguese hoped to eliminate a source of irritation between Europeans and Africans. Their next move was to inaugurate a campaign of peaceful penetration in the

interior, but this was a naive hope. The conflict between Europeans and Africans went deeper; the issues of slavery and contract labor were only symptoms of a deep resentment by Africans against European domination.

In the Bailundu district of the Benguela plateau, the revolution of 1902 marked a last concerted African effort to resist Portuguese encroachment into the Umbundu territory. The Ovimbundu people remember the rebellion as that of Mutu-ye-kevela (Hard Squash).[1] The immediate cause of the rebellion was the constant raids of Portuguese traders for African labor and the selling of rum to the indigenous population. Africans worked through the indigenous secret societies, organizing various groups to resist the Portuguese. Mutu-ye-kevela rallied his people to his cause, exhorting them to oust the ovindele (white men). "Why sit we here and die like rabbits?" Mutu-ye-kevela cried out. "Ye seed of Ekuikui and Viye, arise to battle."[2] Many Europeans were beleaguered at the administrative fort during the hostilities, abandoning their trading posts. The rebellion would have been successful except for the vacillating position of an important chief who failed to carry out his part in the plan to overthrow the European government. With the defeat of Mutu-ye-kevela, African armed resistance on the Benguela plateau crumbled.

Defeat of the ruling kings by the Portuguese military power

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[1] Tucker, Drums..., p. 122.

[2] Ibid.

set the stage for the next step; European intervention in the succession to the kingship. For instance, in 1700 the king of Portugal sent a letter to three Congo nobles, the count of Sonho, the marquis of Pemba, and the duke of Bamba, requesting them to select the next king of São Salvador. From this evidence we gather that by this time the king of Congo was a vassal of Portugal.

However, as civil administration developed, royal intervention was not the usual procedure; the local governor exercised control over the African kings. In the Dembos area, for example, the governor of Luanda verified all acts of succession, issuing a letter of confirmation to the newly elected king. In 1848 the governor of Luanda wrote a letter to the new Dembos king, D. Francisco João Sebastião Cheque, stating that it was the king's duty to serve the national interests of Portugal by promising to cultivate cotton, tobacco, coffee and rice, and at the same time, by paying a tenth of his income to the Luanda treasury.[1]

Although in these instances political interests were foremost, there were occasions when religion was a factor in the question of royal succession. In 1860 when the reigning king of the Congo, Dom Alvaro Dongo, died, there appeared two contestants to the throne, Pedro de Agua Rosada and Pedro Calandenda. The latter was a Protestant. Because Pedro Calandenda refused to abandon his religion, he was eliminated by Portuguese authorities as a candidate for the throne;

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[1] Felgas, p. 96.

Portuguese national interests required a Catholic king.[1] The persistence of the religious factor will be apparent as we proceed now to relate the issue of traditional versus European authority to the religious sphere.

Religious Sphere.- We noted in the previous section that except for the early period of occupation, the struggle between traditional rulers and the European power was active; nationalist feelings often erupted in violent protests against European domination. How did the political struggle affect the religious sphere? Was the Catholic church involved in the conflict?

In attempting to answer these questions, we must be aware that the reaction of Africans to the church was governed by political expediency. For Africans, it was politically advantageous to ally themselves with Christianity; they saw Christianity as a symbol of equality. In this the church became a necessary institution for the early Congo kings; political partnership meant allegiance to the Christian God.[2] For instance, in 1574 a new organization of the Congo was created which divided the feudal districts according to the ranks of dukes, marquisates and counts, supplanting the traditional structure of sovas or local chiefs. At a ceremony of the Knights of Christ in which the king of Congo and a priest who represented the king of Portugal par-

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[1] Felgas, p. 150.

[2] Duffy, p. 13.

ticipated, each sova was given a title befitting his station. One of the symbols used in the ceremony was the rosary, each feudal lord holding it in his hands and reciting these words: "I promise to be true to the Catholic faith; I promise to obey and do what the priest tells; and I promise to obey the king of the Congo and the king of Portugal; God help me if I do not follow my vow."[1]

Christian alliance with colonial rule also involved military assistance. For example, in the 1490's the Congo king, Dom João, adopted Christianity, and soon after, requested soldiers from the Portuguese military officer to defeat his traditional rivals. Dom João launched his campaign against his enemies under the banner of the Christian flag, maintaining that he belonged to a Christian Republic and his enemies were, as a matter of fact, enemies of Christianity.[2]

The height of religious and political alliance between the early Congo kings and the Portuguese royal court occurred during the reign of Dom Afonso I in the sixteenth century. King Afonso sent Congolese youths to Lisbon to study at the many religious schools, some to become artisans and others to enter religious orders. It was Dom Afonso's acceptance of the Christian faith which paved the way for the royal heads of the two courts to refer to each other as brothers in Christ. For instance, Dom Manuel of Portugal addressed his letter

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[1]Rego, p. 263, translated by the present author.

[2]Ibid.

to Dom Afonso in 1512 as

> Most powerful and excellent king of Manicongo: I, Dom Manuel, king of Portugal and Guinea, send you many greetings. We wish you good health and entrust you in the care of God to whom we owe everything.[1]

Dom Afonso in his turn reciprocated by addressing Dom Manuel as

> Most high and powerful King and Lord: I, Dom Affonso, king of Congo and Lord of the Ambudos send you much love. As Christians we rejoice in the life of our Father, holding fast to the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ.[2]

In reading the correspondence between the two kings, the impression is one of an alliance rather than that of a vassal to his lord. The alliance was religious in nature, more in the realm of the spirit which the Portuguese term "civilization." This was especially noted in D. Afonso's constant request to the king of Portugal to send more priests and teachers. In a letter of May 31, 1515 Dom Afonso pleaded for aid in the things of religion, requesting masons and carpenters to construct a Catholic school for his subjects.[3] Eleven years later on March 18, 1526 Dom Afonso petitioned Dom Manuel of Portugal to send fifty priests who could be distributed throughout his kingdom so that each feudal lord would have a vicar of the church and six priests.[4] In effect the church was used by the early Congo

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[1] Paiva Manso, p. 5, translated by the present author.

[2] Ibid., p. 13.

[3] Ibid., p. 31.

[4] Ibid., p. 50.

kings as a vehicle to maintain their independence, recognizing that a Christian ruler was much more acceptable to the European power. Thus, from the beginning the Portuguese, having a first claim to the discovery of the Congo, proceeded on a religious basis that she would act as spiritual father to the Congolese. This pattern was initiated at the time when the first Congo king was converted to Christianity. For instance, all requests to build churches, to augment the meagre group of priests, to build schools, were directed to Portugal.

But by the time of Dom Afonso's rule in the beginning of the sixteenth century, this relationship began to change; the Congo king believed that as a Catholic king, he deserved recognition from the Vatican as a sovereign religious ruler. In a letter to the Pope dated the 21st of February of 1532, Dom Afonso offered his obedience and asked Pope Paul III the grace and honors which Rome was accustomed to give Catholic kings.[1]

In many ways the attempt to keep the sovereignty of the Congo was fought in the realm of control of the church, involving the three capitals, Rome, Lisbon, and São Salvador. In this respect Lisbon gained the upper hand since the power struggle in the European sphere outweighed any consideration for recognition by an African ruler. Thus, the concept of the "overseas province," the idea that Portugal's colonies are an integral part of the Mother country, was first established in the realm of the church. The Vatican conceded this right to Portu-

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[1] Paiva Manso, p. 60.

gal, entrusting to her the privilege of establishing and controlling the ecclesiastical districts in the Congo and in Angola. Moreover, the rights of the Catholic Congo king were only given within the authority of the Portuguese crown.

This relationship was first established by Rome in 1455; the Vatican ceding vast spiritual powers to the kings of Portugal in their overseas conquests, including the right to erect and establish churches without prior approval from Rome. Thus, the Order of Christ in Portugal was entrusted with the total jurisdiction, temporal and spiritual, in all the overseas possessions under the rule of the Portuguese crown. The Papal Bull of 1481 approved the understanding between the Vatican and the Portuguese crown, specifying that only Portuguese ships were allowed to serve as transports for the discovery of overseas territories. Furthermore, spiritual jurisdiction over the discovered territories belonged to Portugal, including complete authority of her priests to administer sacraments and to absolve all sins, except those reserved exclusively for the Vatican.[1]

Although the Vatican guaranteed Portugal's national character, there were occasions of conflict between Rome and Lisbon. For instance, in 1645 the Propaganda Fide sent several Italian Capuchin priests to the Congo, designating one of them as the representative of the Holy See. This action was contrary to the sovereignty of the diocese of the Congo and Angola which was under Portuguese domain. Lisbon protested

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[1] Rego, pp. 121f.

to Rome and in 1648 the Vatican agreed to place the Capuchin order under the jurisdiction of the bishopric of the Congo, recognizing the independence of the Portuguese authority. Throughout the negotiations between Rome and Lisbon, the latter acted in the interests of the sovereign rule of the Portuguese crown in her overseas acquisitions, both temporal and spiritual. Missions represented a true national interest which, in turn, was protected and helped by the state.[1] The agreement between Rome and Lisbon effectively curtailed any move by the African hierarchy to establish a national religious institution in the Portuguese Congo.

There was one last attempt, however, by the African chiefs to assert their independence in religious affairs. During the Dutch occupation of Angola in the 1640's, the Congo king, Garcia Afonso II, reasserted his independence by encouraging Italian and Capuchin missionaries to settle in the Congo, petitioning the Pope to send to his country non-Portuguese Catholic priests. After the ouster of the Dutch in 1648, Salvador de Sá forced the Congo king to sign a treaty forbidding all religious activities which were not under Portuguese authority.[2] After the reconquest of Angola, religious as well as political independence was effectively curtailed by the Portuguese.

ii. Church and State

A second significant historical factor to this section on

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[1] Rego, pp. 168-171.

[2] Duffy, p. 67.

nationalism is the issue of church and state. The tug of war, in this case, was primarily between Europeans, the Portuguese state and the European Catholic church.

In the previous section we were reminded that as long as the Catholic church in the Congo was under the jurisdiction of the Portuguese hierarchy, there was no difficulty. But the interlocking political and religious interests, relating to the conflicting interests of Africans and Europeans, complicated the situation. It seemed that without European political domination of the African rulers, the church's effort "to plant the cross" would have been difficult. In such a context the effect on the Catholic church was a movement towards closer union of church and state. The direction towards an integration of the aims of church and state, however, was not without its turbulences. For an understanding of this problem let us review the historical pattern of this relationship.

Partnership, Dependence, and Integration.- Although the church-state pattern varied according to the historical period, their relationship can be characterized as one of partnership, dependence, and integration.

In Portuguese West Africa the church-state relation began on a level of partnership. It was not difficult for the Catholic church to work closely with the state because one of the factors molding Portugal's national character has been the Roman Catholic church. Her dream of offering "new worlds to the world" meant the propagation of a

Christian civilization.[1] The vehicle to bring the new world into reality was a close co-operation between the crown and the church. As Silva Rego expressed in his monumental work, Curso de Missionologia, the true object of Catholic missions was "to plant the church, support it, and give it a firm basis in whatever geographical location."[2] Portugal's national character, in this respect, was expressed in linking mission with the Portuguese nation. This was in contrast to a foreign mission enterprise as undertaken by the Vatican which was supra-national, employing missionaries of every nationality and not being subjected to whatever form of nationality.[3] Portuguese missions, however, were essentially a national mission, the nation and the church sustaining each other's activities.

This co-operative spirit of mission and state flowered in the early fifteenth century when Prince Henry the Navigator assumed the leadership of the Order of Christ. This Order, founded in 1319, was the successor of the Order of Knights which operated during the time of the crusades. Entrusting the Order of Christ to Prince Henry cemented the alliance between the crown and the church. Both kings of that period, D. Duarte and Afonso V, deeded to the Order of Christ the right "to plant the cross" in all the lands which they hoped to discover and conquer. During this period the Order of Christ was never divorced from the Portuguese crown.[4]

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[1] Eduardo Moreira, The Significance of Portugal: A Survey of the Religious Situation (London: Dominion Press, 1933), p. 14.

[2] Rego, p. 5. [3] Ibid. [4] Ibid., pp. 120f.

Although this pattern suffered somewhat in the eighteenth century when the Marquis of Pombal expelled the Jesuits from Portugal and her overseas colonies, the rebirth of mission activity in 1844 restored the spirit of partnership. In that year with government subsidy there was created a training center for missionaries at the seminary of Sernache de Bonjardim.[1] In 1875 secular priests of this seminary reinforced the small missionary corps in Angola. A graduate of this school for overseas missions, Father António Barroso, regenerated the early enthusiasm, working on the thesis that "the missionary was of primary importance both to his church and state."[2] Father Barosso promulgated the state's idea of the "sin of idleness," working with the state to build a chapel, school, hospital, observatory, and work farm at the old capital of São Salvador. Church and state worked in full partnership to colonize Portugal's African territories.

The partnership status between church and state, however, was not always possible; the political climate in the home country often forced the state to become indifferent to mission activity in her overseas colonies. On such occasions Catholic missionaries prodded the state for help, creating a situation which made the church dependent on the state for its existence. As an illustration let us take the years of the First World War. From 1914 to 1918 Portugal was preoccupied with the First World War; the problems of her colonies

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[1] Rego, p. 173.

[2] Duffy, p. 122.

were put aside; missions were almost in complete ruins. Missionaries of the secular order in Moçambique appealed to the governor general, Joaquim José Machado, for full government support. On August 14, 1914 the governor general published decree No. 1077 which suspended the principles of the law of separation, providing financial support within the budget of the province.[1] His actions had far reaching effect, not only for Moçambique, but for Angola and other colonial possessions.

Taking advantage of this opportune moment, Portuguese missionaries in the colonies stressed the national character of the Catholic religion. They emphasized the patriotic nature of Catholic missions and their effectiveness as civilizing agents; they also claimed that Protestant mission work was divorced from the object of civilizing the indigenous population. In contrast, Portuguese Catholic missions wished to collaborate with the state in the work of civilizing Africans. Moreover, in line with this policy, proponents of Catholic missions maintained that the government should accept them not only as religious institutions, but as vehicles of instruction.[2] Their efforts succeeded, and in 1919, article 17 of decree No. 5.239 stated that all missionaries, lay and religious, were "considered as public functionaries of the colonies."[3]

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[1] Rego, pp. 182-183.

[2] Ibid., pp. 186f.

[3] Ibid., pp. 189f.

From 1919 to the revolution of May 28, 1926, much of the actual relationship between church and state depended on the governor general in each colony. More often than not, their attitude was favorable, recognizing their part within the civilizing process of the Portuguese tradition.[1] After the revolution of May 28, 1926, Catholic missions were once more allied with the state. The "Organic Statute of Portuguese Catholic Missions of Africa and Timor" recognized the special character of Portuguese Catholic missions as centers of spreading the Portuguese language, ideas, and customs. In the light of their important functions, the state granted an extraordinary subsidy of 1.500,000$00 and an increase of 1.350,000$00 to the yearly subsidy of Portuguese missions in Moçambique and Angola.[2]

The stage was now set for the next step, the integration of the activities of church and state. The culmination of this accord was manifested in article 140 of the Portuguese constitution that "Portuguese Catholic missions overseas and those establishments preparing personnel for that service . . . shall be protected and aided by the state as institutions of instruction and assistance and instruments of civilization."[3] Significantly a concordat was signed between the Holy See and the Portuguese Republic in 1940, obliterating the separation between church and state of the past few years. The mis-

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[1] Rego, p. 313.

[2] Ibid., pp. 197f.

