

Canadian missionaries, Angolan protestants, and the PIDE: research sources

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1. An anonymous report

One day in 2011, while researching in the PIDE² archive for documents about United Church of Canada missionaries on Angola's Central Highlands, I came across an anonymous "report" dated March 1966, purportedly authored by a teacher from Dondi, the headquarters of the West Central African Mission (WCAM).³ Although anonymous when submitted, PIDE officials attributed the report to the teacher on at least two occasions, once in a handwritten notation which reads: "refers to Jorge" [*refere-se a Jorge...*], and a second time in an internal memo to the PIDE delegation in Luanda.⁴ This paper is about my effort to interpret the report in context, including the identity of its author and his or her motive and purpose. The paper begins with an overview of the WCAM, followed by the life story of the teacher Jorge, the name I have assigned to the report's putative author. I then proceed to analyze the report in terms of its form, content and purpose, followed by some conclusions.

2. The putative author

First, I should explain some preliminary considerations. Initially I proceeded on the dubious assumption that the teacher Jorge to whom PIDE officials attributed the report was indeed the putative author of the report, although I will argue that the contents of the report were likely dictated by his PIDE interrogator, leaving the identity of its real author in serious doubt. Although Jorge is now deceased, he comes from a prominent family, members of which are still very much alive; for this reason, and out of an abundance of caution, I have attempted to protect his identity. This has led me to abbreviate his and other names herein, and to disguise references to sources that would otherwise easily reveal Jorge's identity. Jorge's family name is well known in Angola and links him to a "Congregacionalista" network on the Central Highlands, consisting of families tied to the WCAM and to the Angolan Protestant church then known as CIEAC (now known as IECA)⁵, which also rai-

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¹ I would like to gratefully acknowledge the critical reading of the anonymous reviewers.

² Acronym for *Policia Internacional e de Defesa do Estado*, renamed *Direcção-Geral de Segurança* in 1969. The PIDE was the secret police force for Portugal's *Estado Novo* dictatorship.

³ ANTT, PIDE fonds, Del. A., P. Inf 13.18-E NT1987/262, "Report", March ?, 1966.

⁴ ANTT, PIDE fonds, Del. A., P. Inf 13.18E NT1987/262, Subinspector António Luz Costa memo to Subdirector, N.º 771/66-S. R., April 16, 1966; Chief of subdelegation (illegible) memo to Subdirector, N.º 1.341/66-S. R., July 9, 1966.

⁵ Acronyms for *Conselho das Igrejas Evangélicas de Angola Central*, and *Igreja Evangélica Congregacionalista de Angola*.

ses a possible indirect link through the church network to the independence movement known as UNITA,⁶ a political organization founded in the same year that the report was written, 1966 (Fernando, 2012: 93).

It was relatively easy to establish a linkage between Jorge and UNITA: a simple Google search revealed that Jorge had somehow found his way to Brazil, where, after his death, Jorge's wife (nameless herein to disguise her identity) became an honorary citizen of a city in the Northeast of Brazil. She was nominated by a municipal councilor (*vereador*) from the Workers' Party (PT) who eulogized the couple on his website:

*Born in the interior of Angola, Africa, in the year 1939, daughter of G... and H..., at the beginning of the 1960s she married the young teacher Jorge with whom she shared her life and her militancy in the Movement for the Independence of Angola [sic], UNITA, from Portuguese domination, her struggle was fundamental for Angola to acquire its political independence in the year 1975 (anon., 2011) [my translation].*⁷

In this eulogy, the PT councilor indicates that Jorge and his wife considered themselves to be UNITA militants.

3. The WCAM

The report in question is a valuable resource within a line of research with which I am currently engaged, that is, the relation between the *Congregacionista* network and Angola's independence movement(s). The following is a brief synopsis of the historical origins of this network within the WCAM and its institutional expression, that is, the CIEAC/IECA.

The CIEAC was an institutional response to the WCAM evangelism project in the sense that the creation of a national church marked a transition to African religious independence. The WCAM evangelism project was launched in 1880, as an initiative of the Congregationalist Church in the United States of America and was joined by Canadian Congregationalists in 1886. In 1925, the Canadian Congregationalists merged with other church groups to form the United Church of Canada, at which point the WCAM became a Canada/USA joint mission. In a move which foreshadowed political independence, the Angolan *Congregacionistas* formed their own national church, the CIEAC, in 1956/57. With an Angolan church now available as a partner, the North American churches formally wound up their mission and instead assigned their missionaries to work within the structures of the Angolan church. However, to the extent that the WCAM was a form of colonialism, the new arrangement was neo-colonial: the missionary presence was institutionalized through a Missionary Committee, the missionaries continued to occupy strategic positions within Protestant institutions, and the missionaries maintained effective control of church finances.

The colonial relation at the core of the WCAM grew out of the explorations of David Livingstone, who had direct contact with slave caravans from the Central Plateau and travelled to Luanda in 1854. Like other Protestants, the WCAM missionaries partnered with European colonialism in the effective occupation of the African continent, a process which intensified in the post-1885 period. Avoiding competition, three major Protestant denominations divided Angola into mission regions: British Baptists took the northern Bakongo region, USA Methodists took the central Kimbundu region, and North American Congregational-

⁶ Acronym for *União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola*.

⁷ Original version in Portuguese: *[N]ascida no interior de Angola, África no ano de 1939, filha de G... e H..., casou no início da década de 1960 com o jovem Professor Jorge com quem partilhou a vida a dois e a militância no Movimento de Independência de Angola, UNITA, da dominação de Portugal, sua luta foi fundamental para que Angola conseguisse sua independência política no ano de 1975.*

lists took the Ovimbundu heartland on the Central Highlands. In its early years, the North Americans were slow to reconcile with Portuguese claims of sovereignty, referencing their mission territory as “West Central Africa” or the “Benguela plateau”, and seeking to expand their influence beyond the highlands and throughout the center-south-center.

