RICHMOND
School of Arts & Sciences

University of Richmond
UR Scholarship Repository

History Faculty Publications History

2003

Tickets, Concerts and School Fees: Money and New Christian Communities in Colonial Zimbabwe

Carol Summers
University of Richmond, lsummers@richmond.edu

Follow this and additional works at: http://scholarship.richmond.edu/history-faculty-publications

Part of the African History Commons, and the Missions and World Christianity Commons

Recommended Citation
Summers, Carol. "Tickets, Concerts and School Fees: Money and New Christian Communities in Colonial Zimbabwe." In *Conversion: Old Worlds and New*, edited by Kenneth Mills and Anthony Grafton, 241-70. Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2003.

This Book Chapter is brought to you for free and open access by the History at UR Scholarship Repository. It has been accepted for inclusion in History Faculty Publications by an authorized administrator of UR Scholarship Repository. For more information, please contact scholarshiprepository@richmond.edu.

10

Tickets, Concerts and School Fees

Money and New Christian Communities in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1900–1940

Carol Summers

Today, Zimbabwe can be referred to as a Christian country. This does not mean that every individual is a committed believer. Instead, it implies a change in dominant cultural connections and their ideological significance from the complex and varied patterns of precolonial, pre-Christian Zimbabwe, to a new and equally complex mosaic of personal belief and institutional practice in which Christianity, in one form or another, is normative. This change—a sort of communal conversion—happened during the first half of the twentieth century, especially during the period from 1908 to 1945. During these years, the African majority of Zimbabwe increasingly accepted, and began to rely on, Christian institutions, models of leadership, charisma, and spiritual authority, and on a mission- and education-centered vision of a progressive future.

Along the path to this communal transformation, some individuals experienced personal spiritual transformations, and some worked in creative ways to connect Christianity to older forms of religion, incorporating mediums, ancestors, and rain.[1] Yet despite the existence of individuals with deeply spiritual personal conversions and others who pursued inculturation strategies, the early twentieth century was characterized principally by the power of very conventional, institution-building, mission-centered models of Christianity. At least in the early years, it was the conventional Christianity that grew, sometimes pulled into new villages and regions by African activists even faster than the European missionary leadership could push their preachers, schools, and institutional leadership. Missionaries were daunted by the demands African activists put on the missions as community spokesmen requested schools, evangelist/teachers, and mission affiliation.

It is worth exploring how this new identity emerged. In standard mission history narratives, European missionaries emphasized their own role and

that of God, appealing for more funds from Europe and America within a heroic evangelical narrative which characterized missionaries as pioneers harvesting African people, like ripe grain, for Jesus. This theme has been echoed by African church historians who have tended to focus on church leadership and the ways officials overcame challenges and built institutions.[2] More recently, anthropologists and historians have emphasized how communities under pressure from colonial contact, conquest, and institutionalization found in Christianity a way of shaping the trajectory and consequences of the forces pushing for change.[3] But instead of following or simply critiquing these standard narratives, I offer here another, potentially more polyvalent, somewhat more impressionistic, image of how people and their communities became Christians. In this essay, I explore the symbolic and sacramental ways missionaries, preachers, believers, and officials in colonial Zimbabwe marked out a new Christian world through cash payments.

To explore the connections between money and Christian identity and meaning, I narrow my focus to the British Wesleyan mission and its adherents. This mission and the churches it sponsored have left behind accessible records not merely in Britain, but also in Zimbabwe, two bodies of mission records which differ in significant ways but, together, provide glimpses of not merely the planning and planting of mission activity, but also the processes and prospects of grassroots growth and the weeds of dissent. And the Wesleyans were neither the most nor the least successful of the missions active in Southern Rhodesia during the difficult years of the 1920s and 1930s. Instead, they were entirely ordinary and mainstream.[4]

By looking closely at money in this mission, it is possible to begin to sort out what happened during the critical years of mission institutionalization, community transformation, and the construction of a new relationship between Christians and the state. Money—getting it, spending it and auditing it—was central to Zimbabweans' construction of this new world. I do not propose a strict materialistic functionalism. Instead, I suggest that in the boom and bust (and mostly bust) economy of interwar Southern Rhodesia, where segregation intensified Africans' understandings of what they did not have and were increasingly barred from getting, money was critically important not merely as a way of surviving, but as a way of defining individual identity and status and pursuing community values. James Ferguson has suggested that cultures, particularly cultures in the midst of change, are complex, and may be best understood not by general questions regarding belief or assumptions, but by the concrete signs and objects that congeal these changes, at least momentarily. "Publicly exhibited signs," he emphasizes, provide possibilities of insight into processes otherwise "funda-

mentally unstatable."[5] Hats, coats, shoes, and books have marked out change—in highly ambiguous ways—for observers from early African and European witnesses to present-day historians and anthropologists.[6] Money—the cash that could buy these commodities, pay tribute or taxes, or go in a variety of other directions combining either selectively or promiscuously with funds from other sources—marked off change by its existence as congealed value, and through its transfer as tithing money, enthusiastic concert contributions, and dedicated payments for future schooling. It provides an important beginning point in our analysis of new Christian identities not simply because of what it did or what people did with it, but because it was central to a wide variety of debates, and points us toward significant meanings and images. In a discussion of the historical anthropology of money, Maurice Bloch and Jonathan Parry have suggested that historians and anthropologists have often viewed money as an impersonal form of value which, as it comes into circulation, draws a distinction between the earlier personal economic interactions of a traditional world, and the abstract and impersonal transfers of a newly modern world.[7] But in colonial Zimbabwe, money was scarce, and far from impersonal. Instead, in earning it, spending it, and donating it, Zimbabweans attached money to people (e.g. her bridewealth, his tax money, their school fees) and marked out new types of relationships and identities. Thus, by following discussions and fights over money in the Wesleyan Methodist churches of interwar Southern Rhodesia, we can track a changing community, and begin to sort out the mechanisms and meanings of its transformations.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Around 1908, after the conquest, the Ndebele and Chimurenga wars, and the South African War, the British South Africa Company—and its mission allies and critics—launched the expensive work of systematic administration in what was then Southern Rhodesia. For missions, one of the most significant markers of the new system of governance was the Order D of 1908, providing for administrative funding of mission schools based on school type and enrollment. Missions combined this source of money with land grants and resources contributed both from abroad and locally. These funds provided an incentive and the monetary means for missions' institutional and evangelical activities to spread rapidly. Even in 1923, when a new settler government established "responsible government"—local self-rule based on a very limited electorate of literate property holders—the administration continued to fund missions as principal providers of education,

health, and social services to Africans, and missions grew. Many Africans flocked to missions, sought education, and embraced Christianity as they tried to establish themselves in the new society as something more than simple downtrodden workers. These new Christians considered themselves civilized men who might eventually benefit from Cecil Rhodes's widely publicized slogan "equal rights for all civilized men south of the Zambezi." Mission institutions—-simultaneously churches and schools—-were the centers of new Christians' identities. These men succeeded so well in differentiating themselves from the masses and claiming a new status that by 1930, as the Depression shattered the Southern Rhodesian economy, white leaders reacted to Africans' successes by shifting state policies from tacitly racist (assuming that Africans could not challenge white power) to aggressively segregationist (knowing and fearing Africans did challenge white dominance, and trying to obstruct Africans' initiatives). Worried settlers increasingly deployed the state to limit Africans' economic and social opportunities through the Land Apportionment Act, restrictions in education and social funding, job reservation, etc. This context, increasingly polarized, racialized and tense, supported active, sometimes frenetic, church-building efforts not simply by missionaries, but by Africans who saw Christianity, or at least mission resources, as providing ways to shape these restrictions into something survivable.[8]

Missions in Southern Rhodesia operated in a competitive and crowded environment. Climate and government support, in an atmosphere of hopes (not always fulfilled) for rapid economic development, helped create a region full of rival missionary organizations. Though the government regulated this competition to a limited degree, requiring that mission schools in rural areas be at least three miles apart, it facilitated missions' growth and competition by providing limited funding and land leases for schools and education. By the 1930s, missions in Southern Rhodesia included those of the Catholic Jesuits, Dominican Sisters, and Trappist Fathers, and of Protestants ranging from the congregationalist and low church American Board and London Missionary Society, through the Church of England, with theologically more marginal groups such as the Salvation Army, Seventh Day Adventists, Dutch Reformed Church, and Pentecostalist Apostolics sharing in the mission boom. Even the Methodists were split between the British-sponsored Wesleyan Methodists, the American-sponsored Methodist Episcopals, the schismatic Primitive Methodists, and a variety of African Methodist Episcopal new churches.

