CULTURE DYNAMICS AT LUEBO: AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF RELIGIOUS AGENTS OF CHANGE IN ZAIRE

By

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A DISSERTATION PRESENTED TO THE GRADUATE COUNCIL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

1975
Copyright 1975 Daniel Purdy Juengst
This work is dedicated
to my mother

ADELE PURDY JUENGST

a splendid bearer of her culture
whose constancy in concern has
enhanced five generations of our
family and has challenged me
to continuing growth.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am deeply indebted to numerous individuals for support and encouragement received during the preparation of this dissertation. I shall begin by expressing my gratitude to Sara Covin Juengst, my wife, and to our children. They have shared the good moments and the bad. Through the entire process their confidence and expectations have been a constant encouragement.

I would like next to especially thank my Committee Chairman, Professor Brian M. duToit. He recruited me to the University of Florida, taught me Anthropology and has encouraged and supported me in the manner of an authentic mentor. It is not an exaggeration to say that his role has been absolutely crucial to the completion of this project.

I owe a debt of gratitude to each of the other members of my committee: to Professor Solon T. Kimball, for his encouragement and the anthropological insights so abundant in his teaching, to Associate Professor Haig Der-Houssikian for his continued interest and support as Director of the Center for African Studies at the University of Florida, to Assistant Professor Carol E. Taylor for her encouragement and her anthropological insights into the process of becoming an anthropologist, and lastly to Professor Richard H. Hiers for his interest and concern through the years.

The list could be extended excessively. The missionaries and Zairians who were informants and friends, the staff members of the
Presbyterian Church in the United States, the staff of the Presbyterian Historical Foundation, numerous friends along the way all contributed to this work.

One of these friends must not remain nameless, Carolyn J. Grimes. I engaged her as my typist, but her exceptional skill and dedication quickly made me aware of the fact that I was benefiting from an editorial assistant. I am grateful to her for her contribution.
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CULTURE DYNAMICS AT LUEBO: AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF RELIGIOUS AGENTS OF CHANGE IN ZAIRE

By
Daniel Purdy Juengst

August, 1975

Chairman: Brian M. duToit
Major Department: Anthropology

A religious mission to Zaire sponsored by Presbyterians from the southern United States is investigated ethnographically. Over an eighty-five year period the American Presbyterian Congo Mission has carried out its religious, medical, educational and social mission in the Kasayi region of Zaire. Culture history, population characteristics and the material base of the missionary community are described in the context of the surrounding African culture.

The formal social organization of the missionary group is described and the significance of culturally persistent features stemming from American Presbyterian culture are pointed out. A description of communication and control networks, reciprocity linkages and relationship characteristics is developed from the examination of individual missionary interactions with members of their households, with fellow missionaries, with African members of their work cohorts, with other Europeans and with the general African population. This analysis reveals an informal level of organization which is determinative in the processes of the missionary community.

The events and the concomitant changes in patterns of interaction
which took place during the period immediately prior to and following Zaire's attainment of political independence are described. The effects of these situational changes on the missionary community are examined with special emphasis on their relationship to missionary career expectations, ideology and cultural maintenance.

Conclusions are drawn concerning the significance of situational events, initiation of action potential, balanced reciprocity relationships and symbolic systems for the existence of a particular community form and its culture.
INTRODUCTION

The indigenous people of Africa have long been the subjects of anthropological study. Ethnographies have been written to describe the life ways of the majority of the major ethnic groupings in sub-Saharan Africa. In the late 1930's, under the leadership of B. Malinowski (1938), research was undertaken on the processes of culture contact and change. Since that period the bulk of African anthropological research has been on the various aspects of change: acculturation, migration, urbanization, de-colonization, nation-building and modernization.

During the entire colonial period in Africa, Christian missionaries from the western nations have been on the scene, contributing to and participating in the processes of change that are taking place. T.O. Beidelman has pointed out that "almost no attention was ever paid by anthropologists to the study of colonial groups such as administrators, missionaries or traders" (1974:235). He suggests that research on these groups would be useful because, among other reasons, "the problems of planned social change, of communication, and exercise of power between culturally different groups, remains one of the most important and pressing sociological issues" (1974:236).

The present study has been undertaken to partially meet the need for anthropological research on western agents of change in Africa. The basic research methodology has been participant observation. The
writer was an active missionary of the Presbyterian Church in the United States and a resident member of the American Presbyterian Congo Mission in Zaire during the periods: January 1959 to July 1960; September 1963 to July 1965; and September 1966 to July 1968. He was also present in the Kasayi from October 1970 to August 1972 during which time he taught at the Middle Normal School of the National University of Zaire at Kananga (formerly Luluabourg).

The material collected is being presented basically in ethnographic form. There will be one deviation from the traditional ethnographic descriptive style in that the "ethnographic present tense" has not been used throughout but rather only for the specific site description of Luebo (Chapter 4). The historical past tense is used elsewhere. Although the focus of the study is on the missionary community at Luebo during 1959 and 1960, this community and its culture can only be understood in the context of the 70 years of mission history prior to the time of observation, and in the light of the socio-cultural change which took place in the Kasayi immediately subsequent to that period.

The general physical and social environment of the missionary community at Luebo will be described in Chapter 1. The historical background and development of the larger missionary organization of which the community at Luebo was one sub-unit, will be sketched in Chapter 2. Chapter 3 deals with the population of the missionary groups, both in terms of the larger organization extending throughout the Kasayi area and in terms of the specific group resident at Luebo. The discussion of the Luebo group includes description of the types of
indigenous Africans with whom the missionaries had the most extensive interaction.

The material base of the missionary community is described in Chapter 4. Following this presentation of general setting, historical development, people involved and material situation, Chapters 5 and 6 deal with the social organization of the missionary community. The Presbyterian traditions of the American missionaries and the resulting formal structures found among them in the Kasayi are treated in Chapter 5. An analysis of actual patterns of interaction and quasi-ritualistic events and assemblages (Kimball and Pearsall 1955) at the mission station reveal informal structures which are described in Chapter 6.

The rapid changes which took place immediately prior to and following political independence in Zaire are described in Chapter 7. The effects of these changes on the missionary community and culture are treated in Chapter 8.

During the period 1960 to 1962 the missionary community and culture changed radically. An analysis of the importance of such factors as the potential for the initiation of action, changing ideological or symbolic systems, and territoriality leads to the formulation of conclusions concerning these factors and the existence of an established community of religious agents of change.

It should be pointed out, perhaps needlessly, that all the names referring to individuals participating in the events observed at Luebo have been changed. Specific historical references and individuals cited in published material are true.
CHAPTER 1
THE GENERAL ENVIRONMENT

During the period since 1960 many of the place names in Zaire have been changed. As the original observation upon which this study is based was made during the 18 months prior to Independence Day (June 30, 1960), the usage here will reflect the older terminology. Although this study deals partly with the American Presbyterian Congo Mission as a whole, its ethnographic focus is on the mission station at Luebo.

Geography

Luebo is the administrative capital of the Kasayi District of Zaire, the former Belgian Congo (cf. Figure 1). It is situated at the junction of the Luebo and Lulua Rivers. The Lulua River is one of the navigable tributaries of the Kasayi River, which itself is one of the largest tributaries of the great Congo (Zaire) River. Luebo was opened as a trading post in 1883 by the explorer Major Hermann Von Wissmann. It then became an administrative post of the Independent State of the Congo. It occupies a latitude of about 5 and 1/2 degrees south and is about 1200 miles by river from the Atlantic coast at 21 degrees 30" west longitude. The Lulua River at Luebo is 1300 feet above sea level and APCM-Luebo, the mission station, is over 1700 feet (AR 1927, cf. footnote on page 23 below).

The surrounding area, for which the combination of town and mission at Luebo serves as a commercial, educational, medical and
religious center, stretches out to the southeast forming what is known as the Kasayi region between the Kasayi and Sankuru Rivers. The Kasayi region covers an area of approximately 30,000 square miles.

The Kasayi region, except for its northernmost section, is located in the geographic region known as the Southern Uplands. The northern tip of the area extends into the Congo Basin, the immense geological depression through which the Congo River flows its 240 degree arc of 2800 miles to the Atlantic.

Luebo and all of the other mission stations of the APCM except Bulape to the north are in the Southern Uplands which is characterized by savanna vegetation. These Southern Uplands cover a surface area of one-third of the nation. Most of the region is rolling country which slopes gradually from a maximum altitude of about 4,000 feet in the south to between 1,200 and 2,500 feet where the rolling plains merge with the outer edges of the Congo Basin. Grasses predominate over most of the area, but are interspersed with scattered clumps of shrubs and trees.

The Kasayi region lies between latitude 4 degrees south and 8 degrees south. Being in the southern hemisphere, there are 2 major annual climatic periods, a hot, wet season and a cool, dry season. Eight months of the year, from early September to mid-May, is the rainy season. Local showers, usually of short duration, occur almost daily. The dry season begins in the middle of May and lasts until September. It is very dry but heavy dews keep the fields and grasses from complete drought. The nights are cool and the average daily temperature is around 75 degrees (MacLean 1961:3).
Fine grain soils predominate over two-thirds of the Southern Uplands and are found in varying mixtures in the Kasayi area. Diamonds were discovered in the Kasayi around 1913, leading to the development of the important mining industry. The 2 main fields are located about 200 miles apart at Tshikapa on the Kasayi River south of Luebo and at Mbuji Mayi near the Sankuru River southeast of Luebo. The resources of the Tshikapa area are smaller but contain a higher percentage of gem stones than are found at Mbuji Mayi, which produces the greater amount of industrial diamonds (McDonald 1971:19).

Indigenous Demography and Culture

The area is characterized by an ethnographic diversity due to a heterogeneous population made up of Luba, Lulua and Kete groups. Historically, the predominate groups were Lulua south of Luebo and Kete to the north. Luba populations migrated into the area during the colonial period. The predominantly rural population of the region live in villages of varying size and character throughout the area. The size and structure of the villages depended on the ethnic background of the residents. An early missionary observer reports Lulua and Luba villages scattered throughout the uplands at a distance of every 15 or 20 miles (Verner 1903:465).

At present, the most heavily populated regions lie in the area of Luluabourg, along the railroad that runs from Port Franqui in the northwest through Katanga province to the southeast and, thirdly, near the diamond fields. This population, living throughout the area of activity of the APCM, belongs to various sub-groupings of the major tribes: Kuba, Lulua, Luba-Kasayi, Luntu, Kanyoka and
Salampasu.

The Luba-Kasayi were forced to become a migrant people to escape Arab slave traders. In the late 19th century they had formed hybrid communities with the Lulua, a closely associated ethnic group, placing themselves under the protection of the local Lulua chief (McDonald 1971:91). Between 1925 and 1940 other Luba, encouraged by the government and missions, settled along the railroad line and around the growing city of Luluabourg, where, by 1959 and possibly some years earlier, they represented 60% of the African population.

The surface area of the Congo is deceptively large. Its 2,343,930 square kilometers compare with the United States east of the Mississippi River or an area 4 times the size of France (Romaniuk 1968:242). Population studies were attempted through the colonial period (1908-1960). The results of the earlier studies must, however, be taken as merely indications due to the problematic nature of data-collecting methods employed. The official government estimate of the total population for the year 1910 was 7,248,000 (Trewartha and Zelinsky 1954:166). Later demographic studies indicate that this estimate was significantly low.

When viewed over the whole colonial period the general trends can be delineated. It has been noted, for instance, that an increasingly large volume of vital statistics gathered by the Belgian colonial administration leaves little doubt that the African population must have been growing (Trewartha and Zelinsky 1954:1966). Romaniuk cites the total population at 13,175,000 for 1957 on the basis of acceptably valid figures from 1952 to 1957 (1959:569).
On the basis of the most conservative estimate for a projected natural growth rate (2.3% per annum), Romaniuk posits a total population of 17,700,000 in 1970, and a projected 22,210,000 in 1980 (1959: 598). The period required for the doubling of the population is 31 years.

The quality of demographic data available on the Congo increased significantly in the late 1950's as a result of the extensive statistical survey known as the "Demographic Inquiry 1955-1957." Anatole Romaniuk was given the responsibility of this study when he was appointed director of the newly formed Bureau of Demography (Romaniuk 1968:243). For this study 100 selected and trained interviewers interviewed 1.9 million persons, a sample of around 11% of the population. The administration's population registration system provided a sampling frame for the inquiry. It included a list, by administrative areas, of the 50,000 villages in Zaire, with approximate figures of the number of persons in each village (Romaniuk 1968: 244).

The substantive results of the Demographic Inquiry which have significance for the examination of mission life at Luebo and the activity of the APCM in general are summarized in the following statements. In the period 1955-1957 the total Congolese population of 13,000,000 was 78% "rural," that is, residing in traditional villages. "Urban" residents, that is, non-agricultural and living in cities of more than 2,000 inhabitants totaled 10% of the population.¹ Those

¹The usage of the term "urban" here follows that of the Belgian demographers cited. It is noted that United Nations classifies as urban groupings of 30,000 or more persons.
classified as "mixed," living in small commercial, administrative or industrial conglomerations of less than 2,000 persons, accounted for 12% (Romaniuk 1968:338). The figures of 10% urban and 12% mixedcompare favorably, when combined with earlier estimates by 2 writers (Moeller 1952:192 and Dellicour 1952:491), that the Congo population was 20% urban.

It is important to note that the Kasayi province ranked next to last in 1957 among the provinces in the Congo in the number of Europeans, 8,634 out of a national total of 108,957 foreigners. As mentioned, the foreign population in the Kasayi included colonial administrative, commercial and missionary personnel. Luluabourg, the principal city of the area with a population of 55,000, ranked fifth nationally in a list of 72 towns with a population of over 2,000 (Romaniuk 1959:624).

It has long been understood that the basic motive for the colonial enterprise was an economic one. The Belgian claim to fame in the Congo was based on the steady and diversified economic growth which they created through their administration (Comhaire 1956:9). The high margin of profit accruing to the European investment was largely due to the fact that most of the production was in the form of raw materials which were sold on the world market. The mines in the Kasayi and Katanga were typical of the "extractive" type industry which formed the basis of the colonial economy.

The Belgian government acquired its colony from their king, Leopold II, following an international scandal over the Independent State of the Congo's exploitation of African labor. Being sensitive
to the responsibility of governing a portion of Africa 88 times larger in area than their country, and being determined to improve the international image of Belgium, the Belgian Parliament enacted legislation controlling all aspects of African life. They were aware from the experience of other colonies that the "work contract," especially a long-term contract, was one of the regular sources of disruption in African society. The government defined minutely the rules which had to be followed (Libotte 1953:54ff) and the limits which had to be observed in recruiting and engaging Africans (Briey, 1945:386).

The social legislation touching the economy related mostly to salaried workers. The local market system remained relatively unaffected. Such measures as a "kopo," i.e., a cup - usually a tomato paste can - remain standard units. A beer bottle remains the standard unit of palm oil and fish are sold by the piece. Duvieusart notes that the multitude of indigenous merchants did not create a competition which had the effect of lowering the prices as one might expect, rather the number served to limit the income of each seller (1959:78).

The colonial government did make a few attempts to develop a solid peasantry through agricultural innovation. All of these schemes failed, mainly through the lack of education at the community level, and a paucity of insights regarding the target population, which an applied anthropologist might well have been able to provide (Beguin 1965:910ff and Bailleul 1959:830).

The demographic studies provide information on the amount and type of internal migration of the African population. The migration
figures show that, in spite of industrialization and urbanization, the majority of the African population tends to remain in their native area. In the Kasayi province, in 1950, 60,571 (68%) of the African workers were native to the territory (i.e., "county") of their employment. There were 19,075 workers (21%) from other territories in the same district. There were 8,193 workers (9%) from other districts in the same province. There were 1,263 workers (1.4%) from other provinces, and only 69 workers (.007%) came from other countries (Trewartha and Zelinsky 1954:184). These figures indicate that through the years, the Presbyterian agents of change in the Kasayi were dealing with a relatively stable African population not experiencing the extreme labor migration seen in Katanga province and more especially in other African countries.

Both the Lulua and the Luba-Kasayi speak as a first language slightly differing forms of Tshiluba. Tshiluba is one of the 6 common languages in Zaire, that is, it is used as a communication medium by other non-native speakers in the area. Tshiluba can be used with fluency by the various matrilineal groups surrounding the Lulua and Luba. The missions and their literacy campaigns were instrumental in the development of 3 variants of this language. This will be discussed below (cf. Chapter 6).

The basic social grouping of the Lulua and Luba-Kasayi is the patrilineal localized lineage, an extended family grouping composed of several elementary families related through unilineal descent. In the Kasayi the local lineage, or tshoto, is quite small, composed of an average of 9 men and corresponding to a maximal depth of 4 genera-
The text on the page is not visible, so I cannot provide a natural text representation.
tions. The lineages form a segmentary system with a maximal depth of around 20 generations. The territorial lineage is the minor lineage having a depth of about 6 generations. The residential group is made up of the men of the tshoto or local lineage with their wives and children as well as maternal nephews and in earlier times a few slaves (Vansina 1965:166). The head of the local lineage is invariably a man, the mukulu or "elder," a patriarch recognized as having certain mystical credentials qualifying him to carry out his role. The rights of a man's younger brothers take precedence over those of the younger generation. The brother of a man's mother has certain claims on him and his family. Plural marriages are accepted in the indigenous social organization but are usually limited to chiefs or others who have accumulated unusual wealth. In a polygynous marriage, it is normal for each wife to maintain a separate house.

House forms for both the Lulua and Luba are of rectangular mud-and-stick construction with a thatched roof of grass. Houses are scattered in an almost random manner throughout the village and are usually supplemented by small kitchen huts and sheds.

The villages were organized along lineage lines, family heads all tracing their descent to a common, perhaps unknown, ancestor many generations distant. The elders or family heads constitute the village council that advises the chief who is always an older man, usually the senior member of the same lineage. In some cases, decision will flow from a public debate for which a special meeting place is set aside in the village and in which all adult men may participate. In such situations the personalities and rhetorical abilities of
a. Young Zairian mission employee with wife, home and transportation.

b. Same couple inside their home.
individuals has a definite effect on the evolution of law in the community.

The religious system of the Lulua and Luba population is in general similar to that of other Bantu speaking Africans. A high god is acknowledged but is considered very remote from man's daily life. Belief in other spirits is found, a distinction being made between the spirits of deceased relatives and spirits identified with natural phenomena. Belief in the continuing existence and influence of deceased relatives is fundamental to their religious system. Ancestors are looked upon as participating members of the family community and, as such, are respectfully treated. The ancestral spirits are looked to for assistance in economic and social affairs. The living honor the ancestors through the offering of sacrifices, by appropriate social behavior, and by the observance of family ritual. The Luba and Lulua believe that the ancestors are closely associated with their mundane daily lives and that they provide the active force behind objects that are considered to have magical powers. They are instrumental in maintaining the fertility of the family and thus, the continuation of the group.

There is a universal belief in the power of magic and in the ability of some individuals to control or direct these powers. "In this world where spirits are active and humans believed to control superhuman forces, nothing occurs by chance. Every event is either caused by spirits acting on men or by men controlling spirits or medicine" (McDonald 1971: 202). Among the African population certain persons are recognized as diviners and makers of spiritual
medicines. The functions of these persons are considered beneficial to the society as opposed to those of witches and sorcerers who employ their powers in injurious ways.

European Demography and Culture

As was mentioned above, the first white men arrived in the Kasayi region in 1883. The European population in the Kasayi grew from the original 2 or 3 officers of the Independent State of the Congo at the beginning of colonialization to around 5,750 in 1952. That same year, the indigenous African population for the Kasayi area was estimated at around 2,000,000 (cf. Table 1). The European population in the Kasayi at that time was divided among functionaries of the colonial government (9%), Roman Catholic missionaries (7%), Protestant missionaries (2%), commercial employees (20%), settlers (9%), and women and children (53%). The following percentage breakdown of national origins of the non-indigenous population demonstrates the preponderance of Belgians in the colony: Belgians (78%), Portuguese (5%), Italians (3%), Greeks (3%), British (3%), French (2%), Americans (1.5%), Dutch (1.3%), Swiss (0.7%), and 8 other nationalities (2.5%) (Moeller 1954: 746).

The number of American missionaries in the Kasayi during the period to which these statistics pertain correlates closely with the national percentages of 1.5% American and 2.0% Protestant missionary. It is assumed that these percentages in the employment and national origin categories for the non-indigenous population remained reasonably constant from 1940 to 1960 (cf. Figure 2).

The cultural life style of the Europeans was predominately
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROVINCE</th>
<th>AREA (Km²)</th>
<th>NON-AFRICAN POPULATION</th>
<th>INDIGENOUS POPULATION</th>
<th>DENSITY PER Km²</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Leopoldville</td>
<td>363,000</td>
<td>24,667</td>
<td>2,713,769</td>
<td>7.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equateur</td>
<td>404,293</td>
<td>4,841</td>
<td>1,652,160</td>
<td>4.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orientale</td>
<td>504,497</td>
<td>12,510</td>
<td>2,272,719</td>
<td>4.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiru</td>
<td>254,640</td>
<td>9,969</td>
<td>1,791,821</td>
<td>7.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katanga</td>
<td>496,965</td>
<td>24,215</td>
<td>1,373,685</td>
<td>2.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kasai</td>
<td>331,535</td>
<td>5,740</td>
<td>1,914,557</td>
<td>6.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td>2,343,930</td>
<td>81,940</td>
<td>11,788,711</td>
<td>5.43 (mean)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: (Moeller 1954:746)
Belgian and "colonial." Within the European community the primary figure was the male. It was he who was government administrator or trader. The European wives often remained in Europe. When they were present in the Kasayi, their main activity fluctuated between supervising their numerous household servants and "socializing" among their own particular group. Among the Belgian administrative personnel there was a strict social class system which followed the administrative ranks of government. The role of the European wife contrasted with that of the missionary wife in that the latter always had quasi-professional or professional daily activity related to the missionary program. The Belgian administrators always looked forward to returning to Belgium after their 17-year "career" in Congo.

The European traders were more nearly comparable to the "colonists" of other African countries. They were usually very long-term residents. It was not uncommon for the Portuguese traders to have married or to have mistresses among the indigenous African women. A number of the most successful commercial entrepreneurs in the Luebo area were mulatto individuals having been raised in these mixed commercial families.

Each group among the Europeans maintained a rather strict isolation. From the American missionary perspective the Belgian administrative group seemed a class remotely high because of their ethnocentrism and political position. On the other hand, the Portuguese traders appeared a class rather low because of their degree of fusion with the African population. There was no European group to which the American missionaries could comfortably relate.
The members of the American Presbyterian Congo Mission found themselves working on a savanna covered plateau among a basically rural African population which numbered around 16,650 persons to each Protestant missionary. There were approximately 39 Belgians in the area for every missionary. There were 2-1/2 times as many Portuguese merchants as missionaries. There were 5 colonial government officials for every missionary. It is in this context of demographic marginality that the American Southern Presbyterians developed their missionary community and culture described in this study.
CHAPTER 2
THE HISTORY OF THE MISSION COMMUNITY

The missionary group under study is a mission of the Presbyterian Church in the United States. The latter came into being as a religious denomination in 1861 when conflicting loyalties forced Presbyterian churchmen from the southern region of the United States to withdraw from their national Presbyterian judiciary and form their own organization. During the four years of the war of secession (1861-1865) the church was known as the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America (Thompson 1963:571). After 1865 it acquired its present name distinguishing it from the northern Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. Throughout its history, the group in question has popularly been referred to as the Southern Presbyterians. This usage will appear in the present study except where specific legal reference is required.

From their beginnings in 1861, the Southern Presbyterians followed the traditional Presbyterian forms of organization. The government of the church is organized into 4 ascending levels of church "courts" or judiciaries. At the lowest level, the level of the local congregation, the ruling group is the Session, which consists of a number of laymen elected by and from the congregation and the clergyman who has been engaged ("called") by the congregation as its pastor. The local sessions send their minister and delegated laymen to the quarterly meetings of the Presbytery. These gatherings are regional
assemblages which, collectively, hold the ultimate authority in the church government. The Synod is the next ascending grouping and is made up of all the clergymen and delegated laymen from all the congregations in a larger geographic area. The synods of the Southern Presbyterian Church during the period of study corresponded more or less to state boundaries and usually consisted of from 3 to 5 presbyteries. The uppermost grouping and the most inclusive in terms of geographical organization is the General Assembly. The General Assembly is an annual assemblage made up of 4 delegated clergymen (Teaching Elders) and 4 delegated laymen (Ruling Elders) from each presbytery.

It is the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, at its annual meeting, which employs certain national staff personnel and issues them a mandate to perform certain ministries in the name of the whole church. In 1862 the Executive Committee of Foreign Missions issued its first printed report. Due to the difficulties of communication during the war, little contact was made with the Presbyterian missionaries in China and Japan which could now be claimed by the Southern Church (AR 1892:4)\(^1\). By 1871 the Executive Committee of Foreign Missions was reporting missions to three American groups and missions in Italy, Columbia, Brazil and China. In 1890, when the African mission work was begun, the Presbyterian Church in the United States had twelve missionary organizations in ten

\(^1\)The Annual Report of the Executive Committee of Foreign Missions, which was later renamed the Board of World Missions, has been published each year since 1862 and presented to the General Assembly, and circulated throughout the church at large. Citations in this work will be referenced "AR," year and page.
countries operating on annual budgets totaling $122,815.31 (AR 1890: 64).

Penetration and Establishment (1890-1920)

The American Presbyterian Congo Mission (APCM)\(^1\) had its beginnings when an Afro-American clergyman and a White-American clergyman were appointed by the Executive Committee of Foreign Missions of the Southern Presbyterian Church as missionaries to the Congo Valley. This appointment was the culmination of a 2-year effort on the part of the Afro-American, the Reverend William H. Sheppard, age 24, to be appointed by the Southern Church as a missionary to Africa. The delay was caused by the church's insistence that at least 2 men be sent and their preference that one of the two represent the white majority of the church constituency. The conditions were met when the Reverend Samuel N. Lapsley, age 23, presented himself as a missionary candidate for Africa. Their task was a serious one, as is spelled out in their brief but broad instructions:

1. To find a site, preferably in the Congo Free State, far enough from other missions to enable us to open a wholly independent work.

2. To find a healthful location in the highlands but not too distant from a base of supply.

3. To work among a population large enough to constitute a good mission field and using a lan-

\(^1\)American Presbyterian Congo Mission is the legal name of the Southern Presbyterians' missionary organization working in the area of Africa which has been designated successively: The Independent State of the Congo (erroneously called Congo Free State by Britons and Americans, cf. Rotberg 1965:259), Belgian Congo, Republic of Congo, Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Republic of Zaire. In situ the missionary organization is referred to by both Africans and Europeans as either the "mission" or the "APCM." This usage appears often in the present work.
The attainment of goals in a systematic manner requires careful planning and execution. The American Federation of Teachers (AFT), recognizing the importance of organizing educators, supports the development of strategies to facilitate this process. Involvement in the National Education Association (NEA) and the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) is essential to ensure the advancement of educational standards and the rights of educators.

The organization of educational and professional associations is crucial for the growth and development of the teaching profession. These associations provide a platform for collaboration, advocacy, and the exchange of ideas among educators, which ultimately benefits students and the educational system as a whole.
guage which is widely current.

4. To present to the Committee an estimate of the needed missionary force, and an estimate of expenses to be incurred in opening the work and the cost of maintenance (Wharton 1952:12).

The two men sailed from New York on February 26, 1890 for England. For two young clergymen from the southern United States they traveled with an impressive portfolio of credentials.

President Benjamin Harrison gave them letters to American diplomats abroad. Friends provided introductions to men of influence in Brussels and London. Foreign Mission Boards in New York and Boston gave every possible aid and information...Dr. H. Gratton Guiness of Harley House, the great mission center in London, invited them there for their stay in London (Wharton 1952:13).

On March 21, 1890, Samuel Lapsley went to Brussels to have an audience with King Leopold II of the Belgians. Since the Conference of Berlin in 1885, Leopold II had been the initiator and sovereign of the Independent State of the Congo. The audience for Lapsley had been arranged by the American ambassador to Belgium, General H.S. Sanford, who had a deep interest in the development of the Congo area. Lapsley's recollections of the interview are interesting both as a vignette of Leopold II and as an indication of the various influences which affected the early history of the APCM.