While the Christian churches were partnered in colonialism’s imagined ‘civilizing mission’ project, the missionaries often clashed with their commercial and governmental counterparts over conflicting ethics (Péclard, 1995). In the case of the WCAM, the partnership was complicated by issues of linguistic (English or Portuguese), religious (Catholic or Protestant), and nationalist (Portuguese or American) character, the goal of the WCAM was to transform their African converts by having them assimilate the WCAM missionary ethic with its North American Protestant characteristics.

Among the Euro-centric transformations that the WCAM ethic encouraged was the centrality of the nuclear family, in opposition to the polygamy and slavery that the missionaries identified within the extant “household” kinship networks. One of the WCAM missionaries, Gladwyn Murray Childs, completed a PhD in anthropology at Columbia University and published his dissertation in 1949 as *Kinship and Character of the Ovimbundu*. Childs identified Ovimbundu social organization in the following terms:

The basis of the village and of the whole kinship structure is the household consisting of a man, his wife or wives, and their children, together with such other related or unrelated dependants as may be attached and live together in a single compound... The relationships of the wider kinship groups are for the most part extensions of those of the household (Childs, 1969: 40-42).

This household-based kinship network was effectively undermined by the WCAM ethic of monogamy and anti-slavery, and in its place the WCAM constructed a nuclear family-based network of Protestant churches that later was institutionalized as the CIEAC. Jorge’s family functioned within this network.

The WCAM ethic imposed a moralism that frowned on alcohol, extra-marital sex, and even certain styles of dancing, while at the same time it emphasized literacy and education within a system that encouraged notions of self-determination and even political independence. The colonizer soon became aware that the Protestant networks –Baptist, Methodist,



Foto 001 – Founding of the Currie Institute (commemorative plaque). Photo by author.

and Congregationalist – were a significant factor in the spread of a pro-independence sentiment. In the words of WCAM missionary Lawrence Henderson: “Without doubt the Protestant community provided one of the best networks for the spread of anti-Portuguese propaganda and for the organization of nationalist associations and activities” (Henderson, 1992: 279).

Since the founding of the Currie Institute at Dondi, in 1914, the WCAM education system was of a dual character. On the one hand, the system revolved around a set of central institutions in Dondi, located on a huge tract of land which was allocated to the mission by Norton de Matos, then Portugal’s Governor General, who was also a Protestant and later became a Masonic Grand Master. Around this hub was constructed a hierarchical web of church-based schools located in mission stations, pastoral outposts, and village congregations, all of which was supervised by a missionary who served as station director. The web was spread through the initiative of *Congregacionalista* pastors and catechists, trained at Dondi, who organized, preached, and educated at the village level.

As Dondi was originally structured, the missionaries’ intention was that boys would be trained as the mission’s teachers, catechists, and pastors, while girls would be trained as homemakers, to become Protestant brides. It was through this process of education and match-making that the *Congregacionalista* network would be constructed with a nuclear family base. Jorge was educated, married, and launched his career in education within such a network.

4. Jorge’s life story

I was pleasantly surprised to discover that Jorge had a biographer, who will remain anonymous to protect the identity of his subject, and for this purpose I have not provided a citation for his book. Although I categorize the book as a biography, this is something of a misnomer; it is more of a hagiography, written more as a story of the triumph of the human spirit, and lacking in specific details.

Some knowledge of the biographer’s background helps explain why he chose to write about Jorge. The biographer was born in the north of Portugal, in 1929. He was ordained a Roman Catholic priest in a religious order, and arrived in Angola in 1967, in the midst of the independence war. Among his duties, he was to supervise a Catholic mission near Serpa Pinto (now Menongue), where a religious order of nuns operated a mission school. It is through a mutual connection to this mission school that the biographer and Jorge first came into contact. They later resumed contact in Brazil, after the biographer left Angola and moved to Brasília in 1974, at a time when Angolan independence was imminent. After moving to Brazil, the biographer soon abandoned the priesthood for marriage, an act forbidden to priests by the Roman Catholic Church (*Movimento*, n.d.).

The biography is an obscure book. Published in Brasília, in 1995, it is now out of print, while the publishing house has gone out of business. I obtained a photocopy through a colleague at the Federal University of Brasília, who found the book almost by chance in his university library after it had been mis-shelved.⁸ The style of writing suggests that its author had access to both Jorge and his wife, since he purports to quote extensively from their private conversations and their private thoughts. The book’s title references Jorge’s longing to return to Angola from his exile in Brazil, a return which was frustrated by Angola’s prolonged civil war.

⁸ My thanks to Estevam Thompson for locating this reference.

With this in mind, we can now turn to Jorge's life story. His biographer has left the details of Jorge's early life somewhat sketchy, but the details provided suggest that he was born on the Central Highlands between 1935 and 1940. It appears also that his parents were *Congregacionalistas*. It is further likely that his father had obtained assimilated (*assimilado*) status for himself and his family, within Portugal's *indigenata* system in which Africans could escape liability for forced labour and other impositions by proving to the Portuguese that their language skills and income source were sufficient to be deemed "civilized" or assimilated into European culture (Neto, 2012). While Jorge's early education was no doubt in his village school, and then at the Currie Institute in Dondi, his family status as *assimilado* allowed him access to higher education. In the case of Jorge, this included studies in Portugal at the Presbyterian seminary in Carcavelos, likely between 1959 and 1961.