Most mission centers were on mission farms where the missions leased land to tenant farmers, often insisted on mandatory school attendance, and could enforce a church-dominated disciplinary system outside the state.

Central stations anchored "circuits" of schools and churches staffed by African teachers and evagelists. Wesleyan Methodist missions which fit this model included Tegwani (on the railway line in Matebeleland), Nengubo/ Waddilove (near Marandellas, in a prime High Veldt settler farming area), and Epworth (outside the rapidly growing regional capital of Salisbury). Each of these circuits was in an area of intensive economic change. Other circuits, such as Wedza (more closely tied to peasant agriculture) and Selukwe and Gatooma (near mining development) were not as prosperous, and did not receive as much investment in educational and physical development as the three main circuits. Wesleyan Methodism began and remained closely tied to urban and industrial development. South African Mfengu leaders pushed its early growth, and both at Waddilove and Tegwani, institutes classified by the government as "first class schools" trained local young men as workers for the new settler-dominated economy. From the earliest years of the mission, schools and stations expanded specifically into areas with African patrons able to pay for teachers and construction costs. And schools and churches closed when communities failed to make their pledges, whether because parents disapproved of a specific teacher, or because economic downturns had destroyed cash reserves.[9] Truly poor or distant areas were left out of the mission boom until much later.[10]

MISSIONS AND MONEY

Missions and mission churches often had problematic relationships with money. Missionaries almost invariably perceived themselves as self-sacrificing and starved of the funds essential to their lives and work. They portrayed themselves as spiritually rich, but materially poor, and encouraged their followers to be likewise. Abel Muzorewa, for example, born into a devout Methodist family, remembered growing up singing hymns asserting "I don't want much money" and calling for believers to "Take the name of Jesus in all your poverty."[11] New mission adherents, on the other hand, frequently looked not at what missionaries said about the need for new funds, but at the resources missionaries seemed to command not just spiritually, but in the intensely materialistic sense of cloth, sweets, and cash. This unequal relationship was a fundamental root of much mission success, as it provided inquirers with sensible, concrete reasons to pay attention to missionaries' more spiritually based appeals. Cynics, indeed, may argue that materialism and monetary advantage have been basic to Christianity's appeal to generations of Africans seeking to make survival, profits, and selves out of a challenging colonial and postcolonial context. Muzorewa himself,

despite his years of hymn singing, rejected what he saw as the missionaries' "pie in the sky by and by" emphasis on self-sacrifice. Instead, he noted that he and the other men he trained with found more appealing those programs aimed at producing material results. "The crops which our parents sold to buy clothes and bicycles and to pay our school fees—were these not also blessings from God?" Muzorewa asked rhetorically, going on to emphasize a "whole gospel for the whole man that would speak to what was going on in the day-to-day life of our people."[12]

As a type of Christianity which emphasized Bible reading, Wesleyan Methodism would have exposed neophyte Christians not merely to the material civilization of settler life, as lived by British missionaries and observed by young men employed in homes, townships, and mines as they earned their tuition and tax money, but also to the more radical observations and prescriptions of Scripture, such as:

> Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth . . . but lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven. . . . For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also. . . . I say unto you, take no thought for your life, what ye shall eat or what ye shall drink, nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on. . . . Behold the fowls of the air; neither do they sow nor reap nor gather. . . . Consider the lilies of the field. . . . they toil not neither do they spin. . . . seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you. (Matthew 6:19–33)[13]

Yet while white missionaries might understand themselves as providing, through lives of sacrificial service to Zimbabweans, a literal reading of this admonition, local Christians appear to have extracted an entirely different meaning. "Treasures," earthly and spiritual, were too closely entwined to disentangle in the local institutions and spiritual manifestations of faith. Thus, local Christians wore jackets, paid for hymnals, took jobs with regular salaries that supported both their secular and church obligations, and celebrated enthusiastically with song and contributions when God provided the necessary funds to the people and church. They sought to lay up treasure in heaven through individually and communally collecting money on earth. In becoming Christians, Africans in Southern Rhodesia converted not just to a faith, but to a pattern of monetized materialism, in which they marked out the new community of the present in the coins of ticket money and concert contributions, and prayed for a new future through their children's school fees.

Though the mission church sponsored this monetized transformation, and pushed it on when individual preachers or believers sought different ideas of faith, this monetized Christianity, again as Scripture suggested, carried its own drawbacks: "'Verily I say unto you, that a rich man shall hardly enter the kingdom of heaven. And again I say unto you, It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God.' When the disciples heard this they were exceedingly amazed, saying 'Who then can be saved?'"(Matthew 19:3–25). While new Christians were hardly rich, they certainly sought wealth. And the school system, with its hope of civilized status and higher wages, was the key to this much-wanted transformation. As the school system was increasingly funded and regulated by the administration, its intimate tie with the Christian community was undermined. As parents and students pursued Christian-style prosperity by investing in education, schools desperate for funds accepted increased levels of government control, and parents and students increasingly lost control over mission schools. By the 1940s, schools, funded but twisted under segregationist regulations, could no longer provide a straightforward entry into the hoped-for future on earth or heaven.[14]

Money and wealth determined where in a region Methodists evangelized, and three central issues in Wesleyan mission Christianity during the 1920s and 1930s—tickets, that is, receipts for payment of church membership fees, concerts, and school fees—provide points of entry illuminating various aspects of Wesleyan Methodists' Christianity and communities. Through these three issues, we can explore the meanings of money to Christian belief and institutional affiliation in the 1920s and 1930s in Southern Rhodesia. Tickets, mandatory for church members, conveying membership in a participatory form of church governance and producing an audited, regulated pool of locally raised money, were central to the institutionalization of Wesleyan churches in the region. Concerts, enthusiastic fund-raisers planned and coordinated by ambitious and organized African evangelists, producing inspirational moments, were part of the charismatic and unaudited authority of individual African church leaders. And school fees constituted the mission and the people's payments for a future, negotiated with the government, within the rules of a segregationist administration.

MISSION ORGANIZATIONAL BACKGROUND

Like the other government-recognized missions of Southern Rhodesia, the Wesleyans worked within a set of administrative regulations that demanded

white oversight. Fearful of the political and military implications of independent African churches, the government demanded such oversight and authority at each level of mission and school. White missionaries accepted this requirement that they maintain the last word in the new churches, schools, and institutions they worked to build. They met separately from African ministers and lay leaders, and elected white missionary representatives to the interdenominational Southern Rhodesian Missionary Conference, which both cooperated with and lobbied the administration on African social policy issues. More parochially, white missionaries were automatically part of the interracial synods that constituted the official governing body of the local church. Unofficially, they dominated these meetings. Below the level of the synod, Wesleyan activity was divided into circuits, each under the supervision of a minister. Since these circuits were circuits of schools, as well as churches, and the government demanded that a white missionary be in charge of inspecting schools and auditing attendance records, each was headed by a white missionary. From the perspective of white missionaries and the government, the Wesleyan Methodist church in Southern Rhodesia was a formal structure directed by missionaries, paternalistically working for the benefit of Africans. When the Southern Rhodesian Missionary Conference defended Africans against egregious tax increases or objected to the Land Apportionment Act, missionaries spoke as white paternalists, not as delegates of their discontented African population. Missionaries' salaries, and ultimately their loyalties, were seen by them, and by the administration, as coming from Britain and the British church.