[3] Duffy, p. 310.

sionary agreement of the concordat stated that in any alteration of the administrative pattern in the colonies, including appointment of an archbishop or bishop in any Portuguese colony, the Holy See must first submit his name to the Portuguese government "in order to ascertain if there be any objection to him on political grounds."[1] Article 9 promised financial support from the home government, including subsidies not only for educational centers, but also for sustaining missionary work. Article 10 agreed to make land grants for further expansion of their work. Article 12 assured annual stipends for resident bishops, vicars and missionary prefects, and their right to a pension on retirement. Article 14 entitled all missionaries travelling expenses both within and outside the colonies. Moreover, return journeys to the homeland, whether on ground of health or on leave, will, on the proposal of the respective prelate, be provided for on the same terms as are in force for officials of the civil service.[2] But with this arrangement there was always the temptation of the clergy to participate in the affairs of the state. It is to this problem we now turn.

Clerical Participation in Politics.- Of all the religious missionary societies in Portuguese West Africa, none played as important a role in politics as the Jesuits. As a matter of fact, the military and government leader in the sixteenth century, Paulo Dias de Novais, received his powers through the influence of the Jesuits who now

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[1] Rego, pp. 202f.

[2] Ibid., pp. 201-204.

became the advance guard of the colonization movement. The Jesuits, instead of being an arm of the government as in the Congo experiment, were the government, initiating a plan to negotiate with the people of Ngola under the donatária plan. The scheme, however, was not successful. The Portuguese historian, Felner, chronicling the activities of this era, did not waste any words of pity on the failure of the donatária. He claimed that the plan was initiated by the Society of Jesus to hide the real objective of the plan, namely the control of the slave trade in Angola.[1] In whatever way we may accept Felner's judgment on the matter, the Society of Jesus was deeply involved in the plans for colonization during the sixteenth century. If the plan had succeeded, the Society could have extended its control beyond the limits of the donatária, forming a theocratic government.

In the ensuing years the Jesuit idea of a theocracy constantly clashed with the civilian administration. This conflict of interest erupted in the reign of Governor d'Almeida in 1592 who was instructed by his superiors to penetrate into the interior to seize the silver mines at Cambambe. But the self interest of Portuguese settlers and the Jesuits thwarted his progress toward fulfilment of his plans. The Jesuits and former workers of Paulo Dias were afraid that the new governor would take the extensive grants of land which were offered to them by the previous government. For the Jesuits and European settlers, the presence of Governor d'Almeida constituted a threat to

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[1] Felner, p. 129.

their privileged positions. The two groups considered Angola as their fazenda. A struggle for power was inevitable; Governor d'Almeida could either capitulate to the Jesuits and the settlers or he could challenge their rights in the name of the crown. He followed the latter course, criticizing the Jesuits for meddling in political affairs. He then took action, gathering a small force to invade the occupied territories, but his soldiers were plagued with fever and they were forced to return to Luanda. The new governor continued his struggle against the Jesuits; in retaliation, the Jesuits excommunicated him, forcing d'Almeida to flee to Brazil and to abandon the office of governor. The year of 1593 marked the height of Jesuit influence in the struggle for political power in Angola.[1]

In the meantime the Portuguese had begun to penetrate the interior. Recognizing the encroachments made by her former ally, the self proclaimed queen, D. Ana de Sousa, waged war against the Portuguese. Throughout the hostilities between the Ginga queen and the Portuguese, the Jesuits played an important role in the conflict between the two parties. For instance, in an attempt to negotiate with each other, one of the conditions which D. Ana set forth was that the priests of the Company of Jesus were to be utilized as emissaries of peace. On another occasion when the Portuguese realized that this was a war to the end against the Ginga queen, they called on the college of the Company of Jesus to bless their campaign. The rector and members

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[1]Felner, pp. 182f.

of the college, assenting to the truth that this was part of the evangelization campaign in Angola, agreed to send two priests to accompany the army at the cost of the college.[1]

The Jesuits continued to play a part in the political life of Angola until the middle of the eighteenth century; an order for their expulsion from Luanda was given by Governor Antônio de Vasconcelos on May 11, 1760.[2] This move by government officials met favorable response from European settlers who accused the Jesuits of meddling in their affairs. The expulsion of the Jesuits curtailed direct participation of the Catholic clergy in the affairs of the state; they never regained their political position in Angola from this period onward.

Dilemma.- In many respects the position of Catholicism was unenviable; the border between church and state was not clearly defined. Throughout the period of European occupation there was constant struggle among the various European factions; without doubt motivations of self-interest intensified the competition for domination by the state, church, and European traders.

For the Catholic church the most effective way to put the country under its control was to involve itself in the affairs of the state. In the beginning some clerics served as state functionaries; it was only in 1888 that the Congo was formally occupied by a civil administration

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[1] Felner, p. 220.

[2] Rego, p. 297.

consisting of a resident governor and a guard of soldiers. Up to this time the church was the authority, both civil and religious. However, there were adverse reactions to the participation of the clergy in government; in the eighteenth century residents and governors in Angola welcomed the expulsion of the Jesuits because they considered them "as meddlers and hypocritical trouble-makers."[1]

Moreover, the close association of church and state created a situation where the welfare of the overseas church depended on the nature of the political state in the home country. For instance, the birth of the 1911 Portuguese Republic resulted in an anti-clerical environment. On April 20th of that year the Republic published a new statute, proclaiming the separation of the state from the churches; the state deliberately using the plural "churches" to indicate its anti-national religious character. The application of the "Law of Separation" resulted in the creation of lay missions which served as substitutes for religious orders. Of the 32 articles in the new statute, the first eighteen applied to missions in the overseas territories. The purpose of replacing religious missions by lay was to speed the civilizing process which was for the good of the indigenous races and of the highest political interest of the nation.[2] In practical terms, the decree freed the state from all promises which were made to the church by the previous government, cutting off state subsidy for

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[1] Duffy, p. 118.

[2] Rego, 176f.

the work of overseas missions. Subsequently, the persecution of the Catholic church in Portugal and the lack of government subsidy diminished the missionary fervor of previous years.[1]

Another aspect of this dilemma was that as the church moved closer to the state, the church was turned into an instrument of civilization by the state. In practice, the survival of the state assumed priority because it was the primary agent of civilization. Inevitably, the Catholic church became identified with Portuguese nationalism, the church assuming the role as a defender of the Portuguese state. Consequently, the response of Catholicism to African nationalism must be seen in this historical and sociological context.

iii. Protestantism: Position of Alienation

Relation to Traditional and European Authority.- The Protestant position was different from that of Catholicism; it had no official ties with either African or European authority. For this reason the response of Protestant missionaries varied. During the early years of missionary work, Protestant missionaries accepted the authority of African kings. For instance, when the first missionaries of the American Board arrived in Angola, they found that Portuguese authority extended only a few miles inland and in order to enter Bié which was their ultimate destination, they required permission from the king of that district.

Moreover, Protestant missionaries were always subject to the

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[1]Rego, 176f.

authority of the king; one of the marks of obeisance was to offer gifts of cloth and jewelry. Protestant missionaries were aware that unless they pleased the king, they could be expelled from the country. Mr. Bagster, one of the first American missionaries to enter the highlands of Angola, records an incident which describes the delicate position in which they found themselves as they confronted the king of Bailundu. He writes that when they paid their first visit to the king's ombala (royal household), they sat down to wait for him to enter the courtyard. They waited for a good while;

> then the ministers came in and sat upon a natural terrace of rocks at our right; after them the king, when all clapped their hands twice. He was introduced to us, we rose and shook hands, he seated himself upon my right, and again the hands were clapped and the word 'Bokwata', ran round the circle. This took Brother Sanders and myself by surprise and we failed to clap; thereupon the king remarked that the white men did not clap, for they despised the black man. We corrected this idea, and the king, jumping up, went off by another door, but soon came back, and clap, clap, and 'Bokwata', went round the circle.[1]

In many respects Protestant missionaries were "prisoners" of the king. For instance, the goal of the early missionaries was to work in Bié, but the Bailundu king would not allow them to go beyond his kingdom. At that time the two kings were rivals, each suspecting the other of trying to usurp the power of his domain. When the missionaries requested permission to proceed beyond the Bailundu region, the Bailundu king retorted that "If any one is to have white children

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[1] The Mission of the American Board to West Central Africa (Boston: Beacon Press, 1882), p. 51.

or white slaves, I am that one."[1] The American Board missionaries remained in Bailundu until they received permission from the Bailundu king to enter Bié.

The absolute authority of the Bailundu king was again noted three years later (1884) when the same missionaries were expelled from the area; the king accused the missionaries of plotting against his rule. Ekuikui, the king, informed the missionaries of his decision on May 15, 1884, ordering them out of his kingdom within nine days. All mission property was to be left in his hands. On receiving the expulsion order, one of the American missionaries, Dr. Sanders, went to see Ekuikui but his mission was not successful. Instead, the king angrily told Dr. Sanders that if he and his party did not leave within the specified time of nine days not only their property but their safety would be in jeopardy. Since there was no other recourse, the American missionaries took what they could with them and returned to the coast. Later, the missionaries discovered that King Ekuikui acted in this manner because he heard that the white men planned to divert trade northward to the Congo, undermining the Bailundu king's control of trade from the interior to the coast. Ekuikui's distrust of the American missionaries was understandable since white men in his area were traders; for Ekuikui, Protestant missionaries were no different from Portuguese traders.

The effect of the king's action abruptly stopped Protestant

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[1] Tucker, Drums..., p. 65.

missionary work in the Benguela plateau. The only alternative for the American missionaries was to ask the Portuguese government to intervene on their behalf. The king, Ekuikui, relented and sent one of his chieftains and fifty carriers to the coast, inviting the missionaries to return to Bailundu.

The pattern of appealing to the European power to intervene on behalf of Protestantism was seen from the beginning not only in central Angola, but in other sections of the country. For instance, Carson Graham of the British Baptist Society relates that on several occasions the Baptist missionaries complained to the European resident governor of certain unjust practices of the king. He cites the case of the enslavement of the Mawunze people by the king and the intervention of Protestant missionaries for their cause. Subsequently, the action of the British Baptist missionaries incurred the anger of the ruling king, Dom Alvaro.[1] The presence of two authorities, African and European, complicated the situation for Protestant missionaries. In the next section we will discuss how this historical circumstance affected the response of Protestantism.

Response of Protestantism.- For Protestantism the historical circumstances posed a different situation from that of Catholicism. The first Protestant missionaries were obliged to deal with both authorities, African and European, when they initiated their missionary

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[1] Graham, p. 49.

work. In many instances Protestant missionaries faced the hostility of both powers, the European Catholic group and the authority of the African kings.

Were there any visible patterns in the response of Protestantism to the historical situation? In the history of the penetration of Protestant missionary work, the response depended upon the political situation. During the early period when European authority was confined to the coastal areas, Protestant missionaries stationed in the interior always acknowledged the authority of the king. They brought cloth and trinkets as good-will gifts to the local rulers, recognizing that without their approval they could not begin their missionary work.

However, as European occupation penetrated beyond the coastal regions, Protestant missionaries attempted to be on good terms with both authorities, African and European. But this position was untenable when African and European interests clashed. What then was the response of Protestantism in such a situation? Generally, the attitude of Protestant missionaries evolved along these lines; first, to keep out of the conflict, and second, if this was not possible, to act as mediators between the two powers. There were several instances when Protestant missionaries attempted to act as mediators; one occurred in 1890 at the time of the military occupation of Bié by the Portuguese. The conflict was precipitated by the action of the governor general of Angola who sent a Portuguese officer and a company of soldiers to establish a military post in Bié, central Angola. The king of Bié

resented the encroachment on his authority and expelled the Portuguese officer and his soldiers from his district. The governor general, incensed at the action of the king of Bié, ordered Captain Paiva Couceiro to invade and sack the ombala of King Ndunduma. With help from an artillery unit and the Boers who had migrated to Angola from Southwest Africa, Captain Paiva Couceiro succeeded in destroying the king's ombala. Ndunduma, however, escaped and fled south into the Ganguela country. The Portuguese army captain issued a decree stating that unless the Bihéans surrendered their king within eight days, the Portuguese would destroy their country.

It was at this point that one of the Protestant missionaries of the Camundongo station, Reverend W. H. Sanders, decided to take it upon himself to ask the king to surrender to the Portuguese. After numerous efforts to contact the king, Sanders received word that Ndunduma was ready to give himself up to the Portuguese. The Protestant missionary, accompanied by Stanley Arnot of the Brethren mission, went to the appointed village, returned with the Bié king and surrendered him to Captain Paiva Couceiro. Hostilities ceased, peace restored, and a new king was elected by the sub-chiefs of Bié.[1]

Another instance when Protestant missionaries were involved in the differences between the two powers was in the Portuguese Congo rebellion of 1913. When the campaign of the rebel leader, Alvaro Buta, gained momentum and São Salvador was in danger of being ransacked,

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[1] The Missionary Herald (Boston: The American Board, 1881), pp. 110f.

the governor requested an English missionary, Mr. Bowskill, to negotiate terms of peace with Buta and his followers. A similar request to Mr. Bowskill had already been made by the Congo king and his councillors, but it was not acted on until the time of the final attack and destruction of São Salvador. Under a flag of truce, Mr. Bowskill and Dr. Gilmore, agreed to go to the rebels' camp to negotiate a peace, inviting Buta and his followers to sit down to conciliate their differences with the local authorities. Buta agreed; the immediate threat to the white population was averted. Later, Buta was taken into custody, betrayed, imprisoned and shipped to Luanda. When government authorities assumed control of the region again, the soldiers razed the villages of the rebellious people, burning their homes, schools and chapels. British Baptist missionaries were incensed at the action taken by the Portuguese authorities, but they were helpless.[1]

Dilemma.- The mediating position of Protestant missionaries was unenviable. For instance, at the inquiry to determine the causes of the Buta rebellion, the commander of the fort was determined to implicate Protestant missionaries, especially Mr. Bowskill who was one of the negotiators of the truce. Government investigators questioned workers of the Baptist mission, hoping to incriminate the Baptist Society and its missionaries. For the Baptist missionaries, their action to mediate a truce between the warring groups backfired. On the one hand, they faced the suspicion of Portuguese officials, and

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[1]Graham, p. 137.

on the other, they were partners in a broken trust which they had given to Buta and his followers. The incident created a feeling of distrust between Protestants and Portuguese authorities which has lingered to the present. Most Portuguese historians insist that the Buta revolt had its origins in the English Protestant mission. For instance, a former governor of the Uige district in the Portuguese Congo, Major Felgas, wrote that the chief of the insurrection was a former student of the English mission of São Salvador. Felgas also insisted that only the villages around the Protestant mission rebelled against the civil authorities; Catholic villages, he claimed, refrained from enjoining in the rebellion. Moreover, Felgas records that there were rumors during this period that the English and Germans were planning to re-distribute the Portuguese territory of the Congo;[1] the rebellion, according to Felgas, was a forerunner to this foreign invasion.

Protestant missionaries denied that they instigated or helped in the insurrection. As a matter of record Protestant missionaries deplored the use of violence by Buta and his followers to achieve their aims. Carson Graham, writing of this incident and the havoc created by the retaliatory measures of the Portuguese, said: "It was natural that every lover of freedom should sympathize with the cause for which Buta had risen; but our adherents and the church members who joined him had to learn that they who take the sword may perish by the sword."[2]

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[1] Felgas, p. 166.

[2] Graham, p. 142.