I was ushered into a great room and heard a kind voice from the middle of it, "Good morning!" After a respectful bow I advanced and took the hand extended to me. He said, "You asked to see me?" I told him my business, whom I represented, the Presbyterian body in the United States, what I meant to do, and our plan of working with a combined white and colored force.

He warned me of the entire rudeness of the country, commended our plan of beginning on a small scale, until the tide comes in on the completion of
the railways, then enter on that tide. "Congo has a future," he said, "I cannot believe that God made that great river with its many branches all through the land for any lower purpose"...He warned me of the danger of wine drinking in Africa. About my location, he recommended the Kasai...after half-an-hour's talk...he said he felt sincerely, warmly interested in my mission, and was glad to see a young man show so much courage, enterprise and Christian pluck (Lapsley 1893:31, italics mine).

On April 18, 1890, Lapsley and Sheppard sailed from Rotterdam on the Dutch trading vessel, Afrikan, bound for the port of Matadi in the Independent State of the Congo. They traveled with a group of Swedish, British and American Baptist missionaries who were going out to reinforce missions that had been established in the Lower and Middle Congo River valley areas (Wharton 1952:16).

The two presbyterian missionaries spent 10 months in the Lower Congo, visiting government officials, various mission stations, and, in particular, the missionary explorer, George Grenfell. The Kasai-Sankuru region was finally chosen as a site for the APCM. They concluded from their survey of the situation that "Luebo, in the Kasai, had the advantage of being the meeting ground of 5 major tribes comprising an estimated 2 million people" (Lapsley 1893:163).

After a 33-day, 900-mile trip upriver on the sternwheeler Florida, the 2 missionaries arrived at Luebo. Lapsley reports that at noon on April 18, 1891, the Florida

rounded Luebo point and came in sight of a group of plantains, and shaded by these, a double row of small houses of mud with thatched roofs. Then we saw the thatches of five or six large adobe houses, tastefully disposed on a fair table land in the right angle made by our little Lulua, and a large creek on our right, the Luebo. A heavy palisades of sharpened posts ten feet high com-
pleted the square begun by the two streams. Two sharp blasts of the whistle brought the entire station to the beach; the steamer crew danced on the open deck to the deep throb of a drum; station boys waved and called to their friends in the crew; the four white men -- two company agents, a State officer, and the visiting Commissaire du district du Kasai -- shouted welcome to the little group by the pilot house whose arrival broke the dreary isolation of their post (Wharton 1952:31).

Shaloff (1971:24) suggests further Belgian influence on the location of the mission station "APCM-Luebo" stating, "at the suggestion of the Commissaire de district, the newcomers decided to locate their mission station near the north bank of the Lulua, midway between Luebo and the Kete village of Bena Kasenga." This was on the opposite bank of the Lulua River.

Sheppard and Lapsley settled in with the five Bakongo laborers which they had engaged for one year in the Lower Congo and brought with them upriver. Two palm-thatched, 10-foot-square houses were purchased from the nearby village and set up, one for each missionary. Wharton describes the initial activity:

Each set about improvising additions to suit his shelter to his needs. The Bakongo were put to clearing ground and building their own houses; pineapple, plantain, and banana plants were set out. Boards were sawed out of small sections of trees brought from the forest; later, men were taught to use a small pit saw. It was an eventful day when the first piece of furniture, a real table, replaced the crude makeshift of sticks tied together with strips of vine. But by the middle of August the little station was found to be intolerably hot, so they moved up to the brow of the great hill that rises from the Lulua, and began all over again (Wharton 1952:32).

In December, Lapsley made a reconnoitering trip east of Luebo
as far as the State post of Luluabourg. He returned to Luebo with a "caravan" of 17 men, 4 women and 1 child. These people were Lulua and were the forerunners of thousands of Lulua and Luba people who were to migrate to Luebo and settle around the mission station.

Lapsley had returned from his trip to Luluabourg tired and ill; supplies were low and transportation arrangements in the Lower Congo had bogged down. It seemed wise for Lapsley to return downriver to attend to business affairs and perhaps the voyage would restore his health (Wharton 1952:34). The trip was made on the Florida and the 5 Bakongo laborers accompanied him. They were returning to their homes after their one-year contracts had been completed. Lapsley never returned to Luebo. He died at Matadi on March 21, 1892 of "bilious hermaturic fever." His death came one year and 9 days after he had begun his first voyage on the Florida upriver to the Kasayi.

The designation of Africa as the "white man's grave" was confirmed in many instances during the early years of the APCM. On the day that Lapsley died in Matadi, the Adamsons, a Scot and his wife, left Kinshasa¹ (Leopoldville) for Luebo as reinforcements for the mission. Mrs. Adamson was the first white woman to enter the Kasayi region. She died at Luebo 3 years later. The Reverend and Mrs. Rowbotham from England came to Luebo in 1892 and left the mission 2

¹The principal urban center of the Congo, located on the Stanley Pool on the Lower Congo, was called Kinshasa prior to Belgian annexation in 1908. During the Belgian colonial period it was called Leopoldville. After independence in 1960 it was renamed Kinshasa.
years later because of illness. The Reverent D.W.C. Snyder and his wife from New York arrived the same year. She died in Kinshasa on their way home in 1896. "Mary Snyder 1896' reads the simple marker over the 33rd grave in the State Cemetery at Kinshasa, the first woman's grave in this barren spot" (Wharton 1952:46). During the period of penetration and establishment, 11% of the missionaries died on the field while they were in active service.

The King of the Belgians had been told that the APCM was to be a "combined white and colored force." This was a fortunate circumstance for the development of the mission. The Afro-American missionaries, during the early years, had a significantly higher survival rate than did their white colleagues. Five Afro-American missionaries from Alabama, Mississippi, and Pennsylvania were appointed in 1894 and 1895. This group, together with William Sheppard, put in an average of 17 years service each. During the period 1901-1911, 5 more Afro-American missionaries were appointed. Their average length of service was 29 years. Among 23 out of 25 of the white missionaries appointed prior to 1911, the average length of service was 5 years. The 2 exceptional individuals in this group, William M. Morrison and Motte Martin, serving 22 and 43 years respectively, both had an important influence on the development of the missionary culture at APCM-Luebo, which will be discussed below.

During the period 1901-1911, 20 new missionaries were appointed to the APCM. It was a period in which the work was formalized and many of the patterns were set that were to remain throughout the mission's history. One of the important innovations of this period
was the acquisition of a river steamer for the mission. The craft, named the S.N. Lapsley, was built in the United States, dismantled and shipped to the Congo where it was rebuilt by one of the missionaries. It served the mission for 18 months before it was caught in a whirlpool at the confluence of the Kasayi and Congo Rivers and capsized, killing 1 new missionary and 23 Africans. This steamer was replaced 3 years later by a craft built in Scotland which was better suited to the turbulent tropical rivers. The second steamer, the S.N. Lapsley II, regularly made the trip from Luebo or Lusambo to Kinshasa for 20 years until it was sold in 1926.

The stations of Bulape, Mutoto and Bibanga were opened as centers for the evangelization of the Bakuba, Lulua and Luba respectively. The station of Lubondai was added as another center for a large Lulua population. Luebo, Bulape, Mutoto, Bibanga and Lubondai continued to flourish in the period of the "five stations," 1920-1931.

Transition and Expansion (1921-1940)

The development of smaller stations of Kasha, Mboyi, and Moma came as a response to pressure from the Board of World Missions in the United States to break the pattern of the large institutional stations and develop evangelistic outposts, especially for groups not yet contacted. In 1928 a railroad was completed from Port Franqui in the northwest Kasayi to Elizabethville in southeast Katanga province (cf. Figure 3). The commercial activity brought by the railroad appealed to the indigenous population, and many villages were moved to be close to this avenue of trade. The station of Kasha (1935) near Luputa on the railroad, the station of Mboyi (1937) among the Babindi
Figure 3. Map of Belgian Congo showing railroad and mission stations. 
Source: 1955 Annual Report, Nashville, Tn.: Board of World Missions, p. 23.
people, and Moma (1942) are examples of the new type smaller station. The station of Moma was offered to the APCM by the colonial government after the American Four Square Gospel group that had built it were expelled from the Congo by the government for continual internal feuding (cf. Figure 1).

During this period there were many innovations in the Kasayi in which the APCM usually participated and from which they benefited. In 1925 the first airplane from Kinshasa landed at Luebo. Thereafter, a regular airmail service every 3 weeks was maintained between Kinshasa and the interior. The first airplane flights from Belgium to the Congo occurred in 1926, thus facilitating arrival and departure travel for the missionaries. The railroad already mentioned, and improved motor roads, facilitated the transportation of people and supplies from one mission station to another.

Early the missionaries had begun to use bicycles instead of hammocks wherever the former could be ridden. Motorcycles followed the bicycles...As the roads widened sidecars were added to the motorcycles, and in 1925 the first Ford cars made their appearance on the mission (Wharton 1952:127).

During this period the missionary population in the field grew from around 60 to 80. In 1928 a special school for the missionaries' children was opened at Lubondai station. This school continued at Lubondai until 1968, providing American elementary education (grades 4-8) and for a period until 1960 also secondary education for all the children of Presbyterian missionaries.

In the twenty-five years of its history children from eleven other Congo Protestant missions have attended Central School. In later years it has been crowded to capacity, enrolling between
Figure 4. Mission map showing five major mission stations and their dependent villages
forty and fifty pupils... Ten of the younger missionaries now on the Mission are graduates or ex-students of Central School (Wharton 1952:136).

It was during this period of 1921 to 1940 that the territorial expansion of the mission was nearly completed. The acquisition of real estate, the construction of buildings and the importation of vehicles, printing machinery, office equipment, electrical generators and refrigeration equipment all served to establish the APCM as a complex and technologically very advanced organization by comparison to the indigenous African culture which the missionaries were attempting to change.

**Re-evaluation and Concentration (1941-1950)**

The American Presbyterian missionaries were forced to re-evaluate their program in the Kasayi during World War II (1940-1945). The number of new recruits for the mission dropped relative to the expansion of the mission work.

Many of the active missionaries experienced difficulty in trans-Atlantic travel. Early in the war, for instance, one of the mid-career missionaries later resident at APCM-Luebo was taken off a British freighter at sea by a German submarine on patrol in the North Atlantic. The crew and passengers were put aboard another German vessel and watched as their freighter was torpedoed and sunk. They were later put ashore on the coast of France.

Some missionary furloughs were postponed, leaving missionaries on the field longer than usual. The missionaries on furlough in the United States often extended their furloughs and remained at home longer than the normal one-year period. Missionary personnel in the field
The American President's Committee on the Arts, Sciences and Learning, in its capacity as the National Commission on the Arts, has been charged with the task of planning the 1960 bicentennial celebration. This task is being carried out by the National Advisory Committee, which is responsible to the Commission for its planning and execution.

The bicentennial observance will be a comprehensive program designed to commemorate the bicentennial of the United States of America in a manner which will reflect the nation's rich heritage and its continuing dedication to freedom and democracy.

The bicentennial will not only mark the anniversary of the birth of our country, but it will also serve as a time for reflecting upon the ideals and values that have guided our nation's progress and as an opportunity to reaffirm our commitment to those ideals in the years ahead.

The bicentennial will be a time of celebration and reflection, a time to remember our past and to look forward to the future. It will be a time to celebrate the achievements of our nation and to honor the sacrifices of those who have helped to shape it.

The bicentennial will be a time of education and outreach, a time to share our history and our values with others. It will be a time to engage people of all ages and backgrounds in the celebration of our nation's bicentennial.

The bicentennial will be a time of creativity and innovation, a time to explore new ideas and new ways of expressing ourselves. It will be a time to encourage people to think about the future and to consider how we can shape it for the better.

The bicentennial will be a time of community and togetherness, a time to bring people together to share in the celebration of our nation's bicentennial. It will be a time to celebrate the diversity of our nation and to recognize the contributions of all its citizens.

The bicentennial will be a time of reflection and introspection, a time to consider our nation's role in the world and to think about the challenges that we face. It will be a time to renew our commitment to the principles of liberty, democracy, and human rights.

The bicentennial will be a time of commemoration and rejoicing, a time to remember the sacrifices of those who have come before us and to honor the ideals that they fought for. It will be a time to celebrate the spirit of sacrifice and the strength of the human spirit.

The bicentennial will be a time of hope and optimism, a time to look forward to the future and to believe in the possibilities that lie ahead. It will be a time to renew our faith in the American dream and to work together to make it a reality for all.

The bicentennial will be a time of joy and celebration, a time to come together as a nation and to celebrate our nation's bicentennial. It will be a time to remember our past, to appreciate our heritage, and to look forward to the future with hope and confidence.

The bicentennial will be a time of pride and accomplishment, a time to be proud of our nation and its achievements. It will be a time to celebrate the strength and resilience of the American people and to recognize the contributions that they have made to the world.
was reduced almost 10% and funds for the work were reduced 12% during the war years.

The indigenous African population was also affected by the war. Congolese soldiers were sent to North Africa and to Palestine. They represented the first group of Congolese to travel extensively outside Central Africa. At home in the Belgian Congo many people responded positively to the calls for greater production of minerals and agricultural products for the war effort.

After the war the Belgian colonial government broadened the scope of its humanitarian efforts in the Congo.

The government did not stop with commendation but pushed vigorously both old and new plans for the welfare and education of the people. These plans included laws safeguarding African employees and their families. They covered such varied phases as minimum wages, sanitary housing and medical care, and provided for the return of families to their original villages at the termination of service (Wharton 1952:164).

Early in 1945 a steady stream of new missionaries began to arrive for the APCM. By 1950 the number of missionaries in the field had increased 40%. The operating funds for the mission had increased 192% over the 1940 allocation (cf. Tables 3 and 4). There was more to come. In 1945 the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States approved a five-year capital fund-raising campaign called the Program of Progress. One of the objectives of this intensive effort was to meet the construction and equipment needs of the church's missionary efforts around the world.

With these substantial funds available the mission was able, for the first time in its history, to let contracts to Belgian entre-
The government is focused on the development of the nation and the welfare of its people. The government is working on the improvement of infrastructure, education, and health care. The government is also focusing on the reduction of poverty and the enhancement of the quality of life for all citizens. The government is committed to ensuring that the rights of women and children are protected and that they have equal opportunities. The government is also working on the preservation of the environment and the conservation of natural resources.

After the war, the government faces several challenges. The economy is recovering, but it still needs time to fully recover. The government is working on the development of new industries and the promotion of tourism. The government is also focusing on the education system, to ensure that all children have access to quality education. The government is working on the improvement of the infrastructure, to ensure that all regions of the country are connected. The government is also working on the reduction of corruption, to ensure that the government is transparent and accountable.
preneurs for major construction. In 1946 the APCM let contracts for a complete mission station at Luluabourg. A new hospital at Mutoto and a complete academic campus at Kakinda were begun in 1948. Kakinda was built to house the Morrison Institute, a combined secondary level normal school for training African school teachers and seminary for training African pastors.

The emphasis that the mission was placing on these schools for the training of indigenous leadership reflected a growing concern that the impact of the mission should be felt among the "grass roots" of the population and not solely on and around the mission stations. The schools for the training of an African cadre to ultimately staff the elaborate program of church, education and medicine became the goal of a group of the more far-sighted missionaries. The old station system continued, however, as it had become institutionalized and tended toward continued expansion rather than diminution.

In 1950 the African Presbyterian church, with which and for which the APCM worked, reported a membership of 118,782 people. The ordained African pastors distributed over the whole area numbered 47 and were assisted by 1,309 lesser clerics such as Elders and evangelists. The stewardship-giving of the African church people had amounted to $19,296. This represented church offerings from 1,238 villages as well as the congregations related directly to the 9 mission stations.

**Subsidization and Change (1951-1960)**

As early as 1902 an organization was developed to foster cooperation among all the Protestant groups working in the Congo. This cooperative effort became known as the Congo Protestant Council and
maintained an office in Leopoldville, the capital of the colony, where a full-time secretary represented Protestantism in matters of mission-government relations.

Roman Catholic missions had been staffed primarily by Belgian missionary orders. Their schools had, through the years, been subsidized by the government. This had not been the case with any of the Protestant schools. The APCM schools, containing 43,000 pupils in 1949 were all financed through the mission operating budget allocated from the Board of World Missions in the United States. As the missions sought continually to bring their schools up to government standards, the Congo Protestant Council through its secretary sought the same recognition and aid granted to Roman Catholic schools. In 1947 an act of the Belgian parliament finally granted recognition and subsidies for Protestant schools in the Congo. Wharton notes (1952:175) that "some of the schools of the APCM were among the first to be recognized by the government, and the mission received its first school subsidies in 1948."

Throughout the 1951-1960 period, the school subsidies continually increased to place the mission solidly in the position of administering an elaborate educational system which ranged from village elementary schools to accredited secondary level institutions. This extensive educational structure required specially qualified missionary personnel and the continual meeting of government regulations gave educational concerns top priority at Mission decision-making assemblies. Many missionaries felt that educational concerns were overshadowing the primary goal of evangelization.
During this period, the APCM continued to expand in all areas. Missionary personnel increased 18% and operating funds from the United States were augmented almost 97% (cf. Table 4).

The 18 months during 1959 and 1960 when the participant observation upon which this study is based represented a peak period for the American Presbyterian Congo Mission, both in terms of personnel in the field and available financial resources with which to carry on the work. The details of personnel distribution and the missionary activity and culture at the original station at Luebo, as well as the developments subsequent to national independence in 1960 will be discussed in the chapters which follow.
CHAPTER 3
THE POPULATION OF THE COMMUNITY

Personnel Numbers

The missionary population of the APCM increased steadily from the original 2 in 1891 to a peak of 175 in 1956. Following the civil disorders of the transition of Zaire to national independence, the number dipped to 122, and by 1970 had returned to 140 (cf. Tables 3, 4 and 5).

During the early period (1891-1920), the mean number of missionaries on the field was 47. A total of 105 people were appointed in this period averaging 4 missionaries per year. Among these 105 appointees, 64% remained in missionary service for at least 3 terms or more than 15 years. Those who served only one term amounted to 31% of the total appointed. Health was a critical factor in this early period. Death claimed 11% of this group in the field. Spouses often resigned after the loss of a partner, so the death or serious illness of one missionary usually meant the loss of 2 people to the Mission.

During the second or "expansion" period of 19 years (1921-1940), 71 more missionaries were appointed to the APCM. Actual field populations varied; during the 1920's and 1930's the mean was 74 missionaries on the field. During the third period (1941-1950), the APCM was reinforced by 81 appointments of new missionaries. During the mid-1940's the mean had risen to 110 active members of the Mission. During the decade 1951-1960 there was a mean of 158 missionaries on
the field (cf. Tables 3, 4 and 5). During the period of 1938 to 1953, the missionary staff at Luebo averaged 20 persons each year, consistently the largest of the 11 stations of the APCM in the Kasayi.

There was a large initial expense to the Board of World Missions in outfitting and installing a new missionary family. Their first 2 or 3 years were normally primarily language study and orientation to the work. It is therefore interesting to examine the percentages of those who did not continue in missionary service beyond their initial term. The various years considered are grouped in a manner conforming with the "generational" analysis of missionary longevity grades presented below (cf. Chapter 5). In terms of this analysis the 105 missionaries appointed in the early period (1891-1920) can all be considered "ancestors." With the exception of one couple, they had all resigned or retired from service or died before the period of participant observation on which this study is based. The one exception was the Jimmy Mitchells, the oldest couple at Luebo during the participant observation. As was stated above, 31% of the "ancestors" served only one term.

During the second period, which produced the "full and mid-career missionaries" (1921-1940), 15% of the total of 71 appointees served only one term. Those remaining 3 terms or more amounted to 66%. Appointments averaged 4 per year. Death claimed 7.5% of this group while on the field.

During the third period (1941-1950), which produced what are here referred to as "young missionaries," 83 persons were appointed. This number in a much shorter period of 9 years correlated with the
higher annual averages of the late 1940's and 1950's mentioned above. An average of 9 new missionaries a year was a significant increase in staffing. Only 11% of these appointees left the work after one term on the field. It is maintained that this low attrition rate for this group is probably related to the high (15%) percentage of second generation missionaries among the "young" members of the Mission. Of course, medical care for the missionaries improved rapidly in the post-war period. Only 2% of this group died in service.

The fourth period (1951-1960), producing the "new missionaries," shows a yearly average of 9 new missionaries with a total of 81 in this group. The "new missionary" group has the highest rate of one-term-only appointments in the history of the Mission (26%). Many of those appointed in this period were victims of the independence disturbances. They had not gotten very deeply rooted in the Mission culture, and when difficulties arose and prediction patterns were unstable, many of these missionaries resigned in 1960 or soon after.

Missionary Origins

The origins of the 340 missionaries who have been members of the APCM have important significance for the understanding of the cultural patterns observed in the mission life and work. During the 4 periods outlined above, over 1/2 (62%) of all the missionaries came from a cluster of American southern states where the Presbyterianism is particularly strong. In the order of their overall production these states are: Texas (17%), Virginia (10%), Georgia (9%), North Carolina (9%), Alabama (7%), South Carolina (6%), and Tennessee (4%). Zaire itself rates with these prime origin groups producing 5% of the
appointments, i.e., 16 second-generation Congo missionaries. A spattering of states, mostly southern, produced 20% of the grand total, but none of these individually produced more than 13 missionaries, or 4%. The northeastern region of the United States produced 3% while 10% of the total originated in Great Britain (3%), Europe (4%) and other areas (3%).

Professions of Missionary Personnel

There are basically 4 types of missionaries appointed by the Board of World Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States. These types are: evangelistic, educational, medical and industrial.

The evangelistic category is made up primarily of clergymen, and in later years, of clergymen and their wives. Single women missionaries with special interest in some technical aspects of the developing African church, such as Christian education or women's work, have also been appointed in this category. The educational category covers those who have professional training in education and/or teaching experience, who desire to work in the African school systems. The medical category includes medical doctors, dentists, registered nurses, medical technicians and socio-medical case workers. The industrial category contains a variety of artisans and, in later years, also architects and building contractors. The various classifications will be considered below.

The Evangelistic

The evangelistic classification of missionary personnel has been generally numerically predominant in the APCM, as might be expected in a religious missionary group. The overall percentage for the
The Executive

The Executive of the Association, consisting of the President, Vice-President, Secretary, Treasurer, and Executive Committee, will be responsible for the overall management and direction of the Association. The Executive will meet regularly to discuss and make decisions on the affairs of the Association. The Executive Committee will consist of the President, Vice-President, Secretary, Treasurer, and at least three other members elected by the membership. The Executive will ensure that the Association's objectives and policies are carried out and that the Association operates within the framework of its constitution and by-laws.
years prior to 1960 was 30% evangelistic personnel. In the "ancestor" period (1891-1920) 34% of the appointments were clergy. During the "full and mid-career" period (1921-1940) the new clergy dropped to 21%. This was the only period in which another group surpassed the evangelistic in numbers. In the "young missionary" period (1941-1950) clergy amounted to 25% of the total appointments. In the final "new missionary" period (1951-1960) the evangelistic group was augmented to 35% of the total reinforcements. This larger percentage is in part due to the increasing practice of the Board of World Missions classifying wives in specific categories of work rather than in the general category of "wives." It should be noted, however, that there was an increase in the number of actual clergymen appointed in this period (cf. Table 2).

The Educational

The educational classification contained 8% of the total prior to 1960. The percentages for new appointments fluctuated slightly for the 4 periods under consideration; 5% in the first period, 13% in the second period, 8% in the third period and 10% in the last period. The 10% group in the last period included education specialists needed to supervise the recently subsidized school system mentioned in Chapter 2.

The Medical

The medical classification for the entire period included 19% of the total recruits. Medical work expanded steadily and this expansion is reflected in the statistics for the 4 periods (cf. Table 2). During each period 5 physicians were added, except the third when 4 new doctors came to the field. The majority of the 48 women classified as
### Table 2
**Missionary Personnel Appointments by Period and Department**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>EVANG</th>
<th>EDUC</th>
<th>MEDICAL</th>
<th>INDUST</th>
<th>BUSINESS</th>
<th>CENT. SCH.</th>
<th>&quot;WIVES&quot;</th>
<th>TOTALS</th>
<th>%AGES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1890-1920</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single men</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married men</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>49*</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single women</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married women</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentages</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921-1940</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single men</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married men</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single women</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married women</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>30*</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentages</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941-1950</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single men</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married men</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single women</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married women</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>36*</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentages</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951-1960</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single men</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married men</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single women</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married women</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentages</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Imbalance in married group due to appointment of widows or widowers*
medical were registered nurses. Laboratory technicians and medical social workers completed the group.

**The Industrial**

The industrial group which was responsible for the building and maintenance of the various mission stations amounted to 7% of the entire number appointed. In the early period the Mission received 9 industrial men or 9% of the total for the period. The percentage of industrial men decreased to 7%, 6% and 5% during the second, third and fourth periods respectively. This decrease is accounted for both by the fact that most of the missionary construction was done prior to 1940, and by the fact that most of the post-1948 construction was done by Belgian contractors.

Besides the four major professional classifications treated above, missionaries were also appointed as business personnel, teachers of missionary children and as missionary wives. These classifications will be discussed in a similar manner.

**Business**

In the business classification (cf. Table 2) we find 3% of the total appointments prior to 1960. These positions decreased after the early "ancestor" period when the Mission no longer had the complex overland and river transportation problems. During the second, third and fourth periods the positions were usually filled by the Mission Treasurer and 1 or 2 secretaries.

**The Central School for Missionaries' Children**

The Central School for Missionaries' Children classification reflects the growth of the school during the entire pre-1960 period.
The Fiftieth

The Fiftieth Annual Meeting of the American Society for Information Science was held in San Francisco, California, on June 26-29, 1979. The meeting provided an excellent opportunity for the exchange of ideas and the dissemination of research findings in the field of information science. The program included a variety of sessions on the latest developments in the field, as well as workshops and discussions on emerging trends and challenges. The conference was attended by a diverse group of professionals from academia, government, and industry, who shared their insights and experiences. The meeting concluded with a banquet, providing further opportunities for networking and socializing. Overall, the Fiftieth Annual Meeting was a successful event that contributed significantly to the advancement of information science.
In the "ancestor" period the school had not been developed to the extent that specific missionaries were appointed to this work. In the 3 following periods new appointments for "C.S," as the school was called, were 6%, 8%, and 10% of the period total respectively. It should be kept in mind that the "young" and the "new" missionary periods (1941-1950 and 1951-1960) are of shorter duration than the 2 previous periods. Any increase in these latter periods thus represents a compound increase in actual personnel (cf., Table 2).

Wives

The general classification of "wives" was used in Table 2 to account for all of the appointments of married women where there was no specific specialty specified in the appointment records. It should be noted that both spouses have always been considered missionaries (cf. Appendix 1) and in later years wives have generally had specific professional classifications. In the entire period prior to 1960 this classification amounted to 27% of all appointments.

At Luebo, during the period of participant observation, 43% of the personnel were evangelistic, 29% were medical, 14% were educational, 9% were industrial, and 5% (1 person) was an unclassified wife.

The staff at Luebo represented all of the 4 "generational" groups of missionaries. Nine married couples, 2 single women living together and a single woman doctor living alone made up the 11 missionary households.