But to understand the Wesleyan church in Southern Rhodesia, it is essential to look below the level of missionary councils, synods, and circuits to the centers of local Christian life, the churches that were also schools. This double status was not an accident: the evangelists and local preachers who coordinated Sunday activities were teachers during the week, and the Sunday church sanctuary was used as the weekday schoolroom. Preachers were even admonished to make sure they held active Sunday school meetings as well as praise and worship services, and student attendance at Sunday worship services was generally mandatory.[15] Practices within the space—attendance taking, singing, catechism, and Bible reading—also characterized both church and school. Those interested in Christianity, but not yet church members, were given labels with clear indications of the connections between school and religious practice: individuals began as "listeners," and moved up to become "readers," before being eligible for baptism and confirmation. They then became "members on trial," organized into "classes," each of which met for examinations of conscience and spiritual growth, as well as playing a role in church maintenance and governance. The structure

paralleled the monitor structure used in nineteenth-century schools in England, which persisted in Southern Rhodesia, as more advanced pupils and Christians were employed to lead newer pupils and converts to higher levels. Without the school, there could be no church, as missionaries generally required literacy for baptism, confirmation, and church membership. In the Southern Rhodesian context, however, the most important characteristic of this grassroots Christianity was that it constructed and institutionalized an African community of believers that white missionaries visited, but where they did not belong. Each of the various forms of membership in this local African Christian community was marked out by the regular and public payment of money.

During the week, the local teacher/preacher would supervise a schoolroom of 20 to 150 students probably in First Year, substandards A and B, and maybe also Standard I. (Standard I was approximately equal to U.S. third grade, and introduced English-language teaching.) Large schools frequently supported an assistant teacher as well as the teacher in charge. The teacher and his wife could legally cultivate up to five acres around the school, with part of that designated as the "school garden," worked on by students and their parents by the students as part of their industrial education, and by the parents as a form of tuition payment. And students were responsible for school fees. At least four times a year, the school would be visited by the white missionary school superintendent, who would check to ensure that the attendance register had been kept, audit school accounts, examine students, and listen to their singing.[16]

On Sundays, the school building would be transformed into a church. Evangelists and Local Preachers, licensed and with paid-up tickets from the Methodist mission, would preach and lead the congregation in a worship service which could go on for hours, with several sermons. Women's groups would have a separate women's association meeting, and women both purchased the physical markers of their association—the red blouses of respectable women, for example—and paid a regular membership fee. Women, men, youths, and girls would have separate "class" meetings at which they would study the Bible, talk about their spiritual lives, and collect and record church contributions, whether "ticket money" or "free will offerings." Individual evangelists and church activists also founded additional societies that evangelized, and helped with the day-to-day maintenance of church facilities.[17] And each quarter, probably combining church visits with school inspections, an ordained minister would come by, meet with members and delegates in a quarterly meeting, check members' tickets, and administer sacraments, such as communion, baptism, and confirmation, to those who qualified.

In practice, therefore, rather than accepting the top-down vision of the African church as a white-led paternalistic institution given from on high, local Wesleyan Christians were expected to see schools, churches, class meetings, local preachers, class leaders who monitored ticket money, delegates elected to synods, and an intricate social web of women's groups and student choirs as their own community's church. This vision was somewhat convincing even in the face of white power and a segregationist administration because members, holding their tickets and taking pride in their voting rights in synods and meetings, linked money, voice, and control.

TICKETS

Tickets were the central concrete objects that provided a focus for the participatory and democratic features of this African church. The word "ticket" has a variety of meanings in Southern African English. In the most common usage, a "ticket" was a work-related document. Men would accept or be forced into a contract to work for six tickets of, for example, thirty days. Sometimes referred to as a six-month work contract, this was nothing of the kind. An employer only marked an employee's ticket when the day's task was done to his satisfaction. Sickness, rest days, broken tools, inefficient work, or temperamental and stingy employers, all could lead to a worker's not getting his ticket signed for the day. The ticket was seen as a means for employers to exercise control and quality assurance over a difficult work force.[18] This, however, was not what the church meant by the word. A secondary meaning of the word ticket implies the token of payment for transport or admission to entertainment. But church members would probably have rejected this interpretation of the church tickets as well.

Instead, Wesleyan tickets marked off regular payment of the quarterly "class money" that provided the basis of a self-supporting and self-governing African church. In Rhodesia, however, the ticket system was also the mechanism through which membership in not merely a bureaucratic church structure, but God's community itself, was defined. Membership was not a function of belief alone; even the sacrament of communion became contingent on the believer's ability to pay, and pay on schedule, in money rather than cattle or work.[19]

From at least 1913 onward, membership in a Wesleyan church had implied the regular payment of quarterly fees. These were generally collected at big, celebratory services when a minister, either European or African, visited the service to check tickets, audit accounts, administer sacraments,

and chair the quarterly meeting. This linked money, sacrament, and community not just conceptually, but temporally and in a very concrete way as a congregation effectively paid for communion. In 1913, payments were set at sixpence per member per quarter. By the 1920s, Epworth charged one shilling a quarter for rural members and two shillings a quarter for those in towns.[20] By the 1930s, as the government cut back on its funding for teachers' salaries, some African ministers pushed for ticket money to be raised to two shillings per quarter regardless of location.[21] This money covered the basics. Additional sacraments, baptisms, and Christian marriage were subject to additional fees. In 1913, fees for baptism were only one shilling, and for Christian marriage, ten shillings, paid by the groom, but by 1941, Epworth charged six shillings for baptism.[22] Members were also pushed to pay contributions to the Annual Missionary Collection and other special collections.[23] Membership in the active church women's organization had a separate additional set of costs.[24] Under normal circumstances, the cost of tickets was relatively trivial, especially for wage earners who were generally making at least one to two pounds per month. But class money applied to all church members, men, women, and adolescents. The church did not offer remittances in times of hardship, falling commodity prices, or ongoing unemployment. Instead, during the financial crises of the 1920s and 1930s, the mission pushed for more systematic payment of ticket money.[25] Administrative decisions involving ticket money were guided explicitly by the needs of the church, not by believers' poverty or ability to pay.

Repeatedly, missionaries and ministers admonished local evangelists to collect ticket money systematically. African ministers and evangelists found that their mission superiors, the white missionaries who controlled staffing, salaries, and placements, judged them according to how effectively they managed to collect the ticket money.[26] Ministers' visits were closely associated with payment of money. In situations where this payment was seen as necessary rather than onerous, circuit quarterly meetings might even request more visits by European ministers to spur giving, or at least provide the ministers with a firsthand understanding of how congregations were sacrificing to pay.[27]

European missionaries emphasized ticket money not merely for its own sake, but as a sign that the congregations were committed to Christian lives and identities. The money was the key symbol of Africans' commitments and priorities, rather than primarily a resource for white missionary use and control. It was the basis for Wesleyan hopes of a self-supporting African church, as opposed to a church supported out of charitable contributions from abroad.[28] Missionary salaries, however, came from Britain, with government copayments for those who performed educational duties. The bulk

of the money to operate and expand the Wesleyan churches/schools of the 1920s and 1930s came from the government, which effectively subcontracted almost all education for Africans out to missions that received government grants-in-aid in return for meeting certain minimal educational standards.