Protestant missionaries harvested a similar result on another occasion. In the Bailundu rebellion of 1902 missionaries helped feed the Portuguese at the fort and acted as mediators between the army officials and the African king. Yet, a correspondent of a Lisbon newspaper accused Protestant missionaries of inciting the revolt. John T. Tucker reported that the correspondent cited the use of the hymn "We are little Travellers" in youth services as proof since the second verse reads "We are little soldiers." And the press correspondent wrote, "Soldiers? Against whom? Only against the ruling power of the colony"[1]. Furthermore, Tucker stated that during this period it was almost imprudent to sing in "native" churches "Onward Christian Soldiers," or "Stand up, stand up for Jesus."[2]

Thus, the Protestant position was precarious; Protestant missionaries were labelled as traitors by both factions. In the Buta revolt of 1910 the Portuguese, on the one hand, blamed the Baptist mission for the rebellion; the Congolese leaders, on the other, accused English missionaries of breaking the agreement of safe conduct for Buta and his followers. The Bailundu rebellion brought similar reactions; Europeans and Africans were critical of the actions of the American missionaries. As we shall see in the next chapter on modern nationalism, this dilemma will continue to plague the Protestant response to the issue of nationalism.

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[1] Quoted in Tucker, Angola..., p. 111.

[2] Ibid.

4. Summary

Our discussion in this chapter has centered on the historical factors of nationalism during the first four and a half centuries of Portuguese rule. It is obvious that in such a broad time span, one can only telescope the numerous events which formed the context for the development of nationalism in Portuguese West Africa.

We observed that African resistance to European domination was constant throughout this period. Accordingly, we noted that the statement "four hundred and fifty years of Portuguese rule" is misleading; it was not until the 1910's that the Portuguese controlled the country. Only Portugal's superior military power subdued the ruling African kings of Angola and the Congo.

The struggle between European and African interests was not confined to the political realm, it spilled over into the religious sphere. We noted that for Africans the adoption of Christianity was advantageous, a step which pleased the colonial power. In many respects the reaction of Africans to the church was dictated by political expediency. Yet, some kings as Dom Afonso took Christianity seriously, modelling his kingdom to that of the fifteenth century Portuguese feudal system. On many occasions the struggle for domination between Africans and Europeans centered in the religious capitals of Rome, Lisbon, and São Salvador do Congo. At times African kings strove to establish a church independent of Lisbon, appealing to the Vatican for aid. But the politics of Europe dictated otherwise; Lisbon gained the

upper hand over São Salvador. The Vatican conceded to Portugal the right to govern all religious activities in her African possessions; the authority of a Catholic Congo king was subservient to the Portuguese crown.

There was another struggle, however, which affected the response of Catholicism on modern nationalism. This was the issue of church and state. Historically, the relationship between church and state followed a pattern of partnership, dependence, and integration. But there were occasions when the Jesuits assumed great political power, the opposition accusing the Society of Jesus of taking over the reins of the government. By 1940, the aims of church and state were complementing each other in carrying out the programs to civilize and to Christianize.

The responses of Catholicism and Protestantism to the historical struggle between European and African powers differed. The dominant reaction of Catholicism was to align itself with the European power, recognizing that this was to her interest. Protestant missionaries,, on the other hand, attempted to follow a policy of disengagement, a policy of withdrawal from the battle of political and territorial rights. In its practical aspect Protestantism's response was to recognize both authorities, traditional and European. In a final analysis, however, Protestantism did recognize the European power as dominant, appealing to the governor general when mission work was interrupted by an African ruler.

What were the important factors which influenced these responses?

For Catholicism the tie with the Portuguese state prevailed; all reactions were influenced by this factor. Allied to it was the colonial situation which elevated European interests over African. A third was the religious factor, the Portuguese hierarchy insisting on its right to control the overseas church in West Africa.

For Protestantism, her policy of withdrawal and non-alignment stemmed from the doctrine of the separation of church and state. Moreover, Protestantism was a foreign and not a national (Portuguese) religious movement, a factor which promoted disengagement from the European power. The authority of the indigenous kings was another reason, a fact which influenced Protestant missionaries not to take sides.

In this situation Catholicism and Protestantism were confronted with the matter of choice, once again facing dilemmas. For Catholicism, a critical attitude towards the state could result in a loss of support, financial and political. Opposition to colonial rule could also place Catholicism in a position of contradiction, its roots being European. Furthermore, it could mean an end to rapid expansion of mission work, its existence depended on a co-operative relationship with the colonial power.

Support of the European state also had its shortcomings. It meant that the life of the overseas church depended on the political situation in Portugal; Catholicism's fortunes were often adverse when a new government came into power. For instance, the era of the 1911 Portuguese Republic was definitely anti-clerical. The Catholic church

also became an instrument of the state, the civilizing motivation being more important than the evangelizing. A third result of Catholicism's tie with the colonial government was a loss of African support, Africans often projecting their frustrations and resentments to the Catholic church. This will be an important factor when we deal with the issue of modern nationalism.

The dilemma of Protestantism was as acute, also involving the matter of choice. Opposition to the European state meant a loss of protection from the state, especially in situations where Protestant missionaries encountered the hostility of African rulers, Bailundu being an example. Opposition by Protestant missionaries was also interpreted by the European power as an act of collaboration with rebellious African chiefs. The final threat, however, was expulsion which meant an end to Protestant mission work in Angola.

But what were the opposite consequences? Support of the state threatened the existence of Protestant missions; African chiefs had the power to expel Protestant missionaries from their areas. Moreover, whenever Protestant missionaries were involved in the settlement of differences between Europeans and Africans, the agreements were often broken by the colonial power. This was the case in the Buta rebellion, Congolese leaders accusing the British Baptist missionaries of reneging on the promise of safe conduct for Buta and his followers. Under these circumstances Protestant missionaries were labelled as traitors by both parties.

Needless to say, the attitudes of Catholicism and Protestantism formulated during this phase were carried over into the period of modern nationalism. Catholicism aligned itself with the state; Protestantism accepted European authority. Neither evolved a policy to meet the challenge of African nationalism in the years under discussion; each acted to protect its own interests. We are now ready to take the next step; our task will be to consider these attitudes in the context of modern nationalism.

CHAPTER VI

MODERN NATIONALISM

1. Introduction

In our study thus far of slave labor, forced labor, and the historical factors in nationalism, the challenge-response context has focused on African versus European interests. For students of African history this struggle is seen as part of the larger issue of nationalism. Viewed in this perspective the struggles for sovereignty between the indigenous Angolan rulers and the colonial power were manifestations of African nationalism; this struggle can be divided into four periods. During the early period of discovery, we indicated that the dominant theme was one of equality. The prevailing idea of that era was to make the Congo court equal to European royalty, instituting a feudal hierarchy of nobles, counts, and dukes. To achieve this end Portuguese colonialists clothed, educated, and instructed the Congolese in the ways of Lisbon. An integral aspect of this program, of course, was indoctrination in the Catholic religion.

This mutual alliance lasted through the sixteenth century, although there were occasional conflicts of power. The climate of the seventeenth century, however, was different. The increasing importance of the slave trade, the intrigues of local European settlers, and the internal warfare activated the dormant struggle. Except for the

seven years of Dutch occupation, the Portuguese waged a continuous campaign to subdue the reigning chiefs and local rulers. Insurrections, rebellion, and defiance of Portuguese rule continued into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and the three hundred years (the beginning of the seventeenth to the end of the nineteenth) can be designated as years of active resistance by indigenous rulers. For proof we refer to the rebellious periods in the Congo, Ngola, and Bailundu kingdoms described in Chapter V.

Post World War I years ushered in a period of acquiescence; western educated Africans set aside their indigenous customs to become assimilados within the Portuguese culture. Portuguese civil administration expanded and the colonial power instituted a system which was relatively effective in controlling the peoples of Angola.[1] Internal warfare ceased, legitimate commerce expanded, and some industrial activities were initiated. During this period Angolan Africans adjusted to the structural form of the Portuguese colonial system.

Concomitant with a growing desire of Angolan Africans to become assimilados, there was the realization that in spite of a philosophical declaration of equality within the colonial system, the actual situation belied the Portuguese affirmations of an integrated multi-racial society. The Portuguese discriminated against assimilated Africans in the economic, social, and educational spheres;

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[1] Angola is identified in this chapter with Província de Angola which includes the northern area of the Portuguese Congo which is a district within the present day Angola.

Africans were assimilated Portuguese in name only. Dissatisfied Angolan Africans organized small groups; the strongholds were in the cities of Luanda and Lobito. By 1950 there were efforts by these groups to petition the United Nations to intervene on behalf of Angolan Africans. By then the Luanda group formed a partisan party which called itself the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola. In the meanwhile the political ferment accelerated at an increasing pace in the Belgian Congo, affecting the entire district of the Portuguese Congo. By 1954 a Union of the Populations of Angola party opened its office in Leopoldville. Both parties were in their infancy, in number and in influence among the African population. The Popular Movement held its meetings clandestinely in the Luanda region; the Union of Peoples movement was an outgrowth of the Abako party of the lower Belgian Congo.[1] But the beginnings mushroomed, partially through the course of world events; independence became a must for all peoples dominated by a colonial power in Africa and in Asia. In Angola the drive for self-rule assumed hurricane proportions when Belgium acceded to the Congolese demand for independence on June 30, 1960. Nine months later Angola erupted, ushering in a period of active resistance. Angola was also caught in the sweeping currents of the demand for independence now.

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[1]The original dream of the Abako party under the leadership of Joseph Kasavubu was the re-creation of the ancient Bakongo kingdom which was divided by colonial boundaries between the Belgian Congo, the French Congo, and Portuguese Angola.

With this historical introduction we are now ready in this chapter to relate our study to the social response of Christianity to the issue of modern nationalism. For our investigation, there will be two pertinent questions. The first is, "What was Christianity's contribution to Angolan national consciousness?" In this respect we shall examine to what extent the religious ideas of Christianity, the institutional church, the African clergy, the Christian elites, the social welfare programs, and the Christian separatist churches stimulated national consciousness. The second question is, "What was the response of Christianity to Angolan nationalism, including the present crisis situation?" In dealing with these questions, we will attempt to relate them to the dilemma which faced both groups, Catholic and Protestant.

2. Christianity and National Consciousness

In this study we have recognized the interaction of political, sociological, and religious forces with the selected social issues of slave labor and forced labor. Similarly, in the present section we must recognize that Christianity is only one factor in the development of African nationalism. Other internal factors include education, the rise of cities and towns, and the injustices inherent in the colonial system. External factors such as the Second World War, the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, and the granting of independence to former British and French colonial possessions were also

important in the development of independent political thought in Angola.

Yet, no one doubts that Christianity has been a major factor in African political development. As Ndabaninge Sithole of Southern Rhodesia reminded his listeners at the Leverhulme History Conference in 1960,

> Practically all significant African political leaders were educated and trained in 'mission schools.' Many of the present African political leaders were 'mission school' teachers at one time or another. Practically all important journalists, and authors who champion the African cause are former students of 'mission schools.' Practically all leading Africans in medicine, the various trades and industries received their education and training in 'mission schools.'[1]

For these reasons Sithole states in his paper that "consciously or unconsciously, the Christian Church with its Gospel has tremendously influenced African political development, and has set most of the African communities on the road to nationhood."[2] In a real sense the main contribution of Christianity to African political development has been the introduction of new associations. What are some of them? One is a confrontation of religious ideas which upset the equilibrium of both African and colonial life. Another is the institutional structure of the church itself. A third is the rise of an African clergy which is necessary for the life of the institution. A fourth comes out of the church's function as a social welfare institution, including the

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[1] Ndabaninge Sithole, "The Interaction of Christianity and African Political Development," typescript, p. 15.

[2] Ibid.

educational, medical, and technological aspects. A fifth is the creation of African Christian elites, the assimilados, and a sixth is the Christian separatist movement. All have played an important part in the development of national consciousness; and in this section we propose to pursue how they contributed to the development of national movements.

i. Religious Changes

Two common characteristics prevail in the religious practices of traditional African societies. One is its belief in ancestral worship; the other is a loyalty to the deity of the group. On ancestor worship Gladwyn Childs observes that among the Ovimbundu in central Angola the ruling families returned on occasion to their original lands in the north to worship its ancestral gods. "From this," Childs writes, "it is evident that the ancestors of the ruling families became the gods of the kingdoms over which they ruled."[1] Moreover, ancestral deities implied a worship of local gods. As Godfrey and Monica Wilson noted in their study in Central Africa, "an enemy in a distant chiefdom was, to the Nyukusa, for instance, beyond the range of supernatural vengeance, unless he were a relative." Each family kept its own ancestral gods; the power of these deities was confined to the immediate clan.[2]

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[1] Childs, p. 219.

[2] Godfrey and Monica Wilson, The Analysis of Social Change (London: Cambridge University Press, 1954), p. 11.

The other characteristic in the religious practices of traditional African societies is an emphasis on a homogeneity of the clan; deviations were seldom permitted. On this feature of African tradition, Sithole writes that

> the individual counted in so far as he was part and parcel of the group outside of which he lost his real worth. In actual practice this meant that no individual could follow his natural bent beyond the group. All new schemes, new adventures, new thoughts, and new outlooks on life were subject to the approval or disapproval of the group. The individual, to all practical intent, was dominated by the fear of the group.[1]

Undoubtedly, the arrival of Europeans in Africa affected the religious practices of the African peoples. Christianity, one of the factors in this change, based its belief in a universal God, a deity who was the God of all peoples. The parochial religion of ancestral deities was challenged by a God who had no bounds, geographically, racially, and culturally. Moreover, an African who joined a Christian church was linked with a world wide organization. An African of the Methodist church in Angola not only joined the Church of Christ in his country, but he was also linked with a world Methodist organization. This was also true for Baptists, Congregationalists, and Anglicans. The Christian God demanded from an African convert a loyalty beyond his own family and clan. From this point it was not difficult to relate this universal concept to a development of national consciousness; nationhood required a loyalty beyond one's family and ethnic group.

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[1]Sithole, p. 5.

Christianity also encouraged individual deviation; basically, an African who joined a Christian church was an individual who had rebelled against the practices of his family. Christianity sustained the right of an individual to question the decisions of his own group, promoting a rebellious attitude towards the status quo. Take the case of Chief Kanjundu of Ciyuka of Bié, for example; he defied his own clan to become a Christian. John T. Tucker describes this "adventure in individuality" as follows:

> With an evangelist at his side spirit houses are torn down and his fetishes committed to flames. His priests and witch-doctors flee from him as from one demented. The foundation of native life in that community is shaken. Had not Kanjundu promised at his installation to keep faith with the ancestral dead?[1]

As the years went by it was not difficult to relate this feeling of rebelliousness to the colonial situation. As Sithole says "it is inconceivable to a logical mind that the Bible could deliver the African from traditional domination without at the same time redeeming him from colonial domination." He adds that "the Bible teaches that the individual is unique, of infinite worth before God; colonialism, in many respects, says just the opposite." What happens then? Sithole remarks that "the Bible-liberated African is now reasserting himself not only over tribal but also over colonial authority, since these two are fundamentally the same."[2]

For the development of African nationalism, a rebellious attitude

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[1] Tucker, Drums..., p. 105. [2] Sithole, p. 6.

against the status quo was necessary. In this respect Christian beliefs in a universal God and in the worth of an individual as against the clan contributed to the anti-colonial feeling among Africans. But "nationalist feeling" was dangerous in a colonial situation; it had to express itself in an institutional form. It is to this topic we now turn.

ii. Institutional Structure

In order to understand the contribution of the institutional form of Christianity to national consciousness, we should recognize the differences and similarities in Catholic and Protestant structures. The aspect of dissimilarity is largely the result of the church-state relationship. As we noted in Chapter V the interests of the state and of the Catholic church demanded the co-operation of both parties; the state protected the church; and the church upheld the state. It was difficult to dissociate Catholicism from the national character of the colonial power.