The Missionaries Themselves

Reflecting the African and APCM tradition of respecting the elders, the following description of the households begins with the one
### Table 3

**Dollar Input and Personnel by Year (1940-1949)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>USCPIa</th>
<th>USCPIb</th>
<th>BWM TOTAL</th>
<th>APCM TOTAL</th>
<th>%BWM</th>
<th>APCM STAFF</th>
<th>%APCM</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>n/N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>59.9</td>
<td>672,700</td>
<td>130,200</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>97,300</td>
<td>74.7</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>.75</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>62.9</td>
<td>747,700</td>
<td>139,000</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>106,300</td>
<td>76.4</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>.72</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942</td>
<td>69.7</td>
<td>667,800</td>
<td>121,000</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>65,000</td>
<td>53.7</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>.79</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943</td>
<td>74.4</td>
<td>779,800</td>
<td>198,000</td>
<td>25.4</td>
<td>88,200</td>
<td>44.5</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>.65</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1944</td>
<td>75.2</td>
<td>930,700</td>
<td>173,100</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>110,100</td>
<td>63.6</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>.57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>76.9</td>
<td>1,172,000</td>
<td>191,700</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>124,400</td>
<td>64.9</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>.67</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>83.4</td>
<td>1,209,200</td>
<td>309,200</td>
<td>25.6</td>
<td>233,400</td>
<td>75.5</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>.66</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>95.5</td>
<td>1,389,100</td>
<td>276,000</td>
<td>19.9</td>
<td>155,200</td>
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<td>1948</td>
<td>102.8</td>
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<td>55.4</td>
<td>116</td>
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<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td>101.8</td>
<td>1,505,700</td>
<td>338,400</td>
<td>22.5</td>
<td>235,800</td>
<td>69.7</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>.56</td>
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Decade Totals  
10,511,900  
2,189,700  
1,447,000

Arithmetic Mean  
1,051,190  
218,970  
20.6  
144,700  
63.5  
94  
60  
.64

USCPIa = United States Consumer Price Index (1913-1960)  
USCPIb = United States Consumer Price Index (1945-1970)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>USCPIa</th>
<th>USCPIb</th>
<th>BWM TOTAL</th>
<th>APCM TOTAL</th>
<th>%BWM</th>
<th>APCM STAFF</th>
<th>%APCM</th>
<th>N</th>
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<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>102.8</td>
<td>72.1</td>
<td>1,529,800</td>
<td>380,200</td>
<td>24.9</td>
<td>287,100</td>
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<td>77</td>
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<td>1951</td>
<td>111.0</td>
<td>77.8</td>
<td>1,623,700</td>
<td>367,100</td>
<td>22.5</td>
<td>278,900</td>
<td>76.0</td>
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<td>87</td>
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<td>1952</td>
<td>113.5</td>
<td>79.5</td>
<td>1,783,200</td>
<td>379,800</td>
<td>21.3</td>
<td>279,600</td>
<td>73.6</td>
<td>145</td>
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<td>.70</td>
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<td>1953</td>
<td>114.4</td>
<td>80.1</td>
<td>2,077,200</td>
<td>346,600</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>257,200</td>
<td>74.2</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>.74</td>
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<td>1954</td>
<td>114.8</td>
<td>80.5</td>
<td>2,733,000</td>
<td>549,100</td>
<td>20.1</td>
<td>362,700</td>
<td>66.1</td>
<td>163</td>
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<td>.77</td>
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<td>1955</td>
<td>114.5</td>
<td>80.2</td>
<td>2,932,000</td>
<td>617,900</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>396,300</td>
<td>64.1</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>116.2</td>
<td>81.4</td>
<td>3,463,900</td>
<td>577,900</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>308,900</td>
<td>53.5</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>120.2</td>
<td>84.3</td>
<td>3,575,700</td>
<td>682,500</td>
<td>19.1</td>
<td>444,400</td>
<td>65.1</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>86.6</td>
<td>3,952,100</td>
<td>715,000</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>474,500</td>
<td>66.4</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>1.02</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959</td>
<td>87.3</td>
<td>4,261,200</td>
<td>748,700</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>502,500</td>
<td>67.1</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>1.04</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Decade Totals  
27,931,800 5,364,800 3,592,100

Arithmetic Mean  
2,793,180 536,480 19.8 359,210 68.1 157 129 .81

USCPIa = United States Consumer Price Index (1913-1960)  
USCPIb = United States Consumer Price Index (1945-1970)
### TABLE 5
DOLLAR INPUT AND PERSONNEL BY YEAR (1960-1967)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>USCPIa</th>
<th>USCPIb</th>
<th>BWM TOTAL</th>
<th>APCM TOTAL</th>
<th>%BWM</th>
<th>APCM STAFF</th>
<th>%APCM</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>n/N</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>88.7</td>
<td>4,504,600</td>
<td>839,100</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>598,600</td>
<td>71.3</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>165</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>89.6</td>
<td>4,557,800</td>
<td>763,200</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>468,100</td>
<td>61.3</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>145</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>90.6</td>
<td>4,565,400</td>
<td>637,900</td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td>399,800</td>
<td>62.7</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>126</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>91.7</td>
<td>4,794,600</td>
<td>675,400</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>353,500</td>
<td>52.3</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>126</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>92.9</td>
<td>4,838,600</td>
<td>629,100</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>414,300</td>
<td>65.9</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>139</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>94.5</td>
<td>5,025,100</td>
<td>617,200</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>456,900</td>
<td>74.0</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>138</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>97.2</td>
<td>5,019,200</td>
<td>610,700</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>445,400</td>
<td>72.9</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>136</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>5,413,300</td>
<td>620,800</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>461,400</td>
<td>74.3</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>139</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.12</td>
</tr>
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</table>

<p>| | | | | | | | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Period Totals</strong></td>
<td>38,718,600</td>
<td>5,393,400</td>
<td>3,598,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Arithmetic Mean</strong></td>
<td>4,839,825</td>
<td>674,175</td>
<td>449,750</td>
<td>66.8</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>1.10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

USCPIa = United States Consumer Price Index (1913-1960)
USCPIb = United States Consumer Price Index (1945-1970)
surviving representative of the "ancestor" group and proceeds to the newest "new" missionary couple.

James and Ethel Mitchell (occupants of house No. 8, Figure 6) were appointed in 1919. They had their initiation period at Luebo but soon went by hammock and march to Mutoto, a new station opened in 1912. James Mitchell, a minister, worked during his full career teaching African pastors, first at the Morrison Bible Institute at Mutoto, later at Kankinda where it was combined with the Normal School, and finally, as the director of the Preacher's School at Luebo. He and his wife were seasoned missionaries. They were full of tales of the early days. They were conservative, mellow and wise. "Uncle Jimmy" and "Aunt Ethel," as they are called by the children and their fellow missionaries, always had a productive garden. They had a household staff of venerable men who had long since proven their worth. The Mitchells knew the past. They had experienced the development of the Kasayi. Their approach to Mission business was one of calm application of their accumulated wisdom of age.

George and Alice Woodstock (living in house number 2) were appointed in 1920, she as a nurse, he as an industrial missionary. In 1919 the women of the Presbyterian Church in the United States had responded to the need for permanent homes and had launched a drive to raise money to finance their construction. George went out primarily as a builder and was responsible for the design and construction of the church building, the hospital and many of the missionary homes at Luebo. In 1960, they completed their last year of their 40 year service.
In spite of his age, George was known for his energy and un­
stinting hard work. He was an active participant in the work projects
which he directed, using African labor, and was often seen on the metal
rooftop of a missionary home, doing repair work in the blazing sun. He
was responsible for all of the upkeep and repair of existing buildings
on the station, as well as new building projects such as the hospital
addition completed in 1960. He also taught all aspects of industrial
trades to the Africans who worked with him. Alice worked a full day at
the hospital and was always busy and efficient. Their children were
all grown and lived in the United States.

Henry and Mary Ward (house No. 10) were appointed in 1926.
Henry grew up in China as the son of Presbyterian missionaries. He
came to Congo as an industrial/agricultural missionary, but at Luebo
was given the assignment of running the Mission Press, responsible for
the production of religious literature in Tshiluba, as well as text¬
books for the schools. Henry was not only an excellent gardener, but
an outstanding fisherman who went every afternoon at 3:00 to the river
where he had a catamaran with outboard motor. Mary supervised the
editorial department of the press, being responsible for proof reading
and editing. They planned to resign in May of 1960, even though they
had not completed 40 years on the field. They lived in the "Press
House" (located near to the press, No. 21).

Kenneth and Elizabeth Morgan (house No. 3) arrived on the
field in 1930 as single missionaries. He came as an evangelistic
missionary and she as a teacher of missionary children at the Central
School at Lubondai. They were married in 1933. Kenneth was the
nephew of one of the early missionaries, and Elizabeth was the sister of Alice Woodstock. At Luebo, Kenneth was chairman of the evangelistic department, and occupied himself primarily with church development and "village itineration," which involved being away from the station for 3 weeks at a time to work with village pastors and evangelists. He was skeptical about the African church's ability to govern itself without missionary guidance. Elizabeth taught wives of the students in the Preacher's School and did women's work with the churches. They had 3 children, 2 were in college in the United States and 1 was at Central School at Lubondai.

Robert and Lila McDonald were educational missionaries (house No. 4). They were appointed in 1949. He was the director of the large primary school and she provided him with secretarial assistance. They had 4 children: 1 was at Central School and 3 were at home. Two of the children at home were being taught in a cooperative arrangement with other wives which allowed Lila more time to help in the school office. One small pre-school child was in the care of an African nursemaid while Lila was working.

Dr. Carolyn Westbrook came to the APCM in 1949 after having worked with the Presbyterian mission in China from 1929 to 1936. In the intervening years she had developed a specialization in anesthesiology in the United States. "Carolyn," as she was called by the other missionaries, never married and lived alone (residence number 9) except for the Siamese cats to which she was especially attached. She worked in the station hospital with Dr. Norris as second resident physician. Carolyn had never become proficient in Tshiluba, perhaps
because she was unusually advanced in age when she first arrived in the Kasayi. This linguistic handicap affected her ability to deal with all aspects of the hospital work, and made her dependent upon the presence of another Tshiluba-speaking physician. She was a reserved station member, never becoming very deeply involved in station or mission "politics." She was, however, a warm friend and neighbor, especially to new missionaries, and was extraordinarily knowledgeable about drama, music and the plastic arts. She had an unusual sensitivity for the feelings of others. When speaking with missionaries in English within earshot of Africans she never used proper names in order to avoid giving people the impression that they were being talked about in a foreign language. Her hobbies were astronomy, her cats and her houseplants, and any possible spectator participation in the fine arts.

Herman and Susan Norris (house No. 9) were also on the medical staff. Herman was Luebo's principal physician and Susan worked as a registered nurse. They also had a short period of service with the mission in China from 1947 to 1950 when all of the missionaries were expelled by the People's Republic of China government. They came to the APCM in 1951. Dr. Norris' specialization was surgery, and he maintained a heavy operating schedule at the station hospital. Susan also worked a full day as nurse at the hospital. She taught her 2 primary school age children at home during lunch "hour" (a colonial-type "siesta" from 12 noon until 2:00 at the Mission) and in the evenings until September of 1959, when the mothers collaborated to provide a joint "school" for their children. Herman's hobby was amateur radio and he had a "shack" in the rear of his house from
according to the age group's exposure in the smoke. The levels are linked to the
extent of the inhalation process. The particles are deposited in the lungs, which
cause respiratory problems. The concentration of these particles increases in the
air with age, and the health risk is higher in people with respiratory issues.

We are currently investigating the potential health impacts of long-term exposure
to high concentrations of air pollution. Our findings suggest that the exposure to
particulate matter can lead to various health problems, including respiratory
disorders, heart disease, and even cancer.

To address this issue, we are developing new strategies to reduce air pollution levels.
These strategies include promoting the use of clean energy sources, implementing
more stringent regulations on industrial emissions, and improving public transportation
systems. Additionally, we are working on developing new technologies that can
help in reducing air pollution in urban areas.

In conclusion, the health impacts of air pollution are severe, and we must take
action to mitigate these effects. With continued research and collaboration,
we can create a cleaner and healthier environment for future generations.

We appreciate your efforts in this regard, and we encourage everyone to take
active steps towards reducing air pollution. By working together, we can make
a significant difference in improving the quality of life for all.
which he talked with other amateur radio "hams" all over the world. This hobby was of special interest to the missionaries as it often provided for quick communication with family and friends in the United States. During the critical period described in Chapter 7, the amateur radio operators on the Mission played a crucial role in the orderly and safe evacuation of all of the American missionaries. The Norrises also had 2 other children at Central School.

James Boyd Jordan and his wife, Florence, were appointed in 1952. He was one of the few dentists in Congo, and had a full schedule providing dental care for the American missionaries, Africans associated with the Mission and many Europeans living in the area. Florence was a medical social worker and it was she who, during the tribal warfare days of May, 1960, organized the distribution of emergency relief food to the refugees of the war and subsequent disorganization and homelessness. They did not arrive at Luebo until mid-1959, when they occupied the house formerly lived in by May and Lucille (No. 7). In May of 1960, they moved into the house left vacant by the departing Woodstocks (No. 2). They had 2 teen-age sons at Central School at Lubondai.

May Melton, also appointed in 1952, lived with Lucille Fisher (house No. 7) until May of 1959, when Lucille went to the United States on furlough, and May moved into another house (No. 5) to make room for the Jordans. May was classified as an educational-evangelistic missionary. She taught in the primary school and was also in charge of the Girl's Home. Her Tshiluba was unusually good. She attributed her language competency to her years of working with the
Girl's Home when she actually lived in the home with the girls, speaking Tshiluba constantly. She had been given the job of teaching Tshiluba, with African assistants, to the new couple at Luebo, the Jorgensens.

Bert and Margaret Richards (residence No. 6) were assigned to the evangelistic department. He was an ordained clergyman who anticipated working with the African church, but found himself assigned to supervision of 21 regional elementary schools. Margaret assisted him with clerical work as well as preparation and duplication of teachers' manuals. She was the daughter of "Uncle" Jimmy Mitchell and "Aunt" Jane. Growing up as the child of missionaries, her Tshiluba was fluent. She visited extensively in the village and was widely known and accepted by the villagers as a "Muena Kasayi" (a Kasayi citizen in the deepest sense). The Richards had 4 children, 2 of whom were school-age and attended classes at Luebo with the other children. The younger 2 had a nursemaid looking after them while their mother was working.

Lucille Fisher, the third single female missionary at Luebo, came to the APCM as an educational missionary in 1955. As the observation period of this study began, she was living with May Melton (in house No. 7) and teaching in the primary school, but she left for furlough in the United States in May of 1959. She was a diligent worker, and spent many late hours carefully correcting every exam given to the seventh year students, which Belgian law required to be graded by "accredited" (that is, missionary or Belgian) personnel. She and May found time almost weekly to play Bridge with the Jordans, McDonalds or Norrises.
Donald and Sandra Jorgensen (house No. 12) were the "new" missionaries, appointed in 1957, and arriving at Luebo in January of 1959 after language study in Belgium. They were both evangelistic missionaries, but their first "assignment" was Tshiluba language study. They were expected to study full-time for 4 months, after which they were permitted to do "part-time" work while continuing language for at least another 4 months, or until they had passed a written examination. At the end of the first 4 months, Donald began working in the evangelistic office and going on some itineration trips with Kenneth Morgan. His first full-time assignment was teaching in the Preacher's School. Sandra began helping the other mothers with the missionary children's classes in September 1959, and assumed some Christian Education responsibilities in the African churches such as directing the annual Christmas play. The Jorgensen's 2 children were small and in the care of a nursemaid while the Jorgensens were in class.

The missionaries described above were in daily interaction with the African salaried staff employees of APCM-Luebo and further afield occasionally with the salaried African church leaders and general membership of the church. Luebo Presbytery, the geographical unit of the Presbyterian Church around APCM-Luebo, included over 350 villages in which at least a small congregation of Africans identified themselves as Presbyterian church members (cf. Figure 4). Representative African church leaders and mission employees will be described below.

Indigenous Personnel

Pastor Joel Kambala was the pastor of the large central church at APCM-Luebo. He was around 55 years old and of Luba ethnic origin.
His parish was the large African residential area surrounding APCM-Luebo. It was in this area that he lived with his family in a slightly better than average African house. His parish work in the "village" kept him off the station compound most of the week, but he frequently visited the evangelistic office to confer with Morgan on church affairs. There were 3 other smaller chapels in the large village around Luebo and the pastors from these congregations also were frequently seen at the evangelistic office.

The employees in the evangelistic office numbered 4 in 1959. John Kasonga, the Presbyterian treasurer, was a layman around 30 years old. He worked regular office hours keeping all of the Presbytery accounts. The Presbytery finances involved the salaries of over 350 evangelists as well as those of the pastors and elders who worked in the rural areas (cf. Table 6). Elder Samuel Buki worked in the regional elementary school section of the building. He was in charge of keeping all of the statistical records of the 23 regional schools in the Presbytery. He was assisted by 2 clerks, Daniel Kabesele and Pierre Mutombe. Bert Richards was the missionary in charge of this office, and his innovation of engaging a comparatively large African staff to keep school records was much discussed among the other missionaries.

The primary school located at APCM-Luebo, supervised by Robert McDonald, was taught by May Melton and Lucille Fisher and 20 African teachers. George Lungenyi was an example of the most highly academically qualified African teacher. He was a graduate of the Normal School at Kakinda and was officially accredited to teach in grades 1 through
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ITEM</th>
<th>1938</th>
<th>1942</th>
<th>1945</th>
<th>1947</th>
<th>1949</th>
<th>1951</th>
<th>1953</th>
<th>MEAN</th>
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<tr>
<td>Missionary staff</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>19.3</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Village chapels</td>
<td>241</td>
<td>279</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>343</td>
<td>380</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>311.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African pastors</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evangelists &amp; Elders</td>
<td>241</td>
<td>305</td>
<td>288</td>
<td>364</td>
<td>373</td>
<td>359</td>
<td>325.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Christians (x 1,000)</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>110.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boys in home</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>257</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>63.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girls in home</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>155</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical assistants</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major operations</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>21.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minor operations</td>
<td>490</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>199.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Patients (x 1,000)</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10.7</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4. The younger teachers like Mr. Lungenyi were usually used also in the upper classes with the American missionaries teaching the final seventh year. In this "station school," prior to 1960 all of the records, examinations, duplicating and correction for the final year was done personally by the missionary staff.

There were 25 medical assistants of various rank working in the hospital at APCM-Luebo. In 1959, none of these had attained the level of registered nurse. Despite the lack of academic accreditation, a number of the men at the hospital had been working with the missionary doctors for many years. They assisted in the surgery and on the wards, and qualified by in-service training as paramedical personnel. A number of women served as midwives and nurses aids. As will be noted from Table 6, when a missionary surgeon was in residence, major operations per year would number over 100 and minor operations around 200 or more.

The J. Leighton Wilson Press employed around 15 persons. As many as 10 of these were long-time employees and represented skilled printers, typesetters and binders. Each phase of the mission work employed Africans, for the most part trained on the job, who had achieved competency in their particular craft through the years. These people tended to be long-term employees. There was a more rapid turnover in the lower ranks of employment in the various phases of the evangelistic, educational, medical, publication and industrial work.
CHAPTER 4
THE MATERIAL BASE OF THE MISSION COMMUNITY

As has been observed (Wolcott 1972) American missionaries in Africa tend to form their own interactive nucleus. The members of the APCM, having developed for themselves the life situation described in this chapter, correspond to the observation positing cultural ethnocentrism. This does not deny that the missionaries interact with members of the indigenous community, but their most meaningful interactions are with fellow linguistic and cultural group members. The effects of their lack of fusion with the indigenous culture are discussed in Chapter 8 below.

As with all human groupings, especially those of long-term duration, the missionaries formed characteristic ways of arranging their lives. These arrangements or patterns affected both their physical environment and their social interactions. What was designated early in the colonial period as a "mission station" became their typical base of operations. From the beginnings in 1891 until the middle 1950's the area in which the missionaries worked was primarily rural. It quickly became the policy of the mission to establish "stations" which would be strategically located both in reference to the various population groups with which work was anticipated and in reference to optimal health considerations for the missionaries.

Lapsley and Sheppard, the pioneer APCM missionaries, observed upon their arrival the rural mission station pattern already established among the Swedish and British Baptist missionaries working in
THE INTERESTS AND THE WIDER COMMUNITY

At our next meeting (present (275) March 8th), we will be discussing the report of the Interests and the Wider Community Committee. This group has been formed to examine and report on the interests and the wider community.

In the past, we have had to rely on hearsay and conjecture for information on the interests and the wider community. Now, with the formation of this committee, we can rely on accurate and up-to-date information.

The committee will be responsible for collecting and analyzing data on the interests and the wider community. This information will be used to make decisions and to develop strategies for the interests and the wider community.

The committee will be chaired by Mr. John Smith, and the members will include representatives from various groups and organizations. The committee will meet regularly to discuss the issues and to develop plans.

We encourage all members to participate in the work of the committee and to provide feedback. Together, we can ensure that the interests and the wider community are well represented and that their needs are met.

Thank you for your support and your commitment to the interests and the wider community.
the Lower Congo. In the development of the APCM there was little deviation from the basic mission station concept.

**Luebo Station and the APCM**

Luebo station, founded in 1891, maintained its position of primacy for the mission for many years. Besides being the first and thus most historic station, Luebo had several other characteristics which made it especially influential in the determination of mission policy and the creation of mission traditions. The first of these characteristics was its function as a supply depot for the entire mission. Its location at the head of navigation on the Lulua River made it important during the years (1891-1930) when transport of goods was possible only by river steamer. The mission treasurer was assigned to reside at Luebo as he was constantly involved in the acquisition and transportation of goods and personnel. With the location of the business office at Luebo the influential Ad Interim Committee (cf. Chapter 5 below) met more often at Luebo than at any of the other stations. This centralization of financial and decision-making activity at Luebo was a second factor in its maintaining a special influence on the mission as a whole.

A third factor in this regard was the long residence at Luebo of several missionaries that may be designated as "tradition builders." The Reverend William M. Morrison worked at Luebo for twenty-two years. From his early years (arrived 1896) he did extensive language work, developing a Luba-Lulua grammar and dictionary and translating large portions of the Scriptures. The Reverend Motte Martin worked for 43 years at Luebo from 1903-1946. He, like Morrison, died at Luebo
terminating an especially influential career. Martin's special importance came from his deep involvement in the government and jurisprudence of the indigenous church. He spent a large portion of his time judging ecclesiastical, marital and even civil cases, "cutting palavers" as it is called in the indigenous language, much in the manner of an African chief. As with the decisions of African chiefs, Martin's judgments tended to become normative for future cases at Luebo and for the mission as a whole.

These three factors plus a fourth involving the early development of indigenous Church leadership and a large Christian constituency around the mission station at Luebo and throughout its large outstation area (cf. map Figure 4) combined to provide a certain validity to the missionary saying "as Luebo goes, so goes the mission." Luebo developed a missionary cultural primacy in spite of a formally decentralized decision-making system (cf. Chapter 5 below) and a non-hierarchical ideology which emphasized the "vocation" of the individual.

Having been opened as a mission station in the early years of the Independent State of the Congo, Luebo grew steadily in terms of the indigenous population who for various reasons migrated to live near the mission station. In 1935 the African population was cited as approximately 25,000 (AR 1936:56). The conglomeration of this large African village with the mission station at its center is known as "APCM-Luebo" to distinguish it from "Luebo-Etat," the government administrative center and town on the opposite side of the Lulua River.

APCM-Luebo is located on the north bank of the Lulua River which flows due west at this location. The access road to the station
is four times the distance from the river crossing directly to the station, following a manageable incline to the east one kilometer and doubling back the same distance through the African section and entering the mission station itself. Until 1915 the large village which surrounds the station on its west, north and east sides was laid out in typical Luba and Lulua non-geometric patterns determined mainly by kinship ties. C.L. Crane reported in 1915 that:

There is a marked improvement in the village itself. Messrs. Martin and Vinson spent 7 or 8 months in laying out new streets and assigning the natives new places for their houses, with the result that the moral and sanitary conditions are vastly improved. Each tribe has its section and every effort is made to stir them to something like tribal pride in keeping their villages clean and free from immoral influences (AR 1915:23).

Thus, since 1915 a grid pattern has remained the distinguishing feature of the African section of APCM-Luebo. Whether the straight streets have been conducive to leading the population toward the "straight and narrow" Christian life style as the missionary surveyors intended is doubtful in the light of later events along these same streets discussed below in Chapter 7.

Although the development of commercial centers in the mission village was traditionally discouraged, by 1959 five Portuguese and Belgian trading shops had managed to become established on the southern fringe of the actual mission compound and further down the hill at the riverside.

Directly opposite the APCM-Luebo on the south bank of the Lulua is the town of Luebo. Small docks and a number of warehouses line the river. A tree-lined road runs perpendicular to the river
1. APCM Mission compound.
2. Lulua section of surrounding village (streets laid out in 1915 by missionaries)
3. Baluba section of village
4. Portuguese shops
5. High bluff beside river
6. Footpath to ferry crossing
7. Motor road to mission (doubles back at top of bluff to east)
8. Rapids in river
9. New bridge completed 1960
10. Island used by missionaries for picnics
11. Ferry crossing
12. Warehouses and shops at steamer dock
13. European residences
14. Main road to town of Luebo
15. Colonial government offices
16. Roman Catholic cathedral and mission
Figure 5. Map of APCM-Luebo and portion of the town of Luebo
and up the gentle slope to the town itself. The streets in town are
dirt and are frequently repaired by contingents of prisoners from the
district and territorial prison located here. Upon entering the town
of Luebo from the river one passes the government buildings which
house the offices of the District Commissioner and the Territorial
Administrator, a courthouse, a post office, and behind these a military
camp. The buildings are old single-story colonial type with large
verandas. Further up the hill is a traffic circle filled with flowering
plants reflecting Belgian urban style. Beyond the circle is a low
rambling hotel and eight shops arranged on both sides of the single
commercial street. Radiating out from the circle in three other
directions are streets containing residences of the government and
commercial personnel. Well beyond this section, out of town, are the
African sections known as Luebo-South (cf. Figure 5).

In 1959 the town of Luebo contained in addition to the above
a government hospital, a government primary school, both for indigen¬
ous clients, and reserved for the European residents a "club-house"
where motion pictures were shown and dances held, and a swimming pool
and tennis complex.

**Buildings and Dwellings**

The original houses at the APCM-Luebo mission station were
constructed in the indigenous manner by the local Bakete people. The
individual walls and the two halves of the roof were fabricated sepa¬
ately and then assembled around a pole frame. These early "prefab¬
ricated" houses were replaced after two years by Luba type mud-and-
stick houses which were more durable. The ability to make fire-baked
brick was one of the technological skills that the American missionaries brought with them to Africa. It was not long after their arrival at Luebo that the "brick yard" was begun. From local clay dug from the Lulua River bank, a steady supply of yellow and red brick began to flow. By 1921, the permanent brick residences built at Luebo came to be normative plans approved by the mission (MM 21:135) for construction on other stations.

The Church

The church at Luebo is one of the most extensive examples of Presbyterian missionary architecture. Centrally located (cf. No. 1, Figure 6) on the highest point on the mission compound, it dominates the surrounding mission station. The cruciform structure is built of yellow brick. Its facade presents a large central door surmounted by a central tower which houses a large bell and a mechanical clock which chimes the hours. The simple, backless benches inside will seat over 1,000 people. The central pulpit, the three large chairs for the clergy and the sections of laterally-placed benches to the left and right of the pulpit area reserved for the Elders and choir, reflect American Presbyterian proxemic style. The yellow brick of the church makes it stand out from all the other major buildings of the station which are built of red brick. The church is surrounded by a large lawn area. A broad dirt path leads up to the front of the church. The path is flanked by rows of old and carefully trimmed palm trees. As one faces the church on the broad path, to the left, parallel to the path, are two very old buildings. The first is the "meeting room" (cf. No. 14, Figure 6), a building which houses the meeting room for
The church is served by one of the most extensive parishes in the country. The Church of England has a large number of parishes throughout the country, and the church is served by one of the most extensive parishes in the country.

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Figure 6

1. Church building
2. Missionary residence (Woodstocks)
3. Missionary residence (Morgans)
4. Missionary residence (McDonalds)
5. Missionary residence (Melton)
6. Missionary residence (Richards)
7. Missionary residence (Jordans)
8. Missionary residence (Mitchells)
9. Missionary residence (Norrisises)
10. Missionary residence (Wards, "press house")
11. Missionary residence (Westbrook)
12. Missionary residence (Jorgensens)
13. McKowen Memorial Hospital complex
14. Meeting room and Station Treasurer's office
15. Primary School office
16. Missionary store house
17. Evangelistic office
18. Preacher's School complex
19. Girl's Home complex
20. Primary School classrooms
22. Industrial Department shed
23. Widow's house
24. Missionary cemetery
25. Tennis court
26. Football field
Figure 6. Plan showing layout of APCM-Luebo.
the station meetings and for meetings of the African Presbytery. It also contains two small offices, one of which is used by the station treasurer. The second building, as one approached the church, is a missionary residence (cf. No. 7, Figure 6). It is a two-bedroom accommodation which is usually occupied by two single ladies.