Ticket money was explicitly earmarked for African agency, and translated directly into salaries and resources for African ministers, evangelists, and local preachers. At sixpence per church member per quarter, an evangelist needed at least 120 paying members to fund a minimal salary of one pound per month. Few if any congregations were this large. And better-qualified evangelists and ministers asked for notably higher salaries, or found employment as teachers with other missions prepared to pay better wages.[29] Initially, the concept of a self-supporting, self-reliant, self-governing African church was something that European missionaries simply approved of on general principles. But during the late 1920s and throughout the 1930s, remittances from England decreased and government funding also became uncertain. As a result European missionaries did increasingly emphasize local fund-raising and the ideal of a self-supporting African church, and their own successes in maintaining and expanding the network of Wesleyan evangelism became increasingly contingent on Africans' payments. In 1929, for example, Reverend Hardaker "appealed for support from all evangelists and other workers in raising circuit funds . . . so that the work of God can proceed. . . . money *must* be raised by the people themselves—it is their work to help themselves . . . "[30] By the 1930s, rural circuits in need of money were engaging in complex maneuvers to transform local believers' agricultural efforts into the cash the system required. By 1931, the missionaries of the Nengubo circuit were acting as marketing agents for local maize so that growers could turn produce into cash.[31]

For European missionaries, who prized conversions and evangelical expansion above notions of quality and elite class formation, ticket money was an important symbol. But for African ministers and evangelists who were being judged according to how effectively they extracted and managed it, and whose salaries were being paid through ticket funds, tickets were an even more serious matter. One of the earliest and most dynamic African ministers of the region, Moses Mfazi, was dismissed primarily for his political views, but the excuse the missionaries gave was that his account books were unclear.[32] Reverend Esau Nemapare left the Methodists under similar circumstances.[33] And the same charge was used against Thompson Samkange, another early African minister.[34] For these men, ticket money became a form of tribute. Missionaries expected it, and when it was diverted to local congregational needs, or collected in an irregular fashion, it signaled

the dangers and disloyalty of African church leaders acting outside mission guidelines.[35]

At lower levels within the church, mission employees resented missionaries' understanding of ticket money as a symbol of church loyalty and affiliation, rather than a sacrificial payment. Ministers who administered and guided circuits, but were not local church members, had the ticket requirement waived or received "free tickets" for their full time devotion to Christian activity. Missionaries insisted, however, that local preachers pay their ticket money and show their tickets at meetings and sacraments, setting a good example for the congregations, of which they were members, not superiors. These lower-level employees, however, local preachers who drew little or no salary and experienced serious financial difficulties during the Depression, argued that if European ministers did not pay ticket money, they, too, should be exempt as church leaders. Both European and African ministers tended to interpret this activism as disloyalty, a failure to deliver on a token payment which constituted a basic form of tribute and membership.[36] During the 1930s, quarterly meetings repeatedly forwarded resolutions for the reinstatement of salaries which missionaries had unilaterally cut under the financial strain of the Depression. By 1935, local preachers were refusing to take tickets, rejecting the most basic symbol of adherence to the church, and in some places calling for increased African authority within church governance, effectively suggesting that through unilateral salary reductions the mission had undermined their connection to the missionary leadership.[37]

Under pressure to collect money despite depression, crop failure, and lack of markets for agricultural commodities, classes began to use creative methods of collecting ticket funds. In areas where local traders had begun to refuse to pay cash for crops, offering only store credit, local churches became marketing agencies. Members were allowed to pay ticket money in grain and requested to do so at the beginning of the harvest in order to yield the best prices.[38] The synod even considered altering the Wesleyan rulebook to allow harvest payments to substitute for the four-times-yearly quarterly ticket money.[39] Other churches pushed members to either work on church market gardens, or set aside specific gardening plots of their own to grow produce to sell for church fees.[40] These, however, were local African initiatives at odds with the Wesleyan image of the church as a community of people who understood how to manage money and resources. White missionaries blocked local efforts to collect ticket money only once a year with the payment of all four quarters' contribution at harvest time. Though a logical move for people whose incomes were agrarian and annual, such a system would undermine the ongoing, ritually periodic nature of quarterly class money.

The most controversial aspect of this aggressive effort to collect ticket fees even in difficult times, though, was that tickets were enforced not merely by moral suasion or persuasive pleas, but by denial of the benefits of church membership. During the 1920s and 1930s, the mission increasingly purged the membership rolls of one-time members who failed to keep up their ticket money, as well as those who got caught with second wives, beer-brewing operations, or nonmarital affairs. Missionaries also used their veto over quarterly meeting resolutions to exclude church members who had failed to take tickets, whether through poverty or as acts of protest, from participation in the quarterly meetings, just as they ruled out of order efforts to rewrite mission attitudes toward marriage and alcohol. Missionaries and ministers were intransigent toward issues of both membership and sacraments. In 1933, Nengubo Circuit ruled that no one could take communion without showing their paid-up ticket to the minister officiating. Similar policies were apparently followed in other circuits as well. This restriction of the sacraments to those with money happened despite missionaries' and ministers' acknowledgment that under the poverty conditions of the Depression, ticket money was more than many people could afford.

In denying both the quarterly meeting vote and communion, the principal symbols of community and personal connection with God, the mission was making explicit the connection between money, the Christian community, and God. Those who paid gained access, and those who could not or would not pay were put out of the community and kept from approaching God. The connection between fees and God was particularly clear since in the parallel case of nonpayment of school fees, the mission ordered teachers to keep children in school all the same: it needed the government grant that was earned by attendance of a given number of students. Since God did not pay directly for those taking communion, however, nonpayers were turned away in a judgment parallel to the morally based turning away of adulterers, polygynists, beer brewers, and others who violated church rules.

CONCERTS

Tickets, though, and the organized, institutional apparatus that they supported, were not the only way to approach God, or to connect God and finance. By the 1920s, hard-pressed teacher-evangelists were experimenting with new fund-raisers that were under their own control, unaudited by unsympathetic European ministers. Concerts proved the most successful fund-raisers and community builders for the more energetic teachers of the

Wesleyan church.[41] From early in the mission encounter, music had been a major constituent of evangelization and school. Government inspectors, indeed, sometimes complained that even reading classes were a form of chanting. And these inspectors regularly made fun of the amount of time devoted to singing not merely in Shona or Sindebele, but also in some unintelligible version of English. Church services, too, were long, and involved not merely preaching, but also singing and general celebrations which could easily last five hours. Concerts of mission music as fund-raisers for specific churches and circuits, though, appear to have become prominent only in the 1920s, and grown essential to circuit finances in the 1930s.

The earliest records of fund-raising concerts I have found date to 1908, when someone coordinated an apparently successful occasion of this kind in Bulawayo.[42] Less systematic and controlled than other aspects of church life, concerts were not well recorded in mission records, and African teacher/evangelists may have actively concealed the scope of their activities as impresarios.[43] By the 1920s, though, evangelists were regularly holding concerts as fund-raisers. And as evangelists became increasingly organized, attending school, training sessions, and conventions together, they had increased opportunities to organize joint concerts. From Bulawayo, concerts spread to Epworth (just outside Salisbury), Nengubo, and beyond. Concerts were most effective when held near a labor center, where wage laborers would have actual cash to contribute to the choir they considered the best or to pay the concert coordinator to have their chosen choir sing for longer than the other groups.[44] Whatever side payments or embezzlement occurred, concerts made substantive contributions to circuit funds that became subject to auditing and accounting rules. Nengubo Circuit balanced its budget in the 1930s through concerts. In 1935, for example, desperate to stop a string of deficits, Nengubo Circuit had at least six concerts between 31 April and 6 July.[45]

Concerts raised substantial amounts of money, and missionaries therefore accepted them reluctantly. But they also had consequences. The evangelist-teachers who scheduled and coordinated the concerts sought to maximize revenue by holding them on Saturday night, when most workers could come. They also allowed the concerts, which were not merely performances but competitive events, to go on and on. Mission and government injunctions that concerts should end by 11:00 P.M. were routinely ignored.[46] Not only did concerts not end by dark (which would have been around six o'clock, making it impossible for workers to attend) they frequently did not end by midnight. Sometimes they only broke up at dawn.[47] This created some interesting problems for the missions. Technically, concerts

were alcohol-free. The Wesleyan mission was supposed to be dry. Not all concertgoers, though, would be church members, and it might be difficult, after dark, to monitor who was drinking what, especially as the atmosphere sometimes paralleled that of a traditional beer-drink, with singing, dancing, and socializing.[48] Choirs competed with each other as popular entertainment, and might include in their performances elements that evoked the dance and music of traditional religions, or the sexually suggestive maneuvers of European dance.[49] Missionaries also complained about smoking (presumably tobacco) which was also off limits to church members, at least at religious events.[50] Worse yet were community perceptions of the event. Youth traveled to the concert site, sang, listened, and spent the night.[51] Elders skeptical of mission activities found it easy to complain about the moral implications of such events, even if they were chaperoned.