Protestantism, on the other hand, was tolerated by the state. It represented a foreign element within the Portuguese mystique; the presence of Protestantism distracted Africans from the Portuguese image of a "civilized" person. The relation between the Portuguese state and Protestantism was uneasy; each was suspicious of the other. Protestantism has been a minority group within a Catholic state; she had to obey the laws of the state. Subsequently, Protestant missionaries regarded themselves as guests in a foreign country, and, as such, they tacitly agreed to work within the structure of the colonial system.

Both religious groups, however, have been concerned with the building of African Christian communities. As a result both Catholicism and Protestantism established institutional structures. For our immediate study we shall examine each institutional form separately.

Catholicism.- For the Catholic missionary movement the primary objective has been the gigantic work of "planting a church" which would have a secure and permanent base in the indigenous country. For this purpose a structure was needed, an organization linked with Lisbon and Rome. By the end of the sixteenth century there was created a diocese of São Salvador do Congo, consisting of a bishop, nine canons, and three dignitaries who were European and appointed by the king of Portugal. The nine canons, except for the Dean and Master of the school, were nominated by the king of Congo.[1] The plan throughout the Congo and Angola was to establish a church to which African converts could be instructed in the Catholic faith. The strength of the Catholic church followed the pattern of European penetration; it was much stronger where control of the territory was in the hands of the Portuguese. Colonial occupation was followed by the establishment of the Catholic church.

As the Portuguese increased their control in the interior, the extension of the diocese plan was put in practice. Each of the major cities was an ecclesiastical center of the Catholic church. After the concordat between the Vatican and Portugal, the old diocese of Angola and Congo no longer existed; it had been replaced previously

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[1] Rego, p. 276.

by creating the prefectures of the Lower Congo and of Cubango. In 1940 three dioceses were created, Luanda which became the archdiocese, Nova Lisboa, and Silva Porto. Fifteen years later in July of 1955, the Holy See created the new diocese of Sá da Bandeira in southern Angola. The network of dioceses, churches, schools, extended throughout the country, the Roman Catholic church becoming a strong independent force within the colonial structure.

At times, however, the Catholic structure seemed to be more European than African. For instance, the two dioceses, Nova Lisboa and Sá da Bandeira, recorded the greatest increases in membership in the 1950's; this was not at all surprising since these two districts received the greatest number of European settlers during the years from 1950 to 1953, more than 50,000 Metropolitans.[1] Moreover, of the 122,737 Portuguese Catholic citizens in the 1950 census, only 23,382 were Africans; the rest were Europeans (73,976) and mulattoes (25,285).[2]

Yet, to conclude that the Catholic church is entirely for Europeans is misleading. For instance, in the same census (1950) there were 1,380,126 African Catholics (indígenas). Catholic villages were scattered throughout the 167 parochial districts in Angola, from the Atlantic coast to the borders of her neighboring territories. Also, in the 1958-59 school year there were 1,015 schools for the

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[1] Rego, p. 321.

[2] Anuario Estatistico, p. 20.

indigenous population under the auspices of the Catholic church with an enrollment of 56,628 pupils. Although the Catholic church is European controlled, the movement within the institution is predominantly African, not only in membership but in its influence on the local village level. It is in this respect that the Catholic institutional structure must be examined; its influence on the African population is far greater than we may suspect.

Protestantism.- The shell of Protestant church structure is no less western than that of the Catholic, depending on the tradition of each mission society. In the Portuguese Congo the church structure is Baptist; in the Luanda and Malange areas, the church polity is Methodist; in central Angola, the Congregational idea predominates. The Plymouth Brethren, South Africa General Mission, and Philafricaine missions have their local church organization on a congregational basis, but these missions are less structured than that of the Canadian and New England Congregationalists of central Angola. Underlying all institutions, however, is one idea, the building up of a local autonomous church, in a village, town or city.

In the early years of mission activity, Protestant work was dominated by missionaries; they made church rules and regulations, emphasizing the sins of slavery, polygamy, dancing, and the use of rum and tobacco. In general, the first church unit was developed around the mission station, formed principally among the workers of the mission. Later, the areas of influence went beyond the mission

station; village churches were begun. As the influence of the mission expanded, there was a necessity in associating the outstation work with that of the mission. The result was a development of an association of churches which later formed into pastoral areas and districts.

Although the pattern of hierarchical authority was different between Catholic and Protestant societies, they had a similar idea of "planting churches." Wherever a church service was held, there was a beginning of a chapel in that village. But the idea of life within the two church structures often differed. Catholic structure, to a large extent, harbored a liturgy, instruction and doctrine which seemed to be set apart from the life of the peoples. Frequently, Catholic clergy ignored the issues which were the concern of Protestants such as polygamy, alcoholism, and dancing. For Catholics these seemed to be fringe issues; for Protestants these were main issues of a Christian life. A Protestant Christian was known by the life which he led in these spheres. Because of this emphasis Protestants were apt to dissociate themselves not only from Catholics but from other non-Christian villagers.

The sense of being apart from the European community was also intensified by the emphasis which Protestants gave to the use of the indigenous language, including preaching, catechism, and conferences in the Protestant church. Village elders encouraged Protestant foreign missionaries to learn the African dialect of the area, although in later years Catholic priests came to be proficient in Kikongo, Kimbundu, Umbundu, and other Bantu languages. The translation of the

Bible in the African languages also helped to foster a greater unity among Protestants. Church leaders encouraged new members to own a Bible; they used the Bible to teach the Christian faith. Such concerted efforts resulted in an institution which seemed to foster a sense of unity among Protestant Africans, setting them apart from the state, Catholics and non-Christian groups.

A growing African identity with the Protestant church was further promoted by the participation of members in the finances of the church organization. Local expenses, including the salary of pastors, were paid by contributions from the people. The use of overseas money to support the local church was discouraged. A common financial procedure for a Protestant group was to assess a flat rate to each member; the idea being that all should contribute equally to the work of the church. Christian elders appointed local treasurers, introducing a new element into the communal village life. Merlin Ennis, one of the founders of the American Board mission station in Elende, describes it in this manner:

> In African life there are a number of things which are looked upon as untouchable and tabu, money was not one of these nor was public funds a sacred matter. As everyone was expected to help a member of the family when he was hard pressed, so when a man knew that his cousin had a quantity of church money on hand he went to this treasurer and said that he needed some of it. Under the family code it was very hard for the treasurer to withhold this from the brother in need. It took some psychological campaigning and wishful thinking to get the church advanced to the point of having a personality and its funds as having status of the property of an individual.[1]

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[1]Ennis, South Church lecture, p. 3.

In a large measure the handling of church funds by Africans hastened the process of Africanization in the Protestant church. Other steps were also taken; one of the most important for both Catholicism and Protestantism was the recruitment of an African clergy. We shall now proceed to examine this aspect of the church structure.

iii. African Clergy

Within the hierarchical structure of the church, the pivotal figure in the disruption of the relationship between the traditional and European, between the traditional and the younger African elements, and between church and state, has been the rise of an African clergy. From the beginning Catholic missionaries have been preoccupied with the training of an African clergy. The first ones chosen for this office were sent to Lisbon to be educated, either Africans or mulattoes. Later, they were sent to Brazil for their theological studies; their training in the non-theological disciplines was done in Angola. Through this method the Catholic church recruited a small corps of an indigenous clergy for the Congo and Angola. But this was not an ideal situation; there was a great necessity for a seminary in Angola. Already the Jesuits had established a colégio, but the problem was only half-solved. The most pressing problem was the creation of a proper seminary for the training of an African clergy. Some priests had attended the Jesuit school; others studied in the residence of Franciscan fathers. But the need for a seminary was still urgent. In 1627 the king of

Portugal ordered the mission societies in Angola to found two seminaries, one in the Congo and the other in Angola; unfortunately, the king's order was not obeyed.[1]

An educated African clergy, however, raised many problems within the traditional society. For instance, there were clashes of authority between African clerics and their local chiefs. An interesting account of this conflict occurred during the reign of the king, Ngola. After his sister, Dona Ana de Sousa, was converted to Christianity, she convinced her brother, the king, to ask for baptism. This the king did. On receiving the king's request the governor of Luanda sent Padre Dionísio de Faria, an African clergy, who understood the language and customs of Matamba. The king, Ngola Jinga, was insulted by this action. The African priest was the son of one of his slaves. The Catholic church acted on the belief that the church's representative no longer came under the powers of the traditional king. The priest, whatever his family origin, became a member of the elect and his duty was to instruct others, whether they be kings, queens, soldiers or commoners. From the standpoint of the Catholic church, the African priest, son of a slave, assumed a higher status when he was converted. In the eyes of the church, the king, as a heathen, was inferior. The Portuguese historian, Silva Rego, writing of this incident, said that the king was ignorant of the motive of the governor in sending an African priest to instruct and baptize the king.[2]

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[1] Rego, pp. 290f.

[2] Ibid.

Whatever the motive of this action, the incident illustrates a beginning in the breakdown of the absolute power of the traditional ruler. African clerics threatened the whole structure of traditional society.

Protestants were also concerned with a training program for an educated African clergy and several mission societies founded Bible schools. In 1911 the American and Canadian mission bodies in central Angola founded a boys' and girls' school at the Dondi mission station which was a step forward in the training of an educated Protestant community. During the 1950's both Catholics and Protestants accelerated their programs for the training of African clergy. The Catholic Church established two principal training centers, one in Luanda, and the other in Nova Lisboa; several Protestant mission societies, Methodist, Congregationalist, and the United Church of Canada, combined resources to form a Union Seminary in Dondi.

Undoubtedly, an educated African clergy upset the ruling relationship in the colonial society. Priests maintained a position outside the sphere of the authority of the chiefs; indeed, they often opposed the traditional rulers, especially as leaders of church communities. Moreover, the educated African clergy gave status to the black men in a white society, pitting the African Catholic priest against the local administrator. In these instances the conflict was sharp since it was not only a clash of church and state but between an educated black man and a white government official. The state church endowed its priests with power; African priests were not hesitant in using it.

Protestant clerics, however, have no such privileged position in the state; their authority comes from their own people and the foreign missionary enterprise. In many ways the link between the Protestant clergy and the foreign missionary movement was also a status symbol in the colonial situation; North American and English missionaries occupied a favored position in Angola because they came from highly industrialized nations. At the time of the crisis in March 1961, however, this relationship endangered the welfare of many Protestant pastors. We shall discuss this aspect more fully in the next section. At the moment we will proceed to examine the church as a social welfare institution and the contribution of this feature to national consciousness.

iv. Social Welfare Institution

The humanitarian motivation of the Christian missionary movement was responsible for its involvement in educational, medical and technological work in Africa. Problems of illiteracy, health, and poverty occupied the attention of Christian missionary educators, doctors, and agriculturists. Unquestionably, the presence of these missionary specialists assisted in creating a social situation conducive to change in the traditional and colonial situations. In this section we shall see the ways in which this was done. Our first item under the inclusive title "social welfare" will be education.

Education.- The church's responsibility to instruct has never been questioned, either by the state or by the church hierarchy. From

the beginning the Catholic missionary movement thought in terms of setting up an extensive program of education. By 1593 the idea of establishing a colégio had been presented by Jesuit priests. Elementary education was begun in 1605, followed by a secondary school in 1607. Twelve years later (1619) the Jesuit colégio installed four professors; one in letters, one in morals, and two in Latin. After the revolution of 1910 in Portugal, there was an increase in lay missions whose concern was in the field of education. At the time of the creation of lay missions, there was doubt whether they would be advantageous to the Catholic church because of their separate status under decree No. 233. But when the two functions, educational and religious, were united in 1926, religious missions were located side by side of the existing lay missions. General Norton de Matos, whose regime in Angola spanned the years 1910-1926, noted that the establishment of lay and religious missions had great influence in Angola as agents in educating the indigenous habitants of Angola.[1] By 1930 the Catholic church was designated by the state as institutions of learning; its legality was established in Article 27 of the Portuguese Colonial Act of July 8, 1930. The article stated that

> religious missions overseas, being instruments of civilization and national influence, and establishments for the training of personnel for service in them and in the Portuguese 'Padroado', shall possess a legal charter and shall be protected and assisted by the state as institutions of learning.[2]

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[1] Rego, p. 313.

[2] Ibid., p. 163.

Protestant missionary societies also instigated an extensive educational program among Africans. Schools were started as early as possible; in 1892 the American Board listed 42 pupils in the boys' school. Much of its curriculum was elementary, consisting of reading, writing, and spelling. In 1914 and 1916 the enrollment of the Currie Institute for boys was twenty five pupils; at the Means School for girls, fourteen students.

From the African's point of view, the drive to educate himself was understandable, for education is the fastest route for Africans to achieve status in a European society. Postal, health, and administrative clerks required a minimum educational qualification of a fourth year diploma. The involvement of Catholic and Protestant religious societies in education is indicated in the government statistical bulletin of 1959. Students of Catholic missions in the official curriculum adapted for Africans totalled 42,000; Protestant missions enrolled over 11,000.[1] These figures, however, do not show the numerous Catholic and Protestant catequeses (village or bush schools conducted by the local church) which reach 100,000 adults and children.

Moreover, for Africans, western education has not only been the key towards dignity, job opportunities, and economic wealth, but it has also introduced a common language. The study of a European language opened channels of communication among the many ethnic groups

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[1] Anuário Estatistica, p. 61.

in Africa, establishing effective communication not only among themselves but with other African countries. As Sithole informs us, "African political organization has been made easier by adopting a foreign language as the official language since the elevation of one African language to that status would have unleashed old tribal rivalries and could have made political organization extremely difficult."[1] Unquestionably, mission schools have played an important role in the development of African national consciousness.

Medical.- Unlike education, medical work has distinctly been a prerogative of Protestant mission work; Catholic mission societies have depended on the state for their medical program. Undoubtedly, medical work looms large within the program of Protestant mission work. Hospitals in São Salvador, Quessua, Dondi, Bunjei, Chilesso, Chissamba, Boma are important segments of Protestant work. The report of the American Board deputation to the West Central Africa Mission in 1911 observed that from the beginning medical work has been interwoven with religious programs. For instance, one of the first missionaries to be appointed by the American Board to the work in West Africa was a medical missionary, Dr. Bagster. Medical needs were so great that all missionaries were often called to treat people with tropical diseases. The simple buildings which housed the first medical work grew until its importance often overshadowed the evangelization program.

José Júlio Gonçalves, in his two volume work, Protestantismo

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[1]Sithole, p. 9.

em Africa, concedes that Protestant medical work is about the strongest attraction for the evangelization of the peoples of Angola. He cites the fame of the hospitals of Dondi, Chissamba, and Quessua among Africans and Europeans. He also calls attention to such well known medical doctors as Parsons of the Seventh Day Adventist mission at Bongo, and of Walter Strangway of the Chissamba mission. Gonçalves asks: "How many owe their lives to these doctors who have given their lives to the cure of all peoples, blacks and whites?" He adds that the witness of these men represents the best of human fraternity, and whoever is touched by their "magic" is inevitably indebted to them. Furthermore, Gonçalves notes that the efficiency of these men is increased by the hundreds of medical assistants located in the villages, forming a network of medical posts throughout the country. An interesting observation of Gonçalves is that medical work is an important aspect of creating a climate of co-operativeness within Protestant work in Angola. For instance, doctors from Dondi are asked to help at Chissamba, and vice versa. Patients are also treated in the nearest hospital. It is not unusual to find many Christian converts from the Plymouth Brethren mission being treated at the Chissamba hospital, although missionaries of the two groups may differ in doctrinal matters.[1]

Hence, the importance of medical work to Protestant missionary activity is incalculable; it is an integral part of its "cradle to the grave" program. In many areas an African could sustain himself within

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[1]Gonçalves, p. 206.

the Protestant community, exclusive of the state's demands on him. A Protestant church member could be born at a Protestant mission hospital, enroll in a Protestant school, and be buried in a Protestant cemetery. Medically, a Protestant African is not at the mercy of the state doctor; he can find medical help without being subjected to official inquiry of his work or personal status. He also feels that he is a part of the Protestant mission hospital since he has a voice in the affairs of the church hospital through a Protestant church council or conference. In addition the use of the indigenous language by the medical personnel and the care which he receives from them add to the feeling of identification with a community separate from the state. Nationalist sentiments increases as Africans draw away from a sense of loyalty to the colonial state and transfer it to another institution. Medical work in the Protestant mission program helped foster this feeling.