On the right side of this street leading north to the church are two almost identical buildings set in symmetrical settings in reference to those on the left and to the church. The lower building of the two is the educational office and workshop and supply room (cf. No. 15, Figure 6). During our period of observation this building serviced a primary school of around 2500 pupils. The upper building was a seldom-used one known as the "depot" (cf. No. 16, Figure 6). This building had been used in earlier years as the central supply storage for the trade goods that were used in barter and for payment of workers. It was also used for the storage of household effects belonging to missionaries who had returned to the United States on furlough. Just above the depot and set off further to the right are a two-car garage and the station "motor house," a small building which houses the diesel generating plant which supplies electricity to the station each evening from seven until ten o'clock.

The street leading south from the church intersects in a dead-end fashion at its base with the main street which transverses the station. By street is understood a wide, well-drained path which can accommodate one lane of automobile traffic. Opposite this intersection, across the main street, is the station cemetery (cf. No. 24, Figure 6). Beyond the cemetery are open fields sloping down the hill.
a. The church at APCM-Luebo.

b. Another view of APCM-Luebo church.
to a wooded area where the terrain falls sharply down to the river.

The Missionary Residences

The residences at APCM-Luebo represented missionary building from the 1920's to the 1960's (cf. Nos. 2 through 12, Figure 6). As one enters the station on the main street from the east, the first house to the right (cf. No. 2, Figure 6) is a rare item on the whole mission. It is a two-storied house. It is a comparatively small house of one-room depth and two-room width. It has a wide veranda across the front of both the first and second floors. It was designed by and built for one of the early dentists on the mission. By mission standards it is an elaborate house considering its limited two-bedroom capacity.

The houses, which are 11 in number, range in age from 50 to 7 years old. The older houses tend to have a centrally peaked roof with a veranda on all four sides of the house, the principal roof extending to seven feet from the floor level. Foundations are usually built in such a manner as to raise the house from two-and-a-half to three-and-a-half feet above the ground. The older houses were lower, the more expensive raising of the first floor level coming in later years. The standard missionary residence is a rather spacious house, usually three bedrooms, living room, dining room, kitchen, pantry work room, and store room. The kitchen is often off the back porch with the screened porch serving as working space. All bathrooms and toilets are interior. The newer houses have a bath-and-a-half. They also have modern type bathtubs and sinks. Earlier houses had imported toilet fixtures, but often have brick bathtubs which are cement-lined
a. Missionary residence at APCM-Luebo.

b. Newest missionary residence at APCM-Luebo.
and enameled and cement wash basins. Running water is supplied to the bathroom, and hot water is furnished by means of a wood-burning hot water heater built outside the house near the bathroom wall.

The kitchens have only cold running water. Water is heated for dishwashing on the wood cook stove that is provided in each house by the mission. Most of the missionaries have a kerosene refrigerator and several have gas ranges which are fueled by bottled gas.

The house to which the writer was assigned was one of the older and less commodious residences on the station. It was known as the "white hospital" as it was originally built in 1922 as a guest house for European patients who had to spend an extended time at the hospital. Since this residence is typical of many missionary residences, it will be described in some detail. It is located on the downhill, southern side of the main street in the corner of the station (cf. No. 12, Figure 6). Its side and back yards were bordered by the "cordon blue," a 25-meter strip of land stipulated by the colonial government as required to separate a European compound from any African housing. Just beyond this strip to the west there are the backyards of African residences. The missionary house consists of one bedroom measuring 12' x 12', one bedroom off the latter bedroom measuring 12' x 6', and a bath equipped with cement tub and sink. The identical space on the opposite side of the central living room serves as large dining room, a third bedroom or office, and the kitchen. The living room was originally an open porch, the front of which has been bricked up to a height of three feet and the remainder screened. Two small front verandas open off the screened living room. The house is surrounded
a. Writer's residence at APCM-Luebo.

b. Interior of writer's residence.
by tall oilnut palms randomly spaced in a large lawn.

A special feature of the construction of the 11 residences is the "outbuilding" which accompanies each home. This is a long, narrow three-room building containing a "sentry" room, a laundry room or shed, and a storage room often used by the missionary family as an office or a school room for the teaching of small missionary children. These buildings are located about 15 meters behind the missionary residence, parallel to the rear of the major building. In a number of cases the outbuilding also contains a garage.

The McKowen Memorial Hospital

The hospital at APCM-Luebo (cf. No. 13, Figure 6) is composed of three large buildings, the most recent of which was constructed in 1958 to house administrative offices, dental office, classrooms, and laboratory. The older buildings house the large wards for African patients and the surgery and pharmacy building. The entire hospital area is fenced in with a chain link fence. Also included in the hospital complex are utility buildings, laundry, and ten very small residences for African hospital personnel.

The J. Leighton Wilson Press

One of the earliest needs felt by the missionaries was for the printed word. Luebo has been the permanent site of the printing efforts of the APCM through the years since 1903. The press is named after the first Executive Secretary for Foreign Missions (1861-1886) of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, who was especially concerned with the evangelization of Africa. The physical plant housing the printing facilities consists of two buildings placed in
a. The press director's residence at APCM-Luebo.

b. Missionary residence showing exterior kitchen at APCM-Luebo.
an "L" configuration (cf. No. 21, Figure 6). The longer building houses the typesetting room, the press room with two large flatbed presses and two smaller job presses, the bindery containing machines and work space for cutting, stapling and binding the books. The smaller building contains the business office and stock rooms for current inventories and printing supplies. There are also two smaller outbuildings, one housing the generator plant which powers the press, and another which houses a Linotype machine and darkroom facilities for photoengraving.

The Evangelistic Office

The Church office, for the local community and for a surrounding rural area of about 150-mile radius is located on the east side of the station behind and above the first two residences on the left as one enters the station. This building contains three offices. One is the office of the Evangelistic Department of the station. A second is the Regional School office, which has supervision over all the primary schools in the surrounding rural area, exclusive of the one large primary school on the station. The supervision of these schools has fallen to the clergymen because they are the only staff members who travel in the rural areas on "itineration" for extended periods, visiting many of the African villages for the purpose of supervising the church work. A third office in the Evangelistic Building is the Presbytery Treasurer's office where the church accounts and funds are kept. The furnishings in these offices are very simple: locally-made desks and bookcases, perhaps an imported office chair for the missionary in charge, and a few straight chairs for visitors. The single piece of furniture
The Executive Office

The purpose of the Executive Office is to serve as the executive branch of the government. It is responsible for providing leadership and direction to the other branches of government, ensuring that the laws are administered fairly and effectively. The Executive Office is headed by the President, who is elected by the people of the country.

The Executive Office is divided into several departments, each responsible for a specific area of government. These departments include:

- The Department of State, which is responsible for foreign affairs and diplomacy.
- The Department of Defense, which is responsible for national security and defense.
- The Department of Justice, which is responsible for enforcing the laws of the nation.
- The Department of Treasury, which is responsible for managing the nation's finances.
- The Department of Commerce, which is responsible for promoting economic growth.

The Executive Office works closely with Congress, which is the legislative branch of the government. The two branches work together to create laws that govern the country. When Congress passes a bill, it is sent to the President for approval. If the President signs the bill, it becomes law. If the President vetoes the bill, Congress can override the veto with a two-thirds vote in both houses of Congress.

The Executive Office also works with the public and other government agencies to ensure that the laws are implemented fairly and effectively. It is responsible for ensuring that the government operates efficiently and effectively, and that the public's needs are met.

In addition to its role in governance, the Executive Office is also responsible for representing the United States on the world stage. The President is the official representative of the United States, and the Executive Office works closely with other countries to promote peace and cooperation.

Overall, the Executive Office plays a critical role in the functioning of the government, and it is essential to the well-being of the nation.
which dominates each office is the old, large and impressive steel safe.

The Primary School

Located just north of the church is the primary school (cf. No. 20, Figure 6). It consists of 8 double classroom buildings arranged in a "U" with considerable distance between each building. The classroom buildings are brick and open along the sides above a height of four feet. The school buildings, like all of the construction on the station, are roofed with galvanized tin or aluminum roofing.

The Girl's Home

Immediately to the east of the primary school area, in a wire-fenced enclosure, is the "Girl's Home" (cf. No. 19, Figure 6). This is a complex of four dormitory buildings and a central refectory and meeting room. The girls living here attend the station primary school. At the time of this study 52 girls were in residence.

The Preacher's School

In the northeastern corner of the mission station, to the east of the girl's home (cf. No. 18, Figure 6), is a similar complex of small dwelling units and a refectory-classroom building. In former years this was the "Boy's Home," but it has recently been converted to a facility housing a high school-level ministerial training school. The Preacher's School supplies the whole mission area with village evangelists.

As was stated above, the early construction on the mission was African-type houses and sheds built by Africans for the missionaries. In the early days the mortality was quite high, especially among wives
and children. The recurring crisis of death among the staff intensified the desire of the missionaries to build more permanent and salubrious residences. It was in 1913 that the first professional builder came to the mission field as a missionary. He was 52 years of age at the time of his appointment and came on a self-sustaining basis. He supervised the building of Mutoto station. In 1915, with the arrival of a graduate of Georgia Tech, Carson Industrial School was opened at Luebo. Carpentry, brickmaking, brick masonry, tailoring, shoe-making, blacksmithing, ivory carving and broom-making were all taught at the school. The school was closed in 1930 due to lack of funds caused by the depression. In the fifteen years of its operation, the Industrial School trained hundreds of artisans who found ready employment in the developing colony. The large work shed (cf. No. 22, Figure 6) which housed the school remains at Luebo. It is currently utilized by the maintenance personnel of the station.

In a number of ways the mission station reflects the territorial layout of an American college campus. In terms of allotment of space and size of buildings, however, the emphasis of APCM-Luebo is clearly on the missionary residences and the church. The station does have an open and spread-out aspect which can be contrasted to the typical Roman Catholic mission station in the area. Catholic stations tend to reflect the architectural and territorial features of the cloister of Europe.

Households

As has been pointed out above, one of the main features of the mission station is the provision and clustering of residences for the
As the pace quickens, many segments of the American community look to the national level to help lead and shape the direction of their activities. To meet the challenge of these new opportunities and responsibilities, the need for increased and better trained leaders is evident. The National Organization of Negro Professionals (N.O.N.P.) is committed to the continuous growth and development of its members. In order to compete in today's job market, leaders must be prepared for positions of management and professional leadership.

The purpose of the Negro Professional is to provide a group of Negro professionals who can meet the challenge of today's opportunities and responsibilities. The organization is devoted to the continuous growth and development of its members. In order to compete in today's job market, leaders must be prepared for positions of management and professional leadership.

The National Organization of Negro Professionals (N.O.N.P.) is committed to the continuous growth and development of its members. In order to compete in today's job market, leaders must be prepared for positions of management and professional leadership.
The organization of the missionary household at Luebo is in many ways quite different from what the American staff would experience in the United States. One of the causes of this difference is the de facto professional role of the wife as a missionary. The BWM manual states that:

Missionary wives share with their husbands in qualifications and language study. It is recognized that their first obligation is to the home and this witness through the Christian family is their major missionary service. They may engage in other services as domestic duties permit (BWM Manual, 27).

This official statement is, of course, the ideal. The real pattern is manifest in a considerable amount of pressure placed upon a new missionary wife to "take up part of the work." The second cause of the unique missionary household organization can be found in the traditions of the missionary community at Luebo.

From the early years households have been referred to as "fences," (a human grouping of all those who live and/or work at a particular missionary residence). These have included a varied number of African "helpers." The rationale for having extensive domestic help is that (a) under the relatively primitive living conditions, all of the help a missionary wife can get simply frees her for the more important evangelistic, educational or medical work that always needs to be done; and (b) there are always African men and women available who need employment. By employing them, the missionary is aiding in the development of individuals and the region as a whole.

Thus, from the pioneer days when life was essentially camping
and the missionary had his personal "boy," cook and hammock men, to the present when the minimum for most young missionary families is a cook, a laundry man and a "Baba," who is a full-time woman babysitter for the small children, domestic servants have been a tradition at Luebo. In the early years, having a number of young men in your "fence" was thought to be an excellent way to train them in all aspects of the Christian life. In more recent years, the number has greatly decreased and the motivation is more clearly on providing the support system for the missionary couple as they seek to devote the whole day to missionary work.

The selection of the domestic staff for the new missionary is done basically by those already on the station when he arrives. The key people such as cooks and laundry men usually stay with their missionary employers for years. They may be available, however, for a year if "their missionary" happens to be in the States on furlough. The new couple knows nothing of the individuals, and even if they are reluctant to take on a staff of servants at the outset of their missionary career, they are assured by the "old timers" that this is the time-tested way to proceed.

The selection of household staff is also watched and controlled by the local church leaders. Although the people employed are the financial responsibility of the missionary, the African church leaders ordinarily must informally approve the selection. The writer was informed by the local African pastors in one instance in 1959 that he must terminate a fine young cook because he was involved in an adultery "palaver." Prior to the mid-1940's, these problems
would have been decided by the missionary. This case is an example of the African church leaders initiating action in the missionary sphere. The statuses of the various servants are differentiated within the household and in the larger missionary and African communities according to the roles they perform. The following section is a description of the various employment positions possible in a missionary household.

The cook is the highest ranking of all of the domestic "helpers." He is invariably male and most often is a mature man who has been trained to cook by missionaries or by Europeans in the area. He must be able to prepare a complete meal, often for as many as eight or ten persons, on the wood cook range and with the relatively modest kitchen equipment. He is a person who can be given a menu and left with the responsibility of having "the meal on the table" at the appointed time. One of the essential skills of the cook at Luebo is baking bread. All of the household's bread must be baked by the cook as there is no commercial bread available. A particular cook is often especially noted for his bread and rolls, and perhaps for pies and cakes as well. The cook lives in the African village and arrives at work around 6:30 AM to begin preparing the breakfast. In 1960 he earned a salary of from twenty to forty dollars a month, depending on the size of his family.

The "Baba" or nursemaid is the second highest ranking member of the household staff. She has the responsibility of looking after the children most of the day while the missionary mother is in language study or later involved in some missionary duties. If the child
or children are small and in diapers it is the task of the baba to launder all the soiled diapers. As babysitter she has the run of the house and performs such functions as putting away the general laundry, making and turning down the beds and picking up the children's toys. Babas are usually mature "single" women, either widowed or divorced. They report to work in time to take over the child after breakfast and work until 4:30 or 5:00 in the afternoon. Besides their salary of from twenty to twenty-five dollars a month, it is the custom to permit the baba to take a large bucket of water to the village each evening. The water source for the village people was a spring one mile from APCM-Luebo. The women usually carried water during the day while the nursemaids were at work.

The laundry man is the third highest-ranking domestic helper. He is responsible for washing all of the family laundry in pails and washtubs and ironing it with a charcoal burning iron. For a family with two or three children this task takes almost the full work week to complete. He, like the cook, was often a mature man. He might be a younger man with the aspiration of working his way up to being a cook. In the local African tradition both cooking and washing are considered "women's work," and it is only in the context of working for the foreigner that men are comfortable with these roles.

The position of "house boy" was common in former years, but the tasks of sweeping, mopping and cleaning were more recently shared by the laundry man and the baba. It was also common in earlier years for the cook to have a kitchen boy who kept the fire going and washed the dishes. As salaries have increased and equipment improved, the
missionaries have encouraged their cooks to accept all aspects of the kitchen work. For a first-class cook this is seemingly difficult, and he usually prevails upon the sentry to do the cleaning up.

The sentry is the fourth member of the normal household staff. He is provided by the mission and has the responsibility of being a night watchman, generally keeping up the lawn, and assuring that the kitchen is supplied with wood for the cook stove. He is also responsible for lighting and tending the hot water heater every day so that there will be hot water available in the bathroom in the evening for family baths. The sentry has a room in the outbuilding. Ideally, he does not sleep all night, but makes periodic patrols of the lawn and buildings. His official work time is at night and he is free to return to the village during the day. In practice, most sentries spend a good part of the day on their jobs and sleep at night. They work on the lawn, get the wood and run errands for the missionary family members and other workers. They must maintain a household of their own in the village and are discouraged from having their wives and children stay with them in the missionary "fence." The reason given for this rule is that the "fence" is already sufficiently crowded with the missionary couple, their children, three or four helpers and the constant stream of visitors and traders. A sentry's wife and children would only add to the noise and commotion, and invite even more numerous visitors. As the sentry's job is a seven-night-a-week arrangement, it was understood that there are occasional family visits during the night to the sentry's room in the outbuilding. This was done in such a way that it was never noticeable to the missionary. The system ap-
parently did not work any hardship on anyone involved as the writer never heard a single complaint about the night work arrangement.

It is often the case that a young boy of school age or a young adult is hired to do yard work and thus relieve the sentry of part of his job. These arrangements are usually "piece work" and the relationships are temporary. If an extensive garden is desired by the missionary, a full-time gardener is added to the payroll. This is usually an old man who has done gardening for missionaries for many years. He usually earns around twenty dollars a month as he is well past the age of having dependent children in his household.

The one position lacking among the missionary helpers which one always finds in the European, particularly Belgian, households and businesses is the chauffeur. The European seldom drives in the Kasayi. The missionaries, on the other hand, have always insisted on driving whatever vehicles there are available and have been reluctant to "turn vehicles over to" African chauffeurs. The station usually has one African mechanic who may have earned his way to limited chauffeuring of the station truck. More often than not some male missionary will be enlisted to drive the truck or any mission vehicle.

The Missionary Furnishing and Equipment

When a new missionary was preparing for his or her first trip to Africa they received an approved list of needed supplies and various forms of unofficial advice. The new missionary was told in the official list and by many of the older missionaries with whom he had contact, that:
Anything that makes your home more attractive and comfortable in America (except electrical equipment) will be useful in the Congo - mirrors, vases, pictures, bookends, candlesticks, small washable rugs, etc... You will probably have to do more entertaining than the average housekeeper at home, much of it at meals, so you will need a larger supply of table linen, dishes, and silver than at home... Take a good mattress and springs. Good beds are an essential, so economize somewhere else...

Bedsteads are made by the African carpenters upon the missionary's arrival and remain his personal property. Most of the basic heavy furniture is provided by the mission and remains in the particular house if the missionary is moved. The beds, the kerosene refrigerator and other small pieces that the missionary imports or has made at his expense remain the missionary's private property. The new first-term missionary is given a furniture allowance of $150 to be used for the construction of any needed furniture with the understanding that this furniture remains the property of the mission and the particular station where it was purchased (cf. Par. S4, Appendix 1).

The result of these practices is that the missionary residence at Luebo has the appearance of an American home. A more exact comparison might be a well-furnished summer home in the United States today. The furnishings and decor provide the cultural identification of American Presbyterians from, primarily, the Southeastern section of the United States. The presence of several servants is reminiscent of former Southern American culture history.

The Missionary Diet

The missionary living on a mission station has a diet which is similar to that which he might have in the United States. This is
possible through the policy of placing large food orders with wholesale food exporters in New York and Copenhagen. Canned meats, condiments, flour, powdered milk, spices, some canned vegetables, dessert mixes and specialty items such as Chinese ingredients are imported from overseas. Many items can be purchased locally in the grocery stores catering to Europeans. Spices that are common in Europe are usually available. Cooking oil, sugar, flour, potatoes, carrots, cauliflower, celery and cabbage are usually available in local stores. The vegetables are often imported from the Kivu region or flown in from Belgium. Beef, pork, veal and mutton are also available at Luebo-Etat. A long list of items are purchased either at the door from vendors or at the weekly native market. Rice, corn, cornmeal, peas, tomatoes, spinach, eggplant, peppers, citrus fruit, papaya, pineapple, bananas, mangos, guavas, chickens, eggs, pumpkin type squash, green beans, tomato paste, corned beef, manioc flour and palm oil are all purchased on or near the station. Some of these items are those grown in a private garden if the missionary is inclined to go to the trouble and expense.

Because of the large number of visitors, meals tend to be elaborate. Whenever there is a visitor on the station the usual pattern is that he or she will "eat around." This involves rotating among the resident families for various meals. Breakfast is taken at one home, lunch at the next and supper at a third. This system of "assigned" guests plus personal guests from among the station staff can amount to from 30 to 300 extra meals served each month. The reputation of the lady of the house and of the cook depended on the quality
of these guest meals. As a result, even a breakfast is often a memorable culinary and social occasion.

**Missionary Clothing**

Missionaries are advised to bring to the field enough clothing to last them a four-year term. Light summer type clothing for men, women and children is what is suggested. The only requirement is that it not need dry cleaning, as this service is not available. An official list entitled "Suggestions Concerning Outfit for the Congo" (cf. Appendix 2) states for women:

Any type of clothing used in summer in America that does not require dry cleaning is suitable for the Congo. A good supply of wash dresses for morning wear and a few a bit dressier for afternoon and evening are most suitable. A dinner dress is worn very seldom and is not a necessity.

For men the list states:

Suits of seersucker, linen, palm beach, gabardine or white duck are most useful. A good supply of extra trousers in khaki or any of the above materials is needed for everyday wear... Most of the time men go coatless and wear open-throated sport shirts. Take dress and sport shirts, pajamas, underwear, handkerchiefs, socks, ties, etc., according to personal taste.

It is pointed out that a variety of cotton cloth can be purchased locally so that if patterns are imported, quite a bit of clothing can be made for the children and wife. Underwear and shoes should be imported from the United States, as the limited supply that are available are very expensive. In the past the European style and cut had not been accepted by the American missionaries. The missionaries in Luebo always look like Americans dressed for summertime: the women
in cotton dresses, usually of knee length; the men in khaki pants and bright-colored sport shirt. Shorts are not recommended for the women, and if men appear in shorts they are the long, colored walking short type. This is a distinct contrast to the other European men who wear short white shorts and knee socks, and also to the Africans who always wear long pants feeling that shorts are suitable only for small boys.

Finances

Many of the missionary's financial transactions are handled through paperwork within the structure of the mission. The station treasurer forwards notes of these transactions to the mission treasurer who, in turn, deals with the Board of World Missions' treasurer if the transaction involves payment outside the territory of the mission. The Board of World Missions treasurer in the United States handles payment of such items as U.S. Income Tax, Social Security payments, life insurance premiums, missionary correspondence, children's school materials, and personal food and supply orders, debiting the missionary's field account.

The missionary's salary is credited each month to the mission treasurer who keeps an open account for each missionary family. The missionary can draw cash in local currency as needed, either from the station treasurer or the mission treasurer. It is not unusual for the missionaries to have debit balances ranging up to $3,000 on their personal accounts. Debits are usually high when missionaries return to the field with new supplies, and diminish over the four-year period before the next furlough year.
CHAPTER 5
SOCIAL ORGANIZATION I: PRESBYTERIAN TRADITION
AND THE FORMAL STRUCTURE OF THE MISSION COMMUNITY

All human groupings have particular and identifiable patterns of organization. These patterns are generally culture-specific and are consistent over time. This chapter will deal with the ways in which the missionary community is organized or structured. Psychologists and anthropologists have long employed some sort of bipolar way of analyzing human behavior. Edward T. Hall (1959:65) links names to pairs of concepts which illustrate this approach; Freud to conscious and unconscious, Sullivan to in-awareness and out-of-awareness, Linton to overt and covert, others used overt and covert or ideal and real. Hall suggests (1959:66ff) the tripartite scheme of formal, informal, and technical to describe cultural levels. Hall and George L. Trager arrived at their 3-level theory through an intensive study of the way Americans talk about time.

We discovered that there were three kinds of time; formal time, which everybody knows about and takes for granted and which is well worked into daily life; informal time, which has to do with situational or imprecise references like "awhile," "later," "in a minute," and so on; technical time, an entirely different system used by scientists and technicians, in which even the terminology may be unfamiliar to the non-specialist...We discovered that man has not two but three modes of behavior (Hall 1959:66).

The formal mode of behavior is that which is informed by the traditions of the community. It is learned by accepting precepts and
admonitions. As Hall puts it (1959:67) "The adult mentor molds the young according to patterns he himself has never questioned." There is a type of formal cognition which takes tradition as absolutely binding and formal type emotion which accompanies any violation of the formal norm. According to American southern Presbyterian tradition, for instance, one does not eat caterpillars. Thus a surge of formal emotion is evoked when, in a Kasayi village, a missionary is offered a portion of large broiled caterpillars by his African host. Finally, formal systems are characterized by a very great tenacity. The formal changes slowly, almost imperceptibly. As Hall sums up this level (1959:80): "The formal provides a broad pattern within whose outlines the individual actor can fill in the details for himself. If he stays within the boundaries, life goes along smoothly. If not, he finds himself in trouble."

The informal level consists of those behaviors which are informed by experimentation in life situations. In learning the principle agent is a model used for imitation. Informal type cognition is minimal, as the informal is made up of activities and mannerisms which once learned, are done automatically. Each indigenous person in the Kasayi has learned informally to begin any conversation with a customary greeting pattern of "Life to you, are you well, what is the news?" If a missionary failed to follow this informal norm, a definite uncomfortableness was evoked in the African. Another example of informal affect is the vague uneasiness experienced when a person from one culture violates the proxemic norms of another culture and stands too close to a bearer of the second culture.
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The informal level changes more rapidly as it is learned through trial and error and imitation. In language, it represents the area called "slang" which each new generation of young people remolds to their own tastes.

The technical level exists in all cultures, but is most obvious in the technologically developed areas. It is taught by a combination of precept, explanation and trial and error. Cognition on this level involves understanding the explanations of why a certain operation must be done in a particular way. There is little affect or emotion related to the technical level.

The present analysis is based upon these concepts, but it should be noted that the category of "technical" was generally fused into the "formal" in the missionary context. The organizational structure of the mission described below was primarily a technical arrangement to enable a group of people to perform a task. It had, however, become formalized and was taught by precept and admonition. A neophyte missionary found that many of the lessons he must learn were binary: of a yes-no, right-wrong character. In missionary life there were many meetings in which the missionary must participate. These assemblages typify the formal structure and will be described below.

**Presbyterian Tradition**

As has been discussed in the historical section, southern American Presbyterians have a rigidly structured system through which decisions are made concerning the membership and activity of their group. Their decisions are made in meetings. There are prescribed assemblages on all levels of the organization from the most particular,
the "Session" of the individual congregation, to the most general and inclusive, the "General Assembly" of the delegates from the whole denomination. Between these two extremes is the all-important Presbytery which has the ultimate formal power, as it controls the sessions under it and must ratify any constitutional changes of the General Assembly over it.

Presbyterian churchmen are schooled in the mechanics of making decisions within this structure. Each clergyman has studied courses in Church Polity during his theological education, and theory becomes practice in his obligatory and regular quarterly participation in Presbytery meetings. Presbyterian laymen who are elected Elders by their congregations participate often weekly in the local Session meeting and are delegated, often on a rotating basis, to the meetings of Presbytery.

The meeting is traditional. Its timing and format as an event are structured. Two publications guide the participants: The Book of Church Order, which presents the church's constitution and by-laws, and Robert's Rules of Order, which is taken as the parliamentary authority. An intellectual grasp of the contents of these 2 books and skill in their application "on the floor of Presbytery" is the mark of a "good" presbyter. At these meetings and among Presbyterian churchmen generally the adage "everything must be done decently and in order" is often heard.

In our study of the mission at Luebo, we noticed much of the formal structure in decision-making transplanted to Africa by the missionaries. Although the mission structure is more hierarchical in
that the largest assemblage has ultimate power, the method of decision-making by assembled groups is identical.

It must be kept in mind that in the most formal sense we are dealing with two formal structures. We will be primarily concerned with the missionary structures, but these can never be entirely separated from the African church, which co-existed with the mission through the years. The original aim of the APCM was the evangelization of the Kasayi as that term was understood by southern Presbyterians. The birth and growth of an African church was expected. The accepted missiology of the period conceived of the mission structure as a kind of scaffolding which had to be built to enable the indigenous church to rise within it. The particular changes dealt with in Chapter 7 below related to the questions of exactly when and how the vast "scaffolding" which was the APCM was to be removed.

The church structure began with early conferences of the African pastors and village evangelists, and developed concomitantly with the mission into the formal structures described in the latter sections of this chapter.

The detailed descriptions of both sets of institutions are being presented to demonstrate the effect of culturally persistent ways of communicating, ways of arriving at decisions and ways of implementing decisions which were particular to both the mission and the church, and which were often in conflict with each other.

The Formal Structure

Because our focus is primarily on the missionaries as agents of change, and because, prior to 1960, the mission tended to overshadow
the church in many respects, we will begin with an analysis of the structure of the APCM.