The money raised, though, was so important to evangelists that they repeatedly ignored mission rules intended to bring concerts more closely in line with notions of decorous entertainment. Evangelists flatly rejected efforts to move concerts from Saturday nights to Fridays. Saturday night concerts effectively destroyed any hope of energetic church services on Sunday mornings. Most people went home to sleep, and some people slept through church. Missionaries therefore repeatedly pushed regulations through the Synod demanding that concerts be held on Fridays, and end at a reasonable hour. These regulations were ignored in practice, and in 1937, evangelists actually confronted the Synod, explaining that all of them had held concerts on Saturdays despite repeated admonitions to stick to Fridays.[52] Nengubo and Epworth, in particular, were known for concerts which were effectively illegal, as youth traveled too far, concerts were held too late at night, and the atmosphere was distinctly different from that of a controlled, disciplined, school classroom or church service.

If ticket money became a form of tribute and a symbolic linkage of African Christians to the institutional structure of the church as a way to God, concerts represented a different form of Christianity, one coordinated by African evangelists rather than white missionaries, and relying on enthusiasm and sensory appeal rather than reason, schoolbooks, and bureaucratic order. No other mission's evangelists appear to have pursued the concert strategy as diligently as the Wesleyan Methodists did, but the Wesleyan movement parallels closely in time the emergence of other more charismatic approaches to Christianity under African leadership. Dutch Reformed evangelists became leaders of independent African churches. American Methodists started having camp meeting revivals. Even Anglicans pursued a revitalization movement. The American Board imported an American evangelist to hold spiritual awakening meetings.

The concert movement, however, complemented rather than rejecting hierarchical structures within the Wesleyan church. For all the defiance of Synod regulations, concerts were coordinated by African evangelists and local preachers and teachers not as an independent movement but as an entrepreneurial version of Wesleyan Christianity in which mediation between God and the community took place not through the European-controlled formal mission structure, but in the inspirational moments arranged by African evangelists and impresarios.[53] The ticket money, with its systematic structure and association with methods of labor control, constructed money as a link between a disciplined people and an institutionalized God. The concert movement spurred entertainment and enthusiasm, unsystematic gifts to those who provided the entertainment, and moments of inspiration.

SCHOOL FEES

If ticket money was about institutions, and concerts about the enthusiasm and inspiration of the moment, school fees were about the construction of a future. From the beginning of the twentieth century, the Wesleyan mission supplied teachers to communities in response to communities' requests, gifts, and payments. If communities paid more, they got more highly qualified teachers. If payments fell short, and parents failed to volunteer work on school gardens, the mission withdrew its teachers, and sometimes closed the schools.[54] In Wesleyan areas, close to wage work opportunities in Bulawayo and Salisbury, parents were generally willing to pay for even preliminary education in very basic schools. Furthermore, the Wesleyan central institutions, particularly Nengubo/Waddilove, rapidly gained status, to the point that parents paid quite hefty tuitions of several pounds a term to send their sons to this elite school.[55]

The mission received money for schools not merely from students and parents, but also from the government, under a system of administration which paid a capitation fee for each student. By the mid-1920s, therefore, Wesleyan school financing rested on local sources: parent and student payments; government capitation grants; and the sale of school garden products. The British mission society provided only capital improvement grants, and the salaries of some missionaries and a very few African agents.

In some ways, the school became even more central than the church as the fundamental institution of Rhodesian Wesleyan Christianity. The evangelists and local preachers who staffed the preaching circuits on Sundays worked five days a week running a variety of out-schools. The government

helped fund the mission's training program for evangelists only when that training program increased the qualifications of teachers. By the mid-1920s, financial arrangements reflected this lack of distinction between school and church activities by amalgamating school fees and ticket money[56] and rejecting would-be evangelists and local preachers if they lacked government-recognized academic qualifications as suitable teachers. Evangelists and ministers were key participants in the formation of the teachers' unions; though some ministers and evangelists wished for a more spiritual church, the school was the place where African Christianity in Southern Rhodesia happened.[57]

Under the tight financial constraints of the Depression, the mission made even stronger efforts to extract school fees than it did to secure ticket money or funds from concerts. It experimented with a variety of approaches. First, attempting to maximize government grants even when parents became unwilling or unable to pay school fees, it ordered that students be pressured to pay, but allowed to attend school even without payment, in order to secure the government capitation grant.[58] This strategy proved problematic, though, given a reduction in government grants and parents' difficulty in paying for their children's education. Parents and students also rejected unpaid work on mission gardens and in mission construction projects.[59] By 1936, this strategy was proving untenable. In Wedza Circuit, the mission threatened to close schools, and began demanding that students without books and slates be expelled. This was particularly the case when the government began demanding that all students have these items, and that those without them be supplied with equipment from the teachers' own salaries. The idea was to make teachers enforce the regulations. In practice, however, teachers were squeezed as the amounts of money coming in decreased, while demands from missions continued. In this context, the popularity of the concerts among teachers desperate to raise cash becomes understandable, as do parents' allegations in some areas that teachers were embezzling money from concert receipts.[60]

In the schools, the linkage between payments and control became brutally clear, however, as the schools moved from the parent-funded institutions of the 1910s to the government-regulated institutions of the 1930s. In the process, the mission, which initially built schools as churches and continued to view schools as primarily evangelical institutions, watched without having the funds to intervene as its Native Agents redefined themselves from the evangelists of the early years, into teacher-evangelists, and then into the increasingly professional teachers of the 1930s who formed teaching associations and identified themselves according to education.

ISSUES

The Wesleyan Methodists in Southern Rhodesia were one of the most progressive, even radical, missions in the country. Early on, missionaries such as John White and Frank Noble had exposed British South African Company abuses and fought government forced labor, high taxes for Africans, and segregationist land policies. Heads of their mission, especially John White, were among the most prominent local spokesmen for African rights in the region. At Waddilove they provided some of the best education for Africans available in Southern Rhodesia. Yet the mission paralleled the conservative Dutch Reformed Mission in its aggressive efforts to assess and regularly collect "donations"; the innovative efforts of its teachers to raise funds from the African community independently of mission audits; and its increasingly harsh efforts to collect school fees from all scholars, from the elite at the central schools to the first-year students learning the alphabet and catechism.

The close structural parallels between the Wesleyans and the Dutch Reformed Church suggest that the mission's obsessive focus on money was a function not of some racist or exploitative attitude toward the African population, but of a deeper, less malleable sense accepted by both white missionaries and local Christian communities that money and Christianity were intimately and inextricably connected.[61]

Mission rules regarding tickets implied that, for the Wesleyans, no African without money was worth being included in the Christian community. This was more than just an implication: Christians required ticket money, tax money, funds for clothes, soap, and children's school fees. They had to forswear revenues from their daughters' bridewealths, and find some way other than beer parties to collect the labor necessary for harvesting and land clearance. Being wealthy in the traditional sense, with plenty of family, wives, children, and cattle, with sufficient funds to throw the occasional beer party, was not a Christian characteristic. Instead, Christians required monetary wealth, and they expected God to provide it. Often, God did, as "mission boys" frequently had skills in English, crafts, arithmetic, and literacy which facilitated monetized life. Money, therefore, became the key link between Christian status and the Christian God.