Technical Aid.- Another program which comes under "social welfare" is that of technical aid. As with medical work, technical aid in the missionary movement has been Protestant sponsored. During the last ten years there has been increasing concern by Protestant missions to better Protestant villages. Two projects in the nature of village betterment programs, one in central Angola and the other in Quessua, have carried the brunt of this thrust. The nature of the programs included instruction in nutrition, better sanitary conditions, literacy, and agriculture. The programs have two major objectives:

first, good health, and second, sound agricultural practices. Under health there are courses relating to the care of a home, kitchen, furniture, utensils, and customs. Nutrition is included; the various food elements are taken up and related to one's health. The second part includes production in the fields, covering methods of cultivating, fertilizing, quality and quantity of produce. Production also includes methods of poultry raising, including different breeds, poultry food, treatment of diseases, and the economics of raising poultry.

No one doubts that the village betterment program is limited in scope; technical aid is a vast enterprise. For one thing, the overall problem of community life involves the question of land, including the production of food. Technical experts indicate that African countries must produce more food; hunger must be alleviated in the villages. Peter Ritner, an observer of African affairs, concludes in his book, The Death of Africa, that the immediate problem confronting the newly independent African countries is agriculture. He maintains that in any program to help the peoples of Africa, the responsible staff "must recognize the prior claims of the agricultural sector in Africa over everything else." Ritner bases his claim on the fact that eighty per cent of the peoples in Africa "still live at least partially on food they grow themselves." On this recognition he proposes that research is most vital, involving "reclaiming of soils, stimulating the growth of protein-forming micro-organisms, improving

the nutritional content of food crops and forage crops."[1]

Thus, the problem is so complex that any program such as the village betterment plan of Protestant missions can only scratch the surface. But technical aid projects have significance within the "cradle to the grave" program of the Protestant community. Once again a feeling of identity is generated among Protestant villages; it sets them apart from the Portuguese state. Gonçalves confirms this observation, stating that the Protestant sponsored village betterment program damages the prestige of Portuguese officials who allow a foreign religious institution to take the initiative in plans for community improvement.[2] He adds that this program is a further step in creating a climate among Africans which is anti-Portuguese, a trend which, he says, must be corrected by the state.[3] Though technically the village improvement program may not solve the complex problem of food production, it enhances a sense of identity among Protestant Africans. It is this feeling which contributes to national consciousness.

v. The Assimilados

Up to this point we have been discussing the institutional aspects of Christianity which helped in African political development. In this section we will deal with a group equal in importance to the rise of an African clergy in the development of nationalist thought,

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[1] Peter Ritner, The Death of Africa (New York: Macmillan 1960), p. 281.

[2] Gonçalves, p. 97.

[3] Ibid.

the assimilados. It was in this group where the exchange of ideas and expressions of independence became marked. The assimilados were Portuguese citizens with limited political rights. They were educated, were able to speak the Portuguese language, had a profession in which they earned enough to support a family, and conformed to the public and private laws of Portuguese citizens. They had to be eighteen years of age and to have fulfilled their military obligations.

An assimilado had many privileges. He was exempt from the yearly "head tax;" he could travel from one district to another without a guia or government travel permit. He was also not subject to the contract labor system and had the opportunity to apply for government jobs on an equal basis with Europeans. As a Portuguese citizen, he had, of course, the privilege of exercising his vote in a presidential election.

Yet the process of achieving the status of an assimilado contained "seeds of destruction." With greater education and contact with the world, assimilados became aware of social injustices. For one thing, theory and practice were far apart. Under Portuguese law the assimilado was a Portuguese but this was not necessarily so, especially in personal relations. Government officials and European merchants addressed an assimilado in the second person "tu", a familiar term used by a teacher to his pupils or a mistress to her maid. There were also signs of "right of admission reserved" in restaurants and clubs, an effective way to discourage African patronage.

Frustration and anger accompanied the mood of the *assimilado* as he became aware of the social discrepancy between himself and the European. He tried to live in a white man's culture, but he learned that he was accepted in name only. He saw Europeans prospering at the expense of Africans. An Angolan poet, Antônio Jacinto, expresses this sentiment in his poem "Monangamba" which protests the exploitation of the African laborer.

> On that big estate there is coffee ripe
> and that cherry-redness
> is drops of my blood turned sap.
>
> The coffee will be roasted,
> ground, and crushed,
> will turn black, black with the colour
> of the contratado.
>
> Black with the colour of the contratado![1]

Of significance to the church was the fact that *assimilados* were either Catholics or Protestants; to become an *assimilado* one was expected to be a Christian. They were part of the Christian community and in many instances they formed a nucleus of discussion groups which later blossomed into political expressions, especially in the cities of Lobito and Luanda. Much of the feeling of self identity was also channeled in Christian youth movements which gave the young educated elites the opportunity to come together with other like-minded youths from different sections of the country. In most instances the official church hierarchy discouraged any expression of

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[1] Gerald Moor and Ulli Beier (eds.), *Modern Poetry from Africa* (London: Penguin Books, 1963), p. 144.

a political nature, such as petitions directed against the Portuguese regime. We glimpse the depth of this anti-colonial feeling among African Christians through a poem by Agostinho Neto, a former student of the Methodist mission. In his poem, "Farewell at the Moment of Parting," Neto says,

> My mother
> (oh black mothers whose children have departed)
> you taught me to wait and to hope
> as you have done through the disastrous hours.
>
> But in me
> Life has killed that mysterious hope.[1]

The colonial system created the assimilado; in time the "creature" turned against the "creator." The Christian church helped in this creation; will the assimilados turn against the church? Whatever the answer may be, the assimilados, who were members of the Christian church, Catholic and Protestant, played an important role in the political development in Angola. The church was a vehicle through which assimilados expressed their nationalist feelings. In other African countries, the Christian separatist movement was a form of African nationalism. In the next section our attention will focus on this aspect of the role of Christianity in the development of national consciousness in Angola.

vi. Christian Separatist Churches

In Angola the Christian separatist movement has not had as pro-

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[1] Moor and Beier, p. 145.

found a significance in the religious and political life of Angola as in South Africa. There are several reasons why this is so. In the first place, Portuguese officials are aware of their political ramifications and have banned Christian separatist groups from Angola. A second reason is that the people of Angola were not faced with a stringent apartheid policy such as that which exists in South Africa; outwardly, Angolan Africans could achieve the status of a European. Thirdly, the existing Christian institutions, especially Protestantism, provided an outlet for Africans to express their nationalist feelings.

There was, however, a Christian separatist movement in Angola, an off-shoot of the Kimbangu sect which had its beginnings in the Belgian Congo. The reason why it prevailed in the Portuguese Congo was obvious; Kimbangu was a movement of the Kikongo speaking group whose ethnic boundaries cut across the frontiers of the Belgian Congo and of Angola. Recognizing that the Kimbangu movement was a threat to its authority, the Belgian government exiled the original prophet, Simão Kimbangu, to the Katanga district. After his death, there were several self-proclaimed successors, all named Simão. One of them was Simão-Pierre M'Padi who founded the Missão dos Negros (Mission of the Blacks). Later, the movement was called the Nzambi Kaki (God of the Khaki) because Simão-Pierre's followers wore khaki uniforms. The objectives of the Nzambi Kaki were as follows; to re-establish an inclusive indigenous society and to give the people a sense of their independence. The Belgian government considered these aims as

political in nature; subsequently, the authorities moved to arrest Simão Pierre. But he succeeded in escaping to the Portuguese Congo, residing for awhile in the area of Maquela do Zombo. Returning to the Belgian Congo, Simão Pierre was arrested, imprisoned, and like the founder of the movement, exiled.[1]

Out of this abortive attempt to continue the Kimbangu movement in the lower Congo, there arose in Angola a separatist movement led by Simão Toco. Born in the Portuguese Congo, Simão Toco crossed into the Belgian Congo to become a priest in the new religious sect of Kimbangu. Soon after he was expelled by the Belgian government and he returned to Angola. Here, Simão Toco continued in the new religion, organizing the village people to form a nucleus of a Kimbangu sect. In 1950 the Portuguese government acted to curtail the formation of an indigenous African organization, exiling Simão Toco to Moçamedes in southern Angola. However, the newly formed sect continued to function, although there was no other leader to command the loyalty and power which Simão Toco possessed.

From a political point of view, the influence of the Simão Toco movement in Angola was minimal; from a sociological aspect, however, the birth of the Simão Toco movement indicated a similar social instability in the Portuguese Congo to that which existed in the Belgian Congo. It was not possible to isolate Angola from the

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[1]Silva Cunha, Aspectos dos Movimentos Associativos na Africa Negra (Lisboa: Estudos de Ciências Políticas e Sociais, 1958), I, 44f.

political currents of her neighboring territories. This was verified in the outbreak of hostilities in northern Angola soon after the birth of an African republic in the Congo.

vii. Dilemma

Up to this point we have been discussing the contribution of Christianity to African national consciousness. In this respect we noted that Christianity was a factor in upsetting the status quo, a condition which Sithole found necessary for African political development. He observed that the "African had to be uprooted first in order to find his roots in the latter half of the twentieth century."[1]

But in this development the necessary social conflict was not confined to the political sphere; it spilled over into the religious field, creating a dilemma for Christianity. Two African nationalists, Eduardo Mondlane of Moçambique and Ndabaninge Sithole of Southern Rhodesia, explain the dilemma in this manner. For Mondlane, there are two factors for consideration: first, "African nationalism arises out of a predominantly non-Christian population, and it reacts against a predominantly Christian Western imperialism;" and second, that Western colonialism rationalized its presence in Africa by establishing Christianity in that country. For this reason, Mondlane states that Christianity and colonial imperialism seemed to be cut from the same cloth. What does this mean for the Christian church?

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[1]Sithole, p. 9.

Mondlane indicates that this association identified Christianity "with efforts for the maintenance of Western European socio-economic-cultural values."[1]

Sithole's analysis of Christianity's dilemma in the colonial situation is similar. He cites seven areas in which an African notes a like counterpart of the colonial pattern in European dominated Christian churches.

(1) Both in political and religious spheres Africans were dominated by Europeans.
(2) In politics and in church life the key positions were the monopoly of the Europeans.
(3) In towns and cities housing was on segregated basis geared to racial considerations, and this was equally true on most mission stations.
(4) The quality of European houses in the city and on the mission station was often superior, while that of the African was often inferior.
(5) The differential salary scales based on the colour of a man's skin were accepted by both European government and missionary alike who felt that it was right and proper for the African worker to receive a lower salary than his European counterpart.
(6) The usual racial arrogance and stand-offishness of the ruling whites also had their representatives among missionaries.
(7) The ordinary Europeans practised social discrimination, and the missionaries found it difficult to do otherwise since they had to accept the prevalent social pattern the rejection of which would have invited their ostracization by Europeans in general.[2]

Western Christian missionaries may dismiss the conclusions of Eduardo Mondlane and Ndabaninge Sithole as extreme, but the dilemma

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[1] Eduardo C. Mondlane, "African Nationalism and the Christian Way," typescript, p. 7.

[2] Sithole, pp. 11f.

is there. For Africans, Christian principles and practice seemed unrelated in the colonial situation; the Christian principle to love one's neighbor as a brother was negated by the action of missionaries. According to Sithole "the principle of racial discrimination was common to both missionaries and the ordinary whites; the difference was only in application."[1]

Our study on the response of Christianity to Angolan nationalism will indicate the importance of this dilemma. For Catholicism, the dilemma is a part of the church-state relationship. For Protestantism, the dilemma is more complex; Protestant missions become a target for African Christians as well as for the Portuguese Catholic state. As we discuss this subject in the next section, we should keep in mind the following questions: Can Christian missionaries be neutral in a colonial situation? Is the colonial pattern contrary to the basic principles of the Christian faith? Do social circumstances determine the "timing" of Christianity's response?

3. Christianity and Nationalism: A Crisis Situation

In the last section we noted that "consciously or unconsciously" Christianity helped in the development of national consciousness. For most of these years the Angolan Christian church ignored the challenge of African nationalism. This was no longer possible, however, after the March 15, 1961 revolt in northern Angola. Christian groups, Catholic and Protestant, confronted a direct challenge from nationalist

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[1] Sithole, p. 12.

forces in Angola. The world Christian community was involved; the World Council of Churches and an inter-faith group in the United States issued statements on the Angolan problem.[1] In examining the response of Christianity in this crisis situation, we must be aware of several questions. What was the attitude of Christianity to Angolan nationalism? What was the effect of the revolt on the Christian church? What was the response of Christianity to the crisis situation? In answering these questions we shall follow the usual procedure; the responses of Catholicism and Protestantism to this social issue will be examined separately.

i. Catholicism

Attitude.- The attitude of Catholicism to Angolan nationalism must be viewed within a context of its close alliance with the state and its fear of Communism. In most instances the state's opposition to nationalism in Angola was supported by the European Catholic hierarchy. What was the reason? The Portuguese state saw African nationalism as a threat to its national character, one of its essential ingredients being the Catholic church. As the former Overseas Minister explains, "from the religious point of view, the European projection in Black Africa has been Christian, and, what concerns Portugal most, essentially Catholic."[2] In a direct sense, a challenge to the European colonial power was also a threat to the Catholic church. Therefore,

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[1] See appendix for texts of both resolutions.

[2] Moreira, p. 82.

it is not strange that the Catholic church based its mission philosophy on the premise that the Catholic catechist school was the best and most efficient way to attract Africans to accept the Portuguese national culture and character.

Catholicism's association with the Portuguese state was also tinged with the ideological conflict between Communism and Christianity. To Portuguese Catholics African nationalism was backed by international Communism; African opposition to the Portuguese state was a Communist plot to overthrow a Christian government. Yet, the Catholic hierarchy recognized the legitimate grievances of their African constituency. But they believed that social injustices could be corrected through state action; the responsibility of the Catholic church was to pressure the state to act. This view was elaborated in an article titled "Communism among the Blacks of Angola" in the May-June 1949 issue of the official Roman Catholic missionary bi-monthly, Portugal em Africa. The author warned that the African problem was not only religious but also social. He observed that the social conditions in the Belgian Congo and in Angola were ideal for Communist exploitation.

To the question, "Can an organized Communist movement be expected in Angola?" the writer of the article answered in the affirmative. He cited several reasons: one was the mobility of African workers who, crossing into the Belgian Congo, Rhodesia and South Africa, returned to Angola with Communist ideas; another was the discrepancy of the

living standards of the whites over the blacks; and a third was the hatred of the assimilados toward the white Portuguese. The author believed that the racial issue would be exploited by Communists; Angola was in danger unless the government corrected the social abuses. The writer also described the miserable conditions of the "native" quarters of Luanda, Lobito, Catumbela, and Moçamedes, saying that he had "a fearful shivering up and down the spine" when he thought of the "tremendous filth and misery of the native quarters." In contrast, the European sections in the cities were "gardens of delight (or which seem to be to the native)." What could be done? The author offered three suggestions: first, accelerate and intensify the evangelization program; second, offer the "natives" just wages; and third, create syndicates and clean up the "native" quarters in the cities. He warned the Portuguese state that there was no time to lose. The author reminded his readers that in the French territory the Roman Catholic church was regarded as the enemy of the proletariat and the African clergy were being incited against the European clergy.[1]

Unfortunately, the Catholic writer's warnings went unheeded; it was already too late. The crisis situation presented the Catholic church with a dilemma; it recognized that the revolution in Angola had a social basis, but it also believed that Communists were actively at work with African nationalists. Moreover, the revolution greatly

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[1] Portugal em Africa, May-June, 1949.

affected the institutional structure of the Catholic church. It is to this aspect we now turn.