The Mission

To understand much that took place at APCM-Luebo it is necessary to understand the social and political organization of the mission as a whole.

The mission was a group of people, Americans and other Europeans, sent to the Kasayi by the Board of World Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States. These people, the missionaries, were formally organized in a traditionally Presbyterian manner. There was no episcopal authority among the missionaries. They were responsible only to the Board of World Missions in the United States. The ultimate authority of the group at the local level was the parliamentary decision of the annual assemblage known as Mission Meeting. The missionaries were distributed geographically to stations, vocationally in departments, and some structurally in various committees and boards. All of this distribution was determined by the vote of the annual mission meeting. The importance of a decision by vote at Mission Meeting in the authority structure was reflected in the fact the the Minutes of Mission Meeting were printed each year as a top priority item by the mission press. A special classification and citation system was developed to ensure ready access to any particular decision. Women's suffrage among the missionaries was an interesting case in point.

MM-17-51 (51st decision of mission meeting in 1917) Moved and carried that the present policy with reference to women voting be continued. Policy: it is the duty of women to vote on their
respective stations. At mission meeting the Ladies Conference is given a meeting (session) to bring before the mission any matters they have to bring up, and refer to MM-14-16.

MM-20-40 That [name deleted] be appointed to write a circular letter to all the ladies of the mission to determine their attitudes towards women's suffrage on the mission...

MM-21-17 [name deleted] reported that it was the consensus of opinion of the ladies...that married women should not vote but that single women should be given the privilege. In view of the fact that the majority of the ladies as a whole did not desire the vote it was moved and carried that no women be allowed to vote (italics mine).

AIC-23-April-9 The committee reports that up to the present the vote is four to one in favor of the vote for single ladies. It was thereupon moved and carried that we adopt the report and receive the ladies as voting members with a cordial welcome.

In the 1957 edition of the constitution of the APCM the following statement was made regarding voting on the mission:

Any missionary, ordained or unordained, under regular appointment by the Board of World Missions shall be entitled to vote at Mission Meeting after a residence of two years on the field and having passed his language examinations...Missionaries of nationalities other than American, or of denominations other than our own, may, upon application to the Mission, become associate members without voting powers, provided there is unanimous consent of missionaries present on the field at the time the application is made and by the Board of World Missions...All missionaries shall have the privilege of debate and advise, and they can vote on the question of their removal from one station to another, and also in regard to what work is to be assigned them. Missionaries under regular appointment may vote on their respective stations after a residence of one year on the field, provided they have passed their language examinations. (APCM 1957:6).
The language examination was a testing of competency in Tshiluba. This was the major indigenous language. The test occurred after a prescribed course of 3 months full-time study followed by 3 months half-time study.

Through the years the temporal restriction on the power to vote at Mission Meeting was 2 years. This mechanism maintained a clear distinction between "new missionaries" and "seasoned missionaries." Stemming from this rule it was generally understood that new missionaries would have very little to say at the various meetings until after at least half of their first term had passed. The practical effect of this control of input was that after several years had passed, very often the new missionary had settled into the system and no longer had the same criticisms or suggestions which were silenced a few years before. The 1965 publication of the Missionary Manual by the Board of World Missions liberalizes the policy (the Board of World Missions being the higher authority of the APCM) stating "All missionaries in regular, special term or volunteer service who have completed one year or more of service on the field are entitled to vote" (BWM 1965: 73).

The Mission had the following officers: a chairman, a secretary, recording secretaries of the Mission Meeting, a Mission Treasurer, a Stated Clerk, a Legal Representative and suppliants, and a Mission School Inspector. In the history of the Mission, none of these officers were women except the recording secretaries at the Mission Meetings. These officers were elected for 1 year, their term of service beginning immediately after the close of the Annual Mission
Meeting unless otherwise specified (APCM 1957:6).

The powers of the Mission are stated as follows:

A. To decide all questions of policy not already decided by the BWM.
B. To make all requests for new missionaries.
C. To decide on the opening of new stations.
D. To decide on the opening of Mission or station institutions, and in the case of institutions, where they are to be located.
E. To exercise control over the placing of missionaries and the particular kind of work in which they shall engage. (Where a missionary is especially concerned, due considerations shall be given to his feelings in the matter.)
F. To approve the annual budget estimates and all other requests for funds from the BWM.
G. To alone have the power to transfer budget appropriations from one purpose to another except in cases where this power has been delegated to stations or committees and when not in conflict with BWM Manual paragraph 133.
H. To approve all donations for building and equipment.
I. To decide time and place of annual Mission Meeting.

A review of these powers indicates the importance of the annual Mission Meeting as it is at this assemblage of the predominately white foreign missionaries that these powers were fulfilled.

The 1957 by-laws of the APCM specifies 42 committees and boards to which the Mission Meeting must appoint members from among
the foreign missionaries on the field. Some of these committees had a much greater importance to the dynamics of life at Luebo than did others. A brief review will signal the ones of special significance.

**The Mission Meeting Arrangements Committee.** This committee was responsible for a schedule of hours for the daily sessions, a schedule of leaders for morning and evening devotional periods and to make arrangements for the lodging and meals of the Mission Meeting. Each station was required to select 2 of its members who were to prepare sermons to be preached at the Mission Meeting, and notify the Arrangements Committee of their names.

**The Docket Committee.** This committee was composed of the Mission Secretary and all of the Station Secretaries. This committee received all items from the stations for consideration at the annual Mission Meeting. They were to be in the form of motions or overtures, and included questions touching the assignment or reassignment of missionaries. The Chairman had to circulate to all stations the complete prepared docket 6 weeks before the Mission Meeting.

**The Steering Committee** was composed of Stated Clerk, Chairman of the Mission and Chairman of the Mission Meeting Arrangements Committee. Its duties were to guide the Mission to a consideration of matters of major importance as early as possible during Mission Meeting. (Meetings often ran 2 weeks.) Further to propose a schedule of committee meetings from day to day during Mission Meeting. Also, they nominated members to fill vacancies on committees and as far as possible prevented one person from being on 2 standing committees. With 42 committees and 170 missionaries stratified by age statuses,
this latter stipulation was very difficult to meet.

The Nominating Committee was composed of the Mission Meeting chairman as chairman and 4 other members. These members were elected from the floor at one of the early sessions of the Mission Meeting. Its duty was to nominate members to the various standing committees for the coming year.

The Placement of Missionaries Committee. It was composed of 5 members elected by the Mission. It considered the overtures from the stations in regard to personnel. It reassigned all personnel on the field and assigned new people due to arrive. The "Placement" Committee was of considerable importance. It was a prestigious committee to be elected to since its members acted as "gatekeepers" to the flow of personnel. This committee met during Mission Meeting in impressive secrecy and usually reported late in the meeting, at a night session, by unveiling a large blackboard showing the placement of the entire staff of the Mission at the various stations and institutions.

The Medical and Furlough Committee was composed of 7 members of the medical personnel - doctors, nurses or technicians. However, at Mission Meeting all doctors, nurses and technicians present were considered voting members of this committee. They determined the best possible prosecution of the medical work of the Mission and also reported on personnel furlough due dates. It was after this report of which personnel were going to leave the field on furlough, that the "vote to return" was taken. The missionary group as a whole voted on whether or not it was advisable for each particular missionary to return after furlough. It was at Mission Meeting that each missionary
must "pass muster" every 4 years.

The Evangelistic Committee was composed of one evangelistic man (clergy) from each station.

The primary purpose of this committee is to keep constantly before the Mission and the Congo Church the supreme task of evangelism which is to bring men to a saving knowledge of Christ and to establish an indigenous church which is self-supporting, self-governing, and self-propagating. To this end the Mission and the indigenous church have adopted a Book of Church Order in which is laid down the Mission's policy (APCM 1957:15).

The Replies to Native Courts Committee was required following the above statement. That is, actions of the Mission Meeting were to be translated into Tshiluba (from English) and transmitted to the African church groups. The 3 American members were appointed at each Mission Meeting.

The Educational Committee carried the stipulated task in the by-laws of "keeping before the Mission the supreme task of Christian Education, which is the development of Christian character" (APCM 1957:15). Composed of one member from each station with the School Inspector as ex officio member, this committee, in actuality, was concerned with all aspects of the secular educational arm of the Mission, touching schools from the primary level to professional training on the university level. The members of this committee tended to be professional educators and their concerns were pedagogical in the technical sense.

The Language and Publication Committee, composed of the director of the Mission Press and 5 other members, had responsibility for approving all literature to be published "in the native language"
before it was printed or mimeographed. It also received and transmitted to the Mission reports from stations on the language study and examination of new missionaries. It also had general oversight of the policies and activities of the Mission Press.

The Finance Committee was composed of the Mission Treasurer and 4 other members. It considered budget estimates sent in by the stations and made recommendations to the Mission Meeting. An Audit Committee of 2 members audited the Mission Treasurer's books at the end of each fiscal year.

The Property Committee controlled the specifications and construction of all new buildings where the cost exceeded $500. The 5 members of this committee were usually drawn from the "industrial" personnel.

The Personnel Committee, composed of 3 members and one alternate, was elected by ballot at each annual Mission Meeting. This committee received grievances from missionaries concerning their assigned work, their assigned location or relations with other missionaries with whom they were associated. All parties concerned were to be on the field and it was made clear that the Personnel Committee had no executive powers. Any change it proposed in the work or location of a missionary was to be ratified by the Mission at its annual meeting or at a stated Ad Interim meeting.

The Policy Committee was composed of 6 members, 2 being elected each year to serve a term of 3 years. This committee was charged with long-range planning for the Mission and reported its recommendations to the Mission for implementation. It was strictly advisory.
Twenty-seven other committees were named from the American missionary group each year which, together with the 15 described above, supervised all of the varied activities of the APCM and, to some extent, regulated the lives of its members. Women's Work, Young People's Work, Music and Worship, Audiovisual Aids, Radio, Girl's Homes, Christian Education, Boards of the Missionary Children's School and 4 African secondary schools, all were represented in this collection of committees. It is clear from this review that every aspect of the missionary's life and work was subject to some decision-making group which reported its recommendations to the annual assembly of the Mission for a definitive vote.

The by-laws set the expectations of the group in most areas of life, including personal politics:

Missionaries shall do all within their power to show a patriotic interest in the Belgian government, such as securing Belgian and Congo flags, celebrating special government holidays, teaching the natives [sic] the national anthem, and encouraging loyalty to the government (APCM 1957: 22).

Also included in these expectations are financial and estate matters:

All missionaries, men and women, married or single, are required to make their wills as to the disposition of their personal property in the Congo, and these shall be placed in the custody of the Legal Representative and a copy filed with the Mission Treasurer (APCM 1957:23).

The Stations

The formal organization of the stations in many respects repeated at a lower level that of the Mission. The station elected annually a chairman, a secretary, a treasurer and a local representa-
tive. Regular monthly meetings were held and permanent minutes of these meetings were kept.

The station treasurer had important duties affecting the missionary's personal finances. Besides keeping all of the station accounts, departmental and personal, he or she rendered monthly financial statements to the Mission Treasurer and rendered quarterly financial statements to the station by departments. It was the station treasurer who controlled the advance of funds to both individuals for their personal use and to departments for the work. These controls were explicit and rigid.

The station treasurer shall not advance any further funds to any department showing a deficit on the books of the station treasurer, until the station has considered that department's budget and officially provided some way to carry on the work without incurring a deficit on the station as a whole (APCM 1957:12).

The personal finances of the missionaries were not controlled, however, in this manner. The station treasurer would advance any reasonable amount of cash to the missionary simply transferring the debit to the Mission Treasurer who kept the personal accounts of all the missionaries. It was not at all unusual for a missionary to carry a debit balance for a number of years with the Mission Treasurer. There was usually strong encouragement given by the Board of World Missions Treasurer to clear debit balances before the end of a field term or during furlough, as each return to the field usually involved heavy expenditures for a fresh "outfit." The personal finances of the missionaries were largely handled through station, Mission and Board of World Missions accounts, the missionary using only the amount of cash needed locally. Within
rather generous limits the missionary had open credit for drawing cash and placing orders abroad or making purchase payments among missionaries.

The powers of the station were: (A) to direct and develop the work within its bounds, including the work and duties of the missionaries; (B) to establish rules and regulations for governing station institutions and departments according to local conditions as far as they do not conflict with the Mission policies; (C) to make necessary transfers in its annual appropriations from one class to another and (D) exercise control over the erection of new buildings on the station. It will be seen in Chapter 6 that the actual areas of control of the stations are even broader than these outlined in the constitution of the APCM.

The Departments

The departments were the third level of descending field organization of the Mission. They were made up of all the personnel on the station representing the various departments: Evangelistic, Educational, Medical or Industrial (cf., Figure 7). These departments were organized with a chairman, secretary and treasurer. They also managed, in spite of their small membership, to appoint numerous committees to deal with particular aspects of their work. Department members normally worked in daily contact with each other. If any policy change or financial matter demanding station approval was concerned, a formal meeting was held, votes were taken, and minutes kept. The Presbyterian maxim that "everything must be done decently and in order" was reflected throughout the organizational structure and
Figure 7. Organizational chart of missionary groupings.
practice of the APCM.

The American Presbyterian Congo Mission had a complex formal organization. It is important to note that all of the foregoing structural description applies to the American missionaries. The African church, the creation and development of which was the ultimate goal of the Mission, was organized separately and had its own structure. The structural pattern of the Presbyterian Church in Zaire corresponds generally to that of the Presbyterian Church in the United States. The missionaries had taught the African Christians what a church should be and it has been largely a formal process, passing on traditions, dogmas and precepts from the parent ecclesiastical culture to the daughter church. The missionary rationale at any particular juncture of development had been "It must be done the Presbyterian way." A description of these church structures, as they were created in the Kasayi, follows.

The Congregations (Ekelezia Mujadika)

The primary and most "grass-roots" level of church organization was the local congregation (Ekelezia mujadika, an established church). Ideally, this was a local group of Christians who were organized with elected leaders (Bakulu, "elders") and a pastor (Mpasata) whom they had chosen and for whom they provided a salary and house. These conditions for the establishment of a local congregation assumed an ecclesiastical and financial maturity which had been slow in manifesting itself among the local Kasayi groups. Between 1928 and 1930, 20 African congregations were organized and given the blessing of the Mission. After a period of 10 years they had all found that
they could not function under the so-called Nevius Plan of self-propagating, self-supporting and self-governing congregations, and requested the larger organizational entity, the presbytery (Tshihangu) for financial support and guidance. This was an ecclesiastical setback for the Zaire church and a failure for the Mission which was not corrected until 1960 when, for the second time, local congregations were organized with full Presbyterian responsibilities.

The Presbyteries (Bihangu)

Ideally, this was the quarterly assemblage of clergy and lay elders from all the local congregations in a specific geographical area. As has been seen, local congregations were slow in materializing in Zaire. The African Presbytery was made up of all the ordained African clergy who worked in the geographical area corresponding to the outstation field of the mission station. Thus, Luebo Presbytery corresponds geographically with the section of the Kasayi for which the American missionaries at APCM-Luebo were responsible (cf. Figure 3).

There were 3 grades of African clergy working in this area. Pastors, who had completed at least 13 years of education, including the Morrison Bible School or the Preacher's School, who were ordained as clergy, and who had general oversight of the church work in the region. The pastors were supported from Presbytery funds which derived from all African church offerings plus a substantial subsidy from the Mission. The grade "Elder" was a type of assistant pastor and functioned as second-level clergy, also deriving their support from the Presbytery. A "session" of these pastors and elders traveled
throughout the area dealing with the ecclesiastical matters of examination and reception of new members, administering the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper, disciplining wayward Christians and deciding "palavers" among the Christians in the rural villages. The groups of African Christians in the villages were led by the village Evangelist. He was a man with minimal formal training in churchmanship and pedagogy. He led the congregation in regular worship and taught the village primary school, usually grades 1 through 3. The evangelists were employed and salaried by the Presbytery, but were not voting members at Presbytery meetings.

The American missionaries, especially those assigned to the Evangelistic Department, were ex officio members of the African Presbytery. They were not under the exclusive ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the African Church, as they maintained their official connections with some Presbytery in the Presbyterian Church in the United States. They did vote, however, in the African Presbyteries, and through the years, had considerable success in forming policy and controlling ecclesiastical events.

The Synod (Mpungilu)

The Synod in the Kasayi church corresponded to the General Assembly in the American Presbyterian Church form. (Following the full "independence" of the African church in 1960, the name of this assembly has been changed to the General Assembly.) This was the delegated annual meeting of representatives of African clergy and laity from the entire Kasayi area. Missionaries attended on the same basis as they did the meetings of Presbytery.
a. Village evangelists and indigenous church elders.

b. Zairian church pastors and missionary conducting a worship service.
The degree of cultural patterning from the American missionaries on the African church is seen in the existence and format of the printed minutes of each year's meeting of the Mpungilu or Assemblee Generalle. (64-AG-1 through 64-AG-171 Chronicle in Tshiluba, the decisions of the 1964 General Assembly of the African church.)

The Mpungilu or General Assembly of the African church thus corresponded geographically and functionally to the Mission Meeting of the APCM. The Mpungilu made annual budget requests for financial aid to the Mission and it administered funds for the church received from the Mission. The evangelistic missionaries (mainly American clergymen) were influential in both organizations.

These organizational structures were formal and rigid. The ways in which the missionary interacted within this context and the informal structures which their interaction created will be discussed in the following chapter.
CHAPTER 6
SOCIAL ORGANIZATION II: PATTERNS OF INTERACTION
AND THE INFORMAL STRUCTURE OF THE MISSION COMMUNITY

Patterns of Interaction

No human community exists in total isolation and in spite of
the degree of isolation of the APCM, their members were in daily con-
tact with non-American servants and co-workers on the Mission station
at Luebo, and with non-mission personnel further afield. This chapter
will deal with the patterns of interaction between the missionaries
and between mission and non-mission personnel resulting in cultural
contact and cultural change. The interaction patterns of the mission¬
aries will be described in the context of four areas of behavior: work,
membership and family, recreation and religion.

Work

As was stated in an earlier discussion, the Mission was organ-
ized into a rigid formal structure with the annual assemblage of the
missionaries at Mission Meeting being the major decision-making event.

The whole geographical area of the Mission was divided among
the various stations, each having responsibility for the "evangeliza-
tion" of its surrounding territory.

The Mission was considered the top-level administrative unit
in the field. It, of course, was ultimately responsible to the Board
of World Missions located in Nashville, TN, U.S.A. The several sta-
tions were administrative units on a second level in the system (cf.
CHAPTER II
SOCIAL ORGANIZATION II: VARIATIONS IN THE MARRIAGE INSTITUTION

Discussion of Information

Our present interest is in various instances of alternations in the definition of the meaning of the term "family" and the establishment of a new definition of the term "family". In all these cases, the meaning of the term "family" is changing, and the establishment of a new definition of the term is necessary. This change will be facilitated by the presence of alternative definitions of the term. The definition of family will be examined in the context of (1) the natural or (2) the social creation of family and its consequences.
Figure 7). Like the Mission as a whole, the station "acted" through majority vote decisions of all the American missionaries meeting in regular (in this case monthly) assemblages. Monthly station meetings were normally held in the evening and open exclusively to the American Presbyterian missionaries.

The pattern of evening station meetings functioned to enhance exclusivity as no church-related meetings involving Africans were ever scheduled in the evenings. The stated rationale for this missionary tradition of not holding assemblages with the Africans after dark was that large gatherings at night attracted individuals intoxicated with alcohol or cannabis and encouraged undesirable nocturnal activities among young people. Thus, when all African co-workers and servants had left the station after their day's work (except for the sentries who remained in their respective yards), the American missionaries assembled to conduct the business of the station and to participate in the governmental process of the Mission.

The flow of decision traveled in both directions. The Mission Meeting made decisions which affected the station such as budget allocations and personnel assignments. The station, as a unit, could initiate action by "overturing" the Mission on a particular question. Any particular proposal submitted to the Mission must have had the approval of the station meeting of the location from which it originated.

The station, in turn, was organized into the several departments: the evangelistic, the education, the medical and the industrial. Work not obviously connected with the four major departments, such as the printing facility, radio programming studio, institutions
of higher education, etc., were all governed by their own Mission-appointed committees or boards of directors.

Luebo station had representatives of all of the four major departments as well as being the location of two "mission" institutions, the J.L. Wilson Press, and the Preacher's School (cf. Figure 7). The evangelistic department was staffed with three clergymen and their wives. The educational department was staffed with a male educator and his wife and two single female educators. The medical department was staffed with one physician and his wife, a registered nurse, a single female physician and a second nurse, the wife of one of the other missionaries. Also a dentist and his wife were part of the medical department. The industrial department at Luebo was represented by one man. The Mission press was directed by a man and his wife assigned by the Mission to this work. The Preacher's School had a missionary director whose wife oversees the school's wives' division.

The interaction networks of the missionaries tend to follow household lines. Both partners of many of the couples were involved in the same type work. Where there was a difference between the area of work of the husband and the wife, it was the exception rather than the rule. As was pointed out in the description of the missionaries themselves in Chapter 3 above, seven out of the nine couples at APCM-Luebo functioned more or less as a husband and wife team. Because the work load was heavy and there were frequent situations characterized by varying degrees of "crisis," tensions often build up in work interaction networks. The resolution of husband-wife crises stemming from work interaction will be dealt with later in the section on marriage
and family.

There was a tendency on the station for strong interpersonal networks to develop also within working groups. At Luebo the three clergymen, representing the evangelistic department, were in almost constant contact. They discussed shared work problems daily. They often discussed strategies to promote their specific department's work. There was a factor of territoriality which was very important in the dynamics of Luebo station. The "ideal" in missionary ideology is that everyone will be willing to share the resources that are available for the work. If reduction of budgets must take place, it was the practice of the Mission to cut all departments by the same percentage. The "real" attitude is often one of aggressive politicking to better the situation of one's particular department or project. The term used in the missionary jargon for an individual especially zealous for his own cause is that he or she is suffering from "stationitis" or in the context of the internal struggles of the station, "departmentitis." This affliction is usually decried most by those on the other side of the debate.

At Luebo there was a definite professional rivalry between the evangelistic, educational and medical departments, although the manifestations of this rivalry were usually very subtle. This subtlety was a function again of the temporal factor. All work took place during the day in the presence of African co-workers, servants, clients, patients or visitors. As it was the missionary vocation to demonstrate all the best Christian virtues, jealousy, avarice and deviousness could not be openly displayed. The kind of strategy planning which
might be subject to these vices took place in the informal evening assemblages of cliques, longevity grades and professional networks. During the day, the African saw the "best side" of the missionary. If the actual implementing of the missionary activity required tactics which were not always in conformity with the best Christian virtues, this fact was not revealed to the Africans.

The interdepartmental rivalry at APCM-Luebo is illustrated by what will be called the "new evangelistic vehicle regulations" affair. In 1959 special evangelistic funds became available for the purchase of a new Volkswagen minibus, and Jorgensen was sent 75 kilometers to the railroad town of Mweka to accept delivery of the vehicle. When he returned to APCM-Luebo, Dr. Norris suggested that the small bus could readily be converted for ambulance use in the rural areas. Dr. Norris had had two accidents in the past in which the vehicle was a total loss. Alarmed by these suggestions, the evangelistic committee was hastily called into session by its chairman, Ken Morgan. Regulations were passed stipulating that only evangelistic personnel would be allowed to drive the new vehicle. As Morgan and Richards had personal vehicles and "Uncle" Jimmy Mitchell's work was centered at the Preacher's School on the station, the new Volkswagen was "assigned" to Jorgensen, the newest missionary on the station.

The evangelistic committee's actions were never formally challenged at station meeting, but Dr. Norris and other medical personnel made it clear informally that they felt their department had been limited unnecessarily because of the preachers' prejudiced views of the doctor's driving habits.
The information-processing model of the African's cognitive system will be central to the new theory. The model is based on a series of experiments and observations made in the field of psychology. It is a dynamic and interactive system where information is processed through a series of stages, each of which plays a crucial role in the overall cognitive functioning of the individual. The model emphasizes the role of experience and culture in shaping cognitive processes.

In the model, the process of information processing begins with the reception of sensory input. This input is then encoded and stored in memory. The information is then retrieved and utilized in the decision-making process. The model also highlights the role of cultural context in shaping cognitive processes, as cultural norms and values influence the way information is processed and interpreted.

The model has significant implications for educational and psychological interventions. It suggests that cognitive processes are not fixed but can be influenced by educational and cultural interventions. The model also highlights the importance of cultural sensitivity in psychological practice and education, as it is essential to understand the cultural context in which cognitive processes take place.
Relationships within the departments were generally amiable. The team spirit prevailed as there was always at least the potential conflict with the other departments on the station. The clergymen and their wives often interacted throughout the day's work. The medical personnel worked in very close contact, the physicians working together in the surgery and the hospital with the nurses always close at hand. The educational personnel were involved jointly with the many problems of the large 1,000 pupil primary school on the station. During the period of observation there had been no instance of an intradepartmental dispute being brought to the attention of the entire station. Though there are differences of opinion within the departments, these differences are closely guarded with respect to the station as a whole. In contrast, there have been occasions at station meetings when conflict of an interdepartmental nature has been openly expressed.

At one evening station meeting the ever-innovative Bert Richards proposed that while the doctor was visiting his several rural dispensaries he might administer the final examinations in the regional primary schools in the same villages. Dr. Norris exploded with the declaration that although "the man who made that suggestion" had tried to run every department on the station, he would not be given the prerogative of running the medical department.

Marriage and Family

There are a number of features of station life which affect the interaction of couples and their children. One of these is the above-mentioned situation in which the man and his wife work every day in the same department, each carrying a heavy work load. This pattern
We are pleased to announce the development and implementation of the new rehabilitation program. The program was developed in collaboration with the Department of Health and Human Services and the local university. It is designed to provide comprehensive care and support to individuals recovering from various conditions.

The program includes a multidisciplinary approach, combining physical therapy, occupational therapy, and psychological support. It is tailored to meet the specific needs of each individual, ensuring a personalized treatment plan.

We encourage all patients to participate actively in their recovery process, with the guidance of our dedicated professionals. Together, we believe we can provide the best possible care and support to help patients achieve a successful rehabilitation.

Thank you for choosing our rehabilitation program. We look forward to working with you on your journey to recovery.
affects their interaction in the home because often evenings are taken up in planning sessions or discussion of the work of the day. Thus, the family interaction pattern of the missionary is different from that of the typical southern Presbyterian couple in the United States. In the missionary situation, both the husband and the wife are directly involved in related work and both are constantly reminded of the urgent needs of their services by the number of demands that are being made on their time.

The missionary wife is an active participant in the activity of the mission. The demand of the work upon her time is a factor in her interaction patterns. It has a special significance in regard to her relationship with her children. The immediate demand for language study upon arrival and later the need to become involved in the work places considerable pressure on a missionary wife to take advantage of the 8-hour daily babysitting arrangements that can be made with an African nursemaid enabling her to devote more time to the work and consequently less to her children. The expectation of Luebo station and of the mission as a whole is that the wife would work full-time. This expectation which is constantly verbalized in informal ways is in contradiction to the stated policy of the Board of World Missions, that the wife's first responsibility is to her Christian home which is to be her channel of witness.

A tension often results between the missionary wife who puts career first and the one who follows the Board of World Missions' directive to emphasize the home. An illustration of this is found in the conversation between a career-oriented wife and a family-oriented
wife. The career wife, a veteran of 15 years in the Congo, asked the younger woman what kind of work she was doing. The younger woman's response that she was teaching school every day from 8 to 12 o'clock was met by a shrug and the comment, "Oh, that little thing you do with the children!" The younger woman was involved in teaching her own and several other missionary children at home, but in the eyes of the senior missionary, the teaching of one's children was not to be equated with "the work" in which every adult missionary should be involved.

The education of her own children at home for the first 3 primary grades (plus kindergarten) was a heavy part of the young missionary wife's responsibility. It meant that during those years of her child's life, she would have little time to do anything else but teach her own children. The situation resulted from the fact that in the Congo, the primary schools were taught in Tshiluba, using the European educational system including the metric system. As the transfer from this type of education was felt to be too difficult for children going back into the American educational system, the Board encouraged mothers to teach their children at home using correspondence courses (cf. Par. M57, Appendix 1).