One of Jorge's key supporters was Gladwyn Childs, a WCAM missionary from the United States of America whose work is cited above. Among the many achievements attributable to Childs was the establishment of an academic residence in Nova Lisboa (now Huambo), a place where, in the post-1961 period, bursary students were provided room and board and, at the same time, thus kept within the ethical umbrella of the *Congregacionalista* network. Funds for these bursaries, and for other forms of material assistance, were channeled through a Bursary Commission [*Comissão de Bolsas*], of which Childs served as its first president (anon., 1994).

The academic residence in Nova Lisboa, as well as the central institutions of Dondi, served as incubators for a growing pro-independence sentiment that soon spread throughout the *Congregacionalista* network. Moreover, the Presbyterian seminary in Carcavelos, like Lisbon's more famous *Casa dos Estudantes do Império*, served as a meeting point for future leaders of independence movements throughout Portugal's African empire, such that Jorge's political education could not help but be influenced by the intellectual atmosphere he encountered in that environment: that is, in an institution that also nurtured the intellectual development of Mozambique's Eduardo Mondlane and others who articulated a similar liberation ideology.

It is worth reflecting on the qualities that Jorge would have demonstrated to the missionaries to merit being sent to study in Portugal, a rare privilege for a *Congregacionalista* because, prior to 1958, the horizon of the WCAM education system stretched little beyond Dondi. Very few *Congregacionalistas* enjoyed the privilege of studying in Portugal. The two sons of Jesse Chipenda, the first CIEAC General Secretary, were both sent to Portugal: José Chipenda also studied at Carcavelos, funded privately by his father through donations he received while on a tour of North America, and Daniel Chipenda was awarded a football scholarship, playing first with Benfica and then with the Coimbra University team [*Sociedade Académica de Coimbra*]. We know that Agostinho Neto studied medicine in Lisbon on a Methodist scholarship, and he was joined by José Liahuka, the son of a pastor from the Elende mission station, who studied medicine with him, apparently with assistance from the WCAM's North American network (Henderson, 1992: 165). The WCAM finally acknowledged the pressing need for higher education, and, in 1958, Liahuka was joined by Rubem Sanjovo, Jorge Valentim, and Jerónimo Elavoko Wanga. Joining them on the boat out from Lobito was Jonas Savimbi. It seems that Savimbi had obtained a bursary from a Roman Catholic source but after arriving in Lisbon he accepted a better offer from the Protestants (Bridgland, 1987: 38). Liahuka, Valentim and Wanga later joined Savimbi in UNITA, while Daniel Chipenda went to the MPLA (Fernando, 2012: 99, 159).

Jorge was likely among the *Congregacionalistas* who followed the Savimbi cohort to Lisbon, and upon returning from Carcavelos in 1961, his biographer indicates that he married within the *Congregacionalista* network, to a student from Dondi's Means School for girls.



Foto 002 – Currie Institute, Dondi, c. 2012. Photo by author.

By 1961, the year in which the armed struggle for independence was launched, women like Jorge's wife had created a space for themselves within which they were able not only to act as wives and home-makers but also to take on roles as professionals and even engage with the independence movement as political agents. In fact, we will see later that Jorge's wife was more militant politically than her pacifist spouse.

Jorge returned from Portugal to teach within the Dondi central institutions. After a period of service that would nominally have helped repay his debt to the mission for his education, in September 1963 he submitted a letter of resignation to the CIEAC Executive Committee. In a perceived slight to his Protestant employers, the letter was sent only after the *Boletim Oficial* had already published notice of his appointment as teacher in a new school that the state located next door to Dondi, in Bela Vista (now Katchiungo).⁹ The establishment of this state-run school reflected the post-1961 reforms introduced by the colonial state which included a system of basic education for Africans who, within the same reform package, had been declared to be citizens of Portugal, with the *indigenata* system now abolished.

While not all of the WCAM missionaries felt threatened by a potential state takeover of the education function, the Committee of Missionaries queried why state schools were placed in the vicinity of Protestant schools rather than in under-served areas. This concern was not without merit as the colonial administration had in fact embarked on a deliberate campaign to undermine the influence of Protestant missionaries because of their perceived disloyalty to Portugal. To make matters worse, from the *Congregacionista* perspective, in Jorge's case the state had poached Dondi's best trained African teacher. The PIDE reported that some WCAM missionaries reacted quite negatively to Jorge's move to the state system.¹⁰

While this reaction may have been shared by others, opinion within the missionary cohort was far from monolithic, and in fact a gulf was widening between those who fixed their focus on evangelism and those who took a more progressive, developmentalist stance,

⁹ UCC. Board of Overseas Missions, fonds 502. Records relating to Angola, Series 2, Subseries o. Location number 83.012C, box 19, file 449. Minutes of CIEAC Executive Committee, Dondi, September 24/25, 1963.

¹⁰ ANTT. PIDE fonds, Del A., P. Inf. 13.18-D, NT 1987. *Informação* memorandum N.º 148/64-S. R., "Características e actividades da missão evangélica do Dondi", October 21, 1964.

some even embracing the independence cause. For the more developmentalist among them, establishing a state school system was a positive measure, and Jorge's career move evoked sympathy because Dondi paid its African teachers a pittance in comparison to the state school system. After all, Jorge had a family to support, one which eventually included several children. Nonetheless, when the members of the CIEAC executive were finally informed of his intention they tried to block, or at least delay, his move by petitioning the Director of Education for the District of Huambo, but to no avail.¹¹ And despite this opposition, Jorge struggled to remain within the CIEAC community. In July 1964, for example, he took up temporary residence in the town of Cuma and travelled daily to the Elende mission station where he worked as a volunteer, only to have his motives questioned by the station director.¹²

Jorge's career within the state education system advanced rapidly and after a few years teaching he was promoted to the position of School Inspector. His professional ability was appreciated: according to a Portuguese teacher from Luanda who took a two month training course under Jorge's supervision, Jorge was "the most competent school inspector that I encountered during my teaching career" [*o Inspector Escolar mais competente que encontrei durante a minha carreira de professor*] (Anon., 2012).