Effects.- An exact analysis of the effects of the revolt in northern Angola is difficult to verify. This area was closed to the public after the uprising; accurate reports of the number of casualties are lacking. But we are sure of one thing; the revolt in northern Angola on March 15, 1961 drastically altered the relation between whites and blacks. The latent hostility erupted into a racial conflict, each side committed to a war of extermination. In such a situation the Catholic church was helpless; its warnings of 1949 that Angola was in danger of "exploding" became a reality.

What were the immediate consequences to the Catholic church? In answering this question we must remember that the white casualties of the revolt were predominantly Catholics. Newspaper reports indicate that 500 to 1,500 whites, children and adults, were killed during the first weeks of the disturbances in northern Angola. In some instances Europeans sought refuge at the Catholic mission station, hoping that the priests could protect them from the nationalists attacks. Moreover, the revolt disturbed all normal religious activities; Catholic villages were abandoned as the fighting intensified. Indiscriminate bombings of African villages by Portuguese air units forced the inhabitants of the area to seek safety in São Salvador. By the end of 1961 there were 1,500 Africans at the Catholic mission station in that city. Furthermore, Catholic priests were not spared

in the first days of indiscriminate killings by Africans and Europeans. A news dispatch from Luanda on April 29, 1961 reported the killing of a Capuchin monk who attempted to pacify the African nationalists during an attack on the town of Damba.[1]

Moreover, the solid front of the Catholic hierarchy was broken by the arrest of two mulatto Catholic clerics, the canon of Luanda and the secretary to the archbishop of Angola. What had already occurred in the French Congo in 1949 was happening to the Catholic church in Angola; white prelates were pitted against "native" clergy. Under these circumstances the European dominated Catholic church asserted its allegiance to the Portuguese state; we shall proceed to examine the ways in which this was done.

Response.- We will first examine the explanations offered by the Portuguese government of the Angolan revolt. First, the government explained the acts of atrocity as a resurgence of the primitive "savage;" second, the Portuguese insisted that the revolt in Angola was conducted by outsiders; third, the revolt was Communist inspired; and fourth, the uprising was conducted with the help of Protestant missionaries.[2]

It was inevitable that the response of the Catholic church to the crisis situation was made within the explanations of the Angolan

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[1]The Johannesburg Star, April 29, 1961.

[2]Duffy, pp. 215-217.

revolt by the Portuguese government. In the first instance, the explanation that the revolt was a resurgence of the latent "savage" traits of Africans introduced the factor of a religious crusade. The war was being fought to preserve Christianity; a defeat of the Portuguese state meant a defeat for Christianity. The accusation that the revolt was Communist inspired also added to the religious fervor in the war against African nationalism. Similarly, tensions between Protestants and Catholics increased with the outbreak of hostilities. Protestants were categorized as "outsiders" and "meddlers" in a Catholic environment. At all government sponsored patriotic rallies, the Catholic church occupied a prominent place. It seemed that the Catholic church supported the government's efforts to crush African opposition.

Yet, there was some uneasiness among the Catholic hierarchy. In the form of a pastoral letter the archbishop and four bishops of Angola said:

> Disillusioned people fighting against privation are a prey to despair and more apt to be carried away by dangerous ideologies and promises which cannot be fulfilled. Poverty is a bad counselor and is a threat to tranquility and peace. The solution of certain problems can be found only through united and adequate legislation and the total and generous co-operation of individuals and organizations. The church is entirely within the limits of its mission in advising citizens to unite themselves for the moralization of laws and institutions, and for the formation of a more perfect social situation, supported by justice and charity.[1]

The bishops' warning came too late. We are reminded that in

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[1] New York Times, May 3, 1961.

in 1949 a Catholic priest in the French Congo warned his colleagues in Angola, stating "we missed the train. We must now seek to organize syndicates demanding just rights for the natives . . . if we don't, the blacks will be convinced that Stalin is the true friend, not the Church."[1] This warning was ignored in Angola; the image of the Catholic church suffered. No one knows whether the church's present actions will prejudice her position in an independent Angola.

ii. Protestantism

Attitude.- While Catholicism's response to African nationalism was conditioned by her identification with the colonial state and culture, the response of Protestantism was subject to other limiting factors. To understand the position of Protestantism, one must recognize her attitude towards missionary activity. In a broad sense the primary concern of Protestantism was her own institutional life which revolved around two aspects: first, the ethical issues which focused on personal conduct such as drinking, smoking, polygamy, and witchcraft; and second, her right to preach the Gospel in a Catholic country. Protestant community life was governed by laws related to these issues; time and energy of the Protestant church were expended in these direction. It is within this context that we must examine the response of Protestantism to an issue involving the colonial state such as nationalism.

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[1] Portugal em Africa, op. cit.

Specifically, Protestantism's challenge to the powers of the state was confined to issues involving the legal aspects of its institutional life. For instance, whenever a chefe de posto prohibited the opening of catechist schools in Protestant villages, protests were made directly to the state official by Protestant missions. Or, the question of property rights was frequently an issue which involved the Protestant mission with the state. There are several reasons why political problems involving self-government for Africans were tabu for Protestant missions. In the first place Protestant mission groups supported the colonial state in part, out of obedience to the Biblical injunction to "render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's."[1] Protestant missionaries interpreted this Biblical passage as an argument to support the government in Angola.

A second reason for the disinclination of Protestant missionaries to be involved in this issue was a fear of being expelled from the country. As we have often noted throughout our study, the right of Protestant missionaries to remain in Angola depended on their good behavior. The expulsion of James Russell, former executive secretary of the Evangelical Alliance in March of 1960, is an example of a direct action taken by the Portuguese government against a Protestant missionary. The police claimed that James Russell acted against the interests of the Portuguese state when he helped two Americans to

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[1] Luke 20:25.

meet with African leaders in Luanda.

The third reason is that Protestant missionaries believed that the question of political independence was an African problem. Furthermore, for Protestant missionaries the problem of Angolan independence seemed remote; to them, it almost bordered on the realm of the impossible. But they have come to realize that political independence is not an improbability; the revolt in northern Angola proved this. In this change of climate, what has been the effect on Protestantism and its response to African nationalism? It is to these questions that we now turn.

Effects.- The Protestant community was greatly affected by the revolt in northern Angola. From the point of view of the foreign missionary enterprise, the crisis restricted the movements of Protestant missions. An obvious move of the Portuguese government was to refuse re-entry permits to Protestant missionaries, reducing their number considerably. In March 1961 there were 256 Protestant missionaries in Angola; a year later, the number had been reduced to 167. By September of 1963 there were 148 Protestant missionaries. This was not the only restrictive measure, however. In June of 1963, the government issued an order requiring all Protestant missionaries to receive permission from the International Police in Luanda if they wished to travel outside their own administrative areas. This order hindered Protestant activities since most mission stations have work in two or three administrative areas. Often one must wait

a month in order to receive authorization for travel from one district to another.

Undoubtedly, these legal restraints have affected Protestant mission work in Angola, but a more devastating effect of the whole crisis has been on the African Protestant community. In northern Angola, the British Baptist mission reported a complete upheaval of their work. Over 100,000 Africans fled across the border during the first weeks of the revolt, the majority being members of the Baptist church. The Angola Action Group which was formed in England by Baptist ministers reported 142 church leaders and members shot by the Portuguese.[1] The closing of all Protestant mission stations in northern Angola, either through a lack of missionary personnel or government orders, curtailed all health and educational work. This cut off all communications between the main center and the outlying districts. In many respects the Christian community was transplanted from northern Angola to the Congo after the outbreak of hostilities in March 1961.

The disruption of Protestant mission work was not confined to the British Baptists; the American and Canadian mission societies were also affected. During the government's campaign to eliminate the influence of Protestantism, twenty of the Methodist church leaders were killed; twenty seven were put in prison; eighty four were missing;

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[1] Angola Action Group, Congo-Angola Border Enquiry (London: Cambridge Press, 1961), p. 36.

twenty three fled from their areas of work; and only eleven remained in service. Affected were ninety five village leaders and seventy teachers. The extent of damage done to the Methodist church is dramatized in the figures released by the Methodist Mission Board for the Luanda area. The report stated that of the 167 workers in the Luanda region, twenty one pastors and teachers were killed, twenty six were imprisoned, thirty four were free, and the whereabouts of seventy six were not known.[1] These figures included only leaders; the casualty list would be much higher if church members in the villages were included. Church property was also destroyed. In Luanda the administrative building of the Methodist mission was attacked by white Portuguese; its social center building was completely destroyed. Outlying pastoral centers and school buildings were also targets of the anger and frustration of militant settlers.

Among the nine American and Canadian missions of the United Churches of Canada and the United States, 261 African church leaders and members were victims of Portuguese retaliatory measures. Of this number fifteen were reported killed, 157 were imprisoned; of these forty seven were released and forty two were sent on contract labor. The list includes eight ministers, thirty five teachers, twelve nurses, 152 catechists and fifty four members.[2]

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[1] Information received from Methodist missionaries.

[2] Report from the field.

These statistics show that the Protestant community was greatly disrupted. Methodist missionaries, in assessing the damage done to their church, claim that their work has been set back a generation. In this crisis situation how did Protestant groups respond? Did they acknowledge it as a problem for the Christian church? Or, did Protestant missions withdraw from the crisis situation? We shall look for answers to these questions in the next section.

Response.- In assessing the response of Protestantism to the crisis situation, we should keep in mind that the institutional structure of the Protestant church was almost destroyed. Ministers, school teachers, pastors, deacons, and catechists were shot, imprisoned, and deposed as church leaders by the Portuguese government. The colonial state struck in an area which was vital to the survival of the Protestant church. In this situation Protestant mission societies could not help but protest the reprisal actions of the government. Missionaries of the Baptist Society collected evidence of the government's retaliatory measures and presented them to the British public. At their annual conference on May 1, 1961, the Baptist Union of Britain and Ireland passed a resolution deploring the state of affairs in Angola. The Angola Action Group sent two of their members to make an enquiry at the Congo-Angola border. Clifford Parsons, the secretary for Africa of the British Baptist Society and a former missionary to Angola, made numerous public

speeches, condemning Portugal for using extreme measures against the African population in northern Angola.

What of the other Protestant mission societies? The mission boards of the United Churches of Canada and the United States were cautious; they kept silent because actual fighting had not broken out in their areas of work. On May 1, 1962, however, the United Church Board for World Ministries (United States) passed a resolution calling on Portugal to recognize the "rights and political aspirations of the indigenous African peoples of Angola."[1] The United Church of Canada, on the other hand, has refrained from making an official statement of this nature; the officers of their Board of Missions believe that nothing could be gained by passing a resolution adverse to the Portuguese nation.

This was not so for the Methodist Church. Of the Protestant mission societies working in Angola, the Methodist Church has been most outspoken. Why have they? There are several reasons: first, the Methodist Church in Angola had suffered a tremendous loss in personnel and property; second, four Methodist missionaries, accused by the Portuguese government of "aiding the rebels," were imprisoned; and third, the Portuguese government directed a campaign against the Methodist Church, employing an American public relations firm, Selvage and Lee. At this point it would be profitable for us to trace the relationship between the Methodist Church and the Portuguese govern-

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[1]See appendix for full text.

ment; we should arrive at an understanding of the kind of response which a major Protestant body made to the crisis situation.

Like most of the early Protestant missions, there was considerable friction between Methodist missionaries and government officials in the beginning. Specific charges arose out of the accusation by the Portuguese that the Methodists were "denationalizing" the Africans.[1] These charges were levelled particularly at the educational methods which were distinctly American. After these preliminary scuffles, however, tensions eased and there developed a feeling of mutual respect and often of co-operation. On most occasions Methodist missionaries leaned backwards not to offend the Portuguese government. As Bishop Ralph Dodge of Angola states:

> For the majority of foreign missionaries, it has been assumed for years that it is better to be within the Portuguese territories, even though silent, than to be excluded though having spoken. Thus, they have borne with patience their tribulation, intimidation, and scorn--thankful that they were permitted to continue, even under severe restrictions, to preach the Gospel and to carry on a skeleton educational, medical, and industrial program. Then, too, there had been so much good in the liberal racial policy of the Portuguese colonizing system in comparison to some others that a policy of silence was maintained in regard to the many evils.[2]

But this relationship of toleration was built on quicksand. In a time of crisis the outward cordial relation was swept away. With a recognition of almost complete destruction of seventy seven years of work, Methodist leaders undertook to salvage something out of the

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[1] Tucker, Angola..., p. 64.

[2] Board of Missions of the Methodist Church, The War in Angola, press releases, p. 29.

wreckage. There were three ways in which they sought to do this. First, there was the need to present Angola's case to the United Nations. This was undertaken by Ralph Dodge who flew to New York after his visit to Angola in March 1961. Second, Methodist leaders made plans to help their students flee Angola if they so desired. Bishop Dodge gave his consent and the execution of the plans was left in the hands of the Reverend Raymond Noah who was stationed in the Luanda Methodist mission. The attempt was not too successful as the first three students who tried to escape were apprehended. As a result Raymond Noah was arrested and imprisoned; he was accused of supplying funds to these students. A third was the decision of the Methodist Mission Board to publicize the issues of the Angolan conflict. This was done through press releases. The Department of News Service of the Board of Missions placed two articles in the leading Protestant weekly, The Christian Century, in the November 15 and 22 issues of 1961. Another method was by missionaries themselves; they abandoned their previous policy of keeping silent. Missionaries began to speak out. In an interview with the press, Marion Way, one of the imprisoned Methodist missionaries said,

> We as missionaries have not spoken out before because as guests in a country we try to abide by the laws as a guest should. We thought that we should not speak out until Africans themselves did. I think that the time has finally come when Africans have dared to speak out and are willing to suffer the consequences.[1]

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[1] Board of Missions Report, p. 76.

The crisis situation presented no other alternative; Protestant mission societies had to speak out. But no one is naive in believing that their actions altered the course of events in Angola; their protests have neither changed the policy of the Portuguese government nor resolved the conflict in Angola. The Protestant position, however, is not wholly determined by cause and effect. There is the ethical issue of the right of a colonial power to deny the political rights of the indigenous peoples of Angola. At the same time, it is well to recognize that the use of guerrilla warfare by African nationalists to right what is wrong has been questioned by some missionaries. The matter of choice continues to trouble the Protestant conscience.

4. Summary

In a broad sense the pattern of African political development followed these lines: first, a period of mutual alliance by Africans and Europeans; second, resistance to and military conquest by the European power; third, acceptance by Africans of the European civilizing programs; and fourth, a period of agitation for political independence by African nationalists.

There were many factors which played a role in the development of national consciousness. The colonial pattern itself created a situation which drove Africans to strive for independence. Other factors included the Second World War, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by the United Nations, and the granting of independence to

British and French African territories.

Unquestionably, the Christian missionary movement in Africa was also one of the factors. For instance, Christianity introduced religious ideas which extended the family ancestral deity to that of a universal God. Furthermore, the establishment of an institutional structure to expand the work of Christian missions provided ways which helped in the development of national consciousness. The numerous missionary activities, educational, medical, and technological opened avenues through which an African was able to act as a person. Inevitably, the educated elite in the church, the African clergy and *assimilados*, were the vanguards of African political development. They were the nucleus in the initial African discussion groups which later flowered into political movements in Luanda and in Leopoldville.