The ticket and class monies linked church members to an audited church community, carefully structured with a responsible hierarchy. Money was so important as a part of the Christian message, though, that it did not vanish even when teachers and evangelists sought to move outside of the disciplined structure, and into the world of concerts and charisma. Money and

the maximum return on investment, rather than church regulations or the needs of the Sunday church services, dominated this spiritual interaction as well. The linkage was, indeed, not merely a function of teachers' efforts, but so deeply embedded in the consciousness of those who attended that a revival meeting without an offering left Christians complaining of a lost opportunity to thank God.[62] The close tie between money and God, however, meant that when the money came from government, as it increasingly did in mission schools fallen on hard times, the schools became increasingly secular no matter how many pronouncements the government made regarding the need for a Christian message in the schools.

Mission efforts during the early years of the century taught a solid connection between God and money, a connection which proved one of the most enduring facts of the mission legacy, a connection that persisted even when it failed to serve missionary purposes. Initially, ticket money was a form of tribute, a linkage to God, and a way of providing for commoners' connections to the institutions of Christianity. Ticket money indeed provided the basis for more participatory and intense organization in the Methodist Church than was common in other denominations. Building on this conceptual linkage, evangelist-teachers had, by the 1920s and 1930s begun to promote money as a form of prayer. The concerts, with the enthusiasm and donations they promoted, provided for a less institutional, more spontaneous connection between the individual believer and God, but they remained fund-raising concerts, and that connection was mediated by cash. In this context, where both institutionalized belief and spontaneous prayer were intimately tied to money, missionary efforts proved untenable when missions tried, in the face of decreased missionary funds and increased reliance on government grants, to convince evangelists that they could be faithful to God and serve as Christian leaders without reasonable amounts of money. These Christian leaders had absorbed the conceptual linkage between money and God. For them, increasingly secular efforts to pursue better training, more respect, and higher wages were necessary parts of their faith. Modeling themselves on the missionaries who had consistently judged loyalty, taught faith, and pursued evangelism through audits and fundraising, they, too, followed money.

Teachers' increasing secularization, organization, and pursuit of money rather than evangelization during the 1930s and 1940s were not contradictions of their mission role as evangelists and local preachers. Instead, this pursuit of money grew directly from long-standing mission traditions. It was the European missionaries, rather than the African believers, who suddenly switched their policies when earlier practices began to fail them. But in the segregated, white-dominated context of Southern Rhodesia, it was

hard for missionaries, however self-sacrificing they perceived themselves to be, to be convincing when they informed African agents that they must pursue faith, not money, while living on salaries five to ten times that of the highest-paid Africans, with housing and school benefits denied to even elite African ministers. African agents tended to retain a belief in pursuing their faith by making money, and saw a moral and religious connection between money and God.[63]

Southern Rhodesian mission Christianity was an immensely worldly phenomenon, embedded in a specific colonial context, a local pattern of racism, and the economic realities of Rhodesia's monetization, boom and bust. In this context, the explicit linkage between money and faith mostly served the missions well. Though congregations rarely proved affluent enough to achieve full self-support without mission subventions and government schooling grants, the ideal of responsible government by church members with paid-up tickets was a remarkably democratic, though frequently overruled, method of assuring that members cultivate their church and circuit rather than seeing these as gifts, sources of plunder, or otherworldly patrons. The concerts and similar revival meetings allowed people to experience the more ecstatic aspects of faith, while nevertheless keeping afloat the institutions that provided a context and support for these momentary inspirations. Even school fees, which became a flashpoint for controversy as families found them difficult to pay, forced families to take education seriously as investments for their children's future.

Yet the emphasis on money which gave church members, evangelists, and parents such a strong stake in and sense of ownership of church resources proved fundamentally problematic for missions over the longer term. Terence Ranger, in his book *Are We Not Also Men?* has emphasized how the Wesleyan mission provided a basis for an African nationalism, growing out of Africans' resentment of white missionaries, a resentment which grew as privileged missionaries cut African salaries, proved reluctant to actually hand authority and resources to Africans, and blocked African teachers' efforts to innovate and develop the churches. J. Keith Rennie emphasized similar points in his study of the relatively liberal American Board mission, and M. I. Daneel's examinations of the roots of breakaway Shona churches point to parallel tensions.[64]

Mission emphasis on money and control, though, was more than just a general phenomenon producing general resentments. It, like much of the display of white power and African deference in the region, was most explicit in its use of specific, concrete objects. The communion ticket, without which a believer had no right to the sacrament, paralleled the poll tax and pass, without which an African man could not move around the country.

Concert funds provided a concrete way to judge religious enthusiasm in pounds, shillings, and pence, analogous to the way European observers noted workers' more worldly enthusiasm by their store purchases, put away in boxes and paid for on time. And the school fees, in a region which provided free education for white children, expressed both marginalization and aspiration, as Africans faced the reality of denial of resources and the hope that in the future they would be able to get more.

Christianity, morality, and money were inextricably linked in the Southern Rhodesia of the early twentieth century, to the point where violations of the material code, such as a preacher talking without his jacket on a warm summer day, or an evangelist unable to afford his own hymnbook and Gospels, counted as a violation of the faith. When poverty made it difficult for some congregation members and evangelists to adhere to Christian material codes, their failures were judged not as poverty, but as moral failings.[65]

Becoming Christian in Southern Rhodesia in the interwar years was a clear, formal process for both individuals and communities. From the individual's perspective, it meant going to school long enough to become literate, finding some way to earn the money necessary for not just taxes, but also school fees, church contributions, and the material necessities of Christian life, ranging from key books to Westernized clothes and soap. From a community's perspective, becoming Christian meant assembling the money necessary to sponsor and maintain a school, with teacher-evangelist and school farm. Individuals and groups celebrated and subsidized this institutional conversion through the concerts that peaked during difficult times. And conversion transformed the way Christians raised their children as they sent them to others for schooling, rather than raising them at home, in a material and substantive declaration of how the future would be one of change rather than continuity. Money did not simply sponsor missionization, it was woven into the many meanings of what Christianity could bring, not in a mere quantitative sense, but in the qualitative reconstruction and recreation of community it brought as individuals, families and congregations, getting and spending money in new ways, for new wants and needs, remade their society.

NOTES

1. For example, see David Maxwell, *Christians and Chiefs: A Social History of the Hwesa People* (Westport, Conn., 1999), which focuses on the 1950s

and 1960s in a remote part of Rhodesia, but describes the processes of conversion admirably.

2. See, for example, C. J. M. Zvobgo, *The Wesleyan Methodist Missions in Zimbabwe 1891–1945* (Harare, 1991); John Wesley Kurewa, *The Church in Mission: A Short History of the United Methodist Church in Zimbabwe, 1897–1997* (Nashville, Tenn., 1997).

3. Important works employing variants of this theme include T. O. Beidelman, *Colonial Evangelism* (Bloomington, Ind., 1982; Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution,* 2 vols. (Chicago, 1991–97); and, perhaps most powerfully, Paul S. Landau, *Realm of the Word* (Portsmouth, N.H., 1995). In addition to these book-length studies, a conference "Africans Meeting Missionaries" at the University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, 1997, assembled a variety of work in progress on similar themes.

4. For many other well-documented missions, either locally held records (as in the case of the American Board mission at Mount Selinda, on the Mozambican border) or home records (as in the case of the Jesuits) have been inaccessible.

5. James Ferguson, *Expectations of Modernity: Myths and Meanings of Urban Life on the Zambian Copperbelt* (Berkeley, Calif., 1999) pp. 104–5.

6. For example, a quarterly meeting which was sufficiently liberal that it endorsed Mrs. Efa Mavu as a local preacher nevertheless exclaimed in horror that "A preacher had appeared in a pulpit without a coat" and reminded all local preachers of the need for suitable dress. Quarterly Meeting Minutes (hereafter QM), Epworth, 20 March 1937, Methodist House, Harare (hereafter MHH; note that MHH materials are not indexed or boxed in a standardized form).