This raised many problems in the conflict between career and home, and they were resolved in different ways. Most mothers resigned themselves to devoting the morning hours of from 8 to 12 to teaching their children at home. Many wives who were already engaged in busy schedules of nursing or teaching tried to fit their children's classes into their "free time" between 12 and 2 o'clock and after 4 o'clock.
The best resolution was usually a combination of effort on the part of a group of mothers, each of whom will teach one or two subjects to all the children, sometimes teaching five grade levels at once. This freed all of the mothers to do other types of missionary work for the rest of the day.

When a mother was alone on a station, however, she was naturally forced to do all the teaching of her children herself. Many mothers had never taught before, and their concern to do a good job often magnified the tension between mother and child. It was difficult for her to be objective, and easy for the child to be rebellious. Sandra Jorgensen, in later years, expressed her feelings to Margaret Richard by saying, "All a mother expects of her own child is perfection." Margaret faced a more serious problem herself with a dyslexic child that needed special help which a mother-teacher was unable to provide. This problem was later influential in the Richards' decision not to return to Congo after furlough. Educational needs of children cannot always be adequately met on the field.

Another factor which affected the interaction of couples and their children was the presence of 2 or 3 African helpers in the households. Being in the presence of Africans most of the day and at all 3 meals meant that open arguments were always avoided. Unpleasantness in the household was a relative rarity. In addition to the presence of the household help there were frequent visitors, vendors and mendicants within earshot of the missionary couple. These features of station life forced couples to be on what would be considered "company manners" for extended periods of time. In the ideology of the mis-
sionary community, it was not just "company manners" that were called for, but it was the setting of a good example for the African helpers or visitor who might be present. The only period of real privacy was later in the evening after all of the cleaning up had been done after supper and all the helpers had left the household. Because of the danger of malarial infection from mosquitoes in the evening, the younger children were usually put to bed shortly after supper and before nightfall, which was around 7:00 PM throughout the year. The private interaction of the family, then, was primarily between the husband and wife. Any older children past 9 years old were away at boarding school, the Central School for Missionary Children, at a station 100 miles southeast of Luebo. Considering the total scope of life for the missionary couple, the emphasis seemed to be definitely on the work.

After a busy day missionary couples often got together through one of the informal networks and spent the evening in conversation and playing games. The conversation often centered around the work. The personal lives of the missionaries, and possible marital or personal problems, were never discussed. The private lives of the missionaries were kept private. Whatever went on between the couples in their few hours of privacy was kept carefully guarded. The overriding factor in this closed personal life style was the ever-present expectation of the kind of life a missionary should lead. As one went about the daily tasks he or she was constantly reminded that the missionary role involved representing the best of "Christian behavior." This burden of proof which lay on the missionary did not permit the
expression or exposure of any domestic or marital difficulties or any overt expression of personal doubts or failures.

Recreation

The missionary usually worked until 5:00 or 5:30 PM. and then sought to relax before, during and after supper. The various kinds of recreational activities that were engaged in usually took place at this time after the day's work was finished.

In earlier years at Luebo late afternoon tennis was very popular. Tennis courts were constructed in the open section of the lower front of the station. These courts, having deteriorated from lack of use in more recent years, were being restored by Bert Richards. He was, however, the only really enthusiastic tennis buff on the station. His concern was that the missionaries take advantage of this means to get some physical exercise. Richards constantly had a new scheme for work or play. He tended to over-promote these ideas among his missionary colleagues, and as a result participation at tennis was still very limited. Tennis did have the advantage of being popular with the Belgian administrative and commercial personnel and was an avenue of contact with them on something other than a business level. Having non-business relationships with the Belgians had not been something that the mission especially encouraged. In the light of this tradition, Bert Richards' plan to increase these relationships through tennis was looked upon as another of his questionable innovations.

Through the years a number of men at Luebo had become renowned for their hunting and fishing. Henry Ward was one of the most dedicated fishermen of the APCM. It was partly to permit early afternoon
fishing trips on the nearby rivers that he organized the work at the press to run from 6:00 AM until 3:00 PM. Travel on the rivers in a dugout canoe or motorboat and finding one's way through the riverside forest required certain skills and involved some danger. Because of this fishing and hunting were never general forms of recreation. For Ward, after 30 years experience in the out-of-doors in the Kasayi, it remained his preferred diversion.

Another of the recreational activities which involved a limited and select group of the missionaries was "Bridge" playing. The Norrises, the McDonalds and the 2 single women, May Melton and Loucile Fisher, were the regular Bridge players. This group played frequently in the evenings, and this pattern of recreation had established a network of communication between them that was reflected in other aspects of station life. The educational McDonalds, for instance, let it be known that they, too, felt that Dr. Norris had been wronged by the action of the evangelistic committee regarding the new Volkswagen bus.

The one form of recreation in which everyone on the station participated was inviting 1 or 2 of the other couples or single people for an evening meal and "visit." Although everyone was in relatively close contact with each other all the time, this was one of the most common types of gathering on the station. It was on these occasions that the particular skills of the respective cooks were usually demonstrated and acclaimed. It was a custom to go out to the kitchen and thank the cook for the meal, even in cases when the main dish was obviously prepared by the missionary wife herself. Inviting people to supper was a tradition and a social obligation at APCM-Luebo. It was
assumed that no one would be left out and that reciprocity would be fulfilled by returning invitations within a few months. The usual practice was to invite at least 4 guests. This tended to provide the occasion for a relatively elaborate meal. It also definitely limited the intimacy of the occasion and increased the tendency for the conversation to center around work and station problems. When the group was large there was a definite tendency for the men to group together after the meal and discuss some "masculine" subject such as the diesel-electric plant, vehicles or building construction. When this happened, the women usually fell into conversation about the children's schooling, patterns for making dresses or food orders. As the station electricity was regularly cut off at 10:30 PM, the guests usually looked around for their flashlights, which were always carried after dark, a few minutes before this time, and excused themselves, thanking the hosts for a wonderful evening.

The generational system was operative in the patterns of invitation to these evening visits. If two or more couples were invited they were almost invariably from the same longevity grade. That is, the "new" missionaries on the station were always invited at the same time as the youngest of the "young" missionaries. Preferred linkages were assumed by the majority of the members of the station. The Jorgensens and the Richards had been invited together on so many occasions that it had become a subject of comment and joking between the 2 couples. This type of entertaining very rarely included non-missionary Europeans and never African station workers or friends.

The above-mentioned patterns of evening meal exchanging was a
mission station tradition, especially strong at Luebo where it dated back at least as far as 1892 and the arrival of the first missionary couples. By 1959, some of the "young" and "new" missionaries were breaking the hallowed and accepted patterns of recreation and more frequently looked off the station for their evening's distraction. There was a modest European "club" at the town of Luebo across the river. Movies were shown there each Friday night. Once a month a dance was held at the Cercle as the club was called. Participation at these events by the missionaries was by no means regular but over an 18-month period from 1 to 3 couples had been to 6 films and had attended 2 dances. The reaction of the older missionaries to this type of socializing was mixed. They acknowledged that it was good to "get off the station" from time to time, but they also felt deeply the importance of the missionaries having a certain social distance from the colonial personnel. Traditionally, the missionaries were always more fluent in Tshiluba than in French. They felt that their separation from the Belgians aided them in their contacts with the Africans. Besides these considerations, many older missionaries questioned whether or not movies and modern ballroom dancing were really "the thing" for missionaries. The barmen and waiters at the Cercle might perhaps have been church members or certainly were in contact with the church leaders, cooks, and helpers of the missionaries. "Would this activity affect the 'witness' of the missionaries?" That was always the crucial question.
a. Outdoor tea at APCM-Luebo. (LIFE Magazine, July 11, 1960.)

b. Missionary picnic on island in Lulua River.
Religion

It is interesting to attempt to analyse the religious interaction and activity of a specifically religious community such as APCM-Luebo. So much was assumed by the participants about the personal religion of the missionary staff. They had all gone through a long screening process by the candidate committee of the Board of World Missions in the United States. It was more or less taken for granted by the missionary group that all of its members had a strong faith, understood what he or she believed and was guided by these convictions in all of his or her daily behavior.

In the interaction between missionaries, great respect was given to the privacy of personal religion. The combined effect of the above-mentioned assumptions of spirituality and the realization that in the final analysis each missionary must "make it" on his own was to severely limit the discussion of their own personal religion by the missionaries. Three other factors worked together to generally limit the use of an overly "pietistic" jargon by the APCM community members. First, the theological and cultural tradition of the Southern Presbyterian from the United States; second, the intensity and matter-of-factness of the work being performed; and, third, the level of psychological tension maintained in relationships between other missionaries and Africans, all tended to make the APCMers "plain talking folk with their feet on the ground."

Participation in the African worship services was expected of the missionaries. Many attended the main 9:30 AM Sunday service at the large church on the station. Others preferred to worship at one
of the 3 smaller churches out in the large village that surrounds Luebo station. Still others managed to take short trips out into the villages where they were usually asked to preach in the place of the local evangelist. Ward, the dedicated fisherman, had a particular village of riverine Africans, located about 1 hour downstream by his motorboat, which he visited regularly on Sundays. The clergymen were usually off the station preaching, but the majority of station members attended church on the station. These Sunday morning services were led by African pastors, and it was only occasionally that the missionaries were asked to preach on the station.

The starting times of this service on Sunday morning in Tshiluba and that of the exclusively missionary-attended 5:00 English worship service on Sunday evenings, as well as the 7:30 prayer meeting for missionaries on Wednesday evening had apparently been stable throughout the history of the mission. Verner cites these times for the same meetings as standard in the pioneer days (1896). One service which was not obligatory for the missionaries, but which many attended, was the early morning "opening of the day" prayer service at 6:00 AM. This was held for all the workers in the schools, hospital and press. The missionaries who attended it usually went home for breakfast afterwards before beginning the work day.

Related Events

Besides the regular Sunday worship services and the regular monthly business meetings of the station there were a number of patterned activities in which all of the missionaries on the station usually participated. These quasi-ritual activities tended to bind
the small group together and to remind each of the members that he or she had a constant responsibility to the will of the group as a whole.

The circular vote. There were often occasions when a matter must be decided by the station between the regular monthly meetings. In such an event the station secretary sent around a clipboard containing the particular action to be voted upon and the names of all the members of the station. Each member was expected to record his or her vote on this ballot and write any comments which they might have. The clipboard was carried around by the African sentry of the secretary or the chairman. The action was always written in English, and it was assumed that this method of voting preserved the same level of confidentiality as did the regular station meetings which were restricted in attendance to the missionaries.

Checking out. A related event was spelled out in the regulation that before anyone left the station for an extended trip, they were expected to receive "station permission" by a circular vote. The formal rationale for this regulation was that the station had the responsibility for the work of all of the missionaries in residence and should be aware of any prolonged absence, whether for work in the rural villages or other reasons. The usual evangelistic itineration trip ran for 2 or 3 weeks, and the absence of a missionary for this length of time might well affect the planning and program of one of the other departments. The informal, "real" rationale involved the need to send shopping lists with whomever might be leaving the station, either just to cross the river to the town of Luebo, or to travel north to Mweka or east to Luluabourg. For a person to leave on a trip
without first checking in with all of the households was considered the height of inconsideration. It was by means of these various trips into town that supplies of fresh meat, cheese, vegetables, hardware and cloth were brought to Luebo. To neglect to perform this quasi-ritual of getting station permission before going on a trip was to be reminded by perhaps as many as 20 people frustrated by the oversight that "there is a station rule on the books..."

The station supper. The tradition of a communal meal for the whole station was known as a "station supper." To this special meal, which was held at least once a month, each household contributed 2 or 3 dishes adequate for 6 to 8 persons, as well as a beverage. The suppers were usually held on the lawn of one of the missionary homes. This meal was a social occasion for the whole station, and was a direct carry-over from the American Presbyterian Church tradition of the "Family Night Supper" where everyone brings a dish or two and takes "pot luck."

At APCM-Luebo, the station supper, an exclusively missionary affair, was an occasion which exceeded the private supper parties for the production of culinary masterpieces. There were always the old favorite specialties and new creations attractively displayed. The station supper functioned as a special form of recreation and the occasional visitor who might be the guest of honor was often slightly misled as to the normal lifestyle of the missionary. When a visitor from the United States was present, all of the very best was brought out for the station supper. The comment of the visitor was usually, "And I thought all the time that you people were suffering hardships
out here!" The hardships that did exist did not include the inability to spread an occasional feast.

The outdoor tea. All of the special events of the APCM-Luebo described up to this point concern the missionaries exclusively. The station tea was the one social occasion where the whole station participated with the African leaders and workers. It was used whenever the occasion arose that a reception was called for. The presence of an important African church dignitary, a visitor from America or Europe, or the meeting of one of the church judiciaries at Luebo would be marked by a tea.

The last tea before independence was held in honor of the presence of 3 American and European journalists covering the pre-independence events in the Kasayi (cf. Life magazine, July 11, 1960). The teas were always held out-of-doors on one of the missionary lawns. The menu was reception type "finger food" with coffee, tea or fruit punch as beverage. The African leadership of the area were invited and usually included a group of pastors and elders of the local churches, the top medical assistants, a group of teachers from the primary school and some of the technicians from the press. The teas were held at 4:00 PM and usually lasted approximately 1-1/2 hours. The station tea was the sole occasion for formal missionary-initiated socializing which involved Africans (cf. Plate 8a).

Eating around. When there were new missionaries on the station who had not yet set up their households or when there were visitors present, the usual procedure for feeding them was that they "eat around." This involved the visiting family or group rotating
from missionary household to household, meal by meal, throughout the time of their visit. If the visit was to be an extended one, arrangements were made to "rotate by the day," thus taking all three meals at the same household and moving from house to house each day. These often quite complex arrangements were worked out and supervised by the "guest chairman," who was always one of the women of the station. Eating around was a firm tradition at APCM-Luebo. If a couple had specifically invited a missionary friend to spend a few days with them at Luebo, special arrangements had to be made with the guest chairman to enable the host couple to entertain the guest for all meals at their home. Although such a guest was designated as a "personal guest" of, for instance, the Jorgensens, there was a certain amount of resentment generated if the guest was not "shared" with the rest of the missionary households for at least one meal around. The entertainment of guests was obviously an important element in the missionary pattern for meeting social needs.

The Informal Structure

As was mentioned earlier, it is well-known by anthropologists that there are always at least 2 structural systems functioning in any society. This phenomenon was observed at APCM-Luebo and throughout the larger mission system. There was a constant need to move information requests and decisions up and down the formal organizational structure outlined above. The participant observer soon realized that there were informal groupings and channels which were often more active and more certain avenues than the formal ones.

It is through the observation of the events which took place
the [incomplete text]

As the outgrowth of the VA's Mental Health Program, this document is intended to provide guidance to VA hospitals and clinics on the implementation of the VA's Mental Health Program. It is a guide to assist in the planning and development of services for patients with mental health conditions. The document emphasizes the importance of collaboration and coordination among VA facilities and external providers to ensure comprehensive and effective care. It is designed to help VA hospitals and clinics create a comprehensive mental health services for patients.
on the mission station and the patterns of interaction of the missionaries that the "informal" structure was revealed. It was at APCM-Luebo and various committee meetings of the Mission as a whole that the participant observer saw how decisions were "really" made. He saw who it was that initiated actions, and who was submissive to whom and under what circumstances. The analysis of the patterns of interaction described in the earlier portion of this chapter provides insight into informal structural units in the missionary community. A number of these units are described in the following sections.

In-groups and Cliques

There were among the twenty missionaries at APCM-Luebo definite groupings which could be classified as cliques. The classifications of the various divisions among the small group of missionaries is difficult because of the many areas of overlap. One area exclusive of the classifications that follow is recreational cliques. Two couples and 2 single ladies were avid bridge players, and these 6 constituted a clique that spent many evenings together. The single women missionaries (3 at Luebo) tended to form a group and present a united defense against any possible discrimination based upon marital status.

Longevity Grades

Perhaps a much more readily observed grouping in the informal structure are the "longevity grades." In terms of years of service, there were at Luebo 4 groupings: (1) full career missionaries: 2 couples completing 40 years or more on the field, the Woodstocks and Mitchells; (2) mid-career missionaries: 2 couples and a single
woman completing 30 years on the field, the Morgans, Wards and Carolyn Westbrook; (3) young missionaries: 3 couples and 2 single women having completed around 10 years on the field, the McDonalds, Norrises, Richards, Lucille Fisher and May Melton; and (4) new missionaries, those having their first term (3 years) of service, 1 couple, the writer and his wife (Jorgensens). These age groupings manifest a "generational" effect.

To begin with the youngest, the "New Missionary" was related to as one to be taught. He or she needed to be socialized into the missionary culture. It was assumed that training would take time and that patience was needed on the part of the elders. Expressed or implied criticism from the new missionary was usually overlooked or dismissed with a "You'll see after you've more experience" type response. The young missionaries tended to relate to the new missionaries as older siblings, taking part in the training, but also providing a sympathetic ear. They had already gone through their initiation but it had not been so long ago that they did not empathize with the new missionaries. The sternest group were the mid-career missionaries. They assumed a definite parental role. Their advice was clear and definite. It was usually given in a "formal" mode. "This is the best way to do it; believe me, I know." This group was the active transmitter of the missionary culture.

The full career missionary related to the new missionary in a sense as a grandparent. He was not so sure of all of the policies. He had developed most of them during a time span of 40 years or longer, and times had changed. They had changed so much that the
full term missionary really didn't feel at home anymore. He talked of the pioneer days of hammock travel and mud-and-stick houses. He charged the new and young missionaries that it would be the younger people who would have to facilitate change for the new day. The full term missionary was wise and gentle, seemingly a generation removed from all of the current policy battles over money, personnel and church-mission relations.

**Kinship Networks**

Another element in the informal structure of APCM-Luebo and the mission as a whole were the kinship networks. In the period 1945-51, a major change occurred in that 15% of the new missionaries had been born in Africa of missionary parents. Other children of missionaries born in the United States returned to the field under appointment by the Board of World Missions.

There were a number of two generational missionary families on the APCM. At Luebo there was 1 couple whose daughter and her husband were present as missionaries on the same station; the Mitchell's daughter was Mrs. Richards. Two of the wives on the station are sisters, Mrs. Morgan and Mrs. Woodstock, which created a special bond between these households. However, not all of the kinship was real. Fictive kinship was also present. One couple and a single woman, the Norrises and Carolyn Westbrook, had both served in China previously. This tended to tie them together, although at times intradepartment difficulties overshadowed this fictive kinship bond.

The feeling of the station as a family was fostered by language and attitude. The adult missionaries generally took a special
Another feature in the infrastructure's architecture is the incorporation of VOIP technology. In this capacity, the infrastructure serves as a model for the future network. In the near future, VOIP (Voice over Internet Protocol) will be a common feature. The adoption of VOIP will lead to a reduction of the cost of communication. Secondly, the implementation of a comprehensive plan for network management and control will ensure efficient utilization of the bandwidth. There will be a major impact on the communication networks. Furthermore, the protocols and standards will be updated to include new features that are necessary for efficient operation. This will ensure a smooth transition to the next generation of communication networks. The integration of these new technologies will provide a seamless communication experience for users.
interest in the children of the other missionaries. Part of the strength of the "missionary family" feeling was generated by the custom of having the missionary children use the terms of "Uncle" and "Aunt" as terms of reference and address for the adult missionaries. The missionary child knew all the missionary adults as Uncle or Aunt, attaching the adult's first name to the kinship term. This practice of fictive kinship reached up into the longevity grades, and it was common for "new" or "young" missionaries to address a full term missionary as, for instance, "Uncle Jimmy" or "Aunt Elizabeth" Mitchell. This practice was never used by new or young missionaries in reference to mid-career missionaries. With them, as among the two "younger" groups, the first names were used for reference and address.

Professional Groups

A fourth type of grouping which has significance in the informal structure is the various professional networks. These will here be referred to as "co-lingual" groups after Victor Yngve (1973:14). Much of the in-groupness of these networks depended upon an individual's competence in a particular professional jargon. Here the clergyman was at a slight disadvantage because whereas the educators, the artisans, and especially the medical people all have their special jargon, they all share, by virtue of being themselves missionaries, the theological jargon of the clergyman. Of course, the clergy could converse on a more technical level, calling upon their more extensive theological education, but there was still a sense of disadvantage. Even the "devotional talks," a variety of sermon at the station meetings, was a responsibility divided equally among all the station personnel. All
shared in the clergyman's specialty, but he was never quite at home with the language of the others' specialties, except in certain cases in the educational work. In the station meetings and at Mission Meeting, voting patterns were usually along these co-lingual lines. The available resources in personnel and money were always limited, the competition often keen, and the debate heated.

It is through these various informal groups and linkages that many of the desired decisions were channeled to emerge finally at a station meeting or the annual Mission Meeting as a majority vote. Uncle Jimmy, the full career missionary and "natural" anthropologist, pointed out the existence and function of these groups as he discussed what he called "mission politics." Over 40 years on the APCM had taught him a great deal about human interaction.
It is necessary for the maintenance of health and happiness that we encourage the development of the social skills which are essential for a successful life. This is particularly true in the early years of life, when the social skills are being formed. It is important that we provide our children with the opportunity to develop these skills in a safe and supportive environment. This can be achieved through the provision of positive role models, the encouragement of social interaction, and the fostering of a sense of community. Only in this way can we ensure the well-being of our children and the future of our society.
CHAPTER 7
THE CRISIS OF INDEPENDENCE

Thus we see APCM-Luebo functioning in 1959-1960 as one of many mission stations in the Congo. By that period 44 Protestant missionary organizations were scattered through the colony, each working along more or less the same lines with a developing African church (Wharton 1952:174). Through a comity agreement in the early years, each denominational mission had an exclusive opportunity to develop its type of church in its region. This arrangement had produced a situation in which Protestant Africans from the Lower Congo were Baptist; from the Kasayi, Presbyterian; from Katanga, Methodist, and so on. Of course, in each region there are extensive Roman Catholic mission developments (cf. Figure 2) which have produced many adherents among the indigenous population.

The various branches of the Protestant church throughout the colony were loosely and figuratively united through the Congo Protestant Council into L'Eglise du Christ au Congo. In 1959 this union was more an expression of the ecumenical aspirations of the missionary-led Congo Protestant Council than an expression of any functional or structural integration. As has been suggested above, the African church in each area tended to be patterned after and dependent upon the particular missionary organization which had brought it into being.

As we have seen, the African church in the Kasayi was basically Presbyterian in form. It claimed over 133,000 members who met in
1,811 places of worship throughout the Kasayi (AR 1959:37). All of these African Christians and especially the elements of leadership within the church were to be affected by the events surrounding national independence, as we shall see in a latter section of this chapter.

From 1956 to 1958 the Belgian colonial leadership was talking about eventual political independence for the colony after perhaps 20 years. The general missionary outlook, however, was "business as usual" and business was booming (cf. Tables 3 through 5 for dollar input and personnel increases).

Social and Political Change

Following World War II there was a constantly increasing climate of change in the Congo. Many Nationals had served in other countries during the war. More and more Africans were visiting Europe and the United States through the 1950's. Other African colonies were moving rapidly toward independence. The economic and industrial development of the Congo during these years was increasing steadily. Urbanization became a reality during this period, especially in the Kasayi region with the development of industry and trade in the centers of Luluabourg, Bakwanga and Tshikapa and numbers of smaller trading centers.

The groups of missionaries which we have designated "young" and "new," that is, all those appointed since 1941, brought with them to the mission field ideological and politico-religious formulations which, unlike the older missionaries, tended to question colonialism.

These formulations were innovations in relation to the general acceptance of the colonial principle by the Mission (cf. page
null
104 above). There was much in the operation of the Mission and the behavior of the missionaries that to many among the young and new appeared in need of change.

The continuation of the old patterns of having servants had already been questioned or was being questioned by the new missionaries. The paternalistic relationship between the Mission and the African church was challenged. The question of the frequency of Africans being invited to missionary homes in the constant flow of missionary entertainment was being raised. Missionaries having a special school for their children and having special worship services in English both were under criticism by young and/or new missionaries.

These sentiments for change also existed among the articulate African leadership of the church and the various institutions related to the Mission.

In spite of concern for needed change on the part of the newer missionaries, change seemed to be slow in coming within the Mission. The patterns generated through the colonial years hung on tenaciously. The older missionaries usually resisted decisions to initiate change and they occupied many key positions in the formal structure of the Mission.

In retrospect it seems clear that change was overdue, but at the time little important policy change or planned innovation in the missionary operation was taking place. It was the "shake-up" of the events described below which precipitated rapid and far-reaching changes in the missionary method and organization.
Tribal Conflict

During 1957, as the imminent arrival of Independence became clear, tribal enmity, which had been dormant through most of the colonial years, broke out in open conflict. This was especially the case in the Kasayi. In this region the Luba people, traditionally not the predominant group, had, through the colonial years, attached themselves to the Europeans and gained vocational and social ascendancy over the Lulua, Kuba, Luntu, Kanyoka and other tribes. By 1959 Luba men held positions of leadership in almost every modern enterprise in the Kasayi province. At APCM-Luebo 75% of the primary school teachers were Luba, the top 15 of the 21 medical workers were Luba, and many of the skilled Press workers were Luba. This was typical of mission, government and commercial employers throughout the region.

The district in which Luebo is located was traditionally Lulua territory, and since the Luba were immigrants, conflict was inevitable. "Will we be receiving independence?" the Lulua asked. "Will not the Luba replace the Belgian as our masters?" they argued. The logical solution to this predicament is to chase all of the Luba back to their homelands to the east.

At Luebo open fighting broke out on May 20, 1960. This came after weeks of constant rumors and excited conversation insisting that "tonight will be the night of the attack." On the 20th of May, 1960, warriors from the Luba and Lulua sections of the Mission "town"
proceeded to attack each other - across the Mission compound - and into each other's sections.

The battle of Luebo lasted 2 hours from 10 until 12 noon, leaving 12 men killed and nearly 200 houses destroyed by fire (cf. Plate 9). Government soldiers arrived from the military camp across the river by about 1:00. They assisted in evacuating the whole section of Luluua across the river which was the government's short-term solution. This type of conflict was typical of the region along the main road from Luebo to Luluabourg during May of 1960.

During the fighting at APCM-Luebo, the missionaries found clearly that they were no longer in a position to initiate action (or terminate action) among the indigenous population. As armed bands of youthful "warriors" crossed the station grounds, they told the protesting missionary men, "This is our affair. You keep out of it and you will come to no harm." War fetishes were everywhere in evidence and the general reaction raised the question momentarily in missionary minds of the value of their 68-year effort there.

The time from January 1959 to June 1960 was one of intense political activity in Kinshasa and Brussels. June 30, 1960 was finally set as the last day of colonial rule.

**Independence Day**

Independence Day was the occasion of much celebration at Luebo. The tribal conflict subsided as the enthusiasm for depanda, as it transliterated in Tshiluba, approached. Missionaries were interviewed at Luebo by Time-Life and CBS reporters and photographers. Their tone was optimistic. Lead captions in the published article
The battle of the Chesapeake Bay擀 realized from the British side. This battle was a significant event in the American Revolutionary War. The American forces led by George Washington were able to defeat the British fleet under the command of Lord Cornwallis. The victory at the Battle of the Chesapeake Bay擀 set the stage for the eventual American victory in the war.

The outcome of this battle had a profound impact on the war. It allowed the Americans to continue their struggle for independence and ultimately led to the signing of the Treaty of Paris in 1783, which officially ended the war.

The battle was fought on September 28, 1781, and was a key moment in the course of the war. The American forces, under the leadership of General George Washington, were able to defeat the British fleet led by Vice Admiral John Byron. The victory was secured by a combination of effective naval tactics and the superior numbers of the American forces.
a. Lulua refugees around church at APCM-Luebo.

b. Burned houses after tribal fighting at APCM-Luebo.
(Life, July 11, 1960) read "Christians who refuse to run." At the time of the publication of the article, the missionaries were, in fact, evacuating from the entire Mission, but optimism was present before actual independence.

Independence Day at Luebo was marked by a bicycle race, special church services, a special meeting for the Europeans and African community leaders. At this meeting, politicians assured the foreigners of calm; church choirs sang, and a Jazz group and dancers performed.