Within the context of the development of African nationalism, what were the responses of Catholicism and Protestantism? In a broad sense, the responses of the two religious groups were similar prior to the crisis situation. Both societies accepted the authority of the European power as the law of the land. Often, there was no reaction to any form of African nationalism, a subject which was tabu in many Catholic and Protestant circles. But the colonial situation created an uneasy relation. The religious and ethical imperative of loving "one's neighbor" was often negated by a situation which subjected the indigenous population to a European power. In these circumstances Christian missionaries (to a lesser degree than European settlers) conformed to the colonial pattern, a discrepancy between theory and

practice.

But the revolt of March 1961 drastically altered the colonial situation for Christian missions. The attack on the Portuguese government by African nationalists forced the Catholic church to align itself with the state. Yet, the Catholic hierarchy was uneasy in this political situation; it recognized the responsibility of the state to redress the grievances of the African population. The Catholic church offered to co-operate with the state in fulfilling this obligation. For several Protestant mission societies, the disturbances created a situation which made their previous position of neutrality untenable. Baptist, Methodist, and Congregational societies passed resolutions deploring the state of war in Angola. They urged the Portuguese government to recognize the legitimate political rights of the indigenous peoples of Angola.

The reasons which influenced the responses of Catholicism and Protestantism to modern nationalism were similar, the principal factor being the preservation of their institutional structure. For Catholicism, this meant a close co-operation with the state; for Protestantism, this led to a policy of non-involvement in political affairs, a step which safeguarded the right of Protestant missions to work in Angola. Moreover, Protestant representatives considered the issue of nationalism as an African problem.

But the crisis situation introduced several other factors. One was a threat to the existence of the institutional structure of Catholicism and Protestantism. For Catholicism, the attack on Catholic

missions by African nationalists endangered its program. For Protestantism, the retaliatory measures by the state destroyed Protestant mission work in the war area. Another factor was ideological, the Catholic church and the state interpreting the rebellion as Communist inspired. A third factor was the involvement of international Christian organizations which called on Portugal to recognize the political aspirations of the indigenous peoples of Angola. This action supported the protests by Protestant mission groups.

Yet, the matter of choice confronted Catholicism and Protestantism, presenting them with dilemmas. For Catholicism, opposition to the actions of the Portuguese state in the crisis situation meant the expulsion of Catholic clerics by the military government, an example being the deportation of the canon of Luanda. Another result could also be anti-clericalism, Europeans expected the Catholic church to be on their side. On the other hand, Catholicism's support of the state's actions in the crisis situation was not without its unsatisfactory ramifications. It meant the acceptance of the right of Portugal to govern its overseas possessions; it sanctioned the policies of the colonial government, although it recognized the social injustices inherent in the system; and, it also alienated the leaders of African nationalism from the Catholic church.

The choice for Protestantism was also unsatisfactory. In its actions against the Portuguese state after the crisis situation, five Protestant missionaries were expelled from the country; return visas for furloughed missionaries were rejected by the government; African

church leaders were imprisoned; and the movement of Protestant missionaries were curtailed. Then, too, continued guerrilla warfare will deepen the differences between blacks and whites, resulting in a full scale racial war, thus raising the question of means and end.

But what of the alternative? Protestantism's support of the Portuguese state meant the prolongment of the colonial situation; it meant a refusal to acknowledge the "winds of change" in the continent of Africa; and it could prejudice the future role of Protestantism in an independent Angola. Its silence in the colonial situation could revoke its moral right to criticize the government of the future.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS

1. Introduction

In coming to a final analysis we have been conscious throughout our study of the interrelated nature of the social response of Christianity to the selected issues of slave labor, forced labor, and nationalism. Essentially, we attempted to indicate that Christianity was one of the factors in the historical social process in Angola. For this reason, we refrained from isolating the religious factor as the prime mover, the catalyst, or the inhibitor of the social changes which occurred in the Angolan society; the influence varied from time to time, locality to locality, and circumstances to circumstances. Subsequently, we conducted our investigation on the premises of Yinger who defined religion as a "process" and one of several "levels of causation."

For our study the social context has been limited to the selected issues of slave labor, forced labor, and nationalism. The problem of the dissertation centered on the question, "What was the social response to these selected issues?" Within the problem areas of our study we recognized a thread of unity, the sociological and ethical questions were similar. Consequently, we posed two related questions to the problem of the dissertation. First, "What were the factors which influenced the response of Christianity to the selected

issues?" And second, "Were the responses of Christianity unequivocal?" The last question raised the problem of choice, directing our attention to the dilemmas which confronted Catholicism and Protestantism as each formulated its response to slave labor, forced labor, and nationalism.

2. Responses of Christianity

The responses of Christianity to the selected issues of our study were characterized by policies of co-operation, acceptance, avoidance, and opposition. To relate these policies to each issue, we observed that the response of Catholicism to slave labor was the acceptance of the practice which eventually led to a policy of co-operation with the state and the slave traders. As the Protestant movement in Angola was founded after the heyday of the slave trade, its response could not be measured. But Protestantism was represented by David Livingstone who criticized the slave trade in the Portuguese African territories, a policy of opposition which went beyond the immediate affected areas.

On the forced labor issue, the response of Catholicism was similar to that on slave labor, a policy of acceptance and co-operation. For Protestantism, its response was one of qualified acceptance, respecting the political rights of the Portuguese to govern its overseas territories.

The response of Christianity to the policy of the Portuguese state on African nationalism depended on the political situation. Prior to the March 1961 revolt, the policy of both Catholicism and Protestantism to the state's position was avoidance of the issue. Neither Catholicism nor Protestantism formulated a policy on African nationalism; in fact,

both religious groups shunned the issue, hoping that they would not have to take sides. After the March 1961 disturbances, however, the policy of avoidance was not feasible. For Catholicism, the attack by African nationalists resulted in an attitude of co-operation with the Portuguese state, a policy to crush the rebellion. The response of Protestantism was contrary to that of Catholicism; the retaliatory measures of the colonial power on Protestant mission work produced a policy of opposition to the position of the Portuguese state.

Within these general patterns of responses, we also indicated minority reactions. For instance, there were Jesuit priests who opposed the slave labor practices in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, contrary to the prevalent Catholic policy of co-operation and acceptance. The forced labor issue evoked similar dissident reactions; several Catholic priests protested the provisions in the contract labor system. This was also true for Protestantism whose missionaries provided data on the forced labor practices to investigators. On African nationalism, the apparent unanimity of the predominant co-operative attitude of Catholicism to the Portuguese state's policy of opposition was broken by the arrest and expulsion of Catholic clerics. There were always exceptions to the prevailing response of Christianity to each of the selected issues.

3. Factors Shaping Christianity's Response

In the previous section we described the nature of the response of Christianity to slave labor, forced labor, and nationalism. We can now proceed to examine the various factors which influenced the social

response of Christianity to the selected social problems. Of the significant issues which influenced the responses of Christianity, five are cited: first, church and state, second, motivations, third, the colonial situation, fourth, the time factor, and fifth, the issue of Africanization.

i. Church and State

From a historical perspective the growth of Christianity in Angola can be epitomized along two distinct lines: one, by a close co-operation of church and state, characterized by Catholic societies; and the other, by Protestant groups who lived in hostile and almost separate existence from the state. On many occasions the close ties between church and state prejudiced Catholicism's response to a social issue. For instance, Catholicism's early identification with the state's colonial policy encouraged the church to sanction slave traffic during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Although the Catholic hierarchy believed that they were saving the souls of heathens as they performed the ritual of baptism for each boatload of slaves, Catholic priests indisputably cloaked the slave traffic with respectability.

The response of Catholicism to the issue of forced labor was similar. The link of church with state made it difficult for the Catholic hierarchy to criticize the contract system, the Catholic church receiving a direct subsidy from the state. Moreover, the church agreed with the state's position that Africans must work, the contract labor system being a means toward that end. Similarly, the national

interests of the state coincided with those of the church. For Catholicism, an attack on the Portuguese crown by the indigenous rulers also implied an assault on the church; Catholicism's position depended on European domination. Eventually, the aims of church and state were indistinguishable; colonizing and missionizing went hand in hand. Therefore, it was inevitable that during the crisis situation which prevailed after the African revolt of March 15, 1961, the Catholic church aligned itself with the state. A threat to the Portuguese "way of life" was also a threat to the Catholic church; the church's only alternative was to support the state in her war against the African nationalists.

For Protestantism, separation from the state placed her in a problematic position; Protestant missions were conscious of their precarious legal position in a Catholic state. On the issue of forced labor there were several missionaries who protested against the system but the prevailing opinion was to shun the issue and relegate it to the province of the state. Protestant missionaries took direct action or made protests to the government when the forced labor practices disrupted the institutional structure of the church such as the illegal practice of conscripting catechists and other church leaders. But the problematic position was abandoned when Protestantism was confronted by an abrupt disruption of church-state relations during the crisis situation. The accusations and retaliations of the Portuguese state against Protestant missions after the northern revolt drastically altered their relation; the Protestant church and the Portuguese state became

antagonists. The political "winds of change" were responsible for the shift; for the Portuguese state, the religious factor was important only as it related to the issue of African nationalism. For Protestantism then the direct confrontation of the issue of church and state was of a political character. In this respect we are reminded again of the interlocking relationship of the political, sociological, and religious factors in the response of Christianity to social issues.

ii. Motivation

For Catholicism three motivations, often conflicting, predominated: the economic, the civilizing, and the Christianizing. During the early period of slave trade the economic motivation governed the actions of Catholic missionaries. Baptismal fees and actual engagement in the slave trade were lucrative enterprises for the church. In such a situation the response of the Catholic church was weak and accommodating. The forced labor problem also brought forth an indecisive response from the Catholic church; the Catholic hierarchy went along with the state in its moral right to discourage idleness, sanctioning the coscription of Africans to work on government projects, industries, and agricultural enterprises. On the issue of nationalism the civilizing motivation guided the response of the Catholic church, agreeing with the state that "to civilize" was "to Christianize." The Portuguese state considered African nationalism as a foe of the aim to civilize; the logical position of the Catholic church was to support the state in its civilizing effort, including opposition to African nationalism. The response of the Catholic church, therefore, was con-

ditioned by her acceptance of being a primary agent of civilizing the indigenous peoples of Angola.

The motivations of Protestantism, on the other hand, differed in emphasis from those of Catholicism. Two motivations seemed important, the humanitarian and the evangelizing. The two motivations complemented each other, but the humanitarian dominated. Educational, medical, and technical programs were important; the church prospered where there were strong social welfare activities. Consequently, Protestantism's response to a social problem was colored by its humanitarian concern, especially on the issues of slavery and forced labor. This is not to say, however, that the evangelizing motive was irrelevant to the response of Protestantism. In fact, the evangelizing motive was expressed in the effort of Protestant missions to establish an institution. Subsequently, much of the response of Protestantism to the selected social issues depended on whether these problems threatened its institutional structure. For instance, when the actions of the Portuguese state destroyed the institution of Protestant mission work, Protestantism reacted against these pressures from the colonial state. The crisis situation forced Protestantism to make a decision; in this case, Protestantism aligned itself with African nationalism. It is important to recognize this relation of the historical factor to the motivations of both groups, Catholic and Protestant.

iii. Colonial Situation

The colonial situation created many problems for the Christian community, more real for Africans than for its western representatives.

To Africans Christianity was established simultaneously with European colonialism. Culturally, Christianity was a part of the civilization which the western powers introduced to Africa. In a broad sense, Christian missionaries belonged, culturally and racially, to this western penetration. Subsequently, the actions of Christian missionaries reflected this cultural background, creating a problem for western Christian personnel. Racial discrimination was apparent in mission stations; in this situation Africans wondered whether Christianity could be divorced from western colonialism.

The predicament which the colonial situation posed for Christianity was most apparent in its response to the issue of nationalism. During the period of European colonialism in Africa, Christianity ignored the issue of nationalism, believing that the western colonial power would rule in African indefinitely. Christian forces assumed that the only way was to accept the colonial situation for the expansion of mission work in Angola.

Undoubtedly, the colonial situation influenced the response of Christianity to the selected social issues. Catholicism in Angola became identified with the cultural policy of the colonial state. It was unlikely that Catholicism would make a response which would undermine the existing colonial pattern. Catholicism gained from the colonial situation. For Protestantism, the colonial situation posed the problem of identification; colonialism was a symbol of white superiority. In this situation how does a white Protestant missionary dissociate himself from the colonial mentality? And, how does he re-

spond to the pressing social problems which were created by colonialism? A common pattern of Protestant response in this situation was to be cautious and to keep quiet unless the issues were directly related to the institutional structure of the church. Of the selected issues, nationalism serves as an illustration of this Protestant mission policy. Protestantism seldom raised the ethical issue of colonialism; it did question, however, the abuses of colonial policy such as the forced labor practices. Protestantism's response was existential and expedient; the colonial situation was a major factor in determining this response.

iv. Time Factor

A primary element in a social protest is the time factor. In our study we observed that the response of Christianity was often based on the premise that to protest at a certain time was useless. For instance, Protestant missionaries refrained from criticizing the contract labor system because previous protests were ineffective. In this respect we are reminded of William Bell's role in the Ross report which was submitted to and shelved by the Temporary Slaving Commission of the League of Nations. This observation could also be applied to the issue of nationalism. Up to 1957 the agitation for African nationalism seemed to be ineffective, the international situation was not ready to implement the movement for independence in Angola. After Ghana's independence in 1957, however, the international political situation changed, offering hope to Angolan Africans. The response of Catholic clergy and Protestant church leaders was conditioned by the attitude of the inter-

national community which sympathized with the right of self-determination by the indigenous peoples of Angola. The axiom that "there is a time to act" was a factor in the response of Christianity to the selected issues.

v. Africanization

From the beginning both Catholicism and Protestantism were concerned with local recruits to carry on their program. Undoubtedly, the success or failure of both groups to achieve this end affected their social response. For instance, the most vociferous voice against slavery was that of King Afonso in the sixteenth century; he recognized that this practice damaged the image of Christianity in his kingdom. Intervention of African rights in the forced labor system was also most frequent in mission areas staffed by African clerics.

The factor of Africanization, however, was most apparent in the issue of nationalism; for Angolan Africans, the church, Catholic and Protestant, was a means through which they could express their nationalist feelings. The effectiveness of this expression was also affected by the degree of Africanization in each of the two religious groups. The Catholic hierarchy was predominantly European; its program was set for the European constituents. Consequently, Catholicism's response to African nationalism was European oriented. On the other hand, Protestantism's strength was distinctly African; the church was governed by Africans. This is one reason why Protestant Africans were suspect after the northern revolt in 1961. To the Portuguese government African nationalism was a product of Protestantism. For the Portuguese state Africanization was interpreted as anti-colonialism. Subsequently, the

reprisal measures of the state against Protestant Africans conditioned the response of Protestant mission groups in the crisis situation. The persecution of Angolan leaders in the nationalist movement was a threat to the Protestant church structure.

4. Dilemmas

Throughout this study the matter of choice has been crucial for Catholicism and Protestantism, introducing dilemmas for the two religious organizations. What were they? For Catholicism, support of the policies of the state on the issues of slave labor and forced labor meant the shattering of the church's dream to build Christian states in West Africa; it compromised its ethical position "to love one's neighbor;" it disrupted the institutional life of the church as men were transported from the villages to fulfill the quotas of the contract labor system; and it aroused the resentment of Africans who saw Europeans acquire material wealth at their expense. The church's support of the policy of the state to suppress African nationalism produced other dilemmas, one was a complete reliance on the state for its existence. In this situation the life of the overseas church depended on the political climate in Portugal which on several occasions were anti-clerical. The church also became an instrument of the state, the civilizing motivation outweighing the Christianizing. Moreover, support of the state meant a perpetuation of the colonial situation, sanctioning much of the social injustices inherent in the system. Furthermore, the church's support of the state alienated African Catholics.