As a dedicated educator, Jorge likely welcomed the investment in education made by the colonial state in the post-1961 period and remained outwardly loyal to his employer (the colonial state) throughout the liberation war, except for an apparently isolated "act of solidarity" to which we will return later. When the political ground shifted on April 25, 1974 (the Portuguese coup), and the subsequent Alvor Accords (January 1975) legitimated the three armed independence movements, passive nationalists such as Jorge began to declare their allegiance to one or the other of the three armed movements (FNLA¹³, MPLA¹⁴, UNITA). For his part, Jorge chose UNITA, a movement which found favour within the *Congregacionista* network from which Savimbi and much of UNITA's leadership had emerged (Pearce, 2015; Schubert, 2000).

The Alvor Accords provided for a transitional government in which the education portfolio was allocated to UNITA, with Savimbi's colleague from 1958, Jeronimo Wangá, as Minister, who then called on Jorge to serve in Luanda in a senior position. Internecine warfare broke out, and the transitional government soon collapsed, sending Jorge back to Huambo where UNITA established its capital and declared a separate independence to rival that of the MPLA. By February 1976, the MPLA was at Huambo's doorstep, prompting Jorge to retreat to Kuito with his wife and their several children. Gathering his forces in Kuito, Savimbi urged his civilian followers to return to their traditional villages, and he urged his warriors to join with him in a guerrilla campaign against the MPLA government and its Cuban military ally.

As a dedicated educator, Jorge had no desire to join Savimbi's military campaign. According to his biographer, Jorge "was a humanist, he detested war, which was born naturally out of a schizophrenic ambition for power" [*era um humanista, detestava a guerra, parto natural da esquizofrênica ambição do poder*] (biography:32). Using a literary device to suppose what Jorge's thought pattern likely would have been, the biographer explained further:

¹¹ UCC. Board of Overseas Missions, fonds 502. Records relating to Angola, Series 2, Subseries o. Location number 83.012C, box 19, file 449. Minutes of CIEAC Executive Committee, Dondi, September 24/25, 1963.

¹² UCC. Board of Overseas Missions, fonds 502. Records relating to Angola, Series 2, Subseries o. Location number. 83.012C, box 20, file 471. Report to home mission boards, July 8, 1964.

¹³ Acronym for *Frente Nacional pela Libertação de Angola*.

¹⁴ Acronym for *Movimento Polular de Libertação de Angola*.



Foto 003 –Dondi (Lutamo) in ruins after civil war, c. 2012. Photo by author.

I am not staying here. I do not want my children to grow up in the midst of hatred and violence...I am against the war. There were other solutions involving less sacrifice for the Angolan people. I am leaving with my wife and my children. We will return one day to assist in building peace. (biography:11) [my translation]¹⁵

Through this device his biographer illustrates that Jorge was a pacifist and opposed to Savimbi's decision to engage in civil warfare, although subsequent events show that his loyalty to UNITA remained constant. In a reversal of gender stereotypes, his wife was less of a pacifist and urged him to join Savimbi's civil war. According to the biographer, she accused Jorge of cowardice and desertion, accompanying him into exile only under protest. The biographer describes the family's escape from Angola within a stream of refugees heading south, travelling mainly by foot until they arrived in Menongue, where UNITA was still clinging to power. From there the family left UNITA-held territory and headed towards the Southwest African (now Namibian) border which was controlled by the South African apartheid regime. They crossed the Cubango (Okavanga) River at Cuangar and found refuge in a camp in Southwest Africa administered by the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC).

Good fortune finally met up with Jorge and his family at the ICRC camp, or rather his reputation as a dedicated educator stood him in good stead, when two Roman Catholic nuns arrived to assist with the refugees. One of the Sisters recognized Jorge from the frequent inspections he had carried out at the same Catholic mission school that the biographer had supervised (as referenced above) where she had served as the school's director. She herself had fled the civil war and was then residing at a mission in Tondoro, down the Cubango from Cuangar, on the Namibian side of the river. The second of the two nuns was a Brazilian.

The nuns set about to rescue Jorge and his family from their dire circumstances, disregarding the divergence in their religious orientations, one Catholic, the other Protestant. The Brazilian nun used her considerable powers of persuasion on the Brazilian consul in Cape

¹⁵ Original version in Portuguese: *Não fico. Não quero que os meus filhos cresçam no meio do ódio e da violência... Sou contra a guerra. Havia outras soluções com menos sacrifício para o povo angolano. Vou-me com a minha mulher e os meus filhos. Voltaremos um dia para ajudarmos a edificar a paz.*

Town who granted the family permanent residence in Brazil. Curiously, Jorge had taken out a Portuguese passport a year earlier, during the period of transition to independence, likely with the thought of emigration already in his mind.

With a Brazilian visa in hand, Jorge put his fate into the hands of the Sisters' international network. The nuns flew the family to Rio de Janeiro, and then northward where they housed the family in a girl's academy which soon employed both Jorge and his wife.

Despite the generosity shown by the Sisters, Jorge found the family's economic circumstances frustrating, as their income was not sufficient to support such a large family, especially after having previously enjoyed the privileges and status, first of colonial life in Angola as a state employee and then as a senior bureaucrat in the transitional government. Furthermore, the nuns employed him only in a minor clerical position, rather than allowing him to exercise his professional as a teacher. Adding to his stress, his wife had given birth to another child, while an older daughter had fallen prey to the allures of a Brazilian ethic and had drifted away from the family unit.