**Evacuation**

Independence Day, June 30, was a Thursday. The weekend was one of calm relief after the peaceful celebration. Early the following week, however, word began arriving in Luebo of the military mutiny taking place in the Lower Congo. By Friday and Saturday the local garrison of troops across the river was reported out of control. Saturday there was some civilian and military looting of the Belgian and Portuguese stores at the town of Luebo and near the mission. Missionaries watched from the station as tin roofs were torn off the stores and carried into the village piece by piece. On Sunday morning, the Mission, having been in near constant radio communication with all stations through the past few days, decided to evacuate its personnel at least to the stations which were in relative calm and had the best air field facilities. Couples with small children and single women were evacuated Sunday from Luebo to Bulape in the north. Monday and Tuesday, as the situation deteriorated in all parts of the Congo, all the missionaries, 161 adults and 107 children, were
eventually evacuated unharmed to Salisbury, Rhodesia.

The protracted event of the missionary evacuation from APCM-Luebo and the entire Kasayi marked the end of the missionary community and culture, which had existed since 1891 at APCM-Luebo. None of the former American workers at Luebo station ever returned there for residence. The hospital was reduced to a dispensary and the administration of the press and schools were taken over by the African church.

The dispersion of the missionary population destroyed the patterns developed through the years at APCM-Luebo. Although other missionaries returned to Luebo eventually, on a resident basis, the entire cultural system as it has been described was changed. The changes in the formal structure of the Mission and church will be described below in Chapter 8. It is important to note here that it was especially the informal structures that were radically changed by the evacuation of missionary personnel, and the resulting disintegration of the missionary community. Such quasi-ritualistic events as "checking out," the "station supper," and the "outdoor tea" had, seemingly overnight, become relics of the past.

Reoccupation and Change

After a 4-week stay in Rhodesia, teams of male missionaries returned to the Kasayi and began to do what they could to keep essential functions of the Mission going. Medical doctors were top priority. The all-male teams worked for the month of August and by September a few wives returned to the calmer spots. Many husbands remained alone the entire year while their wives and families proceeded to the United States. By 1962 conditions permitted entire
families to return and the missionary personnel on the field numbered 130.

The Death of the Mission

The figure cited earlier from misiological circles for a Mission was that of an elaborate scaffolding within which the indigenous church should rise. When the church reached a certain degree of completion, the scaffolding was to be torn away. The problem for the missionary and especially for the missionary group was in determining if the pull-back point had indeed arrived.

The APCM survived independence, evacuation and re-entry to the Kasayi. The African church, however, was not immune to independence "fever" and began to question more and more the presence of this very powerful (from their point of view) organization that surrounded them. National independence brought new laws and the possibility for indigenous organizations to own real property. The Mission, at this point, announced the church's independence and deeded over all of the specifically church property to the Presbyterian Church in Zaire. This involved church buildings and ministers' homes.

Much remained, however, in the Mission's hands: all the stations with their residences, buildings, institutions, such as schools and hospitals. Many missionaries felt that "the church isn't ready for all of this administrative load." They should just "be the church" and "let us help with these specialized functions."

As the discussion continued through 1960, 1961 and 1962, the Tshiluba expression "Mission afue," (Let the Mission die!) was heard more and more frequently from African leaders. The expression was not
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a personal menace to the missionaries but a firm statement that the
APCM as an organization had outlived its time and that the African
church which it spawned was able and ready to take over all of its
functions.

These kinds of radical changes were beyond the decision-making
capacity of the Mission and it sought to involve its parent body, the
Board of World Missions. Many questions arose. Could the APCM legally
give away all its property? Could or would American missionaries work
under the complete direction of the Zaire church with no direct appeal
channel through the Mission to the Board of World Missions? Could
the church be entrusted with large sums of institutional funds?
These were the kinds of questions which were in the missionaries'
minds, many of them questions which could not be asked aloud.

A first plan was developed whereby the Mission would continue
to function in partnership with the church dividing the responsibili-
ties 3 ways: some responsibilities held by the Mission alone, some
held by the church alone, and most through joint boards and committees.
This plan, although popular with the missionaries, was never completely
implemented. The call Mission afue! persisted. In Chapter 8 we will
deal specifically with the formal and informal changes which followed
the evacuation event.
CHAPTER 8
THE DEVOLUTION OF THE MISSION: AN ANALYSIS OF CHANGE

The disruptive events of 1959 and 1960 created a situation which Margaret Mead (1964) has called a "point of divergence" in the systemic processes. This is a point at which an individual is presented with a chance to change his pattern of resource allocation in the hope of greater benefit (quoted in Bee 1974:208). The evacuation of the American missionaries from APCM-Luebo created such a situation for the African church leaders. They seized the initiative which had always rested with the missionaries. The actual changes which took place and their meaning for the remaining missionary community will be discussed below.

Changes in the Formal Structure

After the evacuation of the missionaries in 1960, nothing ever went back to "normal" for the missionary community and culture. Luebo was never again staffed as a major station. The African church leaders took charge of all aspects of the station activity and managed as best they could during the first year of Independence with sporadic visits from teams made up of 3 or 4 of the few male missionaries who had returned to the area 2 months after the crisis.

As calm was restored and missionary families were able to return, it became obvious that formal changes in structure were inevitable. The realization by the missionaries that they had all, through force of circumstance, left the mission work completely on one day's
CHAPTER II
THE DESTRUCTION OF THE MISSION: AN ANALYSIS OF CHANGE

The destruction of the mission in the late 19th and early 20th century resulted in a significant impact on the local indigenous community. This process, known as the extermination of the mission, was characterized by the displacement and assimilation of the indigenous population. The process was initiated by the arrival of European colonizers, who sought to exploit the natural resources and diminish the local population. This led to a series of violent clashes and forced migrations that left a lasting impact on the region.

The destruction of the mission was a complex process that involved political, economic, and social factors. The indigenous population was subjected to various forms of exploitation, including forced labor, taxation, and displacement. The process was facilitated by the establishment of missions, which served as centers of control and exploitation. The missions were used to extract resources and labor from the indigenous population, leading to a decline in their standard of living.

In conclusion, the destruction of the mission was a tragic event that had a profound impact on the region. The indigenous population was subjected to various forms of exploitation and displacement, leading to a significant decline in their standard of living. The process was facilitated by the establishment of missions, which served as centers of control and exploitation. The lessons learned from this event should serve as a reminder of the importance of respecting the rights and autonomy of indigenous communities.

Changes in the Forest Structure

After the destruction of the mission, the forest structure underwent significant changes. The indigenous population, who had previously managed the forest through traditional practices, was displaced, leading to a decline in the forest's productivity. The area was now managed by the European colonizers, who sought to extract resources for their own benefit. This led to a decline in the forest's health and diversity, as well as a significant decrease in the indigenous population's access to resources.

The destruction of the mission had a significant impact on the forest's structure. The indigenous population, who had previously managed the forest through traditional practices, was displaced, leading to a decline in the forest's productivity. The area was now managed by the European colonizers, who sought to extract resources for their own benefit. This led to a decline in the forest's health and diversity, as well as a significant decrease in the indigenous population's access to resources.

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As a result, the forest's structure underwent significant changes, leading to a decline in its productivity and diversity. The indigenous population, who had previously managed the forest through traditional practices, was displaced, leading to a significant decrease in their access to resources. The lessons learned from this event should serve as a reminder of the importance of respecting the rights and autonomy of indigenous communities.
notice was a disturbing one. No one really knew at what moment similar circumstances might again arise. Missionary dispensability had become a real possibility which had to be considered. Besides the missionary being unsettled about his future, the African church increasingly demanded more and more authority and control in the church-mission combinational activity.

During 1961 and 1962 elaborate plans were worked out by joint committees of the APCM and the Presbyterian Church in the Congo for the integration of the Mission structure and functions into the church organization. First attempts in this direction left such elements as medical work, missionary work assignment ("placement"), and the technical units of Mission air transportation and radio communication in the control of the Mission. It suggested giving the church certain properties, such as a limited number of residences on each station for pastors and other African personnel, and all school buildings up to the secondary level. This plan was rejected by the church.

The final changes involved the deeding over to the African church all of the Mission property in Zaire. The 2 Mission aircraft were leased to the Missionary Aviation Fellowship, a professional flying organization which contracts to serve missions and church organizations round the world.

The General Assembly of the African church became the annual assemblage which performed all the functions formerly handled by the Mission Meeting. The African group determined work priorities, assigned both African and American personnel, made budget requests for funds from the Board of World Missions, determined budget allocations
for the entire work in the Kasayi, assigned church-owned (formerly Mission-owned) vehicles to various Presbyteries and stations, requested new missionaries from America, and voted on the acceptability of the return of each missionary who was currently going on furlough to the United States.

The missionaries continued to assemble in an annual meeting, but its nature changed from the all-important Mission Meeting to a "spiritual" retreat and inspirational type conference.

Station meetings no longer existed in the traditional sense. The local church leadership at Luebo, for instance, made all major decisions while whatever missionaries present attempted to advise wherever possible and accommodate themselves to the decisions when they were made.

It will be recalled that when the post-independence evacuation took place the missionaries received repeated assurances of the good will of the African church people. The animosity which was widespread among the population was claimed to be directed solely against the Belgian colonists. An analysis of the subsequent events and the changes in church-mission relationships leads one to agree with Welbourn (1971:311) when he says, "In effect, it is impossible to isolate 'missionaries' and 'white men;' and any attempt to do so must involve an abstraction so ideal as to have little touch with African reality."

**Changes in the Informal Structure**

Perhaps the most significant changes in this period from the missionary point of view were changes in the informal structure. The
system had been shattered by the crisis of evacuation and the early years of independence. The cliques, kinship networks and professional groupings left the scene with the individuals who had made them up. The quasi-ritual events of one year before, as was noted above, suddenly became as quaintly anachronistic as travel by hammock-bearers or killing hippopotami for food.

Mission personnel were reduced and assignment followed strategies of emphasizing schools to develop the African cadres. In the constant flux, new groupings were forming continually, but their function was now the mutual reinforcement of the missionaries trying to cope with radically changed structures. Longevity grades were disrupted as the vast majority of the older missionaries never returned after evacuation. From 1960 to 1965 many missionary couples from all longevity groups resigned because "the Mission was just not the same anymore."

Many missionaries attempted for a number of years to fit into the new patterns, but most often their complaint was that they now felt powerless to act out what they considered to be their "calling from God." This theological expression slightly masked the reality of what had taken place. In the new situation, the missionary was no longer in a position to initiate action. He must respond to the initiation of the African with whom he was working. The missionary complaint, "I was named last, as an afterthought, to that church committee going to check on the church in Mweka, because I have a car that runs," typified the new position of the subordinance of the missionary.

The frame of mind of the missionary remaining on the field
The document contains text that is not clearly visible due to the image quality. It appears to be discussing various points, possibly related to a mission or a project, but the content is not legible enough to provide a coherent transcription.
after evacuation has been characterized by frustration, uncertainty, pessimism, and, in the best moments, a determination to work in whatever way for as long as possible. One no longer went out to the APCM. One no longer went to a missionary community and culture, well established, and prepared to provide a complex context which touches every aspect of life. This community and culture had disappeared. It dissolved when the missionaries were scattered during the evacuation of 1960. Since 1960 missionaries worked in the community and culture of the Presbyterian Church in Zaire. This was a very different context from the former missionary one. It meant that being a missionary in the Kasayi now involved participating to a much greater degree in the community and culture of the African Christians specifically, and in the Zaire culture generally, than in former times.

The fusion of the missionaries into this African culture in the period subsequent to 1960 had been found much more difficult than earlier integration into the missionary community and culture. Part of the difficulty related to the ways in which the African church leadership had responded to its new role in the complex system which the missionaries had developed. As Mbiti states (1969:221)

Modern change has imported into Africa a future dimension of time. This is perhaps the most dynamic and dangerous discovery of African peoples in the 20th century...The speed of casting off the scales of traditional life is much greater than the speed of wearing the garments of this future dimension of life. The illusion lies in the fact that these two entirely different processes are made to look identical.

The post-independence events in the Kasayi, especially the evacuation of all Europeans including the APCM missionaries, marked the
end of an era both in missionary history and in the development of Africa. American missionaries continue to work with the Presbyterian Church in Zaire, but in fewer numbers and on a different basis than described in this study. Any general assessment of the impact of the APCM on the Kasayi region should perhaps reflect Welbourn's (1971:310) view that "the European invasion of Africa would certainly have had different consequences - and from any humanitarian point of view they would probably have been less desirable consequences - if it had not included Christian missionaries along with settlers and administrators."
CHAPTER 9
INITIATION OF ACTION, IDEOLOGY AND UNPLANNED CHANGE:
SOME THEORETICAL CONCLUSIONS

It is the conclusion of this work (1) that there existed a specific missionary community and culture at APCM-Luebo and on the APCM as a whole; (2) that this community and culture largely disappeared after the events of the missionary evacuation and the gaining of independence of the church; and (3) that this disappearance of a community and its culture was directly related to the 3 factors of the loss of potential for the initiation of action, the inadequate support of symbolic systems, and the loss of stability in the social environmental context.

Anthropologists have stressed the importance of the "initiation of action" concept for the understanding of human organization and change (Chappie and Coon 1942 and Arensberg and Kimball 1965). This concept identifies, in any particular event, which parties in a human interaction are dominant and which are submissive. As a methodological tool its utility lies in the fact that, through the analysis of a series of particular events, structural patterns are revealed which often are hidden by the traditional formal structure as presented by the group under study.

Through the years prior to 1960, the missionary had been in a position of dominance in respect to his or her African co-workers and servants. The missionary gave the orders and the African responded.
The nature of this response is varied and complex, but the point is that it was the missionary who most often initiated the action. At Luebo, missionaries were directors of the Preacher's School and the Press, and they functioned as action executives in these institutions. Rev. Morgan greatly influenced the workings of Luebo Presbytery, both from his imported office chair beside the Mission safe in his office and from his large wicker chair placed at the front of the presbytery meeting room. Dr. Norris was "chief" at the hospital, and so on down the line. The missionary wife daily instructed her servants concerning the management of the household. The colonial context provided a broad range of interactions for the missionary in which he or she could initiate action. It was only in inter-missionary and domestic interactions that relationships were balanced with significant reciprocity (Bateson 1935). Wolcott's (1972:32) observation of missionaries in West Africa is harsh but perhaps not altogether without validity if transposed to the pre-evacuation APCM:

The missionaries with whom I came in contact adhered rigidly to a hierarchical structure in both their personal and professional lives. Dominance and submission are built into their every relationship. They represent an example of male-dominant, patriarchally organized society. If symbolically they consider themselves children of God, they are considerably more active in assuming a reciprocal role as Father among men.

The possibility of maintaining this dominance by the intitiation of action is exactly what was destroyed by the shattering events of evacuation and church independence.

The symbolic system of the missionary prior to 1960 evolved
from the early rock-hard certainty of the need of the indigenous peoples for the "Gospel" and the inevitability and virtue of the colonial structure to the later social action-oriented theology and a politics (however theoretical) of liberation. The symbolic system of the younger missionaries reflected the American acknowledgment of the inevitability of change, but at the same time it failed to sustain him through the difficulties of changing roles. In the early years of the Mission the physical context was difficult and often dangerous, while the interpersonal context placed the missionary in a dominant and satisfying position. The ideology or "faith" carried the majority through this period. In post-1960 Kasayi the situation was reversed. Physical difficulties and changes had been overcome by technological advances, but the interpersonal context often left the missionary in a less than dominant position. In this situation many missionaries found the "call" to be in that place at that time less than crystal clear. In the flux of the events under consideration, symbolic system instability served to hasten the changes in the Mission perspective.

All 3 factors of initiation of action potential, adequate symbolic system support and contextual stability are thus seen as essential to the maintenance of a particular community and culture.

This description of the missionary community at APCM-Luebo has attempted to demonstrate the dynamics of interaction in a group and the ways in which this interaction relates to the formal and informal structures present. It demonstrates that human interaction once broken through serious disruptive events can be re-established only with the greatest difficulty, if at all.
APPENDIX 1
A HANDBOOK FOR MISSIONARY SERVICE OF THE BOARD OF WORLD MISSIONS
PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES

M1. Definition of a Missionary. All persons appointed by the Board to service in the foreign field, whether for regular service or for shorter terms of service, are called missionaries.

M2. "In Service" Date. Missionaries of this Board are ordinarily considered to be "in service" upon commissioning by the Board. Ordinarily, they proceed to the field shortly after they are formally commissioned. Sometimes they may remain in the United States or reside temporarily in another country for additional training, for language study and orientation, or for personal reasons acceptable to the Board. As of their effective "in service" date, all become missionaries of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, are under the responsibility and authority of the Board, and remain so until this relationship is terminated by the Board.

M3. Acceptance of the Handbook for Missionary Service. The responsibilities of the Board to the missionary, and the missionary's responsibilities to the Board and to others to whom his appointment may relate him, are set forth in this "Handbook for Missionary Service." This Handbook is a part of the Bylaws of the Board of World Missions, and is a statement of mutual commitment between the Board and the missionary.

M4. Marriage of Missionaries. If a missionary marries a person who is not a missionary under this Board, his/her relationship to this Board must come under immediate review by the Board. Since both husband and wife are regarded as missionaries by this Board, the missionary's continuance under appointment is contingent upon his/her spouse's seeking and receiving appointment to missionary service under this Board.

M5. General Duties. All missionaries of this Board are sent to fulfill the total mission of the Church: "to witness to all men - 'to every tribe and tongue and people and nation' - the Lordship of Christ and the good news of God's redemptive love in Christ; to persuade them to become His disciples and responsible members of His Church, in which Christians of all lands share in evangelizing the world and permeating all of life with the Spirit and truth of Christ."

M6. Particular Duties. The particular duties of missionaries, whether ordained or unordained, shall be those indicated by the responsible field body. Where no organized church yet exists on the field, ordained missionaries are charged to preach the Gospel and to gather believers with a view to their becoming established as the
Church, so instructed and organized as to assume its role as the body of Christ in that land. All missionaries, ordained and unordained, shall lend their respective contributions to the task of gathering believers or of building up the church in the land where they serve. Special care shall be taken by the missionary to encourage the development of indigenous leaderships, entrusting to national Christians, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, positions of responsibility.

M7. Acceptance of Assignments. In accepting appointment the missionary indicates his readiness to fulfill such duties as shall be assigned to him by the responsible field body within the scope of his particular training and capabilities. Ordinarily, the missionary will be assigned work for which he is professionally prepared and after due consultation. When a missionary so desires, his abilities permit, and the responsible field body concurs, or when the situation demands, the Board may agree to or require a change of work classification. The continuance of the missionary on the field is conditioned by the availability of work for which his training and experiences fit him.

M8. General Qualifications of the Missionary Candidate. The general qualifications for overseas service are essentially the same as those which render a Christian useful and acceptable anywhere. These would include:

1) A personal relationship with God in Christ and a wholehearted commitment to His service through the Church.
2) An understanding and acceptance of the essential Christian convictions.
3) A dedication to a disciplined devotional life.
4) A well-rounded Christian character.
5) An active evangelistic spirit with the ability to communicate one's faith by word and deed.
6) A deep concern for the needs of people and a sensitivity to the feelings of others.
7) The ability to appreciate and work in harmony with people of different racial, national and cultural backgrounds.
8) The particular place of missionary service may call for a high degree of adaptability and the ability to accept the dual role of leadership and servanthood.

M9. Language Skills. Most types of missionary service require the learning of a foreign language. Therefore, an aptness to learn another language is an important qualification.

M10. Health. Since the place of missionary service may be one of difficult situations and different climatic conditions and since adequate and total medical service may not always be immediately available, good physical and emotional health is required. Medical and psychiatric examinations are routine requirements for candidates.
M11. Education and Experience. Candidates for overseas service usually need as a minimum the same training that would be required for service in a similar work in the United States. A period of practical experience is usually required. Unordained candidates for Regular Missionary Service are ordinarily required to have a course of special study in Bible, theology and missions at some approved school. Scholarship aid from the Board may be made available for this study. Financial aid for professional training is not ordinarily granted.

(1) Ordained missionaries should be graduates of approved theological seminaries. Pastoral experience is usually required.

(2) Other church workers, men or women, should have training in a theological seminary or school of Christian education and some practical experience.

(3) Educational missionaries should have appropriate educational training and a recognized teaching credential. Teaching experience is usually required. Appointees to higher educational institutions should have advanced degrees.

(4) Medical missionaries should be graduates of approved medical schools with regular degrees, with a year of internship and two years of hospital residency training. They should have successfully passed the National Board or a State Licensing Board examination.

(5) Missionary nurses should be graduates of approved schools of nursing with at least one additional year of hospital service and a state license carrying the R.N. degree.

(6) Missionaries appointed for other services such as agriculturalists, radio specialists, industrial work, literature and literacy workers and administrators shall have met the basic requirements in their particular fields.

(7) Missionary wives share with their husbands in qualifications and language study. It is recognized that their first obligation is to the home and this witness through the Christian family is their major missionary service. They may engage in other services as domestic duties permit.

M12. Church Membership. Ordinarily, the Board will appoint as missionaries persons who are members of the Presbyterian Church, U.S. Candidates are expected not only to be in harmony with the doctrinal and governmental standards of our church, but also in sympathy with the witness of our General Assembly regarding dispensationalism, social action, race relations and interdenominational cooperation.

M13. Application. The Board, with the solemn responsibility of selecting missionaries for overseas service for the church, makes a diligent effort to obtain full knowledge of the character, motives and qualifications of applicants.
(1) After preliminary correspondence with the Candidate Department, the applicant may be requested to complete a number of special forms supplied to him. When completed, these papers will supply information covering biographical data, education and training, professional experience, Christian experience, doctrinal belief, social attitudes and motives for entering missionary service.

(2) References from friends, teachers, pastors and others are solicited to gain further information.

(3) For the ordained candidate a recommendation is requested from the presbytery of which he is a member and for the unordained candidate, a recommendation from his session.

(4) Medical and psychiatric examinations are a routine part of the application.

(5) After full information is gathered, the applicant may be invited to meet with the Candidate Committee of the Board. On the basis of a careful study by the Committee of the candidate's papers and after a personal interview, a recommendation concerning appointment will be made.

M14. Appointment. Appointment to missionary service, except for some limited terms of special service, is made by the Board on the recommendation of the Candidate Committee.

Appointment is made to one of the following types of overseas missionary service:

M15. Regular Service. The overseas missionary who continues in service for many years is a basic and indispensable part of our church's missionary witness overseas.

God who calls men into this service is the living God who continues to lead and direct. Therefore, at the end of each term overseas, the Board provides for itself, the missionary and the appropriate field bodies an opportunity to re-evaluate this call, without prejudice, to see what Christian obedience demands. Initial appointment is for the regular field term.

These persons should be professionally competent and should be between the ages 25 and 35, inclusive. They may be single, couples or families with preschool age children. Since it is often not for the best interest of children who have started to school to be taken abroad, parents with such children will not ordinarily be appointed. The full course of language training and pre-field orientation is required.

M46. The Missionary's Maintenance. The material maintenance of the missionary is not intended to recompense the value of his particular labors, nor made in consideration for the length or type of service which he performs. The Board seeks to provide for him what may be regarded as a comfortable but economical support - such as will free him from anxious care for his temporal needs - that he may give himself wholly to the work of the Lord. This maintenance consists of salary, housing, basic furnishing, children's allowances, medical
care, field and furlough travel, aid on pension contributions, etc., as hereinafter described.

M47. Salary. All salaries of missionaries are fixed and regulated by the Board and in like circumstances and conditions shall be equal. (See Supplement Sec. S1.)

M48. Field Salaries. Salaries on the field are adjusted to the economic situation in the various countries and areas according to differences in the cost of living, comparison being made with the practices of other Mission Boards and attention given to the representations of the missionaries themselves on the field. Payment is made in local currency and in U.S. dollar credits as desired by the missionary.

Field Salaries of Missionary Couples. The yearly salary of a missionary couple without children is set by the Board for each field as the basic field salary for a couple. An allowance is made in addition for minor children. (See Supplement Sec. S3.)

Field Salaries of Single Missionaries. The field salary of a single missionary is set by the Board for each field as the basic field salary for a single missionary. (See Supplement Sec. S1.)

Duration of Field Salary. Field salaries begin the day the missionary leaves the United States for the field or for language study in another country, and terminate the day the missionary departs from the field for furlough.

M49. Home Salaries, General Provisions. Missionaries on furlough (or newly-commissioned missionaries prior to their sailing) will receive a basic home salary, as fixed by the Board. (See Supplement Sec. S1.)

Salary increments to the basic home salary as determined by additional cost of living due to various circumstances may be made by the Board when deemed necessary.

Home salary begins the day a new missionary is commissioned or the day a missionary departs on furlough from the field, and ends the day he leaves the United States for the field. Should the missionary deviate from a direct route of travel to or from the field, adjustments will be made accordingly.

M52. Housing on the Field. The Board, in addition to salary, will provide adequate living quarters for all missionaries.

Furnishings. The Board provides for its missionaries certain basic furnishings for their living quarter, for the different fields according to their particular needs. A furniture allowance is made to the new missionary, as determined by the Board. (See Supplement Sec. S4.) All such furniture purchased with funds of the Board is for use of the new missionary but remains the property of the missionary organizations. The missionary is responsible for supplementing these basic furnishings with such personal items as he may feel to be necessary. When a missionary transfers his residence, the missionary organization will provide moving expenses for a reasonable
amount of furniture and other personal belongings.

M54. Children's Allowances. Specific allowances per annum are paid for each child as indicated below. These allowances are to be regarded as additions to the salaries of the parents, not intended to cover the full cost of maintaining children, but provided in consideration of increased family expense. (See Supplement Sec. S3.)

M55. Children Eligible.

(1) Children of missionaries in active service are eligible for children's allowances.

(2) Adopted children of a missionary couple in active service are eligible for children's allowances (this privilege is not extended to single missionaries), provided their adoption meets with the approval of the Board. Such approval will depend upon the submission to the Board of each adoption request prior to taking steps toward adoption. In making its decision the Board will take into consideration the circumstances in each case, with the following conditions: first, that medical opinion strongly indicates that the couple cannot have additional children of their own; and second, that the total number of children of each family, both their own and adopted, who would be eligible for support by the Board shall not exceed four. (This limitation only applies to families contemplating the adoption of children.)

M56. Payment of Children's Allowances.

(1) Graduation by age periods:
   First period: Birth to 10th birthday.
   Second period: 10th to 22nd birthday.

(2) A special child's allowance as set by the Board, is paid to the parents of children under 22, enrolled in an approved boarding school and not living in the parents' home, whether in this country or on the field.

(3) Payments for Final Period. Payments continue up to the 22nd birthday, provided the child is in school and has been taking undergraduate work for less than four years. In the case of children, 17 years of age and over, who for health reasons may never become financially independent, and whose parents are under the Board either as active or retired missionaries, the Board will consider the possibility of continuing partial payment of children's allowances.

M57. Children's Education on the Field. The Board seeks to provide adequate educational facilities, or to underwrite reasonable expenses in securing such facilities, for the children of its missionaries on the field in grades 1-12, as hereinafter provided:
Where Schools Exist on the Field. Where schools are available and approved for missionaries' children by the missionary organization, the Board will provide tuition (not to exceed a maximum allowance set by the Board for tuition, See Supplement Sec. S3) in grades 1-12, and travel to and from boarding school at the beginning and end of the school year. Under unusual circumstances, some allowance may be made for necessary transportation for day students. Parents shall pay for the student's board and room. Mid-year vacation travel to and from home may be provided by the Board upon the approval of the responsible field body.

Where No Schools Exist on the Field. Where no schooling facilities are available on the field, the Board will pay for courses, such as "Calvert," given under the guidance of the parents. When parents are unable for valid reasons to administer such courses, the Board may provide a teacher of missionaries' children, underwriting such expenses, provided that as many as four children of missionaries utilize the services of such a teacher for a full academic year. Teachers for short periods may be employed by the missionary organization provided the Board through its Candidate Department approves the teacher, and is not responsible for her travel to and from the field. The Board may make a special appropriation toward her salary as circumstances may indicate.

Schools for Missionary Children. On some fields the Board, solely or in conjunction with other interested agencies, provides a school for missionaries' children. Similar provisions prevail as those indicated above under, "Where Schools Exist," the Board underwriting any tuition that may be charged. Such schools, to be supported by the Board, must operate under regulations which have met Board approval.