On the other hand, Catholicism's opposition to the policies of

the state on the issues of slave labor and forced labor meant the loss of state support, as protector and benefactor of the Catholic church. It could also alienate the European settlers from the Catholic church, their commercial enterprises could be jeopardized by the curtailment of the contract labor system. Moreover, the state could suppress the Catholic hierarchy, assuming direct control of its activities. The effect of the church's opposition to the state on its policy towards African nationalism would be similar. It could also mean a much more drastic action by the state, the expulsion of the Catholic clergy from the country. Indeed, two African clerics were expelled from Angola after the March 1961 revolt. Under these circumstances there could be the danger of a revival of anti-clericalism such as that which prevailed in mid-eighteenth century. For Catholicism then the dilemma involved, on the one hand, a loss of state support, political and financial, and on the other, the rising antagonism of the African population to the Catholic church.

For Protestantism, the matter of choice was equally critical. Support of the state's policy on the contract labor system produced many uncertainties for Protestant societies. For one thing, it is dubious whether Christianity could support the ethics of the contract labor system. Also, support of the contract labor system meant a continuous erosion on the life of the church, the emigration of men creating a social vacuum in the villages. On the issue of nationalism, Protestantism's support of the state's policy could prolong the colonial situation. It also implied a refusal to accept the inevitability of

political change, from a colonial state to self-government. Moreover, Protestantism's support of the Portuguese state could prejudice its future role, assuming that Angola will be independent.

On the other hand, opposition to the state's policy on forced labor could arouse the antagonism of European settlers toward Protestant mission work. It could also provoke the state to cancel the exempt status of church workers under the contract labor laws. A more devastating action of the state could be the expulsion of all Protestant missionaries from Angola. In the struggle of African versus European sovereignty, Protestant missionaries were caught in the middle, opposition to the policy of the state aroused the cry of "collaboration with the rebels." This proved to be an unenviable position for Protestantism. After the March 1961 revolt, criticisms by Protestant representatives to the government's policy provoked the state to expel and curtail the movements of Protestant missionaries. Then, too, alignment with African nationalists created an uneasy feeling among foreign Protestant missionaries, the use of guerrilla tactics raising the issue of justification of means and end. For Protestantism then the dilemma involved, on the one hand, the antagonism of the state, and on the other, a prolongment of the colonial situation.

In a broad sense the dilemmas for Catholicism and Protestantism were analogous. On the one hand, opposition to the policies of the state involved a rupture in the relationship between Christian groups and the state, disaffection by European settlers, and the threat of expulsion from the country by the state. Christianity's support of

the policies of the state, on the other hand, invited a compromise on the ethical position of Christianity on these problems; it prolonged the colonial situation; it made the church an instrument of the state's aim to civilize; and, it alienated the African population from the Christian church.

5. Implications for the Future

Perhaps it is appropriate at this time to say a word on the implications of this study for the events to come. As the national struggle increases in Angola, the racial aspect will become more and more intense, forcing the Protestant community to side with African nationalists. This reaction will be due to the state's persecution of Protestants, resulting in anti-government demonstrations. At the same time the non-Portuguese Roman Catholic community will show sympathy for the African nationalist cause, creating a current of disharmony with the Portuguese Catholic hierarchy.

On a different level, if one were to assume that Angola will some day be independent, the social conditions will produce a different climate. A basic change, undoubtedly, will be a lessening of the importance of the church-state issue; Angolan political parties have promised the separation of church and state and religious freedom. The implications will be far-reaching for both Catholicism and Protestantism. On the one hand, the Catholic church will no longer occupy a favored position in the country; on the other, Protestantism will lose its unique position as a vehicle to express African nationalist feelings.

The colonial state will go out of existence; the emergence of an African state, however, will pose other problems. Christianity will no longer be the state religion; its role may be less in the new state. Moreover, criticism of the state's social policy by church leaders may lead to their expulsion; a policy of silence may place the Christian church in a compromising position. Thus, the historical-sociological circumstances will differ, but the dilemmas for Catholicism and Protestantism will be no less real.

APPENDIX I

Calendar of Missionary Penetration

1. Catholicism

1483	Diogo Cão discovers the Congo.
1489	Chief of the Congo estuary, Mweni-Songyo, baptized.
1490	Embassy to king of Congo establishment of Franciscan mission.
1507	Beginning of Congo Christian kingdom of Afonso I.
1543	Death of King Afonso.
1575	Luanda founded by Dias de Novães and Jesuits.
1596	Diocese of the Congo and Angola established.
1641	Dutch occupation of Luanda.
1645	Italian Capuchin friars arrive in the Congo.
1716	Seat of bishopric officially transferred to Luanda from São Salvador.
1760	Expulsion of Jesuits.
1865	Entrance of the French Fathers of the Order of the Holy Ghost.
1875	Secular priests from Sernache do Bonjardim arrive.
1881	Father António Barroso restores São Salvador as religious center in the Congo.
1910	Revolution in Portugal; curtailment of religious activity in Angola.
1926	Organic Statute guaranteed state protection and subsidy to church.
1940	Concordat signed; full religious rights guaranteed by Vatican to Portugal in her overseas colonies.
1940	Three dioceses created, Luanda, Nova Lisboa and Silva Porto.
1955	Diocese of Sá da Bandeira created.
1961	Revolt of March 15th; disruption of Catholic missions in northern Angola.

2. Protestantism

1878	British Baptist missionary society establishes work in São Salvador.
1880	Beginning of American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, districts of Benguela and Bié.
1884	Brethren mission, Bié, Moxico and Lunda areas.
1884	Methodist mission established in Luanda and Malange.

1886 Canadian Congregationalists join work of the American Board.
1897 Philafricaine mission started in Caconda.
1897 Angola Evangelica mission begun in Cabinda and coast south of Congo estuary.
1910 Christian and Missionary Alliance establishes work in the Cabinda enclave.
1914 South Africa General mission establishes work in Moxico and in Mossamedes.
1924 Seventh Day Adventist mission in areas of Benguela and Luanda founded.
1925 North Angola mission begun in Uige in northern Angola.
1927 United Church of Canada establishes co-operative work with the American Board.
1950 Assemblies of God in Novo Redondo; expelled by Portuguese government in 1958.
1954 Canadian Baptist Missionary Society takes over work of the Angola Evangelical Alliance.
1961 Curtailment of Protestant work in all areas by government decrees.

APPENDIX II

Religious Membership

Table 1

Membership of Catholic Church[1]

	Masculine	Feminine	Total
Europeans	42,779	31,197	73,976
Mulattoes	13,247	12,038	25,285
Africans	708,675	695,023	1,403,698
TOTALS	764,701	738,258	1,502,959

Table 2

Membership of Protestant Groups[2]

	Masculine	Feminine	Total
Europeans	998	927	1,925
Mulattoes	284	282	566
Africans	264,043	274,776	538,819
TOTALS	265,325	275,985	541,310

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[1] Província de Angola, Anuário Estatístico (Luanda: Imprensa Nacional, 1960), p. 20.

[2] Ibid.

APPENDIX III

Statements

1. Joint Statement by Representative Christians in the United States and Canada, May 1961.

As fellow Christians we are writing to you and the Christian people of Portugal with deep concern for the recent developments in Angola. We know that you, too, are distressed, for all Christian people are concerned when there is death and destruction.

As Christians we have experienced the love of God through His Son, our Lord Jesus Christ. Believing that this love is extended to all the world we are compelled to claim the same privileges not only for ourselves and our fellow-Christians, but also for all mankind regardless of race, color or creed. We adhere firmly to the principle that all men everywhere share the same human dignity and have the same rights and duties. So we address ourselves to Christians in Portugal, in deep solicitude, believing that this common concern should afford a basis for seeking a reasonable solution.

Behind the present dangerous situation lies a long period of frustration and resentment. Contract labor for low wages, inadequate machinery for consultation and rising nationalism in neighboring territories, have finally led to attacks by Africans on Portuguese settlers. Portuguese newspapers report that in this violence some hundreds of whites have been killed. It is of course the obligation of any state to control rioting and armed manifestations, but the violent reaction in Angola in which thousands of Africans are reported to have been killed in indiscriminate reprisals, has already carried suppression to excessive lengths. Under these circumstances mere re-establishment of control will only be an empty victory. Redress of grievances is essential for orderly development.

. . . . . .

We note with expectancy that the newly appointed Minister for Overseas Portugal has appealed for the re-establishment

of racial harmony, and has said that Portugal will give Angola every material and human assistance. We welcome his announcement that administrative and legislative measures will be put into force immediately to eliminate social injustices.

We believe that these changes can be achieved only through consultation with representatives of the African people.

To be effective they must incorporate the desires of the Africans themselves, including especially a rapidly increasing participation in the processes of government.

We appeal to you, Mr. President, and to the people of Portugal, to initiate this process of discussion. This is an opportunity for the Portuguese people to rise to greatness and to meet with the appropriate leaders of the Angolan people in an atmosphere of mutual trust and determination to effect a solution that is just for all concerned.

2. Statement by Commission of the Churches on International Affairs, World Council of Churches, June 5, 1961.

Many churches and individual Christians are alarmed by the serious conditions which have developed in Angola. The reports of wanton destruction of human life and the accompanying violation of essential human rights have shocked world public opinion. There is indeed danger that the situation will further deteriorate if justice is not widely served. In these circumstances we as officers of the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs would be failing in our duty if we remained silent. We therefore call attention to certain general statements which have been made on several occasions by the World Council of Churches and our Commission, and we suggest that they are immediately relevant to Angola. We express the hope that action along these lines will be promptly initiated.

In face of any refusal to recognise for the people of Angola the right to determine their own political future, we say: "The legitimate right of the self-determination of peoples must be recognised. Specific assurance of independence or self-government should be given and administering authorities should take reasonable risks in speeding progress towards this goal."

In face of every failure to build the competence necessary for independence or self-government, we say: "When nations are still subject to minority or foreign rule, they must be allowed to move swiftly but with adequate preparation to a form of government in which persons of whatever racial background have their rightful place."

In face of reported violence, compounded in its severity by acts of retribution, we say to all involved and especially to those who have been party to terrorism and murder: "Christian concern for the worth of man involves insistence on respect for the Rule of Law, as essential to a just society. This includes freedom from arbitrary arrest, an independent judiciary and public trial, the right of habeas corpus and all that is involved in equality before the law for all persons and all communities."

3. Statement by United Church Board for World Ministries (The American Board), May 1, 1962.

For more than a year Africans and Portuguese have engaged in bitter warfare in Angola and the United Church Board for World Ministries notes with sorrow that during these months many African pastors and teachers of various denominations have been imprisoned and killed. As a Christian organization involved in the work of the church in Angola we must speak out to this situation.

In these circumstances the United Church Board for World Ministries supports the statement of the third assembly of the World Council of Churches, which appeals "to the government of Portugal in the name of humanity and of all that the Christian conscience cherishes, to bring to an end promptly and without delay the continuing tragedy in Angola; and believing that the fate of Angola is of international import we urge Portugal to take immediate steps so that the legitimate rights and political aspiration of the indigenous African people of Angola may be met expeditiously."

The United Church Board for World Ministries further urges member churches to heed the statement of the Executive Committee of the World Council of Churches in requesting all Christian groups to press upon their government the urgency of the situation, and to remember constantly in prayer their fellow Christians in both Portugal and in Angola and all those involved in the present emergency.

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THE SOCIAL RESPONSE OF CHRISTIANITY IN ANGOLA:
SELECTED ISSUES
(Library of Congress No. Mic.)

Thomas Okuma, Ph.D.
Boston University Graduate School, 1964

Major Professor: Paul K. Deats, Jr., Professor of Social Ethics

1. Problem of the Dissertation

The problem of the dissertation is to define, analyze, and evaluate the social response of Christianity to slave trade, forced labor, and nationalism in Angola. Foremost to the problem of the dissertation are two questions: First, "What were the factors which influenced the response of Christianity to the selected issues?" And second, "Were the responses of Christianity to the selected issues unequivocal?"

2. Method of the Dissertation

The principal method of this study is historical-sociological. The historical aspect is concerned with time, place, and events; the sociological describes the social behavior of institutions and peoples. The dissertation will also be a critical examination of the norms inherent in the missionary enterprise. The sources are in Portuguese and in English.

3. Conclusions

i. Responses of Christianity

The responses of Christianity to the selected issues were characterized by policies of co-operation, acceptance, avoidance, and

opposition. The response of Catholicism to slave labor and forced labor was similar, acceptance which eventually led to a policy of co-operation with the state, slave traders, and labor recruiters. As the Protestant movement in Angola was founded after the heyday of the slave trade, its response could not be measured. On forced labor, Protestantism's response was one of qualified acceptance, respecting the political rights of the Portuguese to govern its overseas territories.

Prior to the March 1961 revolt, the policy of both Catholicism and Protestantism on nationalism was avoidance of the issue. After the march 1961 disturbances, Catholicism co-operated with the Portuguese state, a policy to crush the rebellion. The response of Protestantism was one of opposition to the position of the Portuguese state.

Within these general patterns of responses, there were always exceptions to the prevailing response of Christianity to each of the selected issues.

ii. Factors Shaping Christianity's Response

A first factor was Catholicism's identification with the state's colonial policy. For Protestantism, separation from the state placed her in a problematic position; Protestant missions were conscious of their precarious legal position in a Catholic state. But the problematic position was abandoned when Protestantism was confronted by an abrupt disruption of church-state relations after the 1961 revolt.

A second factor was that of motivation. Three motivations, often conflicting, predominated in Catholic mission work: the economic,

the civilizing, and the Christianizing. For Protestantism, two motivations seemed important, the humanitarian and the evangelizing.

A third factor was the colonial situation. Catholicism identified itself with the cultural policy of the colonial state. Protestantism also adapted itself to the colonial situation; its response was existential and expedient.

A fourth was the time factor, especially pertinent for Protestantism. In many instances Protestant missionaries refrained from criticizing the contract labor system because previous protests were ineffective.

A fifth was the factor of Africanization. The Catholic hierarchy was predominantly European. Consequently, Catholicism's response to nationalism was European oriented. Protestantism's strength was distinctly African; this is one reason why Protestant Africans were suspect after the northern revolt in 1961.

iii. Dilemmas

In a broad sense the dilemmas for Catholicism and Protestantism were analogous. On the one hand, opposition to the policies of the state involved a rupture in the relationship between Christian groups and the state, disaffection by European settlers, and the threat of expulsion from the country by the state. Christianity's support of the policies of the state, on the other, invited a compromise on the ethical position of Christianity on these problems; it prolonged the colonial situation; it made the church an instrument of the state's aim to civilize; and, it alienated the African population from the Christian church.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY

I was born on the Island of Kauai, Hawaii, on November 20, 1919. My father was Seichi Okuma and my mother was Uto Kiyomura. I was educated in the public schools of Hawaii, including two years at the University of Hawaii. In 1941 I left Hawaii to continue my studies on the mainland, matriculating at Berea College, Kentucky, receiving the bachelor of arts degree in 1943. The following school year, 1943-44, I enrolled at the Andover Newton Theological School, transferring to Yale University Divinity School in the fall of 1944. In June 1946 I was conferred the degree of bachelor of divinity from Yale University. After completing seminary, I returned to Hawaii to serve as a minister for three years in the Congregational churches of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association. In 1949 I was appointed as a missionary of the Angola Mission of The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and was associated with that field until 1962 when I was accepted as a doctoral candidate by the Boston University Graduate School.