Although Jorge may have alienated himself from some of the more evangelical WCAM missionaries, he maintained contact with more friendly missionaries with whom he corresponded soon upon his arrival in Brazil. One of these contacts put him in touch with what his biographer refers to as the *Fund Christi*, where another of these contacts was the administrator. In fact, there is little doubt that the fund in question was the Gilchrist Memorial Angola Student Trust Fund (now the Angola Memorial Scholarship Fund), established in memory of Sidney Gilchrist, his wife Frances, and their daughter Elizabeth (Betty), all of whom were former United Church of Canada missionaries in Angola who had died together in a tragic car crash in Alberta on June 13, 1970 (Archibald, 1970). The fund awarded bursaries to two of Jorge's daughters, allowing them to continue their education, while at the same time alleviating the family's financial distress (biography, 41).

Having been excluded from his chosen profession as an educator, Jorge turned instead to the study of theology and was eventually ordained as an evangelical pastor. According to the biographer Jorge served as pastor to a Presbyterian congregation; as we know, Jorge was familiar with this denomination because earlier he had studied at the Presbyterian seminary in Carcavelos.

The title of the biography reflects Jorge's frustration at not being able to return to Angola because of the prolonged civil war, with which he apparently wanted no part. After many years in exile, Jorge finally expressed a wish to be buried in Brazil, an end that soon came about through an unexpected chain of events, beginning in December 1988, when the governments of Angola, Cuba and South Africa signed the New York Accords leading to the independence of Namibia and the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

In September 1989, on the eve of a visit by Savimbi to Washington and with the possibility of a peace agreement at hand, UNITA assembled its supporters at its headquarters in Jamba for an Extraordinary Congress. Jorge was among the invited guests from the Angolan diaspora. His biographer hints that Jorge may have had an ongoing relationship with UNITA while living in Brazil but provides no other explanation for this invitation. In any event, Jorge accepted the invitation and flew to Lisbon where he joined a European delegation. From there the delegation flew to Windhoek, and then on another flight to the South African Defense Force base at Rundu, and from there by helicopter to Jamba, evidently with the assistance of South African authorities.

His biographer asserts that Jorge received a hero's welcome in Jamba, perhaps one orchestrated by his former students. But his reception at the conference was cut short when he apparently suffered a rupture of a gastric ulcer, acutely aggravating a pre-existing condition. He was airlifted to a hospital in Pretoria where he was operated on, with some success,

until he suffered a relapse and died. With the assistance of UNITA, one of his daughters flew to Pretoria and accompanied her father's body back to Brazil for burial, pursuant to his stated wish.

5. De-constructing the report

With this contextual synopsis in mind, we can now turn to an interpretation of the report itself, in view of its circumstances, its contents, and finally its purpose. The format of the report suggests that the circumstances in which it was submitted were unusual. It is neither signed nor dated, although the PIDE's record-keeping system establishes that it was submitted in early March 1966, notably two and a half years after Jorge's departure from Dondi for the state school system. It is simply entitled *Relatório* [Report], unlike documents produced in the course of an investigation, documents which the PIDE entitled either *Auto de declarações* or *Auto de perguntas*, depending on the legal standing of the declarant or respondent (witness or accused). While the *auto* documents reveal a question and answer format, and refer to a specific interrogation held on a specified date, with an identified PIDE interrogator and PIDE scribe, the report is in a narrative format that does not suggest an interrogation session. And yet we know from his biographer that Jorge was at one point arrested and tortured:

In the years of struggle against Portuguese domination, he never wanted to take part in the guerrilla movement. If one day PIDE agents surrounded his house and arrested him, to torture him to extract secret information, if then he reached the depths of human suffering and desperately wished for death, it was not for any kind of voluntary cooperation with the guerrillas but for a simple act of solidarity (biography: 32) [my translation]¹⁶.

In this passage the biographer implies that PIDE agents surrounded Jorge's house, arrested him, and tortured him to the extent that he wished he were dead. This treatment is consistent with what is well known about the methods used by the PIDE in the interrogation of an African subject. The passage also implies that Jorge did not voluntarily collaborate with the guerrilla movement, but at the same time he admits to having committed an "act of solidarity" which apparently led to his arrest and torture.

I would speculate that the "act of solidarity" in question could have been in relation to an "underground railroad" that served to provide an escape route for pro-independence activists, many of whom were the product of the same Protestant education system as Jorge. Although in North America the phrase "underground railroad" was used as a metaphor for an escape route, on the Central Highlands it had a more material meaning as the Benguela Railway was available to transport escaping refugees across the border into Northern Rhodesia (Zambia since 1964), where they were welcomed by the Protestant church, including various Canadian missionaries who were working in Kitwe. From there they had the option of joining one of the independence movements or going on to higher education, often through the auspices of the U.S. State Department's Office of African Programs, acting in partnership with the American Committee on Africa (Tague, 2015). We will see below that this speculation is reinforced by my analysis of the contents of the report.

Elsewhere in the PIDE fonds it is revealed that Jorge was interrogated as an incident of his arrest, and that he made a declaration at that time, in the early days of the month of

¹⁶ Original version in Portuguese: *Nos anos da luta contra o domínio português, jamais quisera tomar parte na guerrilha. Se um dia os agentes da [PIDE] lhe cercaram a casa e prenderam para o torturar e lhe arrancar segredos, se então tocou os abismos do aviltamento humano e almejou ardentemente morrer, não foi por qualquer tipo de colaboração voluntária com os guerrilheiros, mas por um simples ato de solidariedade.*

March 1966, although I have not located a copy of this declaration.¹⁷ The report in question was submitted as a follow up to the missing declaration, and although the report was stamped secret, and its author was not identified in the unsigned report itself, the PIDE sub-delegation in Nova Lisboa named Jorge as the author in the context of a memo in which the sub-delegate recommended that Reverend John Murray MacInnes be denied a re-entry visa, such denial being based in part on the allegation contained in the report that MacInnes used mission funds to finance the “underground railroad”. The handwritten note (referred to above) which also identifies Jorge as the report’s author was likely a mere repetition of the reference in this memo. By identifying Jorge in this context the PIDE official went against the plea with which the report closes: “I request the favour that my name not be mentioned in the case of any further proceeding against any of the individuals referred to” [my translation].¹⁸ It follows from this plea that the report’s author was aware that the allegations contained therein carried consequences for those named in the report.