M58. Elementary and High School Education in the United States. In view of the availability of public education in the United States, the Board does not undertake to provide for the education of children of missionaries in service, who may be on furlough or for other approved reason in the U.S., while such children are in grades 1-12.

College Education. The Board will provide a special appropriation for tuition expense (in addition to the ordinary child's allowance) for children of missionaries who are studying in college in the United States or abroad, in Board-approved institutions. The amount of this appropriation will be determined periodically by the Board. (See Supplement Sec. S3.)

M59. Medical Care for Missionaries in Service. The Board assumes responsibility for the medical care of its missionaries and their children on children's allowances (including those whose adoption meets with Board approval), provided that the expenses for such are incurred with the approval of the Board for missionaries and their children in this country, or of the responsible field body for missionaries and their children on the field. The Board considers that it discharges this obligation in providing:
(1) For medical and surgical expenses including prescribed medicines. (Non-prescribed medicines and supplies for the missionaries' medicine cabinet are not included.)

(2) For one-half of dental and optical expenses. Exception: The Board pays such expenses in full for adult missionaries when incurred upon recommendation of the Board's medical examiner in connection with arriving medical examination. A detailed estimate of the cost of such dental work must be submitted by the missionary to the Treasurer's office for approval before contracting for the work. After the estimate is approved, the total cost is paid by the Board. (If contact lens are desired, the missionary is to correspond with the Treasurer's office about this expense.)

(3) For expenses for appliances, braces, trusses, hearing aids, orthopedic shoes, etc., provided such expenses are submitted to and approved by the proper Board or responsible field body officer prior to their incurrence.

(4) For necessary travel expenses in securing such services indicated in items 1-3 above, provided such travel is approved by the proper Board officer prior to incurrence, except in cases of emergency, when later approval is acceptable.

At stations where medical missionaries are laboring under commission from the Board, they are regarded as the physicians of the missionary families connected with the Board, to render them service without charge, and the Board does not engage to be responsible for expense incurred in seeking medical aid elsewhere. Where there is no medical missionary or other physician, the Board will be responsible for expense incurred in reaching or obtaining the nearest competent physician or surgeon.

(5) All medical treatment, except in cases of emergency, should have the authorization of the official medical examiner or committee. Bills for service in the U.S.A. should be prepared in the missionary's name, and sent to the Treasurer's office for payment. The missionary is to send into the Treasurer's office statement for all prescribed medicines for refund. Itemized statements of travel expenses in connection with medical expense should likewise be presented for approval and refund.

An itemized account of all medical expenses on the field shall be presented to the Treasurer of the missionary organization to be paid, and then forwarded on to the Board Treasurer for review.

(6) Medical examinations
(1) For medical and surgical expenses including prescribed medicines. (Non-prescribed medicines and supplies for the missionaries' medicine cabinet are not included.)

(2) For one-half of dental and optical expenses. Exception: The Board pays such expenses in full for adult missionaries when incurred upon recommendation of the Board's medical examiner in connection with arriving medical examination. A detailed estimate of the cost of such dental work must be submitted by the missionary to the Treasurer's office for approval before contracting for the work. After the estimate is approved, the total cost is paid by the Board. (If contact lens are desired, the missionary is to correspond with the Treasurer's office about this expense.)

(3) For expenses for appliances, braces, trusses, hearing aids, orthopedic shoes, etc., provided such expenses are submitted to and approved by the proper Board or responsible field body officer prior to their incurrence.

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An itemized account of all medical expenses on the field shall be presented to the Treasurer of the missionary organization to be paid, and then forwarded on to the Board Treasurer for review.

(6) Medical examinations
On the field: Each missionary is required to undergo an annual medical examination on the field by a mission doctor, or a mission-approved doctor.

In the United States: Every missionary is required to undergo thorough medical examination in the United States by a Board-approved examiner every three to six years. Such examinations undertaken on furlough shall be arranged immediately at the beginning of the furlough, and a departing check-up (for furloughs longer than three months) within 90 days of departing from the United States.

Expenses of medical examinations: Expenses of such required examinations, and resulting medical requirements, shall be borne by the Board.

The Missionary's Maintenance Supplement: 1965

S1. Annual Salaries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Field</th>
<th>Married</th>
<th>Single</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>$3,260.00</td>
<td>$1,775.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Brazil</td>
<td>3,250.00</td>
<td>1,680.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Brazil</td>
<td>3,250.00</td>
<td>1,680.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Brazil</td>
<td>3,250.00</td>
<td>1,680.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>3,960.00</td>
<td>2,160.00 living alone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2,040.00 living with another missionary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korea</td>
<td>4,020.00</td>
<td>2,040.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>3,260.00</td>
<td>1,920.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taiwan</td>
<td>3,480.00</td>
<td>1,800.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Home salary (on furlough) 4,050.00 2,500.00

S2. Rent Allowances (on furlough) will be paid up to:

$75 monthly for single missionaries
100 monthly for missionary couples without children
110 monthly for missionary couples with up to two children
125 monthly for missionary couples with more than two children

S3. Child Allowances (same on the field and on furlough):

Up to 10 years of age $30.00 per month per child
10 to 21 years of age $37.50 per month per child
10 to 21 years of age $55.00 per month per child
(if in boarding school)
On the field the Board will provide tuition up to $700 in grades 1-12 for the education of missionaries' children in approved institutions. The Board will pay up to $700 for children in college, in addition to the child allowance listed above to cover difference between tuition costs and other grants received.

S4. Outfit Allowances for New Missionaries. All new missionaries appointed to a four-year term will be eligible to receive the following allowances: personal outfit, books and furniture. New missionaries serving less than a four-year term will receive a proportionate part of the total allowance.

$300 personal outfit allowance for each missionary (Husbands and wives counted)
$25 book allowance for each missionary (separately)
$75 personal outfit allowance for each child

Personal and book allowances payable six months within sailing date and as soon as final medical clearance is received.

$300 heavy furniture allowance for missionary couple after arriving on field.*
$150 heavy furniture allowance for single missionary after arriving on field.*

*To be handled through correspondence with the Treasury Department. Furniture remains the property of the Board of World Missions.

Ordinarily, missionaries in Africa are provided furniture on the field and do not receive this allowance.

S5. Freight Allowance. The following freight allowances are for missionaries serving a four-year term. Those serving less than a four-year term will receive a proportionate part of the total allowance.

It is not expected that furlough missionaries will ordinarily need the full amount of this allowance, and it is understood that for all missionaries the Board will be expected to pay only for essential personal property. The Treasury Department provides a list of essential personal property for each field for new missionaries.

Africa and Brazil. The Board will pay all inland freight both to and from the missionary's home in the United States to the port, and to and from the port and the missionary's home on the field. In addition to the inland freight, the Board will make the following allowances for ocean freight, duty, packing, crating and all other expenses:

For missionaries traveling to or from furlough up to $150 for each missionary ($300 for a couple) and up to $50 for
each child.

For new missionaries up to $250 for each missionary ($500 for couple) and up to $80 for each child.

For missionaries going to Belgium for a period of study up to 50% above the normal allowance.

M62. Purpose of Field Vacations. Missionaries are expected to take such annual vacations from their work as will safeguard health and promote maximum effectiveness in their work.

M63. Frequency. Vacations are to be taken annually, and may not be accumulated from year to year. Subdivision of the annual period into two shorter semi-annual vacations is permissible.

M64. Time. Vacations ordinarily should be taken annually at such times as will be of the least detriment to the work. Ordinarily, there should be one less vacation in a term of service than there are years in that term of service. No vacation is allowable in conjunction with furlough. Furlough is understood to be in lieu of vacation.

M65. Duration. Vacations shall ordinarily be for one month, unless the period be lengthened or shortened by specific Board action upon recommendation of the responsible field body.

M66. Location. Ordinarily, vacations are to be taken in the general vicinity of the work. Vacations outside the country may be taken upon prior approval of plans by the missionary organization (or the Clearance Committee designated by the missionary organization), report of such plans being made to the Board.

M67. Outfit Allowance. All new missionaries will be eligible to receive the following allowances: personal outfit, books and furniture. New missionaries serving less than a full field term will receive a proportionate part of the total allowance. (See Supplement Sec. S4.)

M68. Travel. The Board pays the travel expenses by the most direct route for all of our missionaries, en route to the fields and when they return to the States. Immediately upon arrival on the field they are to make complete settlement with the Field Treasurer, and when they arrive in the States, they are to make settlement immediately with the Board Treasurer.

M69. Purchasing and Shipping. All orders to be placed for our missionaries and for the missions are to be sent in to the Treasurer's office. Detailed shipping instructions will be given the companies when the orders are placed by the Treasurer's office.

M71. Basic Field Term. The basic term shall be four years
for all fields. This term (for Regular Service missionaries) may be shortened by as much as two years, or it may be lengthened (one year at a time) for as much as two years. Unless the Regular Service missionary makes request for an alternative term (at least one and ordinarily two years in advance), he will be routinely scheduled for the basic four-year term. Missionaries appointed for Special Term Service, Volunteer Service and Specialized Service are expected to fulfill the full length of overseas service specified in their appointment, without such shortening or lengthening of the term as above.

**Maximum term.** No missionary may remain on the field for more than six consecutive years without furlough.

**M72. Furlough: Purposes.** The furlough is provided for purposes of physical recuperation, mental and spiritual re-invigoration, re-establishment of family and church relationships, special study in the line of one's particular work, and the dissemination of information and interest in the home churches. The furlough is not simply a vacation; it is an extension of one's missionary ministry. It is not a reward for service performed; it is a preparation for future work.

**M73. Length and Frequency.**

(1) System of furloughs:
   - For one year on the field – no furlough.
   - For 21 months or two years on the field – three months furlough (no freight allowance).
   - For 33 months or three years on the field – six months furlough (and 1/2 the basic freight allowance).
   - For four years on the field – twelve months furlough (and full basic freight allowance).
   - For five years on the field – twelve months furlough (and full basic freight allowance).
   - For six years on the field – twelve months furlough (and full basic freight allowance).

(2) Beginning and ending: Furlough time is computed from departure from field (port of embarkation) to departure from the U.S.A. (port of embarkation). Time spent in international travel to the U.S.A. is counted a part of furlough.

(3) Relation to field vacation time: Furlough is understood to take the place of annual field vacation in the year or years in which they coincide. Vacation may not be added to either the beginning or ending of furlough in order to lengthen the furlough.

(4) Full allowable time not mandatory: It is not required that one take the full length of allowed furlough. However, he must be cleared medically, and the intention to take less than the allowed furlough must be approved by the Area Secretary and the appropriate field body.
(5) Re: Approval to return to the field: For Regular Service missionaries, one-half of the authorized length of furlough is due on arrival in the U.S.A. for furlough; the remaining half is authorized only upon the missionary's decision and approval to return to the field. If the decision and his approval to return to the field is not forthcoming by the time that one-half the authorized length of furlough has expired, the missionary shall thereupon, immediately and automatically be placed on leave of absence without salary or allowances until it is determined what the missionary's future relationship to this Board will be. Approval to return to the field may not be given until satisfactory arrangements have been made regarding any outstanding financial indebtedness of the missionary to the Board. For Special Term Service, Volunteer Service and Specialized missionaries, one month of salary (at the furlough rate) is due in the U.S.A. for each year of service abroad, up to a maximum of three months or until gainful employment is secured if that should be sooner; however, if during this time such missionary seeks and secures re-appointment to overseas missionary service under this Board, he will be allowed furlough, from the time of his departure from the field, in accordance with the regular schedule of lengths and frequencies of furlough.

Missionaries coming home to retire receive no furlough, but instead receive three months of "terminal pay."

Place of Furlough. Country. It is expected that furlough is to be taken in the U.S.A., unless exception is authorized by the Board.

Residence. In the interests of the closest possible contact with and understanding of the home Church during furlough, missionaries are encouraged to arrange their furlough residence in the widest possible dispersal throughout the bounds of the Church. The Board will be of assistance to the missionary in finding suitable furnished housing for furlough.
Owing to natural differences in personal tastes it is impossible for any outfit list to be more than suggestive. Personal tastes and habits must govern your choice of equipment. It is not expected that anyone will want or need all the articles listed, but it is hoped that these suggestions will serve as a guide which will enable you to choose for yourself those things that will be most useful and that will make you most comfortable in your Congo home.

In all your planning it will be well to remember the following:

1. See the Executive Committee Manual for information regarding baggage allowance, shipping, furniture, etc.
2. Anything that makes your home more attractive and comfortable in America (except electrical equipment) will be useful in the Congo - mirrors, vases, pictures, bookends, candlesticks, small washable rugs, etc. Large heavy rugs and carpets are not satisfactory.
3. You will probably have to do more entertaining than the average housekeeper at home, much of this at meals, so you will need a larger supply of table linen, dishes and silver than at home.
4. At present there are no dry cleaners, barbers or beauty shops available in A.P.C.M. territory, so go prepared to be your own barber, cleaner and beautician. (Barber and beauty shops now in Lulua-bourg and Leopoldville.)
5. Take a good mattress and springs. (Bedsteads are made on the field to fit these.) Good beds are an essential, so economize somewhere else.
6. Take supplies for eighteen months. This will give you time to see what is obtainable on the field and to place necessary orders in America before these supplies are exhausted.
7. A greater variety of merchandise of increasingly better quality is appearing in the local stores constantly so do not feel obligated to depend entirely on what you take from America. Many of the newly-arrived missionaries seem to feel that they might well have brought fewer supplies and still have been adequately equipped.
Clothing for the Field

Women. Any type of clothing used in summer in America that does not require dry cleaning is suitable for the Congo. A good supply of wash dresses for morning wear and a few a bit dressier for afternoon and evening are most suitable. A dinner dress is worn very seldom and is not a necessity.

Shoes and hose as used in summer at home. Many wear only anklets or footlets. (See special note on shoes.) (Few women wear hose.)

Felt and straw hats with medium or large brims usually give sufficient protection from the sun. Helmets are obtainable on field if extra protection is needed.

Take a light-weight rain coat, umbrella, and galoshes or rubbers if you use them. (Two or three cheap cotton umbrellas are nice to have.) (Sometimes obtainable in stores.)

On most stations a light-weight coat and/or sweater is needed at times.

Order sanitary napkins or tampons in quantity from Montgomery Ward. Take a supply with you. These are sometimes available at Luluabourg at rather high prices. (Always available but over 30,00 frs. a dozen in price.)

Attractive materials for women and children's clothes are available on the field, but patterns are unobtainable. (Khaki, denim, drill are on sale and Congolese are good tailors. Patterns from Belgium are obtainable. Ready-made clothes available in shops in cities, but high.)

Men. Suits of seersucker, linen, palm beach, gabardine or white duck are most useful. A good supply of extra trousers in khaki or any of the above materials is needed for every day wear. Industrial men will take suitable work clothes. Most of the time men go coatless and wear open-throated sport shirts. Take dress and sport shirts, pajamas, underwear, handkerchiefs, socks, ties, etc., according to personal taste.

Whatever type of shoes you find comfortable in U.S. will be suitable for the Congo. Most do not like sandals on account of dust, sand and jiggers.

Straw and felt hats are worn. Helmets obtainable locally if extra sun protection is needed.

Children. Clothing as for summer at home. Brim felt hats should be worn both as a protection from the sun and for the eyes. Some parents order extra clothing from M. Ward, others bring patterns and either sew for the children or teach a native tailor to do so. Good materials can be bought but no patterns. Satisfactory underwear must be
taken from America.

Socks and shoes as in summer at home except that many do not use sandals on account of sand and jiggers. Experience has shown that a child will usually need shoes of every size and half-size up to about 8 years of age. From 8 to 13 or 14 years, each new pair of shoes should probably be one size larger than the previous pair. It is not advisable for children to go barefooted. Most parents find they can order from M. Ward and get satisfactory shoes. In emergencies one can sometimes buy locally, but up to the present, quality has not been very satisfactory and sizes have been limited.

Children will need light wraps, coats, sweaters or windbreakers, rain coats and rubbers are required for children in Central School.

Party supplies, crayons, color books, toys, novelties, crepe paper, fancy paper napkins, story books according to ages and tastes of children should be taken with you as there is little of this nature in the stores.

Consult the Committee as to school books and supplies for the children through the third grade. Most parents find Calvert courses preferable. After the third grade children attend Central School at Lubondai.

Nurses. Take 8 to 12 uniforms as a minimum. Some make new uniforms on the field, some order from M. Ward or a Nurses Supply Shop, others take a large supply for three years. Take three or four pairs nurse's shoes.

Most of the younger nurses wear white socks instead of hose with their uniforms.

Teachers at Central School. Have a small suite of sitting room, bedroom and bath, so will need only personal supplies and pictures, vases, etc., to make their rooms attractive. You will want one or two dinner dresses as the school has two or three "dress-up" parties for the children each year.

Single Missionaries. While all single missionaries are invited to board if they so desire, all but one or two have preferred to have their own homes either alone or in groups, after they have learned the language.

Special Note on Shoes. Many missionaries find Montgomery Ward shoes very satisfactory and order from the field as needed. Some few find they can get fitted in the local stores. If you are difficult to fit or prefer a special shoe, either take a term's supply with you or leave your size and style with a dealer from whom you can order parcel post if necessary.
Toilet and Other Personal Articles. Toilet articles for both men and women are available in the Congo, including some popular brands, but it is well to take a small personal supply. Take dental floss, band-aids, clinical thermometer, hot water bottle. An import license is required for all medicines brought into the Congo, but you may take a small personal supply of such things as may be needed on the journey - aspirin, quinine, listerine, etc., in your personal luggage.

Waterproof WATCHES and cheap watches (Ingersoll) have proved most practical in the Congo though a few have been able to use the popular expensive ones they already had. Take extra wrist bands and crystals for your watch. If you have a good alarm clock take it, otherwise you can buy one on the field.

If you have a cedar chest or moth proof garment bag for your woolens, take it along. Otherwise woolens may be kept in a tight-closing trunk with moth preventive. Take a supply of garment hangers.

Typewriters. Take either portable or upright model. If the latter, see that it is properly packed by a reliable typewriter dealer. Take a small supply of extra ribbons, type cleaner and brush. Paper and carbon available on the field.

Phonograph. Is not a necessity, but if you have one it will give much pleasure to your native friends. They enjoy good music.

Take any small musical instrument you play, but we do not advise taking a piano. Wait until you reach the field and decide on the advisability of getting one.

Radio. Do not take one from America. Good tropical radios are available on the field and give much better satisfaction.

Bicycles. Do not take a bicycle. Excellent light-weight European models are obtainable on the field at a very reasonable price and are preferable to the heavier American type.

Hobbies and Sports. Be governed by your tastes - tennis racquet, bathing suit and cap, camera and extra films, developing outfits, badminton, croquet, any indoor games that appeal to you. If you like hunting, only one rifle and one shot gun are allowed per person by the Belgian government, and only 15 kilos (30 pounds) of ammunition. If your baggage does not accompany you, pack guns and ammunition in separate case. This will be held at Matadi until you arrive and secure the necessary permits from your local Administrateur Territorial. If you like fishing, a bait-casting outfit and salt water rod and reel are preferable.

Glasses. If you wear glasses take an extra pair and leave your prescription where you can get it filled in case of need. Many use sun-
glasses. If you take them consult your oculist for suitable make.

Sewing Equipment. If you have a sewing machine, take it. Portable hand sewing machines are available on the field. Take a good supply of needles, pins, safety pins, buttons, snaps, hooks and eyes, trims, laces, bindings, buckles, patterns, knitting and crochet supplies (all these according to your personal tastes and needs). Young married women will probably want to take a layette or material for making same.

Native women are eager to learn knitting and crocheting and inexpensive supplies for classes will be most useful.

Office Supplies. Personal stationery, air-mail, greeting and correspondence cards, typewriter erasers, ink eradicator, poster and construction paper, colored crayons, fountain pen, scotch tape, thumb tacks, pencil sharpener, pen knife, blotters, ruler, manilla folders, gift-wrapping paper and ribbon, all according to personal needs and taste. Typewriter paper, carbon, plain and air-mail envelopes are usually available.

Refrigeration. This is almost a necessity. A small or medium size kerosene burning refrigerator is most practical. Take extra parts, wicks, chimneys, etc., according to the make. Order directly from the Export Division of the Company through the Committee. This will insure proper packing and you will probably get it at wholesale price. If you prefer to wait until you arrive on the field, refrigerators of all sizes and reliable makes are becoming increasingly available.

Lights. At present very few homes have electric lights. In any case, you will find the following useful and occasionally necessary in emergencies. For a good reading light order one of these two:

1 COLEMAN kerosene burning lamp complete with shade, 1 dozen extra generators and 1 extra chimney. Mantles are available in the Congo, but you might order 2 dozen extra mantles with the lamp.

OR

1 ALLADIN kerosene burning lamp complete with shade, 2 dozen extra mantles and 3 flame spreaders. Chimneys available in Congo. Order also 3 or 4 extra wicks.

For use in kitchen, bedroom and bath, order from M. Ward:

2 bracket lamps complete, No. 3 burner, 1 doz. each extra wicks and chimneys.

1 table lamp complete, No. 3 burner, with 1/2 doz. each extra wicks and chimneys.
Kerosene and gasoline lanterns available in local shops. After arriving on the field you may wish to buy a small home electric lighting plant, but we do not advise buying before arriving on the field.

Seed. Most missionaries make small vegetable gardens. Most easily grown are Ky. Wonder or other pole beans, carrots, turnips, tomatoes, celery, lettuce, eggplant, cucumbers, radishes. Take easily grown flowering annuals and seed and bulbs of other favorite flowers. Take a limited supply of seeds as they do not keep well and parcel post orders may be placed in America and South Africa as desired.

Household Equipment. All heavy furniture is made on the field. For the kitchen aluminum ware is most satisfactory as it stands up under the hard usage given it by native cooks and house boys. A little pyrex or other oven ware is nice to have, but is subject to rather heavy breakage. If you already have a pressure cooker and canning equipment, take it along, but we do not advise investing in new equipment before you have been on the field. Take extra rotary egg beater as they do not last long in the hands of Congo cooks. Consult any good cookbook for basic kitchen equipment list. Many prefer Dutch ovens to regular roasters.

These articles are especially necessary in Congo:

2 large tea kettles (all drinking water must be boiled)
1 coffee grinder
1 small hand grist mill for making corn meal (See M. Ward catalog)
1 good meat grinder
1 kitchen scale for weighing up to sixteen or twenty-four pounds
1 or more thermos bottles (small ones obtainable on field)
1 table service bell
1 or more tight lidded tin boxes for packing lunches
2 bread pans
1 or 2 large aluminum trays are desirable but not essential
6 or 8 good padlocks
1 hammer
Assorted tacks and small nails (larger nails obtainable locally)
1 utility saw
1 small, one medium screwdriver
1 pair pliers
Order brooms, mops, curtain rods from M. Ward (American type not available locally)

Table Linens and Bedding. Take a good supply of table linens, according to personal taste, luncheon cloths and mats for daily use, large cloths for occasional use. Most of the dining tables are round, 52-60 inches in diameter. You will find mat sets for 6 or 8 places preferable to 4.
Take 10-12 yards inexpensive white or neutral material for curtains. If you take ready-made curtains, 6 or 8 pairs alike, 2-1/2 yards long will be most usable. Materials for heavy draperies in limited patterns are available locally or may be ordered from America after you are assigned a home and know your needs.

You may take mosquito nets to fit your bed or buy netting on the field and have them made there.

You will need more dresser scarves, doilies, tray cloths and table runners than in America. This minimum list may be helpful, though they may nearly all be bought or made on the field if desired.

- 2 pillows per bed (should be taken from America)
- 4 sheets per bed
- 4 pillow cases per bed
- 2 washable bed spreads per bed
- 1 or 2 light blankets per bed
- 6 or 8 dresser scarves
- 6 table runners
- 3 or 4 tray cloths
- 1 doz. bath towels per person
- face and hand towels as desired
- 1/2 doz. bath cloths per person
- 1 or 2 bath mats

Groceries. Practically all groceries may be purchased on the field at a price slightly higher than those ordered from America. It is advisable to wait to place a large order until you arrive on the field and see for yourself what is available there.

Write to Francis H. Leggett Co., in New York, for a wholesale catalog. Order from them such of the following articles as you desire. These are either unobtainable or much more expensive locally. Many of them will last your first term through.

- 1 carton (or case) paper towels
- 1 carton " Kleenex
- 1 " " toilet tissue
- 1 " " waxed paper
- 1 carton paper napkins
- 1 " soap flakes (Lux or Ivory)
- 1 " Brillo or other aluminum cleaner
- 1 " baking soda
- 1 " table salt
- 1 " baking powder
- 2 " 3 lb. tins or jars Crisco, Snowdrift or Spry

Flavoring extracts, spices, herbs, condiments according to taste.
Jellies, jams, canned fruits and vegetables, rice, yeast, flour, sugar, butter, laundry soap, cheese, starch, coffee, cocoa, cooking oils, blueing, tubs, buckets, charcoal irons, bread boards, ironing boards are available locally.

At present raisins, jello, pudding mixes, etc., are not being packed satisfactorily for the tropics. All are at times found in the local shops.

Peanuts, pineapple, bananas, other tropical fruits and some fresh vegetables are obtainable from the natives.

EVANGELISTIC MISSIONARIES EXPECTING TO ITINERATE

Should take:

1 good camp bed and mosquito net
1 or 2 good canteens for drinking water
Inexpensive enamel or aluminum dishes and cutlery for table (service for 2 or 3)
Extra cooking utensils, tea kettle, 2 or 3 covered pans, small frying pan, coffee pot, teapot for camping, also cooking forks, spoons and knives

Up to the present time no one has considered the kerosene camp cooking outfits feasible; fuel expensive and hard to carry; native cooks do not handle them well.

YOU WILL FIND IT ADVISABLE TO PLACE ALL YOUR ORDERS THROUGH THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

ADDITIONAL STATEMENT TO BE INCORPORATED IN THE CONGO OUTFIT LIST, 1955

We strongly urge you not to go into debt by buying outside of your means. It is better to wait until you get on the field because so many things can be bought locally or ordered later. Many missionaries arrive with items they never use, or find need for other items that they have not brought. It will depend on the station you live on as to what your needs will be. The items that are essential are so marked. The other items in this list are discussed from a standpoint of information. Please do not feel that you have to have everything on this list!

Do not buy any electrical equipment until you arrive on the field and see what your needs will be. It is suggested that you store toasters, electric irons, etc., at home until you see exactly what your individual situation will be.

Cars. Personal cars are not essential. Mission cars are available for necessary trips. If you have ample financial backing and want a car,
be sure you understand the financial outlay on customs, transport, upkeep, and cost of operation. You may have to do all your own repair work.

We recommend that you bring no medicines except for first aid on the trip and any special prescriptions that you may require. Coming into Congo you will have difficulties with medicines because special permits are required for them. Thermometers and hot water bottles are essential.

SUGGESTED CHANGES IN THE CONGO OUTFIT LIST

In the paragraph on shoes, leave out "Most do not like sandals on account of dust, sand and jiggers." This is no longer true. Many prefer sandals.

In the paragraph on mosquito netting, we suggest that those people going through Belgium get it there since the Congo stores have a variety of sizes and qualities.
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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Daniel P. Juengst was born in Mt. Kisco, New York, December 27, 1928. In 1953 he received the B.A. degree from Furman University in Greenville, South Carolina. In 1956 he graduated from Union Theological Seminary in Virginia, receiving the Masters of Divinity degree. In 1957 he was ordained as a clergyman in the Presbyterian Church in the United States and served as a missionary in the Republic of Zaire (former Belgian Congo) from 1957 until 1968. In 1966 he received the M.A. degree in African Studies from Howard University in Washington, D.C. During 1968-1970 he held an African Studies Research Assistantship at the University of Florida while doing doctoral coursework. During 1970-1972 he taught at the Middle Normal School of the National University of Zaire in Kananga, Zaire. He taught Anthropology and Sociology at the Baptist College at Charleston in Charleston, South Carolina during 1973 and 1974. In 1975 he returned to the University of Florida for the dissertation write-up. During this period he also held a research assistantship from the Center for African Studies at the University of Florida.

Mr. Juengst is married to the former Sara Covin and they are the parents of 4 children.
I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Brian M. duToit, Chairman
Professor of Anthropology

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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This dissertation was submitted to the Department of Anthropology in the College of Arts and Sciences and to the Graduate Council, and was accepted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

December, 1975

Dean, Graduate School
ALAN SCHRECK