7. M. Block and J. Parry, *Money and the Morality of Exchange* (Cambridge, 1989) pp. 6–7.

8. This is treated in more detail in Carol Summers, *Colonial Lessons: Africans' Education in Southern Rhodesia 1918–1940* (Portsmouth, N.H., 2002). See also Carol Summers, *From Civilization to Segregation* (Athens, Ohio, 1994).

9. For an early example of this pattern, consider the case of a teacher recruited and initially paid for by the parents of students at Bembesi school, Bulawayo Circuit, in 1908. According to plan, thirty homes would contribute fifteen shillings a year (or individual students sixpence a month) in school fees to provide the teacher (probably Robert Njokweni) with an annual salary of twenty pounds. But parents stopped paying his salary. By 1911, the school was "very unsatisfactory" and the teacher had resigned. The missionary, however, offered to send John Faku, a highly qualified Mfengu teacher, if the people would pay at least half his salary. The com-

munity agreed, but then failed to keep their agreement. So the mission substituted Thomas Mniki, a less qualified man, at a lower salary, threatening that if the community did not pay at least enough to support Mniki, the mission would close school and church, since "the people were in a position to pay for the education of their children," and the region suffered from an acute teacher shortage. At other locations, such as Sipongweni, the mission carried through on its threatened closures. QM Native Church, Bulawayo, 16 July 1907, 17 October 1907, 16 July 1908, 4 July 1911, 13 September 1911, 27 December 1910, 9 September 1913, 19 March 1914, 23 December 1914.

10. See Maxwell, *Christians and Chiefs,* p. 1, who discusses the Hwesa as Cinderella people, only brought into the mission movement in the 1950s.

11. Abel Muzorewa, *Rise Up and Walk* (Nashville, Tenn., 1978), p. 33.

12. Ibid., p. 33.

13. All scriptural quotations are from the King James Version.

14. See Summers, *Colonial Lessons.* For a Methodist example, however, consider the wave of school strikes and student activism which hit Tegwani and other institutions in the late 1930s and early 1940s. See for example, principal's interim report to assistant commissioner of Tegwani, 21 March 1939, MHH, which reported eight students implicated in a break-in and burglary of the school safe and a strike by all students except prefects and evangelists. Epworth, meanwhile, reported a fire which might have been arson during a period where government inspectors complained of the school's inefficiency and wastefulness. Minute Book of the Epworth Committee, July 1941, MHH.

15. John White, Chair, QM, Nengubo, 26 September 1924.

16. Records were not always well kept. For example, one of the most frequent injunctions in the minutes of the Quarterly Meeting, Bulawayo, was for teachers to keep records more systematically. See QM, Native Church, Bulawayo, 5 April 1911, 4 July 1911, 26 March 1912, 7 August 1915, 24 May 16.

17. The Wedza Circuit was particularly vocal on the subject of congregations which failed to maintain churches and cultivate for the school. QM, Wedza, 1935–40. Minutes of the synod held 11–17 January 1922, MHH, report discussion (and approval) of the formation of local societies.

18. For a classic discussion of this system, see Charles van Oneself, *Chibaro* (London, 1976).

19. Discussions of how to collect ticket money came up regularly in quarterly meeting minutes. The Nengubo Quarterly Meeting of 2 December 1933 resolved unanimously that church members must show their paid-up tickets before communion; QM Nengubo. Other circuits followed the

same rules, and, when they became lax, remembered with nostalgia earlier times of checking tickets before communion. QM Epworth, 29 March 1941.

20. QM Epworth, 28 December 1924.

21. The African minister who proposed this received a free ticket by virtue of his status in the church. QM Nengubo, 2 December 1922.

22. Rhodesia District Synod Minutes for 1913, MHH; QM Epworth, 29 March 1941.

23. See Zvobgo, *Wesleyan Methodist Missions,* p. 113.

24. QM Nengubo, 2 December 1933. Women paid a shilling a year in Ruwadzano membership in 1928, in addition to paying for the extra commodities demanded by Christian life—utensils for cooking, clothes, soap, etc.

25. Moss argues that prior to 1931, ticket money was sometimes waived for widows living on mission farms but that after that, it was systematically required for all. Moss, "Holding Body and Soul Together," p. 115. Quarterly meeting and synod minutes from the 1930s recorded an increased demand for systematic collections of ticket money, as well as an increase in ticket fees. For examples, see the minutes of quarterly meetings at Epworth, Nengubo, and Wedza, where the meeting announced: "Christians must show faith with gifts." QM Wedza, 27 February 1937.

26. For examples, see QM Bulawayo, 5 January 1924; Discipline Cases Notebook for Kwenda (Historical Record, 1927), MHH; and QM Epworth, 6 June 1925 and 21 September 1925.

27. Report of the Chimanza Circuit and report of the Bulawayo Circuit, Minutes of the Synod of the Rhodesia District, 4–12 January, 1921. University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies, Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society Archive, Box 349. From Chimanza, the minister complained that because he only visited most congregations when they were collecting ticket money, his visits were associated with payment. And in the Bulawayo Circuit the minister reported: "The native ministers of the circuit are of mind that more frequent visits by the European minister are necessary [and would produce more ticket money]." Compare the way that Anglican congregations came to associate proper services with money: Olive Lloyd to her family and friends, 17 September 1933, National Archives of Zimbabwe, Historical Manuscripts Collection, ANG 16/11/1.

28. The Wesleyan attitude on this, and I believe the attitude of most of the missions, was different from the practices of the Dutch Reformed Church or the Jesuits. In the Dutch Reformed Church, individual missionaries became personally wealthy as a result of African contributions; see Summers, *Colonial Lessons.* The Jesuit mission apparently used student labor in

its quarry to finance mission expansion beyond Chishawasha; see L. Vambe, *Ill-Fated People* (Pittsburgh, 1972).

29. Calculations are complicated because most evangelical workers also taught, and thus their salaries were underwritten to some degree by the government. A school, however, was supposed to have a teacher for every forty to fifty pupils. Thus a congregation with 120 members might be sending two hundred children to school, and need to pay four teacher/evangelists rather than just one. Such schools were rarely fully staffed. Schools tried to make up the funding gap through freewill offerings, concerts, and, significantly, school gardens, at which parents and students were required to work. Complex revenue and expenditure patterns make even honest mission bookkeeping hard to follow. Account Books, MHH. In 1938, the Quarterly Meeting at Nengubo/Waddilove joined the regular refrain from other missions complaining about "the growing tendency for . . . trained teachers to accept appointments in other Missions in preference to those available in their own church." Minute Book, Nengubo Quarterly Meeting, 20 September 1938, MHH. I discuss teachers' decisions in Summers, *Colonial Lessons.*

30. QM Epworth, 6 April 1929.

31. See, for example, QM Nengubo, 8 September 1931, where the principal agrees to take mealies for class money at the rate of four shillings per bag. Produce from school gardens was also widely seen as a way of earning basic revenue. For example, QM Nengubo, 12 April 1932, 4 September 1932, 5 December 1932, 4 April 1944. By the late 1930s, the practice was sufficiently standardized that quarterly meetings merely reiterated that church contributions in maize should be given at the beginning, not the end, of the harvest period so that the mission would be able to sell the grain for the best prices. QM Nengubo, 2 April 1938, 2 July 1938.

32. Note that Mfazi was hardly the only minister with unclear accounts. Many of the European ministers were acknowledged by their peers as hopeless from an economic point of view. Missionaries Burman and Howarth lacked enough education and were merely craftsmen. And the mission chairman in Southern Rhodesia complained of James Stewart, D. W. Evans, and Frank Ockenden that "Indeed a great amount of my time is taken up in going to Circuits and trying to extricate these raw lads out of financial and administrative tangles from which a little common sense would have saved them." Frank Noble to Secretary of Works Thompson, 27 November 1933, University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies, Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society Archive, Box 834.

33. Terence Ranger, *Are We Not Also Men: The Samkange Family and African Politics in Zimbabwe, 1920–1964* (Portsmouth, N.H., 1995), pp. 83–84.