At the time the report was written, Jorge was a primary school teacher in the state system. If, in fact, he agreed to the contents of the report, it seems likely his agreement was forced on him by the threat of further mistreatment or torture at the hands of the PIDE and/or the threat of dismissal from his teaching position. The fact that the report was initiated at the specific demand of the PIDE is made clear in the report’s introductory phrase: “In obedience to the request of His Excellency the Senior Inspector of the [PIDE]...” [my translation].¹⁹ Although this introductory phrase, and the format of the report in general, seek to convey the impression that it was made voluntarily, the overall circumstances indicate the opposite. Indeed it is likely that the report was drafted in the PIDE sub-delegation office: when compared to other similar documents, the report appears to have been typed up by the same PIDE scribe(s) who typed up the interrogation *autos* that emanated from the Nova Lisboa PIDE office. Moreover, unlike the interrogation *autos*, the report is not signed. Perhaps the lack of a signature was to protect the identity of the report’s putative author. But it could also be that the author was, in fact, a PIDE official who merely decided to attribute the report to Jorge for the purpose of advancing his own agenda, something which is scrutinized below.

With respect to the actual content of the report, the only substantive allegation is that of missionary involvement in the “underground railroad”. Assuming this involvement to be an improper display of disloyalty, the report provides two possible explanations as to why certain named missionaries would engage in such misconduct: first, that the missionaries in general placed loyalty to the mission above their duty to collaborate with the state; second, certain missionaries lacked honesty [*não suficientemente honestos*] and as such were leading others to stray from their duty to collaborate. We can now consider the specifics of what the report had to say about these supposedly dishonest missionaries.

Among the supposedly dishonest missionaries named in the report was Gladwyn Childs, the above-cited author who, as we saw earlier, was among Jorge’s supporters. The report’s author described Childs as a friend and as someone who contributed much to his education. But he goes on to allege that Childs “is not known to be void of political intentions in his dealings within the student milieu” [my translation].²⁰ Indeed, Childs was alleged to have made reference to certain political events and to invoke the name of African

¹⁷ ANTT. PIDE fonds, Del A. P. Inf. 1318-ENT 198. Memo n.º 1.341/66-S.R., Nova Lisboa sub-delegation (signature illegible), to PIDE sub-director in Luanda, dated July 9, 1966.

¹⁸ Original version in Portuguese: *Peço o favor de não ser mencionado o meu nome em caso de algum procedimento superior sobre qualquer dos indivíduos indicados.*

¹⁹ Original version in Portuguese: *Em obediência ao pedido do Excelentíssimo Senhor Inspector da Polícia Internacional e de Defesa do Estado de Nova Lisboa...*

²⁰ Original version in Portuguese: *“não reputo de issenta de intenções políticas a sua actuação no meio estudantil”*[sic].

leaders, including Hastings Banda and Mboia (Albert) Lutuli. Despite these allegations, the report's author expressed the hope that nothing bad should happen to him, while at the same time implicating Childs in the escape of a female student on the "underground railroad". Elsewhere a PIDE inspector identified this student as a former girlfriend of Jonas Savimbi: the inspector reported that when she appeared in Switzerland to join Savimbi she was turned away because Savimbi was already involved in another relationship.²¹ If nothing else this suggests that PIDE surveillance extended beyond the borders of the Portuguese empire.

The case against MacInnes went even deeper, implicating him in several escapes in the time period after he succeeded Childs as president of the Bursary Commission. Concerning MacInnes the report reads: "He also did not reveal himself to be innocent. It appears he interested many in escaping to foreign countries" [my translation].²² In retrospect, this is an allegation that MacInnes would have worn with pride and it is confirmed by several other sources, including the PIDE,²³ John Marcum (Marcum, 1969: 112), and MacInnes himself.²⁴

A third target was Dr. Sidney Gilchrist, the former director of the mission hospital in Bailundo who had recently made a hasty departure from Angola after having himself been subjected to a PIDE interrogation. The report describes Gilchrist as an admirer of those outside the country who were active in favour of the "so-called 'independence of Angola'" [dita '*independência de Angola*']. This proved to be something of an understatement, as Gilchrist later authored a polemic entitled *Angola Awake* in which he denounced Portuguese colonialism in no uncertain terms (Gilchrist, 1968). Acting in collaboration with a colleague in Bailundo, the report alleges, Gilchrist advised and assisted anyone who expressed an interest in leaving the country, to join movements that acted "contrary to our peace and our multi-racial and intercontinental harmony" [*contra a nossa paz e a nossa harmonia multiracial e pluricontinental*]. It is ironic that when a memorial fund was established in Gilchrist's honour after his tragic death, as we saw above, Jorge's daughters were among its early recipients.

Besides these substantive allegations, the report raises some relatively petty concerns about the manner in which some missionaries reacted to Jorge's departure for the state education system. The report takes issue with the attitude of certain missionaries towards bursary students – "like me, for example" [*como eu, por exemplo*] – who after completing their studies abandoned the mission in favour of employment with the state, using this to argue that these missionaries gave exclusive priority to the mission and opposed any collaboration with the state. For example, the report alleges, the then-treasurer of missionary funds refused even to greet such former students. The report describes the treasurer as a person who "is not lacking in anti-national intentions" [*não esta isente de intenções antinacionalistas*], to the extent that she sometimes showed magazine photos of African nationalist leaders to trusted students.

A similar attitude is attributed to another missionary who was then the rector of the Emanuel Seminary, one of the Dondi central institutions, and MacInnes's successor as president of the Bursary Commission. This missionary had been under suspicion by the PIDE since December 1964, when he had been a teacher at the Camundongo mission: the

²¹ ANTT. PIDE fonds, P. Inf. 13.18 E, NT 1987, "Informação: assunto Relatório acerca da actividade das missões Protestantes, July 15, 1966.

²² Original in Portuguese: *Também não se revelou inocente. Parece ter interessado muitos para fugirem para o estrangeiro.*

²³ ANTT. PIDE fonds, P. Inf. 13.18 E, NT 1987. Nova Lisboa sub-delegation. Memorandum n.º 1.341/66-S.R., dated July 9, 1966.

²⁴ UCC. Board of Overseas Missions fonds 502. Records relating to Angola. Series 2. Subseries o. Location number 83.012C. Box 20, file 481. Murray MacInnes note to Roy Webster, n.d. [September 1964?].

local administrator arrived at his school un-expectedly, only to find him teaching a lesson about Angola's history of resistance to colonial rule, using the vernacular Umbundu, which was forbidden by the colonizer as a language of instruction.²⁵ The report alleges that this missionary also turned his back on students who went to work for the state, although at least conceding that, like Jorge, they could remain within the church community.

Other missionaries received nothing but praise. Lawrence Henderson, one of the authors cited above, was described as a person whose only interest was evangelism, while to his credit he welcomed the expansion of the state education system and advocated that the state should assume the entire task of education, leaving the missionaries free to evangelize. A Portuguese missionary was said to favour strict collaboration with the state, while Gilchrist's colleagues as medical missionaries were said to focus exclusively on the physical health of their patients, without regard to the political circumstances.

The purpose of the report is distinct from any possible motive that Jorge would have in providing it, such as to avoid further arrest and/or to preserve his status within the colonial state. To understand the purpose of the report we should look to the PIDE official who requested it, Sub-inspector António Luz Costa, acting in his capacity as Chief of the Nova Lisboa PIDE sub-delegation.

Luz Costa reported regularly to his superiors in Luanda about missionary activities within his geographic territory, so we can assume he was acting under instructions in seeking evidence against the WCAM missionaries. In the post-1961 period, colonial authorities were engaged in an overt campaign of "tightening the noose" around the neck of the missionary cohort by restricting their movements within the colony, restricting their ability to meet, refusing entry to any new missionaries, and denying re-entry to any missionary who left Portuguese territory (Luce, 2015: 12).

For reasons of international comity, the Portuguese government was unwilling to expel a foreign missionary without cause. One of the causes for expulsion that the PIDE considered legitimate was assisting in escapes such as those on the "underground railroad". In this regard, PIDE suspicions about Protestant missionaries were well founded, although the purpose behind the actions of the missionaries was more likely to facilitate access to higher education than to recruit for one or the other of the independence movements. This was the case in 1961, when the World Council of Churches coordinated the escape of over sixty African students from Portugal, in collaboration with the Parisian refugee aid organization known as CIMADE (Andringa, 2015; Associação Tchiweka, 2011).

On the Central Highlands, Luz Costa had reason to suspect that the WCAM missionaries similarly involved themselves in the local version of an "underground railroad". His principal target was Sidney Gilchrist, whom he had subjected to interrogation only weeks before Jorge's arrest: a secondary target was Murray MacInnes, whose application for re-entry was under consideration at the same time. As for Gladwyn Childs, after having served in Angola since 1925, he and his wife Margaret had recently taken up residence in Lisbon where Childs was working on behalf of the World Council of Churches (anon., 1994): this constituted a good enough reason why he also should be a target of PIDE attention.

Why, then, would Luz Costa require a report from Jorge, a person who was almost three years removed from teaching at Dondi? Perhaps he had no other informants within the Dondi network and he knew that Jorge was relatively vulnerable. The fact that the report focuses on the purported "misconduct" of Gilchrist, MacInnes, and Childs was not likely a coincidence; instead it is more likely that this focus was dictated by Luz Costa who

²⁵ ANTT. PIDE Fonds, Del. A., P. Inf 13.18-D NT1987, 88. Report of Chief Inspector Joachim Henriques to Director of PIDE. Ofício n.º 73/5a/4. December 11, 1964; ANTT. PIDE Fonds, Del. A., P. Inf 13.18-D NT1987 90. Carrusca de Castro report to District office, Document 19, March 20, 1962.

intended to use the report to corroborate suspicions that he could not otherwise confirm. The purpose of the report, I would argue, was to bolster Luz Costa's contribution to the PIDE's campaign against the WCAM missionaries. When the report reached the hands of Governor-general Silvino Silvério Marques in or about June 1966, he issued the following order: "I understand that from now on we should make it difficult in every way to use a bursary in a foreign country, while reducing authorizations and seeking to detect clandestine escapes, with the goal of incriminating the missionaries (such as Gilchrist and Co.)" [my translation].²⁶

It seems, therefore, that the Governor-general was party to an effort to incriminate Gilchrist and the other missionaries with respect to what he referred to as clandestine escapes [*fugas clandestinas*] from the Central Highlands.