34. Minutes of synod held 8–16 January 1919, MHH.

35. In his examination of the Samkange family, one of the most prominent early Methodist families in Rhodesia, Terence Ranger argues that accusations of financial improprieties were not based on real misappropriations, but on a failure to acknowledge local autonomy and local uses for church funds. See the discussion of how Thompson and Grace Samkange raised both their own and foster children, promoted education, and built local institutions with ties to nationalism, rather than mere patronage ties with the mission. Ranger, *Are We Not Also Men,* pp. 32–123.

36. See the discussions at the Epworth Quarterly Meeting, 1935.

37. The mission needed local preachers, but viewed their level of commitment with suspicion. In 1921, for example, when LPs petitioned Epworth Circuit for the mission to issue them with hymn books, so that they would not need to buy them, the missionary chair responded that "the question re hymn books and testaments should never have arisen. A man who did not possess them was not equipped to serve as a local preacher." Stanlake, QM Epworth, 14 June 1921. By 1925, local preachers were coming to quarterly meetings without tickets, as a way of putting pressure on the missionary in charge, who responded by issuing more stern warnings. QM Epworth, 6 June 1921, 5 April 1930, 20 June 1931. Local preachers and other delegates responded to their critics by arguing that church leaders with free tickets should give some offering at the time of issue of their tickets, showing Christian duty and love for God, lest they be accused of receiving the gifts of God all year without giving back, a hypocrisy which would indicate that love was dead. Leaders' Meeting, 21 September 1925, Epworth, MHH.

38. See, e.g., QM Nengubo, 1938.

39. See QM Selukwe and Wedza, 1936. This idea had been unsuccessfully suggested earlier by J. Butler who worried that "Whether our system of quarterly tickets is the best one for a community which grows and sells its crops once a year is, I think, open to question and it would be worth while considering whether it would not be better to have one yearly ticket and one annual payment." Chimanza Circuit Report, 1921, in "Minutes of the Synod of the Rhodesia District 4 to 12 January 1921," WMMS, Box 349.

40. See, e.g., QM Kwenda 1935, QM Nengubo 1930.

41. Other missions pursued other alternatives. The work parties of the Dutch Reformed Church are discussed in Summers, *Colonial Lessons,* and the Jesuit lime quarries are discussed in Vambe, *An Ill-Fated People.* The London Missionary Society apparently relied on market gardening. Barbara Moss suggests that the American Methodist (as opposed to Wesleyan Methodist)

turn toward revivals and concerts was closely linked to the enthusiasms for fertility, motherhood, and spirituality generated within the Ruwadzano movement. "Holding Body and Soul Together: Women, Autonomy and Christianity in Colonial Zimbabwe" (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1991), p. 136.

42. QM Bulawayo, 8 October 1908.

43. Indeed, the best available institutional history of the Wesleyan Mission, Zvobgo, *Wesleyan Methodist Missions,* does not discuss them at all. In a novel set around this time, however, concerts (along with football) are described as one of the major communal activities of young men in Bulawayo. Ndabaningi Sithole, *The Polygamist* (New York, 1972), p. 112.

44. See, for hints of how the system worked, the discussion at an Epworth staff meeting, 10 November 1938, MHH, where Mr. M'Kombacato said that choirs collected money to give to the concert chairman for them to sing, but the parents (who were requested to provide this seed money) generally thought that the teachers collecting it "have a chance of robbing a good deal of the money." Other speakers asserted that money paid to the chairman to enable choirs to sing "is their own choice." As a reform measure, the meeting concluded that all children should individually pay for admittance, whether singing or not, and that "The man in the audience should be given the chance to offer for whichever choir he likes to listen to." This attempt to bypass the teachers' role in collecting money and sponsoring choirs was evidently very controversial. Though accounting is sparse (and would include only money paid for entry or honestly declared by the concert chair, not paid to teachers), one concert at Epworth in 1925 collected receipts of £10 5s. 9d., as against expenses of £2 19s. 10d. QM Epworth, 1925.

45. QM Nengubo, 1935–36.

46. QM Epworth, 21 October 1933.

47. See Mather's complaint and Samkange's response regarding all-night concerts in Ranger, *Are We Not Also Men,* pp. 79–80.

48. Beer—less for concerts than for work teams at harvest time—was a serious point of tension between the mission and the local churches. Not just ordinary church members, but local preachers and even evangelists routinely violated the mission's prohibition on brewing and consumption of beer. See, for example, QM Wedza, 6 October 1936 and 21 June 1947.

49. At Nengubo in 1931, for example, meeting participants objected to "some of the features of the big school-children's gathering at Samriwo. Opinion was divided as to the character of some of the action songs." QM Nengubo, 2 December 1931. European dancing was generally seen by Africans in Southern Rhodesia as lewd, since men and women danced together rather than separately.

50. Ironically, Europeans attending these concerts were the worst offenders regarding smoking. QM Epworth, 29 March 1941.

51. See, for example, QM Epworth, 26 March 1938.

52. QM Epworth, 16 March 1933, 20 November 1937, 26 March 1938; QM Nengubo, 25 September 1937.

53. Ranger's study of the Samkanges does suggest linkages between concerts, schools, and nationalism. And the controversy over Pakame definitely brought all these together. On the other hand, the Samkanges remained within the church. Their actions in this generation fit a model of entrepreneurial action better than one of breakaway nationalism, though clearly, by the 1940s, nationalist institutions were beginning to become a viable and attractive option. For a more generational model of African intellectual movements, see Flora Veit-Wild, *Teachers, Preachers and Non-Believers: A Social History of Zimbabwean Literature* (Harare, 1993).

54. See, the controversy over schools described in Summers, *Colonial Lessons.*

55. Even non-Methodists recognized Waddilove's prestige value: J. D. Rubatika remembered that his father. despite being a fervent Anglican, had sent him to Waddilove as the best available schooling. Interview with John Daniel Rubatika by Dawson Munjeri, 3 July 1979, National Archives of Zimbabwe, African Oral History 57.

56. For example, QM Bulawayo, 1924.

57. Thompson Samkange, for example, complained about this, wishing that things could have been more spiritual. Ranger, *Are We Not Also Men,* p. 81.

58. This was not a purely humanitarian gesture for the children. The financial motive was explicit in the directive. QMM Nengubo 1932, 1934.

59. Note that education for European children was free, paid for from general tax revenues, to which African taxpayers contributed.

60. QM Epworth, 1938.

61. Colleen McDannell, *Material Christianity: Religion and Popular Culture in America* (New Haven, Conn., 1995), pp. 4–16, evokes the connections between the spiritual and the material in the comprehension and practice of religion. She suggests that we explore material connections not as a means of denigrating popular faith, but as a means of reassessing a misleading dichotomy between spiritual and material. Her suggestions are directly relevant in the Rhodesian context.

62. Olive Lloyd to family and friends, 17 September 1933, NAZ ANG 16/11/1.

63. This comes through clearly in Ranger's discussion of the Samkange family, *Are We Not Also Men.* It can also be detected in the writings of elite

Africans who evoked their status through their material possessions. See, for example, Walter Chipwayo's inventory of what he lost in a house fire, or George Mhlanga's discussion of the basics necessary for civilized life in his complaints about working for the Dutch Reformed Church.

64. See, for example, J. Keith Rennie, "Christianity, Colonialism and the Origins of Nationalism among the Ndau of Southern Rhodesia, 1890–1935" (Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 1973) and M. Daneel, *Old and New in Southern Shona Independent Churches,* vol. 3 (Gweru, 1988).

65. These judgments were made by African Christians as well as by missionaries. See, for fictional examples, Tsitsi Dangarembga, *Nervous Conditions* (London, 1988). pp. 122–48, where her narrator Tambudzai and the educated school superintendent see close connections between poverty and dubious marriages; or the teacher's horrified anticipation of his mission-educated fiancée's reaction to the failure of his father to buy clothes and goods and goods in the Christian style, in Sithole, *The Polygamist,* pp. 122–27.