Furthermore, the report had direct consequences for the named missionaries. When the Nova Lisboa PIDE sub-delegation transmitted its opinion on MacInnes's application for re-entry, it relied on the report to corroborate the allegation that MacInnes had been involved in the "underground railroad".²⁷ In addition, a later PIDE document marked *secreto* reveals that the report in question was used as evidence in no fewer than nine ongoing investigations concerning WCAM missionaries, including those named in the report²⁸: of these, Gilchrist, MacInnes, their spouses, and a few others, were all barred from re-entry into Angola.²⁹

6. Conclusion

The PIDE fonds in Portugal's *Torre do Tombo* National Archive have proven to be a valuable resource for researchers in the area of contemporary Angolan history (Paulo, 2015), including in my research on the history of Canadian missionaries on the Central Highlands. However, the interpretation of documents such as the report analyzed in this paper is fraught with potential difficulties. For example, with what degree of certainty can I conclude that Jorge was in fact the author of the report, even though he was identified as such by a PIDE official on at least two occasions? Since aspects of the report's contents are corroborated by external independent sources, including documents housed in the Archive of the United Church of Canada, it is possible that the person who authored the report is the same person who is the subject of the biography referenced above: but, it is equally possible that the contents of the report were dictated by the PIDE.

The possibility of the report having been authored by the PIDE should not be lightly dismissed, bearing in mind that PIDE documents should not be relied on for the truth of their contents. The missionary Lawrence Henderson made the point succinctly, upon reading the *auto de perguntas* arising out of the interrogation of CIEAC Secretary-general Rev. Jesse Chipenda:

²⁶ Original in Portuguese: *Entendo que desde já deve procurar dificultar-se por toda a forma a utilização de bolsas no estrangeiro, reduzindo as autorizações e procurando detectar as fugas clandestinas a fim de incriminar os missionários (como Gilchrist & C^a).* ANTT. PIDE fonds, P. Inf. 13.18 E, NT 1987, "Informação: assunto Relatório acerca da actividade das missões Protestantes", July 15, 1966.

²⁷ ANTT. PIDE fonds, P. Inf. 13.18-E, NT 1987. Nova Lisboa PIDE sub-delegation memorandum to PIDE subdirector in Luanda, n.º 1.341/66-S. R, July 9, 1966.

²⁸ ANTT. PIDE fonds, P. Inf. 13.18 E, NT 1987, "Informação: assunto Relatório acerca da actividade das missões Protestantes", July 15, 1966.

²⁹ ANTT. PIDE fonds, Proc. 13.18-G, NT 1988. Information memorandum 402/2406-T/GAI de SCCIA, "Assunto: possível regresso a Angola de missionários estrangeiros", Virgílio Paulo da Silva, *Chefe de Gabinete de Assuntos Internos, Direcção dos Serviços de Centralização e Coordenação de Informações de Angola*, 30 August 1974. My thanks to David Strangway for this reference.

The author [i.e. Henderson] was shown the police file of Pastor Jesse in October 1968... After the author finished reading the confession he said to the two police agents who were present at the reading: "Either Pastor Jesse is crazy or I am. I have known him for twenty years, and although I recognize his signature, he would not have made such a 'confession' in his right mind." (Henderson, 1992: 287)

What Henderson had before him was a signed statement that he acknowledged had been signed by Chipenda, who later died in custody, and yet he concluded that the contents of the statement could not be attributed to its putative author. Here we are dealing only with an unsigned "report" to which Jorge is connected only through the unproven allegation of an antagonistic PIDE official.

Even if Jorge was in fact its author, the report was not voluntary, despite the pretext implicit in its format. Here we can rely on the biographer's allegation that Jorge had been detained and tortured, and a subsequent PIDE document confirms that the report flowed from the interrogation session to which the biographer referred. Unlike the report itself, this subsequent confirmation is reliable because, in context, it is evident that it was against the PIDE's self-interest to admit the relation between the report and the interrogation since it is, and was, a notorious fact that declarations under interrogation were elicited by torture, as Henderson implied in the case of Jesse Chipenda. As a general principle of evidence, a statement induced by torture or the threat of torture is unreliable as proof of its contents, which may be why Luz Costa created a document in a format different from that of the *autos*.

Furthermore, I argued that the report was likely authored with a specific purpose in mind, that is, to assist the PIDE in its campaign against the presence of the WCAM missionaries. I concluded that, while not reliable for the truth of its contents, the report provides useful evidence of the state of mind of PIDE officials, of their method of recruiting informants, and even the length to which sub-inspector Luz Costa was prepared to go in furtherance of the PIDE campaign.

The PIDE's campaign against Protestant missionaries is ironic to the extent that it was grounded in the racist illusion that Angolans were incapable of exercising self-determination without the instigation of foreign agents. The contents of the report make clear that its author was aware that the consequences of the allegations contained in the report were potentially serious for the WCAM missionaries, although all three of the missionaries the report characterizes as dishonest (Gilchrist, MacInnes and Childs) were already safely out of the colony. At the same time it is worth noting that the report does not raise allegations against any African, except to the extent that they were the beneficiaries of the "underground railroad". The consequences for an African would be quite different from those faced by a foreign missionary: while a missionary faced the threat of expulsion or the refusal of re-entry, an African would face imprisonment or death.

Finally, the report also exposes something about the character of the WCAM itself. In its original articulation, the primary purpose of the WCAM was to support Europe's "civilizing mission" through evangelism, while developmentalist programs were introduced as a method of winning converts. By the dawn of the independence movement, a new generation of missionaries had inverted these priorities since for them developmentalism had become their primary purpose (Brouwer, 2010). The report reflects what other sources demonstrate was a contradiction between the old and the new, with missionaries such as Gilchrist and MacInnes prepared to abandon the "civilizing mission" in favour of African liberation.

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